# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

## LXXII (1940)

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GANDHI

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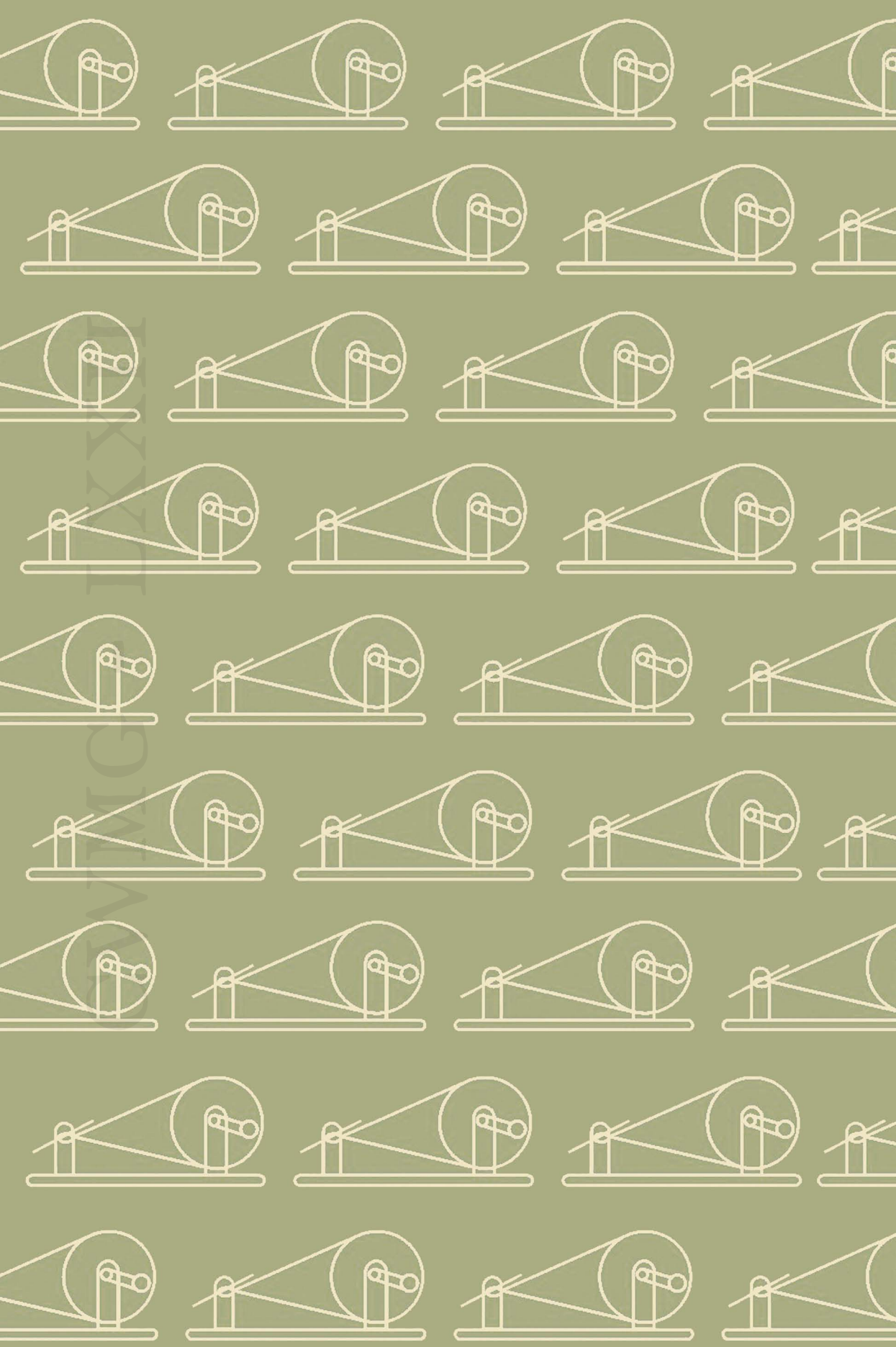

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## LXXII

(April 16 - September 11, 1940)

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WITH JAMNALAL BAJAJ IN DELHI

# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
# MAHATMA GANDHI

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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## *PREFACE*

The period covered by the volume (April 16 to September 11, 1940) more or less coincided with the Nazi conquest of the countries of Northern and Western Europe: Denmark, Norway, the Low countries and France, followed by non-stop bombing of the British Isles, causing widespread destruction of life and property. There was a wave of sympathy in India for the nations that had been robbed of their liberty. Earlier, Indian leaders had expressed solidarity with the Spanish and the Chinese republics. And now there was "hardly an Indian", as Gandhiji observed, "who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who lost their freedom overnight" (p. 30).

This widespread sympathy for the Western democracies, however, could not be translated into action, although, under the threat of a Nazi victory in Europe, the Congress made one more effort to establish a basis of co-operation with the British Government. Failing to obtain from Britain the assurances it had asked for at the outbreak of the war regarding India's future status, it had declared at the annual session at Ramgarh in March its intention to resort to civil disobedience as soon as Gandhiji was satisfied that the Congress organization was fit enough for the purpose (Vol. LXXI, Appendix VI). Reversing that decision, it now offered, though doing so meant parting of the ways with Gandhiji, "to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the Defence of the country" if Britain made an "unequivocal declaration" acknowledging India's complete independence and, as an immediate step, agreed to constitute a provisional national government at the Centre (Appendix IV) The Viceroy's statement in reply, made on August 8 (Appendix VII), stressed, as previous official pronouncements had done, "the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her" and refused to transfer the responsibility "for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life" (p. 473). The statement, the Congress Working Committee charged, confirmed "the prevailing feeling that the British authority has been continually operating so as to create, maintain and aggravate differences in India's national life" (p. 475). The Government also seems to have embarked at the same time on a policy of

repression to crush the Congress, which, Gandhiji felt and publicly stated, might leave him no option but to adopt "some form of effective satyagraha" (p. 340). "I must not have it said of me," Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy, "that for a false morality I allowed the Congress to be crushed without a struggle" (p. 446).

The moral consideration had indeed been Gandhiji's guiding principle from the beginning. Talking to a *New York Times* correspondent, he repeated what he had said after his interview with the Viceroy on September 4, 1939, and asked, "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?" If these powers failed, he told the correspondent, "the history of the world will be written in a manner no one can foresee" (pp. 10-1). And though Gandhiji supported the Congress demand and argued that it was "the duty of the Congress to prosecute the demand for independence", and even that "active pursuance of non-violence and truth and the prosecution of its goal of complete independence without abatement and without delay" would be the "Congress contribution to the cause of the Allies", he was careful to assure his critics that he would "do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain" (p. 81). He had, he said, "no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them" (p. 20). "I do not wish ill to Britain. I shall grieve if Britain goes down" (p. 30). Gandhiji told Ram Manohar Lohia, who had pleaded for immediate civil disobedience, that any step towards direct action was bound to cause the British embarrassment. He would, therefore, "wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries" had subsided "and the future is clearer than it is." "We do not seek our independence," said he, "out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence" (p. 104). He was also hopeful, it seems, that good sense might still prevail among British statesmen and was reluctant to criticize a speech of Lord Zetland's publicly (p. 21). The first message of L. S. Amery, the new Secretary of State, even impressed him as "good" (p. 182). Gandhiji recognized, however, that a struggle might become inevitable, and he was praying, he said, "for a mode of application which will be effective and still not embarrassing" to the British "in the sense of violent outbreaks throughout the country" (p. 65).

The conditions in the country certainly seemed far from favourable for a non-violent struggle. Besides agrarian and industrial unrest as expressed in strikes and demonstrations in cities and peasant marches and stopping of trains, on which Gandhiji

found it necessary to comment (p. 19), there was also a growing sense of insecurity, even panic, among sections of the population—especially in cities—and Gandhiji had to appeal to city-dwellers resolutely to stick to their posts and "steel the hearts of the timid against the temptation to flee from fancied or real danger" (p. 224). The situation was made worse by the posture adopted by the Muslim League and its demand for partition. On April 19 alone, it was claimed by the League leadership, they had organized more than 10,000 meetings all over the country in support of their demand, and in the Punjab bands of Khaksars, armed with *belchas* and using mosques as hide-outs, were terrorizing the Hindu population in defiance of the Unionist administration and the police. Gandhiji feared that the Government would allow these forces "to complicate the situation" and was therefore anxious not "to irritate the Muslims" by starting civil disobedience (p. 6). "Civil disobedience in the face of the lawlessness that prevails in the country," he wrote, "will easily pass for the same unless it is beyond doubt recognized as something different in kind from the prevailing brand" (p. 19). It was the easiest thing for anybody to defy the law and go to jail. But, Gandhiji repeated, "even though it may cause nausea, that prison-going without the backing of honest constructive effort and goodwill in the heart for the wrongdoer is violence and therefore forbidden in satyagraha" (p. 105).

Hindu-Muslim unity was an important item in the constructive programme which Gandhiji had prescribed as preparation for civil disobedience (p. 81), but the Muslim League's demand for partition, Gandhiji felt, had put "an end to all efforts for unity for the time being" (p. 66). He had called the demand "an untruth", and though he recognized that "if the eight crores of Muslims desire it no power on earth could prevent it", he declared that it could not come by "honourable agreement", for at the bottom of the cry for partition was "the belief that Islam is an exclusive brotherhood, and anti-Hindu". "Religion binds man to God and man to man," Gandhiji pleaded and asked, "Does Islam bind Muslim only to Muslim and antagonize the Hindu? Was the message of the Prophet peace only for and between Muslims and war against Hindus and non-Muslims? Are eight crores of Muslims to be fed with this which I can only describe as poison?" Those who instilled "this poison into the Muslim mind" and created an atmosphere of war between Hindus and Muslims were "rendering the greatest disservice to Islam" (pp. 27-8). India he argued, "is a big country, a big nation composed of different

cultures, which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest" (p. 27). "Indian Muslims," he declared, were his "blood-brothers and will remain so, though they may disown me ever so much" (p. 133).

With the worsening of the war situation, these domestic problems receded into the background. Gandhiji's reaction to the bloodshed in Europe was one of deep personal distress. "Frightful things are happening in the West," he wrote to Mirabehn on May 28 (p. 111), and two days later to another English friend, " . . . events have happened which leave me dumb" (p. 115). At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee he confessed, "The terrible things that are going on in Europe fill me with anguish" (p. 237). So moved was he that on May 26 he wrote to the Viceroy suggesting whether it was not "time to sue for peace for the sake of suffering humanity" so that "this mad slaughter" might stop, and even offered "to go to Germany or anywhere required to plead for peace . . . for the good of mankind" (pp. 100-1). To Sir Samuel Hoare's plea for understanding, Gandhiji replied: "My incessant prayer is that peace may take the place of strife" (p. 172). The only true way of combating Hitlerism, Gandhiji argued, was that of non-violent resistance, under which "only those would have been killed who had trained themselves to be killed . . . without killing anyone and without bearing malice towards anybody." If the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had followed that way, "Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature . . . it is the moral worth that will count. All else is dross" (pp. 187-8).

Gandhiji offered similar advice to the British. He admired them for their courage and determination and knew that "Britain will die hard and heroically even if she has to" (p. 135). But after the fall of France when the threat of Nazi invasion of Britain was believed imminent and the British were beginning to be harassed in the skies and on the seas, he addressed a public appeal "To Every Briton" pleading "for cessation of hostilities", arguing that after the war, "whichever way it ends, there will be no democracy left to represent democracy." The war had "descended upon mankind as a curse . . . brutalizing man on a scale hitherto unknown." The British could win it only by becoming more ruthless than the Nazis and no cause, however just, Gandhiji asserted, "can warrant the indiscriminate slaughter that is going on minute by minute." He presented them with "a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier", which was "to fight Nazism without arms". He himself

had been fighting imperialism by the non-violent method and assured them: "Whatever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains, and will remain, undiminished" (pp. 229-31). The British Government replied that they appreciated Gandhiji's motives, but could not consider the policy he advocated, "since in common with the whole empire" they were "firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion" (p. 232).

His appeal to the nations of Europe, Gandhiji said, was meant for India, too, and he urged the country to declare its "changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence" (pp. 188-9). The Congress Working Committee was in session when the appeal was drafted and, after five days of deliberation, from June 17 to 21, it reiterated the country's strict adherence "to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence" but declared their inability "to go the full length with Gandhiji", recognizing, however, that "he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way." Gandhiji was both happy and unhappy at this "absolution", as he called it. Propagation of non-violence, he explained, was the mission of his life, and he felt that "now was the time for me to prove my faith before God and man." He was therefore happy that he had been able "to bear the strain of the break" and was "given the strength to stand alone". But he was also unhappy because, he said, "my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years which seem like yesterday" (pp. 194-5). While Gandhiji was convinced that only true non-violence could "save the world from self-destruction" and that it was for India to deliver this message to the world (p. 196), the Working Committee "were of opinion that, . . . India has not the strength to exercise ahimsa against the invasion of a foreign foe" (p. 250). The opposition was led by C. Rajagopalachari, who argued: "Ours is a political organization not working for non-violence but for the political ideal . . . in competition with other political parties." (p. 237). Rajagopalachari was able to win over the majority of the Working Committee to his side, "his greatest prize" being Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and Gandhiji, recognizing that if his own stand was not acceptable, Rajagopalachari's was the only real alternative, advised that the latter's resolution offering active participation in the war effort, passed by a majority vote, should be enforced (p. 256). To critics who argued that the kind of non-violence

expected by him was beyond the capacity of human nature, Gandhiji replied: "I am an irrepressible optimist. No scientist starts his experiments with a faint heart. I belong to the tribe of Columbus and Stevenson who hoped against hope in the face of heaviest odds. The days of miracles are not gone. They will abide so long as God abides" (p. 161). Even from a historical point of view, Gandhiji asserted that man was steadily progressing towards ahimsa, had from being a cannibal and a hunter in the remote past "founded villages and towns, and from member of a family" become "member of a community and a nation". He must, therefore, progress still further. Indeed ahimsa was man's true nature. "Man as animal is violent, but as spirit is non-violent. The moment he awakes to the spirit within he cannot remain violent" (p. 350). Like his faith in trusteeship, Gandhiji's faith in the ultimate triumph of non-violence rested on his belief in the capacity of human nature for change. Amazing discoveries in the field of violence were being made, but, he maintained, "far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence" (p. 400). Gandhiji therefore did not share the belief that "non-violent action may have no effect on Hitler or the Germans whom he has turned into so many robots." Non-violent action, "if it is adequate", must influence them, for, Gandhiji believed, no man could be turned into a permanent machine. In ahimsa, he said, "it is not the votary who acts in his own strength. Strength comes from God" (p. 361). His experience in organizing non-violent action for half a century filled Gandhiji with hope for the future. The experiment, he said, had now entered upon "a most interesting, though at the same time a most difficult stage". He was, he said, "sailing on uncharted waters" and had "to take soundings every half hour". But the difficulty only braced him for the struggle (p. 357).

Sevagram which was "a laboratory" for ahimsa and satyagraha (p. 211) threw up occasionally difficult human problems. On May 24, owing to "certain irritations, big and small", Gandhiji entered upon a period of indefinite silence, announcing that he did not want "to insist on anything any more" and, beyond expressing his views on essential matters, would not argue (p. 91). The theft of a letter and a pen, suspected to be by an inmate of the Ashram, shocked him so much that he announced his intention of going on an indefinite fast. That untruth, violence and stealing should survive in his presence proved to him that he was "a wholly incompetent person" (p. 124).

Gandhiji suspected a particular member but even the fact that such a suspicion should arise in his mind filled him with pain (p. 150). "Love never suspects. Faults cannot remain hidden to love" (p. 151). To perfect his ahimsa, Gandhiji sometimes felt like "taking shelter in flight, not to seek cloistered peace, but in the stillness of utter isolation to know myself, to see where I stand, to catch more effectively the faint whispering of the 'still small voice within'" (p. 211). In the matter of non-violence, Gandhiji said, "I must rely most upon my thought to carry my message to the farthest limits of the universe." But thought had potency only when "crystallized by a pure life and charged with prayerful concentration". The purer the life, the greater the potency of thought. "That is the power which every human being has to aspire to and with due effort can attain. The voice of Silence has never been denied" (p. 223).

Would he welcome a benevolent dictatorship to ensure justice to the poor?—Gandhiji was asked. He wrote: "I cannot accept benevolent or any other dictatorship. Neither will the rich vanish nor will the poor be protected. Some rich men will certainly be killed out and some poor men will be spoon-fed. . . . The real remedy is non-violent democracy, otherwise spelt true education of all" (p. 136). A non-violent social order, to Gandhiji, was a distinct possibility and a goal to be worked for, since ahimsa was "definitely an attribute of society". "To convince people of this truth," he said, "is at once my effort and my experiment" (p. 400).

## *NOTE TO THE READER*

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

Where an item has no date in the source, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

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

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. for documents available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi; M.M.U. for the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. for the documents of the Sevagram collection, which also are available in the Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya. C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

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

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## 1. *DANGER SIGNAL*

The happenings in Ajmer are a danger signal if the facts received by me are correct. I have no reason to doubt their accuracy. The facts are these. There was a khadi exhibition held during the National Week by known workers. The promoters had arranged a series of lectures on the importance of khadi and other village industries. The national flag was hoisted as is usual at these functions. The authorities served a notice that a flag having been erected on the rampart of the fort had caused annoyance to some of His Majesty's subjects and should be hauled down within an hour. The promoters claimed that the ground was under municipal jurisdiction, and that they had authority from the Municipality to hold the exhibition. The protest was of no avail. The flag was unceremoniously hauled down by the police and addresses prohibited. If the exhibition was held under the permission of the Municipality, the interference with the flag was clearly illegal. But apart from the illegality, the hauling down of the flag was a highly provocative act. An insult such as this can easily lead to unexpected results. I suggest that the matter is one for the Central authority to investigate. I hope that the Central authority does not want to provoke a clash which is highly likely if incidents like the Ajmer one are repeated. It would be deplorable if the non-intended happened.

The promoters telephoned to me for advice immediately the incident happened. Contrary to their expectations, I advised the workers to submit to the order. Ordinarily I would not have a moment's hesitation in advising disobedience of such an order. I am the author of the flag. It is dear to me as life. But I do not believe in flag-waving. This flag represents unity, non-violence and identification through the charkha of the highest with the lowliest in the land. Any insult to the flag must leave a deep scar on an Indian breast. But today unity is lacking; the Muslim League has declared its hostility to the flag; those who honour it do not accept the authoritative implications of the flag. And the nation is preparing for a vast struggle. In a situation such as this I felt that the best course was to suppress the impulse to answer the insult. I felt that the restraint would be a test of the discipline of the workers in Ajmer. It would be a lesson to

all India in the non-violent technique, and an opportunity for the Central authority to undo what appears to have been a wanton interference with the ordinary peaceful non-political activity of the Congress. It should be remembered that the exhibition had nothing whatsoever to do with the impending struggle. I congratulate the workers on their prompt compliance with my instructions. They have strengthened the Congress by showing their capacity for observing discipline.

SEVAGRAM, April 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 20-4-1940

## 2. *REPRESSION IN JODHPUR*

News about repression in Jodhpur is disquieting. The Jodhpur Lok Parishad, which according to the information in my possession has been before now held in respect by the local authorities, has suddenly been declared illegal. Several prominent workers are under detention without trial. Speeches and processions are banned.

What is worse is the speech delivered by the Maharaja Bahadur justifying the order. It reads as if a mountain was in labour. The following are extracts[1] from the report of the speech:

> ...Members of the Lok Parishad have recently become increasingly violent in their denunciations of all established order and traditions. The members of this party ask us to believe that the sole panacea for the many diverse afflictions ... is to vote for and place ourselves unreservedly in the hands of the Lok Parishad. We are asked to believe that with the advent to power of the Lok Parishad there will be created a new heaven and a new earth, and I, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, am desired to place the destinies of my house and my people in the hands of the Lok Parishad in order that peace may reign and 'freedom' be enjoyed by all.
>
> This is indeed a tall order and a bold demand . . . the Lok Parishad consists mainly of inexperienced young men, who do not appear to have achieved much success in their various vocations....
>
> They show no sign whatever of any co-operative spirit. ...
>
> I do not consider it consistent with my duty, as a loyal ally of the British Government, to allow a groundless political agitation to grow and spread in my State in time of war; nor am I prepared any longer to allow an open campaign of subversive agitation manifestly designed to encourage our peasantry to revolt and to corrupt our youth.

[1] Of which only excerpts are reproduced here

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It seems that the voice is the Maharaja's but the hand that has prepared it is not his. The speech consists of palpable exaggerations. The Parishad has more than 30 branches in the State and has many experienced men as members. I have seen correspondence in which their co-operation has been desired and sought for. The Lok Parishad has never put forth the claim attributed to it in the quotations. It has responsible government within the State as its goal. It has carried on agitation in the recognized manner. I suggest that it is highly undignified for the advisers of the Maharaja to put into his mouth words that have no correlation to facts. They have not hesitated even to drag the war and the 'alliance' with Britain to justify the high-handed action adopted towards the Parishad. The Parishad, I am sure, will come out unscathed, if the workers can stand the test of self-suffering. Those who are imprisoned will be the salt and saviours of Jodhpur, for they will be trusted by the people as their real servants. It is not right for the Princes and their advisers to ignore the time spirit and to resort to such statements and acts as cannot stand impartial scrutiny. I see from their leaflet that the Parishad have asked for an open trial. They deny all the charges that are mentioned in the Maharaja's speech. The least that is owing to the public is proof of the indictment against the Parishad. Meanwhile, and whether the Parishad gets justice or not, I hope that its members will peacefully and bravely stand the sufferings that may be inflicted on them.

SEVAGRAM, April 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 20-4-1940

## 3. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 17, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL[1],

I will give you some time. Avail yourself of it when I am taking my walk. If Kanchan[2] also agrees, you may write to each other as much as you want, but through me. That will probably be much safer. I have even advised you that you would be committing no sin if you two lived together. Kanchan's zeal for service however is wonderful. I believe she will make

[1] An inmate of the Sevagram Ashram
[2] Addressee's wife

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progress. Stop getting up in the night. Everything will be all right if you keep yourself engrossed in work.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8547. Also C.W. 7081. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## 4. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 18, 1940*

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter, as also the pad[1]. It would have been better if you had written to me about the fast[2] before undertaking it. I might not then have tried to dissuade you, but would have, instead, shown you how to use it in a better way. I hope you are returning to normal food gradually. Your letter is incomplete. You have not said all that you should have said. That is not right. Write to me now if you can. If you want to come and talk things over personally, you may come.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10406. Also C.W. 6845. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

## 5. *DISCUSSION AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING*

WARDHA,
[*April 15/19, 1940*][3]

Discussing the present political situation Gandhiji said that the letters he was receiving from all over the country indicated that there was no atmosphere for the starting of the struggle. In Bengal and the Punjab, the struggle would

[1] Of handmade paper

[2] The addressee had undertaken a seven days' fast to atone for some lapses in her conduct while she was in Bihar.

[3] It appears from the contents that this was the meeting held at Wardha from April 15 to 19, 1940, after the Ramgarh session of the Congress (March 1940) and before the Working Committee meeting at Wardha from June 17 to 21, 1940.

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not be against the British but against the respective ministries. People asked him what next. Some wanted to know if they were to leave their Government jobs and join in the preparation. He was telling everybody to keep ready. He was in no hurry. Some people asked if he would commence the struggle in spite of the attitude of the Muslim League and the Khaksars.

Congressmen, he continued, told him that there was neither honesty nor discipline in the Congress and there was no belief in the constructive programme. All this did not encourage him to issue the word of command for the struggle. Talking of the international situation, he said, that did not affect him. His gaze was centred on the internal situation and that was not hopeful. Some people asked if he would sit still and allow the present opportunity to pass by. His reply was that he was helpless unless conditions precedent were fulfilled.

Shri Jawaharlal said that all this was known at the time of the Ramgarh resolution. Nothing new had happened since. That resolution contemplated struggle if there was goading from the Government. He asked if Gandhiji was contemplating a non-mass struggle.

Gandhiji's reply was that he did not feel that Government was bent upon goading. If he felt that he would not wait for numbers he would begin with a few. Participation of even 50,000 satyagrahis would not make the action a mass struggle. Mass meant indefinite numbers. But if 50,000 satyagrahis offered themselves, it might mean that the door for mass civil disobedience had been opened.

Shri Jawaharlalji said that the goading at present might not be sufficient but it would go on increasing. Should the nation not prepare to resist it? He was not prepared to say that action might be immediately precipitated. But it was a fact that the country was being pushed back . . . . He asked Gandhiji what the latter would do if he got 50,000 satyagrahis.

Gandhiji's reply was that even then communal and other difficulties might make action difficult. Gandhiji wanted the members to consider the question of the struggle in connection with the attitude of the Muslim League and the terrorist activities of the Khaksars.

Dr. Mahmood said there was need to analyse the Muslim opposition to the Congress. He had no doubt that the nationalist Muslims had not discharged their duties properly.

. . .Today there was nothing in India which was distinctly Muslim. Every reform movement in India brought about further assimilation. Even the theosophic movement had like results. Gandhiji's reforms also meant more Hindu revival than anything else. In his scheme of reforms there was no place for Muslims. The Congress was also guided by the spirit of Hindu revival. . . .

Gandhiji again asked the members to give him the benefit of their opinion about the starting of C. D., taking into consideration the opinions expressed by Dr. Mahmood and Mr. Asaf Ali in addition to the attitude of the Muslim League and the Khaksars. The Khaksars wanted to terrorize the Hindus. His

advice to the Hindus would be to fight this menace non-violently. This he could not do under the present circumstances from the Congress platform.[1]. . .

Maulana Saheb's view was that Gandhiji was exaggerating the importance and strength of the Khaksars. Their leader was an egoist who wanted to keep himself before the public eye anyhow. . . . As for the movement, he said, the Congress was not writing on a clean slate. It would not change its policies in mid-stream. . . .

Gandhiji did not agree with Maulana Saheb in his analysis of the Khaksars. He said the Government this time would not be quick to repress us but would allow time to the opposition forces like the League and the Khaksars to complicate the situation. When that happened, his fear was that people would be cowed down. Even if they acted they would do so violently. He would also not like, if he could help it, to irritate the Muslims by starting the movement. He did not agree with Maulana Saheb and Jawaharlalji. He thought there could be no mass C. D. It was not possible at present to have corporate non-violence, which meant that all orders must be strictly obeyed and carried out. If there was disobedience and interference there could be no mass movement. The masses were connected with the movement but that connection was indirect. If there was proper discipline, he did not see any reason why individual C. D. should necessarily develop into mass C. D.

It was possible that Congress might succeed if it started the movement. The Government might accede to Congress demands. But that today would only mean that the Muslims were ignored. He did not want such a settlement or such a swaraj. He had respect for Islam. He was not prepared to say that the League did not represent the Muslim mind. If Muslims wanted separation, he would not oppose. When they had it, he would oppose them non-violently. He knew in this matter the nation would not accept his lead and there would be civil war. He was, however, hoping that at such a time the Congress at least would be with him and would declare that it would be no party to coercing Muslims or to seeking British protection.

During the course of discussion, Gandhiji stated his idea about the Constituent Assembly. He said when the Congress asked for the Assembly, it was understood that the Assembly would be free to decide the question of independence or Dominion Status. Of course the Congress demand for Independence must stand. Jawaharlalji said that what was contemplated in the Congress resolution was that Government should first declare India independent and then call a Constituent Assembly. He said he would insist upon every Tommy to withdraw from India before a Constituent Assembly could be called. He did not mind the European officers working under Indian direction.

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru, Shankarrao Deo, Sardar Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Achyut Patwardhan, Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani then spoke in favour of starting C. D., whereas Rajendra Prasad, P. C. Ghosh, Rajagopalachari and Pattabhi Sitaramayya expressed a contrary opinion.

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Gandhiji said that that was not his view of things. They both differed on this point but ultimately they seemed to understand each other and the matter was dropped.

Wardha Office, Satyagraha File, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 6. *LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 19, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

If you want to bind all letters into a book, use paper of uniform size.

You did well in writing the letter. It was your duty. After writing it, your duty is over and mine begins. I have started investigating what you mention. There seems to be a difference between what is actually happening and your understanding of it. I put up with many things. Yes, it is true that I trust Parnerkar's scientific knowledge. I also trust your practical knowledge. You will gain more strength from what you are doing now.

I shall see about Krishnachandra.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1933

## 7. *LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 20, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

See the enclosed. Mother *Gita* says that we should prostrate ourselves before one from whom we seek knowledge, we should repeatedly question him and serve him.[1] See if Krishnachandra has the strength and seek instruction from him. You cannot have a better teacher.

I have spoken to Munnalal. He will talk to you. His version is different. The arrangement that has been worked out should not be described as division of work.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1930

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, iv. 34

## 8. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
*April 21, 1940*

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

What Vithaldas says is correct. Even so there is no harm in your having yourself registered as an "active" member, since only those whom I call will have to join the struggle. I do not want to bring out persons like you at the moment.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10844. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

## 9. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*April 21, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter. I hope Father is calm. It is best that you stay there for the present. Write to me from time to time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7127. Also: C.W. 4619. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

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## *10. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 21, 1940*

BHAI MUNSHI,

I will certainly read your book when I get the time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI KANAIYALAL MUNSHI
26 RIDGE ROAD
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 7652. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

## *11. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 21, 1940*

CHI. VALJI,

Is it not violence to make your handwriting so small or to write with a lead pencil or to write like I do? Because you have spent ten rupees, perhaps you won't even take treatment now!!! You may now stay on in Bombay if it benefits you. I have your article also. I understand about Helen. What she requires seems a little excessive. And the English is none too good.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7493. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

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## 12. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEGAON,
*April 21, 1940*

DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. You will have seen Bapu's article[1] about Ajmer. That should satisfy you.

This is what Bapu feels about Ramnarayan. Bapu is satisfied with him and feels that he has changed a lot. However, one cannot say with certainty that the change will endure. But it is our duty to put trust in him, and take work from him. Bapu would ask you to talk to him frankly and express your opinion firmly. But if you still have your doubts then tell him plainly, "Look, I still have my doubts. I hesitate to take work from you." If you feel shy and are hesitant in talking to him, you will not be doing him justice.

The Devas ruler is a very good man. A note on him will certainly appear in *Harijan.*

*Yours,*
MAHADEV

From the Hindi original: Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 13. INTERVIEW TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES"

[Before *April 22, 1940*][2]

Q. I have heard it said on behalf of Britain, "We cannot say what the new world is going to be at the end of the war; the Indian problem cannot be isolated from world problems; ... Dominion Status under existing circumstances is the highest we can offer India." You yourself have said, "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?" Can you throw some light on these points?

A. The legal status of India, whether it is Dominion Status or something else, can only come after the war. It is not a question at present to decide whether India should be satisfied

[1] *Vide* "Danger Signal", pp. 1-2.
[2] The report by Amrit Kaur is dated "Sevagram, April 22, 1940".



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with Dominion Status for the time being. The only question is what is the British policy? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India or whether it is the sole right of India to make that determination? If that question had not been raised, there would have been no discussion such as we are facing today. The question having been raised—and it was India's right to raise it —I was bound to throw in my weight, such as it is, with the Congress. Nevertheless I can still repeat the question I put to myself immediately after the first interview with the Viceroy[1]: "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?"[2] If these powers fail, the history of Europe and the history of the world will be written in a manner no one can foresee. Therefore my question has its own independent value. The relevant point, however, is that by doing justice to India Britain might ensure victory of the Allies because their cause will then be acclaimed as righteous by the enlightened opinion of the world.

Q. Have you any views about world federation (Streit's[3] scheme of 15 white democracies with India excluded at present) or about a federation of Europe with the British Commonwealth and again excluding India? Would you advise India to enter such a larger federation so as to prevent a domination of the coloured races by the white?

A. Of course I would welcome a world federation of all the nations of the world. A federation of the Western nations only will be an unholy combination and a menace to humanity. In my opinion a federation excluding India is now an impossibility. India has already passed the stage when she could be safely neglected.

Q. You have seen in your lifetime more devastation by war than there has been at any time in the world's history. And yet do you still believe in non-violence as the basis of a new civilization? Are you satisfied that your own countrymen accept it without reservation? You continue to harp on your conditions being fulfilled before starting civil disobedience. Do you still hold to them?

A. You are right in pointing out that there is unheard-of devastation going on in the world. But that is the real moment

[1] This was on September 4, 1939.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXX, p. 162. The text there reads: "but what will it [the freedom of India] be worth if England and France fall?"

[3] C. K. Streit, an American journalist. The reference is to a scheme he had propounded in *Union Now*.

for testing my faith in non-violence. Surprising as it may appear to my critics, my faith in non-violence remains absolutely undimmed. Of course non-violence may not come in my lifetime in the measure I would like to see it come, but that is a different matter. It cannot shake my faith, and that is why I have become unbending so far as the fulfilment of my conditions prior to the starting of civil disobedience is concerned; because, at the risk of being the laughing-stock of the whole world, I adhere to my belief that there is an unbreakable connection between the spinning-wheel and non-violence so far as India is concerned. Just as there are signs by which you can recognize violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning-wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence. But nothing can deter me from working away in hope. I have no other method for solving the many baffling problems that face India.

Q. You want a declaration that henceforth India shall govern herself according to her own will. You also say, "It is possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both."[1] The British say, "We are vitally interested in defence, our commercial interests, and the Indian States." Are you willing to allow your best Englishmen and your best Indians to enter into a treaty in regard to these matters "in a spirit of friendly accommodation" ?[2]

A. If the best Englishmen and the best Indians meet together with a fixed determination not to separate until they have reached an agreement, the way will have been opened for the summoning of the Constituent Assembly of my conception. Of course this composite board will have to be of one mind as to the goal. If that is put in the melting-pot, there will be nothing but interminable wrangling. Therefore self-determination must be the common cause with this composite board.

Q. Supposing India does become free in your lifetime, what will you devote the rest of your years to?

A. If India becomes free in my lifetime and I have still energy left in me, of course I would take my due share, though outside the official world, in building up the nation on a strictly non-violent basis.

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 409.

[2] The passages within quotes are from the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1922.

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## 14. *QUESTION BOX*

### BEEF

Q. The Muslim public need to be satisfied on a very important question. Will the Muslims be allowed to eat their national food—beef—under a Hindu majority Government? If you can satisfy the Muslims on this all important question, a great deal of knots will be solved. You should give a straight answer to this question in your paper *Harijan.*

A. I do not know how this question arises. For whilst Congressmen were in office they are not known to have interfered with the practice of beef-eating by Muslims. The question is also badly conceived. There is no such thing as a Hindu majority Government. If a free India is to live at peace with herself, religious divisions must entirely give place to political divisions based on considerations other than religious. Even as it is, though unfortunately religious differences loom large, most parties contain members drawn from all sects. It is moreover not true to say that beef is the *national* food of Muslims. In the first place the Muslims of India are not as yet a separate nation. In the second, beef is not their ordinary food. Their ordinary food is the same as that of the millions. What is true is that there are very few Muslims who are vegetarians from a religious motive. Therefore they will take meat, including beef, when they can get it. But during the greater part of the year millions of Muslims, owing to poverty, go without meat of any kind. These are facts. But the theoretical question demands a clear answer. As a Hindu, a confirmed vegetarian, and a worshipper of the cow whom I regard with the same veneration as I regard my mother (alas, no more on this earth), I maintain that Muslims should have full freedom to slaughter cows, if they wish, subject of course to hygienic restrictions and in a manner not to wound the susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. Fullest recognition of freedom to the Muslims to slaughter cows is indispensable for communal harmony, and is the only way of saving the cow. In 1921 thousands of cows were saved by the sole and willing effort of Muslims themselves. In spite of the black clouds hanging over our heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will disperse and that we shall have communal peace in this

unhappy land. If I am asked for proof, I must answer that my hope is based on faith and faith demands no proof.

### Death Sentence

Q. Do you consider death sentence to be against your principle of ahimsa? If so, what form of punishment would you advocate as a substitute in a free India?

A. I do regard death sentence as contrary to ahimsa. Only He takes life who gives it. All punishment is repugnant to ahimsa. Under a State governed according to the principles of ahimsa, therefore, a murderer would be sent to a penitentiary and there given every chance of reforming himself. All crime is a kind of disease and should be treated as such.

### God's Will

Q. How can an ordinary man distinguish between God's will and his own will?

A. By not regarding anything as God's will unless he has positive proof to the contrary. Not every person can know God's will. Proper training is necessary to attain the power to know God's will.

### An Offence Against Congress

Q. Some of the Congress committees here in Adampur Doaba during the last Independence Day celebrations got prepared national flags of uncertified khadi, and some of them got badge flags prepared from paper. They sold these to raise funds. When questioned they pleaded that they wanted funds for the Congress and could not afford to sell badge flags made out of khadi for one pice each and still retain something for themselves. At some places I even found national flags hoisted which were of mill-cloth and even without the spinning-wheel. I personally feel that the spinning-wheel and khadi are the very soul of our flag; and a national flag which is printed on uncertified khadi and without the spinning-wheel mark on it, or a paper flag cannot be called a national flag.

A. Your objection is sound. The Congress committees who used as national flags paper flags or those which were made of mill-cloth or uncertified khadi or without the charkha, committed an offence against the Congress. They betrayed little regard for the flag. Any rag cannot be used as flag. It has to conform to the prescribed pattern. If we do not respect our own flag, we have no right to expect others to do so. You have made out a case for the central office having a stock of flags of a variety of

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sizes. Nobody should be permitted to use unauthorized flags as national flags.

SEVAGRAM, April 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

## *15. WHAT BIG EMPLOYERS CAN DO*

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani sends me the following[1] from Shri Shantikumar[2] of the Scindia House:

> During the National Week every effort will be made to sell khadi. . . . Then why not approach the big offices . . . to buy khadi for peons' dresses? . . . Last year the Scindia Company provided khadi uniforms for the peons, and this year also we are going to have the same. . . . I am trying to push khadi uniforms in other Associated Companies of the Scindia Company.
>
> I am also trying to push the use of handmade paper in the office of the Scindia Company. . . .

I have no hesitation in whole-heartedly endorsing the suggestion made by Shri Shantikumar. I would go a step further. In order that the peons who have willy-nilly to wear uniforms provided for them may not feel any inferiority, the big office staff should set the example by themselves voluntarily using khadi for their garments. Khadi is one of the greatest levellers. The peons should be able to take pride in their uniforms. This they will only do when they know that their employers use the same material as that of which their uniforms are made. The greater the approach on the part of employers to their employees, the greater the possibility of a peaceful solution of the difficult problem of class conflict.

I therefore hope that Shri Shantikumar's effort will be appreciated by the other employers. Indeed the idea should be taken up by all public institutions such as hospitals, students' hostels, etc.

The use of handmade paper is a less difficult problem. For good handmade paper is any day more artistic than and superior to the ordinary mill paper, and there is not the same difference in the prices of the two varieties as in the case of khadi and mill-made cloth. The big houses owe it to the millions to use as many handmade articles as is possible for them to do.

SEVAGRAM, April 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2] Shantikumar Morarjee

## 16. *ABOUT ZAMINDARS*

A first class Deccan Sardar propounds the following conundrums:[1]

> You say, on page 442 lines 4-6 of *Harijan* of 10th February,[2] that you put Europeans on the same footing as big zamindars and capitalists. I presume that you include in the general word 'zamindars', inamdars[3], talukdars and big landholders.
>
> 1. Will you be pleased to say whether you remember and realize the fact that Europeans are foreigners and their earnings and profits go out of the country to enrich other nations and make them more powerful instruments to exploit India; while zamindars and inamdars . . . are *Indian* . . . and all their earnings and savings, and even their extravagance will remain in this country . . . Many of these people have national interest fully at heart . . .
>
> 2. What are the differences between a nationalist zamindar and a nationalist non-zamindar, in your opinion?
>
> 3. What exact position do you assign to zamindars and inamdars, and the capitalists in a free and independent India? . . .
>
> 4. Have the zamindars and inamdars and capitalists any place in the present Congress, consistent with their limitations and commitments?

Answers:

1. I make no difference between Europeans and Indians, if the former conform to the laws of free India. I cannot, consistently with my views on non-violence. Under my scheme European settlers will not be allowed to exploit the country as most of them are doing today. Patriots will have had their reward in the shape of freedom of their country. They are no patriots who are working with selfish personal ends in view. If we create a State based on pure justice, real equality and genuine brotherhood, Europeans will cease to be foreigners. They will take pride in pooling their talents for the sole good of the country of their adoption.

I gladly acknowledge the fact that there are many inamdars, zamindars and other capitalists who are as patriotic as any Congressmen.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 188.
[3] Holders of lease-free land



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2. A nationalist zamindar will try to live like a non-zamindar. He will regard his tenants as his co-proprietors; in other words, he will hold his zamindari in trust for his tenants taking a moderate commission for the use of his labours and capital. A nationalist non-zamindar will not regard the zamindar as his natural enemy but will seek redress of his wrongs by the process of conversion. I have shown before now that this is not a long-drawn-out agony.

3. This is answered in the foregoing. Antagonism between the classes will be removed. I do not envisage a dead and artificial level among the people. There will be a variety among them as there is among the leaves of a tree. There will certainly be no have-nots, no unemployment, and no disparity between classes and masses such as we see today. I have no doubt whatsoever that if non-violence in its full measure becomes the policy of the State, we shall reach essential equality without strife.

4. All who subscribe to the simple creed of the Congress can join it. As a matter of fact there are many moneyed members of the Congress. To quote only one instance, Jamnalalji is a capitalist and he is a member of the Working Committee.

SEVAGRAM, April 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

## *17. LETTER TO MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM*

SEVAGRAM,
*April 22, 1940*

DEAR SISTER,

I am dealing with your question in *Harijan*.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: N.A.I. File No. 73. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also G.N. 6837

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## 18. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

*April 22, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

We already had a discussion last night; hence I shall not repeat it here. What I said yesterday deserves serious consideration.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1931

## 19. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,
*April 22, 1940*

DEAR SISTER,

My article[1] does not mean what you interpret it to mean. Even if the telling of beads does not yield concrete results, continue it with faith. You will certainly witness concrete results one day. I have nothing more about the eleven vows[2]. Only this: if you believe in them, it is good to think of them. One day God will give you the strength to fulfil them.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SMT. RAMESHWARI NEHRU
2 WARES ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7990

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, pp. 386-7.

[2] These were: Non-violence, truth, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, non-possession, body labour, control of the palate, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, swadeshi and freedom from untouchability.



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## 20. CABLE TO "THE NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

[On or after *April 22, 1940*][2]

PROPOSAL CONVENING COMMITTEE LEADERS REACH PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT ATTRACTIVE, PROVIDED LEADERS ELECTED, NOT NOMINATED, ACCORDING TO ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURE. THIS IS MY PERSONAL VIEW. UNCONSULTED COLLEAGUES.

GANDHI

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

## 21. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Working Committee[3] advisedly passed no startling or new resolution this time. For there was no programme before them. That of civil disobedience has to be evolved by me. But the Committee had useful discussions on many points arising out of the contemplated movement. I propose to give the readers the gist of what I told the members of the Committee, with the necessary amplification.

Civil disobedience in the face of the lawlessness that prevails in the country will easily pass for the same unless it is beyond doubt recognized as something different in kind from the prevailing brand. Thus the Khaksar defiance is admittedly and openly violent.[4] The *kisans* who held up the train between Gaya and Kiul were violent under cover of non-violence. They were doubly guilty according to the non-violent conception. For they are supposed to be Congressmen. To hold up a train is disobedience without doubt. And so far as the Congress is concerned, according to the Ramgarh resolution,[5] Congressmen may not

[1] This was sent in reply to a cable which read: "Grateful to receive an exposition of your attitude to proposal that committee of Indian leaders representing all interests should try to reach agreement on essential preliminary to final constitutional settlement."

[2] The cable from *The News Chronicle* was received on April 22, 1940.

[3] The Working Committee met at Wardha from April 15 to 19.

[4] Violent and widespread clashes, inspired by the Khaksars, had been taking place in the Punjab. For further comment by Gandhiji, *vide* Vol. LXXI, pp. 404-6.

[5] ibid., pp. 348-54.



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resort to civil disobedience singly or in groups without my permission. I have already said that Prof. Ranga's disobedience was also not civil.[1] His friends have asked me to withdraw my criticism. I claim to be a special friend of his. We became friends probably before the protesters knew him. And it is because he is such a close friend that I condemned his action without mincing words. I am sure he will not misunderstand me. In any event when a man of his learning chooses deliberately to commit an act of indiscipline it must come to me as a warning against any hasty action.

Now civil disobedience, if it is really civil, must appear so even to the opponent. He must feel that the resistance is not intended to do him any harm. At the present moment the average Englishman thinks that non-violence is merely a cloak. The Muslim Leaguers think that civil disobedience is aimed at them more than at the British. I protest with all the strength at my command that, so far as I am concerned, I have no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them. All I want the Congress to do through civil disobedience is to deny the British Government the moral influence which the Congress co-operation would give. The material resources of India and her manpower are already being exploited by the British Government by reason of their control of the whole of this subcontinent.

If by civil disobedience the Congress has no desire to embarrass the British people, it has still less to embarrass the Muslim League. And I can say this on behalf of the Congress with far greater assurance than I can with regard to the British. Working in the midst of suspicion and terrible misrepresentation on the one hand and the prevailing lawlessness outside and inside the Congress on the other, I have to think a thousand times before embarking on civil disobedience.

So far as I can see at present mass civil disobedience is most unlikely. The choice lies between individual civil disobedience on a large scale, very restricted, or confined only to me. In every case there must be the backing of the whole of the official Congress organization and the millions who, though not on the Congress register, have always supported the organization with their mute but most effective co-operation.

I have repeatedly shown in these columns that the most effective and visible co-operation which all Congressmen and the

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 409.

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mute millions can show is by not interfering with the course civil disobedience may take and by themselves spinning and using khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. If it is allowed that there is a meaning in people wearing primroses on Primrose Day, surely there is much more in people using a particular kind of cloth and giving a particular kind of labour to the cause they hold dear. From their compliance with the khadi test I shall infer that they have shed untouchability, and that they have nothing but brotherly feeling towards all without distinction of race, colour or creed. Those who will do this are as much satyagrahis as those who will be singled out for civil disobedience.

SEVAGRAM, April 23, 1940

*Harijan*, 27-4-1940

## *22. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*April 24, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

This is going to be a complaining letter. I was tempted to write to the Press on Lord Zetland's speech[1]. But I restrained myself. What I wanted to say was too serious to be given to the public. Hence this letter. I am carrying on my head a tremendous responsibility. I want to avoid mistakes.

There is a ring of reluctance to [do] the right thing by India. He may say 'we don't want to do the things by way of settlement, you will have to fight for it or take what we offer.' That would be a straight answer. Why does he bring up against the Congress things which are common ground? Hindu-Muslim question, minorities and the like are common ground. The Congress claims that they can be truly settled only by a constituent assembly or its equivalent. On British admissions, Princes are your creation. That they were there before you came is true.

[1] Speaking in the House of Lords on April 18, Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India (1935-40), had said: "A substantial measure of agreement among the communities of India is essential if the vision of united India is to become a reality. . . . But the fact of the matter is that the Congress Party has raised in the minds of many Muslims apprehensions which only they themselves can allay. Will the Congress refrain from closing the door upon unity in India? Upon their answer hangs the future fate of the country." *The Indian Annual Register*, January-June 1940, p. 62.

So were many other institutions. You kept what was necessary for your existence and destroyed what you thought were a hindrance.[1] It is a thankless task to prolong this tale. I can if you want me to. I feel sure this sample should enable you to infer the rest.

Will you please convey my complaints to Lord Zetland in any way you think best? If I have misinterpreted him, you will oblige me by correcting me.

I know your and his preoccupations. But this Indian question is an integral part of the task in hand, is it not?

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *23. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

*April 24, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I knew one day you would see the truth. I wish to explain things at length, but I have no time. With patience, everything will become clear. I should be informed of whatever loss is observed. I have read the letter from B.A. Ascertain his needs before permitting him to come.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1932

[1] In answer to this Lord Linlithgow, in his letter of April 29, said: "But it does seem to me, too, that we cannot refuse to face the historical facts of this matter or the historical setting in which the relationship of His Majesty's Government with the Princes arose."

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## 24. TELEGRAM TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

WARDHAGANJ,
*April 26, 1940*

RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR
DHULIA

YOU MUST NOT DISTURB BALKOBA'S[1] SLEEP. MEET HIM KALYAN IF NECESSARY.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 738

## 25. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*April 26, 1940*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I hardly get time to read *Harijanbandhu.* Only today it chanced to fall into my hands and I read the very sentence you refer to. It irked me, too. This happened in the morning. In the afternoon I got your letter. How strange, or rather what a coincidence!

I had a talk with Vallabhbhai about your work. He said he would send some help.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

You yourself may write to Shamaldas and Kaku[2] and let me know the result. How much used to be given?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8573. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Balkrishna Bhave
[2] Purushottam K. Jerajani



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## 26. LETTER TO JAMNA GANDHI

[*April 26, 1940*][1]

CHI. JAMNA,

I have your letter. We should use the strength God has given us and be content. Kanaiya's[2] work is progressing very well. Now he has decided to have a dark-room.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8573. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## 27. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

*April 26, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

The remedy for you is simple. Resolve that you will get rid of your restlessness here and nowhere else, come what may. As you have understood the position about Pyarelal, there is no problem any more. You should not feel you are a slave. Man becomes a slave of his passions, not of his environment. Slavery thus is only a state of mind.

As for Kanchan, what has happened is good. Let her go to Panchgani for the present and serve till she is restored. Her regaining and keeping her health rests in her own hands. Like you, she too is free. If you wish to live with her, we shall think about it after she returns.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8546. Also C.W. 7082. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] This and the preceding item are written on the same sheet.
[2] Addressee's son



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## 28. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
*April 26, 1940*

CHI. HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. I am awaiting news from Ajmer. We should be in a position to give a full reply to the Government's note.[1] I hope you are well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Gandhiji aur Rajasthan*, p. 252. Also C.W. 6089. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

## 29. LETTER TO EARNEST A. BRANN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*April 27, 1940*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am myself groping in the dark and making an experiment in the direction mentioned by you. If it succeeds it will present the world with an infallible peace plan.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

EARNEST A. BRANN, ESQ.
5532 KENWOOD AVENUE
CHICAGO

From a photostat: G.N. 10536

[1] *Vide* "Danger Signal", pp. 1-2, "The Ajmer Trouble", pp. 35-6 and "Ajmer", pp. 43-4.

## 30. AN ENGLISH SUGGESTION

An English friend writes thus:[1]

> It is still reasonable at present to proceed on the assumption that the Muslims would accept something a good deal less than 'Pakistan'. But the trouble is that the longer the time that elapses without any compromise solution being reached, the stronger and more insistent will be the cry for 'Pakistan', so that in the end civil war or partition will be the only alternatives. I think the view held by some that there is nothing to be done but to wait upon events is fatal. It is up to the British now to use all their powers of persuasion and statesmanship to *compel* the parties to settle.
>
> The crux of the matter is who is to control power at the Centre —Hindus or Muslims? Over this the Congress must be prepared to make great concessions. . . . If the Congress do not recognize this quickly, I am afraid that partition will become, if not the only alternative, the best one . . .

Of course the British Government can do much. They have done much by force. They can make the parties come to a solution by force. But they need not go so far. What they have done hitherto is to prevent a proper solution. In proof of my statement I commend the esteemed correspondent to the columns of *Harijan.* The only thing the British Government have to do is to change their attitude. Will they? They can retain their hold on India only by a policy of divide and rule. A living unity between Muslims and Hindus is fraught with danger to their rule. It would mean an end of it. Therefore it seems to me that a true solution will come with the end of the rule, potentially if not in fact.

What can be done under the threat of Pakistan? If it is not a threat but a desirable goal, why should it be prevented? If it is undesirable and meant only for the Muslims to get more under its shadow, any solution would be an unjust solution. It would be worse than no solution. Therefore I am entirely for waiting till the menace is gone. India's independence is a living thing. No make-believe will suit. The whole world is in the throes of a new

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.



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birth. Anything done for a temporary gain would be tantamount to an abortion.

I cannot think in terms of narrow Hinduism or narrow Islam. I am wholly uninterested in a patch-work solution. India is a big country, a big nation composed of different cultures, which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest. If I must wait for the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not be completed in my day. I shall love to die in the faith that it must come in the fulness of time. I should be happy to think that I had done nothing to hamper the process. Subject to this condition, I would do anything to bring about harmony. My life is made up of compromises, but they have been compromises that have brought me nearer the goal. Pakistan cannot be worse than foreign domination. I have lived under the latter though not willingly. If God so desires it, I may have to become a helpless witness to the undoing of my dream. But I do not believe that the Muslims really want to dismember India.

SEVAGRAM, April 29, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

## *31. HINDU-MUSLIM TANGLE*

The partition proposal[1] has altered the face of the Hindu-Muslim problem. I have called it an untruth. There can be no compromise with it. At the same time I have said that, if the eight crores of Muslims desire it no power on earth can prevent it, notwithstanding opposition, violent or non-violent. It cannot come by honourable agreement.

That is the political aspect of it. But what about the religious and the moral which are greater than the political? For at the bottom of the cry for partition is the belief that Islam is an exclusive brotherhood, and anti-Hindu. Whether it is against other religions it is not stated. The newspaper cuttings in which partition is preached describe Hindus as practically untouchables. Nothing good can come out of Hindus or Hinduism. To live under Hindu rule is a sin. Even joint Hindu-Muslim rule is not to be thought of. The cuttings show that Hindus and Muslims

[1] The All-India Muslim League, meeting at Lahore, passed a resolution on March 23, recording the view that no constitutional plan would be workable unless it was based on territorial readjustment and the creation of independent Muslim States.

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are already at war with one another and that they must prepare for the final tussle.

Time was when Hindus thought that Muslims were the natural enemies of Hindus. But as is the case with Hinduism, ultimately it comes to terms with the enemy and makes friends with him. The process had not been completed. As if nemesis had overtaken Hinduism, the Muslim League started the same game and taught that there could be no blending of the two cultures. In this connection I have just read a booklet by Shri Atulanand Chakrabarti which shows that ever since the contact of Islam with Hinduism there has been an attempt on the part of the best minds of both to see the good points of each other, and to emphasize inherent similarities rather than seeming dissimilarities. The author has shown Islamic history in India in a favourable light. If he has stated the truth and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hindus and Muslims may read with profit. He has secured a very favourable and reasoned preface from Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan and several other Muslim testimonials. If the evidence collected there reflects the true evolution of Islam in India, then the partition propaganda is anti-Islamic.

Religion binds man to God and man to man. Does Islam bind Muslim only to Muslim and antagonize the Hindu? Was the message of the Prophet peace only for and between Muslims and war against Hindus or non-Muslims? Are eight crores of Muslims to be fed with this which I can only describe as poison? Those who are instilling this poison into the Muslim mind are rendering the greatest disservice to Islam. I know that it is not Islam. I have lived with and among Muslims not for one day but closely and almost uninterruptedly for twenty years. Not one Muslim taught me that Islam was an anti-Hindu religion.

SEVAGRAM, April 29, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

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## 32. *OF WHAT AVAIL IS NON-VIOLENCE?*

An Indian friend writes:[1]

> Yesterday Reuter in pathetic terms related how the population of Norway under the rain of bombs and machine-gun bullets was fleeing from towns completely demoralized and in panic. . . . The futility of violence, and also . . . its temporary efficacy, is being proved. . . . Let us hope eventually everyone will see the futility of violence and a new era may dawn. But are we really making a non-violent contribution towards the world problem? Of what avail is our non-violence to Norway, Sweden and Denmark? Virtually, are we not giving a handle to Germany? True, we are doing nothing beyond embarrassing Great Britain, and perhaps we may say that such an embarrassment is inevitable and is not caused deliberately. . . . We are not likely, it seems, to succeed in changing England's heart. And victims like Norway, etc., can never appreciate our attitude. In the light of our present attitude, the international world can with justification misinterpret our past help to victims of aggression like China and Spain. Were they more deserving of our help than the present victims? And if not, then why this distinction? . . . You have never regretted your action during the last war when you vigorously recruited people for military purposes. This time your attitude appears to be in sharp contrast, although you say that both attitudes are right.

My correspondent is not alone in bemoaning the lot of the most cultured and inoffensive people like the Danes and the Norwegians. This war is showing the futility of violence. Supposing Hitler becomes victorious over the Allies, he will never subjugate England and France. It will mean another war. Supposing the Allies are victorious, the world will fare no better. They will be more polite but not less ruthless, unless they learn the lesson of non-violence during the war and unless they shed the gains they have made through violence. The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect of human nature. I do not, however, think so. No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation.

Indian non-violence has brought no relief to the cultured Western powers because it is still poor stuff. Why travel so far to

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

see its inefficacy? We in India are torn asunder in spite of the Congress policy of non-violence. The Congress itself is distrusted. Not until the Congress or a similar group of people represents the non-violence of the strong, will the world catch the infection.

India's aid to Spain and China was merely moral. The material aid was but an insignificant token of it. There is hardly an Indian who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who lost their freedom overnight. Though their case is different from that of Spain and China, their ruin is more complete perhaps than that of Spain and China. Indeed there is a material difference even between China and Spain. But there is no difference so far as sympathy is concerned. Pauper India has nothing to send to these countries except her non-violence. But as I have said this is not yet a sendable commodity. It will be, when India has gained her freedom through non-violence.

There then remains Britain's case. The Congress has caused no embarrassment. I have declared already that I shall do nothing to embarrass Great Britain. She will be embarrassed if there is anarchy in India. That the Congress, so long as it is under my discipline, will not support.

What the Congress cannot do is to lend its moral influence to Britain. Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps British statesmen do not think the Congress has any to lend. Perhaps they think that all they need is material aid in this warring world. If they do, they will not be far wrong. Morality is contraband in war. My correspondent has given up the whole of his case for Britain when he says, "We are not likely to succeed in changing Britain's heart." I do not wish ill to Britain. I shall grieve if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot avail Britain unless she washes her hands clean of India. It works under its own unalterable condition.

My friend does not see the difference between my recruiting in Kheda and my attitude now. During the last war the moral issue had not been raised. The Congress was not pledged to non-violence. It had not the moral hold on the masses it now enjoys. I was acting on my own in all I did. I had even attended the War Conference. And to be true to my declaration I had been recruiting at the cost of my health. I told the people that, if they wanted arms, military service was the surest way to get them. But if they were non-violent like me my appeal was not to them. There was no non-violent man among my audiences so far as I know. Their reluctance was based on ill-will

towards Britain. This was gradually giving place to an enlightened determination to throw off the foreign yoke.

Things have changed since then. In spite of the unanimous support that Britain got during the last war from India, the British attitude was translated into the Rowlatt Act and the like. The Congress accepted non-violent non-co-operation to meet the British menace. There is the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conference, the emasculation of Bengal for the sake of the misdeeds of a few. The Congress having accepted non-violence, I do not need to go to the people to give recruits. Through the Congress I can give something infinitely better than a few such recruits. Of that evidently Britain has no need. I am willing but helpless.

SEVAGRAM, April 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

## *33. WANTON DESTRUCTION IN BIDAR*

A correspondent is grieved that I have been silent about the shocking tragedy in Bidar (Hyderabad State).[1] I have before now said in another connection that because I say nothing in public about certain wrongs it is not to be thought that I am oblivious of them or that I am doing nothing. I must be allowed to judge what is best under given circumstances. If all I have heard about Bidar (not all has been published in the papers) is true, nothing quite like it has happened anywhere in all India. If Hyderabad State is not to give over to lawlessness and Hindu life and property not rendered valueless, there should be a thorough and impartial judicial inquiry commanding confidence, and full compensation should be given to those who are rendered suddenly homeless. It is to be hoped that Muslim opinion outside Hyderabad will ask for full investigation into the happenings.

SEVAGRAM, April 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

[1] The reference is to communal riots in Bidar. *Vide* also "Bidar", 28-5-1940.

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## 34. QUESTION BOX

### No Confusion

Q. There is still a lot of confusion in the public mind about the Indian situation. How can one remove it?

A. Confusion should have been removed as soon as the popular ministers resigned. They were the chosen representatives of the people. They had applied themselves to their work with amazing industry and efficiency which won the unstinted praise of the Governors. They took no rest themselves and allowed none to their subordinates. They had set a definite programme before themselves which would have improved the condition of the masses. It must have cost them a lot to give up office. But they found to their amazement that Provincial Autonomy, which Sir Samuel Hoare had declared from the house-tops to be real and complete, was reduced to a farce in the twinkling of an eye. The popular ministers were to be mere registering officers to carry out the will of the central executive so far as war measures were concerned. In this most vital matter they were not consulted formally or informally. So the ministers had to resign. This one act of theirs was complete in itself. Its importance is not felt as it should be because the Congress is wedded to non-violence.

### Congress Not Responsible

Q. Many people believe that the attitude of the Congress has precipitated the Muslim League resolution about partitioning India.[1]

A. I do not think so. But if it has, it is a distinct gain. It is good that what was in should come out. It is easier now to deal with the problem. It will solve itself. One distinct gain is that nationalist Muslims have become awakened to a sense of their duty.

### Muslim Rule = Indian Rule

Q. Would you prefer Muslim rule to British rule?

A. The question is badly put. You, being British, cannot get out of the habit of thinking that India is fit only to be ruled by someone. Muslim rule is equivalent to Indian rule. You

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 27.



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might as well ask me whether I would prefer Bengali or Maratha to British rule. Maratha, Bengali, Sikh, Dravidian, Parsi, Christian (Indian), Muslim—all will be Indian rule. It makes no difference to me that some Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation. It is enough for me that I do not consider them as such. They are sons of the soil. Muslims considered separately have eight crores of unarmed Muslims scattered over India to look to. But you have the whole British nation and your army of occupation to look to. You belong to the ruling race. You are less than one hundred thousand in the midst of 350 millions over whom you rule. It is a matter of shame both for you and us. I need not weigh whose is the greater shame. The sooner we get out of it the better for both of us.

You will now understand my answer when I say that I would any day prefer Muslim rule to British rule. I have no doubt that, if British rule which divides us by favouring one or the other as it suits the Britishers were withdrawn today, Hindus and Muslims would forget their quarrels and live like brothers which they are. But supposing the worst happened and we had a civil war, it would last for a few days or months and we would settle down to business. In status we are equal. With you, it is different. You have disarmed us. Those of us who have been trained by you really belong to you rather than to us. We are no match for you in military power. You do not know how the rule has stunted the nation. Immediately British rule is really ended, we shall grow as never before, in spite of all forebodings.

## Why This Partiality?

Q. Both Prof. Ranga and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan have been punished under the law. But while you were moved by the latter's sentence[1] you have denounced Prof. Ranga,[2] and this in spite of the fact that Prof. Ranga's offence was, if anything, a technical one, whereas Shri Jayaprakash by obstructing the war effort invited the penalty of the law upon himself. I agree that Prof. Ranga should not have broken the law. But then does not your attitude betray partiality on your part towards the one and antipathy towards the other?

A. You are hopelessly wrong. Your admission that Prof. Ranga was wrong in breaking the order shows that your cause is not just. Prof. Ranga is as good a friend to me as Shri Jayaprakash. I should have expressed the same opinion about the

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 322.
[2] ibid., p. 409.

latter's action if he had done what Prof. Ranga did. There is no room in public life for partial friendships. Indeed real friendship is in no need of partiality. I have none for Shri Jayaprakash. Nor have I any antipathy towards Prof. Ranga. I have perhaps less differences with Prof. Ranga than with Shri Jayaprakash, but that makes no difference to me. Shri Jayaprakash committed no breach of an order. He delivered a speech which was regarded as contrary to law. In Prof. Ranga's case there was a deliberate breach of an order served on him. The two things are different. I have answered your question because I attach importance to the breach. I also want to warn those who accept Congress discipline against such breaches.

## A Municipal Chairman's Duty

Q. My father is the Congress Municipal Chairman of a certain place. In a recent bye-election for a ward the official Congress candidate was defeated. A local youth organization gave a tea party in honour of the successful non-Congress candidate. My father was invited and he attended. His view was that once a candidate is elected, no matter to what party he belongs, as Chairman it was his duty to welcome him and get the best of co-operation from him in the interests of civic welfare. Some people feel that attending a function given in honour of an opponent is harmful to the party's cause.

A. Your father, I am sure, was quite right. He would have been wrong if he had not attended the function. An opponent is entitled to the same regard for his principles as we would expect others to have for ours. Non-violence demands that we should seek every opportunity to win over opponents. And what can be better than that we share their joys and sorrows? Moreover your father as Chairman was bound to be impartial. It was, therefore, doubly his duty to attend the function.

Sevagram, April 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

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## 35. THE AJMER TROUBLE

Having published the gist[1] of the case of the Khadi Exhibition organizers about the national flag incident, I am in duty bound to publish the following communique of the Commissioner of Ajmer Merwara on the incidents:

> A feature of the celebration by the Ajmer Congress of what is known as the 'National Week' has been an exhibition organized by a committee known as the 'Khadi Gram-Udyog Exhibition Committee'. For this a number of temporary structures have been erected adjoining the fort on a plot of *nazul* land, which is under the control of the Municipal Committee. Advantage was taken of the fact that the exhibition attracted large crowds of people to hold political meetings on a vacant plot between the exhibition grounds and the entrance to the city *kotwali*. At two of these meetings speeches of an extremely objectionable character were delivered, and it was evident that the organizers of the meetings who are members of the local Congress were attempting under the pretext of promoting the use of khadi and village industries in general to bring the Government into hatred and contempt. The fact that these seditious utterances were made at a place adjoining a barrack occupied by constables stationed at the *kotwali* was an additional provocation.
>
> Further, the organizers of the exhibition set up a flag-staff on an outlying bastion of the fort from which the Congress flag was flown. This bastion is on Government land and is a part of the *kotwali* Police Station. Permission was neither sought for nor obtained for this act. Apart from the undesirability of a party emblem of this nature being displayed from a Government building, the flying of the Congress flag from the ramparts of an ancient Moghul fort, which is a protected monument, caused grave offence to certain sections of the public.
>
> After satisfying himself by personal inspection as to the facts, the Commissioner decided to issue two prohibitory orders to prevent a breach of public tranquillity. The first order was addressed to the organizers of the exhibition by name, and it directed them to remove the flag and flag-staff within one hour and to refrain from re-erecting it within 400 yards of the fort ramparts. The second order was a general one prohibiting political meetings under the Municipal

[1] *Vide* pp. 1-2.

limits for a period of ten days. The issue of this order was rendered necessary by the manner in which certain partisans of the Congress had abused the opportunity which the holding of the Khadi Exhibition presented.

As far as the first order is concerned, the individuals to whom it was addressed intimated in writing their refusal to comply, whereupon the police were directed to remove the flag and the flag-staff. Action is being taken separately regarding the refusal of the organizers of the exhibition to comply with the order.

If the above version is true, the case of the Exhibition Committee falls to the ground. I may state that a correspondent claiming to be impartial sends a letter supporting the version of the Ajmer authorities. I refrain from expressing any opinion till my investigation is complete. One thing, however, is clear. The Commissioner has done everything he can to incite the Muslims against the Exhibition Committee. Prejudice against it peeps out through a portion of the communique. Even if the facts are as he has stated them, the Commissioner could have avoided the inflammatory reference to the 'Moghul Fort'. He knew that the Exhibition Committee could have no intention of wounding Muslim susceptibilities.

I have further information that more trouble is brewing in Ajmer. But of this more when I have full facts.[1]

Meanwhile let me draw attention to the reported tactful act of a Commissioner in the Frontier Province who, when a Congressman went to his office to hoist the Congress flag, straight away hoisted it himself, and hoisted the Muslim League flag as well, taking care that the Union Jack flew the highest of all. But for the sense of humour and tact of the Commissioner it is difficult to say what would have happened.

SEVAGRAM, April 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-5-1940

[1] *Vide* pp. 43-4.

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## 36. LETTER TO BIPIN BIHARI VERMA

*May 1, 1940*

BHAI BIPIN,

Be as you are. That would be *sadhana* for you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI BIPIN BABU
MANAPUR
BETTIAH, CHAMPARAN

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10249

## 37. CABLE TO HUTCHINGS

*May 2, 1940*

MR. HUTCHINGS
26 PHAYRE STREET
RANGOON

GLAD HINDU MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES MEETING RESTORE HARMONY. HOPE MEETING WILL SUCCEED IN DEVISING WAYS AND MEANS TO ESTABLISH PERMANENT PEACE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## 38. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

*May 2, 1940*

GURUDEO
SANTINIKETAN

OVERWHELMING WORK LEFT NO TIME. HOPE SEND YOU CONSIDERED OPINION[1] SOON. PRAY FORGIVE UNAVOIDABLE DELAY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Rabindranath Tagore", pp. 40-1.



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## 39. LETTER TO VITHAL L. PHADKE

SEVAGRAM,
*May 2, 1940*

CHI. MAMA,

End your fast. I shall not judge you. May your fast bear fruit.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3842

## 40. A STATEMENT

When Gandhiji was shown Reuter's cable of Sir Hugh O'Neill's[1] statement, he said his position was absolutely clear.

The only authority that can possibly convene a preliminary conference of elected leaders is the British Government, and they will do so and find out the ways and means when they have made up their mind to part with power and recognize the right of India to frame the charter of her own freedom.[2]

SEVAGRAM, May 3, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-5-1940

[1] A member of the House of Commons
[2] *Vide* also "Cable to *The News Chronicle*", p. 19.



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## 41. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 4, 1940*

CHI. MANI,

The figures you have sent are excellent. You had better spend the time in spinning rather than in writing to me.

Ask Father whether I should send that amount to him or to Prithvi Singh direct. How is his health?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN
C/O SARDAR PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*, p. 126

## 42. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*May 4, 1940*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I see no flaw in it. I shall not enter into an argument. May your noble wish be fulfilled.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Rameshwari Nehru Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] From a copy of the letter available from the same source



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## 43. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 4/5, 1940*

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

You have at last settled down well. Everything depends on you now. If Sanyukta[1] wishes to get married this year, let her do so in Porbandar in your absence. She can get married in Sevagram only next year. I do not think it at all proper for you to ask for leave just now.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

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

## 44. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[*May 5, 1940*][2]

CHI. AMRIT,

Your wire. Am well. No more today beyond sending love. I hope the pain of the sprain is entirely gone.

From the original: C.W. 3964. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7273

## 45. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 5, 1940*

DEAR GURUDEV,

Ten thousand apologies for the delay in replying to Rathin's[3] letter. Pressure on my limited time is unbearable. The result is an accumulation of arrears. But I have not been idle about your proposal. I discussed it fully with Roger Hicks. I have

[1] Addressee's daughter

[2] This is written at the top of an Urdu letter dated May 5 that someone had written to the addressee.

[3] Addressee's son, Rathindranath



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been thinking over the thing independently. The conclusion is set forth in the enclosed amended draft[1]. You will revise it as you like. You will give it the polish which you alone can give.

Somehow or other I could not reconcile myself to an appeal for the hall and the hospital. Santiniketan was his as much as it is yours. What can be better than that the thing to which he had given himself and from which he had derived inspiration would be put on a permanent basis? The sum asked may be too little. It should then be increased. I have stated that originally Santiniketan was founded by the Maharshi[2]. There is an apparent contradiction in the statement. You will please deal with it.

The idea that the appeal should be signed by us three[3] is, I think, quite good.

I have not sent a copy to the Bishop.

If you do not like my proposal and if you will retain the original, please do not hesitate to do so.

I hope you are keeping well.

With love,

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2290

## *46. QUESTION BOX*

### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Q. You can do Harijan work, you can organize khadi and village industries, but when it comes to Hindu-Muslim unity, you find many excuses for not organizing it.

A. This charge has been brought against me by several Muslim correspondents unknown to me. But latterly it has been repeated with considerable vehemence by one who knows me intimately. The complainant challenges me to deal with the charge in *Harijan*. There can be no comparison between Harijans and Muslims. I owe a debt to Harijans in need of any

[1] This appeared in *Harijan*, 1-6-1940, under the title "Deenabandhu Memorial".

[2] Addressee's father, Debendranath Tagore

[3] Finally, however, the appeal was signed by Gandhiji, Abul Kalam Azad, S. K. Datta, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Bishop Foss Westcott.

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assistance that can be given to them. Harijan work is humanitarian work. Muslims stand in no need of my humanitarianism. They are a powerful community standing in no such need. Any work done for Muslims after the Harijan style will be resented. To cite khadi and village industries against me is thoughtless. These can be organized and are organized for all who will care to profit by them. As a matter of fact both Hindus and Muslims, and indeed others too, profit by these activities. Hindu-Muslim unity stands on its own footing. I have tried and am still trying to do my share of the work. I may have achieved no visible success, but I have no doubt that the direction in which I am working is the right one and is bound to lead us to the goal.

### Bidar and Bihar

Q. You feel keenly about Bidar. You ask for justice about it and you want Muslims outside Hyderabad to see that justice is done.[1] Do you feel equally keenly if Muslims are ill-treated as they were in Bihar?

A. I do not know what the exact reference to Bihar is. All I can say is that not one single case of maltreatment of Muslims by Hindus having been reported to me has remained without investigation by me. This has been my practice since the days of the Khilafat. I have not always succeeded in finding the truth or giving satisfaction to the aggrieved parties that I had done my best. The Bihar charge is too vague to be answered more fully. If a particular instance were mentioned, I should be able to say what I had done about it. But supposing that I had failed in my duty to do justice, supposing further that I did not "feel equally keenly about Hindu injustice to Muslims", would that justify indifference about Bidar? I have said that there is nothing like Bidar in all the previous cases of Hindu-Muslim clashes, assuming of course that the allegations we made were true. All I have asked is that full justice and reparation should be made through a tribunal *admittedly* impartial. My proposal in the case of Bidar should be applicable to all such cases.

Sevagram, May 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-5-1940

[1] *Vide* p. 31.

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## 47. *AJMER*

As soon as I read the extraordinary communique[1] of the Commissioner of Ajmer, I asked for proof from the workers in Ajmer in support of their charges. It seems to me that in every single particular the charges are supported by documentary evidence. I have now in my possession copies of the relevant documents including a blue-print showing where the so-called Ajmer fort is, where the wall on whose bastion the Congress flag was flown is. The statement giving a categorical denial of all the allegations of the Ajmer Commissioner is published below.[2] From it, it would appear that the Commissioner is prejudiced against the Congress.

1. The ground including the wall and a portion behind it is in the possession of the Municipal Council as lessee.

2. Permission was duly received by the khadi workers for the use of the ground for the exhibition.

3. No separate permission for flying the flag is or has ever been considered necessary.

4. The Municipal Council even voted Rs. 51 towards the expenses of the exhibition.

5. The Ajmer fort is a well-defined structure. It is at present used for the *kotwali*, etc. It is undoubtedly a protected monument and in possession of the Government. The outer wall is dilapidated and is included in the ground leased to the Municipal Council and is going to be demolished by them.

6. There was no complaint brought before the workers against the hoisting of the flag on the wall. It could give no offence to anybody. The Ajmer Council contains Muslim members. The decision to give permission to hold the exhibition on the ground was unanimous. Muslims freely visited the exhibition. Well-known Muslims attended the party given to Seth Jamnalalji[3] although they knew that the flag was hoisted on the outer wall.

I have seen many denials by officials of uncomfortable popular charge-sheets. But it is hard to beat the unblushing distortions

[1] *Vide* pp. 35-6.

[2] This is not reproduced here.

[3] Who inaugurated the exhibition

by the Commissioner of Ajmer. He has not added to British prestige. If ever a case was clearly made out for civil disobedience, surely the Ajmer one is such a case. I refrain because of the turbid atmosphere and because I wish to take no action that will precipitate a crisis. The workers in Ajmer have done well to exercise self-restraint in the face of the gravest provocation. This case demands serious notice by the Central authority. In my opinion nothing short of the removal of the Commissioner from the high office he occupies will meet the requirements of justice.

It may be argued that the Commissioner of Ajmer is no worse than many such officials who do much worse things with impunity. The argument is sound. But many thieves escape with impunity because of want of conclusive evidence. When, however, one is caught red-handed, it is well to deal with him and give satisfaction to the injured public. Lord Curzon had his grave limitations. But he believed in justice being done and therefore had no hesitation in acting sternly and promptly when a proved case came under his observation. Prevention of civil disobedience, I believe, is common cause between the Government and the Congress. The latter will resort to it when it is clearly inevitable, if, that is to say, the Congress is ready. I am leaving no stone unturned to prevent it. But if the executive officials behave as the Ajmer Commissioner seems to have done, no effort on my part may prevent a conflagration.

On the 29th ultimo, being the last Sunday of the month, all over the country there was *jhandavandan*[1]. In Ajmer too the Congress had advertised the function to take place in the Town Hall compound. But this time the Commissioner, who is also the District Magistrate, prohibited the use of the Town Hall compound for the purpose. It is debatable whether he had any legal right to prohibit the use of the municipal ground in the manner he did. But for the moment it is not relevant. The fact of the issue of the order is relevant to show the bias the Commissioner has against the Congress. The matter was referred to me by telephone, and I advised the Congressmen to obey the order and not attempt to hold the meeting even elsewhere. But if the Commissioner is intent upon provoking a quarrel, I suppose he will not be happy till he has succeeded.

SEVAGRAM, May 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-5-1940

[1] Saluting the flag

## 48. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*May 6, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Since you don't mind a little delay, I took some time to reply to you. So much work has piled up. I think you find peace of mind only in restlessness, for if you can shake off your discontent there is no cause at all for restlessness. Here work has been piling up.

Either forget that Kanchan is your wife or start living with her. She has gone to Panchgani because of her own intense desire. Even as she should not feel suspicious when you go somewhere so also you should not when she does. If you wish, I may persuade her to change her mind, but that would upset those people's plans. It would not at all look nice if you stayed in Poona, nor would it benefit you. You may continue to write to her matter-of-fact letters.

Do what you wish about Burhanpur. I do not understand the matter very well.

Who do you think reads your letters? And even if anybody does what will he understand from them? Even so, if you do not want anybody to read them, mark them "private" so that I can promptly return them or tear them up.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8545. Also C.W. 7084. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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## 49. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*May*][1] *6, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I had your wire from Simla too. Herewith my two articles. You may translate at leisure. Sushila translated the questions well and quickly. The Ajmer one was not ready. She will translate it tomorrow. But you should religiously translate them. If you two can get used to the work the whole of *Harijan Sevak* can be done here and I should be free from anxiety.

After all Anand[2] had no smallpox. It was rash after the vaccination. He has fever and cough. Mahadev came in today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

*May 7, 1940*

If the English articles don't accompany this, don't worry. The translation is not required. Practice may be delayed. Herewith Gosibehn's letter. Your article about Kamalapuram[3] and your Hindi translation are going in. The translation is good.

From the original: C.W. 3965. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7224

## 50. A ONE-SIDED INQUIRY

I had hoped that I would not have to say anything on Justice Nagesvara Iyer's report into the allegations of ill-treatment of satyagrahi prisoners in Mysore. But the Press criticism of the action of the State Congress in abstaining from participation in the inquiry demands an explanation from me. If it was wrong for the State Congress not to participate in the inquiry, the blame was mine. The inquiry was a result of Mahadev

[1] The source has "6-6-40" which is evidently a slip, as the post-script is dated May 7 and the article on Ajmer (*vide* pp. 43-4) referred to in the letter was written on May 6.

[2] Sharda G. Chokhawala's son

[3] *Vide* "A Hideous Evil", 18-5-1940.



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Desai's visit to Mysore at the instance of the Dewan[1] and the former's confidential report to me of which a copy was given to the Dewan. Mahadev Desai had recommended an open judicial inquiry presided over by a judge of known integrity brought from outside. Instead there was only a departmental inquiry by a Mysore judge. I have been for some time guiding the Mysore Congress, and the Congress acted upon my advice in not leading evidence before a Mysore judge who could not, I felt, be wholly impartial in judging the conduct of officials with whom he must have come in close official contact. It was too much to expect an impartial scrutiny by one who had risen to the rank of a judge from being a Government official.

The allegations were of a most serious character, and they were repeated in the presence of Mahadev Desai and before officials occupying the positions of Deputy Commissioner, District Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Jail and so on. Those who made the allegations were volunteers, not criminals, and a few of them held high social positions. It is impossible to treat them as liars, as the report seems to have done.

I am not yet in possession of the Judge's report. What I have before me is a highly tendentious summary of the report published by Government, interspersed by Government's own statements of certain happenings and Justice Nagesvara Iyer's comments on them in his report. It passes comprehension that the inquiry was continued when the complainants refused to appear before the officer. The judge should have dismissed the case for want of evidence. How he could have arrived at definite conclusions in the absence of material evidence, it is difficult to say. The judge admits that "most of the persons who made accusations of assault and torture did not attempt to establish those charges," but that he "had a large volume of oral and documentary evidence" adduced before him. What this "documentary" evidence was, we do not know. The oral evidence was of people who had nothing to do with the inquiry but were dragged by the police before the judge to prove the Government case. The judge says he has based his conclusions "on such materials and broad probabilities". This is hardly the language of a judge. No judge of integrity and impartiality would have cared to go into the extraneous evidence that Justice Nagesvara Iyer went into, and made uncalled for animadversions against satyagrahis for refusal to give evidence before

[1] Sir Mirza Ismail

him, when he knew that their reason in doing so was that they questioned the competence, independence and impartiality of the judge. Two paragraphs in the communique are devoted to proving that the leaders of the movement adopted questionable methods of sending out surreptitious letters from jails. What this has to do with allegations of torture one is at a loss to know. It would thus appear that, far from the inquiry being into any allegations by Congressmen, it became an inquiry into allegations by Government officials which the judge has supported without giving those against whom the allegations were made an opportunity to rebut them.

My point, however, in referring to the unfortunate inquiry is that the Mysore Congress acted under my advice. The judge's biassed finding confirms me in the soundness of the opinion I gave them. As satyagrahis, the members of the Mysore Congress were not interested in the guilty parties being condemned. They were interested in the truth being known. The golden lid of the one-sided inquiry covers the truth. But they should have the faith[1] that the lid will be lifted one day and the truth will be found. The exoneration of the officials may result in the hardening of their hearts and greater maltreatment of the prisoners than before. If such is the case, the prisoners should rejoice in their sufferings and know that, if they bear them without malice, they will bring the local Congress nearer its goal.

SEVAGRAM, May 7, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-5-1940

## *51. ANDREWS'S INFLUENCE*[2]

Mr. A. G. Fraser of Elgin, Scotland, sends me the following touching letter about Deenabandhu:

> I write to you because of the great joy and inspiration you were to him who has just left us, Charlie Andrews, and because you, perhaps more than any other, will feel his loss. He has had a great and deeply joyful life, and amongst all the many things which made it rich, your friendship was one of the foremost. For your pleasure in him I would like to tell you one story of him.
>
> The noblest of British Governors that I have known, Sir Gorden Gaggisberg, who literally gave his life for Africans, was anxious to know

[1] The source has "truth".

[2] This appeared under the title "Notes".

Charlie and he asked me to arrange a meeting, if possible for lunch in his club, the Army and Navy Club in Pall Mall. It is one of the most rigid clubs in London in its standard of dress, so I told Gaggisberg that Charlie would not be dressed for clubland. He did not care about that, so the lunch was arranged. On the day, I was seated with Sir Gorden when the porter came and said: 'Sir, there is a man at the door who says he has an appointment with you, but I did not like to let him in till you had seen him.' I said to Gaggisberg, 'That's Charlie,' and it was. He was worse dressed than I have ever known him to be in Europe. But Gaggisberg was too delighted to meet him to think of that. We had lunch at a small central table and admirals, generals, governors came up to greet Gaggisberg who was newly back in England. He introduced them all to Charlie. Then we retired to an alcove for a quiet talk, and Charlie's visit to British Guiana was fixed up. Thus Charlie had to go and Gaggisberg saw him down to the street and finding a taxi himself for him put him into it. As the taxi left he followed it with his eyes, his head bent. It disappeared round a corner and he stood very still. Then he turned to me and said, 'I feel as though I had been honoured to give lunch to my Lord.' It was the meeting of two great men, and they met for the sake of Indian labourers in Guiana.

You will greatly feel his loss at this time, more than even we who loved him here can know. But we do pray that you and India through you may be blessed, and you will be blessed.

SEVAGRAM, May 7, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-5-1940

## 52. *LETTER TO BAL KALELKAR*

*May 7, 1940*

CHI. BAL,

I am sending you the revised version[1]. There has been some delay, but I couldn't help it. I had both your letters. Sign the letter and send it to me. I will despatch it myself.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2641

[1] Of the addressee's letter to G. D. Birla for a scholarship of Rs. 9,000 to enable him to finance his studies in America for a D.Sc. in Engineering



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## 53. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

*May 7, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I think it is not desirable that you should go to Kanchan just now. I am afraid a quarrel will start there. I think it would be better, provided you wish it, that I myself should write to her and find out how she feels about it. Now that she has gone there it would not be right to upset her. You must observe a certain restraint even as her husband. You should respect her freedom; you may guide her, you cannot order her. Do nothing in haste. If you wish to go to Badrinarayan or Calcutta, why need you ask her? But do as you wish.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8544. Also C.W. 7086. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## 54. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

[After *May 7*][1], *1940*

I have your letter. I had also seen your statement.[2] For us, it is a moral question. And when the Government obstinately refuses to do justice, how can we help? If slavery is bad, where is the question of choosing masters? This has been the Congress policy. We need not be uneasy. If all of us want freedom no one can deny it to us. If only a few of us want it, we will

[1] In the source this and the following letter are placed after the entries for May 7, 1940.

[2] According to the source the addressee had made a 'panicky statement' that the British rulers would be better than the others. In his autobiography the addressee writes: "when . . . the German army, in a sweep, took Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium, I was deeply distressed because Hitler made it clear that he would not let any weaker nation survive. My feeling of anger against the British for denying India her rights was somewhat assuaged and I somehow felt that it was our duty to help the British in defeating Germany and help stop the rot.

"I was so much overpowered by these thoughts that I could not help issuing a statement to this effect."

sacrifice our lives in its pursuit. What have we to offer except moral support? We can give it only when there is justice. They are getting money whether we like it or not. As long as they are the lords they will obtain the funds. Jawaharlal has shown me his reply. It is quite all right. It is no small thing that we are not resorting to civil disobedience. Take good rest.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *55. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU*[1]

[After *May 7, 1940*]

Of course my first position was true but it could not be taken up mechanically. The position Congress has taken is also true. Our problem is purely moral. The moral weight of the Congress is at the disposal of the British people, the moment they act morally. The Congress has nothing else to give. I do not think the position is altered because the war cloud has assumed a blacker shape. I may have sympathy for my erring son but moral help is of no avail to him till he persists in his error. The material help of India Britain gets whether we will or not. What however we can do is not to embarrass Britain by any precipitate action. I will not resort to C. D. unless the way is absolutely clear. If what I have said does not appeal to you I would ask you to discuss the thing with Jawaharlal and others.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *56. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*May 8, 1940*][2]

CHI. AMRIT,

I had your first letter today. I am glad you have a warm welcome. I had not a shadow of a doubt about it. You must now

[1] The addressee had written: "What you wrote about unconditional co-operation is right. There is now an international crisis. We may still reconsider our stand and offer our help. As it is all the smaller nations are faced with doom."

[2] From the reference to Gandhiji's inability to send the articles on the previous day. *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 46.

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put on weight. *The Times of India's* thought for the day runs: "Your disappointment will be removed not by change of surroundings but by change of outlook—of heart."

I have been sending your post and writings. There are two letters [to]day.

Herewith the articles. I could have sent them yesterday but not without a strain. The translations have gone from here.

All well including Anand. Lalita Kumari is coming after all. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3966. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7275

## *57. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 8, 1940*

CHI. PRABHA,

How perverse you are! I reply to all your letters, still you are not satisfied and keep complaining! Would it not be better, instead, to stay here permanently? Why should Jayaprakash not get a newspaper? I have had a letter sent to Poona. Inform me if he does not get it. There has been a letter from Rajendra Babu. I understand about Father. I hope he also is better now. Has your work been chalked out? Ba is well. Rajkumari has gone to Simla. Her address is: Manorville, Simla. It is very hot here. Sharda is still here. I am quite well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI PRABHAVATI DEVI
C/O SHRI BRIJ BEHARI SAHAI
A/32 HIGH COURT QUARTERS, PATNA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3541

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## 58. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*May 8, 1940*

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have your letter. Since Munnalal writes to you, I saved my time. I accept your notice. I have already told him that the two of you should set up house. Where and when, is all that remains to be considered. We will think over it when you free yourself from there. Do you want Munnalal to go there? Can he be accommodated there? Write to me frankly.

Do you keep good health there? Do you get all your requirements? How do you pass your time? Here it is quite hot.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8282. Also C.W. 7083. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## 59. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

*May 8, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Send the accompanying letter[1] to Panchgani. I welcome the idea that you should set up house with her. We shall think over the matter when Kanchan returns. If on getting Kanchan's reply you think it necessary to go to Panchgani you may do so. I have no objection if you stay there and Kanchan comes here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8543. Also C.W. 7085. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

## 60. LETTER TO PRABHULAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 8, 1940*

BHAI PRABHULAL,

I have the report of your work. It is quite satisfactory.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4135

## 61. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 9, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I must thank you for your prompt and frank reply of 29th ultimo.

I had the *Hansard* by me thoughtfully sent by Miss Harrison, so I read Lord Zetland's full speech.[1] I am sorry to say it read worse than cabled summary. But I will not weary you with argument on points. My position is that Great Britain, to put herself right morally, should make requisite declaration unconditionally about India's right of self-determination. If you say that right will be recognized when she fulfils the conditions you lay down, self-determination may be indefinitely postponed, for the conditions may never be fulfilled.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10257. Courtesy: India Office Library, London

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 21.



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## 62. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 9, 1940*

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

Your letter makes strange reading.[1] Communal unity would never come by generalizations or glossing over serious disturbances. I do not know what Bihar incident you refer to. But if there was a denial of justice in Bihar, it is no precedent worthy to be copied.

And why should public criticism of a big disturbance prejudice judicial proceedings against individuals?

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8018

## 63. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 9, 1940*

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

Surely Dr. Gopichand[2] needs no introduction or certificate from me. That he is the agent for everything I stand for is more than enough. Don't worry for him. In the Punjab, he is his own introduction and advertisement. I am glad he is free from the Parliamentary burden. I shall expect great things from him for constructive work.

Please hand the enclosed[3] to Shakuntala Devi.

*Yours,*
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 985. Courtesy: Lala Jagannath

[1] The addressee's letter dated May 2, 1940, read: "My disappointment is no less than yours. The big question of communal unity governs all these minor proceedings, and, until progress is made with that problem, many other problems must be at a standstill, and communal manifestations will occur.

"As to the regrettable Bidar affair (which is reminiscent of incidents last year in Bihar), cases are before the courts involving many accused. I can only express surprise that statements have [been] issued prejudicing some of the issues."

[2] Gopichand Bhargava

[3] This is not traceable.

## 64. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 9, 1940*

CHI. MANUDI,

I got your letter. Why need you give your address, since the whole world knows you? If, therefore, I merely write Bombay, will not the letter reach you? Or do you perhaps think that I must have your address by heart? Ba is all right. Do you wish to come here in *Ashadh*? You know that you will be welcome whenever you wish to come. Kunvarji[1] is keeping good health. Sharda is still here. The boy is fine. His eczema persists but he is growing. It is very hot.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2676. Courtesy: Kanubhai N. Mashruwala

## 65. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 9, 1940*

CHI. SARU,

I got your letter. It is not as if I abstained from writing to you because I did not want to bless you. Where can I go if I make you and Kanti angry? Ba and I can only wish you well. I am glad to know that Shanti[2] is well. I have also heard that Kanti has failed. He should not grieve over his failure. He gets another opportunity to study. If he studies steadily, he will become a good doctor. I hope you are keeping good health.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRIMATI SARASWATI
MADHAVI MANDIRAM, EASWARAVATTOM
NEYYATHINKARAI, TRAVANCORE[3]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6175. Also C.W. 3449. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] Addressee's father
[2] Addressee's son
[3] Address from the C.W. copy



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## 66. *INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*[1]

SEVAGRAM,
*May 9, 1940*

Seated on a mat in his small barely furnished room, with a wet cloth wrapped round his head, Mr. Gandhi carefully explained his viewpoint. He spoke with great earnestness.

I would welcome a settlement which ensures peace with honour. The Viceroy knows I am always ready.

I am not averse to coming to terms with Britain on matters like defence and commercial interests, and I am fully prepared that these adjustments should be referred to a Constituent Assembly as part of an agreed settlement.

Mr. Gandhi went on to explain his attitude to the Constituent Assembly.

I believe personally that it is the most satisfactory method of procedure; but don't forget that I preserve an open mind on the matter. If some people hold that there are other forms of procedure which are more representative, I am willing to be convinced. Today I say that the assembly should be elected on adult franchise, but here again my mind is open to alternative proposals provided these proposals have the backing of representative men.

"If the Viceroy," asked the correspondent, "declares that he will summon a conference of 'the best Englishmen and the best Indians', and if he further agrees that its terms of reference will be to arrange for the establishment of self-government within the shortest period practicable, would you accept that gesture?"

Certainly, it will be acceptable. In the preliminary conference it is necessary that the best Englishmen and the best Indians should meet to adjust their differences, but in the framing of the constitution only Indians must participate.

If the Viceroy is authorized to declare that His Majesty's Government have definitely come to the conclusion that it is the sole right of India to determine the form of government under which she would live, and if with that end he summons a conference

[1] This appeared in *Harijan* under the title "An Important Interview".

of the best Englishmen and the best Indians—the latter elected according to an acceptable procedure—to devise a method whereby a Constituent Assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise, I would accept the proposal. But I don't sense the proper atmosphere today.

Asked whether, if His Majesty's Government summoned a conference and acted in good faith, Mr. Gandhi would be prepared to use his personal influence to induce the Congress Ministers to return to office, the Mahatma quickly replied:

Not unless there is a Hindu-Muslim agreement. I should wait.

As I said good-bye, Mr. Gandhi chafed:

You did not deserve the interview. You brought a hot wind with you to Sevagram.

The temperature was 108. He laughed uproariously at my obvious retort: "It is an ill wind which brings no one any good."

*The Times of India*, 10-5-1940; also *Harijan*, 18-5-1940

## *67. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 11, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter.

Dr. Risti and her friend can easily stay in the Circuit House.

Ghanshyamdas and Jamnalalji here. Over head and ears in work.

Sharda's Anand was not smallpox. Many were willing to be vaccinated. Ba, Durga and other women said no. But the storm has blown over. In the village too, it has subsided.

Lilavati had a scorpion sting and so had Amtul Salaam. L. suffered much.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3967. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7276

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## 68. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 11, 1940*

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. May you prosper. May your pious aspirations be fulfilled.

Come over whenever you wish.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9426

## 69. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

*May 11, 1940*

Considering everything, it would be good if you visited Panchgani. There is a wire from Kanchan, too, asking me to send you.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8542. Also C.W. 7088. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## 70. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 11, 1940*

CHI. AMALA,

I have your letter. I was very happy. It is good you are serving the blind dog. You are looking after Mother, too. Everybody is fine here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

DR. MARGARETE SPIEGEL
IVANHOE, OPP. BACKBAY BATHS
FORT, BOMBAY

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

## 71. *QUESTION BOX*

### Democracy and Non-violence

Q. Why do you say, "Democracy can only be saved through non-violence"?[1]

A. Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. That can never happen except through non-violence. No country in the world today shows any but patronizing regard for the weak. The weakest, you say, go to the wall. Take your own case. Your land is owned by a few capitalist owners. The same is true of South Africa. These large holdings cannot be sustained except by violence, veiled if not open. Western democracy, as it functions today, is diluted Nazism or Fascism. At best it is merely a cloak to hide the Nazi and the Fascist tendencies of imperialism. Why is there the war today, if it is not for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils? It was not through democratic methods that Britain bagged India. What is the meaning of South African democracy? Its very constitution has been drawn to protect the white man against the coloured man, the natural occupant. Your own history is perhaps blacker still, in spite of what the Northern States did for the abolition of slavery. The way you have treated the Negro presents a discreditable record. And it is to save such democracies that the war is being fought! There is something very hypocritical about it. I am thinking just now in terms of non-violence and trying to expose violence in its nakedness.

India is trying to evolve true democracy, i.e., without violence. Our weapons are those of satyagraha expressed through the charkha, the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, and non-violent organization of labour as in Ahmedabad. These mean mass effort and mass education. We have big agencies for conducting these activities. They are purely voluntary, and their only sanction is service of the lowliest.

[1] The questioner was an American.



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This is the permanent part of the non-violent effort. From this effort is created the capacity to offer non-violent resistance called non-co-operation and civil disobedience which may culminate in mass refusal to pay rent and taxes. As you know, we have tried non-co-operation and civil disobedience on a fairly large scale and fairly successfully. The experiment has in it promise of a brilliant future. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak. The aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiment can and will, if the people come up to the mark or, to put it another way, if God gives me the necessary wisdom and strength to bring the experiment to fruition.

## HYPOCRISY

Q. I agree with you that those who do not believe in the tests laid down by you for enrolment as satyagrahis should not hold office in the Congress organization. What is, however, happening is that, while embargo upon disbelief has been effective, hypocrisy is enjoying a premium. People who have nothing in common with your programme are coming forward with the satyagraha pledge[1] in order to capture power, their only qualification being lack of scruples. Can you as general of the satyagraha army shut your eyes to this? If not, what remedy do you propose?

A. I suppose Cowper not knowing how to deal with the hypocrite paid him a compliment by saying that 'hypocrisy was an ode to virtue'[2]. And so it is. But the gentlemen whom you refer to will soon discover their error either by my sensing the hypocrisy and not starting the struggle, or by their being tired of a role which requires labour from them. Meanwhile I must take everyone at his or her word, and believe that those who have taken the pledge have done so in good faith. I have no right to question anybody's motive unless I have proof positive to the contrary.

## DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

Q. The resolution[3] passed at Ramgarh says that "Congressmen and those under the Congress influence cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or material". Every resolution of the Congress has to be explained to the people by Congressmen and Congress committees. If we do that, we are sure to offend the provisions of the Defence of India Act, i.e.,

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[2] Rochefoucauld says: "Hypocrisy is the homage paid by vice to virtue."

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VI.

we will be committing an act of civil disobedience before you as general have given the word. What are we to do under the circumstances?

A. I am not quite sure that you will commit an offence against the Defence of India Act merely by explaining the resolution to the people. But you can easily put yourself under it by adding 'ginger' to your explanation and delivering a first-class harangue against British rule. In your place I would not do it. Sufficient education has been given to the people as to what British rule is. But you should lay stress on what the people have to do to get out of foreign rule. Therefore everything depends upon how you say it. You will offend against my instructions when you disobey explicit orders served upon you.

### Self-determination

Q. Are you right in conceding the right of self-determination to Muslims in a matter so vitally affecting others also, viz., Hindus, Sikhs, etc.? Supposing the majority of the Muslims decide in favour of partition in terms of the Muslim League resolution, what happens to the self-determination of Hindus, Sikhs, etc., who will be minorities in the Muslim States? If you go on like this, where will be the end to it?

A. Of course Hindus and Sikhs will have the same right. I have simply said that there is no other non-violent method of dealing with the problem. If every component part of the nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no one nation and there is no independence. I have already said that Pakistan is such an untruth that it cannot stand. As soon as the authors begin to work it out, they will find that it is not practicable. In any case mine is a personal opinion. What the vast Hindu masses and the others will say or do I do not know. My mission is to work for the unity of all, for the sake of the equal good of all.

### What Should Be Done?

Q. In the last meeting[1] of the Working Committee the Committee have resolved that all Congress committees should either be transformed into satyagraha committees or the office-bearers, who for any reason cannot sign the pledge, should resign and make room for others who have signed the pledge. Now, if any Congressman has no faith in your technique but has accepted it only to carry out the Working Committee's resolution and is spinning only because he wants to remain in office, is he entitled to become a satyagrahi and remain in office?

[1] Held at Wardha from April 15 to April 19

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A. Surely the office-bearers should resign. The pledge taken merely to remain in office is of no value. Such a person should not hold office.

### For Non-performance

Q. If anyone signing the satyagraha pledge does not observe the rules laid down in it, what action will be taken against such a satyagrahi?

A. He is liable to be removed from the position he may hold.

### If a Committee Refuses

Q. If a Congress committee refuses to transform itself into a satyagraha committee, what is the position of that committee?

A. That area will be unrepresented unless there are other Congressmen to take the place of the defunct committee.

### Can They Take the Pledge?

Q. Can the following persons take the satyagraha pledge?

(a) A pleader who has given an undertaking to the court that he will not join any civil disobedience movement.

(b) A person who though he wears khadi himself buys mill-cloth for others and uses mill-cloth for his bed-sheets, etc.

(c) A person who though a khadi-wearer himself trades in foreign cloth.

A. These persons cannot take the pledge.

Sevagram, May 13, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-5-1940

## 72. *FAVOURITISM*

On reading my note[1] in *Harijan* of 9th March on the Seng Khasi School, a correspondent writes:[2]

> . . . It is all too true that the books on the prescribed list are nearly all mission books, and are unusable by any non-Christian school. . . . All the people with influence in the Education Department, so far as Khasi education is concerned, are Christians, and the scales are weighted very heavily in favour of mission schools, and against such courageous efforts as the one referred to by your correspondent. . . .

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, pp. 218-9.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

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This is a matter for the Assam Government to attend to. Whatever may have happened before, the scandal such as the one referred to by my correspondent should cease under a Government which is responsible to the people.

SEVAGRAM, May 13, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-5-1940

## *73. NON-CO-OPERATION*

The following is from a godfearing political friend whom everybody knows:[1]

> . . . I have been closely following your experiments in ahimsa and satyagraha. . . . But I tell you these weapons of yours have been and are being abused in the world. . . . Non-co-operation has become a curse in everyday life. Its ill effects are seen in family circles, in associations, in business, in factories and in Government offices.
>
> . . . Having learnt its use from you, selfish people use it in your name in order to gain their selfish ends, and bring misery upon thousands of people. Therefore I beg of you not to employ this weapon in politics. . . .
>
> I request you not to embarrass the British in any way while they are engaged in this life-and-death struggle. But I know, by itself the Congress will not have the patience to do so, though it may under your advice. . . .
>
> If the Congressmen must embarrass the British, I feel they should go back to offices in the Provinces and should face the British Government with a dilemma at every step in the Provincial and the Central Assemblies. . . .
>
> Again we have to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. For that we should call a conference of all the communal leaders and party leaders. If we make an effort beforehand, we might become united by the time the Government is willing to call the Constituent Assembly. No time should be lost. The demands of the Mussalmans will mount up as time goes on. I am certain God will help us to attain unity if we try for it in right earnest and without delay. . . .

The writer is one of the most earnest among us. He has presented one side of the picture, but like all one-sided pictures this also is misleading.

Every powerful thing is liable to misuse. Opium and arsenic are most potent and useful drugs. And they lend themselves to great abuse. No one has for that reason suggested the stopping

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

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of their good use. If non-co-operation has lent itself to abuse in some cases, in many cases its wise use has proved absolutely efficacious. A thing has to be judged by its net effect. The net effect of non-violent non-co-operation has been of the greatest benefit to India. It has brought about an awakening among the masses which would probably have taken generations otherwise. It has prevented bloodshed and anarchy and on the whole improved the relations between the Britishers and ourselves. There is a better mutual understanding because there is better mutual respect than ever before. And yet our non-co-operation has been indifferently non-violent. I hold that non-co-operation is of universal use. Well applied, its use in politics can wholly displace the use of barbarous weapons of mutual destruction. The thing to do, therefore, is not to restrict its use but to extend it, care being taken that it is used in accordance with the known laws regulating its use. Risk of misuse has undoubtedly to be run. But with the increase in the knowledge of its right use, the risk can be minimized.

One safe thing about non-co-operation is that in the end its abuse recoils more upon the users than upon those against whom it is used. Its abuse is the greatest in domestic relations because those against whom it is used are not strong enough to resist the abuse. It becomes a case of misapplied affection. Doting parents or wives are the greatest victims. These will learn wisdom when they realize that affection does not demand yielding to extortion in any form. On the contrary true affection will resist it.

The writer suggests the usual parliamentary programme with obstruction. Its futility, when it is not backed by readiness for non-co-operation and civil disobedience, has been fully demonstrated.

So far as the British are concerned I have already said that I will do nothing to embarrass them. I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict. But they may make it inevitable. Even so, I am praying for a mode of application which will be effective and still not embarrassing in the sense of violent outbreaks throughout the country.

Here I must say that, whilst it is true that active co-operation on the part of Congressmen is not yet much in evidence, of passive co-operation on their part there is no lack. Violent, sporadic eruptions on the part of the people would have paralysed my effort to gather together forces of non-violence in an effective manner. As it is, the restraint which they have exercised fills me with hope for the future.

Hindu-Muslim unity is a morsel by itself. But my friend is on the wrong track when he suggests that unity should be hastened for fear of Muslims raising their demands. Demands against whom? India is as much theirs as anybody else's. The way to unity lies through just demands once for all, not through ever-increasing demands, whether just or unjust. The demand for partition puts an end to all effort for unity for the time being. I hold that communal understanding is not a pre-requisite to the British doing justice on their part. When they feel that they want to recognize India's right of self-determination, all the difficulties that they put forth as obstacles in their path will melt away like ice before the sun's rays. The right of self-determination means the right of determination by every group and ultimately every individual. The demand for a Constituent Assembly presumes that the determinations of the groups and individuals will coincide. Should it happen otherwise and partition become the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule, or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war. Anyway the present suspense cannot continue. It has to end one way or the other. I am an optimist. I have every hope that when we come to grips Hindus, Muslims and all others will throw in their weight in favour of India which all will claim as their own.

SEVAGRAM, May 13, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-5-1940

## *74. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 13, 1940*

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have already written to you about this matter. I have written to him[1] too. I suppose you know that Nanabhai is connected with this. Just now we shall have to hand him Rs. 2,000. We shall manage it. I am writing to him in detail; you should too.

[1] Prithvi Singh; *vide* p. 68.

I have not yet read the note about Chandrashanker. I will do something if I can. What happened at Rajkot?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, p. 240

## 75. LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 13, 1940*

BHAI DILKHUSH,

Mahadev has given a pleasant description of your work. Do you label all your boxes? Have you bought cows? Do you have an oil-press? Have you introduced any other industries? You should take up only the work you can easily do. But as the men are obedient, you will perhaps be able to take new work from them easily; they too would fetch a little income.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI DILKHUSH DIWANJI
KHADI ASHRAM
KARADI *via* NAVSARI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2645

## 76. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 14, 1940*

CHI. MANILAL,

Your attack on Jinnah Saheb in *I[ndian Opinion]* was not proper. You should never discuss our quarrels here. This is only the impression I have formed from this end. I do not know whether you have any special reason for such severe criticism.

Medh[1] has arrived. His daughter is getting married on the 21st. He has not yet visited me. I have written to him to come any time.

[1] Surendrarai Bapubhai Medh, an associate of Gandhiji and a leading satyagrahi during South Africa struggle

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Ba is well. I am of course well. There is no indication that I shall be starting a struggle in the immediate future.

Radha has been here for the last two or three days. She has grown a little thin.

It is extremely hot.

Kishorelal is in Bombay.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4912

## *77. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 14, 1940*

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Sardar has sent me your letter to him. He will send you the money, but your estimates have not been carefully calculated. How can you afford to pay for water the price of milk and that too in such a poor country? How can you run a camp like this? You say that all the people there are happy. Why shouldn't they be? You have taken them out on a picnic or are giving them a change of air. Getting milk from a distance of fifteen miles is a luxury which only the rich can afford. You can get even six hundred men on your conditions. What is heat and cold to a person who has come to learn to serve? I fear that your disciples, both men and women, are not likely to turn out very useful. You may, therefore, take Rs. 2,000 but spend the money carefully. If you lose your reputation, I shall lose mine as well. After completing your work in Ghogha I think it will be safer to go back to the original idea. Borsad, Ahmedabad or Bardoli—whichever Sardar selects.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 2949. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

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## 78. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

*Unrevised*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 15, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two important letters were torn as soon [as] they were read. Therefore I have to trust my memory for what I am to write. But since you insist on all this, I have to submit.

The articles I could send earlier but I became indifferent as Sushila could effectively and quickly translate the articles. Yours[1] could never reach Delhi the same week. I have told you I might get the translation here. You are still to translate for practice, so that when you return, you will bring greater ability and dispatch for the translation work. You have therefore to translate the articles with the same care that you would give if they were to be sent to the press. You should then send them to me for examination. You should not read Sushila's translation till you have done yours.

Sir M.[2] disappoints me. His letter is curious. But you are right in saying that we have to cultivate even such people. We have to convert the die-hards.

I cannot say I miss you. I am daily getting more and more detached. I seem to miss nobody and nothing. I have no time to think of these things. The burden I carry occupies the whole of my time. This is not to say that I would not like your return or that there is no work for you. There is work and there is no work. That has been life from the beginning. But it [is] much more so now than ever. There is an inner longing for loneliness. If *Harijan* was stopped today, I should not feel the deprivation. And yet the place is growing.

There is no smallpox now.

Lalita Kumari came in today. She has two servants. She is with me.

Ramnarayan's letter is disappointing. You need not write to him any more. I shall write when I can.

Your letter to Narsingarh is good. It is being sent.

[1] The source has "you".

[2] Presumably Sir Mirza Ismail; *vide* "A One-sided Inquiry", pp. 46-8.

The war is taking an ugly turn. Let us see what happens. Somehow or other I do not feel the same way as you do. I do not want to see the Allies defeated. But I do not consider Hitler to be as bad as he is depicted. He is showing an ability that is amazing and he seems to be gaining his victories without much bloodshed. Englishmen are showing the strength that Empire builders must have. I expect them to rise much higher than they seem to be doing. But I must stop now.

If I have omitted any of your questions you must remind me. Hot here. But I am keeping well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

This was written 9.30 a.m. Your today's note just in 1.30 p.m. I sent you all my articles. I wrote very few. All but unimportant five lines going with this.

From the original: C.W. 3667. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6476

## *79. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 15, 1940*

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. What you write is correct. Our people are easily influenced. I got your telephonic message. I do not intend to write anything immediately. I will write when the time comes. We had heard the news about Ramu[1]. I did not feel unhappy but Ba did that you had not informed us. Ba still has such attachments though they have weakened considerably. Her forbearance, equimindedness, generosity, fortitude and firmness astonish me. Her health is good and she remains cheerful.

I see no need for anyone to go to America. Only what we can do here will have some effect. Nevertheless if an occasion arises, we shall see.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2123

[1] Ramchandra, addressee's son

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## *80. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 15, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. It is good that you have gone there. I think it is a great thing that you have found peace of mind. Stay there as long as duty demands. In any case you must do so as long as it may be necessary for your peace of mind.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MUNNALALJI
C/O SHRI BALKRISHNA
VADILAL SARABHAI AROGYA BHAVAN
PANCHGANI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8541. Also C.W. 7089. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *81. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 15, 1940*

CHI. PURATAN,

You are doing excellent work. But do you want me to notice all that work in *Harijan*? If it is likely to do any good, I will certainly write. Anand and you must be fine.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI PURATAN BUCH
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI
B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9175

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## 82. MESSAGE TO N.W.F.P. DELEGATION[1]

WARDHA,
*May 16, 1940*[2]

My message has been already given, and I have none new to give you. All I will say is that now that you have actively taken up this great mission, you will not cease from your effort until Hindu-Muslim unity is achieved. I would ask you to forget that you have any quarrel with the Muslim League people. Your object differs from theirs, but they also are our brothers and you cannot convert them unless you treat them as such and refrain from all personal attacks. You have to carry conviction to them, for unless you or we can win them over there is no Hindu-Muslim unity. I wish you godspeed.

*Harijan*, 25-5-1940

## 83. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*May 17, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your corrections are quite good. They should have occurred to every one of us, but there you are.

Here are some letters for you.

I shall examine your translations and return to you. Have commenced t[he][3] [e][4]xam[i][5]nation already.

Lalita Kumari is down with headache. Nothing much. She has these attacks often.

Love.

BAPU

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's article "God-speed". About twenty-seven Red Shirts, accompanied by Ali Bahadur Khan, M.L.A., who had come to attend the Azad Muslim Conference in Delhi in April, called on Gandhiji and asked him for a message.

[2] From *The Hindu*, 17-5-1940

[3], [4] & [5] The source is damaged here.



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[PS.]

J.L.[1] came in yesterday. He left this morning.

From the original: C.W. 3968. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7277

## *84. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 17, 1940*

DEAR MAHMUD,

I have your letter. Before you can make anything of the Delhi Conference[2] much spade work has to be done.

Englishmen like me and dislike me by turns. I remain the same.

*Yours,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5066

## *85. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 17, 1940*

CHI. AMALA,

I did not write '*sharam*'[3]. I wrote '*sarun*'. It is good—*sarun*—that you are serving the blind dog.[4] It is a very happy thing that among all the teachers you are the only European. Mahadev is not keen on writing to you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

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

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru

[2] The All-India Azad Muslim Conference held at Delhi from April 27 to 30. One of the resolutions passed by the Conference condemned the Pakistan scheme as "impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally and Muslims' in particular".

[3] Meaning 'shame'; *vide* letter to the addressee, p. 59.

[4] This sentence is in English.

## 86. A HIDEOUS EVIL[1]

A friend from Kamalapuram writes as follows:

I am quite sure that Congressmen must not tolerate this evil.

*Harijan*, 18-5-1940

## 87. FOREWORD TO "MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD"[2]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 18, 1940*

I have had the privilege of being associated with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in national work since 1920. In the knowledge of Islam he is surpassed by no one. He is a profound Arabic scholar. His nationalism is as robust as his faith in Islam. That he is today the supreme head of the Indian National Congress has deep meaning which should not be lost sight of by any[3] student of Indian politics.

M. K. GANDHI

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*

## 88. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHAGANJ,
*May 18, 1940*

JAMNALALJI
SHREE, BOMBAY

HAVE NOT COURAGE ASK SAROJINIDEVI THIS TIME.[4] SHE IS ILL.

BAPU

*Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, p. 234

[1] The article by Amrit Kaur, not reproduced here, dealt with the evil of brothels coming up at religious fairs and festivals and quoted a letter from Kamalapuram complaining about the local Congressmen's apathy to it.

[2] A biographical memoir by Mahadev Desai

[3] The source has "every".

[4] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to send Sarojini Naidu to Jaipur.



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## *89. LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 18, 1940*

CHI. MIRA,

I was wondering why I had not heard from you so long. Anything beyond a week will be too long for me. Though your descriptive letters are welcome (they are your speciality) a p.c. when you have no time would be enough.

Do I take it that you have left Oel[1] for good? I don't mind if you have. I want you to feel free and make yourself happy.

Your description of your new place[2] is attractive, but I do not know that I shall ever reach there. There is no prospect of my going to Simla. Though Sevagram is a furnace just now, I feel like not moving out at all. The work before me takes up all my time.

R. K.[3] is in Simla. Maharani of Vizianagram is here just now. So also is Radha.

P.[4] is in Ghogha with his band of 340 boys and 40 girls. Water and milk and vegetables have to be brought daily from Bhavnagar.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6452. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10047

[1] Oel Ashram where the addressee stayed for three months
[2] In Palampur, Kangra
[3] Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
[4] Prithvi Singh



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## 90. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

*Unrevised*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 18, 1940*

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your two letters, as also the cheque for Rs. 5,000 jointly from Grandmother and yourself for the equipment for the hospital here. I hope to utilize the amount.

Your second letter is very important. I very much appreciate your minute examination of the details regarding khadi. I am in agreement with you on many of the points raised by you and will now enter into correspondence with Kakubhai[1] on this subject.

The position regarding the exhibition is rather complicated. Not that shipping, steel manufacture, etc., are not beneficial to the country. They do not, however, stand in need of any help from the Congress; or if they do it is help of a different nature. The object in confining the exhibition to products of village industries is to raise the importance of these industries, to educate the people and to concentrate the country's attention on this activity. Anything other than village industries should, indeed, have no place either in the exhibition or outside it. Since, however, I have not been able to carry all co-workers with me on this point, some confusion does persist in this respect. I admit, however, that there can be other views also on this matter. Please come over here some time and discuss the thing with me. These days it is very hot. You may come in June when it will be cooler.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 4731. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[1] Purushottam K. Jerajani



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## 91. *QUESTION BOX*

### Spinning Regularly

Q. What do you mean by 'spinning regularly'?[1] If one spins for a couple of hours during a month or for half an hour once or twice a week, would he be deemed to have satisfied the condition about spinning regularly?

A. 'Regularly' was put in the place of 'daily'. This was meant to provide for accidental or unavoidable omissions. Therefore spinning every week or at stated intervals will not meet the case. A satyagrahi will be expected to spin daily except for valid reasons such as sickness, travelling or the like.

### Satyagraha Camps and Untouchability

Q. Satyagraha camps are being organized for the training of volunteers all over the country. But the principle with regard to the renunciation of untouchability in every shape and form is not being rigorously enforced. Don't you agree that it ought to be made an absolute rule in the camps that no one who regards the touch of Harijans as polluting and does not freely mix with them should be permitted to attend them?

A. I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that he who has the slightest untouchability in him is wholly unfit for enrolment in the Satyagraha Sena. I regard untouchability as the root cause of our downfall and of Hindu-Muslim discord. Untouchability is the curse of Hinduism and therefore of India. The taint is so pervasive that it haunts a man even after he has changed over to another faith.

### Partition and Non-Muslims

Q. You have said in *Harijan* that "If the eight crores of Muslims desire partition, no power on earth can prevent it."[2] Does it not strike you that 25 crores of non-Muslims too might have a say in the matter? Does not your statement imply that you put a premium on the opinion of the Muslims while underrating that of the Hindus?

A. I have only given my opinion. If the majority of Hindus or Christians or Sikhs or even Parsis, small though their number is, stubbornly resist the express wish of the duly-elected

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.
[2] *Vide* "Hindu-Muslim Tangle", pp. 27-8.

representatives of eight crores of Muslims, they will do so at the peril of a civil war. This is not a question of majority or minority. If we are to solve our problems non-violently, there is no other way. I say this not because the eight crores happen to be Muslims. I would say the same if the eight crores were any other community.

### Legal Practice and Satyagraha

Q. Knowing as you do how lying and deceit have become the stock-in-trade of the legal profession in this country, would you permit practising lawyers to enlist as active satyagrahis?

A. I am unable to subscribe to your sweeping proposition. The fact that a lawyer wants to become a satyagrahi presupposes on his part a certain standard of purification. No doubt there may be, to my knowledge there are, black sheep in the Congress. This is inevitable in any big organization. But it would be unbecoming of a satyagrahi to condemn a man because he belongs to a certain profession.

### Satyagraha and Obstructionism

Q. Is the policy of obstructionism compatible with satyagraha? Can a satyagrahi, who is supposed to stand for principles rather than party, adopt one attitude with regard to a measure when it is sponsored by his party, and another when the same measure is sponsored by the opposite party? Would you approve of this policy in municipalities and district boards as is being done by some Congressmen at present?

A. I have always opposed obstruction as being anti-satyagraha. Congressmen, to be correct in their behaviour, should always give co-operation to their opponents when the latter are in a majority and adopt any wise measure. The object of Congressmen should never be attainment of power for power's sake. Indeed such discriminatory co-operation will enhance the prestige of the Congress and may even give it majority.

### Training Harijans as Cooks

Q. Don't you think that, if the Congress started a plan for training Harijans as expert cooks for Hindu homes and made it a rule to man every ashram or a mess meant for Congress workers with Harijan cooks thus trained, it would prove a short cut to the removal of untouchability?

A. Our ambition should be to enable Harijans to rise to the highest rank. But while that must be the ideal, it will be a good thing to train some Harijans to become accomplished cooks. I have observed that the more we draw them into the

domestic circle, the quicker is the pace of the reform. Harijans who become absorbed in our homes lose all sense of inferiority and become a living link between other Harijans and *savarna* Hindus.

SEVAGRAM, May 19, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-5-1940

## *92. NOTES*

### NON-RESISTANCE

I read the following in the daily Press:

> A petition signed by a number of Muslims has been sent to the Corporation authorities that, if their previous representations for the removal of Gandhiji's portrait from all Corporation schools for Muslim boys and girls is not acceded to, the institutions will be boycotted. They contend that the display of the portrait is a form of hero worship, which is anti-Islamic.

Assuming the truth of the statement, I would strongly advise compliance with the Muslim demand. Nothing is to be gained by the Congress party resisting the demand. At the same time I would suggest to the leaders of the agitation that it is supported by wrong argument. For they have surely their own heroes. The proper and conclusive argument is that I am no longer their hero. Heroes change with the times. It is well for public bodies to accommodate themselves to such changes.

### FIVE QUESTIONS

1. Can satyagrahis (i.e., those who have signed the satyagraha pledge) offer defence when they are arrested?
2. May a satyagrahi make an effort to get better class treatment, i.e., 'A' or 'B'?
3. Ought a satyagrahi in jail to acquiesce in the conditions imposed upon him, or should he endeavour to secure what he regards more humane and satisfactory treatment?
4. What is the minimum time for which a satyagrahi ought to spin or what is the minimum quantity of yarn he should produce?
5. Can a man sign the satyagraha pledge immediately you declare civil disobedience and court arrest, or is there any definite period for which he should have remained a satyagrahi to be eligible to take part in the civil disobedience campaign?

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Answers:

1. There is no objection to offering defence, and in certain cases it would be a duty to do so as, say, in the Ajmer case.

2. In my opinion he should not make any attempt to alter the class. Personally I am against any classification.

3. He is entitled to make every legitimate effort for change to humane conditions.

4. I think one hour per day should be the minimum and 300 rounds per hour is a reasonable speed. Men engaged in public work may spin less.

5. A man who intentionally refrains from signing a pledge in order to avoid fulfilment of conditions is a cheat and unworthy of being a satyagrahi. But I can conceive an honest man just signing the pledge and straightaway going to jail. Even at the risk of losing prospective pledge-takers and those who have taken the pledge, I would say that there is no immediate prospect of my giving the call.

SEVAGRAM, May 20, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-5-1940

## *93. OUR DUTY*

In view of further ruthless aggression by Nazi Germany and the fact that Britain is hard pressed and going through deep waters today, does not non-violence demand that we should say to her that, while we do not resile in the very least from our position nor withdraw an iota of our demand so far as her relationship with us and our future are concerned, we do not desire to embarrass her in dire distress and will definitely, therefore, defer all thoughts and all talk of a civil disobedience movement for the time being? Do not our minds rebel against the very idea of a domination such as Nazidom is avowedly standing for today? Is not the whole future of a humane civilization at stake? It is true that our independence from an alien rule is also a matter of life and death to us. But when Britain is up against an aggressor who is definitely pursuing barbarous methods, should we not make a timely and humane gesture which should in the end win the heart of our opponent? Even if such a gesture makes no impression on her and an honourable settlement is impossible, will it still not be the higher and ennobling thing for us to offer non-violent battle when she is not beset on all sides? Will it not require greater strength in us and therefore mean greater and more lasting benefit, and will it not be a

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glorious example for a warring world? Will it not also be a proof that non-violence is pre-eminently a weapon of the strong?

Perhaps this correctly represents the sentiment of several correspondents who have written to me since the Norwegian setback. It is evidence of the nobility of the hearts of these correspondents. But there is want of appreciation of the reality. These letters ignore British nature. British people stand in no need of sympathy from subject people. For they can command all they want from them. They are a brave and proud people. They are not going to be demoralized by even half a dozen such setbacks. They are well able to cope with any difficulty that may face them. India has no say whatsoever in the manner in which she is to take her part in the war. She was dragged into the war by the mere wish of the British Cabinet. Her resources are being utilized at the will of the British Cabinet. India is a dependency, and Britain will drain the dependency dry as she has done in the past. What gesture has the Congress to make in these circumstances? The greatest gesture in its power the Congress is already making. It creates no trouble in the country. It refrains in pursuance of its own policy. I have said and I repeat that I shall do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain. It will be contrary to my conception of satyagraha. Beyond this it is not in the power of the Congress to go.

Indeed it is the duty of the Congress to prosecute its demand for independence and to continue the preparations for civil disobedience to the fullest extent it can. The nature of the preparations should be appreciated: to promote khadi and village industries, communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, and to this end to enlist and train Congress members. Is this preparation to be suspended? I dare say that, if the Congress truly becomes non-violent and in pursuance of the policy of non-violence it successfully carries out the constructive work I have mentioned, it will be able to have independence without doubt. Then will be the time for India as an independent nation to decide what aid she should give to Britain and how.

The Congress contribution to the cause of the Allies in so far as it may be good, and to the world peace, is its active pursuance of non-violence and truth and the prosecution of its goal of complete independence without abatement and without delay.

Britain is really damaging her own cause by persistently refusing to examine the Congress position and recognize its justice and in raising false issues. The Constituent Assembly of the kind proposed by me provides for every difficulty except one, if it is a

difficulty. It does not provide for British interference in the shaping of India's destiny. If that is put forth as a difficulty, the Congress must wait till it is acknowledged that it is not only no difficulty but that self-determination is India's indisputable right.

In this connection let me refer to the letters I have received accusing me of unwillingness to declare civil disobedience under some pretext or other. These friends must know that I am more concerned than they in the successful demonstration of the weapon of non-violence. I am not giving myself a minute's rest from the pursuit of the search. I am ceaselessly praying for light. But I cannot precipitate civil disobedience because of outside pressure, even as I will not refrain because of such pressure. I know that this is the time of my greatest trial. I have overwhelming evidence to show that there is much violence in the hearts of many Congressmen and that there is much selfishness. If Congressmen were imbued with the true spirit of non-violence, we would have had independence in 1921 and our history would have been written differently. But I must not complain. I must work with the tools I have. Only let Congressmen know the cause of my seeming inaction.

SEVAGRAM, May 20, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-5-1940

## *94. LETTER TO RAMAKRISHNA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 20, 1940*

DEAR RAMAKRISHNA[1],

Father tells me you are to have the *upanayana*[2] ceremony. It means a new birth—regeneration. It means a resolution to lead a life of purity and service.

*Yours,*
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 746. Also C.W. 2804. Courtesy: Ramakrishna

[1] Brother of K. T. Narasimhachar
[2] Investiture with the sacred thread, a sacrament for caste Hindus

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## 95. LETTER TO K. T. NARASIMHACHAR

[*May 20, 1940*][1]

MY DEAR K. CHAR,

There is not likely to be any call.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 746. Also C.W. 2804. Courtesy: Ramakrishna

## 96. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
*May 20, 1940*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I did not have the courage to write to Sarojinidevi[2]. Shri Katju is no stranger.[3] He is an eminent lawyer and was a Minister in the Congress Ministry. He held a high post. People should give up such attachments also.

It appears Om[4] has failed. If so, she should not feel disappointed. She must study again and get through. One famous man who had failed 21 times kept on trying and got through at last.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3011

[1] This and the preceding letter are written on the same sheet.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 74.
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to K. N. Katju", pp. 113-4.
[4] Addressee's younger daughter



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## 97. LETTER TO BHOLANATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 20, 1940*

BHAI BHOLANATH,

I think I have replied to your letter of March 26, 1940. I came across it today when I was going over my correspondence. Tell me how you are now.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1377

## 98. LETTER TO TARA SINGH[1]

[Before *May 21, 1940*][2]

The Congress will stick to its resolution[3] passed at the Lahore session of the Congress regarding communal rights of the Sikhs, meaning thereby that no communal solution will be accepted by the Congress which will not be acceptable to the Sikhs.

*The Hindustan Times*, 23-5-1940

## 99. ASHRAM NOTE

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

The work of cutting vegetables is disorganized. Under the rules, no one should drop out of vegetable cutting. This applies to all community activities. Whenever someone is unable to participate

[1] Leader of the Akali Party. He had pointed out to Gandhiji that Abul Kalam Azad's statement that the Congress would accept the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League if the same got the approval of the Muslims had caused much anxiety amongst the Congress-minded Sikhs, who did not like the idea of partition.

[2] The report carrying the item is dated May 21, 1940.

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



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in such work, the person in charge of that work should be informed. Those who cannot participate in such activities should declare their inability once and for all.

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 4674; also G.N. 6866

## *100. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

In spite of all effort I have failed to write before now. Reason: want of time.

You said there was a letter for Kanu. It never came. The account of yarn was received only yesterday.

I have made use of your question. I can't compliment you on it. There is no logic in it. I have let you down gently.

The weather has changed for the better since yesterday.

I send you some letters.

Lalita Kumari still here. She keeps none too well but gives no trouble. Her servants look after her. I had put her with me but she passes her time in Ba's room and is happy.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3969. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7278

## *101. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. It is not yet time for you to go to Rajkot. If you build up your physical strength there, you will have taken one step forward.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9737. Also C.W. 717. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

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## 102. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your three letters. You are not at all to blame in regard to Prabhakumari's case. But the case proves that it is necessary to be alert in all matters. Ahimsa requires non-possession, both mental and physical, and truth requires silence. If this is accepted, it will become easy to distinguish between violent and non-violent actions in all important matters.

I find your case about going to Ghogha rather weak. All athletes would endure the hardships you mention. I do not believe, from what you describe, that any very great shock is being given to reason. But the truth will soon be known. We will know how much those who attended benefited. I have spent myself in training people in ahimsa but I have not wholly succeeded in cultivating it myself or in helping others to cultivate it. I am now looking to you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 2950. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

## 103. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 21, 1940*

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I think we should not ask for contributions just yet. I have even written to Shankerlal [Banker] to this effect. We shall know in a month or so. Meanwhile we should think over the matter.

How to improve the internal state of affairs?

What should we do if we get no contributions?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9795



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## 104. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

By all means stay on there. You are making yourself fully useful and are getting some peace of mind. Kanchan also gets it. Return only when you clearly feel that there is no further need for you to stay on. Ask Kanchan to write to me some time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8540

## 105. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
*May 21, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I did not say anything because I thought the work of vegetable-cutting was proceeding smoothly. Now I have commented on it in my Ashram Note[1].

Mahadev may not be looked upon as an inmate of the Ashram. He cannot be spared even for a minute for community work. Pyarelal's case is slightly different, but he too should not be pressed.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4342

[1] *Vide* pp. 84-5.

## *106. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 21, 1940*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I have also written to Madhav[1]. All of you must naturally be very sad at Sumitra's death. Still, do not such occasions serve to test our wisdom and faith? I trust you will all pass the test.

Europe is now an arena of bloody strife. Be that as it may. I have hardened my heart.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8046. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

## *107. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 22, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. I could not reply by today's post. There is no need to send you a wire. Ask Kanchan to write to me about the matter and ask Balkrishna and Kunvarji also to write. I cannot also understand why Bhojubhau and Kanchan are not on speaking terms. Is Balkrishna's work suffering in any way because of this tiff? He had some such fear, and if it is so they should let him alone. I can give my decision about you only after taking into account all these factors.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8539. Also C.W. 7090. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Son of Rameshwardas Birla



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## *108. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 22, 1940*

CHI. MANILAL,

Why do you feel ashamed to mention that Sushila is in her seventh month of pregnancy? And why do you feel unhappy? All one must do is to observe the utmost self-control. What more can one do? This is how life will go on.

Yes, Sevagram is fast growing. Nobody can say how big it will grow.

Here there is no possibility of my starting a struggle immediately.

Bhabha and others may write what they please but propriety requires that you should write nothing about Jinnah Saheb. If you do write, you should use polite language. This is my view. Certainly I would not want you to write or refrain from writing anything out of fear.

I wrote what I thought best about the struggle there. But it was for you to decide whether or not to act upon it. Medh came and saw me. I had long talks with him. He will call again. His daughter is getting married and so he went back on the same day.

Ba's health is fine, considering her age. The rest are all right.

I am not nursing any hope of anyone of you coming here in the immediate future. Besides, it is a good thing that you are there and doing some service.

Ramdas is with the Tatas but he is very restless and has no peace of mind. His health also is not very good. Nimu is with him of course.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4913

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## 109. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 23, 1940*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Read the enclosed and guide me. I have told the writer that his suggestion[1] attracts me and if I see my way clear I shall act up to it in part or wholly.

Love.

*Yours*,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 110. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 23, 1940*

DEAR NATESAN,

You had a perfect right to send me your letter.

What more can India as a subject country do than it is made to do? You do not suppose for one moment that they hesitate to take all they want from this country. The Congress has nothing but moral help to give. They have disabled India from doing more. India as a subject country *cannot* save Britain. India as a free country may. There is no want of will on my part. It is sheer want of ability. Hope your wife is better.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2238

[1] Abdul Hai Abbasi of Lucknow had suggested that since communal troubles usually started in Northern India, Gandhiji should settle in a village in U.P. where Muslims were in a majority.



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## *111. LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 23, 1940*

BHAI DILKHUSH,

Your letter is not at all long. The single-minded devotion with which you are working leaves you no time for any other thoughts. I can of course remove your financial difficulty but I am of the view that it would be better if you fought your way through. I suppose you have trained weavers from among the local population. If not, please train some.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2646

## *112. ASHRAM NOTE*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 24, 1940*

Owing to certain irritations, big and small, I have entered on a period of silence today. The silence will continue indefinitely. It will have to be broken when the Working Committee arrives. It will also be broken in other similar emergencies. At present there can be but one *sadhana* for me. For this silence is essential. Talking causes interruptions. I also find that silence saves my energy. I do not want to insist on anything any more and so beyond expressing my views on essential matters, I do not want to argue.

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 4674; also G.N. 6686

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## *113. LETTER TO M. MUJEEB*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 24, 1940*

MY DEAR MUJEEB,

Raju has been and gone to his place. He wants to work there if he can. I gave him all the time he wanted and put him in touch with Kaka's office. At his wish I have given him a note to Dr. Pattabhi.

I am sure you will strike the balance between the two seemingly conflicting duties. Please tell Dr. Zakir that the Urdu school thing is being fixed up satisfactorily.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. MUJEEB
JAMIA MILLIA
NEW DELHI

From the original: C.W. 1466. Courtesy: M. Mujeeb

## *114. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 24, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your translations. I must make time to read them. V. Hari[1] says he does not want any now. All the same you must practise them. One never knows when the need will arise.

Your corrections must be in ink for my eyes' sake—not mine!

This week's articles will go in today I hope. I have not got them from Kanu yet.

No time for more just now. Nanabhai Bhatt has come in. I am silent indefinitely from 7.30 a.m. today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3668. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6477

[1] Viyogi Hari, editor of *Harijan Sevak*



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## *115. LETTER TO MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 24, 1940*

DEAR SISTER,

What you say is true. I shall write—with what effect I do not know.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: N.A.I. File No. 74. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also G.N. 6836

## *116. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 24, 1940*

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your two letters. I have Dr. Bhaskar's detailed letter, too. It was good that you were sent there. Now you are bound to get well. Your mind is weak; make it strong. Here the weather has changed since the 20th. The heat has very much decreased. All the same it was good that you went. Shakaribehn must be having a little more peace of mind. Let her stay on as long as it may be necessary.

*Blessings to all of you from*
BAPU

SHARDABEHN CHOKHAWALA
PATIDAR ASHRAM
SURAT

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10028. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

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## 117. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM,
*May 24, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have gone through your letter. The thing is that Parnerkar says he cannot all by himself look after the three jobs; the milk-room, the cattle and the farming. He is therefore agreeable to cattle and farming being transferred to you. I like this arrangement and then you have to help Parnerkar quite a lot in his work. Chimanlal and Munnalal, to the extent they understand the problem, also approve. Parnerkar also accepts if not wholly. The reason he advances is that he is short-handed. Under the circumstances, it becomes my duty to entrust cattle and farming to your care. I do not like the idea of forming a committee. You can take me to be the committee. If I need anyone's help I shall take it, otherwise I shall decide matters myself. In effect this will mean that many things will be left to you.

As far as possible let the *goshala* be as it is. If experience demands any change, it will be made.

As for servants only those will remain who are good.

We must grow our own vegetables. We are already using our own cotton. The fruit trees must be taken good care of.

This is my view. But if for any reason your heart is not in this work, I shall not insist. If you wish to go to Nathji[1] for some days, do go. And if you wish to do some work on a larger scale, you should certainly do so. If you take up this work you should do so with a feeling of satisfaction and as a duty.

You should not take it up on my account; because I have no knowledge of these things. I want to entrust you with the work because you are here and I have confidence in you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1944

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni



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## *118. STATEMENT TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS*[1]

WARDHA,
*May 24, 1940*

While hourly butchery is going on in the West and peaceful homes are being destroyed, I have no heart to say anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement in answer to Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons.[2]

Suffice it to say that I would leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock.

*The Hitavada*, 26-5-1940

[1] This was also published in *Harijan*, 1-6-1940, under the title "Will Leave No Stone Unturned". Gandhiji was lying in his cottage with a wet piece of cloth over his head on account of the blazing heat when the Associated Press representative presented Amery's statement in the Commons to Gandhiji.

Gandhiji read the statement carefully and then appeared to think deeply for a few minutes. He then took paper and pencil and himself wrote out the statement.

[2] On May 23, L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, had said in the Commons: "The attainment by India of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy. We recognize, as my predecessor made clear in his speech on April 18, that it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising a form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and India's outlook. The promise already given that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are to be open for re-examination at the end of the war necessarily implies discussion and negotiation, and not dictation. We have no desire to delay any of the steps that may pave the way towards an agreed settlement that will take account of the legitimate claims of all communities and interests. On the contrary, we have been, and are only too anxious to make our contribution towards such a settlement."



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## 119. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

[Before *May 25, 1940*][1]

CHI. VIJI,

I have your letter as also the beautiful handkerchiefs. I have started using them. Do write to me about Father. I hope you are calm. You must have got my letter.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7106. Also C.W. 4598. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

## 120. TELEGRAM TO SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN[2]

WARDHA,
[*May 25, 1940*][3]

SIR SIKANDAR HYATKHAN

CONFIDENTIAL. MUCH OBLIGED YOUR WIRE[4] SUFFICIENT DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT HAVE BEEN MADE. IT SHOULD BE ENOUGH IF CONGRESS DOES NOT OBSTRUCT. OBVIOUSLY CONGRESS CANNOT GO BEYOND. WHAT BAFFLES ME IS BRITISH OBSTINACY MAKE UNEQUIVOCAL DECLARATION THAT INDIA IS FREE COUNTRY HAVING FULL RIGHT TO SHAPE HER DESTINY WITHOUT BRITISH INTERFERENCE. WITHOUT SUCH DECLARATION AND CONSEQUENT ACTION SO FAR AS POSSIBLE DURING WAR MORAL FORCES CANNOT WORK. THIS IS PERSONAL REACTION TO YOUR WIRE. AM CONFERRING

[1] From the reference of "receipt of the handkerchiefs" in "Letter to Vijayabehn M. Pancholi", p. 98.

[2] Punjab landowner, leader of the Unionist Party and Premier of the Punjab.

[3] The source gives no date. However copies of this telegram and the one which it answered were forwarded by Mahadev Desai to Rajagopalachari on May 25.

[4] In this the addressee had appealed to Gandhiji and the Congress "for whole-hearted support of prosecution of war in interests of civilization and of safety of India".

WITH MAULANA AND JAWAHARLAL. HOPE YOU ARE QUITE WELL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10883. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan

## *121. LETTER TO ABDUL DADAR BEG*

*May 25, 1940*

DEAR MIRZA SAHEB,

Herewith Shri Garg's reply to your indictment. I would like to have your reaction to it. Political differences there will be. But all bitterness between parties should be avoided.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## *122. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I told you Mira had gone to Bundla. I have an enthusiastic account from her.

Lalita Kumari is braving the heat quite cheerfully. She is quite happy being here.

Lilavati has no plans.

A[mtul] S[alaam] does not want to be happy. She thinks everybody is at her.

Valjibhai's address is Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati.

Surely I have been writing to you fairly regularly. Why should you feel depressed? The Allies seem to be losing ground everywhere. These are the fortunes of war. You must [not][1] grieve over these things. The slaughter is awful but it is part of the game. All parties know what is what.

If it is the personal element that depresses you, it is worse than childishness. Let us forget ourselves in this dance of death. And then you have your day's work for you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3669. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6478

[1] The source has this scribbled in pencil in somebody else's hand.



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## *123. LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. MIRA,

I have your chatty letter. I envy you your scenery. But I have to be in the midst of the storm. I have taken indefinite silence since yesterday for the sake of peace and work. It will break for the W[orking] C[ommittee] or accidents.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6453. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10048

## *124. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have already written to you. I have also acknowledged receipt of the handkerchiefs. I understand about the mangoes. I shall deal with them when they arrive. They will be finished in a day.

Pay a flying visit whenever you wish to.

Nanabhai had been here for a couple of days. He had come for some work concerning Bhavnagar. The rest are fine.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

The mangoes have arrived.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7128. Also C.W. 4620. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

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## *125. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Have a talk with Prahlad. The question of giving him the charge of the land does not arise now. About a house we shall see in November.

You have done well in pointing out the mistake in '*nanamota*'[1].

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1935

## *126. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What you desire is of course good. It is, however, advisable to keep patience as long as my letters do not reach you in the natural course. I shall remember your wish. It will be fulfilled in its own good time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4343

[1] *Vide* "Ashram Note", p. 91, and the reference to big and small irritations for which Gandhiji had used this Gujarati expression instead of its Hindi equivalent '*chhotemote*'.

## 127. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 25, 1940*

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have read your letter to Rajku[mari]. None of you is to be selected.[1] Render such service as you can. If the battle is joined, truth and falsehood will stand revealed. You must do something in the villages if you can. I am keeping good health.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2481

## 128. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
*May 26, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

Many thanks for your letter of 19th instant. Enclosed herewith you will find copies of the wires that have passed between Sir Sikandar and myself.[2] My [wire] represents only my personal position. I feel that so long as Britain refuses to make an unequivocal declaration, her moral position must remain doubtful.

But my object in writing this letter is not to ventilate my grievances. It is to place before you my reaction to the war situation. The latest development seems to be most serious. Want of truthful news is tantalizing. I suppose it is inevitable. But assuming that things are as black as they appear to be for the Allied cause, is it not time to sue for peace for the sake of humanity? I do not believe Herr Hitler to be as bad as he is portrayed. He might even have been a friendly power as he may still be. It is due to suffering humanity that this mad slaughter should stop.

[1] Presumably for individual civil disobedience
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Sikandar Hyat Khan", pp. 96-7.



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If there is anything in my proposition and if the British Cabinet desire it, I am prepared to go to Germany or anywhere required to plead for peace not for this interest or that but for the good of mankind.

This may be a visionary's idea. But as your friend I owe it to pass it to you. Perchance it may be wisdom more than a vision.[1]

You have two sons and son-in-law on active service. May it be well with them.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *129. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

*May 26, 1940*

I am sorry you discover nothing but violence, hy[po]crisy and untouchability here. There is nothing confidential in your letter. You shall talk to all the people here. As I am silent I shall not be able to do much. Even in supervision you can serve. But you are free to choose your work.[2] But how can you live in the midst of violence, hypocrisy, etc.? You must chalk out a programme for yourself. I am sorry but I am helpless.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1449. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

[1]The Viceroy in his letter of June 3 replied: "His Majesty's Government have done their best in the past to avoid that struggle and to keep it to the extent that it proved inevitable within the narrowest limits practicable. . . . But . . . they are clear in their own resolution that the war must be pursued until the objects for which they are fighting have been achieved. Nor can they place any reliance in the light of events on any undertaking or any promise that Herr Hitler might give to them. There is nothing for it . . . but to go on until victory is won."

[2] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to work amongst the Harijans of Sevagram instead of doing supervision work in the Ashram.

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## 130. LETTER TO CHANDAN KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 26, 1940*

CHI. CHANDAN,

What a woman you are! I should not have allowed you to go away from Sevagram. You ought to be where you belong, no matter whether you remain well or ill. Now observe the rules of food, etc., and get well soon. It will be nice if you can come and spend some time here. You seem to have completely given up writing to me!

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 954. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

## 131. KERALA CONGRESS[1]

Mian Iftikharuddin after his visit to Kerala reported to me that the differences between rival groups that were hampering real progress in Kerala had been settled. I was happy to have the report. But letters since received from Kerala go to show that the settlement was superficial. I have before me a long resolution passed by the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee which condemns almost all my acts and writings, ridicules the constructive programme, and yet to fulfil the letter of the Congress law half-heartedly endorses the Congress resolution. I suggest to the Kerala Congressmen who are responsible for the resolution that this is neither good soldiership nor sportsmanship. The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life. Congressmen should understand the spirit of the resolution and carry it out. They will put life into me and themselves. If they cannot, it will be brave and honourable to resist in a dignified manner the present leadership and programme. The resolution before me merely confounds the people to whom it is addressed. I hope that the leaders of the majority group in Kerala will realize their mistake and retrace their steps. But whether they do so or not, the minority who

[1] This appeared under the heading "Notes".



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have faith in the programme should quietly pursue it and by their solid work impress the people with their sincerity.

SEVAGRAM, May 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

## *132. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 27, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got both your letters only today. For the present please remain there. I understand about your fall. I see no need for you to broadcast it. When I permitted you to go there, I had expected this would happen. But I did not want to stop you forcibly. You were mentally meeting her every day. It was better that you should meet physically also, if it had to be so. Now it is best that you should resume living together. Surely living together does not necessarily mean sharing the same bed. If, even while living together, you can both observe self-control, that will be a great thing. You should test each other while you are there. I think that would be the best thing.

Having written this much, I started feeling sleepy and so the mind got confused. Do not lose heart.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall not write to Kanchan or anyone else today; it is the day for *Harijan*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8538. Also C.W. 7091. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *133. NOT YET*

The reader will find in another column Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's plea for immediate civil disobedience. I endorse his prescription for ensuring world peace. For enforcing the acceptance of his prescription he would have immediate civil disobedience. Here I must join issue. If Dr. Lohia subscribes to my conception of the working of non-violence, he will at once

admit that the present is no atmosphere for influencing the Britisher in the right direction through civil disobedience. Dr. Lohia agrees that the British Government should not be embarrassed. I fear that any step towards direct action is bound to cause them embarrassment. If I start now, the whole purpose of civil disobedience will be defeated.

I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined. But unfortunately we have many groups outside the Congress who believe in neither non-violence nor civil disobedience. In the Congress itself there are all shades of opinion about the efficacy of non-violence. Congressmen who believe in the application of non-violence for the defence of India can be counted on the finger-tips. Though we have made great strides towards non-violence, we have not arrived at a stage when we can hope to be unconquerable. Any false step at the present time may end in the loss of the great moral prestige the Congress has gained. We have sufficiently demonstrated that the Congress has done with imperialism, and that it will not be satisfied with anything less than the unfettered right of self-determination.

If the British Government will not *suo motu* declare India as a free country having the right to determine her own status and constitution, I am of opinion that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is. We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence.

But we shall have many opportunities of demonstrating our power if we really have it. We can make it felt at the time of peace which must come whichever party wins.

Have we got the power? Is India at ease without having up-to-date arms? Does not India feel helpless without the ability to defend herself against aggression? Do even Congressmen feel secure? Or do they not feel that for some years to come at any rate India will have to be helped by Britain or some other Power? If such is our unfortunate plight, how can we hope to make an effective contribution towards an honourable peace after the war or universal disarmament? We must first demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong in our own country before we can expect to influence the tremendously armed Powers of the West.

But many Congressmen are playing at non-violence. They think in terms of civil disobedience anyhow meaning the filling of jails. This is a childish interpretation of the great force

that civil disobedience is. I must continue to repeat, even though it may cause nausea, that prison-going without the backing of honest constructive effort and goodwill in the heart for the wrongdoer is violence and therefore forbidden in satyagraha. Force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity. Non-violence, therefore, is the decisive factor in civil disobedience. At this the most critical moment in India's history, I will not play with the force whose hidden possibilities I have been humbly trying to explore now for nearly half a century. Fortunately in the last resort I have myself to fall back upon. I have been told that people cannot be non-violent overnight. I have never contended they can. But I have held that by proper training they can be, if they have the will. Active non-violence is necessary for those who will offer civil disobedience, but the will and proper training are enough for the people to co-operate with those who are chosen for civil disobedience. The constructive work prescribed by the Congress is the proper training. Given the preparation, the Congress will make perhaps the most effective contribution towards ending the war in the right way. Disarmament of India though compulsory in origin, if it is voluntarily adopted by the nation as a virtue and if India makes a declaration that she will not defend herself with arms, can materially influence the European situation. Those, therefore, who wish to see India realize her destiny through non-violence should devote every ounce of their energy towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme in right earnest without any thought of civil disobedience.

SEVAGRAM, May 28, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

## *134. QUESTION BOX*

### WHOLE OF SPARE TIME

Q. You say an active satyagrahi should devote the whole of his spare time to constructive work. What is your conception of spare time?

A. Every minute that is not required for my necessary private work would be spare time. A merchant whose whole time is occupied in making money—nothing inherently wrong in it, if it is honestly made and equally honestly spent—naturally has no spare time. He cannot become an active satyagrahi. An active

satyagrahi will give the least time to his private work. The balance is his spare time. For an active satyagrahi time is more than money. He should therefore be able to give a good account of every minute. In these matters the ultimate judge is oneself.

## How to Use Vacation

Q. What can students do during vacation? They do not want to study and would get tired of constant spinning.

A. If they get tired of spinning, it shows that they have not understood its life-giving property and its intrinsic fascination. What is the difficulty in understanding that every yard spun adds to the national wealth? A yard of yarn is not much, but as it is the easiest form of labour it can be easily multiplied. Thus the potential value of spinning is very great. Students are expected to understand the mechanism of the charkha and keep it in good order. Those who do so, will find a peculiar fascination in spinning. I refuse, therefore, to suggest any other occupation. But of course spinning may give place to more pressing work—I mean more pressing in point of time. Their help may be required in putting the neighbouring villages in a good sanitary condition and in attending to the sick or in educating Harijan children, etc.

## Honest Doubt

Q. Some of us belong to that section of Congress workers who are not firmly of the opinion that the charkha is no good and has to be discarded along with your leadership at the earliest possible date. Nor do we belong to that happy band of your followers who have an unshakable faith in the political, economical and spiritual mission of the charkha. We believe in khadi at any rate in the present circumstances of our country. But we cannot truthfully say that we understand the necessity of ourselves spinning. We are city people, and there is very little scope for the charkha here as a bread-giver. However, we are anxious to be enrolled as satyagrahis. We can promise that we shall conscientiously spin as required by you, but we are not in a position to promise that faith in it which you desire. It is possible that as we ply the charkha the faith may come. But, for the present, it is as we have stated. Can we honestly sign the satyagraha pledge?

A. Of course you can be enrolled. All those who spin do not do so because of the bread-giving property of the wheel. Many spin for sacrifice, to set a good example, and to create the spinning atmosphere.

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### TEST FOR ALL MEMBERS

Q. I am one of the secretaries of a Congress committee. I have a feeling that some of those who have signed the pledge are not carrying it out—particularly the clause about spinning. Can we put to them the question whether they spin or not? And, if we feel that their answers are evasive or untrue, is it part of our duty to hold an enquiry into the matter? Some of us feel that we must accept their word, and not be too searching.

A. As secretaries it is your duty to devise rules so that there would be an automatic test for all members, not merely for doubtful ones, spinning or not spinning. One test will be that the members deliver to a depot the yarn they spin. Every member is expected to keep a daily record of his output. But a nagging inquiry should undoubtedly be avoided.

### RECRUITMENT *v.* CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

Q. Which would you prefer—whether we should devote all our time to recruiting satyagrahis or set about organizing constructive work with the satyagrahis that we already have on hand?

A. Of course you will organize constructive work with those you have. This will by itself attract recruits.

### MEN AND WOMEN

Q. I should like to know whether you would approve of men and women satyagrahis mixing promiscuously and working together, or whether they should be organized into separate units with a clear delimitation of the field of each. My experience is that the former must lead, as it has led, to a lot of indiscipline and corruption. If you agree with me, what rules would you suggest to combat the potential evil?

A. I should like to have separate units. Women have more than enough work amongst women. Our womenfolk are terribly neglected, and hundreds of intelligent women workers of sterling honesty are required to work among them. On principle too I believe in the two sexes functioning separately. But I would lay down no hard and fast rules. Good sense must govern the relations between the two. There should be no barrier erected between the two. Their mutual behaviour should be natural and spontaneous.

### KHADI AND ADVERTISEMENT

Q. Do you approve of the policy that is being followed by the Charkha Sangh in some places, of pushing the sale of khadi by the use, for instance, of loud-speakers, popular gramophone records and the like? Don't you think that advertising apart from supplying the necessary information about the marketing of khadi is undignified and incompatible with the khadi spirit?

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A. I see nothing wrong or undignified in making use of loud-speakers, etc., to popularize khadi. Through these means too one does no more than give the prices and other information about khadi. It will be certainly undignified and worse if false information is given whether with or without the use of loud-speakers and the like.

### WILL TO LIVE

Q. It has been said that the "will to live" is irrational, being born of a deluded attachment to life. Why is then suicide a sin?

A. The will to live is not irrational. It is also natural. Attachment to life is not a delusion, it is very real. Above all, life has a purpose. To seek to defeat that purpose is a sin. Therefore suicide is very rightly held to be a sin.

SEVAGRAM, May 28, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

## *135. BIDAR*

Five gentlemen from Hyderabad Deccan have sent me an offer to which there is a long preface containing all kinds of innuendoes against me. I need not burden these columns with their preface. If the adjectives used against me are deserved, they will stand whether I advertise them or not. If they are due to the ignorance of the authors, as I know they are, it is well for me not to notice them. Here is the offer:

> Will Gandhiji agree that the whole Samajist movement which led to this and many other incidents should be thoroughly investigated by a Commission, whose head should be a Parsi or a Christian, with an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members? We are even prepared if Gandhiji agrees to arbitrate himself, as we are confident that the evidence with us will prove the case. As a preliminary, congenial atmosphere to conduct such an enquiry is all that is required. We, therefore, suggest that Gandhiji will not hesitate to demand that all the cases pending in court in connection with the Bidar conflagration should be withdrawn. We do not, of course, plead that cases of a serious nature, as that of murder or cases having no connection with the conflagration, should be included.
>
> Gandhiji is also of opinion that compensation should be given to those who have suffered.[1] We fail to understand the logic behind it. If

[1] *Vide* "Wanton Destruction in Bidar", p. 31.

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communal incidents are to be compensated, what would be the burden on the Exchequer? Would the riots not be employed as a weapon to bring financial failure upon the Government? Is it a remedy or an encouragement? It is a novel demand indeed. We hope Gandhiji will accept our offer.

I have no difficulty about accepting the offer unreservedly. If the writers succeed in persuading the Government of H.E.H. likewise to accept the offer, they will have established a precedent which may well be followed in all such cases. Needless to say, if the court suggested by my correspondents comes into being, the composition and terms of reference will have to be by agreement.

I am asked to demand the withdrawal of the cases instituted against persons suspected of complicity. They were not instituted at my instance, and I presume they will not be withdrawn on my demand. But I should have no hesitation in approving of all withdrawals if the court of inquiry is appointed. I assure my friends that I am interested in elucidation of truth, not in the punishment of the guilty.

But I am sorry I cannot forgo the suggestion for compensation. Compensation has been asked because it is alleged that the authorities failed to do their duty. The question of compensation has naturally to be referred to the proposed tribunal. My correspondents assure me of the sincerity of their proposal. I do not doubt it. I shall await the results of their efforts to have the offer accepted by the State. I wish them every success.

SEVAGRAM, May 28, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

## *136. CURSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY*

Several correspondents protest against my referring to the arguments advanced in favour of partition. They say that Islam is not exclusive, and that it teaches universal brotherhood and toleration. I have never denied this claim. It was because of my knowledge of Islam that I felt grieved over the arguments which go to prove the contrary. Almost every Muslim writing I take up nowadays contains disparagement of Hindus and Hinduism. It cannot be otherwise if the case for partition is to be proved. But my correspondents are angry when I point out the anomaly. They say I have hastily come to the conclusion from isolated

writings of unimportant Muslims. Unfortunately, the arguments referred to by me have proceeded from important Muslims.

But where the writers score over me is in regard to Hindu untouchability. They say in effect:

> You should be ashamed of bringing the charge of untouchability against the Muslim League. First cast out the beam from the Hindu eye before you attempt to deal with the mote in the Muslim eye. Has not the Hindu maintained for a thousand years complete boycott of Muslims? He will not drink or eat with him. He will not intermarry. He will not even let his house to him. Can you conceive a more effective isolation of a whole community than the Hindu has carried out? Will it not be a just nemesis if the Muslim now turns round and pays you in your own coin?

I have admitted as much. Whatever the Muslims do by way of retaliation will be richly deserved by Hindus. My question was and is, should they do so? Does it behove a great political party to play upon religious prejudices?

Whatever the Muslim League does or does not do, it behoves thoughtful Hindus to take note of the deserved taunt and purge Hinduism of its exclusiveness. It will not be protected by artificial barriers which have no sanction in ancient Hinduism or reason. Well did Maulana Abul Kalam Azad say the other day how sick he was of hearing the cry at railway stations of Hindu and Muslim tea or water. I know this touch-me-notism is deep-rooted in Hinduism as it is practised today. But there is no reason why it should be tolerated by Congressmen. If they will be correct in their behaviour, they will pave the way for a radical transformation of Hindu society. The message of anti-untouchability does not end in merely touching the so-called untouchables. It has a much deeper meaning.

SEVAGRAM, May 28, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

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## 137. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 28, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

To my horror A[mtul] S[alaam] told me the enclosed was forgotten. So you will be without my letter again for four days. I am sorry. She is sick and a bundle of nerves. You have to suffer for your own obstinacy or stupidity or both.

I have your two letters—one almost all in Hindi. It is good. The copies of my articles now cannot be sent before Thursday. For that is the day on which the articles can be sent with safety. The office copy should be here till the others reach their destination. And it is the office copy that is being now sent to you.

Your letter of today brings me an Englishman's difficulty. I might deal with it next week. But the arrogance and ignorance of such men are marvellous. They don't want to do simple justice and yet expect sympathy. But our non-violence has full play only when the irritation is at its highest.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3970. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7279

## 138. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 28, 1940*

CHI. MIRA,

I do not think the stay at Oel was a waste.[1] You are gaining valuable experience and keeping well in body and mind. I don't mind the expense. Do as the spirit moves you. It will be good if you can persuade Punditji to join you. Frightful things are happening in the West. God's will be done.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6454. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10049

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 75.

## 139. NOTE TO MOHAN N. PARIKH

*May 28, 1940*

What will you gain by making me talk?[1] What I wanted to learn, I have learnt. You may ask me any question you wish. My silence gives me peace of mind. It helps my *sadhana*. If I broke my silence to please you, I would have to break it for others also. So please understand and stop urging me to speak.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9187

## 140. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

*May 28, 1940*

CHI. PURATAN,

This needs to be looked into. Investigate and write to me. Yes, send me a note about Bhangis.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9176

## 141. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

*May 29, 1940*

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

Though I have scrapped the enclosed scheme[2] owing to the present turmoil, I should like to examine it. Can work be done in the manner suggested? Is it done anywhere like that?

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee wanted to hear Gandhiji's voice since he had come to see him after a long interval.

[2] Regarding A. I. V. I. A. work in Orissa



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## 142. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 29, 1940*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your letter enclosing Mr. Spalding's. Thompson's was not in it. I am writing to S.[1] generally approving of your reply. That will save my time.

I have also yours enclosing reply to Sir Sikandar and your letter [to] the Maulana. Your statements are good and full. I purposely refrain from making statements. But I will when I find it necessary.

I hope you are having a good time in Kashmir.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 143. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU[2]

*May 29, 1940*

I understand all you say. But panic must be avoided at all costs. You are quite right in saying that the country is not ready for non-violence. Therefore the thing to do is to throw individuals and groups on their own resources. The worst happening, there will be no central leadership, if the Congress disappears as it well may. It will be a testing time for the Congress. My own position is, I shall die in the attempt to preserve peace through non-violence. I may not be able to influence anybody but my immediate surroundings. I am not thinking of the future. I am trying to take care of the present. I should advise you also not to worry but prepare the people around you to do the best they can. We need not look to the existing Government to protect anybody if chaos overtakes us. Let us however have the confidence that if we have

[1] The letter to Spalding is not traceable.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 83.

acted honestly all these years, our labours will not be in vain, and that God will see us through. I draw no black picture before me of India's future. I shall await your reflections on the States.

I am sure your presence in Jaipur must have given great relief to Jamnalalji and his band of workers.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *144. LETTER TO ARTHUR MOORE*[1]

*May 29, 1940*

I know I have been disappointing you of late. This letter will add to the disappointment. For I cannot make the response you would like me to your suggestion to raise a crore of rupees for an air force. As you know I am wedded to non-violence through and through. There is no room for such a force in my plan of life. Perhaps in this I am in a minority of one in all India. But I must go my way. Only I shall say nothing about your plan. I am therefore not writing to Jawaharlal.

I know you will bear with me.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *145. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 29, 1940*

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You always have my blessings. God will always prosper you. You may come in June.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 4732. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[1] The editor of *The Statesman*

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## 146. LETTER TO MIR MUSHTAK AHMED

[After *May 29, 1940*][1]

BHAI MIR AHMED,

It is good that you have given up writing and speaking in English for as long as you can.

The answer to your question is covered in the opinion I have given. I feel that such a responsibility should not be undertaken as long as the Congress remains outlawed. Congress Assemblies are a different matter. In this each province is free to act in the manner it likes.

From Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## 147. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 30, 1940*

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your kind letter. Since then events have happened which leave me dumb. May God help us all.

*Yours,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I have now your 2nd letter. But I am still the same.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: G.N. 1038

## 148. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 30, 1940*

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter.

Do you take enough milk? What work have you taken up? Just now this place is fairly crowded. Sarladevi Chowdhrani has

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated May 29, 1940.



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come. Lalita Kumari is still here. You know she was in Ramgarh. There are others also. Krishnakumari has come here for a few days. Radha too is here. R[aj] K[umari] is still in Simla. It is a little cooler now. I am keeping excellent health. Ba's is fairly good. A[mtul] S[alaam] is rather unwell.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3542

## *149. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 30, 1940*

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I do not know if Mahadev wrote to you about Suresh's[1] visit. He himself is now more inclined to our side. He wants to draw Subhas also but he is not likely to succeed. I have told him that he [Subhas] can come and see me whenever he wants. He knows my position. His publicly expressed views clearly indicate that he will not be able to come. He [Suresh] believes that those views have now changed. It doesn't seem so to me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, p. 240

## *150. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 30, 1940*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am enclosing Bal's letter.[2] He intended to send it direct. I said if he insisted on sending it I would rather send it myself. But attach no special significance to my sending it.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8037. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

[1] Suresh Banerji
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Bal Kalelkar", p. 49.

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## 151. LETTER TO GORUR RAMASWAMI IYENGAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 31, 1940*

DEAR FRIEND,

I see no objection to your acceptance.[1]

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI GORUR RAMASWAMI IYENGAR
GORUR, HASSAN DISTT.
MYSORE

From a photostat: C.W. 10159. Courtesy: Gorur Ramaswami Iyengar

## 152. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 31, 1940*

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

Yes, do start a camp at Narela. It is not good to detain Nayar there under some pretext or the other. But you must do whatever you consider advisable. You have to do something about the widespread nervousness among the people.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2480

[1] The addressee was nominated a member of the District Board by the Government of Mysore.

## 153. LETTER TO SHOBHALAL GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*May 31, 1940*

BHAI SHOBHALAL[1],

I have a faint recollection that I had written to Durgaprasad about the poem[2]. It is indeed provocative. But it is also true that such writings are common. Where an officer wants to resort to repression he does just this.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]
*Gandhiji aur Rajasthan*, p. 168

## 154. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
*May 31, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You can certainly tell the guests that extra milk is not served except under doctor's advice.

Talk to Bharatananda[3] about Appu and about himself too. You may also talk about . . .[4] Consider first how it will affect Appu's heart. If Appu looks upon him as father and stays and works with him, we should have nothing to say.

Surendra's denial is partly true and partly untrue. Does not Sarladevi's man wash her clothes? Ask her. Leave out Parnerkarji now. The girls at any rate do their jobs, don't they?

Whatever we do should be inspired by ahimsa. Whomsoever you speak to, speak with affection. I shall tell you what your duty is. It is for you to act accordingly. Consult me about rules. Ask me to make new rules. But relieve me of the rest.

[1] Editor of *Navajyoti*, a Hindi weekly

[2] By Natvarlal Chaturvedi. Action was taken under the Defence of India Act against the publication of this poem.

[3] Maurice Frydman, a Polish Engineer who had become Gandhiji's follower.

[4] The name has been omitted in the source.



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My *sadhana* will be disturbed if I am saddled with day-to-day management.

Having said all this, I am still there if there is any difficulty in the management. I shall try to escape as much as I can. I suppose those who are getting extra milk get it only on doctor's advice.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4344

## *155. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND*

SEVAGRAM,
*May 31, 1940*

CHI. SAMPURNANANDJI,

I have your letter. I have a fear that if there is disorder I may prove ineffective. Because no one will listen to me. I tell those who ask me that everyone should be at his post—using the lathi if they must but with non-violence if they have the faith.

I do not worry, whatever may happen. We can but make the effort and say: "God's will be done."

You cannot take office like that. If there is disorder, of what good will the office be? Still, if I can find a way I shall.

There is no sign from Simla.

*Yours,*
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Sampurnanand Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## *156. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 1, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

By book-post I send you this week's articles and three of your translations revised.

The articles are going late because of me. I was in no hurry.

In the revision you will see one or two howlers. You have made distinct progress.

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You have not yet got control over the pen. You must religiously do the translations though they are not for the present wanted for publication.

You should also read the current translations in *Harijan Sevak* and make notes for my information.

Lalita Kumari went on 30th. She is an extraordinary woman. I liked her well. She bore the heat bravely.

She went and Sarla Devi Chowdharani came. I suppose she will be here for a day or two longer. I do not know her movements.

This war is going to alter things radically, at least I hope so. I simply refuse to think about it. It is a [war] of scientific abilities. German science is winning the day.

You asked Kanu to send you copy of R.'s letter. He never got the letter. But I do not want to send you copy. It must not leave the Ashram. It is well like this; of course there is nothing striking in the letter. You appreciate the reason, don't you? You will see all on your return.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3971. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7280

## *157. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

*June 1, 1940*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. Katjuji had written to me. We may look upon the Jaipur affair as having ended well. Our workers should not be impatient. If they have to make public speeches, they should talk about khadi. There is time enough for economic and social reforms.

Should I take it that your health is all right? How is Janakidevi? Is it true that Dr. Purshottam Patel has passed away? What is his wife's name? I heard of it recently.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

A letter to Dr. Patel's wife is enclosed.[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3012

[1] This sentence is in Gujarati. The letter is not traceable.

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## *158. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

*June 1, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I shall write to Bharatananda. Let us see what happens. What he writes is silly. Yes, it is true that I have said that the eleven vows do not apply to him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

We have to think about Appu.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4345

## *159. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 2, 1940*

DEAR MALKANI,

Tejuramji has been with us for some time. I have found him to be a very fine worker, simple and quiet. He dreamt of founding an ashram. I said he must not do that but attach himself to some institution and work under it. Hence this note to you. Take him if you have any use for him. He is honest and industrious.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

He has learnt fine carding.

From a photostat: G.N. 935

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## 160. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEVAGRAM,
*June 2, 1940*

MY DEAR MALKANI,

By mistake a note[1] I wrote for the bearer to take to you was posted. Hence this one is being given to Tejuramji. He is a good and industrious worker. He was dreaming of founding an ashram. I have advised him to join an institution. If you can make use of him, he will be a valuable worker.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 934

## 161. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*June 2, 1940*

I had a talk with Bha[ratananda]. Let us engage Appu. Let him do all the work. Let him learn Hindi. If Bha[ratananda] needs any assistance in respect of his clothes, etc., give it to him.

The new friend[2] who has arrived today is very modest and hard-working. Find room for him. Make him your own. Explain to him the rules. Include him in all activities.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4346

## 162. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*June 2, 1940*][3]

About today's theft you will have to speak to all the girls who go to Ba's room. Whoever has done it has done wrong. Hiding it will make it worse. If she does not confess the whole thing to

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Chandel, a co-worker of the addressee's sister

[3] From the reference to the theft which occurred on June 2; *vide* "To Segaon Workers", pp. 124-5.



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me, I shall be compelled to fast. Convey this quietly to all the girls who go there.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 708

## *163. MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN ASSAM*[1]

Shri Thakkar Bapa writes:[2]

> I have seen your notes in *Harijan* of 9th March and 18th May[3] regarding the grievance of the Secretary, Seng Khasi School, Shillong. The Secretary has been running the school with great zeal and without any grant from the Government. That the Christian Missions have been working in Assam with the sole view to convert the Hill tribes to Christianity with the help of the Government grants is very apparent from the *Quinquennial Education Report of the Assam Government for the Year 1932-37* as submitted by Mr. G. A. Small, Director of Public Instruction. In his review of the report he wrote in April 1938, p. 63: "The general policy at present is for Government to take over the responsibility for education from the Missions as early as possible. While acknowledgment must be made of the debt owed to the Missions for their work as pioneers in the field of education, it must also be recognized that the Missions have interested themselves in education solely with the object of Christianizing the children. . . . The Governments of the past have definitely neglected the Hill areas and it is only recently that they have recognized at all their responsibility in the matter. . . . The question of the policy to be adopted in the Lushai Hills is still under consideration. In the Mikir Hills Government schools are being opened and arrangements are being made for the production of Mikir text-books in Assamese character."

This but confirms what I have already published in these columns. One only hopes that things will be better managed now.

SEVAGRAM, June 3, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-6-1940

[1] This appeared under the heading "Notes".
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[3] *Vide* "Favouritism", pp. 63-4; also Vol. LXXI, pp. 218-9.

## 164. TO SEGAON WORKERS

*June 3, 1940*

Today I wanted to send for everyone and talk to them; but the mind resisted. Perhaps I could do the same thing by writing. A letter and a pen belonging to Radhabehn[1] were stolen last night or this morning. I was shocked. Theft of a letter and a pen is an ordinary matter; but this theft has some peculiar aspects. However it be, this theft has brought me to the conclusion that I am a wholly incompetent person. That such a thing should happen in my very presence indicates that my penance is defective. A pure heart is the real foundation of any penance. It is said that violence is subdued in the presence of non-violence, untruth in the presence of truth and stealing in the presence of non-stealing. What is my worth if untruth, violence and stealing survive in my presence? How can I give any battle? All these questions do arise. But giving up will be cowardice. What, then, is one to do? The answer I get is that if the theft is not traced I should fast. The theft took place in Ba's room. The pen has been discovered. Budhu found it near the hospital gate at about 10 yesterday. Bits of paper were also found later. I feel that this is not the work of a servant. Someone who has access to Ba's room has done it. There are a few such persons. Why then do I address this to all ashram inmates? That is because you know one another well and may help in the enquiry. If I have to resort to a fast then, in any case, everyone will know. It is better that I do not have to say all this on that occasion. If a fast becomes necessary you will know the reason and remain calm. I am convinced that if the theft is not traced, I must fast. No one should join the fast or interfere with it. I must do whatever I consider my duty. I do not know how long I shall fast. If the theft is not traced by Friday, the fast will commence from Saturday. I hope the culprit will bring me peace by making a clean breast of it and save me from having to fast in these critical days. Everyone makes mistakes but the real cleansing comes by owning them. I myself stole once. I owned it up and freed myself of the taint for ever. Ba too resorted to thieving. What should I say

[1] Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi

about others? I do not know. But the instances of the two of us should help everyone in cleansing themselves.

BAPU

[PS.]

It would be enough to read this out to the permanent inmates of the ashram. They should be summoned now or tomorrow to hear this. Those who cannot be present then may read this note.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6866. Also C.W. 4674

## *165. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*][1]

You admit that it is only someone from amongst us who has done it. You should then try and find out. If I could do it, I would do so at once.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 632

## *166. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

Can you tell something? Who could take the pen? There was a letter too.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 630

## *167. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

Why waste my time like this? Why should you bother about what I do after you leave? If you are concerned with the matter, then don't go. I am unable to see at the moment. Do you or do you not agree that this is not the work of the servants? That you admitted it, is no crime, it is the truth. From you I merely understood that the servants had not done it. Besides, the matter ended then. I am convinced that the servants are not responsible. I am talking about you and me when I accept the innocence of the

[1] From the obvious reference to the theft; *vide* the preceding item. The following notes have been dated on the same basis.

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servants. Have you ever spoken or practised untruth in life? I have seen hundreds of Mussalmans swearing by the Koran and uttering falsehood. Some others swear by the *Gita*. If a Kazi says that you have committed a theft, will you admit the guilt? Then why do you unnecessarily raise the issue of a judge? I have heard your argument on the way. Do not hold your tongue. Say whatever you wish to say. I have said only this much. If the servants have not done it, there remain Ba, Johra, Abha, Lilavati and you. Your proof—my suspicion. This much. . . .[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 706

## *168. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

You took no notice of my words yesterday. I insist that you go to the root of the matter. I am convinced that the servants did not do it. It is so much on my mind that I have no peace. Unless things clear up in a day or two, I shall have no alternative but to fast if I am to have peace.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 707

## *169. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

I am at my wit's end. I suspect everyone and no one. Supposing Ba herself has done it!

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 692

## *170. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

It is not so. The fast will be avoided only when my suspicion is dispelled or confirmed. My quarrel with God is why He allows such things. Why does He permit suspicion to creep into my mind?

As for your not caring, well, if you have not done it, why should you care what happens? Yes, you can help in tracing the

[1] Incomplete in the source

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theft. You yourself admitted that this was not the work of the servants.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 650

## *171. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

What I wish is that you should do your work, eat well and be happy. You know what a terrific quarrel I had with Ba over my suspicion; she stayed away from me for a whole year. How shall I say what other things I did. But Ba showed courage. In the end, after four or more years, my suspicion was dispelled. It was not a matter of stealing. It was something worse. You do not know me! How could I have told you all this? Sheikh Mehtab was behind this. He kept me under his thumb for more than ten years. On his suggestion, I came to doubt the character of Ba. I broke her bangles, refused to have anything to do with her and sent her away to her parents. The hatchet was buried only after my return from England. It was then that I realized fully after many years how wicked Sheikh Mehtab was. He threatened me many times. But finally he relented. He continued to worship me from a distance. This is a long tale, pleasant as well as pathetic.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 641a and 648

## *172. A NOTE*

[After *June 3, 1940*]

Tell Chimanlalbhai to show your notes and mine to everyone. You want that, don't you? I on my part don't. Why should I? I am concerned only with you. What is the use of disclosing my suspicion? But I cannot stop you, nor do I want to. The argument about who said so is over. Then why do you ask who told him? That you showed the letter to Chimanlalbhai was the end of your duty. He is the manager.

I wrote because you asked me.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 721

## 173. A NOTE

[After *June 3, 1940*]

You have kept a copy. Now you should not take my time over this. Whatever you wish to make public, you may. Why should I withdraw anything? I for my part do not want any further discussion on the matter; but if you wish to tell everyone for your own satisfaction, you are free to do so.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 722

## 174. NOTES

### Peace in Sirohi

Some time ago I had regretfully to comment on happenings in Sirohi.[1] I am therefore happy to be able to note that there is now peace between the State and the people. The credit may be equally divided between the State and the satyagrahis. The satyagrahis were ably led by Acharya Gokulbhai who is a firm believer in the principles of satyagraha. Let me hope that the relations between the two will daily become more and more cordial and that there never will be any cause for quarrel between the State and the people.

### Untouchability

Shri T. S. Jadhav, President, District Local Board, Sholapur, writes:[2]

> I have been incessantly making efforts to give facilities to the Harijans especially with regard to their immediate needs in respect of water supply, education, etc. The Congress Board has opened a good number of wells to the Harijans, and has also arranged to put up notices to that effect at these wells. But it is a matter of regret that the Harijans are not inclined to take advantage of this facility for fear of being put to trouble by the 'touchables'. During my tours in the district, I have been requesting the latter to allow Harijans the exercise of this legitimate right . . . I go myself to a public well in a village after a public meeting with some Harijans, 'touchable' Congress

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 179-80.

[2] Only extracts from the letter are reproduced here.

> workers, and a few other prominent villagers, and all of us drink water from the well after it has been drawn by a Harijan. But it is found that the 'touchables' who take part in this function are often boycotted and the Harijans visited with various kinds of troubles by the 'touchables' who do not participate in the function. . . . Can you suggest anything more?

This certainly is good work. Removal of untouchability is a question of double education, that of 'touchables' as well as 'untouchables'. 'Touchables' have to be taught patiently by precept and example that untouchability is a sin against God and humanity, and the 'untouchables' that they should cease to fear the 'touchables' and shed untouchability among themselves. I know that that is very easily said. But I have found nothing else. Living in the midst of both, I know how hard the work is among both. If Hinduism is to live, the work has to be done, however difficult and even hopeless it may appear to be.

### Hand-made Paper

Shri Jadhav further writes:

> Secondly, I have been using hand-made paper for the use of the District Local Board office since the advent of the Congress Party in the Board. Use of mill paper or foreign paper is absolutely discontinued, and as far as my information goes, ours is the only Board in Maharashtra which has been using hand-made paper for its office use to the complete exclusion of other paper. I had sent a circular letter to the Presidents of the other Boards in Maharashtra, requesting them to follow this practice of our Board, and I am glad a few of them have agreed to do so. But I think it will be better if you yourself request the Presidents of the Congress Boards in India to use hand-made paper for their office purposes. This can well be done through the columns of *Harijan*, and I am sure it will go a long way in bringing into reality your dream of revival of village industries as far as writing paper is concerned.

I gladly support this plea. Indeed I have often enough said the same thing in these columns. Shri Jadhav's example should be copied by all Local Boards not merely in the matter of hand-made paper but all village products. With a little care, the Boards should be able to manage these things within their budget. I should also suggest that the Boards have these things manufactured in the villages under their jurisdiction as far as possible. The purpose of the village movement will be defeated if this central fact is not borne in mind. Decentralization is the beauty of the movement as also the key to its success.



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## Red Cross Fund

The same letter mentions the following:

> Then, with respect to the Red Cross Fund. Efforts are afoot in this district to collect money for this fund on a very large scale by means of sale of lottery tickets. These tickets are sold to the villagers against their wishes and in spite of their inability to do so. This is being done through undue influence without leaving any proof of the same behind. At some places the Patil-Kulkarnis do not accept land revenue if the agriculturist does not buy these tickets. I have received a number of complaints in writing to this effect during my recent tour in the district. I am communicating these complaints to the proper Government authorities.

This subject too I have already dealt with. I have explained that in such matters there should be no compulsion. Over-zealous officials may resort to unfair means bordering on compulsion. There is no statutory obligation to subscribe to such funds. Those who do not wish to, will certainly not subscribe. These irregular collections are often vexing and should be stopped by the authorities wherever discovered.

## Comilla Municipality and Harijans

Shri Thakkar Bapa sends the following interesting account of what the Comilla Municipality has done and proposes doing for Harijans:

> 1. 15 days' leave with full pay in a year, and maternity leave to female sweepers.
>
> 2. A free primary school in their quarters.
>
> 3. Corrugated-iron-roof huts for (a) Naga sweepers at a cost of Rs. 1,500, and (b) for other sweepers at a cost of Rs. 3,000. Some Nagas in East Bengal and Surma valley have taken to scavenging work.
>
> 4. The sweepers have been relieved almost wholly from their indebtedness, which totalled about Rs. 3,000 and on which they were paying an interest of three annas per rupee per month or 225 per cent!
>
> The Commissioners intend to adopt the following further measures for them:
>
> 1. To start a co-operative store, proposal for which has been sent to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for registration.
>
> 2. Sweepers have to be weaned from their drinking habit, which it is known is a difficult task.
>
> 3. The insanitary drain behind the sweepers' quarters requires to be made into a pucca drain.
>
> 4. Providing kitchens for sweepers' quarters, as at present they have to cook and sleep in the same room.

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This reminds one of what the Ahmedabad Municipality has done in the matter. The latter is possibly more thorough. But that does not in any way detract from the merit of what the Comilla Municipality has done. It deserves warm congratulations. Let us hope that the prospective reforms too will be carried out in good time.

SEVAGRAM, June 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-6-1940

## *175. HINDU-MUSLIM*

Thus writes a Khan Bahadur from Delhi:

This is a letter for the Question Box in *Harijan*.

In your article in *Harijan* of April 6[1], you observe as follows:

"I should be failing in my duty, if I did not warn the Mussalmans against the untruth that is being propagated amongst them. This warning is a duty because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's mission."

I will request you to consider the Hindu-Muslim problem from our point of view. The stumbling-block to any negotiations for a settlement of the communal question has been the refusal of the Congress to recognize the All-India Muslim League as the authoritative and sole representative body of the Indian Mussalmans. The Congress claims that it speaks for whole India and that it has on its rolls a considerable number of Mussalmans. The very fact that the Congress has made several attempts to come to terms with Mr. Jinnah shows that it is not fully confident of its representative character, as far as the Mussalmans are concerned. But do you not honestly feel that the Congress Mussalmans are the real stumbling-block in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that it is for their sake that the Congress is not making a serious effort to solve the problem? Believe me, they are a lazy lot who are enjoying their present position because they are in the Congress.

You know what the Muslim masses did to your President[2] in Calcutta where for years he had been leading Id prayer. You also know that they have no courage to address a Muslim meeting to convert the Mussalmans to their point of view. You blame the British for creating Princes, Moderates and Khan Bahadurs like me. You blame the British

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 390.
[2] Abul Kalam Azad

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for trying to create another Ulster in India. Has not the Congress created equivalent Moderates and Khan Bahadurs in Azads, Asaf Alis and Kidwais? Is not the action of the Congress tantamount to creation of a Muslim Ulster?

You may cite the case of Mr. Asaf Ali succeeding in the municipal elections of Delhi. I may inform you that but for a division in the Provincial League and bad handling of the situation Mr. Asaf Ali would never have won the election. I may inform you that even as it is, when Delhi Congress wanted to contest the municipal elections as a party, Mr. Asaf Ali, who is now a member of the Congress Working Committee, had declined to take a Congress ticket. Therefore, Mr. Asaf Ali's election was not a test case; and if you pardon my saying so, even now let Mr. Asaf Ali re-seek election on a Congress ticket, and I am confident that any League candidate would defeat him. You will thus realize that your being baffled by the Lahore resolution[1] of the League is not justified when Mussalmans have ceased to trust in your life's mission regarding Hindu-Muslim unity. On the other hand they are convinced that the sole aim of the Congress, for the last ten years at least, has been to divide and rule the Mussalmans. I will beg of you to reconsider your attitude towards the League. Please don't trust the Congressite Mussalmans, for they are not only the 'Mir Jafars' amongst us, but the enemies of Hindu-Muslim accord and India's freedom.

Just now I am inundated with letters of protest from Muslim friends. Most writers do not argue. They give themselves satisfaction by abusing. Pyarelal, who opens and deals with the daily post, gives me only those letters which he thinks I should see. Of these I take notice of those I think I must. In some cases I answer them privately. Therefore correspondents who never receive acknowledgment either through *Harijan* or the post should know the reason.

There are some Muslim letters of sympathy too. One of them says that in his house he has to listen to wildest criticism of me. No adjective is too bad to use. Much criticism he knows to be false. What is he to do, he asks. Is he to leave the house, or is he to engage in endless disputation and convert his house into a bear garden? I have advised my correspondent neither to leave the house nor to engage in a discussion. If he can, he may put in a mild word when he knows that a manifest falsehood is being uttered and believed.

The correspondence in my possession and the Urdu press cuttings and even some English cuttings from journals owned by

[1] Demanding a separate Muslim State

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Muslims go to show that I am believed to be the arch enemy of Islam and Indian Muslims. If I was at one time acclaimed as their greatest friend and suffered the praise, I must suffer too to be described as an enemy. Truth is known only to God. I am confident that in nothing that I am doing, saying or thinking, I am their enemy. They are blood-brothers and will remain so, though they may disown me ever so much.

Now for the Khan Bahadur's letter.

I have never understood the reason behind the demand for the recognition by the Congress of the All-India Muslim League as the sole and authoritative Muslim body. Why should such an admission be demanded or expected? How is it compatible with a genuine desire for a settlement?

The Congress attempts to represent all. But it has never demanded recognition as such from anybody. The all-India status has to be deserved. But whether it be deserved or not, admission thereof is a superfluity. The Congress has never claimed that it represents the whole of Indian Muslims. It has not claimed to represent any single community wholly. But it does claim to represent every single national interest irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed. Even that claim need not be admitted by those who deal with it. It should be sufficient consolation to each party that it is considered by the other important enough to seek friendship with.

The Congress has always frankly admitted that it has not on its register as many Muslims as it would like. But it has been proud to have had the support of many eminent Muslims. Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan was the tallest among them. Qaid-e-Azam himself was a great Congressman. It was only after non-co-operation that he, like many other Congressmen belonging to several communities, left it. Their defection was purely political. They disliked direct action.

It is wrong to swear at the nationalist Muslims simply because they are attached to the Congress. If they become members of the League, they will become worthy Muslims!!! My correspondent simply does not know how much Congress Muslims are trying to bring about unity. When unity is re-established, as it must be, I have no doubt that nationalist Muslims will get their due both from Hindus and Muslims.

It is torture of truth to suggest that they are so many Mir Jafars. They are betraying neither Islam nor India. They are as true Muslims according to their lights as members of the League claim to be. It is equal torture of truth to suggest that the Congress is following the British method of divide and rule. The Congress is a political party with one single aim. It would be a bad day for India

if the Congress could be proved to have mean motives. Is it mean to woo Muslim opinion by the fairest means imaginable? Rightly or wrongly the Congress does not believe in watertight compartments on a communal basis. If religion is allowed to be, as it is, a personal concern and a matter between God and man, there are many dominating common factors between the two which will compel common life and common action. Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that today they are so distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter.

It will perhaps now be clear why I can have no concern with Asaf Ali Saheb's case. I would grant that he would be beaten in a contest between him and a Leaguer. Let it be further granted that such will be the case in the majority of such contests. It will in no way weaken my position. It will prove the superior organizing ability of the League and its popularity among the Muslims. I have not doubted either. My case is incredibly simple. I must not be called upon to make any admissions about the status of the League before thinking of unity through the League. I must not be disloyal to the Muslim nationalists however insignificant they may be considered to be. I ask the Khan Bahadur, the writer of the letter under discussion, to exert his influence to bring the two communities together.

SEVAGRAM, June 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-6-1940

## *176. PANIC*

Nowadays one reads about panic in the Press and hears more than one reads. One friend writes:

> You sitting in lonely Sevagram can have no notion of the talks and whispers going on in the busy cities. Panic has seized them.

Panic is the most demoralizing state anyone can be in. There never is any cause for panic. One must keep heart whatever happens. War is an unmitigated evil. But it certainly does one good thing, it drives away fear and brings bravery to the surface. Several million lives must have been already lost between the Allies and the Germans. They have been wasting blood like water. Old men, women both old and young, and children in Britain and France are living in the midst of imminent death. But there is no

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panic there. If they were seized by it panic would be an enemy more dreadful than German bullets, bombs and poison gas. Let us learn from these suffering nations of the West and banish panic from our midst. And in India there is no cause whatsoever for panic. Britain will die hard and heroically even if she has to. We may hear of reverses, but we will not hear of demoralization. Whatever happens will happen in an orderly manner.

Therefore I would say to those who lend a listening ear to me: Go on with your work or business in the usual way. Do not withdraw your deposits or make haste to turn your paper into cash. If you are cautious, you will run no new risks. Your metal buried underground or in your treasure chests need not be considered safer than in banks or in paper if anarchy overtakes us. There is risk just now in everything. It is best to be as you are in such a condition. Your steadiness, if it is multiplied, will steady the market. It will be the best preventive against anarchy. There is undoubtedly fear of goondaism in such times. You must be prepared to cope with it yourself. Goondas flourish only in the midst of timid people. They will have no quarter from people who can defend themselves violently or non-violently. Non-violent defence presupposes recklessness about one's life and property. If it is persisted in, it will in the end be a sure cure for goondaism. But non-violence cannot be learnt in a day. It requires practice. You can commence to learn it from now. You must be ready to lose your life or property or both. But that is implied in the art of non-violence. If you do not know how to defend yourself either way, the Government will not be able to save you in spite of its best effort. No Government, however powerful it may be, can without the active co-operation of the people. If even God only helps those who will help themselves, how much more true it must be of perishable Governments! Do not lose nerve and think that tomorrow there will be no Government and it will be all anarchy. You can be the Government now, and you certainly will be in the contingency you contemplate or you will perish.

SEVAGRAM, June 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-6-1940

## *177. QUESTION BOX*

### If You Have Courage

Q. My mother died last month. I have for a long time been following the practice of eating food cooked by Harijans. The orthodox did not like it, but they tolerated my practice. Three years ago I accepted an invitation for a funeral dinner given by a Muslim friend on the occasion of his mother's demise. Now my mother is dead. My community have now boycotted all functions in connection with my mother's demise. What am I to do?

A. If you have courage, you will let the castemen do their worst, but you will befriend your Muslim friend at all costs and dine with him as often as is necessary. Such boycotts should not be feared at all.

### Benevolent Dictatorship

Q. When the rich become callous and selfish and the evil continues unchecked, a revolution of the masses with all the attendant horrors inevitably results. Since life, as you have put it, is often a choice between evils, won't you, in view of the lesson which the history of revolutions inculcates, welcome the rise of a benevolent dictatorship which would with the minimum use of force "soak the rich", give justice to the poor, and thereby serve both?

A. I cannot accept benevolent or any other dictatorship. Neither will the rich vanish nor will the poor be protected. Some rich men will certainly be killed out and some poor men will be spoon-fed. As a class the rich will remain, and the poor also, in spite of dictatorship labelled benevolent. The real remedy is non-violent democracy, otherwise spelt true education of all. The rich should be taught the doctrine of stewardship and the poor that of self-help.

### A Social Nuisance

Q. The beggar problem has become a social nuisance everywhere, especially in the cities. India can ill bear the burden of this army of drones. They use self-torture, sometimes even threats and menaces, to work upon the sympathy and fear of our simple folk and extract alms from them. Some of them have in this way accumulated a secret hoard and lead a life of vice and immorality. What solution would you suggest for this problem?



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A. Begging is an age-old institution in India. It was not always a nuisance. It was not always a profession. Now it has become a profession to which cheats have taken. No person who is capable of working for his bread should be allowed to beg. The way to deal with the problem will be to penalize those who give alms to professional beggars. Of course begging itself by the able-bodied should be penalized. But this reform is possible only when municipalities conduct factories where they will feed people against work. The Salvation Army people are or were experts in this class of work. They had opened a match factory in London in which any person who came found work and food. What I have, however, suggested is an immediate palliative. The real remedy lies in discovering the root cause and dealing with it. This means equalizing the economic condition of the people. The present extremes have to be dealt with as a serious social disease. In a healthy society concentration of riches in a few people and unemployment among millions is a great social crime or disease which needs to be remedied.

### Economic Independence of Women

Q. Some people oppose a modification of laws relating to the right of a married woman to own property on the ground that economic independence of woman would lead to the spread of immorality among women and disruption of domestic life. What is your attitude on the question?

A. I would answer the question by a counter question: Has not independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes', then let it be so also with women. And when women have rights of ownership and the rest like men, it would be found that the enjoyment of such rights is not responsible for their vices or their virtues. Morality which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has not much to recommend it. Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

### A Temple Trustee's Poser

Q. I am a member of the A.I.C.C. Personally I neither believe in nor observe taboos relating to untouchability. But I am trustee of a temple built by my ancestors who were thoroughly orthodox in their religious outlook. I feel that it would be a breach of trust to throw it open to Harijans. Would that stand in the way of my signing the satyagraha pledge?

A. It would stand very much in the way of your signing the pledge. It would be no breach of trust if the law allows you

to open the temple. The condition was immoral as we have now discovered and hence invalid.

### UNCERTIFIED KHADI

Q. You say that a person buying or using mill cloth cannot take the satyagraha pledge. Can a person using, buying or dealing in uncertified khadi take the pledge or hold offices in Congress committee? Is a person or an association other than the A.I.S.A. entitled to certify khadi dealers?

A. Certainly not, I repeatedly said that a person who uses or deals in uncertified khadi damages khadi and directly exploits the spinners and weavers whose lot the A.I.S.A. is striving to improve. Such persons can neither take the pledge nor hold any office in a Congress organization. No person or institution other than the A.I.S.A. can issue the required certificates.

### STUDENTS' DIFFICULTY

Q. We are students in Poona. We are taking part in the drive against illiteracy. Now in the parts we are visiting there are drunkards who threaten us if we go to teach people. Those among whom we are working are Harijans. They get frightened. Some suggest that proceedings should be taken against these drunkards. Some suggest we should try your method of wooing them. Will you advise?

A. You are doing good work. Literacy drive and many such things are by-products of the big reform, perhaps the biggest of modern times. As to the drunkards they must be treated as diseased persons entitled to our sympathy and service. You should, therefore, reason with them when they are sober, and take even the beating, if any, with good grace. I do not rule out court proceedings, but they will be evidence of want of enough ahimsa in you. But you cannot go against your nature. If you do not evoke response from them to your wooing, your work must not be held up because of the obstruction referred to by you. Recourse to legal proceedings is then indicated. But you must make all honest effort before you go to law.

SEVAGRAM, June 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-6-1940

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## 178. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 4, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Shall I also write in Hindi? Put up with at least a little. I had intended, as I still do, to write a long letter, but it cannot be managed. One business after another keeps turning up and such letters have to remain unwritten.[1]

It is my intention to give you some satisfaction on the points raised by you but I could not do. I have just (4 p.m.) finished the last article for *Harijan* and I have taken up this to inform you of my helplessness.

Poor Lilavati. She had a scorpion sting last night and again this morning. Fortunately, the pain each time was quite bearable. She is up and doing. So the Sevagram charkha goes on.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your donation to the treasurer, Santiniketan, earmarked Andrews Hall on Western Culture.

From the original: C.W. 4237. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7870

## 179. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*June 4, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. I also am not happy that there are three of you there.[2] But you and Kanchan can be counted as one patient; hence you are three patients and three nurses to attend on them. That is how I console myself. I want that both of you should somehow have peace of mind.

[1] The foregoing is in Hindi. What follows is in English.
[2] At Panchgani where the addressee had gone for treatment



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I have all along been of the opinion that Balkrishna and Kunvarji[1] should spend the monsoon months there. You may also decide whether both or one of you should stay there during that period. If Kunvarji's health is satisfactory he may be able to manage with a local servant. But think over the matter. My decision is that both of you should stay there.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]
Today I am not writing separately to anybody else.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8536. Also C.W. 7093. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *180. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM*

*June 4, 1940*

Then why don't you be quiet? What is the point in arguing over it?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]
Please excuse me. I am silent.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 662

## *181. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 4, 1940*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I understand about Bal.

You may bring the children whenever you like. The days are hot but the nights have become pleasant.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SETH GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA HOUSE
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

From Hindi: C.W. 8038. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1]Kunvarji Parekh, husband of Rami, Harilal Gandhi's daughter

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## *182. A NOTE*

### A Sincere Worker Is Gone

Bhai Fulchand writes from Wadhwan as follows:[1]

This heart-rending picture needs no addition of colour. Vaishnav was a true *vaishnava*[2]. The best way to perpetuate his memory would be not to let a single activity of his suffer, go in vain and for everyone to strive to be like him.

Sevagram, June 5, 1940

[From Gujarati]

*Harijanbandhu*, 9-6-1940

## *183. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH*

Sevagram, Wardha,
*June 5, 1940*

bhai prithvi singh,

I get your letters regularly. If you come, we shall discuss the matter then and decide about the future. Just now you are gaining good experience from your tours.

*Blessings from*
Bapu

Shri Swami Rao Vyayam Mandir
Bhavnagar
Kathiawar

From Gujarati: C.W. 2951. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

[1] The letter is not translated here. It described the death from tuberculosis of Chamanbhai Vaishnav, who was in Yeravda Prison in 1932 with Gandhiji.

[2] Devotee of Vishnu



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## *184. TO SEGAON WORKERS*

*June 5, 1940*

I hear that the servants are being questioned regarding the theft of the pen and letter. I have said that I do not suspect them at all and they should not be harassed in the least. I was pained and continue to be pained that someone from amongst us has committed the theft. I will change my mind when the person is identified. May God give the guilty person sense to confess the guilt.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6866; also C.W. 4674

## *185. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

[Before *June 6, 1940*][1]

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

It is easy to understand. When a father suspects one of his sons, but does not know who exactly it is, he seeks solace in a fast. If the sons love him, they come out with a confession. True, I am only guessing but we men are not omniscient.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]

*Bapuki Chhayamen*, p. 275

## *186. A LETTER*

[On or before *June 6, 1940*][2]

DAUGHTER,

My heart trembles at the thought of writing such a letter. But I must write it if my love for you is honest. I have thought over it a great deal and my suspicion turns on you.

[1] This seems to have been written before the following item.
[2] *Vide* "Note to Mahadev Desai", p. 144.



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How far is it justified? Either you or Ba could have taken that letter. I am convinced that Ba has not taken it. It is not that Ba has never committed a theft. She has. I have announced it to the entire ashram. Why does my suspicion turn on you? It is no use going into that. If you have done it, you know it; if you have not done it, it will serve no purpose for you to know the grounds of my suspicion.

You have one defect. You do not often see your faults and when you do you do not often confess them. If you have done it, that will not make you a different person. Others also have made mistakes. Manilal was guilty of a grave error, for which I fasted for seven days and missed a meal every day for a year. I fasted for 14 days on account of Jekibehn. It was not then a matter of letter having been stolen, but of lying. Chhaganlal was guilty of theft, too. I, of course, committed theft. Everyone errs. But everyone does not confess. If you have been guilty, you will tell me. If you have not done it, you should not care what I do. This is my injunction.

I am writing this with a heavy heart. Do not kick up a row. If you have sinned do not worry. If you have not there is nothing to worry about.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 711

## *187. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 6, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your letter and the translation of "Not yet". "Not yet" should mean "It will still be some time" and not "Not just now". I have made a beginning at revising it.[1]

I am sorry I was late sending you the articles last time. It was wholly my fault. Herewith this week's. I hope you got the book-post which contains the articles and my revision of some translations.[2]

[1] The foregoing is in Hindi. What follows is in English.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 119-20.

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There was an outpouring [*sic*] last night. The weather is decidedly much less hot than yesterday. You can descend after 15th so far as the heat is concerned.

Your corrections are good.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4238. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7871

## *188. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI*

*June 6, 1940*

I told A.S. about my suspicion. She has replied, too. Let us now see what she does. She keeps on telling me to publish that letter. I do not know whether to treat it as a threat or just an angry outburst. I am gaining good experience.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *189. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI*

*June 6, 1940*

It seems you are absolutely wrong. As long as I had only a faint suspicion in my mind, how could I speak? When the suspicion persists and gets stronger, then it becomes my duty to put it before those whom I love. I have realized that even those who seemed above suspicion have turned out not to be so. Now I shall know the facts. If I have done any injustice, that also I will know now. It was my duty to tell her of my suspicion.[1]

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] This was in response to the addressee's reply to the preceding item.

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## 190. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 6, 1940*

CHI. SARU,

I got your letter. Why these repeated apologies? Everyone makes mistakes. You two did so too. I have long forgotten about it. Do parents keep a record of the mistakes of their children? Some day you will certainly come here. We have not boycotted you and Kanti. Do not be unhappy. Ba had no grievance at all.

It will be good if the rains come soon. It rained here last night.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI. SARASWATI GANDHI
VORA HARIDAS WAKHATCHAND'S HOUSE
BEHIND HIGH SCHOOL
RAJKOT (KATHIAWAR)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6179. Also C.W. 3453. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

## 191. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 6, 1940*

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I got your *hundi*[1]. I am utilizing it for the Harijan Fund. Mirabehn has arrived safe.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10050; also C.W. 6455

[1] Bill of exchange



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## *192. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 6, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Why attach such importance to Ba's criticism? It was all right that Amtul Salaam was questioned. It would have been equally all right if she had not been questioned. It is either way a trivial matter. It is best not to brood over such things.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4348; also S.G. 82

## *193. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

[*June 6, 1940*][1]

Lilavatibehn told me that dates were being washed with tap water, that water pots lying on the ground were dipped into the jars, and so on. In all such matters we should observe norms of hygiene. We should make rules in this respect and display them on the notice board. They should be observed. Let them be framed in consultation with Sushilabehn[2].

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4347

[1] The date is in a hand other than Gandhiji's.
[2] Sushila Nayyar



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## *194. A NOTE*

[After *June 6, 1940*][1]

I have paid no attention to it. I dismissed the matter when it was first reported. I do not know anything about it. It did not disturb me. Yes, if my suspicion is proved correct in this case, then the matter of Lilavati's letter may crop up. But I am striving for something else. What is the worth of Radha's pen or her letter? But after these four days of quarrelling the terrible thought has possessed me that you have done it. You annoy me. What more shall I write? Leave me.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 705

## *195. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

*Personal*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 7, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have to thank you for your two letters of 3rd instant.

I think I understand your letter about the war situation.[2] My intense prayer to the Almighty is for a speedy end of this terrible suffering.

As to Miss Sheridan's bust I do not know that you have not brought a hornet's nest about your ears.[3] You are sure to have protests against the acceptance. And as it seems to me nothing is to be gained by the step you contemplate. As a mark of personal affection naturally I esteem your action. I am merely presenting an impersonal view for your consideration.

[1] This seems to have been written after notes to Mahadev Desai of June 6, 1940.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 101.

[3] The Viceroy had informed Gandhiji that he had been given by the Maharaja of Darbhanga a bust of Gandhiji done by Clare Sheridan and that he proposed in the first instance to have it exhibited in Bombay and thereafter "to make it over to the Government of India with the suggestion that it should ultimately find a permanent home in the national capital".



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I shall not expect any reply to this letter.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *196. LETTER TO BHASHYAM*[1]

*June 7, 1940*

I am quite clear that you should obey every order even to the non-holding of meetings. Such voluntary obedience of orders, even unreasonable, produces a capacity for non-violent resistance which becomes invincible. It disarms suspicion. If you knowingly do these and the people too follow you knowingly you will feel a new strength to which you were stranger before. Obstacles there will be. They have to be conquered intelligently.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *197. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 7, 1940*

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

I have slept all these nights over your unkind letter of 28th ultimo.[2] I see I have lost caste with you. I thought you would take my word for it that I knew nothing of the Muzaffarpur violence by Hindus.[3] I am now trying to find out what it was. For that matter, I knew nothing of Bidar till parties wrote to me and sent papers.

I had hoped that you knew me sufficiently to know that whenever occasion had arisen I had not spared Hindus. So far as Hyderabad is concerned, I have been particularly careful and

[1] Presumably K. T. Bhashyam of Bangalore

[2] In this the addressee had referred to the concern Gandhiji had shown at the communal riot at Bidar in Hyderabad and asked how it was that a similar riot in Muzaffarpur, Bihar, where Muslims had suffered, had escaped Gandhiji's notice. *Vide* also "Question Box", pp 41-2.

[3] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 55.

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avoided public reference to Hyderabad when I might have. I thought you had given me credit too for my reticence. Even as it is I am guiding the Hyderabad State Congress (now defunct) and restraining them. But I must not plead for myself. Only I feel sorry that you can think so unkindly as to write that last sentence in your letter.

I hope Lady Hydari's improvement has continued.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6845. Also from the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *198. LETTER TO HRIDAYA NATH KUNZRU*

*June 7, 1940*

I am glad I got the statement. In a way the statement raises P. in my estimation. He has expanded his philosophy. But the cleavage is definite. He has taken the Society's[1] name in vain. I hope you will have smooth sailing. But smooth or rough, your way is clear. There is no room for compromise. Even if you are in a hopeless minority you will take the satyagraha [*sic*] with you for God's spirit will be with you. Hope you are keeping well in this turmoil.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *199. LETTER TO SHIVA RAO*

*June 7, 1940*

You are wonderful. I have read your letter to Mahadev. The draft[2] requires drastic amendments. In any case I won't make them. I would advise you to send it to Maulana Saheb and to Jawaharlal. My own opinion is that the time for a settlement has not arrived. It will come but not without agony. I have not lost hope but am prepared for the worst.

But you persevere along your own line.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Servants of India Society

[2] Of a formula for Congress-League rapprochement forwarded to Gandhiji by the addressee

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## 200. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 7, 1940*

CHI. NARANDAS,

May God give you adequate strength in your famine relief work.

You have written to Nanalal—it is all right. What can I say about Shamaldas[1]? He does not even answer my letters. But go on trying.[2] Did you write to Kaku?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI NARANDAS GANDHI
RASHTRIYASHALA
NAVU PARU
RAJKOT, KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8575. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## 201. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*June 7, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Yes, when you suspect a dear one, it is your duty to speak out. Suspicion is imaginary. It indicates the evil in you. It is one's duty to suppress it. But when it grows too strong and looks as if it might have consequences, it is necessary to give expression to it. My pain arises out of the fact that a suspicion should arise in my heart. There have been such occasions earlier and my suspicions proved right.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4349; also S.G. 84

[1] Shamaldas Gandhi, Lakshmidas Gandhi's son

[2] The reference is to the complaint by Gokibehn, Gandhiji's sister, that she was not receiving money regularly from Shamaldas.



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## *202. TO SEVAGRAM WORKERS*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 7, 1940*

I have to state with regret that my suspicion falls upon A. I am convinced that no servant has done this. So we are left with our own people. When I inquire further, only A. remains to be cleared. She has been closer to me than a daughter. Her service has been immense. It is no small matter to suspect her. But I can see no other way. She is equally sure that she has not done it. Under these circumstances, a fast is the only easy way left to me. My fast may be considered as a measure of self-purification. Why should this suspicion arise in me? If she is innocent, then the suspicion indicates impurity in my love. Love never suspects. Faults cannot remain hidden to love. The loved ones feel secure. Ahimsa ordains that no one should look at A. with hatred. Everyone should continue to love her. Let no one presume that she is a liar and that my suspicion is well founded. I shall not be unhappy if she is found innocent. I shall dance with joy.

My fast commences from tomorrow. I have no idea how long it will last. I shall be guided by the intelligence and strength that God may grant me. No one need worry.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6866; also C.W. 4674

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## *203. NOTE TO PYARELAL AND MAHADEV DESAI*

*June 7, 1940*

You should bear with me. The whole thing reminds me of S.M. incident[1]. My talk with her makes me tremble. I will not tell you about that today. I will tell you some other time. This will bring to light a good many things. This fast seems to have come as a godsend.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *204. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI*

*June 7, 1940*

Ghanshyamdas or anybody else who may be thinking of coming here today should give up the idea. I shall know today what the inner voice says. I have no intention at all this time of carrying the fast to the point of physical suffering. I want to be ready for the 17th[2] and for other work. I wish to fast only as long as I can bear.

As I was preparing to send this note, I got yours. This answers part of it. Rest later. Today I want complete peace. Continue to send your suggestions. I will not reply today.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *205. A NOTE*

[Before *June 8, 1940*][3]

Now all this is unnecessary discussion. Can't you see that I am not in a position to engage you in any work. Why this

[1] Sheikh Mehtab incident; *vide* "A Note", p. 127.

[2] On which date the Congress Working Committee was meeting at Wardha

[3] From the reference to the fast which Gandhiji was to undertake from the 8th



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suspicion against one whom I have loved more than a daughter? I cannot force the suspicion out. Do please leave me alone for the present. You may follow the way God shows you. Leave me in peace. I shall see my way clear when my suspicion is either proved or dispelled. At present, everything is dark. I have not understood why you should want to fast with me. If you do so, you will be coercing me. I thought it was to be a sympathetic fast for a day today. That, too, I would not permit.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 682

## *206. NON-VIOLENCE AND KHADI*

Mr. Richard Gregg, one of whose letters I reproduced some time ago, has sent another which I share with the reader:[1]

> All these months since I wrote you last I have been wrestling intellectually with the problems of discipline for non-violence and of non-violent persuasion and conversion, and how to state them and their solution in Western terminology. As I think I wrote you, I am working on a book about those two aspects of satyagraha, to supplement my *Power of Non-violence*. . . . My effort is to try to get the Western world to realize the validity and practicalness of your entire programme.
>
> I have been so glad that during these last few months you have insisted so strongly that the Congress must earnestly and loyally take up the khadi programme before you will lead them in any open struggle of satyagraha against the Government. I see clear as crystal the necessity for that. You are absolutely right. . . .
>
> Despite the war and all its horrors, I am optimistic as to the future of non-violence. Never before in all the history of the world have there been so many believers in non-violence, both in absolute number and also relatively to the rest of the population. Never before has that belief been found in all groups, classes, religions and occupations. Never before have so many prominent statesmen stated earnestly, clearly and publicly the folly, futility and appalling results of war and violence. Never have so many military men been so unsure of the validity and ultimate effectiveness of their method.
>
> All during the past two years and rapidly since the war began, the organized peace movements of Britain and America have grown. . . .
>
> Up to March 9th, 26,681 men among the military conscripts of Great Britain had been officially registered as conscientious objectors to

[1] Only extracts of the letter are reproduced here.

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war, as compared with about 16,000 for the entire four years of the war of 1914-18. ... In the five or six calls of conscripts in Great Britain between last June and March of this year the percentage of C.O.'s ranged from 1.6 to 2.2%. This may be interestingly compared with the estimate that in all countries the really effective or decisive work of government is done by not over 2% of the population. ...

If it be true that man's desire for order and significance in his life are stronger than fear and hate, the only programme which can produce order and significance to life will have non-violence as its backbone. This places a great responsibility upon the believers in non-violence. It will require of them great thought, discipline and social invention. I consider your khadi programme one of those great social inventions. The Wardha education scheme is another.

I am writing a letter to J. C. Kumarappa about some items that I have long wanted to discuss with him, a set of suggestions for possible experiment by the A.I.V.I.A. One is to try hanging small mosquito-net bags containing napthaline moth balls in village wells a yard or more above the level of the water. The odour of the moth ball is much disliked by mosquitoes, and as it is slightly heavier than unscented air it would lie like a blanket over the surface of the water and keep the mosquitoes from laying their eggs in the water, without harming the water or killing the mosquitoes. ...

Another application of the same idea would be planting certain water-loving aromatic herbs along the banks of village tanks and rivers, close to the water's edge. Mosquitoes lay their eggs preferably in shallow water so that the larvae can escape being eaten by small fishes. If the right herbs, of a kind whose odour is repellent to mosquitoes, were thus planted and kept growing, it would seem likely to cut down the malaria in this way. Anyhow I think these two experiments worth trying. The mint family of herbs are known to be repellent to mosquitoes.

Mr. Gregg is a careful thinker. He takes nothing for granted. The last paragraph of his letter shows his practical nature. But I know that no amount of logical thinking is going to establish the supremacy of non-violence on earth. The only thing that can do it is India's ability to demonstrate beyond doubt its efficacy in gaining and defending national freedom.

SEVAGRAM, June 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

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## 207. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 8, 1940*

MY DEAR GOVIND,

Yours of 16th April. It is also going into *Harijan* with the paragraph cut out as you wanted.[1]

The letter is good. But all depends upon what we can do here.

Though you are doing good work where you are, I expect you and Radha[2] to turn up here one of these days.

Meanwhile my love to you and Radha.

BAPU

RICHARD B. GREGG, ESQ.
ELIAT SAINT
SOUTH NATICK MASS., U.S.A.

From a photostat: C.W. 4521. Courtesy: Richard B. Gregg

## 208. TO SEVAGRAM WORKERS

*June 8, 1940*

I notice that no one is with me over my fast; on the contrary everyone opposes it. In this situation I cannot preserve my peace of mind. I have therefore decided to give up the idea of fasting. I shall eat when it is time to eat. This does not mean that my suspicion has been dispelled. Only God can dispel it. Nor do I feel that the intended fast was mistaken. But there are occasions when a man has to give up something for the sake of his colleagues. This is one such occasion. Krishnachandra may copy this in the note-book.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6866; also C.W. 4674

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] The addressee's wife



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## 209. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*June 8, 1940*][1]

I did not ask about it.[2] The reason is that I had no proof at all, and still have none. Of circumstantial evidence I have plenty. I see her as another Sheikh Mehtab. You can put an end to everything. I ended the fast for the reason I have explained,[3] but the chapter is not closed for me.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## 210. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

*June 8, 1940*

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have been forgetting to write about Abha. You should write to Mahila Ashram and inform them that her expense will not be borne from here. She is to be admitted as a freeship holder. If the practice of exempting students from fees has been discontinued, then it is a different matter. With whom does the decision rest at present?

BAPU

[PS.]

I hope she will be allowed to wear the same clothes that she does here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10602

[1] This appears to have been written on the day Gandhiji decided against a fast.

[2] The addressee had written to Gandhiji that he would like to find out about the letter which Lilavati had lost.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.



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## 211. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*June 8, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. My advice is that at present you should stay there. Let your health also improve. When you yourself feel bored, you will of course run away from there. Both of you are ill, i.e., in mind. Mental illness should not be neglected.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

MUNNALAL SHAH
VADILAL AROGYA BHAVAN
PANCHGANI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8535. Also C.W. 7094. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## 212. A NOTE

*June 8, 1940*

I shall take only service from you. When you are sick, go to the kitchen as little as possible; you have to eat and drink merrily. If you cannot do this, then all service will be suspended.

The best thing would be for you to go to Zohra. Set her on the track and also do some spinning, etc. You should return when you are absolutely calm. But this is left entirely to your discretion. In my view Zohra's going will benefit neither Akbar nor Zohra. In this, I may be wrong.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 717

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## 213. A NOTE

[After *June 8, 1940*][1]

'Shall I or shall I not continue doing these two jobs which I used to perform before the theft incident?'—these words of yours in the morning had in them the sting of a scorpion. You say things to me which I do not dream of. Now my verdict is that you have to give up these two things also—shoes and latrine. You are not attached, so you need not be pained. And we shall be quits.

What shall I write about the other thing? Time alone will show. It is my past experience.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 638

## 214. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 9, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters came in together. Although the address was correctly written, the first letter went to Shegaon. Remarkable how the mistake continues. I suppose we must put up with it. I am sending the envelope for complaint.

Your Gujarati is flawless. It shows how you have picked up from the air. It is easy of course for those who know the Punjabi.

Yes, I have commenced your translation of "Our Duty"[2] and some other too. I shall insist on finishing all.

You must not damage your hand or arm. You should learn to draw the thread with the right hand like me.

By the by your watch does not work in my hands. After two days I gave up winding it.

I am glad you have patched up the internal quarrel. But how long will[3] patches last?

[1] From reference to the theft incident
[2] *Vide* pp. 80-2.
[3] The source has "with".

You ask me why silence. It is to avoid irritation and save my energy. The output of my work has certainly doubled. Irritation is almost nil. It would be a strain now to speak. I love my silence. I expect M.[1] is giving you all such titbits and A. S.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3972. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7281

## *215. LETTER TO BHOLANATH*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
*June 9, 1940*

BHAI BHOLANATH,

I have received your letter. I see that the Dewan wants to evade the demands of the Praja Mandal. We have to make a stand somewhere. If you want to give up the insistence on the flag you may. Responsible government should be accepted as the goal. As for affiliation with the All-India Conference, seek a decision from Jawaharlal. I am in two minds.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1378

## *216. QUESTION BOX*

### ARRESTS

Q. You must know that arrests after arrests are being made under the Defence of India Act. Now your favourite Dr. Lohia is taken up. I suppose you still see no reason for civil disobedience even as a protest against these arrests. Or maybe you think that these arrests are legitimate.

A. The question is apposite. Dr. Lohia is no more my favourite than any other Congressman. True he has come nearer to me than he was. Every arrest evokes my mental protest. But I am not in the habit of reducing all my thoughts to writing. I believe that our thoughts too produce effects, though not known to us or to the world. I felt that any public protest by

[1] Mahadev Desai
[2] Amtussalaam

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me would be ineffective. All things are legitimate and illegitimate in war time. I regard war itself as illegitimate. Therefore all repression is bad from my standpoint. But I have as yet no effective remedy against war. Even, therefore, as I suffer war, I suffer these repressive acts of warmakers. One strange thing about India is that, so far as I know, it is not the people who are likely to help the Nazis that are being put under restraint, but those who are patriots hungering for the freedom of the country. In a free country they will be fighting against designs upon their country. Here their chief fault is that they are lovers of their country and its freedom. If the authorities have anything else against them, they should publish it. Repression is on the increase. They know that the Congress is the most powerful instrument for preventing violence. The Congress has taken no step which might, in spite of its efforts to the contrary, result in violence. It is therefore difficult to understand these acts of repression. They seem to be part of a concerted plan, for they are prevalent in almost all provinces. One reflection I put before Congressmen for what it is worth. Imprisonment has no terror for them. Civil disobedience means certain imprisonment. The difference is that in the one case it is courted, in the other it comes uninvited. Therefore any step the Congress can take will be not to secure the discharge of the persons arrested but to take wind out of the Government sails by offering more victims than they can take. Therefore the question is whether the Congress should take that step now or not.

## INCONSISTENCY

Q. Recently you wrote: "The present is no atmosphere for influencing the Britisher in the right direction through civil disobedience." And in the same article[1] you said: "I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if he country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined." Now the question is, if the country is demonstrably non-violent after some time, and the war continues for a long time, will you start civil disobedience? And if you start it, will it not embarrass the Britisher? Will you hesitate to start civil disobedience if the groups outside the Congress are not non-violent?

A. If you will fill in the sentences left to be understood in my article, you will not find any inconsistency. 'The present atmosphere' means English unreadiness to put up with anything when the safety of English homes is at stake. It also means our very incomplete non-violence. If we were completely and therefore

[1] *Vide* pp. 103-5.

demonstrably non-violent, it would mean that the British themselves would recognize our non-violence. Any purely non-violent step cannot embarrass them. As a matter of fact, if our non-violence was complete, we would have no internal differences, no friction in the Congress ranks, no friction with non-Congressmen. In that case there would be no occasion for civil disobedience at all. I have said as much only recently in these columns. I have put the same thing in another manner in the sentence quoted by you. For a non-violent step taken by a united nation will carry its own fruition without any bitterness. Therefore I should be ready for action the moment the non-violence of my dream is established, no matter in what peril the British may find themselves. Indeed, if that non-violence comes, it will not only save India but also save Britain and France. But you will be on safe ground in saying that I wrote nonsense because I knew that the degree of non-violence required by me was not forthcoming in my time. I am an irrepressible optimist. No scientist starts his experiments with a faint heart. I belong to the tribe of Columbus and Stevenson who hoped against hope in the face of heaviest odds. The days of miracles are not gone. They will abide so long as God abides. Your second question is answered in the foregoing. Of course in the picture here presented non-Congress groups will also have accepted non-violence. But first things first. Let the Congress put its own house in order.

## A Widow's Difficulty

Q. I am a Bengali Brahmin widow. Since my widowhood—these 24 years—I have observed strict rules about my food. I have my separate widow's kitchen and utensils even in my own family. I believe in your ideal of truth and non-violence, I am a habitual wearer of khadi since 1930 and a regular spinner. Our Manila Samaj has established a Harijan school in a Harijan village in Dacca. I go there and mix with the Harijans. I mix freely with my Muslim sisters towards whom I have nothing but goodwill. But I cannot interdine with Harijans or any other non-Brahmin caste. Now can't orthodox widows like me enlist as satyagrahis, passive and active?

A. According to the Congress constitution you have a perfect right to be enlisted. You can even enforce your right. But since you ask me, I would dissuade you from being enlisted. I know the punctilious way in which Bengali widows observe the rules custom has prescribed for them. But widows who dedicate themselves to the country's cause, and that in a non-violent way, should have no scruples in dining with anybody. I do not believe that dining with people, no matter who they are, hinders spiritual progress. It is

the motive which is the deciding factor. If a widow approaches every task in a spirit of service, it is well with her. A widow may observe all the dining and other rules with meticulous care and yet not be a true widow if she is not of a pure heart. You know as well as I do that outward observance of rules governing a society often covers hypocrites. I would, therefore, advise you to disregard the restriction on inter-dining and the like as a hindrance to spiritual and national progress and concentrate on cultivation of the heart. In the satyagraha *dal* I should like to have not self-satisfied persons but those who have used their reason and chosen a way of life that has commended itself to both head and heart.

SEVAGRAM, June 10, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-6-1940

## *217. NOTES*

### COPYRIGHT

Shri Satish Kalelkar writes:

> Being modern in my views and rather materialistic in temperament, I have always been sceptical about your views on the question of copyright. If I remember rightly, you needed some persuasion from friends before you consented to hold the copyright and save the profits on your *Autobiography* for the sake of the A.I.S.A. I agree that a seeker of truth should welcome its spread, and not put obstacles by insisting on the copyright. But surely there is a limit to this liberality, and an unscrupulous exploitation of it ought to be prevented.
>
> Perhaps you are aware that *Harijan* comes in very handy to the evening papers on Saturday and morning papers on Sunday. Some editors, not content with the "whole week-end off", draw liberally on *Harijan* even on Monday morning.
>
> I am not discussing here the possibility of raising the already excellent sales of *Harijan* by stopping the reproduction of articles in other papers, nor am I opposed to your view that truth should be spread widely. There are other results, however, which must not be ignored. Some Anglo-Indian papers, which are not exactly in love with the nationalist movement, sometimes reproduce convenient excerpts, and sometimes one side only, of issues discussed in a series of articles in *Harijan*. Take for example the Ajmer case. The Anglo-Indian papers, that published an account of the incident and your cautious advice to the Ajmer workers to restrain themselves, took care to publish the

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Commissioner's 'explanation'[1] in that connection; but they did not consider it a part of the 'gentleman's agreement' with regard to the free reproduction of articles from *Harijan*, to publish the final and irrefutable reply from your pen. Your unwillingness in accusing before all facts are known, and your deliberate moderation and openness are interpreted as 'Gandhi's admission'. The 'awkward' articles that appear in *Harijan* are safely ignored!

Perhaps you would argue that truth needs no tomtomming, and that it can never be suppressed in spite of a conspiracy of silence in papers. But surely one may not be a party to the spread of untruth by indirectly consenting to the publication of half-truths. Don't you agree that you should qualify your free permission so as to stop misleading excerpts and only a few of a series of articles being reproduced in other papers?

There is much force in what young Kalelkar says. I own that often my articles suffer from condensation. They are made to yield a meaning I had never intended. The Ajmer illustration quoted by my correspondent is clinching. This matter of copyright has been often brought before me. But I have not the heart to copyright my articles. I know that there is a financial loss. But as *Harijan* is not published for profit I am content so long as there is no deficit. I must believe that in the end my self-denial must serve the cause of truth.

## Please Spare Me

In spite of repeated entreaties friends continue to ask me for messages. I have stated before and repeat here that I am of no use for such services. I do send messages where I must, for instance to meetings which I promoted or which demand attention for delicate reasons. Apart from such occasions I must resolutely deny myself the pleasure of sending messages or replying to letters. Though I have imposed on myself indefinite silence for, among other things, coping with the very heavy work which I must go through, I am daily in arrears. In these circumstances enthusiasts will please forgive me if I send them neither messages nor even acknowledgments.

## Andrews Memorial

As usual, collections for this memorial will not come spontaneously. They will have to be organized. It is much to be wished that the numerous devotees of Deenabandhu will take up the work

[1] *Vide* "The Ajmer Trouble", pp. 35-6.

themselves. I am happy, therefore, to be able to announce that in Agra it is going to be done by the students. Nothing can be more fitting than that all over they should organize what after all is a paltry collection. Charlie Andrews was above all an educationist of a very high order. He came out as an educationist to help his friend and chief Principal Rudra. He picked up an educational institution of international reputation as his final home. To the making of it he dedicated his life. Even without Andrews's closest association with it, Santiniketan by itself is worthy of the devotion of the student world. I hope, therefore, that the students of India will take a leading part in the work of collections. Then come the poor people who have specially benefited by his labours. It would be a great thing, a proper thing, if the five lacs were made up of offerings of thousands of students and poor people rather than from the donations of the few special rich friends of Deenabandhu with whom they had come in close touch and of whose worth they had intimate knowledge.[1]

### Tribute from South Africa

The Joint Hon. Secretaries of the Natal Indian Association send me the following:

> At a meeting of the Indian community held under the auspices of the Association, on the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, the following resolution was passed unanimously:
>
> 'This meeting of the Indian community held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association (with which are amalgamated the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settler Indian Association) deeply mourns the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, whose services in the cause of the South African Indians were outstanding and whose humanitarian appeals for the better treatment of Indians overseas have always received the ear of the Government and the attention of responsible European opinion. This meeting records its deepest sympathy and conveys its condolence to his family, Mahatma Gandhi, Poet Tagore and to the Indian nation.'
>
> The meeting was attended by not only the members of the Indian community but also by leading Europeans including the Rt. Rev. Archdeacon Harris, who, after offering prayers, spoke of the sterling qualities and the humanitarian spirit of Mr. C. F. Andrews. The Indian community of South Africa have lost a friend and guide. His services in the cause of our community in South Africa, his simplicity, his constant

[1] For an appeal for funds for the Deenabandhu Memorial signed by Gandhiji and some others, *vide* Appendix II.

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endeavours to bring about a better understanding between the European and Indian communities, his constant thought for the poor, will always remain fresh in the minds of those of us who have had the pleasure of working with him.

We respectfully tender to you our condolences, for we know that in Mr. Andrews you have lost a trusted friend.

## Gwalior and Khadi

The A. I. S. A. has the information that the Gwalior State has issued the following departmental order in connection with khadi. The original is in Hindustani:

> In the Tariff of Revenue it has been laid down that no import duty should be charged on any kind of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth whether cotton, woollen or silk. It has come to our notice that with the increasing popularity of khadi, very often khadi made out of mill-yarn is passed for genuine hand-spun and hand-woven khadi, free of customs duty. This causes loss of revenue and nullifies the object of exempting the industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving from duty. It should be realized that hand-spun and hand-woven khadi only is to be exempted from customs duty. To secure this end it is notified that khadi bearing an A.I.S.A. certificate only should get the benefit of the exemption.

The Gwalior authorities deserve commendation for their alertness. The next step should be a grant to local khadi and its use by the elite of Gwalior.

## Harijans of Garhwal

Only the other day I had the good fortune to report a case of a Harijan bride being carried in a *palki* or *dandi* in Garhwal without let or hindrance. But Shri Shyamlal of the Harijan Sevak Sangh informs me that the case has proved to be an exception, and that prevention of the use of a *dandi* by Harijans flourishes almost as before. Two such cases have come under his observation only recently. Harijans who had dared to make use of *dandis* were "mercilessly beaten". There is an awakening among Harijans. They have approached the Commissioner for protection which he had promised if a fortnight's previous notice is given to him. But that means more bad blood. The real thing required is conversion of the caste Hindus. I understand that Pandit Jawaharlal is specially interesting himself in the matter. The U.P.C.C. is moving. All these are steps in the right direction. Let us hope that the labours of the reformers will bear fruit and Harijans will no longer need police protection. But they need not wait for the success of

the reformers' labours. They must assert their right even if it be by seeking police protection. It should be remembered that Garhwal produces fine soldiers. It is a part of India which is noted for its beauty. Shall caste Hindus alone be vile?

## A Walking Tour

Shrimati G. Vishalakshi of Gokulam Harijan Colony of Madras writes:

> Nine Harijan students of the Gokulam Harijan Colony taking their training in village welfare work propose to tour the villages on foot in the neighbouring district of Chinglepet. In the course of their training in the Ashram they learn the cause of their backwardness and how to cure it by being self-reliant. They will study first-hand the economic condition of the villagers and what types of cottage industries could be taken up in a particular village. They will teach habits of thrift, how savings could be pooled and how they can derive benefit by organizing themselves into co-operative societies for such purposes as better living, agriculture, credit, and industries as mat-making, hand-loom weaving, etc. The students who are trained for welfare work in the villages are expected to settle in villages and do welfare work without expecting any subsidy from Government or public bodies. They will earn a living by the industries they have learnt like spinning, weaving, mat-making, paper-making and bee-keeping. As they tour in the villages they will also speak to the villagers about these cottage industries which they can take up as spare-time work. The party start from Madras on 1st June and will complete their tour on 30th June. As all of them are Harijans they will visit *cheries* only unless invited to go to the caste-Hindu villagers also. They will depend for the daily food during their tour on the hospitality of the *cheries* they visit.

I hope the tourists started on their tour on the 1st. It is a good plan. If the tour succeeds, it will be an example to copy. If the tourists are of the right type, they will succeed. They won't be a burden on the villagers, for they will make ample return for the hospitality they will receive from them.

Sevagram, June 10, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-6-1940

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## 218. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
*June 10, 1940*

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I am sending you herewith the resolution of the All-India Spinners' Association duly signed by me. It has to be delivered to the bank.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10845. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

## 219. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 10, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

It seems there has been some confusion about sending a wire to Tandonji.[1] I had drafted it all right. Amritlal thought that it was to be sent to you. The problem now is what should be done. You alone can decide the date. The meeting is fixed for the 19th now instead of the 14th. But I cannot decide whether to call him on the 14th or the 18th. You will get this letter tomorrow, so send a wire as you think fit. I will of course accept whatever you decide.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10924

[1] Purushottamdas Tandon

## 220. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 10, 1940*

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. Everything is in a mess. We have to find our way through it. We are in God's hands. He will do as He wills.

As regards the organization[1] do as your heart bids you. I have no objection but I shall not encourage you either.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10407. Also C.W. 6846. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

## 221. TWO PARTIES

Private and public appeals are being made to me to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement, and then, they say, we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one central fact. The Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be to betray its trust. In the nature of things, therefore, there can be no "all parties conference" unless all have a common purpose.

The British Government would not ask for a common agreement if they recognized any one party to be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take delivery. It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress.

[1] The addressee had been asked to organize the women's wing of the Congress and had sought Gandhiji's guidance.

There is only one democratic, elected political organization, i.e., the Congress. All the others are self-appointed, or elected on a sectional basis. The Muslim League is an organization which, like the Congress, is popularly elected. But it is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts, one Hindu and the other Muslim. I read an appeal by a Muslim Leaguer suggesting that the British Government should come to terms with the Muslims and depend upon Muslim aid. That would be one way of settling the question, but also of perpetuating British rule. The Hindu Mahasabha will no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus including Hindu States.

Thus for the present purpose there are only two parties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress, and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose. The other parties must be presumed to be as constant in their purpose as the Congress claims to be in its. Therefore there is a stalemate. But the stalemate is only apparent. An agreement independently of evolving a common demand the Congress must seek and has always sought. It is the process of conversion. Its non-violence forbids the Congress from standing aloof and riding the high horse as the opponents say. On the contrary, it has to woo all parties, disarm suspicion and create trust in its *bona fides*. This it can only do when it has cleaned its own stables. The process may take time. That time must be given. It will be no waste. But if the Congress loses hope and faith and comes to the conclusion that it must surrender its original position for the purpose of getting a common measure of agreement, it will cease to be the power it is. Today it is the sheet-anchor of India's hope and faith. It will be well with it if it refuses to move away from its moorings, whether it is in a minority or a majority.

SEVAGRAM, June 11, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-6-1940

## 222. LETTER TO RAMIBEHN K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 11, 1940*

CHI. RAMI[1],

I have your letter. I got it today and I am replying to it immediately. It came into my hands after the post had been despatched. You are suffering a good deal. Do get the tonsils removed. One should be very careful about children's diet. I hear from Kunvarji every week at least. He is keeping good health. There is no need at all to worry about him. It is enough if you do not cause him worry.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9739. Also C.W. 719. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

## 223. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALJA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 11, 1940*

CHI. BALI[2],

I got your letter. You have been born to wear yourself out in the service of the family. And so you take upon yourself even unnecessary burdens, but God fulfils everybody's aspirations. I do not, therefore, pity you. I shower praises on you from here.

I know that you will train Saraswati[3] perfectly well. You must have got her tonsils removed. It will be better if it rains there now. You have taken a great risk by collecting such a large crowd there at such a time. Kunvarji will most certainly spend

[1] Harilal Gandhi's daughter
[2] Harilal Gandhi's sister-in-law
[3] Wife of Kantilal, Harilal Gandhi's son



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the monsoon months in Panchgani. He is doing very well. Kumi[1] must be well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9738. Also C.W. 718. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

## *224. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN*

[Before *June 12, 1940*][2]

Do come.[3] Events[4] have made no difference in my regard for you and you will find me the same you used to admire.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *225. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 12, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

After many days there is a post for you. Here it is.[5] Lilavati[6] has passed her examination. She is delirious with joy. Probably she goes to Bombay today to arrange for her college course. Valjibhai's son Manu[7] comes first and has gained prizes. He is a wonderful boy. The heat is melting.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3973. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7282

[1] Addressee's sister

[2] In the source this precedes the letters of June 12.

[3] These words are in Gujarati in the source. The addressee had written: "I want to go to you to understand Gandhism. There was a time when I used to revere you."

[4] Presumably a reference to the episode relating to the addressee's charges against Vallabhbhai Patel that the latter used his influence to defeat him in the Bombay Legislature Leadership election in 1937. Gandhiji, who found Vallabhbhai Patel irreproachable, persuaded the addressee to withdraw his allegations which were ultimately proved baseless by arbitrators. *Vide* Vols. LXV and LXVI.

[5] This was a letter from the Editorial Committee of the *Social Service Quarterly* requesting her to contribute an article.

[6] Lilavati Asar

[7] Mahendra V. Desai

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## 226. LETTER TO SIR SAMUEL HOARE[1]

*June 12, 1940*

I was delighted to have your unexpected letter[2]. I thank you for it. It revived the memories of the frank and cordial talks we used to have. You are passing through trying times. My incessant prayer is that peace may take the place of strife.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE
2 CHESTER PLACE
REGENTS' PARK
N.W.I. LONDON

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## 227. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

*June 12, 1940*

I am serving the Congress because it is not inconsistent with the service of God. I assure you I am trying to do the best I can.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Then Lord Privy Seal

[2] Which read: "Our religion, our culture, our very life is in jeopardy —I look to the time when I worked at your constitution as very usefully spent. You did not like it, but you did not doubt my sincerity nor did I yours."



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## 228. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

WARDHA,
*June 12, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

What you have sent about Hindustani is controversial. I feel that nothing should be published just now. Go on doing quietly whatever you wish to do. Have a brief discussion with me on this matter when you come here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10988

## 229. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 12, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

At last you have gone back to Ambala. You could not peep in here! I did acknowledge the handkerchiefs. Only those are used these days. What news may I give of Ba? I can write about her if she is not well. When I give no news, you should understand that all are well. Lilavati has passed and is mad with joy. She will now go to Bombay for further study.

*Blessings to both of you from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7129. Also C.W. 4621. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

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## 230. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 13, 1940*

CHI. MANI,

When you come, please bring an alarm-clock for Balvantsinha.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL
C/O SARDAR PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*, p. 126

## 231. LETTER TO VIDYAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 13, 1940*

CHI. VIDYA,

I have your letter. It is God's grace that Chi. Virendra has recovered.

You have shown much patience.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

RANI VIDYAVATIJI
KOROKALA
BENIGUNJ
HARDOI, U.P.

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

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## 232. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 14, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

The weather has taken a sudden turn for the better.

Quite stupidly I forgot to send you the articles yesterday. I don't send them today. They will be useless. You will have your *Harijan.*

Herewith letter from Bapa[1]. Of course you will accept his proposal.

Some corrected translations are going by book post. You will be interested to know that they took me 1½ hours. There is as much work left to clear the balance.

I finished the arrears of correspondence yesterday. Silence has done the trick. I don't feel like speaking at all. I had to last night for Tandonji. As soon as he went, I lapsed into silence again.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3974. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7283

## 233. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 14, 1940*

CHI. KANCHAN,

I had given instructions about *Pratap* and *Lokvani.* But what am I to do if you do not receive them? I am sending you some old issues that I could find. It seems the current issues have stopped coming. Don't you get anything else to read besides these? There was a letter from Valod to say that neither

[1] Amritlal V. Thakkar



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Munnalal nor you have been writing to them. What laziness and what a shame!

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI KANCHANBEHN SHAH
VADILAL AROGYA BHAVAN
PANCHGANI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8281. Also C.W. 7095. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *234. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

*June 14, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

*Brahmacharya* and ahimsa have reference to the body, hence they are included in physical disciplines. I also did not like the word 'physical'. It does not bother me now. This does not, however, mean that mental lechery is excusable or less reprehensible.

*Namasmaran*[1] can be looked upon as the king of *yajnas* only in one sense. It needs practically no physical effort and yields the maximum fruit.

I am not satisfied about the pen and letter. But it does not seem proper to investigate further. Hence I have left it to God.

I had not fixed any duration while taking up the fast; so there was no difficulty in abandoning it. Naturally, there was no moral blemish. It often becomes a duty to respect the views of one's colleagues. The fast was intended for my satisfaction and my purification. But the opposition of colleagues pained me. So I abandoned it. The fast was necessary. But I had to choose between two duties.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4351

[1] Remembering the name of God

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## 235. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

[Before *June 15, 1940*][1]

MAULANA ABULKALAM AZAD
MAHAL NAINITAL

YOUR WIRE AND LETTER. IN VIEW YOUR HEALTH DATE CAN STAND. AFTER MIDDLE JUNE WEATHER HERE QUITE COOL. DIFFICULT FOR ME STAY OUT INDEFINITELY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## 236. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 15, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

The letter at the back of whose cover you forgot to give your name, etc., was censored and received a day late.

C.P.[2] never came, never wrote.[3] At last Ramachandran went yesterday.

*Harijan Sevak* translations are bad. I am writing to Viyogi Hari.

Your Gujarati is better.

You are not doing the right thing in not giving yourself rest during the day.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3975. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7284

[1] From the reference to improvement of weather after middle June
[2] C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer
[3] *Vide* "Travancore", 17-7-1940.



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## 237. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 15, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

Tandonji loves you. He likes your company. He might feel lonely in Poona and therefore he wishes to take you along. It is your duty to go. Make the necessary arrangements for his lodging and boarding. Be with him in his work. Give him whatever help he asks for. Since you have withdrawn the invitation, no responsibility rests on your shoulders now. Do whatever you can as a silent member and worker. Your going to Poona will not be fruitless.

The business of the Prachar Samiti cannot be settled in a hurry. We shall think over it when you return. I shall have to go a little deeper into it. There is of course no need to worry about it.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

To be free from all activity is liberation from the physical self. How can I, having a body, teach you that?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10931

## 238. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*June 15, 1940*

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Balvantsinha has asked for Apu's help in farm work. I feel that is reasonable. Apu is strong and it is not right to use him in the kitchen, though of course I do believe that the kitchen should be entrusted to a man. He feels that if you are agreeable Apu should be transferred to him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10603

## 239. DUTY OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

Last week I referred to the duty of the students to make collections for the Deenabandhu memorial.[1] Dr. Brookes's letter,[2] reproduced elsewhere in this issue, should remind Indians overseas of their special duty. No man laboured so hard, so sincerely or so effectively as C. F. Andrews in their behalf. He travelled to distant lands to study personally the condition of the Indian settlers in those lands. I hope that these settlers will make collections and send their quota to the Memorial Fund.

SEVAGRAM, June 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

## 240. NOTES

### CASTE HINDU MARRIES HARIJAN GIRL

Shri Harekrushna Mahtab writes a letter about a marriage between a caste Hindu and a Harijan girl in Orissa. From it I take the following:[3]

I congratulate Shri Radhamadhab on his courage in breaking through the rock of caste superstition. I hope his example will be copied by other young men. May the union prove happy. I would advise Shri Radhamadhab to arrange for the proper education of his wife who, I understand, has not received any scholastic training.

### ANOTHER TRIBUTE

Dr. Edgar Brookes has sent me through my son a letter about his contacts with Deenabandhu. Dr. Brookes, my son tells me, is a very learned man and deeply religious. He is a well-known figure in South Africa apart from his being a senator. Here is Dr. Brookes's letter to me:

> You will pardon me, a complete stranger, for thus writing to you. I am elected senator representing the Bantu 'Natives' of Natal and Zululand

[1] *Vide* pp. 163-4.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] Not reproduced here. The letter described how a caste-Hindu youth had married a Harijan girl in the face of opposition from his as well as her relations.



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in the Union Parliament. As such I have had the privilege of speaking more than once on behalf of groups of Indians suffering from disabilities in South Africa. The urge to write to you has come to me as during these last weeks I have been reading C. F. Andrews's *Christ in the Silence*, and thinking very much of my dear friend who has entered into fuller life—I dare not say 'died', for I have never felt him more living. Knowing something of what your friendship meant to him and his (I imagine) to you, I felt that I should like to tell you a little of our contact. I met him not only here in South Africa but also in England and France, where we both spoke in connection with the Oxford Group movement. He is godfather to my youngest son. Mr. Andrews had the greatest of gifts—love. In its weakness, it is yet the strongest thing on earth—'terrible as an army with banners'. You have taught us that lesson. I would rather be like Mr. Andrews than the Prime Minister of a great country. He was the closest among all the people that I have ever met to what I imagine Jesus to have been. He brought something to India. He learned much from India, and much from yourself. Those who were made humbler and better by knowing him will, like myself, want to thank you for helping to make him what he was.

The letter shows how great was the influence that Deenabandhu produced on those with whom he came in contact.

## Adult Literacy

The Gandhi Mission Society, Tiruvennainallur, send me their half-yearly report of adult literacy work. The total number of adults educated was 197. But the problem that really faces them is 'how to enable the adults to retain the knowledge thus gained'.

> Nearly half the members who attended the class during the first session have approached the workers in charge to repeat the lessons. In fact they had lapsed into illiteracy. The workers are racking their brains to devise means to prevent this lapse.

The workers need not rack their brains at all. The lapse is bound to occur after the short courses that are given. The lapse can only be prevented by correlating the teaching to the villagers' daily wants. The dry knowledge of the three R's is not even now, it can never be, a permanent part of the villagers' life. They must have knowledge given to them which they must use daily. It must not be thrust upon them. They should have the appetite for it. What they have today is something they neither want nor appreciate. Give the villagers village arithmetic, village geography, village history and the literary knowledge

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that they must use daily, i.e., reading and writing letters, etc. They will treasure such knowledge and pass on to the other stages. They have no use for books which give them nothing of daily use.

SEVAGRAM, June 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

## *241. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
*June 16, 1940*

CHI. MANILAL,

This time it can be said that you wrote a very long letter. Do not feel apprehensive that it will bore me. That cannot be.

What you say about Sorabji[1] is painful. It is surprising that even Christopher[2] did not remain with you. But I do not worry in the least that you are left alone. Never mind if you find yourself alone for the sake of what you regard as truth.

I have already written to you about Medh. He will come back. No one is going to arrest me in a hurry. I am myself in no hurry to start a fight. It is enough that I am prepared. This is the position today. Tomorrow rests with God.

Ba is fairly well. Krishnadas[3] and Manojna[4] have returned from Nasik. Ramdas is touring and selling soap. He is in the good books of his boss and is, therefore, getting along quite well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4914

[1] Sorabji Shapurji Adajania; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 7.
[2] An inmate of Phœnix Ashram
[3] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi
[4] Wife of Krishnadas

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## 242. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 16, 1940*

CHI. VALLABHRAM,

Your settling down in Bombay means that you cannot pay your way in Ahmedabad. If it is so what a sad state of affairs!

You must have gone to Poona and examined Valjibhai. I have advised him that when you are ready to call him to Bombay he should go.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI VALLABHRAM VAID
1756 JUGAL BHUVAN
GANDHI ROAD
AHMEDABAD

From Gujarati: C.W. 2910. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

## 243. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

[After *June 16, 1940*][1]

I am determined to find a way out of the impasse.

I have just got yours of the 28th May. Pretty quick work. Mr. Amery's message is good. I shall live in hope and not make haste. But I know that the Working Committee will not accept anything weak. If they on your side wait till all parties including the Princes have come to a common agreement they will have to wait and so shall we. This should be recognized that the Congress is one party and others anti-Congress in the sense that they will close on a lesser note. The Congress can afford

[1] L. S. Amery's message referred to in the text was broadcast on June 16, the anniversary of the signing of the Magna Carta. Amery traced the development and spread of British democratic ideals and said, "In the case of India, we have made manifest our sincere desire, that she should, as a willing partner, attain the same status in the British Commonwealth as is enjoyed by the Dominions, or for that matter by ourselves." *Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. I, p. 79



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to wait but cannot afford to take less in the sense of bartering away the liberty of the country. The situation there is terrible. You are living in a blood-bath. For those of us who know, in a way it is worse than a blood-bath here. All my energy is devoted to preventing a blood-bath here. How long I shall control the situation I do not know. I shall not bend but break in the attempt.

Love.

BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## *244. SPINNING COMPETITION IN RAMGARH*

During the Congress Week there was the usual spinning competition at the exhibition. There were six tests—coarse counts up to 10, medium up to 18, fine up to 30, very fine ranging from 44 to 158, spinning on the Magan Charkha, and last on the *takli*. The examiners were Ramdev Babu of Bihar, Shri Nandlal Patel of the Khadi Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, and Prabhudas Gandhi who was also the organizer. From the table before me I see that the examination was as strict and thorough as it should have been. In my opinion the competitors were neither as many as should have been nor from many provinces. They were principally from Bihar and Gujarat, some from Maharashtra and U.P. There were cash prizes, the highest being Rs. 15, and trophies for the winning institutions. It is worthy of note that in the very fine yarn competition there were many women. The finest spinner was Devsundari Devi of Madhubani. Her count was 158. The highest speed on the wheel was 618 yards per hour of 10 counts. The highest on the Magan Charkha was 925 yards of 15 counts. The highest on the *takli* was 303 of 12 counts. This is all satisfactory. There is not much scope for increased speed with the present improvements except on the Magan Charkha. Enough experiment has not yet been made on that wheel. But all accounts go to show that it has further possibilities. The *takli* is any day the queen for easy carriage, simplicity and cost. On the whole it may prove to be the quickest. Whereas the wheels may go out of order, the *takli* need never. Experiments are being made in plying the *takli* after the style of the charkha.

I congratulate the winners. I only hope that more interest will be taken than hitherto in such competitions. Spinning

competitions have a great national value. I may note that the Maulana Saheb was to have given the prizes. But the wholly unexpected downpour made it utterly impossible to do so.

SEVAGRAM, June 17, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

## *245. QUESTION BOX*

### MEANING OF SPINNING ACTIVITIES

Q. It is an admitted fact that constructive activity keeps the political atmosphere pure and non-violent. You have recommended it for active satyagrahis. This activity can be carried on in a centre amongst Congressmen as also the villagers generally, which may include such people as old women, etc., who take to spinning as unemployment insurance, as is done in A.I.S.A. production centres. Your writings make one infer that you want active satyagrahis to confine constructive activity to Congressmen and particularly in the direction of making them self-spinners and make them wear khadi of their own yarn; the khadi in the first instance to be bought from A.I.S.A. stores, until the Congressmen produce their own yarn. Confining attention to Congressmen or political Congressmen seems to be more practicable than starting a general khadi centre of spinning for wages. Is this a correct interpretation of your writing?

A. Your interpretation is correct so far as it goes. I do not want the Congress organization to be an indifferent or glorified copy of the A.I.S.A. It has to do the work that the A.I.S.A. does not do. Its motive will be predominantly political, whereas that of the A.I.S.A., although it is a creation of the Congress, is purely philanthropic and economic. The Congress organization aims at creating an army of non-violent soldiers or, to drop the military terminology, a band of non-violent workers for the freedom of the country. The spinning work and all the allied processes keep Congressmen busy and away from mischief. It will knit them together in a brotherhood, it will give them an insight into village life, it will bring them in direct touch with the villagers, it will give them a hold on the economic condition of the masses as nothing else will do, it will lead them on to a study of the whole of the vast village problem, it will make them sink their petty or big differences and forget class, racial or religious distinctions. The charkha may or may not have all this potency inherent in it. I want Congressmen to impute all these implications to it.

## Test-tube Babies

Q. You say that motherhood is sublime but sex is bad. From the spiritual and eugenic point of view don't you agree that the test-tube technique of begetting babies is ideal since it altogether eliminates lust and carnality from procreation?

A. I would reconcile myself to your method, if carnality itself can be eradicated thereby. So long as I hold to the view that carnality prevents man or woman from rising to the fullest height possible, so long must I rebel against these artificial methods of procreation. Your method, as far as I can see, can only result in multiplying idiots or monsters, not human beings, thrown into the sea of passions which it should be their pride to subjugate. But I own I belong to an age that is perhaps dying. The new age to come, when men and women will walk, if they at all do, only for pleasure but go to their work on wheels or fly to it, and when the institution of marriage and all it implies will be abolished, does not enthuse me.

## How to Face a Lie

Q. People believe in your sincerity when you sympathize with Britain and France in their struggle for existence, but some of us have scented a danger that the Indian capitalists may continue to employ you as a tool for keeping India calm when these capitalists are reaping rich profit as a result of this war. What steps are you taking to remove this suspicion?

A. I propose to take no steps, even as I took none when I was accused of having one crore of rupees in the Bank of England. Lies are best left unanswered. They die of inanition. They have no vitality of their own. They flourish on opposition. If my whole life is not sufficient answer to the lie referred to by you, no steps I can take will remove the impression created by the lie. Mind you, I do not dispute the fact that the peaceful atmosphere created by my inaction benefits the capitalists, but it benefits the masses more than the capitalists, for the inaction enables the masses to garner their non-violent strength which will enable them to deal effectively with capitalists and imperialism which covers them.

Sevagram, June 17, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

## 246. A NOTE

[*June 17, 1940*][1]

There is no need at all to do anything just now. Never mind if you have been given the charge. Advise everyone in the Ashram not to hurt her. There is no need to broadcast the thing. I will write something tomorrow in the Notes.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 647

## 247. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *June 18, 1940*][2]

I have made no mistake. Think that what you have done is the best thing. There is no question of my being angry. I am only doing my dharma. You should do yours. Seeking my advice is not going to help you in any way.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 655

## 248. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *June 18, 1940*][3]

I cannot judge. Guide Zohra as you wish. If you have no influence with her, then entrust her to me. Let her talk the thing over with me. For the rest you may decide. Do what Puri tells you. Listen to what Khan Saheb says. I cannot guide you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 723

[1] The last sentence "I will write something tomorrow in the Notes" is presumably a reference to "Note to Ashram Inmates", 18-6-1940.

[2] & [3] These notes were obviously written before "Note to Ashram Inmates", p. 189.



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## 249. *HOW TO COMBAT HITLERISM*

Whatever Hitler may ultimately prove to be, we know what Hitlerism has come to mean. It means naked, ruthless force reduced to an exact science and worked with scientific precision. In its effect it becomes almost irresistible.

In the early days of satyagraha when it was still known as passive resistance, *The Star* of Johannesburg, stirred by the sight of a handful of Indians, wholly unarmed and incapable of organized violence even if they wished it, pitting themselves against an overwhelmingly armed Government, had a cartoon in which the latter was depicted as a steam-roller representing irresistible force, and passive resistance was depicted as an elephant unmoved and comfortably planting himself in his seat. This was marked immovable force. The cartoonist had a true insight into the duel between the irresistible and the immovable forces. It was then a stalemate. The sequel we know. What was depicted and appeared to be irresistible was successfully resisted by the immovable force of satyagraha—call it suffering without retaliation.

What became true then can be equally true now. Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism. It can only breed superior Hitlerism raised to nth degree. What is going on before our eyes is a demonstration of the futility of violence as also of Hitlerism.

Let me explain what I mean by failure of Hitlerism. It has robbed the small nations of their liberty. It has compelled France to sue for peace.[1] Probably by the time this is in print Britain will have decided upon her course. The fall of France is enough for my argument. I think French statesmen have shown rare courage in bowing to the inevitable and refusing to be party to senseless mutual slaughter. There can be no sense in France coming out victorious if the stake is in truth lost. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. It then

[1] The French request for armistice was sent to Hitler on June 16. Hitler's terms were delivered to the French on June 20. On June 22 the German terms were accepted and three days later on June 25 the armistice became effective.

becomes an inglorious satiation of ambition. The bravery of the French soldier is world-known. But let the world know also the greater bravery of the French statesmen in suing for peace. I have assumed that the French statesmen have taken the step in a perfectly honourable manner as behoves true soldiers. Let me hope that Herr Hitler will impose no humiliating terms but show that, though he can fight without mercy, he can at least conclude peace not without mercy.

But to resume the thread of the argument. What will Hitler do with his victory? Can he digest so much power? Personally he will go as empty-handed as his not very remote predecessor Alexander. For the Germans he will have left not the pleasure of owning a mighty empire but the burden of sustaining its crushing weight. For they will not be able to hold all the conquered nations in perpetual subjection. And I doubt if the Germans of future generations will entertain unadulterated pride in the deeds for which Hitlerism will be deemed responsible. They will honour Herr Hitler as a genius, as a brave man, a matchless organizer and much more. But I should hope that the Germans of the future will have learnt the art of discrimination even about their heroes. Anyway I think it will be allowed that all the blood that has been spilled by Hitler had added not a millionth part of an inch to the world's moral stature.

As against this imagine the state of Europe today if the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had all said to Hitler: 'You need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will therefore be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battleships and airships.' It may be retorted that the only difference would be that Hitler would have got without fighting what he has gained after a bloody fight. Exactly. The history of Europe would then have been written differently. Possession might (but only might) have been then taken under non-violent resistance, as it has been taken now after perpetration of untold barbarities. Under non-violence only those would have been killed who had trained themselves to be killed, if need be, but without killing anyone and without bearing malice towards anybody. I dare say that in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature. And in the end I expect it is the moral worth that will count. All else is dross.

I have written these lines for the European Powers. But they are meant for ourselves. If my argument has gone home, is it not time for us to declare our changeless faith in non-violence of the

strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence?

SEVAGRAM, June 18, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-6-1940

## *250. NOTE TO ASHRAM INMATES*

[*June 18, 1940*][1]

Now you know from experience that A. S. is not in such a state of mind that we can rely on any word of hers. This condition is also a part of her illness. So there is no question of ascertaining her wish. I made it plain last evening that the kitchen is completely out of bounds for her. She may go there today if she has any instructions to give. But she shall do no work at all. We have, therefore, to make arrangements ourselves independently of her. Do not send Apu to work on the farm against his will. In that case let him take charge of the kitchen. If he requires any guidance, he can ask Krishnachandra. If Krishnachandra cannot judge, he can ask me, but not A.S. I do not at all want to tax either her body or her mind. She is working out of stubbornness. I have tolerated her stubbornness till now. But I see that I would be committing a sin if I went on doing so any longer. I would be doing her harm and doing the same to myself too. The best service to her is that however difficult she may be I must stop her from working in the kitchen, and compel her to give up doing everything she did for me. When she recovers health of body and mind, we will let her work in the kitchen and for me and also do whatever other work she can do.

If Krishnachandra has Brahmadutt's clothes, please ask him to send them with these men, or he may give them to me. I will send them.

Let everyone read this letter and then return it to me.

Chimanlalbhai himself had said that A. S. Behn had agreed to give up the kitchen work. Now they say she is not willing to give it up.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4563

[1] This was found among the papers of Krishnachandra and presumably the date is given by him.

[2] This paragraph is in Hindi and written in the margin.

## 251. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 20, 1940*

CHI. SHARMA,

I got your letter; also the book. I had asked Su[shila]behn to send an acknowledgment. The book was needed for Shankaran who is working in the dispensary. I shall expect one letter from you every month.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]
*Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 286

## 252. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*June 21, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Just one line of love in the midst of distraction. I suppose you have abstained knowing that I would hardly have time to see the post. If so, you were right.

Well, you have seen what has happened. I am both unhappy and happy.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3976. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7285

[1] *Vide* pp. 194-7.



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## 253. LETTER TO BHAGWAN DIN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 22, 1940*

BHAI BHAGWAN DIN,

What I have been asked is about staying in some Muslim home, in some Muslim village. Nothing has been decided.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 737

## 254. SPEECH AT MEETING OF GANDHI SEVA SANGH AND CHARKHA SANGH

WARDHA,
[*June 22, 1940*][1]

Now is the testing time for you. The Working Committee, let us say, were weighed and found wanting. Can the Gandhi Seva Sangh do anything to repair their failure? The Working Committee's resolution does not mean that you cannot appeal to people to declare their faith in non-violence. You can do so, and then tell the members of the Working Committee, 'You undervalued our faith. We are going to hold by the creed.' I tell you the Working Committee members will not only not resent this, but will simply dance with joy. Some of you are members of the Congress. It is the duty of those who are members and who believe in non-violence to reassure the members of the Working Committee, to declare their faith before the meeting of the A. I. C. C., and even before the open Congress if the time comes. But you may not separate your creed as Congressmen and creed as ordinary human beings, your behaviour in Congress affairs and in non-Congress affairs. Your non-violence, if it is true, must be part of your normal life, must be in your thought, word and deed, and must colour all your behaviour. Then and then only can you give the Working Committee the assurance I have referred to, and compel them to alter their resolution. . . .

But, let me explain this further. You will examine every action of yours in the light of the creed. That does not mean that you

[1] From *Hitavada*, 26-6-1940



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will be morbid or pernickety. Your conduct will have to be natural. When I began observing silence it meant an effort on my part. Now it has become part of my nature, and to break my silence means an effort. In the same way acting non-violently must be part of your nature. It is likely that your relating everything to non-violence may be logically wrong, but it is not wrong for you. I may be wrong, in the eyes of others, in my belief that with every thread that I draw I am bringing swaraj nearer, but for me the belief is as true as the fact that I exist. That saves me from losing my sanity. This spinning-wheel is a symbol of non-violence for me. The wheel as such is lifeless, but when I invest it with symbolism it becomes a living thing for me. Its sound, if it is musical, is in tune with non-violence. If it is unmusical, it is not in tune with it, for it indicates carelessness on my part. The steel spindle one can use as a deadly weapon, but we have put it there for the the best possible use. So we have to be meticulously careful about every part of the wheel. Then and then only will it produce fine music and spinning will be a true sacrificial act.

But this kind of *sadhana*, you will say, may take thousands of years. It may take some a thousand years, and it may take some others only one year. Don't think that, if in spite of my 50 years' practice of it I am still imperfect, it must take you many more years. No, there is no rule of three here. You may succeed quicker than I. I meant what I said to Prithvi Singh: 'You had at any rate the violence of the brave. I had nothing of it. Now if you believe in cultivating non-violence of the brave, you will do so much more quickly than I, and you will leave me behind.' This applies to every one of you. In South Africa I was the first to learn shoe-making and so I taught it to others. But those others soon left me behind. It was because I was a true teacher. Now if I am a true teacher of ahimsa, I am sure you will soon leave behind your teacher. If that does not happen, it will only mean that I was an unfit teacher. But if my teaching fructifies, there will be teachers of ahimsa in every home.

I want to know how many of you are with me. If none goes with me, I am ready to tread my path alone. For I know that I can never be *alone* as God is there with me. You are all companion *sadhaks* (seekers) with me. I am old but you have many years before you. And yet let me tell you that I do not feel the weight of my years. I do not think my power of growth or capacity for research has come to an end.

So you have to go forth and find out how many actual believers in ahimsa there are among Congressmen. The Working

Committee members are your representatives. If they were mistaken in assessing the faith of their electors, you have to correct their judgment. My position was different from theirs. I consider myself a confirmed representative of ahimsa, and so I severed my connection with the Congress in 1934. I could not help doing it. If I had not done so, I should have been untrue to my creed.

No one knows my imperfections better than I, but what little power I possess is derived from my ahimsa. What is it but my ahimsa that draws thousands of women to me in fearless confidence? But neither you nor I can trade on our capital. We have to be up and doing every moment of our lives and go forward in our *sadhana*. We have to live and move and have our being in ahimsa, even as Hitler does in *himsa*. It is the faith and perseverance and single-mindedness with which he has perfected his weapons of destruction that commands my admiration. That he uses them as a monster is immaterial for our purpose. We have to bring to bear the same single-mindedness and perseverance in evolving our ahimsa. Hitler is awake all the 24 hours of the day in perfecting his *sadhana*. He wins because he pays the price. His inventions surprise his enemies. But it is his single-minded devotion to his purpose that should be the object of our admiration and emulation. Although he works all his waking hours, his intellect is unclouded and unerring. Are our intellects unclouded and unerring? A mere belief in ahimsa or the charkha will not do. It should be intelligent and creative. If intellect plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence.

With this he referred to the work of Richard Gregg in this direction, and described how the latter had come to the conclusion that spinning as a symbol of non-violence is good enough not only for India but for the world. Continuing he said:

The Working Committee's decision was simply an echo of the atmosphere around them. My decision could not be its echo. For ahimsa is my special *sadhana*, not that of the Congress. I congratulate the members on their honesty and their courage, though I am sorry for myself that I could not inspire them with confidence in our creed and in my leadership. We have now to show that we have faith in the non-violence of the brave. It does not mean the development of the capacity to go to jail. It means increasing faith in the potency of constructive work to bring about swaraj, and in constructive work being a vital part of the programme of ahimsa.

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940
72-13

## 255. BOTH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY

It was on the 18th instant that I expressed the following hope in *Harijan*:[1]

> If my argument has gone home, is it not time for us to declare our changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence?

On the 21st the Working Committee felt unable to enforce such faith in action when the time for it came.[2] For the Committee never before had an occasion to test their faith. At the last meeting they had to lay down a course of action for meeting impending anarchy within and danger of aggression from without.

I pleaded hard with the Committee: "If you have faith in non-violence of the strong, now is the time to act up to it. It does not matter that many parties do not believe in non-violence whether of the strong or of the weak. Probably that is all the greater reason for Congressmen to meet the emergency by non-violent action. For if all were non-violent, there could be no anarchy and there would be no question of anybody arming for meeting aggression from without. It is because Congressmen represent a party of non-violence, in the midst of parties who do not believe in it, that it becomes imperative for Congressmen to show that they are well able to act up to their faith."

But the members of the Working Committee felt that Congressmen would not be able to act up to it. It would be a new

[1] *Vide* "How to Combat Hitlerism", pp. 187-9.

[2] The resolution of the Working Committee, passed after five days of deliberations, *inter alia* said: "While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements they have to deal with. . . . The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognize that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way, and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder."



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experience for them. They were never before called upon to deal with such a crisis. The attempt made by me to form peace brigades to deal with communal riots and the like had wholly failed. Therefore they could not hope for the action contemplated.

My position was different. With the Congress non-violence was always a policy. It was open to it to reject it if it failed. If it could not bring political and economic independence, it was of no use. For me non-violence is a creed. I must act up to it whether I am alone or have companions. Since propagation of non-violence is the mission of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers. I felt that now was the time for me to prove my faith before God and man. And so I asked for absolution from the Committee. Hitherto I have been responsible for guiding the general policy of the Congress. I could no longer do so when fundamental differences were discovered between them and me. They readily recognized the correctness of my attitude. And they gave me the absolution. Once more they have justified the trust imposed in them. They have been true to themselves. They had not the confidence, in themselves or those whom they represented, that they could express in their actions the required measure of non-violence. And so they made the only choice they could honestly make. It was a tremendous sacrifice they made—the sacrifice of the prestige that the Congress had gained in the world for unadulterated non-violence, and the dissolution of the unwritten and unspoken bond between them and me. But though it is a break in the common practice of a common ideal or policy, there is no break in the friendship of over twenty years' standing.

I am both happy and unhappy over the result. Happy because I have been able to bear the strain of the break and have been given the strength to stand alone. Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years which seem like yesterday. But I know that, if God shows me the way to demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong, the break will prove to have been temporary. If there is no way, they will have justified their wisdom in bearing the wrench of letting me go my way alone. If that tragic discovery of my impotence is in store for me, I hope still to retain the faith that has sustained me all these years and to have humility enough to realize that I was not a fit enough instrument to carry the torch of non-violence any further.

But this argument and doubt are based upon the assumption that the members of the Working Committee represent the feeling

of the vast majority of Congressmen. They would wish and hope that the vast majority of Congressmen had in them the non-violence of the strong. No one would be more glad than they to discover that they had underrated Congressmen's strength. The probability, however, is that there is no majority but only a good minority which represents the non-violence of the strong. It should be remembered that the matter does not lend itself to argument. The members of the Working Committee had all the argument before them. But non-violence, which is a quality of the heart, cannot come by an appeal to the brain. Therefore what is required is a quiet but resolute demonstration of non-violent strength. The opportunity comes to everyone almost daily. There are communal clashes, there are dacoities, there are wordy duels. In all these things those who are truly non-violent can and will demonstrate it. If it is shown in an adequate measure, it will not fail to infect their surroundings. I am quite clear that there is not a single Congressman who disbelieves in the efficacy of non-violence out of sheer cussedness. Let the Congressmen who believe that the Congress should adhere to non-violence in dealing with internal disorders or external aggression, express it in their daily conduct. Non-violence of the strong cannot be a mere policy. It must be a creed, or a passion, if 'creed' is objected to. A man with a passion expresses it in every little act of his. Therefore he who is possessed by non-violence will express it in the family circle, in his dealings with neighbours, in his business, in Congress meetings, in public meetings, and in his dealings with opponents. It is because it has not expressed itself in this way among Congressmen that the members of the Working Committee rightly concluded that Congressmen were not ready for non-violent treatment of internal disorders or external aggression. Embarrassment caused by non-violent action would move established authority to yield to popular will. But such action has obviously no play in the face of disorders. We have to court death without retaliation and with no malice or anger towards those who bring about disorder. It is easy enough to see that non-violence required here is of a wholly different type from what the Congress has known hitherto. But it is the only non-violence that is true and that can save the world from self-destruction. This is a certainty sooner or later, sooner rather than later, if India cannot deliver the message of true non-violence to a world which wants to be saved from the curse of wars and does not know how to find the deliverance.

SEVAGRAM, June 24, 1940

PS.

After the foregoing was written and typed, I saw Jawaharlal's statement.[1] His love for and confidence in me peep out of every sentence referring to me. The foregoing does not need any amendment. It is better for the reader to have both the independent reactions. Good must come out of this separation.

*Harijan*, 29-6-1940

## *256. WHAT THE "MASNAVI"[2] SAYS*

I gladly publish the following sent to me by Advocate Rustomji Andhyarujina of Bombay:

> In the latest issue of *Harijan* while dealing with the letter of a Khan Bahadur from Delhi you write the following lines[3] of eternal truth:
>
> "Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them." (Page 157, 2nd column.)
>
> These lines remind me of the immortal words of a famous Persian poet put into the mouth of God who addresses Moses in verse 14 of the poem, viz.,
>
> "Thou hast come to this earth to unite; thou hast not come to this earth to separate."
>
> Original:
>
> *To barae Vasl kardan amadi*
> *Na barae Fasl kardan amadi.*
>
> I give below a faithful translation of the whole poem in order to show the beauty and the grandeur of the truth contained in the above verse:
>
> "Moses once saw on the road a shepherd who was exclaiming thus: 'Oh God Almighty!
>
> Tell me where Thou art, so that I may become Thy servant, stitch Thy heavy shoes, comb Thy hair,
>
> Kiss Thy hand, rub Thy feet, and sweep the floor for Thee to sleep.
>
> If Thou wouldst fall ill in future, like Thy kith and kin I would grieve for Thee.

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru in his statement issued from Bombay on June 23 had said: "... The difference between Gandhiji's approach and that of the Working Committee must be understood and must not lead people to think that there is a break between him and the Congress. The Congress of the past twenty years is his creation and child and nothing can break this bond. I am sure his guidance and wise counsel will always be available to the Congress."

[2] Poem composed by the Persian mystic poet Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–73)

[3] *Vide* p. 134.

Oh my Lord, my life is sacrificed to Thee: together with my children and all the property that I own.

Aye, all my sheep are sacrificed to Thee: every call of 'hae-ha' of mine addressed to my wayward sheep is for Thy remembrance!' "

In this strain that shepherd was speaking when Moses spoke to him thus: "Whom art thou addressing?"

He replied: "I am addressing Him who created us, the One from whom became manifest this earth and this revolving celestial globe (Charkh)."

Moses exclaimed: "Alas, thy head has become arrogant and discourteous: thou hast ceased to be a Mussalman; thou hast turned an infidel.

If thou dost not tie up (stop) these words in thy palate, the fire (of Hell) will spread out and consume the whole world."

The poor shepherd cried in agony: "Oh Moses, thou hast stitched my mouth; the repentance that thou hast caused in me has consumed my soul."

He tore his robe into tatters, heaved a burning sigh, set his face towards the forest and disappeared in its midst.

A voice reached Moses from God saying: "Why didst thou separate my slave from Me?

*Thou hast come to this earth to unite; thou hast not come to this earth to separate.*

Knowest thou that *We* do not see the exterior nor the words; *We* see only the interior and the real thing."

No sooner did Moses hear these words of censure from the Almighty God than he ran after the shepherd in the thickness of the wood.

At last Moses was able to find him out in the wilderness. The Prophet told him: "Good news for thee! for, God has given me permission to tell thee, do not worry about the conventional modes and forms whilst addressing Me, but instead speak out whatever thy narrow heart prompts thee to speak."

(From *Masnavi-e-Molavi*)

How I wish the beautiful truth embedded in these verses will be taken to heart by every one of us. Is not the Pakistan movement a denial of the obvious truth?

SEVAGRAM, June 24, 1940

*Harijan*, 29-6-1940

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## 257. *QUESTION BOX*

### Vows and Will Power

Q. I am a genuine seeker after *brahmacharya*. But in spite of all my prayerful effort I am sinking deeper and deeper into self-indulgence. I cannot blame my partner for it. My circumstances do not permit me to enforce the rule about segregation.

You advocate and believe in the efficacy of vows. You have said in *Harijan* that "for the weak in mind and soul vows are like tonics". But how will you administer this tonic to a case like mine who has not the strength of will to carry out the vow he has taken? Had I such a strong will, the necessity for taking vows would not have arisen.

A. Let me bluntly tell you that I do not believe in your genuineness, not that you are wilfully lying. You are unconsciously un-genuine. If you are genuine, you will at least observe the rules of the game. You give up your case when you say you cannot segregate yourself from your wife for want of room. I have never heard such an excuse. If you take the vow, you must at least produce the necessary atmosphere around you for its observance. Everyone who has successfully carried out the vow has invariably observed this first condition. If you are living in only one room, you should go elsewhere or send away your wife or have a relative to sleep in the same room. The question is how far you are determined. It may be that you want to observe *brahmacharya* because you have read much about it and would like to be classed among *brahmacharis*. I know many such young men. If that is your case, you should not make the attempt. One must have a burning desire to live that life. If you have it, you will adopt the measures that all aspirants have invariably adopted. You are then bound to succeed. If you have not read *Self-restraint* v. *Self-indulgence*, you should read it.

### What to Do?

Q. The situation in the country is becoming graver daily. Everywhere panic is growing. In certain parts armed gangs are already organizing themselves to take advantage of the ensuing anarchy in case the central power should disintegrate or weaken. The danger may not be imminent, but it would be folly to ignore its possibility. With all the education in non-violence which the country has received during the last twenty years,



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you will agree that it has not developed the sort of non-violence that can be effective in the face of anarchy and gangsterism. The Government is taking steps to organize the citizens for self-defence. What is the duty of those who look up to you for lead and guidance? Should they take part in these Governmental activities? If they should not, what else are they to do? Surely they cannot sit with folded hands doing nothing.

A. I am unable to say what the Congress will exactly do, in view of the recent statement of the Working Committee. If you believe in non-violent treatment of anarchy and the like, naturally you will prepare yourself and your neighbours and those whom you can influence for non-violent defence. I quite agree with you that no responsible person can sit idly by in these times. Violent preparation would need long previous training. Non-violent preparation means mental adjustment. Possibility of anarchy there undoubtedly is. But if you are non-violent, you will not give way to fear. Do not anticipate anarchy, just as you do not anticipate death though you know that it is a certainty. If you are non-violent, you will believe that there will be no anarchy. But if unfortunately it comes, you and your companions or followers will give your lives to prevent it. Those who give their lives, in trying to kill those whom they regard as robbers or mischief-makers, do no better, possibly they do worse. They risk their lives and there is darkness after they are gone. What is more, they may leave things worse by feeding the fire of violence by counter-violence. Those who die unresistingly are likely to still the fury of violence by their wholly innocent sacrifice. But this truly non-violent action is not possible unless it springs from a heart belief that he whom you fear and regard as a robber, dacoit, or worse, and you are one, and that therefore it is better that you die at his hands than that he, your ignorant brother, should die at yours.

### Pakistan and Constituent Assembly

Q. The two nations theory is by way of a counterblast to the demand for a Constituent Assembly which is about as absurd as the other thing. To me the idea of a Constituent Assembly ignores the existing conditions. 95 per cent of our people are illiterate, and nearly cent per cent are swayed by religious prejudices; and then there is the additional factor of corruption. And the fatal objection to a Constituent Assembly is that without a genuine desire on the part of the majority to give effect to safeguards the best of these are bound to prove unreal.

A. Surely you cannot speak of the Constituent Assembly side by side with Pakistan. The latter is wrong, as I conceive

it, in every way. There is nothing wrong in the idea of a Constituent Assembly. At its worst, dangers surround its formation. Every big experiment is beset with dangers. These risks must be taken. Every effort should be made to minimize them. But there seems to me to be nothing like a Constituent Assembly for achieving the common purpose. I admit the difficulty of illiteracy. Indeed adult suffrage was introduced at the instance of Muslim nationalists including the late Ali Brothers. The danger of corruption is also there. The greater the organization the less felt is the effect of corruption because it is so widely distributed. Thus in the Congress there are much corruption and jealousy, but they are confined to those few who run the machinery. But the vast body of Congressmen are untouched by these defects, though they profit by the good the Congress does. The danger you mention about safeguards will be reduced to the vanishing point if they come through a Constituent Assembly. For safeguards laid down by the representatives elected by the adult Muslim population will depend for their safety not on the goodwill or honesty of the majority but on the strength of the awakened Muslim masses. Fatality really attaches to your wrong conception of the majority, not to a Constituent Assembly. There is a majority of Hindus undoubtedly, but we observe that in popular political assemblies parties are not rigidly divided according to religious opinions, but they are according to political and other opinions. The curse of communalism became intensified by the introduction of separate electorates. The cry for partition is the logical outcome, but it is also the strongest condemnation, of separate electorates. When we have learnt wisdom we shall cease to think in terms of separate electorates and two nations. I believe in the innate goodness of human nature. I therefore swear by the Constituent Assembly. The Muslim vote will surely decide the issue so far as their special interest is concerned. Arguing communally, therefore, the fear, if there is any, about a Constituent Assembly should surely be on the part of the Hindus. For if the Muslim vote goes in favour of partition, they have either to submit not to one but many partitions or to a civil war. As things are, all satisfy themselves by passing resolutions and seeing their names in print. In practice all of us remain where we are in a state of subjection. A Constituent Assembly is a reality. It will not be a debating or legislative irresponsible body. By registering its final decision it will decide the fate of millions of human beings. You may oppose it. If you are successful in your opposition, there is the

dread prospect of anarchy, not an orderly civil war. There seems to me to be no solution of the painful deadlock except through a Constituent Assembly.

SEVAGRAM, June 24, 1940

*Harijan*, 29-6-1940

## *258. TELEGRAM TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

[*June 24, 1940*][1]

H. E. VICEROY
SIMLA

THANKS WIRE. HAVE APPOINTMENTS TILL WEDNESDAY. CAN LEAVE THURSDAY. REACHING SATURDAY. BUT CAN LEAVE TOMORROW IF YOU WISH.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## *259. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

*June 24, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

Your letter will not do. The cutting does not support your case. Just now I am busy with *Harijan* work. It was with some reluctance that I spared time even to read what you have sent. I will draft a letter and send it after I am free from *Harijan* work. You will of course see my letter. Let Anna go. Release him completely. You will not be able to shoulder the responsibility for his nephew. It will be better if you frankly tell him so.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10932

[1] From the postmark

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## 260. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
*June 25, 1940*

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA W

REACHING THERE SATURDAY LEAVING HERE THURSDAY. IF INCONVENIENCE AT MANORVILLE YOU MAY PUT ME ELSEWHERE. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3977. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7286

## 261. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
*June 25, 1940*

CHI. PREMA,

Why are you afraid? Such things do happen. They are a test for me.[1] Do you remember the *bhajan* beginning: "When will the matchless time. . . ."? Think over the lines "Wandering alone on the cremation ground". The Committee could not have adopted any other course. Everyone has to face this problem. What will all of you also do, if I turn out to be a bad coin? We have never tried the non-violence of the brave. Now the time has come for that. My Memon clients used to quote the saying, "He is a man who remains steadfast at a critical hour". Cheer up.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10408. Also C.W. 6847. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] The reference is to the Congress Working Committee's resolution; *vide* footnote 2, p. 194.

## 262. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*June 25, 1940*

CHI. JETHALAL,

I have already talked the matter over with Jajuji, for the arrival of your postcard coincided with his coming. I will go through *Sarvodaya*.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9870. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

## 263. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*June 25, 1940*

KRISHNACHANDRA,

If no one has notified Shankaranji, inform the kitchen that four new guests will dine there today.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4353

## 264. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
*June 26, 1940*

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA W

WE SHALL BE FOUR. ONE CAR WILL DO. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3978. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7287



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## 265. *INTERVIEW TO VISITORS FROM PRINCELY STATES*[1]

[Before *June 27, 1940*]

They should cease to be Princes and become servants of the people.

They will have to descend from their pedestal and seek the co-operation of their people. If they do so, they need not use force at all to put down the forces of disorder. The Congress does not want to do away with the Princes, and they can seek its co-operation in bringing about peace and contentment in their States.

They will have to be genuine servants of the people. When they do so, no one will think of eliminating them. If they are the servants and the people are the masters, why should the masters do away with the servants? You say there are a number of smaller Princes today who are anxious to make up with the Congress. If they are, what prevents them from doing the most elementary things?

INTERVIEWERS: They want to do certain things, but they are on the one hand afraid of the Paramount Power and on the other afraid of the people. Some kind of fear seems to have seized them that the people will want to pay off old scores.

GANDHIJI: Both their fears are groundless. If they will do justice, I can scarcely think of the people wanting to pay off old scores. Our people are not of a revengeful nature. Is the Ruler of Aundh afraid of any rebellion in his State? He is not, for whom will they rebel against when they know that he has divested himself of practically all power? If they want to rebel, I think he is capable of saying to them, 'Come and take charge of my palace, I shall be content to go and stay among the poorest of you! Appasaheb, the son of the Chief of Aundh, is slaving away for the people as no servant of the State does.

But the fact is that the people have to be convinced of their *bona fides*. Let them do two things. One is that they have to purify their lives and reduce themselves to utter simplicity. The

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Occasional Notes", 27-6-1940. The interviewers had asked Gandhiji what the Princes were to do in the face of the panic, insecurity and impending anarchy in the States.

fabulous amounts they spend on themselves are unconscionable. I cannot understand how they can have the heart to squander the people's money in riotous living, when thousands of their people cannot get a square meal a day. Why should they not be content with two or three hundred rupees a month? But my point is this. Let them take what the people will give them. Their privy purse must be votable. No reforms and no budget can have any value unless the people have the fullest right to say how much their ruler take for himself. A new age has already begun, and no ruler can conceivably be tolerated whose life does not correspond largely with the life of his people and who does not identify himself with them.

That is one thing. The other thing is that their judiciary will have to be above board and therefore independent of them. I cannot say today with confidence that in any State the judiciary is really independent. And there must be complete civil liberty.

These, then, are the first steps in the way of reform. Their fear of the Paramount Power is groundless. That Power dare not openly say or do anything to interfere with *bona-fide* reforms. Wherever they have interfered they have made some flaw in the particular Prince's character an excuse. The deduction is that Princes should be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. As for the Congress, let them know that it is ever ready to come to an understanding with them. The Congress is essentially a non-violent organization. Let the Princes voluntarily go under the authority of their people and the Congress will befriend them. If they do not do so, there are breakers ahead. The Congress, let me repeat, is not out to destroy the Princes, unless it be that they do not mend their ways and destroy themselves. Even if there is *one* Prince who will be content to be the servant of the people, the Congress will stand by him.

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *266. INTERVIEW TO AMERICAN VISITOR*[1]

SEVAGRAM,
[Before *June 27, 1940*]

QUESTION: How can I best prepare in India to help in America towards a better understanding between Indians and Americans? . . . How could I contribute towards this end in America?

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Occasional Notes", 27-6-1940. The visitor was a pacifist and represented various women's associations.

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ANSWER: One has to show in one's life one's country's best traits, and that is how one can bring another country to a better understanding of one's own. If you do not show the best in you whilst you are here, you make America liable to be misunderstood; and the same thing I would say about Indians in America. If one wants to interpret one country to another, he or she has to discover the best in that country and place it before the other country. If you, for instance, see nothing good in the life here, then you certainly are not the best person to interpret India to America. In America you find a Miss Mayo bringing out all the filth from the Indian gutters. You will contradict her, and as against one calumny uttered by a hasty or a paid or an interested observer you will adduce many testimonies gathered out of a sympathetic understanding and knock the bottom out of that calumny.

Q. What can pacifist Americans do to help the world situation?

A. It is a difficult question. If you mean pacifist Americans in India, they can do precious little. But in America they should, I suppose, be able to do a great deal. But it is a question really outside my depth, and I must not say anything more about it.

Q. I do a lot of writing and speaking, especially among women. Have you any message to give to American women?

A. Not as a message. I can throw out a suggestion and, if it appeals to you, you can develop it. Woman can play a most important part in the work of pacifism. She should refuse to be swept off her feet and to imitate man's language and refuse to allow herself and hers to be identified with anything connected with war. For she must know that she can represent peace more than war. She is made for the demonstration and exhibition of that silent force which is not less effective because it is silent, but the more effective because it is silent.

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## 267. LETTER TO BISHAN NATH

DELHI,
*June 28, 1940*

DEAR LALA BISHAN NATH,

I had yours of 11th inst. I shall do what I can.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

LALA BISHAN NATH
ADVOCATE
ANARKALI
LAHORE

From a photostat: G.N. 7943

## 268. TELEGRAM TO LORD LINLITHGOW

[Before *June 29, 1940*][1]

H.E. VICEROY
SIMLA

MANY THANKS WIRE. HOPE REACH FRIDAY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

## 269. DISCUSSION WITH PYARELAL AND MAHADEV DESAI[2]

[*June 29, 1940*][3]

PYARELAL: This puzzles one.[4] What is so personal about that letter? That man has a curtness which one does not like.

[1] Gandhiji had reached Simla on June 29, 1940.

[2&3] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "A Revealing Dialogue". A brief report by Pyarelal also appeared in *Harijan*, 6-7-1940, under the title "On the Road to Simla".

[4] Pyarelal was commenting on a co-worker's marking "Personal" a letter he had written to Gandhiji.



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GANDHIJI: It is improper of you to judge a co-worker from one single instance. It is improper from the point of view of logic and more so from the point of view of ahimsa. Darwin, in his book *The Descent of Man*, has not based his conclusions on any one fact. He never tired of adducing heaps and heaps of evidence. He has crammed the whole book with facts to prove his thesis and in the end he has formulated that thesis in the fewest words. Imagine how much he valued truth! Even so I find a flaw in his thesis because *Syadvad* of Jain philosophy teaches me that notwithstanding all this testimony we may come across some other facts which may refute Darwin's thesis. Because the writer of the letter has written "personal" on the top of the letter, you came to the conclusion that he is curt. Now let me give an instance. Many people eat out of each other's plates and they believe that that promotes friendship. Hindu wives believe that they earn merit by eating the orts from their husbands' plates. Maybe Ba also believes that and she would not shrink from eating from the plate used by me. But as for me, leaving others aside, I would not be able to eat even from Ba's plate. If someone was to see me refusing food from Ba's plate and drew the conclusion that I was curt and fussy—what an injustice he would be doing me! Even though I may feel repelled by this one thing, I have no doubt that by temperament I am neither curt nor fussy, and I can cite hundreds of instances to prove that. Similarly numerous instances can be cited to prove that your friend about whom you have complained is not what you have described him to be. No proposition can be called universal unless it is proved so by analysis and synthesis. We know that water consists of two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen. But we must prove that by synthesis and analysis. If we analyse water we get two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen. However we should synthesize two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen and if that produces water, our proposition about its composition is proved. The same applies to our day-to-day behaviour. We cannot jump to the conclusion about a certain thing, even though it be as clear as daylight, without examining hundreds of facts which may prove it wrong. It certainly violates truth and in being uncharitable towards others we violate ahimsa too. We who tread the path of ahimsa should take each step with great care.

It is not that I am unaware of his faults. Maybe you are justified in finding him curt in this particular instance but to believe that he is always so betrays lack of charity on your part. Shall we not take into account the circumstances under which this

co-worker has been brought up and educated, the difficulties he has had to face and the efforts he had to make to reach the present position? Shall we judge him by this one manifest shortcoming of his? What a beautiful word the English language has for love—'charity'. It connotes compassion too. And compassion should be an integral part of our ahimsa.

M. D. The meaning of the roots of 'charity' and '*daya*' is the same.

G. I did not know that the roots of both the words meant the same. But one thing is certain: that even if we see shortcomings in others, we should overlook them and take into account their good points alone. The beauty of love and compassion lies in magnifying the virtues of others. Moreover there is always another way to win over others—i.e., by rendering silent service.

P. I agree. But there should be an opportunity for that. I have many times endeavoured to befriend him and make myself agreeable to him. But I have failed. You do not know the utter contempt in which he holds me.

G. You do not see the point. I tell you there is subtle pride in those words of yours. It is your pride that prompts you to say that you have tried to befriend him ignoring his contempt for you. All the time you were conscious of the injustice done to you. But you have never thought of analysing why he was unjust to you either consciously or unconsciously. Don't I know his faults and shortcomings? You do not know how many times I have made him shed tears by reminding him of all his faults. I have not even restrained myself in exposing him in the presence of all co-workers. But look at his behaviour. He is fighting against all his faults and shortcomings. All the twenty-four hours he is making incessant efforts to subjugate them and he has achieved considerable success. But how much can a man rise beyond his inborn nature and upbringing? If we are perpetually aware of these things, we shall never have the courage to do injustice to others. Who knows better than I the faults of the Rajas and Maharajas? But why do I have sympathy for them? Because I know that their nature, their temper is conditioned by their circumstances. I understand them and they also know that in me they have a friend.

While talking about contempt, we must think about Andrews. Numerous Government officials had nothing but contempt for him. It is not that he did not know about it. But he never hesitated in going to their houses. He tried to find out why they showed contempt for him and endeavoured to remove the cause. As a result many of those who had hated him repented of their attitude and

confessed that they had been unjust to him. Such contempt creates opportunities for love to come into play. What is so remarkable about loving those who love us? The beauty lies in melting those who hate us with our love and kindness.

P. I understand. I understand all. There were occasions when I sensed the dreariness of his condition. Many times on such occasions I felt like befriending him, but always feared that he might misinterpret the gesture.

G. Even that fear had *himsa*. Love and fear cannot co-exist. There was pride even in your fear. But for all this I am to blame. My ahimsa is imperfect and that is why my surroundings are not saturated with ahimsa. Sevagram is to me a laboratory for ahimsa.[1] If my experiment here were successful and I could find a solution for the little problems that confront me here, I am sure the same formula would provide me a solution for the bigger issues that today face us in the country. That is why I am so reluctant to leave Sevagram. It is my laboratory for satyagraha. It is there that I expect to discover the key to India's independence, not in Simla or New Delhi. I sometimes feel like taking shelter in flight, not to seek cloistered peace, but in the stillness of utter isolation to know myself, to see where I stand, to catch more effectively the faint whispering of the 'still small voice within'. Then alone would my experiment in ahimsa be complete.

M. D. We who are near to you are utterly devoid of ahimsa, so I feel that in order to lighten your burden we should leave you.

G. But there may be some whose mere thoughts would influence the world. Hence in returning to a cave the motive should not be just to achieve solitude so as to seek individual salvation but to cultivate a natural bent of mind which will always inspire thoughts of—universal welfare, nothing less.

M. D. But Buddha achieved salvation and returned to the world, preached to lacs of people and made them his disciples.

G. That is true. But I am never attracted by the idea of complete renunciation.

[From Gujarati]

*Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940

[1] The rest of the paragraph is from Pyarelal's "On the Road to Simla", published in *Harijan*, 6-7-1940.

## 270. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

SIMLA,
*June 29, 1940*

I have come because I have been invited, and I shall return to Wardha this evening unless there is need for me to stay on.

The barometer within me is rising, even though the sky looks black.[1]

*The Hindu*, 29-6-1940

## 271. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

BIRLA HOUSE, ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
*June 30, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I think it will be mutually helpful if I reduce to writing the substance of the advice I tendered you yesterday as a personal friend and friend of the British.[2]

I had made it clear at the outset that I had no representative capacity and that, after the last resolution of the Working Committee, I could only speak as an individual in any case.[3]

Your first proposal was to advise His Majesty's Government to let you announce that a status similar to that of the self-governing dominions would be granted to India within one year of the termination of the war, subject to an agreed understanding about British commercial interests, defence, external relations, rights of minorities and the position of Princes—regard being had to treaty obligations with them.[4] Granted these reservations, a Constituent

[1] Later in the afternoon Gandhiji left to see the Viceroy.

[2] Gandhiji had met the Viceroy on June 29 at Simla at the latter's invitation.

[3] The Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha on June 21 resolved that they were unable to extend to the region of national defence, Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence; *vide* "Both Happy and Unhappy", pp. 194-7.

[4] The Viceroy, writing on July 1, gave his own version of the talk. According to him what he had said here was that His Majesty's Government "would spare no effort to bring about Dominion Status within a year after the conclusion of the war, and to set up whatever machinery those concerned agreed as appropriate to work out the new constitution."



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Assembly[1] may draw up the Constitution which, unless there were unacceptable provisions, will be adopted by His Majesty's Government and placed by them before the Parliament for acceptance.

I said as to this that I personally could never accept it and that so far as I knew, the Congress also would never approve of it. My strong advice was that it should not be put before the Secretary of State or before India. Any such announcement would further embitter the relations between His Majesty's Government and India. I stressed the point that nothing short of immediate unequivocal declaration of independence, free of all control by the British Government, would be accepted by the Congress. (India free will no doubt have to negotiate a treaty, I hope, of partnership, with Great Britain; will have to make provision for protection of legitimate foreign interests, guarantee to the full the rights of the minorities and make adequate arrangements with the Princes consistently with due protection of the people living within their jurisdiction. All this is inherent in the non-violent policy of the Congress. For its predominant sanction will be, not the force of arms behind it, but its sense of fairness and absolute justice. In the absence of these two, independence will go as soon as obtained. The thought thus expressed parenthetically was not put before you as part of my advice. I see as I am writing this letter that it was incomplete without it.) The question of drawing up of the Constitution by a Constituent Assembly might be postponed to a future suitable date. I suggested too, that it would be a catastrophe not to make the aforesaid unequivocal declaration of independence, for whilst the Congress was openly pledged to it and had been fighting for it persistently and consistently for a long time, all parties whether it be the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha, or even the Princes, could not but prize independence if it could be had. Therefore it passed comprehension why there should be so much ado about making the overdue declaration that India was free of all external control.

Your second proposal was that subject to the acceptance of the proposed declaration, and pending the war, you would increase the number of the Executive Council[lors] so as to include representatives of various parties. As to this, I advised that without the vital declaration of independence the Congress was not likely to serve on the Council. I added that I adhered to the

[1] The Viceroy's version was "... *you* had thought of a constituent assembly ..., while some of us were thinking of a smaller and rather different body. That body ... would however have to be one on which the various political parties were agreed."

view expressed in a recent *Harijan* article of mine, entitled "Two Parties". Unless the parties had one mind on the question of fighting for immediate independence and the method thereof no joint effort was possible.

You had also in mind a proposal to convene a miniature Round Table Conference composed of representatives of various parties, groups and interests.[1] I strongly dissuaded you from entertaining any such proposal as being doomed to failure.

I then enlarged upon my confirmed opinion that time had arrived for a revision of Britain's war policy. Frank recognition of German superiority in organization and technique would be no derogation from British valour and would add to it because of conformity to truth. Even if it were otherwise, and Britain could show her superiority to Germans in every department and defeat them, given sufficient time, my proposition would still hold. In order to prove its validity, admission of German superiority was unnecessary. As you know, I had made this suggestion before the fall of France. My proposition was based on purely humanitarian grounds. I had chosen the present time as being opportune for pressing it. Assuming that Nazis were as bad as they were said to be, victory must be unattainable without copying the Nazi methods. That would mean no deliverance from Nazism. Sufficient had happened to prove the utter futility of armaments for the protection of small nations no matter how brave they were. Britain's victory after the slaughter and ruthlessness which it must involve could never make the world safe for democracy, nor bring it peace. Such a victory must mean another preparation for a war more inhuman than the present, as this one had proved more inhuman than the last. For this and similar reasons I urged with all the earnestness and force at my command that if Britain could accept the non-violent method, it would redound to her eternal glory and would count for much greater bravery than her proverbial bravery in war.

I hoped too that it would not be retorted that I had no warrant for appealing to Britain suddenly to accept the non-violent method when I had failed in persuading my colleagues and co-workers to accept it when the time had come for its enforcement in its fulness. I said in anticipation of the possibility of such a retort that my colleagues and I represented a weak and subject

[1] The Viceroy said: "I do not think that I spoke of a miniature Round Table Conference . . . I had rather in view a preliminary enquiry group of persons competent . . . to tender advice and guidance to their principals . . . without the parties being in any way committed to their conclusion."

people wholly unarmed and untrained in the use of arms. The non-violence of my conception was essentially for those who were conscious of their ability to wield them with effect. Therefore I suggested that if Britain could be convinced of the superiority of non-violence over violence, now was the psychological moment for the full adoption of the non-violent method. Britain with all her intentions could not protect Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. If Britain could accept the method presented by me, it would point to all these countries the way of deliverance and ensure the peace of the world as no other method ever would or could. It would confound Nazi wisdom and put all the Nazi armaments out of use.

Lastly, I said that my proposal was based on a practical experience of non-violence extending over half a century of ceaseless striving, experiment, research and prayer. I therefore requested you to present my proposal to His Majesty's Government for acceptance as coming from a life-long friend and well-wisher of the British people.

You were good enough to tell me that I could give the purport of our conversation to the members of the Working Committee. This I propose to do by showing a copy of this letter to them. Unless you have any objection I would like also to make a public appeal to the British people to accept the non-violent method at this supreme juncture in their life as also the life of mankind.[1]

*I am,*

*Yours sincerely,*

M. K. GANDHI

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

## 272. *INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"*[2]

DELHI,
*June 30, 1940*

The situation today is the same as it was yesterday.

Questioned whether his abrupt departure from Simla after his interview with the Viceroy meant that his talks with the Viceroy would not be

[1] *Vide* "To Every Briton", pp. 229-31.

[2] The *Hindustan Times* correspondent saw Gandhiji at the railway station on the latter's arrival from Simla.

pursued further, Mahatmaji said that it was evident that if there had been anything more to discuss he would have stayed in Simla.

Gandhiji . . . motored from the station to the Mall Road, from where he, along with the party, walked up to the Harijan Colony. The students of the Harijan Industrial Home extended a warm welcome to Mahatmaji on his reaching the Colony. Gandhiji remarked:

The credit for my coming here goes to Zohra (Begum Zohra Ansari). If she had not invited me to stay with her, probably I would not have been able to visit the Harijan Colony.

*The Hindustan Times*, 1-7-1940

## *273. TALK TO MEMBERS OF SPINNING CLUB*[1]

DELHI,
[*June 30, 1940*][2]

QUESTION: Why should we spin now that there is no definite civil disobedience in the offing? Some satyagrahis have actually given up spinning since civil disobedience has receded into the background.

GANDHIJI: That to me shows that they would have made but poor satyagrahis and it is for the best that they have dropped out. I doubt if these fair-weather customers could be good for anything. For good or for ill, we have adopted the spinning-wheel as the weapon for our non-violent struggle. A soldier who will practise his weapons only when action is in sight will surely come a cropper at the time of the test. A satyagrahi soldier always looks and plans far ahead of him. If we have faith in the efficacy of the weapon we have chosen, we shall never give it up or lay it down but keep it always refurbished and ready. Today our non-violence is on its trial. The Working Committee's resolution is based on the assumption that the country is today not ready for the practice of pure ahimsa. They would be but too glad to discover that their assumption was wrong and revise their decision accordingly. It is for those who have a living faith in non-violence to prove the same and convert the Working Committee to their view instead of catching at the first excuse to resile from their faith. If the fifty-two members who are on the register of your club have the right faith in them, they will soon multiply into fifty-two hundred. But

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "The Journey Back". The club was organized by Brijkrishna Chandiwala.

[2] The date is from a report in *The Hindustan Times*, 1-7-1940.

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mere shilly-shallying won't do. 'If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?'

I have not a shadow of doubt that through the spinning-wheel we can develop the non-violence of the strong which recks no odds, however overwhelming, and knows no defeat. Weapons forged out of iron and steel do not interest me. They might enable you to scatter death over the enemy and to capture a measure of the power he today wields over you. But that will not leave the masses any the better. They will continue to groan under the yoke of the powerful and the mighty. I am not interested in an order which leaves out the weakest—the blind, the halt and the maimed. My swaraj is even for the least in the land. This can come only through non-violence.

Non-violence of the weak is bad. But violence of the impotent —impotent violence—is worse. That is what is today vitiating the atmosphere. Mere spinning *a la mode* will not purge the atmosphere of this poison.

Another member of the club remarked that they could not pretend to have a faith in the spinning-wheel which Gandhiji had, but they were prepared to spin for discipline, which was quite honest a stand to take up.

Gandhiji, while admitting that spinning for discipline had value at one time, contended that it was altogether inadequate to the need of the hour today. To create a truly non-violent atmosphere in the country, spinning with faith was necessary. Supposing there were riots imperilling the lives of thousands of innocent women and children and the conflagration threatened to spread over the whole country, it would be up to those who had true faith in non-violence to interpose themselves between the lust-maddened rioters and quell their fury by their self-immolation. Spinning for discipline will not give them that faith. He continued:

Discipline has a place in non-violent strategy, but much more is required. In a satyagraha army everybody is a soldier and a servant. But at a pinch every satyagrahi soldier has also to be his own general and leader. Mere discipline cannot make for leadership. The latter calls for faith and vision. That is why I have said that spinning for discipline, whatever else it might be capable of achieving, cannot help us to win the satyagraha fight which requires the non-violence of the strong.

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## 274. ANSWER TO QUESTION[1]

[Before *July 1, 1940*][2]

QUESTION: You think we have not the non-violence of the brave. Well, then, I ask you what would you do if independence were to be offered to you today? Would you say no?

ANSWER: I would say no. I am giving an absurd answer to an absurd question. The question is absurd, for independence is not going to be offered, because we are not ready. If we were ready, it would be there without our asking for it.

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## 275. ABOUT THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

I have been receiving several letters both from Congressmen and non-Congressmen including friends from the West deploring the recent decision[3] of the Working Committee. These correspondents have nothing but admiration for the courage the members have shown in doing what they felt was a duty though very unpleasant, but all of them deplore the decision and would have the Working Committee to reconsider it. Of all these letters there is one which is a reasoned plea for not abandoning non-violence for internal disorders or external attacks. The correspondent encloses also an extract from a letter he wrote to a friend of his who ridiculed the method of satyagraha. Both the letter to me and the extract referred to have intrinsic merit and are opportune at this juncture. I have omitted from the letter the part that disputes the correctness of my tribute to the French statesmen for suing for peace. French capitulation, he considers, was unjustified. It has given him a great shock.

"But," says the writer, "the decision of the Working Committee has come as a greater shock." From the extract too I have

[1&2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "What Led to the Decision", 1-7-1940.

[3] Namely that Congress could not go all the way with Gandhiji in the matter of non-violence; *vide* also "Both Happy and Unhappy", pp. 194-7.



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omitted, for the sake of brevity, a paragraph which though very interesting was not strictly necessary for his argument.[1]

NEW DELHI, July 1, 1940

*Harijan*, 6-7-1940

## *276. SOME VITAL QUESTIONS*

H. E. the Viceroy is again conferring with leaders of parties. I was invited, but not as a party leader or a leader at all. I was invited as a friend to help him, if I could, to come to a definite conclusion, especially to interpret the Congress mind to him. It is better, in the light of what is happening (and things will presently move with lightning velocity) to consider some of the questions that will demand quick decision, if they will not have been decided before these lines are in print.

The first thing that everyone has to consider for himself is whether Dominion Status of the Westminster variety can be acceptable to India. If it has not become a myth already, it will be at the end of the war. Britain herself, victorious or defeated, will never be the same as she has been for these few hundred years. But this much is certain that her defeat, if it must come, will certainly be glorious. If she is defeated, she will be because no other Power similarly situated could have avoided defeat. I cannot say the same of her victory. It will be bought by a progressive adoption of the same means as the totalitarian States have adopted. I must

[1] The texts of the correspondent's letter to Gandhiji and one written to a friend, are not reproduced here. In his letter to Gandhiji the correspondent, having affirmed his "absolute faith in satyagraha, not only as a convenient instrument for regaining independence for our country, but as the only law for humanity to follow", had gone on to say that the decision of the Working Committee to adopt measures for national defence, in spite of Gandhiji, had come as a huge disappointment to him.

In the letter to his friend he had said, "To declare that preparations should be made for national defence, while retaining non-violence as a method for national liberation is, to my mind, to make a travesty of non-violence in the sense in which every true satyagrahi understands it . . . It is non-violence that should be the end . . ., and self-determination the means. . . .

"The desire for moral effort . . . is there in everyone. But that does not mean that moral effort is easy, or that everyone will willingly take to it . . . the majority of us live by our passions . . . Patriotism is the worst kind of emotional orgy. . . ."

say with the deepest pain that British statesmen have rejected the only moral influence they could easily have got from the Congress to turn the scales in Britain's favour. It is no blame to her statesmen that they have not availed themselves of that influence. They did not see the need of it. It may well be that they did not perceive the moral influence itself which I have claimed for the Congress. Whatever may be the case, it is clear to me that India's immediate objective must be unadulterated independence. This is no time for mincing words or hiding our thoughts. I cannot think of anyone wanting less than independence for his country, if he can get it. No country has ever got it without its people having fought for it. Anyway, the Congress made up its mind long ago. Even if India is to render effective help to Britain, it can come from a free India. Crores may be drained from India as of yore; thousands of men may be hired as soldiers or camp-followers out of her teeming millions. All such contributions will be from a helpless India. They cannot raise the moral status of Britain.

The next question for consideration is that of providing for internal disorder and external invasion. The raising of private armies will be worse than useless. It will never be allowed. No Power, whether foreign or swadeshi, can tolerate private armies. Those, therefore, who believe in the necessity of India having armed forces will be driven sooner or later to enlist themselves under the British banner. It is the logical outcome of the belief. The Working Committee have taken the decision on the point. If it is to abide, I have little doubt that they will presently have to advise Congressmen to enlist in the usual way. That would mean an end to the slogan of immediate independence and an end also to non-violence of the true brand. I shall hope to the last that, for the sake of themselves, India, aye Britain herself, and humanity, Congressmen will resolutely decline to have anything to do with the use of arms for any of the two purposes. I feel strongly that the future of humanity lies in the hands of the Congress. May God give wisdom and courage to Congressmen to take the right step.

The offer of enlarging the Viceroy's Council is on the *tapis*. The Congress cannot countenance it, so long as it swears by independence and non-violence. But if it sidetracks them, it will be logically driven to reconstructing Congress Ministries in the Provinces. This means the Congress becoming a vital part of the war machine. The Government of India has no other occupation but that of preparing India for defending Britain. It is an illusion to talk of preparing India for self-defence. No Power has eyes on

India except as a British possession. As such she is a rich prize. Is not India the brightest jewel in the British Crown? But I own that, if India is to learn the trade of war, she can now have her apprenticeship to the extent that the British masters will allow.

The Congress has to make its choice. The temptation is irresistible. Congressmen can again become Cabinet Ministers. They may also be Ministers or Members at the Centre. They will have an insight into the war machine. They will watch from inside (again to the extent allowed) the Englishman at work when engaged in a life-and-death struggle. They will have to raise crores of rupees and dispose of them in the war effort. If I have my way, I would have the Congress to resist the irresistible temptation and not grudge those who believe in the accepted method filling all these posts. There will be Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others taking up these posts as they have done before now. They too are our countrymen. We must give them credit for good faith. Let us who believe in independence and the only way to attain it, hold fast to the objective and the means. I can see much good coming out of this division of functions. For the Congress to merge itself into the stereotyped method would be a disaster of the first magnitude. If, on the other hand, the Congress sticks to its colours, it is sure to fight its way to its goal even before the war is over, provided that the fight is purely, truly and demonstrably non-violent.

NEW DELHI, July 1, 1940

*Harijan*, 6-7-1940

## *277. A VALID COMPLAINT*

A correspondent sends me a forcible letter in which he argues that, though I expect great things from my countrymen, I write only for *Harijan* which is edited in English, and utterly neglect its Hindustani and Gujarati editions. Both *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and *Harijan Sevak* (Hindustani) have only translations of the writings in *Harijan*. I must plead guilty to the charge. My excuse for writing in English has been that I had to address English-educated India who could understand neither Gujarati nor my faulty Hindustani, and also the ever-growing number of Western readers. I hope that the excuse will be deemed valid. But it seems to me that the time has come for me to confine my writings, as far as possible, exclusively to Gujarati and occasionally to Hindustani.

The reason is simple and, I hope, convincing. I have before me the most difficult task of reaching the message of the non-violence of the strong to the masses. They will not understand the fineness of the Working Committee's decision. Already I have warnings that they will be confused. They will believe that the Congress has given up non-violence and wants them also to do likewise. Then they would say, "But the Mahatma still believes in it. In the midst of these differences whose word are we to follow?" If I lose the masses, the mass experiment in non-violence must be voted down as failure. My faith would be still as strong as ever. But my failure will be equally clear. In such trying circumstances I must not rely upon the translations of my writings to carry my message to the masses. I must use the most effective means available. Naturally, therefore, I must speak at least to the Gujaratis in their own language which is also mine. Moreover Gujarati lends itself to correct translation in any northern language much more easily than English.

But the decisive reason for the proposed change is that when I write in English the English-speaking public is in view. I would not have exactly the same message for them as I would have for the masses. Past experience, too, points in favour of the change. When I began to edit *Indian Opinion* in South Africa, most of the Indians there were almost illiterate. I wrote the language they could understand. When the weekly *Indian Opinion* reached them, for every twenty Indians they had one reader who was of course a volunteer. They listened to and devoured every word of what appeared in *Indian Opinion*. In it there was no padding, no essays given to the readers. I used to reason out for them their difficulties. I had no time to discuss theories. They had weekly instructions as to what they were to do. I have no doubt that *Indian Opinion* had a vital part to play in moulding and guiding the satyagrahis. Had I spoken to them through the English medium, I should have failed. I should never have been able to feel one with them, if I had spoken to them in English when I knew that I could speak to a large section of them through their own tongue. If, therefore, I hope, as I do, to carry even a section of the masses with me, I must at least speak to them through the tongue they and I understand.

So the English-knowing readers should not be surprised if one fine day they get my writings in *Harijan* in translated form. Happily I have very able assistance in this direction. Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal have often translated my Gujarati or Hindustani writings. English-knowing readers should know that they have my

*Experiments with Truth* and *History of Satyagraha in South Africa* in translation. So is *Hind Swaraj*, and several other writings of mine. After all, however, in the matter of non-violence I must rely most upon my thought to carry my message to the farthest limits of the universe. All thought does not possess the same potency. Only thought crystallized by a pure life and charged with prayerful concentration has potency. The purer the life, the greater the concentration, the brighter the faith in that Unseen Power from whom all things are, the greater the potency of thought. If I had the purity, the concentration and the faith I want, I know that I would do all my work without speech or writing, or with the least use of either, and the power the thought would then carry would be irresistible. That is the power which every human being has to aspire to and with due effort can attain. The voice of Silence has never been denied.

NEW DELHI, July 1, 1940

*Harijan*, 6-7-1940

## *278. NON-VIOLENCE AND PANIC*

The following[1] from a correspondent's letter will be read with interest and perhaps profit:

> Since the Allies have begun to suffer reverses there is a panic in the country. The people have become afraid of the consequences of the failure of the British. They apprehend civil war, communal riots, looting, arson, plunder and goondaism. You are the apostle of non-violence and have been preaching it for the last twenty years, if not more. . . .
>
> But . . . I find that in the majority of your followers this conception of non-violence is wanting. They are non-violent because they believe that, if they will use violence to fight a wrongdoer, they will provoke him with the result that he will use greater violence which they may be unable to stand. This seems to be the background of their non-violence which is clearly an outcome of fear and cowardice, and not of love. For, the idea behind is to save one's life and not to risk it for a higher cause. . . .
>
> In these days of panic and general nervousness I strongly believe that a few articles from your pen will dispel all fears from our young men and infuse a spirit in them which will enable them to resist the goonda element in the society. One article[2] of this nature has already

[1] Only extracts from the letter are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* "How to Combat Hitlerism", pp. 187-9.

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appeared in the last issue of *Harijan*. But I suggest that a series is necessary to bring courage and bravery to those who are physically quite fit but are panic-stricken. In my opinion, all fear, all nervousness and panic will disappear in case you are kind enough to spare a few lines in *Harijan* on this subject every week. Our nervousness is encouraging the goondas amongst us. The moment it disappears, the goondas and bullies of our society will also disappear.

The letter gives a correct picture of the mentality of the average Congressman. The non-violence which it describes can never take us to our goal. It will have served us well, if we use it as a stepping-stone to the true non-violence of the strong—non-violence which will stand alone defying the combined might of the mightiest powers of the earth. Let all Congressmen ask themselves whether they have the courage to take up non-violence of the strong. Nothing is needed to reach that much-to-be-desired state beyond the will to risk all for the sake of one's cause. The non-violence of the person who went to jail to avoid a worse fate harmed him and disgraced the cause which he used as a shelter to escape death. Swaraj-makers are made of sterner stuff. And, surely, it is simple enough to see that, if we can bravely face death without killing or even wishing to kill, we have achieved the ability to win and keep swaraj.

My correspondent asks me to write a series of articles in condemnation of panic. Nothing that I can write will alone prevent panic. What is required is example more than precept. I have pointed out that the city-dwellers who are reported to have given way to panic were never non-violent even when they went to jail. Our city-dwellers made a handsome contribution as jail-goers during the civil-resistance campaigns launched by the Congress. They should now, by resolutely sticking to their posts, steel the hearts of the timid against the temptation to flee from fancied or real danger. It is foolish to think that by fleeing one can trick the dread god of death. Let us treat him as a beneficent angel rather than as a dread god. We must face and welcome him whenever he comes. My host, Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla, tells me that not many months ago a whole mercantile family which had converted paper into gold met death in a railway accident which overtook the train that was carrying the family and its precious gold. Verily that gold was a death trap. Let us not die before the inevitable hour comes as it must come to every one of us, war or no war.

NEW DELHI, July 1, 1940

*Harijan*, 6-7-1940

## 279. *QUESTION BOX*

### A Muslim's Dilemma

Q. We Muslims believe that the Prophet's life was wholly directed by God and truly non-violent, though not in your sense of the term. He never waged an offensive war, and he had the tenderest regard for the feelings of others, but when he was driven to a defensive war he drew his sword for a holy war, and he permits the use of the sword under conditions he has laid down. But your non-violence is different. You prescribe it under all conditions and circumstances. I do not think the Prophet would permit this. Whom are we to follow—you or the Prophet? If we follow you, we cease to be Muslims. If we follow the Prophet, we cannot join the Congress with its creed of extreme non-violence. Will you solve this dilemma?

A. I can only answer that, since you notice the difference, you should unhesitatingly follow the Prophet, not me. Only I would like to say that I claim to have studied the life of the Prophet and the Koran as a detached student of religions. And I have come to the conclusion that the teaching of the Koran is essentially in favour of non-violence. Non-violence is better than violence, it is said in the Koran. Non-violence is enjoined as a duty; violence is permitted as a necessity. I must refuse to sit in judgment on what the Prophet did. I must base my conduct on what the great teachers of the earth said, not on what they did. Prophethood came not from the wielding of the sword, it came from years of wrestling with God to know the truth. Erase these precious years of the great life, and you will have robbed the Prophet of his prophethood. It is these years of his life which made Muhammad a prophet. A prophet's life, after he is acknowledged as one, cannot be our guide. Only prophets can weigh the works of prophets. If a civilian can judge the merits of a soldier, a layman of a scientist, an ordinary man may judge a prophet, much less imitate him. If I handled a motor-car, I should surely run it and me into the danger zone and probably into the jaws of death. How much more dangerous would it be then for me to imitate a prophet! When the Prophet was asked why, if he could fast more than the prescribed times, the companions also could not, he promptly replied: "God gives me spiritual food which satisfies even the bodily wants: for you He has ordained the Ramadan. You may not copy me." I quote from memory.

## Spare the Rod

Q. I am a teacher. I try to follow the principle of non-violence in dealing with my schoolboys and my own children. I am successful to a great extent in case of the school children, excepting a bully whom I would send to the Head Master. But in case of my own children I often feel like beating, though I successfully restrain myself. I find that these are readily obedient to my uncle who, unlike me, believes in the old saying: 'Spare the rod, spoil the child.' What should I do with my own children? How should a non-violent Head Master deal with a bully?

A. I am quite clear that you must not inflict corporal or other punishment on your children or pupils. You can punish yourself, if you like and are qualified, in order to melt your children's or pupils' hearts. Many mothers are known to have corrected their children in this manner. I have on many occasions. I had to deal with wild boys in South Africa, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Parsis. With one exception, I do not remember ever having punished a single boy. The non-violent method invariably succeeded. When a bond is established between a teacher and his pupils, the latter will generally yield before their teacher's suffering for their sake. In the case of your 'bully', if he has no respect for you, you can non-co-operate with him by sending him away from your school. Non-violence does not compel you to keep in your school a student who does not carry out disciplinary rules.

## The Sermon on the Mount

Q. You often refer to the Sermon on the Mount. Do you believe in the verse, "If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also"? Does it not follow from the principle of non-violence? If so, then do you advise the weak and poor tenant of a village to submit gladly to the violent encroachment of the zamindar on his '*abadi* land' or tenancy rights, which so often occurs in a village these days?

A. Yes, I would unhesitatingly advise tenants to evacuate the land belonging to a tyrant. That would be like giving your cloak also when only the coat is demanded. To take what is required may be profitable; to have more given to you is highly likely to be a burden. To overload a stomach is to court slow death. A zamindar wants his rent, he does not want his land. It would be a burden on him when he does not want it. When you give more to a robber than he needs, you spring a surprise on him, you give him a shock although agreeable. He has not been used to it. Historical instances are on record to show that such non-violent conduct has produced a wholesome effect upon evil-doers. These

acts cannot be done mechanically; they must come out of conviction and love or pity for the other man. Nor need you work out all the apparent implications of my answer. If you do, you will come across blind alleys. Suffice it to say that in the verse quoted by you Jesus put in a picturesque and telling manner the great doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation. Your non-co-operation with your opponent is violent when you give a blow for a blow, and is ineffective in the long run. Your non-co-operation is non-violent when you give your opponent all in the place of just what he needs. You have disarmed him once for all by your apparent co-operation, which in effect is complete non-co-operation. A girl, who rather than give her living body to a would-be ravisher presents him with her corpse, confounds him and dies a heroine's death. Hers is a stout heart in a frail body.

### Compulsory Prayer

Q. I am a worker in the Rajasthan branch of the A.I.S.A. I believe in prayer but some of my colleagues do not. Still they have got to join in prayer under the rules of the *Sanstha*[1]. They are afraid that, if they refuse, they would lose their job. My view is that the *Sanstha* pays wages to its workers for their eight hours' work. What right has it to insist upon including compulsory participation in prayer by their workers into the bargain?

A. There can be no such thing as compulsory prayer. A prayer to be prayer must be voluntary. But nowadays people entertain curious ideas about compulsion. Thus, if the rules of your institution require every inmate—paid or unpaid—to attend common prayer, in my opinion you are bound to attend it as you are to attend to your other duties. Your joining the institution was a voluntary act. You knew or ought to have known its rules. Therefore your attendance at prayer I would regard as a voluntary act, even as I would treat your other work under the contract. If you joined the institution merely because of the wages it offered, you should have made it clear to the manager that you could not attend prayer. If in spite of your objection you entered the institution without stating your objection, you did a wrong thing for which you should make expiation. This can be done in two ways—by joining the prayer with your heart in it, or by resigning and paying such compensation as may be necessary for the loss caused by your sudden resignation. Everyone joining an institution owes it to obey the rules framed by the management from time to

[1] Institution

time. When any new rule is found irksome, it is open to the objector to leave the institution in accordance with the provisions made for resignation. But he may not disobey them whilst he is in it.

NEW DELHI, July 1, 1940
*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *280. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

BIRLA HOUSE, ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
*July 2, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have to thank you for your very prompt reply to my letter of 20th ultimo. I thank you too for sending me the full meaning of what you had actually said. In trying to interpret you, my object was to put your proposals in as favourable a light as I could. I am thankful for the corrections. I would read your letter to the Working Committee.

I am glad also that you have no objection to my making a public appeal to the British people on behalf of non-violence.[1] Needless to say that I can in no way associate your name with my appeal.

Our talks and correspondence shall remain confidential as desired by you.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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## *281. TO EVERY BRITON*

In 1896 I addressed an appeal[1] to every Briton in South Africa on behalf of my countrymen who had gone there as labourers or traders and their assistants. It had its effect. However important it was from my viewpoint, the cause which I pleaded then was insignificant compared with the cause which prompts this appeal. I appeal to every Briton, wherever he may be now, to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war for the adjustment of relations between nations and other matters. Your statesmen have declared that this is a war on behalf of democracy. There are many other reasons given in justification. You know them all by heart. I suggest that at the end of the war, whichever way it ends, there will be no democracy left to represent democracy. This war has descended upon mankind as a curse and a warning. It is a curse inasmuch as it is brutalizing man on a scale hitherto unknown. All distinctions between combatants and non-combatants have been abolished. No one and nothing is to be spared. Lying has been reduced to an art. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished, at least for the time being. It is also a warning. It is a warning that, if nobody reads the writing on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the beast, whom he is shaming by his manners. I read the writing when the hostilities broke out. But I had not the courage to say the word. God has given me the courage to say it before it is too late.

I appeal for cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad in essence. You want to kill Nazism. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans. The only difference is that perhaps yours are not as thorough as the Germans. If that be so, yours will soon acquire the same thoroughness as theirs, if not much greater. On no other condition can you win the war. In other words, you will have to be more ruthless than the Nazis. No cause, however just, can warrant the indiscriminate slaughter that is going on minute by minute. I suggest that a cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just.

[1] Presumably "Open Letter" and "Letter to Europeans"; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 170-89.

I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of brute strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain. Your muscular bravery is an established fact. Need you demonstrate that your brain is also as unrivalled in destructive power as your muscle? I hope you do not wish to enter into such an undignified competition with the Nazis. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms, or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

This process or method, which I have called non-violent non-co-operation, is not without considerable success in its use in India. Your representatives in India may deny my claim. If they do, I shall feel sorry for them. They may tell you that our non-co-operation was not wholly non-violent, that it was born of hatred. If they give that testimony, I won't deny it. Had it been wholly non-violent, if all the non-co-operators had been filled with goodwill towards you, I make bold to say that you who are India's masters would have become her pupils and, with much greater skill than we have, perfected this matchless weapon and met the German and Italian friends' menace with it. Indeed the history of Europe during the past few months would then have been written differently. Europe would have been spared seas of innocent blood, the rape of so many small nations, and the orgy of hatred.

This is no appeal made by a man who does not know his business. I have been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life, domestic, institutional, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed. Where it has seemed sometimes to have failed, I have ascribed it to my imperfections. I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God. In the course

of that search the discovery of non-violence came to me. Its spread is my life-mission. I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission.

I claim to have been a lifelong and wholly disinterested friend of the British people. At one time I used to be also a lover of your empire. I thought that it was doing good to India. When I saw that in the nature of things it could do no good, I used, and am still using, the non-violent method to fight imperialism. Whatever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains, and will remain, undiminished. My non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it. It is that love which has prompted my appeal to you.

May God give power to every word of mine. In His name I began to write this, and in His name I close it. May your statesmen have the wisdom and courage to respond to my appeal. I am telling His Excellency the Viceroy[1] that my services are at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, should they consider them of any practical use in advancing the object of my appeal.

NEW DELHI, July 2, 1940

*Harijan*, 6-7-1940

## *282. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

NEW DELHI,
*July 3, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

You may not cable Amery[2]. Let things shape themselves. Shivarao[3] need not worry. Read my "Appeal[4] to Every Briton" and do lobbying among the Britons. Don't expect letters from me now. You should write. I shall see that someone writes to you. I must reserve writing for the papers.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3979. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7288

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", p. 232.
[2] The Secretary of State for India
[3] B. Shiva Rao
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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## 283. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

DELHI,
*July 3, 1940*

You must have seen in the Press my public appeal to every Briton. Nevertheless, for the sake of courtesy, I enclose herewith a copy. You will note the last sentence of my appeal. Will you please convey the contents of it to the proper quarters? The appeal and the offer at the end represent my personal and humble contribution to Britain's cause. It is the best I could give.[1]

*Harijan* 21-7-1940

## 284. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

NEW DELHI,
*July 5, 1940*

AGATHA HARRISON
CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD
LONDON

NO HOPE SETTLEMENT. WIRE EXTENT PUBLICITY GIVEN THERE MY APPEAL EVERY BRITON.

GANDHI

From the original: Gandhi Nidhi File (August 1976). Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

[1] Replying on July 10, the Viceroy said, "I duly conveyed your letter of July 3 and your appeal to His Majesty's Government. I have now heard from them that with every appreciation of your motives they do not feel that the policy which you advocate is one which it is possible for them to consider, since in common with the whole Empire they are firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion."



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## *285. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

NEW DELHI,
*July 5, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your two packets. You will not worry if I can't send you many letters.

I appreciate the love behind the wish that your translation should be revised by me. I have promised that I shall do so. I shall try. If I can train you and S. to do that work I should be at ease about *Harijan Sevak*. In the altered circumstances created by me I must write for *Harijan* also. I refer to my "Appeal to Every Briton".

Khurshed is here. She is quite well and quite cheerful. She is going for a few days to Bombay and will return to the Frontier on 15th.

Roger is still here meditating on what he can do about the Appeal. You should do the lobbying among your English friends.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3980. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7289

## *286. TESTIMONIAL TO BAL D. KALELKAR*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 5, 1940*

This is to introduce young Kalelkar to all my friends in America. He was brought up under my hands. He is one of the most promising among the boys brought up in Satyagraha Ashram. Any help rendered to him will be appreciated.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2176

## 287. TO SEVAGRAM WORKERS

*July 6, 1940*

I hope everyone drinks only boiled water. During the rainy season, our wells contain many impurities. As a protection against malaria everyone should apply kerosene oil to hands and feet before retiring to bed at night. It should be applied even to the face. Food should be masticated well. Bowels should be cleared every day. If there is constipation castor oil may be taken as a purgative. We should protect ourselves against the sun; a cap or a piece of cloth may be used to cover the head.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

*Bapuki Chhayamen*, p. 383

## 288. SPEECH AT THE HARIJAN INDUSTRIAL HOME, DELHI[1]

[Before *July 7, 1940*][2]

There can be no better cement to weld scattered and isolated units into a homogeneous society than heart-union through prayer. It purifies us and gives us true strength—the strength that comes from purity and high resolve. May God bless you with both in an ample measure.

A little girl asked Gandhiji how satyagraha could avail against raiders from the sky who would deal death from above and with whom the satyagrahis would not be able even to make contact.

By dying non-violently rather than submitting.

Q. But who will then live to enjoy freedom?

A. The survivors if there are any. But may I put you a counter-question? Who enjoys the freedom when whole divisions

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "The Journey Back". The Home was being run under Thakkar Bapa's care and Gandhiji visited it twice during his stay in Delhi.

[2] Gandhiji left Delhi on the evening of July 7.



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of armed soldiers rush into a hailstorm of bullets to be mown down? Why, those who might succeed in capturing the citadel by passing over their dead bodies. The soldier who fights never expects to enjoy the fruits of victory. But in the case of non-violence everybody seems to start with the assumption that the non-violent method must be set down as a failure unless he himself at least lives to enjoy the success thereof. This is both illogical and invidious. In satyagraha more than in armed warfare, it may be said that we find life by losing it.

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *289. DISCUSSION AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING*

[*July 3/7, 1940*][1]

GANDHIJI: I have been oppressed all the time by the fact that I now represent a totally different mentality from that of the Working Committee. When I asked for absolution it was not a formal thing. My article in the *Harijan*[2] is a true picture of my mind. I put the same thing to the Viceroy. I told him that this was the last interview. He should send for the President of the Congress if he must have an offer on behalf of the Congress. I think in the course of days he will invite the President. It is the most difficult job for me to give a decisive opinion on these matters. I would much rather that you left me alone.

Granting the implications that I have drawn from the last resolution you cannot possibly escape its logical conclusion. You will want to seize power. You will have to surrender certain things in order to get it. You will have to be like other parties. You will be driven into their ways. Maybe you will be an advanced party. This picture repels me. I don't believe in the expression 'seizure of power'. There is no such thing as 'seizure of power'. I have no power save what resides in the people. I am a mere representative of the power in the people. While Rajaji was developing his theme I felt that a wide gulf separated me from him. He thinks he will be best able to serve his country

[1] From the contents it is obvious that this was the meeting following the one held at Wardha from June 17 to 21 at which Gandhiji had expressed a desire to be absolved from the activities of the Congress.

[2] *Vide* "Both Happy and Unhappy", pp. 194-7.

by taking advantage of every opportunity to serve the country. He takes office in that light. I differ fundamentally from him. He may satisfy himself with the illusion that he is serving non-violence. I am not afraid of power. Some day or the other we will have to take it. The Viceroy is here to serve his country, its interests and therefore he must use all resources that India has mercilessly. If we participate in war effort, we shall have learnt some lesson in the art of violence, even if the Britishers are defeated. This will give us some experience, some power such as a soldier has but all this at the cost of independence. This seems to me the logical consequence of your resolution. This does not appeal to me. If we are non-violent I know how to deal with the situation. The vast majority of our people had violence in them, but they were taught the power of non-violence. Now you must teach them the power of violence. There is confusion in the people now. It is not my interpretation which has caused it but the resolution itself. I cannot guide you in this atmosphere. Whatever I say will embarrass you.

I told the Viceroy that the British, if they succeed, will not be better than Mussolini or Hitler. If there is peace with Hitler India will be exploited by all powers. But if we are non-violent and Japan comes we will see that they do not get anything without our consent. Non-violence has worked wonders in 20 years. We cannot do any such thing with violence. . . .[1]

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: The question was brought forward by Gandhiji in the world context. He wanted to place the message of non-violence before the world.

GANDHIJI: Not exactly world context. I thought of the immediate problem. I did not have the world picture before me but India, and India alone. In the position they have taken the Working Committee is free to render help and to prepare an army. It is free to take office. The Viceroy thought the resolution favoured him. He said: "You want to defend India, you want aeroplanes, battle-ships, tanks, etc. We will give you all these. This will serve our purpose and also yours. This is the golden opportunity. You should come and get equipped. Under pressure we will go forward double speed."

I regret the Congress took what I considered as a backward step, but it is a perfectly honourable step. It has taken the only step that it could. I will still try to wean it and the rank

[1] The meeting then discussed the question of non-violence and internal disorder.

and file from this mistake. If the rank and file feel with me the Working Committee will retract the step. A larger issue of internal anarchy was before us. What contribution shall we make if anarchy overtakes us? Will the masses co-operate in the non-violent effort? I will test the masses and if I find that they will desert me I will shape my policy accordingly, but I won't collapse before they collapse. The terrible things that are going on in Europe fill me with anguish. I do not know where I could come in there. I feel I can do something and hence the statement.

Private armies never appeal to me. The masses will be exploited by us. We will go and tell them you must give us your last penny to defend your hearths and homes. I cannot do this. This is not for me. I want to proclaim to the country that India will defend itself non-violently so far as the Congress is concerned.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI: I cannot go with Gandhiji in his conception of the State. Ours is a political organization not working for non-violence but for the political ideal. We are working in competition with other political parties.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: I agree with Rajaji in his understanding of violence and non-violence; else we cannot function on the political plane.

GANDHIJI: Very difficult questions have arisen in the course of the discussion. Rajaji has summarily rejected the idea that we can retain power by non-violent means. This was illustrated even when we attained it by non-violent means while the Congress was in office. To the extent they used violence the ministries failed. Their action showed bankruptcy of our non-violence. Perhaps we could not have done otherwise. I advised giving up of office. Rajaji however does not accept what I have said, that it is possible to hold office without the use of more than police violence.

I again want to emphasize two things. I do not [*sic*] believe that declaration of independence is necessary. The legal declaration may come afterwards. If the government expect any help from us our help will be moral. It will be infinitely superior to what they can get by manipulation, coaxing or coercion. I do feel if they have courage to do the right thing, the scales will be turned in their favour. Independence in action must be declared. Very lightly it was said by some members that we must dismiss from our minds civil resistance. I have never dismissed it. A time may come when we shall resort to civil

disobedience. I cannot conceive the idea of our sitting silently when people are made to co-operate under compulsion. This process is going on now. The process was gentle and not much felt till the French capitulation. I cannot conceive my remaining silent or sitting at ease with this coercion going on unhampered. But can our people show non-violence through and through? The non-violence of the weak will bring us some relief but not real joy and power—it will end in our being exhausted. If we begin with non-violence of the weak and end also with that we are finished. Therefore now, when the testing time has come, you say it is not possible. All honour to your integrity and courage of conviction. But I cannot help feeling that our non-violence has ended in disaster, I say again with experience and conviction that it is possible to touch power through non-violence, but we may not take it. A non-violent organization may not accept office but it can get things done its way. Thus alone can we have power if we have not non-violent control over people. Jawaharlal has done less than justice to those who believe in non-violence. He means that they want to be superior men leaving the dirty work of violence to be done by others. I hold, on the other hand, that we don't take power at all. It involves emoluments, glory and things which people prize. Those in power consider that they are superior and others subordinate. When a non-violent man refuses to take over power he says, 'I decline because if I accept I shall make a mess of it. I am not built that way. Let credit go to others.' I never felt that I was superior to those who took power nor did they feel that they were inferior or called upon to do a dirty job. Now suppose you at this critical moment hold fast to non-violence in the midst of other parties who swear by violence, you will be in a minority. Why should a small non-violent group immediately expect to win power before they convert others. Let others hold power. A group of non-violent men wishing to convert the country to non-violence will not bother about power. In holding fast to the creed you will have converted a majority of the people. A man who has self-confidence will convert the country. But you say millions will never arrive at that stage. I feel practically certain they can. Do not lay down this proposition. I became non-violent after laborious processes. It is the essence of non-violence that we give the same credit to the whole of mankind that we claim for ourselves. I have never felt that I alone can practise non-violence. Quite the contrary, I consider myself mediocre. I belong purely to the rank and file

and yet I can lead the masses. I can produce heroes from the illiterates of Gujarat. Time was when these illiterates said, 'what can we do?' Today these very people are wielding power. If we can convert a few thousands we can convert millions. Both masses of Hindus and Muslims acted non-violently in 1920. Could it not be a great thing for us to have acquired such an influence upon public opinion and upon those who wield power that we do not have to compel obedience. Non-violence cannot suddenly mount to power. I am not satisfied with swaraj for the few. It is for millions. They must feel it. By violent means they cannot feel it. This opportunity has come into our hands. We have got to decide. I do not leave out even lepers from my non-violent calculation. I am not talking through my hat. I have a leper[1] in my Ashram. He feels now that he can play his part though he cannot wield arms. Logically I have endeavoured to show that there is nothing to prevent you from taking power if certain conditions are fulfilled.

Many Indian villages and institutions are behaving non-violently. We are trying to produce a homogeneous nation. We must allow time for it. What has violence accomplished in the world? I think impatience has seized us. If we do not take office others will take office. If you think that you can serve the people by entering into competition with others you are mistaken. We are democrats. We would be presumed to be ruling by the will of the people. We must dismount if people rebel. We have not given that trial to non-violence which we might have. All of us did our best. Let us do better. If we do better, if we have got the proper courage we shall have left something for India to be proud of. I would like you to feel with me that it is perfectly possible to hold the State without an army. If anybody comes I will square accounts with him along non-violent lines. Why should we fear that they will swallow us? Violent people fight violent people. They do not touch non-violent people. We build up huge armaments in order to ward off an attack in some distant future. The divisions in the country also provide us with reason for our keeping to non-violence. We can hold our people peacefully against the whole world.

Our non-violence is of the weak. It is not non-violence of the brave. If we have affection for our neighbours there will

[1] Parchure Shastri

be no Hindu-Muslim riots. These riots can be prevented. If they can be prevented, other anarchy can also be prevented.

Wardha Office Satyagraha File, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *290. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE WORKING COMMITTEE*

[*July 3/7, 1940*]

The Working Committee have noted that confusion prevails amongst Congressmen as to the interpretation of their last statement made in Wardha on 21 June. They observe that several newspapers and others in common with many Congressmen have believed that the Committee had given up non-violence as an integral part of the Congress policy. Certain paragraphs of the statement do lend themselves to such interpretation in spite of the following emphatic and unequivocal declaration therein of the Congress policy:

> The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for imperialist domination over other peoples and countries, and a suicidal race in armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficacy of organized violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom and the choice before the world is uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. . . . The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

The Working Committee have come to the conclusion that they should exclusively rely upon Congress volunteers pledged to non-violence and the Congress discipline to deal with internal disorders to the extent it is possible. The volunteers will co-operate in a non-violent way with other similar organizations in their non-violent activities. The Working Committee advise all Congress Committees to form volunteer corps provided that they are sure that the candidates know the implications of non-violence and the value of strict discipline.

The Congress non-violence has been hitherto confined to the fight with the British government. If success achieved so far

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has made non-violence, to the extent mentioned, the settled policy of the Congress beyond assail, it must be admitted that success cannot be claimed for non-violent effort in the case of communal riots. The Working Committee are of opinion that the fault must be laid at the door of volunteer organizations. The Working Committee hope that at this the critical hour in the history of India volunteer organizations would be able effectively to deal with riots and the like in a non-violent manner.

The Working Committee never had occasion to determine whether India can be defended non-violently, nor is it even now called upon to do so, though the proved futility of violence to defend the nations of Europe is sufficient indication for the Working Committee for coming to a decision. But till the hour for taking a final decision arrived, the Working Committee must keep an open mind. But so far as the present is concerned, the Working Committee are firmly of opinion that in pursuance of their non-violent policy Congressmen must not have anything to do with military training or activities calculated to make India military-minded. Therefore the Working Committee cannot but view with grave alarm the attempt made in an organized manner to prepare India for military defence. In the opinion of the Working Committee if India were free and independent without an army she would have no fear of external aggression. The best defence that free India can put up if the people accepted the Congress policy would be to cultivate friendliness with the whole world. To invest crores of rupees in armaments, fortresses and the like would be to invite foreign attack. The Working Committee believe that India is too poor to invest money in costly defence forces and modern equipment. The Working Committee therefore warn the British Government against the feverish preparations that they are making for the professed defence of India. They are of opinion that they are intended merely to help Britain. These preparations cannot help India in any real sense. The Working Committee draw the attention of the British Government and people that although India is claimed by them to have provincial autonomy and every province has elected assemblies, and there is also a partially popularly elected Central Legislative Assembly, the huge expense is being incurred without any reference to these legislatures. The Working Committee believe that it is wrong and immoral to arm one man, however honest and distinguished, with unlimited powers to utilize the resources of a great country like India and to impress her people in any manner he chooses



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without any control or check on the part of her people. It is a procedure in no way in keeping with the British Government's declarations, however unsatisfactory from the Congress standpoint, about the freedom of India.

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Congress claims to be wholly friendly to the British people. Its non-violent policy demands nothing but goodwill towards them. But the friendliness and goodwill can have no play and no meaning, so long as India remains in helpless bondage and her resources in men and money are utilized without ascertaining the wishes of the representatives of the people elected under a system established by Great Britain. The Working Committee ask the British Government to revise their suicidal policy and take the popular assemblies into their confidence. The Working Committee associate themselves with the appeal recently made by Gandhiji to every Briton[1] and hope that Great Britain will accept the policy of non-violence whose potency has been proved beyond doubt even though its application was admittedly imperfect. British Government may rely upon the fullest and friendliest cooperation of the Congress in the direction of peace effort in the non-violent way commended by Gandhiji.

In spite of the repeated and firm declaration of the Congress to the contrary, there seems to be a belief among the public, including even some Congressmen, that the Congress will be satisfied with Dominion Status. The Working Committee warn all concerned that they will accept no status lower than complete independence and that declaration should be made now and given effect to, immediately so far as may be. The legal formality may await a suitable future period. Only India free and independent in action can decide upon the part she should play in the present war.

There is talk among some Congressmen that the Congress may countenance resumption of Ministerial offices. The Working Committee wish to make it clear that there is no prospect of the Congress countenancing such a step without a satisfactory settlement with the Government and in no case of promoting a war effort in which they have no faith. In view of the foregoing it is superfluous to say that the Working Committee cannot associate themselves with any Government proposals to expand the Central executive.

In view of the recent developments the Working Committee decide to remove the ban upon Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly attending its sessions.

[1] *Vide* pp. 229-31.

Inasmuch as it is necessary still further to enforce strict discipline, the Working Committee ask all those who do not strictly believe in non-violence to resign from the Congress. It is against the Congress Constitution for anyone to become a four-anna member unless he believing in it, signs the Congress pledge.[1]

GANDHIJI: I have placed this draft before you only to know your reactions. I have no doubt that you took in Wardha the wisest decision that you could take. The discussions today have more than confirmed my opinion. I am more than fully repaid for the labour I spent on the draft. I reduced my idea to writing only to find your reactions. I have listened to every word of the discussion. I see that there is a definite, wide gulf between us, such that it cannot be bridged. To attempt to do so would be doing a disservice to the country. I have no impatience, no irritation in me. If I find that my hold has weakened I must withdraw in the interest of the Congress itself.

I have always derived my politics from ethics or religion and my strength is also derived by my deriving my politics from ethics. It is because I swear by ethics and religion that I find myself in politics. A person who is a lover of his country is bound to take lively interest in politics otherwise he will not be able to carry on his avocation with peace. I came into the Congress with my religion.

The time has arrived when I should watch you and see whether I can take you as far as necessary.

I had not in the past the slightest difficulty in carrying Rajaji with me, his intelligence as well as his heart, but since this office question cropped up, I saw that our thoughts were running in different directions. I see that I cannot carry him now along with me. It is vital for me therefore to ask for absolution. Internal dissensions are a small thing. We have now concentrated sufficiently on them. If you cannot come to a decision about external aggression, you cannot come to a decision about internal dissensions. My mind does not make a vital distinction between the two. I have deliberately put in the resolution the expression 'open mind'. You have said that we can mount to power by non-violent means but you doubt the ability to retain and consolidate it except through an army. The little police force that I have in mind will not be sufficient to cope with big disorders unless we have, as a nation, sufficient non-violence in us, or in

[1] The meeting then discussed Gandhiji's draft.

other words we apply non-violence to politics. The technique of non-violence is different from that of violence. We shut our eyes to the fact that our control on the masses, over even our registered Congressmen is ineffective. The negative response is there. In positive response both fail. It is not our fault exactly. Millions are concerned. Even a military programme could not have been complete in 20 years. We must therefore be patient. If the masses have won independence by non-violence, they can also retain it by non-violence.

Twenty years is nothing for the country. Our non-violence was restricted to capturing power. We are successful as against the British, but we failed against our own people. At several places we have had violent demonstrations by Congressmen and Congress Committees. Hence our difficulties and my insistence that we must develop non-violence. This is the time; otherwise we will cut a sorry figure. Rajaji is right that if I believe that the Congress is with me I am living in a fool's paradise. I have plunged with my eyes open. I played with fire when I entered into partnership with Muslims. Hindus said the Muslims would organize themselves. They did. I have one measure for the whole of mankind.

I have been thinking seriously about the weaknesses that have crept into the Congress, but always in the hope that I will carry you further when the time comes. When Bhulabhai said we are committing ourselves he is right and not right. A document is to be read together with commas and semi-colons. Today we have the choice between weapons of destruction and non-violence for internal and external purposes. We have got to make the choice. Let us say good-bye to non-violence if we must. Today non-violence, tomorrow violence—this is our attitude. We don't know what we shall do in future. Let alone tomorrow, let us ask ourselves: shall we shoulder the rifle now? Bhulabhai spoke of 1100 officers. This does not move a single muscle of mine. My horizon extends to the submerged millions. The 1100 are lost in that ocean. I will never be able to forgive myself if I take a false step. If you don't come to Rajaji's position today you will come to it tomorrow. If you have imbibed non-violence in practice well and good; for myself I go on with it in my pocket, in my heart and mind. I shall try to convert my people and see what is in store for me; in the alternative we must give our people military training but that for ourselves and not for the empire. The empire is tottering. The sun on it is fast setting. If we lack faith in

non-violence let us organize for violence. I hold we will fail. I agree with Maulana Saheb that those who start with violence for self-defence end with aggression. He has quoted his own co-religionist. I have got this precious thing for which I want to live. I don't want to be instrumental in militarizing the masses. A non-violent soldier will not be despised. He may be a consumptive, but he will give a better account of himself than the tallest Pathan. I want you to seriously examine Rajaji's position and see if you can adopt it; otherwise he should be allowed to go away. Our readings on non-violence differ at this moment. Let him carve out a position for himself. He must agitate even if he is in a hopeless minority. I started alone, but soon I enjoyed a vast majority. He should strain every nerve to persuade the Working Committee or reconstitute the Committee of those who are not saturated with non-violence up to the point I have stated.

You should allow me to carry the message as I know it. The country will not lose by this twofold division if we are honest. We must all act according to our views. It fills me with intense pleasure that everyone has spoken frankly. Visualizing the position as it changes from moment to moment we have to find out what part we can each of us play in the drama. Let Jawaharlal take the lead. He will express himself forcibly. I shall be in his pocket.[1]

Wardha Office Satyagraha File, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *291. SPEECH AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING*

[*July 3/7, 1940*]

GANDHIJI: If Rajaji's draft reflects the Congress mind it must be accepted. If it does not and if it is the personal opinion of some members it is necessary to know where the Congress mind lies. In order to know this at the present moment no resolution be passed. You must boldly face the situation. You must recognize that the non-violence that we have hitherto offered is different from true non-violence. The non-violence

[1] After this discussion Gandhiji withdrew his draft and C. Rajagopalachari placed his draft before the Working Committee for its consideration. For the draft, *vide* Appendix III.

of the Congress represents only the resistance of the weak. It is passive resistance, the expression which was flung in my face in Africa and which I resisted. It does not satisfy me; but the country will be free from the incubus of doubt. Whenever we have tried non-violence of the strong we have miserably failed.

The business of the members of the Working Committee should be to ascertain where the Congress mind lies. They should go to the provinces and quietly ascertain the opinion there. This will give us the opinion of the general run of Congressmen. We will then come with better and more accurate information. Each one may try to influence the members in his favour up to a point. If we find that Rajaji's proposition reflects the popular will we should allow it to be worked. I am not satisfied with it. But then I pledge everything from the standpoint of non-violence.

I feel that the draft will be accepted by the Government. If it can be then I hold independence too would be swallowed. The question of independence should not be taken in a lukewarm manner. This will be tactically wrong. If we really mean what we say in the draft we should be prepared to put forth the best war effort of which we are capable. I feel we can get both our independence and national government, not one in which all the parties will be represented, but it will be a transference of power to the Congress, if the Government are assured that the Congress will participate fully in the war effort. But this will mean we have said goodbye to non-violence. The Government is anxious to get the Congress. They are resourceful to get other tools if they cannot get the Congress. At present they are doubtful if they can get full assistance from the Congress even if they transfer power to the Congress. I have never allowed them to think that they will get even one soldier from the Congress. All they can get from it is moral support. They realize it. They weigh the two things: (1) what they get in a voluntary manner from other parties and (2) the moral support of the Congress. But if we go and say that the resources of India are at the disposal of the British I have no doubt they will accept the Congress demand. The question is whether it is an outlook which you can countenance. I have a thousand objections but they are based on non-violence.

QUESTION: How does the moral support of the Congress help them?

GANDHIJI: Britain rises in the estimation of the whole world. It means it seeks eagerly the support of an organisation

which has functioned non-violently for 20 years. They will say: 'We will rather have your support than the support of other parties.' They will make an appeal to non-violent India. I am taking a lofty view of the moral support. They have to make their choice between India which represents force and this incalculable force of non-violence. These are two dissimilar forces. If they say they will rather have this moral support, it will be a tremendous thing. It is not a mechanical process at all. It is a vital process.

If you want to do justice to the Congressmen, you must quietly go and ascertain their opinion. If we find that they have no true non-violence we must make an honest declaration. We will have done our duty. Then we must arm ourselves. If we do so in an open and sincere manner, we will overcome other organizations. I know the workings of violence. I always put it side by side with non-violence. I do not feel for one moment that I represent only myself in holding the extreme view that I do. I feel, I represent the dumb mind of India. If I had physical strength and went to the people I am sure they would say yes to my proposition. I know how to put it to the masses in their language. . . .

Such help rendered will go in favour of India. It will mean that we tried our best to save the sinking ship. They say: 'Give us a helping hand when we are drowning.' We can reply: 'We are trained in the school of adversity. We fought nobly and non-violently. We give you this help now that you are sinking.' There is nothing wrong in such an attitude.[1]

Wardha Office Satyagraha File, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *292. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

NEW DELHI,
*July* [7][2], *1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

I got your letter. Your article will be published. It is good. I shall read the translation. I am reading the translations of other

[1] In the light of the discussions C. Rajagopalachari recast his draft. For the draft as it emerged finally from the discussions, *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] The original has "8", but the postmark bears the date "July 7".

articles. The work here will probably be completed today. It is very hot here. I am keeping good health.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA W

From the Hindi original: C.W. 4239. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7872

## *293. 'A CRY IN THE WILDERNESS'?*[1]

ऊर्ध्वबाहु विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स धर्मः किं न सेव्यते॥[2]

Bapuji Aney [on his way back from Simla][3] paid a flying visit to me at Delhi on Saturday. Whether we work together or seem to be working in opposite directions, his love for me endures, and so he never misses an opportunity to look in wherever I may be. He expresses himself freely before me, and often shares with me a verse or two from his inexhaustible store. During his Delhi visit he sympathized with me for my having had to sever my connection with the Congress, but he really congratulated me.

> They should, I think, leave you in peace, and let you go your way. I read your appeal to every Briton[4]. It will fall on deaf ears. But that does not matter to you. You cannot help telling them what you feel to be their *dharma* (duty). But it is not strange that they will not listen to you—seeing that the Congress itself did not listen to you at the critical moment. When even sage Vyasa failed to make himself heard, how should others fare better? He had to conclude his great epic—*Mahabharata*—with a verse which reveals the cry of his soul.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

[2] "With hands upraised I cry:
(But none listens to me)
Dharma yields both *artha* and *kama*;
Why is that dharma not observed?"

[3] The Gujarati version does not have this.

[4] *Vide* pp. 229-31.

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With this he cited the verse I have quoted at the head of this article. He thereby strengthened my faith, and also showed how difficult was the way I had chosen.

And yet it has never seemed to me so difficult as it is imagined to be. Though the Sardar's way and mine seem to diverge today, it does not mean that our hearts also diverge. It was in my power to stop him from seceding from me. But it did not seem to be proper to do so. And it would have been morally wrong to strive with Rajaji in what he firmly regarded as his clear duty. Instead, therefore, of dissuading Rajaji I encouraged him to follow his course. It was my clear duty to do so. If I have the power to carry my experiment of ahimsa to success in an apparently new field, if my faith endures, and if I am right in thinking that the masses are fundamentally non-violent, Rajaji and the Sardar will again be with me as before.

What are these apparently new fields for the operation of non-violence? Those who have followed the Working Committee's resolutions and writings in *Harijan* are now familiar with these. Non-violence in its operation against constituted authority is one field. We have exercised this up to now with a fair amount of success, and I have always described it as the non-violence of the weak. This non-violence may be said to have come to stay with Congressmen.

The other field is the exercise of ahimsa in internal disturbances—Hindu-Muslim riots and the like. We have not been able to show visible success in the exercise of ahimsa in this field. What then should the Congressmen do when internal chaos is so imminent? Will they return blow for blow, or will they cheerfully bend their heads to receive violent blows? The answer to this is not so easy as we might think. Instead of going into the intricacies, I should say that Congressmen should try to save the situation by laying down their lives, not by taking any. He who meets death without striking a blow fulfils his duty cent per cent. The result is in God's hands.

But it is clear that this non-violence is not the non-violence of the weak. It does not give one the joy of jail-going. One can have that joy and also cover thereby the ill-will one harbours in his breast against the Government. One can also non-co-operate with the Government. But where swords, knives, lathis and stones are freely used, what is a man to do single-handed? Is it possible for one to receive these deadly blows with ill-will in one's heart? It is clear that it is impossible to do so, unless one

is saturated with charity. It is only he who feels one with his opponent that can receive his blows as though they were so many flowers. Even one such man, if God favours him, can do the work of a thousand. It requires soul force—moral courage—of the highest type.

The man or woman who can display this non-violence of the brave can easily stand against external invasion. This is the third field for the exercise of non-violence. The Congress Working Committee were of opinion that, while it might be possible for us to exercise ahimsa in internal disturbances, India has not the strength to exercise ahimsa against the invasion of a foreign foe. This their want of faith has distressed me. I do not believe that the unarmed millions of India cannot exercise ahimsa with success in this wide field. It is for Congressmen to reassure the Sardar, whose faith in ahimsa of the strong has for the moment been shaken, that ahimsa is the only weapon that can suit India in the fields mentioned. Let no one ask, "But what about the martial races in India?" For me that is all the more reason why Congressmen should train themselves to defend their country with a non-violent army. This is an entirely new experiment. But who, save the Congress, is to try it—the Congress which has tried it successfully in one field? It is my unshakable faith that, if we have a sufficient number of non-violent soldiers, we are sure to succeed even in this new field, apart from the saving of the needless waste of crores of rupees.

I am therefore hoping that every Gujarati Congressite—man and woman—will declare their adherence to ahimsa and reassure the Sardar that they will never resort to violence. Even if there is sure hope of success in the exercise of violence, they will not prefer it to the exercise of non-violence. We are sure to learn by our mistakes. "We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, July 7, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

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## 294. 'COPYRIGHT'

It is strange that what I would not do in response to the advice of a correspondent[1] I have to do almost immediately after the refusal though, I feel, for a very cogent reason. Since my main articles will henceforth be written in Gujarati, I would not like their unauthorized translations appearing in the Press. I have suffered much from mistranslations when I used to write profusely in Gujarati and had no time myself to produce simultaneous English translations. I have arranged this time for such translation in English and Hindustani. I would therefore ask editors and publishers kindly to regard English and Hindustani translation rights as reserved. I have no doubt that my request will be respected.

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, July 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## 295. CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP AND NON-VIOLENCE[2]

A Punjabi Congressman writes:

> Can those who openly declare that they do not believe in non-violence be Congress members, can they take part in Gulughara[3] celebrations, and what should one do if such men be in a majority in a Congress committee?

Now that I am out of the Congress guidance,[4] my opinion has little weight. I cannot say what decision the Congress will give on your questions.[5] But I am quite clear that those who do not believe in non-violence cannot belong to the Congress. I

[1] Satish Kalelkar; *vide* pp. 162-3.

[2] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

[3] Ahmed Shah Abdali Day

[4] The Gujarati original has: "when the Congress is undergoing so many changes".

[5] The Gujarati here adds: "I also feel that Congressmen should not ask me such questions and also that I ought not to answer them. I shall however answer this question since I must."

am also clear that no Congressman can take part in celebrations such as Gulughara. If you find yourself in a minority, the non-violent way for you is to withdraw from the Committee.

ON DELHI-WARDHA TRAIN, July 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *296. ABOUT THE WAZIRIS*[1]

Waziristan is one of the regions on the border of the Frontier Province. Everybody knows that there are a number of tribes living on the north-western frontier of India. The popular notion about them is that they are born only to rob and plunder and harass the British Government. Both these notions are far removed from reality. These trans-border[2] tribes are born and bred in extreme poverty. Life among their native hills is a tale of chronic hardship and internecine strife. India comes handy to them for satisfying their pecuniary need by raiding. Besides, there are not lacking people who in order to serve their own political ends are ready to misguide them and set them on the wrong path. Our knowledge about these tribes, therefore, is almost confined to their raiding activities. Khan Saheb has told me that these tribesmen are very simple and innocent by nature.

Whenever I have visited the Frontier Province I have tried to go across and make acquaintance with these tribes. My first effort in this direction was made at the time of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. I had to give it up as Lord Irwin said his Government would feel embarrassed. I next sought permission through correspondence but was equally unsuccessful. I renewed the attempt at the time of my first Frontier tour and interviewed H.E. the Governor in that behalf, but he could not give or rather could not obtain for me the necessary permission. Recently the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee tried to send a deputation among the Waziris not with any political motive but simply to do welfare work. But the permission could not be obtained. The Working Committee has now decided to send a deputation consisting of Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Janab Asaf Ali. Let us hope the deputation will be given the necessary permission.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

[2] The Gujarati version has "the Waziris and other tribes".

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The object of the Working Committee's resolution is not political. Its purpose simply is to find out how help can be rendered to the border tribes and friendly relations cultivated with them. It ill comports with our dignity to be in constant dread of them. Ignorance is at the root of most of our fears. If I suspected my neighbour, naturally I would be afraid of him. But if I cast out my suspicion, the fear would automatically go. For years we have proceeded on the assumption that the authorities would under no circumstances allow us to cultivate friendly relations with the border tribes. The Government, on their side, have, under the spell of their pet bogey,[1] spent crores of rupees on building forts and block houses and on sending out military expeditions into the tribal territory. It should be a duty of the Congress to try to cultivate sincere and friendly relations with these folk. The proposed step of the Working Committee is, therefore, to be welcomed. Let us hope that the Congress, having begun the effort, will pursue it to the end.

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, July 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *297. IS ISLAM INSPIRED?*[2]

A writer in a Muslim paper has suggested that, if I regard Islam as an inspired religion and Muhammad as the Prophet of God, I should declare my belief, so that Mussalmans' doubts may be dispelled and Hindu-Muslim unity may possibly be more easily achieved. I read the suggestion about a month ago, but I did not think it necessary to respond to it. But as nowadays I read as many Muslim papers as I can, in order to acquaint myself with the Muslim mind, and as I find them so full of poison and conscious or unconscious untruths, I feel it necessary to redeclare my opinion about Islam, though I think it is well known.

I certainly regard Islam as one of the inspired religions, and therefore the Holy Koran as an inspired book and Muhammad as one of the prophets. But even so I regard Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism as inspired religions. The names of many

[1] The Gujarati has "Out of fear".

[2] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

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of them have been already forgotten, for the simple reason that those religions and those prophets related to the particular ages for which and peoples for whom they flourished. Some principal religions are still extant. After a study of those religions to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions, a master-key is needed. That master-key is that of truth and non-violence. When I unlock the chest of a religion with this master-key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and until we realize this fundamental unity, wars in the name of religion will not cease. These are not confined to Hindus and Mussalmans alone. The pages of world history are soiled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religion can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faiths.

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, July 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *298. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

ON THE TRAIN,
*July 8, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Here are two more translations corrected. Both are good. The *Masnavi*[1] captivated me. It had the force of the original. Of course it was easy. You have seen what happened at the W.C.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3981. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7290

[1] *Vide* "What the *Masnavi* Says", pp. 197-8.

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## 299. THE DELHI RESOLUTION

I have just seen the news that the Working Committee's fateful resolution[1] has been released to the Press. It was passed in my presence, but I wanted to say nothing before it was actually released for publication. It will be a profound mistake to suppose that the members passed the five solid days in wrangling. They had to discharge a heavy responsibility. Though logically the resolution is no departure from the Ramgarh resolution[2], it is an undoubted departure from its spirit. The letter often remains constant, the spirit changes. Up to now for one reason or another the Congress policy was: No participation in the war except for the moral influence that the Congress can exercise if the vital demand was satisfied of Britain's own free will. Such was not the position of all the members of the Working Committee. Hence at the critical moment every member had to make up his or her mind independently of the rest. The five days were days of tremendous heart-searching. I had produced a draft resolution[3] which almost all thought was the best, if they could bring to bear a living belief in non-violence through and through, or if they could truthfully say that such was the belief of their constituencies. Some had neither and some had individually the required faith. Only Khan Saheb was clear so far as his own faith and that of his beloved Khudai Khidmatgars were concerned. So he had decided even after the last Wardha resolution that he had no place in the Congress. He had a special mission and a special duty to his followers. So the Working Committee gladly permitted him to retire from the

[1] The resolution, passed on July 7, called for "acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete independence of India" and as an immediate step in giving effect to it, the constitution at the centre of a provisional National Government. It declared that "if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the Defence of the country." *Vide* Appendix IV.

[2] This, while reiterating complete independence as the only thing acceptable to the people of India, denounced the declaration, by the British Government, of India as a belligerent country and said, "Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or material."

[3] *Vide* pp. 240-5.

Congress. By retiring he serves the Congress all the more even as I hope to do. Who knows that those of us who retire may not be able to give our comrades the faith they seem, for the moment, to have lost?

Rajaji was the framer of the resolution. He was as certain of his position as I was of mine. His persistency, courage and utter humility brought him converts. Sardar Patel was his greatest prize. He would not have even thought of bringing up his resolution if I had chosen to prevent him. But I give my comrades the same credit for earnestness and self-confidence that I claim for myself. I had long known that we were drifting away from each other in our outlook upon the political problems that face us. He will not allow me to say that his is a departure from ahimsa. He claims that his very ahimsa has led him to the point which culminated in his resolution. He thinks that I suffer from obsession owing to too much brooding on ahimsa. He almost thinks that my vision is blurred. It was no use my returning the compliment though half joking I did. I have no proof, save my faith, to question his counter faith. That is evidently absurd. I could not carry the Committee with me at Wardha and so I got my absolution. I at once saw as clear as daylight that, if my position was not acceptable, Rajaji's was the only real alternative. I therefore encouraged him to persist in his effort, though all the while I held him to be hopelessly in the wrong. And by exemplary patience, skill and considerateness towards his opponents he got a good majority, five remaining neutral. I had a fearful moment. Generally such resolutions are not carried by the majority vote. But at this juncture unanimity was not to be expected. I advised that Rajaji's resolution should be enforced. And so at the last moment the Committee decided that the resolution should go forth to the world.

It was necessary for the public to have this background to the tremendous step the Committee have taken for good or ill. Those Congressmen who have a living faith in the non-violence of the strong will naturally abstain. For the moment, however, what they can do is wholly irrelevant. Rajaji's resolution represents the considered policy of the Congress. Non-Congressmen, who were eager for the Congress to be free of my religious bias to adopt a purely political attitude, should welcome the resolution and support it wholeheartedly. So should the Muslim League, and even the Princes who think of India more than their principalities.

The British Government have to make their choice. Independence they cannot withhold unless their wisdom is as much blurred

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as Rajaji claims that mine is. If independence is recognized, the acceptance of the other part of the resolution follows as a matter of course. The question is: Do they want to impress help from India by virtue of their rulership over India, or will they have the help that a free and independent India can give? My individual advice has already gone. My help always has been promised. Acceptance of that advice can but enhance their heroism. But if they cannot accept it, I advise, as a disinterested but staunch friend, that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.

SEVAGRAM, July 8, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *300. MYSORE LAWYERS*

Several Mysore lawyers who had taken part in the Mysore satyagraha struggle have been disbarred by the Mysore Chief Court. The last victim is Shri H. C. Dasappa, a most respected Mysorean and a practitioner of twenty years' standing. Serious as the disbarring of a member belonging to a liberal profession must be, such cases have happened before now on insufficient or purely political grounds. Such injustices have to be borne with resignation and fortitude. But the order of the Chief Judge in Shri Dasappa's case as reported in *The Hindu* has made for me most painful reading. Shri Dasappa had the hardihood to defy a magistrate's order not to address meetings in a part of Mysore, and had the equal hardihood under my instructions to advise satyagrahi prisoners to boycott the departmental inquiry by Justice Nagesvar Iyer. For these grave offences Shri Dasappa has been disbarred for ever. He will be reduced to penury, if the Judges could help it and, if their verdict has any potency beyond the paper on which it is written, Shri Dasappa becomes a man without a character, to be despised and shunned by society. I happen to know Shri Dasappa personally. I hold him to be a man of spotless character and unimpeachable honesty. He has been manfully striving to practise non-violence to the best of his ability. He has done what many patriots, lawyers or no lawyers, have done in British India. And nowadays the Judges take no notice of their conduct, and the public have made of them heroes. Advocate Bhulabhai has been Advocate-General of the Bombay High Court. He has defied laws. So has Advocate Munshi, and so has Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. They have

not been disbarred. Two of them have been Ministers in their Provinces. Public inquiries have been boycotted before now with impunity. Neither the honour nor the character of those who have brought about such boycotts have been impugned. In my opinion the Judges of the Mysore Court have forgotten themselves in delivering their judgment. Shri Dasappa has not suffered. He will rise in the estimation of the people of Mysore. But I make bold to say the Mysore Judges have suffered by allowing themselves to be carried away by prejudice.

Such travesty of justice has happened before now. A Durban Magistrate who was carried away by some stupid prejudice had condemned an innocent man. His judgment was reversed and the Supreme Court condemned it in such scathing terms that the Magistrate had to be removed. The Judges of the martial law days in the Punjab were not removed, but many were thoroughly disgraced because they had pronounced judgments which could not be supported by evidence before them. This Mysore judgment is worse than the Punjab judgments. Then there was panic. Murders had been committed by the mob, and eminent men were tried not by ordinary courts but by martial law tribunals. In Mysore nothing of the kind has happened. The Chief Judge's order is a cool and calculated attack on the honour of a man who could not defend himself against reckless statements from the Bench. Judges sometimes forget, as these Mysore gentlemen have done, that there is the bar of public opinion which is no respecter of persons.

My condolence and pity go out to the Judges who have delivered a judgment which, let me hope, in their cooler moments they will regret. For Shri Dasappa and his colleagues who have been disbarred I have nothing but congratulations. I would ask them to turn the punishment into a blessing. It is well that they cannot appear before Judges who can be so grossly prejudiced as the Mysore Judges have proved themselves to be. Let these lawyers be proud of their poverty which will be probably their lot now. Let them remember Thoreau's saying that possession of riches is a crime and poverty a virtue under an unjust administration. This is an eternal maxim for satyagrahis. The disbarred lawyers have a rare opportunity of so remodelling their lives that they can always be above want. Let them remember that practice of law ought not to mean more taking daily than, say, a village carpenter's wage. Let them make redoubled efforts to produce such a state of affairs in Mysore that the travesty of the nature I have described may become impossible. It is no pleasure to me to have to

write as strongly as I have done. But I could do no less if I was to serve Truth.

SEVAGRAM, July 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *301. THE LATE CHANGANACHERRY PILLAI*[1]

The readers must have learnt about the death of Shri Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai of Travancore. He was one of the true and consistent Harijan sevaks. He was a retired Judge of the Travancore High Court. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a man he was most unassuming and lovable. His secretary sends me the following pathetic account of his death.[2]

Death prompted the feast.[3] As the secretary truly says he ate to live. But God confounds our wisdom when He wants to take us unwary. None of us can boast that we would do better than the late sevak. It will be creditable if we can close our lives as did this great Harijan sevak. May God bless his spirit and give courage to his widow and family to bear their loss, and let me hope that they will follow in his footsteps.

SEVAGRAM, July 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *302. SUBHAS BABU*

On the return journey to Wardha a young man at Nagpur station asked why the Working Committee had not taken any notice of Subhas Babu's arrest[4]. I was in silence and so gave no reply but took note of the reasonable question. I have no doubt that hundreds if not thousands must have asked themselves the question the young man put at Nagpur. It is true that Subhas Babu is an ex-Rashtrapati of the Congress twice elected in succession. He has a record of great sacrifice to his credit. He is a leader

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] This is not reproduced here.

[3] According to the secretary's account the deceased had eaten a sumptuous feast a few hours before death.

[4] Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested on July 2, 1940, in connection with his campaign for the removal of the Hollwell monument in Calcutta.

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born. All these qualities alone will not warrant a protest against the arrest. The Working Committee would be bound to take notice of it if it could be condemned on merit. Subhas Babu did not defy the law with the permission of the Congress. He has frankly and courageously defied even the Working Committee. If he had asked for permission to raise any side issue for battle at the present juncture, the Committee would, I think, have refused it. Hundreds of issues of greater importance can be discovered. But the country's attention is for the moment riveted upon one single issue. Preparations are being made to take up direct action at the proper time on that issue. Therefore, if the Working Committee had taken any action, it would have been one of disapprobation. That the Committee would not do. I might also have ignored the youth's remark. But I felt that no harm could occur by my putting this arrest in its proper setting. The arrest of a big man like Subhas Babu is no small matter. But Subhas Babu has laid out his plan of battle with deliberateness and boldness. He thinks that his way is the best. He honestly thinks that the Working Committee's way is wrong, and that nothing good will come out of its "procrastination". He told me in the friendliest manner that he would do what the Working Committee had failed to do. He was impatient of delay. I told him that, if at the end of his plan there was swaraj during my lifetime, mine would be the first telegram of congratulation he would receive. If while he was conducting his campaign I became a convert, I should whole-heartedly acclaim him as my leader and enlist under his banner. But I warned him that his way was wrong.

My opinion, however, matters little. So long as Subhas Babu considers a particular course of action to be correct, he has the right, and it is his duty, to pursue it whether the Congress likes it or not. I told him he would be more in the right if he resigned from the Congress altogether. My advice did not commend itself to him. Even so, if success attends his effort and India gains her freedom, it will justify his rebellion, and the Congress will not only not condemn his rebellion but welcome him as a saviour.

In satyagraha a courted imprisonment carries its own praise. There can be no protest against an imprisonment for a breach of the current law of the land. On the contrary, the practice has been to congratulate arrested civil resisters and invite Congressmen to imitate them. It is obvious that the Committee could not do so in Subhas Babu's case. Let me remark in passing that the Committee has taken no notice of the numerous arrests and imprisonments that have taken place even of prominent Congressmen. It

does not mean that the Committee does not feel anything about them. But in life's battle there is such a thing as a mute submission to many a wrong. If it is deliberate, it generates strength which, if the submission is well conceived, may well become irresistible.

SEVAGRAM, July 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 13-7-1940

## *303. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 9, 1940*

DEAR BROTHER,

Have just read your letter. Your detachment[1] is simply wonderful. Bapa[2] is an authority on many things—road-making, Harijans, Bhils, Society's[3] affairs, forlorn causes, etc. But I never knew that he was an authority on interpreting Tulsidas. I should still cite Sita's example for our women. My incitement has never gone beyond. But I must not weary you. Keep me always on the straight and narrow path.

Love.

M. K. G.

From a facsimile: *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. V, between pp. 352 and 353; also *Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*, p. 320

## *304. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 9, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

We arrived yesterday evening and Ba gave me the news that you had bidden farewell to Naranbhai[4]. I was very happy to hear that. He was released from pain and you all are released from

[1] T. N. Jagadisan explains: "Sastriar's letter, which is not available now, was written from Poona in the midst of an anxious crisis in the Society. This fact explains Gandhiji's reference to Sastriar's detachment."

[2] A.V. Thakkar

[3] Servants of India Society

[4] Addressee's father

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worry. You are keeping up courage, but I can read your grief in your letter. But do not grieve. Run down here as soon as possible. Amritlal is not here. I will send your letters to him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7130. Also C.W. 4622. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

## *305. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

[*July 9, 1940*][1]

It will not make much difference whether you wire or write. The proper thing would be to write a letter. It will certainly reach tomorrow. You may write and I also will write. Come and take away my letter.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8534. Also C.W. 7096. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *306. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 9, 1940*

CHI. AMALA,

I will keep in mind what you say and do the needful.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

DR. MARGARETE SPIEGEL
IVANHOE
OPP. BACK BAY BATHS
BOMBAY, FORT

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

[1] In a note, dated 9-7-1940, the addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to send a telegram to his wife Kanchan on that very day. The above is a reply to that.

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## 307. LETTER TO VASANT LAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 9, 1940*

BHAI VASANT LAL,

My blessings to Chi. Bhagirathi and her husband. Let us hope that the couple will be happy and will serve the country to the best of their ability.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10256

## 308. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
*July 10, 1940*

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA

JOIN STATES CONFERENCE EXECUTIVE. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3983. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7292

## 309. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

*July 10, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your 2 letters. I won't keep you quite letterless. Wired today to say you can join the States C[onference] Executive. In fact I had a hand in your nomination. The matter was referred to me. And I approved. I forgot to tell you about it.

Even when I write in Gujarati, its Hindi has to go. And



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now that I wrote that Appeal[1] something will appear in English too from my pen.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3982. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7291

## *310. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

DEAR MALKANI,

Nothing can be spared just now from A.I.S.A. I am trying to get some funds. You must do what you can there. Yours, I know, is a difficult task. If the Hindi Prachar work is too much for you, you should reject it.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. N. MALKANI
TILAK CONGRESS BHAVAN
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a photostat: G.N. 939

## *311. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES*[3]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

MY DEAR KAMALA,

I was delighted to have your letter. . . .[4] Herewith one for Chandel.[5] I am glad you liked your stay here. You will come again when you wish.

Love.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

*Bapu–Maine Kya Dekha Kya Samjha*, p. 188

[1] *Vide* pp. 229-31.
[2] *Vide* also "Unrepentant", 17-7-1940.
[3] An Englishwoman who was doing village uplift work in Khedi after F. Mary Barr left for South Africa; she adopted the Indian name Kamala.
[4] Omission in the source
[5] *Vide* the following item.

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## 312. LETTER TO CHANDEL[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

BHAI CHANDEL,

I was glad to have your very clear letter. If you can get away from Khedi it would be better for you to work in your own village. But if you go there you should go for good. However, the first thing to consider is whether you can leave the Khedi work in a healthy condition; it should not be ruined by your departure. You had better come and stay with me for some days to talk it all over.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

*Bapu–Maine Kya Dekha Kya Samjha*, pp. 188-9

## 313. LETTER TO S. R. VENKATRAMAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

DEAR VENKATRAMAN,

You should see Rajaji about the Tamil edition of *Harijan.*

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. R. VENKATRAMAN
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
ROYAPETTAH
MADRAS

From a photostat: G.N. 10504

[1] Presumably the letter was either in Hindi or Gujarati.

## *314. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

CHI. PURATAN,

You have given me terrible news. I did have some suspicion.

What should be done about liquor? We must not give up.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI PURATAN BUCH
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI
B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9177

## *315. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

CHI. PRABHA,

How lazy you are! And you want an immediate reply from me! If you have no work in Patna for the time being and if Jayaprakash also wishes it, then take Rajen Babu's permission and come here and improve your health. What prevents you from coming? If you are not going to Hazaribagh either, we shall plan about the future if you come.

Sushila is working in her own college Hospital in Delhi at present.

Vijaya's father has passed away. She will perhaps come here for a few days.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3545

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## 316. LETTER TO CHAKRAIYYA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
*July 11, 1940*

CHI. CHAKRAIYYA,

I got your letter. What you write about money is not correct. Money is not everything in the world. What can money do in a waterless desert? I refused you money out of a sense of duty. When you go home, it is your duty to eat at home. Why should you spend public money there? Whatever service is being rendered to you is not for money but for love. Am I paying any money to Sharmaji for his service to you? If we are healthy, we need less money. God has protected you till now and He will care for you in the future, too. Never lose courage and faith. I had gone to Delhi and there too I talked to people about you. It will be very good if homoeopathy cures you. I hope you will recover completely.

Hand over to Sharmaji the letter meant for him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9111. Also C.W. 9181

## 317. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[After *July 11, 1940*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

Mary Barr is an excellent co-worker. Take her home. Give her help if she needs any.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 264.

## *318. LETTER TO RADHA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 12, 1940*

CHI. RADHA,

I hope Mother's passing away has not filled you with despair. She lived quite long, and God fulfilled many aspirations of her. She has left you all in a happy state. Of course however long a mother lives the children are bound to miss her when she dies. One must bear the loss patiently.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

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

## *319. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 12, 1940*

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter surrendering all. Nothing less could be expected of you. Do not worry about me. I know no such thing as despair. The Working Committee's resolution did not particularly shock me. Go on reading *Harijan* and *Harijanbandhu*. I will of course have to start afresh. But I do not think myself too old for that.

Accept a cartload of blessings for your birthday. A birthday means a year less, doesn't it?

My going there is not at all certain.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10409. Also C.W. 6848. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

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## 320. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 12, 1940*

CHI. NARAHARI,

Bhai Maganlal, Dr. Mehta's son, is there. I am sending a letter[1] for him at the Ashram address. Send it to him wherever he is staying. Give him whatever help he asks for. Introduce him to the leading citizens.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9118

## 321. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 12, 1940*

CHI. MAGAN,

I had got your letter. I could not reply at once as I was visiting Delhi and other places. How is Ratilal[2]? How is his mind? Champa[3] has come here today. She is unhappy. What should we do about her?

You should get acquainted with the men there. I am writing to Naraharibhai.[4] He will introduce you. See Ambalal and others and meet the Congress leaders. Champa told me that you had left the Lal Bungalow[5] and were staying elsewhere. I am sending this letter at the Ashram address.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1017. Courtesy: Manjula Mehta

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] Addressee's brother
[3] Ratilal Mehta's wife
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.
[5] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's house near the Ashram premises

## 322. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM,
*July 12, 1940*

CHI. KUNVARJI,

Kanchan has come here and I hope that has not caused you any inconvenience. If Bhojakbhai's cooking for you both is unsatisfactory in any way you can cook your own food. Consult Vachharajbhai and make suitable arrangements.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9741. Also C.W. 721. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

## 323. LETTER TO BHOLANATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 12, 1940*

BHAI BHOLANATH,

I could reach your letter only yesterday. I had made up my mind to write. How it got left I do not know, but it was all to the good. It should be enough if your work is not interfered with.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1379

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## 324. THE BEST FIELD FOR AHIMSA[1]

Last week I wrote about three fields for the operation of ahimsa.[2] I propose to invite attention today to the fourth and the best field for the operation of non-violence. This is the family field, in a wider sense than the ordinary. Thus members of an institution should be regarded as a family. Non-violence as between the members of such families should be easy to practise. If that fails, it means that we have not developed the capacity for pure non-violence. For the love we have to practise towards our relatives or colleagues in our family or institution, we have to practise towards our foes, dacoits, etc. If we fail in one case, success in the other is a chimera.

We have generally assumed that, though it may not be possible to exercise non-violence in the domestic field, it is possible to do so in the political field. This has proved a pure delusion. We have chosen to describe our methods adopted so far as non-violence, and thus caricatured non-violence itself. If non-violence it was, it was such poor stuff that it proved useless at the critical moment. The alphabet of ahimsa is best learnt in the domestic school, and I can say from experience that, if we secure success there, we are sure to do so everywhere else. For a non-violent person the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him.

It will be retorted that those who satisfy such a test of non-violence will be few and far between. It is quite likely, but that is no reply to my proposition. Those who profess to believe in non-violence should know the implications of that belief. And if these scare them away, they are welcome to give up the belief. Now that the Congress Working Committee has made the position clear, it is necessary that those who claim to believe in non-violence should know what is expected of them. If, as a result, the ranks of the non-violent army thin down, it should not matter. An army, however small, of truly non-violent soldiers is likely some day to multiply itself. An army of those who are

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

[2] *Vide* " 'A Cry in the Wilderness'?", pp. 248-50.

not truly non-violent is never likely to yield any use whether it increases or decreases.

Let no one understand from the foregoing that a non-violent army is open only to those who strictly enforce in their lives all the implications of non-violence. It is open to all those who accept the implications and make an ever-increasing endeavour to observe them. There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence. For the last fifty years I have striven to make my life increasingly non-violent and to inspire my co-workers in the same direction, and I think I have had a fair amount of success. The growing darkness around, far from damping my zeal and dimming my faith, brightens them, and makes the implications of non-violence more clearly visible to me.

SEVAGRAM, July 15, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

## *325. A WORTHY EDUCATIONAL EFFORT*[1]

The Birla family have been running an institution called the Birla College at Pilani in Jaipur State. I have been often asked to visit it, but in spite of my keen desire to do so I have never been able to find time for it. Thakkar Bapa visited the institution and gave me a glowing account and pressed me to visit it. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla has now issued a booklet to acquaint the public about the origin and growth of the institution. The object is to invite criticism and to present the public with its novel features, maybe for adoption. The writer has lavished on the booklet all his art of writing, aided by fine printing, beautiful illustrations alluringly arranged, making the whole thing very attractive. For two months Mahadev waited for a suitable opportunity to place it before me, and imagining that I should have some spare time on our journey to Simla he ventured to give it to me on the train. The moment I took it up to read, it gripped me. It is a quarto size booklet of 47 pages, and I could not give it up until I had read it from cover to cover. I would ask all interested in education to write for it to the Secretary of the Birla College, Pilani.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This translation is taken from *Harijan*.

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A brief history of the enterprise may be given here. The institution has grown out of a small school called Birla Pathshala opened 40 years ago in an insignificant little building. Now it is an institution with an Intermediate College, splendid buildings for school, college and hostels, and vast playgrounds. It has 33 staff quarters, and 5 hostels accommodating 295 students (including 27 Harijans). There are 18 playgrounds, a library with 3,608 Hindi and 6,772 English books. There is a high school with 791 boys, a college with 165 boys, and a girls' school with 157 girls. The Birla Educational Trust runs besides 128 village schools with 4,636 boys and 200 girls. Physical instruction and games are compulsory, and so is music. There is an agricultural farm with a dairy on modern lines. Among the crafts and vocations taught are spinning and weaving, carpentry, tailoring, dyeing, printing, book-binding, weaving, carpet-making, shoe-making and leather-work. The agricultural farm and dairy have numerous cows, sheep and goats. The basic education scheme is also being given a trial. Hardly anything has escaped the attention of those in charge—prayer, intellectual and industrial training, balanced diet, health examination and health preservation. An endeavour is made to develop individual contact between the students and teachers on a family basis.

The whole institution has grown out of Seth Shivnarayanji Birla's desire to provide for the education of his two grandsons Rameshwardas and Ghanshyamdas. He did not like the provision to be confined to the needs of his grandsons, and so he established a school in 1900 with a village teacher on Rs. 5 a month for all the children of the village. This was called the Birla Pathshala—the seed out of which has grown the vast tree that the institution now has become. It combines family interests with philanthropy which has now become a distinctive trait of the Birla brothers. But Ghanshyamdas, of all the brothers, made a special interest of education, health and kindred topics, and the growth of the institution at Pilani is mainly due to his perseverance, resourcefulness and interest in education. Sir Maurice Gwyer and other distinguished people have visited the institution and spoken in high terms about it. Ghanshyamdasji's ambition is to make a Degree College of the Intermediate College, and he has been trying to do so for some years. But things move slowly in Princes' India, and so his ambition still remains unfulfilled. It is hoped that the Jaipur State will lose no time in encouraging this worthy enterprise and accord permission to turn it into a full-fledged college. In my opinion there are few institutions in India run with such care and attention.

If we assume the necessity for modern colleges, the Birla college has succeeded in combining several features which are scarcely to be seen elsewhere in India.

SEVAGRAM, July 15, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *326. ONE MORE FACTION?*[1]

Q. Does not the resolution of the Working Committee mean that it adds one more to the existing factions?

A. I do not think there is room for such a fear or doubt. Let us see what happens in the A.I.C.C. If it is found that a large majority of the members are believers in strict non-violence I have no doubt that Sardar Vallabhbhai and others will be extremely delighted. It was no pleasure to them to arrive at the decision they did, and they acted in their representative capacity. They acted in the belief that there were very few Congressmen with a genuine faith in non-violence, and they had sufficient reasons for their belief. Had it been a question of their individual belief, I am sure they would have unhesitatingly voted for non-violence. Assuming, therefore, that the truly non-violent are in a minority, it will be their duty to leave the Congress and thus serve the Congress all the better. Their continuance in the Congress would lead to friction, for the majority would, in carrying out their policy, have to adopt many resolutions which the followers of out-and-out non-violence could not accept. That would lead to clashes which should be anything but non-violence. The out-and-out non-violent, therefore, will gladly retire and devote themselves exclusively to constructive work. They will also co-operate with the Congress wherever they can do so without a clash, and yet they will not think of being in any committee. I am firmly of opinion that, if we can bring into being an army of truly non-violent persons, the Working Committee's decision will be found to be a blessing in disguise. If every province has its band of truly non-violent soldiers, they will not only add to the glory of the Congress

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan* where it was published under the heading "Question Box".

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but contribute effectively to bringing the Congress nearer to non-violence than ever before.

SEVAGRAM, July 15, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *327. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 15, 1940*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

The idea about Urdu is good. You shall have a review of the Urdu writings by Hindus and of Urdu periodicals and books. There should be an Urdu weekly giving a dispassionate reply to the lies. It is uphill work to overtake deliberate lies but it is worth trying.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
LUCKNOW, U.P.

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *328. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA*

*July 15, 1940*

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

I understand. If your needs were within my means to meet, I would give you a place at Sevagram. I should like you to settle in a village and teach *Ayurveda*. But I know it will be difficult. It will be easy in Bombay. If you feel that my plan is worth considering, come over. You can come any day except Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. I understand about Shankerlal. Also about Valjibhai.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

VAIDYARAJ VALLABHRAM
DHANVANTARI AYURVEDA HOSPITAL
151 PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY 2

From Gujarati: C.W. 2911. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

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## 329. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 15, 1940*

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I won't interfere with your programme, but I must remind you that you have altered the schedule you had planned. Your decision was that after finishing your book in about eight days in Bombay, you would come here, begin the work and impart your knowledge to the people here. You will keep to the dates you have sent if you must. If it is not necessary then give them up and come soon.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5641. Also C.W. 2952. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

## 330. MYSORE JUSTICE

After I had sent my note[1] on Shri H. C. Dasappa's case, I received the following from a Bangalore advocate:

> You have now material which is sufficient to give an indication of the independence of the Mysore Judiciary. It is undoubtedly under the control and lead of Sir D'Arcy Reilly. The other Judges in the High Court follow in his footsteps, and no single instance can be recalled when any Puisne Judge of the High Court of Mysore has had the strength to demur to even the excesses committed by the Chief Justice in the language, form and tone of his judgments. The Government, which professes not to interfere with either the High Court or the Judiciary is evidently well satisfied about the Judges of the High Court of Mysore. For a dozen years important judgments have come from the Judges of the High Court which have clearly shown that they have yielded to the pressure of the bureaucracy while professing fear of God and of no man. Probably it is this practical docility

[1] *Vide* pp. 257-9.



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that has made the Government Order on Political Reforms in the State silent to the point of being sinister as regards recommendations for the reform of the Judiciary in the State. To cap it all comes the pronouncement in Shri H. C. Dasappa's case that 'in this country truth is so often degraded into a political catch-word.' The reference to the country is wide enough in its mischief and implications so as to embrace all people whether Congressmen or others and whether they reside in the States or in British India. What basis had Sir D'Arcy Reilly for such an assumption? And what evidence had he for such a general charge against a whole country? Is it moral on the part of Sir D'Arcy Reilly to condemn Sri H. C. Dasappa and debar him on the ground that he preferred a charge that he could not prove, and do the same thing under a different guise in a judgment?

My correspondent's complaint is right. But Judges are above all law, at least in Mysore. Like kings they can do no wrong.

SEVAGRAM, July 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

## *331. KHAN SAHEB'S AHIMSA*[1]

In the storm that shook most of the members of the Working Committee Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan stood firm as a rock. He had never any doubt about his position, and his statement which I reproduce below should serve as a beacon light to all of us:

Some recent resolutions of the Congress Working Committee indicate that they are restricting the use of non-violence to the fight for India's freedom against constituted authority. How far and in what manner this will have to be applied in the future I cannot say. The near future will perhaps throw light on this. Meanwhile it is difficult for me to continue in the Congress Working Committee, and I am resigning from it. I should like to make it clear that the non-violence I have believed in and preached to my brethren of the Khudai Khidmatgars is much wider. It affects all our life, and only this has permanent value. Unless we learn this lesson of non-violence fully we shall never do away with the deadly feuds which have been the curse of the people of the Frontier. Since we took to non-violence and the Khudai Khidmatgars pledged themselves to it, we have largely succeeded in

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

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ending these feuds. Non-violence has added greatly to the courage of the Pathans. Because they were previously addicted to violence far more than others, they have profited by non-violence much more. We shall never really and effectively defend ourselves except through non-violence. Khudai Khidmatgars must, therefore, be what our name implies—pure servants of God and humanity—by laying down our own lives and never taking any life.

It is worthy of the Khan Saheb [and all that he has stood for during the past twenty years][1]. He is a Pathan, and a Pathan may be said to be born with a rifle or sword in his hand. But the Khan Saheb deliberately asked his Khudai Khidmatgars to shed all weapons when he asked them to join the satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. He saw that this deliberate giving up of the weapons of violence had a magical effect. It was the only remedy for the blood feuds which were handed down from sire to son and which had become part of the normal life of a Pathan.[2] They had decimated numerous families, and non-violence seemed to the Khan Saheb to have come as a longed-for salvation. The violent blood feuds would otherwise have no end and would spell the end of the Pathans. He saw as clear as daylight that, if he could persuade his people not to retaliate, the suicidal feuds would cease and the Pathans would be able to give a better account of their bravery. They took up his message and put into practice what with them became non-violence of the brave.

Being so clear about his own faith and that of the Khudai Khidmatgars, there was for him no escape from resignation of his membership of the Congress Working Committee. His continuing on it would have been anomalous and might have meant an end of his life's work. He could not ask his people to join as recruits in the army and at the same time forget the law of tribal retaliation. The simple Pathan would have argued with him—and the argument would have been irresistible—that the present war was a war of retaliation and revenge, and that there was no difference between it and their blood feuds.

I do not know how far the Khan Saheb has succeeded in carrying his message to his people. This I know that with him non-violence is a matter not of intellectual conviction but of intuitive faith. Nothing can therefore shake it. About his followers he cannot say how far they will adhere to it. But that does not

[1] This is not to be found in the Gujarati.

[2] The Gujarati here has: "This marked the limit of violence and showed its bankruptcy."

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worry him. He has to do his duty which he owes to them. The result he leaves to God. He derives his ahimsa from the Holy Koran. He is a devout Mussalman. During his stay with me for over a year I never saw him miss his *namaz* (prayers) or his Ramzan fast [except when he was ill]. But his devotion to Islam does not mean disrespect for other faiths. He has read the *Gita*. His reading is slight but selective, and he immediately assimilates what appeals to him. He loathes long argument and does not take long to make up his mind. If he succeeds in his mission, it would mean the solution of many another problem. But the result no one can predict. 'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.'

SEVAGRAM, July 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

## *332. THE ANNUAL SPINNING SACRIFICE*[1]

Shri Narandas Gandhi has issued his usual appeal for intensive spinning during the 71 days before my seventy-first birthday. He began this way of celebrating it six years ago with an appeal for 66 thousand yards. Last year he made an appeal for 70 lakhs of yards, and the response was beyond his expectation—over 4 crores of yards of yarn were spun.

I commend his appeal to all. The response to his appeal should increase with my increasing years. If the annual quota of the National School in Rajkot is any index, the response would seem to be on the increase. But the appetite of *Daridra-narayana* is insatiable, and it demands still greater response. It is a Herculean task to liquidate the unemployment and starvation of crores of people. Let me hope that every lover of the wheel will contribute his or her quota to this task and make the sacrifice a worthy one. Let them approach the task intelligently and with a proper regard for its sacredness. Let them, therefore, devote not only more time to spinning, but also endeavour to do it better by keeping all their spinning tackle in proper trim and thus increasing their speed. If they will watch the revolutions of the spindle and find out the secret of putting up the speed, I am sure that at the end of the sacrifice they will have nearly doubled the speed.

SEVAGRAM, July 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This abridged English version is reproduced from *Harijan*.

## 333. HOW TO CULTIVATE AHIMSA?[1]

Q. What is the good of your crying 'ahimsa, ahimsa' in season and out of season? Will it by itself teach people to be non-violent? Would it not be better, instead, to tell people how pure ahimsa or the ahimsa of the strong can be cultivated?

A. Yours is a very timely and opportune question. I have attempted before this on more occasions than one to answer it. But my effort has, I confess, been rather desultory. I have not concentrated upon it, or given it the weight I might have. This was all right while I was devoting all my energy to forging means to give battle to the Government. But it had the result of retarding the growth of pure ahimsa, so that today we are not even within ken of the ahimsa of the strong. If we now want to advance further, we ought, at least for some time, to completely forget the idea of offering non-violent resistance to constituted authority. If non-violence in the domestic field is successfully achieved, we shall surely see the non-violence against constituted authority revived in its purified form, and it will be irresistible.

Now that I am no longer in the Congress, I may not offer civil disobedience even in my own person in its name. But I am certainly free to offer civil disobedience in my individual capacity whenever it may be necessary. No one need suppose that all civil disobedience will necessarily be taboo while the country is still being educated in the ahimsa of the strong. But those who may want to join the non-violent force of my conception should not entertain any immediate prospect of civil disobedience. They should understand that, so long as they have not realized ahimsa in their own person in its pure form, there can be no civil disobedience for them.

Let not the mention of pure ahimsa frighten anybody. If we have a clear conception of it and have a living faith in its matchless efficacy, it will not be found to be so hard to practise as it is sometimes supposed to be. It will be well to remember the

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan* where it was published under the heading "Question Box".



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immortal *Mahabharata* verse[1] in this connection. The Seer Poet therein loudly proclaims to the whole world that dharma includes within itself both legitimate *artha* and *kama*, and asks why men do not follow the royal road of dharma that leads to both earthly and spiritual bliss. Dharma here does not signify mere observance of externals. It signifies the way of truth and non-violence. The scriptures have given us two immortal maxims. One of these is: "Ahimsa is the supreme Law or dharma." The other is: "There is no other Law or dharma than truth." These two maxims provide us the key to all lawful *artha* and *kama*. Why should we then hesitate to act up to them? Strange as it may appear, the fact remains that people find the easiest of things oftentimes to be the most difficult to follow. The reason, to borrow a term from the science of physics, lies in our inertia. Physicists tell us that inertia is an essential and, in its own place a most useful, quality of matter. It is that alone which steadies the universe and prevents it from flying off at a tangent. But for it the latter would be a chaos of motion. But inertia becomes an incubus and a vice when it ties the mind down to old ruts. It is this kind of inertia which is responsible for our rooted prejudice that to practise pure ahimsa is difficult. It is up to us to get rid of this incubus. The first step in this direction is firmly to resolve that all untruth and *himsa* shall hereafter be taboo to us, whatever sacrifice it might seem to involve. For, the good these may seem to achieve is in appearance only, but in reality it is deadly poison. If our resolve is firm and our conviction clear, it would mean half the battle won, and the practice of these two qualities would come comparatively easy to us.

Let us confine ourselves to ahimsa. We have all along regarded the spinning-wheel, village crafts, etc., as the pillars of ahimsa, and so indeed they are. They must stand. But we have now to go a step further. A votary of ahimsa will of course base upon non-violence, if he has not already done so, all his relations with his parents, his children, his wife, his servants, his dependants, etc. But the real test will come at the time of political or communal disturbances or under the menace of thieves and dacoits. Mere resolve to lay down one's life under the circumstances is not enough. There must be the necessary qualification for making the sacrifice. If I am a Hindu, I must fraternize with the Mussalmans and the rest. In my dealings with them I

[1] The Gujarati has "Bharat Savitri verse". For the text of the verse, *vide* " 'A Cry in the Wilderness' ?", pp. 248-50.

may not make any distinction between my co-religionists and those who might belong to a different faith. I would seek opportunities to serve them without any feeling of fear or unnaturalness. The word 'fear' can have no place in the dictionary of ahimsa. Having thus qualified himself by his selfless service, a votary of pure ahimsa will be in a position to make a fit offering of himself in a communal conflagration. Similarly, to meet the menace of thieves and dacoits, he will need to go among, and cultivate friendly relations with, the communities from which thieves and dacoits generally come.

A brilliant example of this kind of work is provided by Ravishanker Maharaj. His work among the criminal tribes in Gujarat has evoked praise even of the Baroda State authorities. There is an almost unlimited field for this kind of work and it does not call for any other talent in one besides pure love. Ravishanker Maharaj is an utter stranger to English. Even his knowledge of Gujarati is barely sufficient for everyday use. But God has blessed him with unlimited neighbourly love. His simplicity easily wins all hearts and is the envy of everybody. Let his example provide a cue and inspiration to all those who may be similarly engaged in other fields of satyagraha.[1]

SEVAGRAM, July 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

## *334. IMPOSSIBLE*[2]

Miss Muriel Lester writes :

> See how you are misquoted by Sherwood Eddy[3] in his latest book *I Saw God Do It*. I have been asked to send you this cutting from it so that you may reply to it if you want to. Here is the extract:
>
> "We have maintained throughout this chapter that some are called to be conscientious objectors as absolute pacifists to challenge the whole war system, but that the majority will feel it to be their duty forcibly to defend their country when it is attacked or its vital interests are threatened. Gandhi himself, the most effective and the

[1] The Gujarati here adds: "He should have such awareness that he could give account of every moment."

[2] This appeared under "Notes".

[3] American Y.M.C.A. official and writer, author of *India Awakening*, *The New Era in Asia* and other books

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greatest living pacifist, is not an absolutist but a relativist, a realist and, to a large degree, a practical statesman. He is effectively using non-violent resistance to achieve the independence of India, but he recognizes that a modern State cannot be maintained without both a police force and an army. When the writer asked him personally how a divided Indian army could be commanded by a Moslem, a Hindu or a Sikh, he told me they could first ask an American or some foreign neutral to lead their army. But Gandhi pacifists and Indian nationalists would defend their country if attacked by Japan or Soviet Russia or any other foreign power by the full force of their army. So, I believe, should our own country."

I can only say that I have no recollection of my having ever made such a statement. I know Dr. Sherwood Eddy well. I remember too his visit. The astounding statement put into my mouth belies all I have ever written or said about the defence of India. Even if I believed in armed defence, I should never want a foreign general to lead my army. I may have foreign instructors but not officers. If, therefore, Dr. Eddy sees these lines, and instead of correcting himself persists in his statement, I can only say I must have been absent-minded when I made the statement imputed to me. I cannot say I must have been drunk, because I I do not drink.

SEVAGRAM, July 16, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *335. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 16, 1940*

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. It is no game of marbles being a wife and mother. If we look upon it as a dharma, we can shape ourselves through it. If we realize that *grihasthashrama*[1] is not for pleasure but is a test for us, it becomes the biggest school for us. I should like both of you to shape your life on this pattern. It is good that Shakaribehn[2] has come. When you come here

[1] Householder's estate
[2] Addressee's mother

again, let her also accompany you. Let Shakaribehn stay there till this illness is over.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10029. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

## *336. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 16, 1940*

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had your letter. I solved your problem yesterday itself. I have nothing to say now. Two courses are open, and either will be right if it is within your strength. "One's own dharma though devoid of merit is better."[1]

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7654. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

## *337. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

*For Surendra* *July 16, 1940*

You may say this: Ephedrine is a useless thing. The homœopathic treatment has to be continued. I am looking for other remedies. Be patient.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4354

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 35

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## *338. UNREPENTANT*

By writing that "Appeal to Every Briton"[1] I have invited upon my head an extra load of work which without God's help I would be ill able to bear. If it is His will that I should shoulder it, He will give me the strength to carry on.

When I decided to confine myself mostly to writing in Gujarati or Hindustani, I had no notion that I would have to write the appeal. It came to me like a flash, and the courage to write it came with it. I had resisted till then all pressure from English and American friends to give guidance. But I could not see my way. Now having addressed that appeal, I must follow up the reactions to it. A large amount of correspondence is pouring in upon me. Save for one angry telegram, I had nothing but friendly criticism from Englishmen and even appreciation from some.

I was grateful to H.E. the Viceroy for forwarding my offer to His Majesty's Government. The correspondence with regard to it the readers have already seen or will see in this issue. Though no better response to the appeal was to be expected, I cannot help saying that it was the knowledge of the determination to carry the war to a victorious end that had prompted my appeal. No doubt the determination is natural and worthy of the best British tradition. Nevertheless the awful slaughter that the determination involves should induce a search for a better and braver way to achieve the end. For peace has its victories more glorious than those of war. The non-violent method would have meant no abject surrender. It would have confounded all modern tactics of war, indeed rendered them of no use. The new world order which all dream of would surely have been found. I hold a new order to be impossible if the war is fought to a finish or mutual exhaustion leads to a patched-up peace.

Let me, therefore, examine the argument advanced in a letter received from a friend[2]. Here it is:

> Two English friends who admire you, say your appeal to every Briton cannot have any effect *just now*. It is impossible to expect the

[1] *Vide* pp. 229-31.

[2] Amrit Kaur; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 19-7-1940.

man in the street to do a complete *volte face* with any degree of understanding—indeed it is impossible for the understanding [*sic*] to do, as you say, without a *heart*-belief in non-violence. The time to mould a new world on your lines will be *after* the war. They realize your way is the right one, but they say it needs endless preparation and instruction and *big* leadership—none of which they possess. Regarding India they say the attitude of the present authority is deplorable. Long ago India should have been declared as independent as Canada, and her people should be allowed to work out their own constitution. But what they are extremely perplexed about now is that you want absolute independence straightaway, and the next step you will take is 'no further help to Britain in the prosecution of war, surrender to Germany, and opposition to her by non-violent means'. You must explain what you mean in more detail so as to remove this misunderstanding. This is an honest reaction.

The appeal was intended to produce the effect now. It could not come out of a mathematical calculation. If the conviction could have come, action was an easy matter. The mass mind responds under pressure. That the appeal has not produced the intended result shows that either my word has no power or that God has a purpose of which we have no knowledge. The appeal has come from an anguished heart. I could not suppress it. It was not written for the moment. I am quite sure that it enunciates a truth of eternal value.

If the ground is not prepared from now, there may be no time left after a dismal termination of the war for evolving a new order. Whatever the order, it will be in response to a conscious or unconscious effort from now. Indeed the effort began before my appeal. I hope that it has stimulated it, perhaps given it a definite direction. I suggest to the non-official leaders and moulders of British opinion, if they are convinced of the truth of my position, to work for its adoption. Compared to the big issue raised in my appeal, the question of Indian independence pales into insignificance. But I hold with the two Englishmen that the British Government's attitude is deplorable. The two friends are wholly wrong in the deduction they have drawn from the assumed recognition of India's independence. They forget that I am out of the picture. Those who are responsible for the Working Committee's last resolution have meant free India's co-operation with Britain. With them, there is no question of surrender to Germany or non-violent opposition.

But I must not here tarry on Indian independence and its implications, tempting though the subject is.

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The cuttings and correspondence before me say that the Congress rejection of my advice to abstain from preparation for military defence of India precludes me from making the appeal to Britain or from expecting a favourable response. The argument is plausible, but only plausible. The critics say that, if I have failed with my people, I have no right to expect Britain whilst she is in the midst of a life-and-death struggle to listen to me. I am a man with a mission. India's millions have never tasted the bitters of war as the British have. Britain, if she is to fulfil her declared purpose, needs a radical change in her policy. I feel that I know the change that is needed. My inability to persuade the Working Committee is irrelevant to the theme under discussion. There is no analogy between India's case and Britain's. I am, therefore, wholly unrepentant. I maintain that in issuing my appeal I have acted wholly as a lifelong friend of Britain.

A writer, however, retorts: "Address your appeal to Hitler." In the first place, I did write to Herr Hitler.[1] My letter was published in the Press some time after I addressed it. In the second place, there can be no meaning in my appeal to Herr Hitler to adopt non-violence. He is marching from victory to victory. I can only appeal to him to desist. That I have done. But to Britain, which is just now on the defensive, I can present the really effective weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. Let my method be rejected on merits, not by bringing inapt analogies or untenable argument. The issue raised by me, I venture to think, is of universal importance. The usefulness of the non-violent method seems to be granted by all the critics. They gratuitously assume the impossibility of human nature, as it is constituted, responding to the strain involved in non-violent preparation. But that is begging the question. I say, 'You have never tried the method on any scale. In so far as it has been tried, it has shown promising results.'

SEVAGRAM, July 17, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 20-1.

## *339. TRAVANCORE*

Some Travancoreans have thought I had neglected them. But I had not. It is no pleasure to me to criticize any State. Much of my work is done by negotiation. I criticize when I must. So when I was told by common friends that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar would like to meet me if an opportunity occurred, I stopped all reference to Travancore affairs. But the meeting was not to be. In reply to my inquiry I have the following extraordinary wire from him:

> Have just received your telegram.[1] In view developments in India including your recent statement and resolution of Working Committee with similar aims though different programmes, and also having regard to the close though unacknowledged connection existing between many of the leaders of Travancore State Congress and Communist activities which have come to light after arrest of K. C. George, and in view of the openly hostile activities of Mr. T. M. Verghese and of Mr. G. Ramachandran who has been chosen by you to give advice as to Travancore, no useful purpose is likely to be served by any meeting. In these circumstances you are of course free to comment on Travancore affairs, but it is hoped that you will not accept versions furnished by persons who are discredited here and who depend for their influence, collection of funds, and their political existence, on possibility of getting periodical statements from you on one-sided data furnished by them. Most of the leading members of State Congress including Messrs V. K. Velayudhan, M. N. Parameswaran Pillai and others have openly dissociated themselves from State Congress activities. They number over 60.

I fail to see the connection between the Working Committee's resolution and my recent statement on the one hand and Travancore affairs on the other. The Working Committee have not even interested themselves in Travancore affairs. The idea of our meeting did not originate with me. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar thought of it months ago. Even a date was fixed. But owing to a pressing engagement he had to keep, our meeting was postponed. As late as the 3rd of April he had wired saying he was writing to me about the interview. Have the Working Committee's resolution and my statement so

[1] This is not traceable.



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altered the situation that our meeting has become undesirable? The other things the worthy Dewan refers to are the very things which would have made our meeting fruitful. He had but to convince me that the State Congress was involved in communist activities of a dangerous nature, and I would have washed my hands clean of the local Congress and its doings. All communism is not dangerous. I do not know that Shri K. C. George is a communist. I warn the Dewan against being prejudiced by the mere name. I know many friends who delight in calling themselves communists. They are as harmless as a dove. I call myself a communist in their company. The underlying belief of communism is good and as old as the hills. But I have strayed.

If Shri T. M. Verghese and Shri G. Ramachandran are untrustworthy, again our meeting is necessary to convince me of their untrustworthiness. I must confess I have profound admiration for their courage, self-sacrifice, ability and integrity. Shri Ramachandran is an old member of Sabarmati who has never given me cause for distrusting him. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar knows me enough to feel sure that I would not hesitate to own my mistake if I discovered it. It was his duty, as it still is, to make an effort to convince me that the sources of my information are tainted. The extraordinary telegram has made me conclude that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has nothing against the Congress or its members except that they are patriots without reproach and without fear. He hates their philosophy and seeks to crush them. All the evidence in my possession points that way, and the telegram confirms my impression.

I have made an offer which I repeat. Let there be an impartial open inquiry into the whole conduct of the State Congress and its treatment by the State. Let the judge or judges be outsiders of known integrity. I shall advise the State Congress to accept the findings of such a court.

If this simple offer is not accepted, I must be pardoned for rejecting the interested denials by officials of the State Congress allegations and believing them and asking the public to do likewise.

SEVAGRAM, July 17, 1940

*Harijan*, 21-7-1940

## 340. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*July 17, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

*Harijan* work stops everything else. I see you had a good time in A. You must take rest.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA W

From the original: C.W. 3984. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7293

## 341. LETTER TO PUSHPA[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 17, 1940*

Bravo! May God bless you in your University career. Don't damage your eyes or other parts of your body in the mere pursuit of studies.

*Do collect for the Andrews Memorial and use this as your authority.* And congratulate the two brothers on their having finished 12 chapters of the *Gita*.

Love.

BAPU

KUMARI PUSHPA
C/O SHRI V. A. SUNDARAM
KRISHNAKUTIR
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

From a photostat: G.N. 3193

[1] Daughter of V. A. Sundaram



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## 342. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
*July 17, 1940*

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I know Dr. Vaidya very well. If he wants to see me he can certainly come or you may bring him along with you. It is difficult to comfort him but your love can have some effect. It will be good if he occupies himself with some work. Can he not work in the Bhandar under your supervision?[1]

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI KAKUBHAI
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
KHADI BHANDAR
396 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10846. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

## 343. LETTER TO HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 17, 1940*

DEAR SISTER,

I received the yarn sent by you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
15TH STREET, KHAR
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 9936

[1] A line is illegible here.

## 344. LETTER TO MANJULA M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 17, 1940*

CHI. MANJULA[1],

It is only now that I got your letters written from Rangoon. The second one I got today. I was extremely pleased to read these letters. I cannot contain my joy at your straightforwardness and purity. Your suffering appears insignificant beside them. You have grown up in suffering. I want both of you to come here; I feel you should. I will reason with Magan. Probably he will listen to me. In any case I will try. Whatever happens, your well-being is assured. Write to me frankly from time to time. Do not worry about the money.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1018. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

## 345. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 17, 1940*

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

The message[2] is at the back. Don't ask for anything in English. You may select from whatever I have written.

Why then have you joined the *Vishal Bharat*[3]?

You may come whenever you like. I shall spare the time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2573

[1] Wife of Maganlal Mehta, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's son
[2] This is not traceable.
[3] A Hindi monthly



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## 346. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
*July 19, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters today. Your resolution will go in. You will see I have dealt with your report of two Englishmen's complaint.[1]

I suppose someone has reported to you about Babla, Mun-[n]alal, Bhansali and two policemen having been bitten by a rabid fox. They are all having the serum treatment. The course is 14 days. B. has fever today, not due to the serum, they say.

Maulana Saheb presses me to go to Poona.[2] I have resisted the pressure. He is coming here on 21st. Let us see what happens. Since taking [to] Gujarati writing I have become indifferent about sending you copies.

The weather is quite cool. But when it is dry, it will be hot of course.

We are fairly full and yet not too full. There is no sickness worth speaking of.

Om[3] was married last Saturday. It was raining heavily at the time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3985. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7294

## 347. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*July*][4] *19, 1940*

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letter. Nanabhai had telegraphed to me at Delhi the news of Sushila's delivery. It is good that everything was over without much suffering. You have found a nice

[1] *Vide* "Unrepentant", pp. 285-7.
[2] For the A.I.C.C. meeting to be held there on July 27 and 28
[3] Uma Agarwal, Jamnalal Bajaj's youngest daughter
[4] The source has January, obviously a slip.

name. Did you find a good astrologer or did you consult an almanac for the sign of the Zodiac? Whisper my blessings in Ila's ear and say: "Be a credit to the family."

Your politics there is in a muddle. You seem to be virtually isolated. He had requested a wire from me. I did not send the reply he wanted. God knows what will happen this time. Keep in touch with Marybehn. She is a fine woman. She has done excellent work here.

Do you get the mail regularly there? Here I can't judge. I got your letter of the 8th July today, which means it took eleven days. And it came *via* Akola, so I suppose it must have come by air-mail. We cannot judge all this here.

Here one night a rabid fox bit five persons who were sleeping—Bhansalibhai, Munnalal, Bablo and two policemen. All are being given injections. It is expected that they will get well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4908

## *348. LETTER TO NANALAL I. MASHRUWALA*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 19, 1940*

BHAI NANALAL,

I have your letter. I had got your wire also. I have written to Phœnix.[1] About violence and non-violence I will write in *Harijanbandhu*. Hope you are well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6693. Also C.W. 4338. Courtesy: Kanubhai Mashruwala

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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## 349. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 20, 1940*

CHI. MARY,

I have your two letters. I am glad you are having this new experience. Kamala[1] and Chandel were with me for a few days.

Yes, I got your note from Bombay.

I was pained to learn that there was no khadi available in Durban. You should induce people to store some.

Strange you should find scope there for Telugu work.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 6079

## 350. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SEVAGRAM,
*July 20, 1940*

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have your long letter[2]—but not long enough for me. You do me less than justice when you say neither R.[3] nor I are too ready to defer to others' judgment. This can never be true of you. But there are some differences between us which our mutual love and regard cannot get over. I have much to say about the letter, but I know you don't want me to argue. Please believe me; no word of yours to me is without its effect. I fancy I am in God's good hands. Mahadev Desai will write.

Love.

*Yours,*
M. K. GANDHI

*Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*, p. 326

[1] Margaret Jones

[2] Of July 16. In this the addressee had criticized the Working Committee's resolution of July 7 and questioned the wisdom of Gandhiji commending it to the public; *vide* Appendix V.

[3] C. Rajagopalachari



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## 351. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SENGUPTA

*July 20, 1940*

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I have an idea that I wrote to you in reply to your indictment of man. If not, this is to say you have to be patient.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI CHARU PROBHA SENGUPTA
123/1/1 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 8708

## 352. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 20, 1940*

CHI. MANILAL,

I wrote to you only yesterday. And today I got another letter, enclosing letters from Mr. Vogle and Mrs. Paul. The replies to their letters are enclosed. You must have got my letter of yesterday. Maybe you will get both together.

Marybehn writes to say that one cannot get even an inch of khadi in Durban.[1] It seems a little strange. What a state of affairs it is if a person wishes to buy some khadi and can't! Keep a little stock of it if no one else will. Can't you persuade somebody to do so?

Sushila and Ila will be well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4915

[1] *Vide* "Letter to F. Mary Barr", p. 295.



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## 353. DISCUSSION WITH EMILY KINNAIRD[1]

[*July 20, 1940*][2]

She seemed to doubt the utility of Gandhiji's "Appeal to Every Briton", but she said: "Don't you think Denmark has carried out your ideal of non-violence?"

GANDHIJI: Not a bit. It was surrender, and what I have asked for is not surrender but non-violent resistance.

EMILY KINNAIRD: But Denmark did not resist and did exactly as you have advised Britons today!

G. But I have not asked for unresisting surrender or capitulation. I have appealed to Britons and everyone in their plight to display the highest courage that man is capable of, viz., to refuse to use arms and to defy the enemy to walk over their dead bodies. Denmark did nothing of the kind.

E.K. But Denmark had no time. It was all so sudden, and there was nothing for it but for her to offer no resistance.

G. I know, I know. But it is such suddenness that puts non-violence to the test. It was no doubt prudent on her part to offer no resistance. But prudence is not the same thing as non-violence. Non-violent resistance is far more effective than violent resistance, and that is what I have asked for from these nations which are so accustomed to violent resistance.

E.K. Well, well, what's the good of it?

G. What was the good of Jesus Christ laying down His life?

E.K. Oh, that was a different matter. He was the son of God.

G. And so are we!

E.K. No. He was the *only* son of God.

G. It is there, that the mother and son[3] must differ. With you Jesus was the only begotten son of God. With me

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "A Hot Gospeller"

[2] *Vide* the following item where Gandhiji says, "Miss Kinnaird . . . was here for an hour yesterday."

[3] Emily Kinnaird and Gandhiji. She was 86 and Gandhiji addressed her as mother.



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He was a son of God, no matter how much purer than us all, but every one of us is a son of God and capable of doing what Jesus did, if we but endeavour to express the Divine in us.

E.K. Yes, that is where I think you are wrong. If you accepted Christ in your heart and appealed to your people to do likewise, you could deliver your message with greater ease and far better effect.[1] He is our salvation, and without receiving Him in our hearts we cannot be saved.

G. So those who accept the Christ are all saved. They need do nothing more?

E.K. We are sinners all, and we have but to accept Him to be saved.

G. And then we may continue to be sinners? Is that what you mean? You do not, I hope, belong to the Plymouth Brothers[2], do you?

E.K. No, I am a Presbyterian.

G. But you talk like some of the Plymouth Brothers I met long ago in South Africa.

E.K. Yes, I am afraid you were so unfortunate in the Christian contacts you formed in South Africa. You did not meet the right kind of people.

G. Surely you will not say that. I met a number of estimable people. They were all honest and sincere.

E.K. But they were not *true* Christians.

Gandhiji then gave a graphic account of his contact with a number of Christians in those early days, ending up with the intimate contact with F. W. Meyer.[3] He asked Lady Emily:

Do you know F. W. Meyer?

E.K. Oh yes.

G. Well, then, let me tell you that it was F. W. Meyer who after a long talk with me asked the other Christian friends to let me alone. He said to them that I was as good as converted, and that I did not need any formal process of conversion. But of course that did not satisfy them. And old A. W. Baker, who must be much over eighty now, is still at me. He writes to remind me time and again that unless I accept Christ in his way I cannot be saved.

[1] Mahadev Desai says he is here quoting from memory.

[2] Non-conformist sect founded by J. N. Darby. They recognize no orders of ministers and receive into communion all who acknowledge Christ.

[3] For a fuller account of this, *vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 101-4 and 111-4.

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E.K. But you *do* think of those Christians, Mr. Gandhi, even at this distance of time!

And she wondered why we were so obtuse as not to see what was so obvious to her—the outstanding superiority of the message of Christianity to any other message. The Bible had been translated into several hundred languages, and the heathen in the remotest parts of the world, who knows not a syllable of English, was agreeably surprised to find God's message delivered to him in his own dialect.

G. That proves nothing.

E.K. And then, whereas fifty years ago there were so many hundred thousand Christians in India, there are today ten times as many.

G. Again that proves nothing. But why all this quarrel about labels? Cannot a few hundred thousand Indians or Africans live the message of Christ without being called Christians?

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *354. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

*Unrevised*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 21, 1940*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

How funny! Some people are never pleased! Why not Chi. Amrit? I give satisfaction. "But I must have 'Idiot' occasionally." What is the poor 'pleaser' to do? Therefore the safest way is to please oneself and let the others do likewise. But I have not followed the safe way. Heaven help me! And then to please idiots! Hard job.

Miss Kinnaird—is that the spelling?—was here for an hour yesterday.[1] Kept her in roars of laughter and she went away well pleased though without converting me to her Christianity. You must ask me to describe the visit when you find me idle. If you don't, ask P. He was present and so was Nayakam.

Your first article I have accepted. The account of the meeting is unnecessary for *Harijan*. It is well written. Send it to *H. Times*, etc. I return it and three old articles revised. All the translations were good, some portions quite idiomatic. The writing is much improved and firm.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Babla had fever. He is better though has still some.

Pandit Kunzru is here today and Kodand Rao is coming. Maulana is coming on Tuesday. I do not want to go to Poona. But I won't refuse if he insists.[1] As you see I have to write for *Harijan* also. Therefore you will hardly notice any gap. Do give yourself rest.

About khadi you should write to the different Bhandars and correct them. Publication will serve no useful purpose. If you do not get satisfaction I am at your back. There can be no relaxation about cash down. We have suffered a lot by giving credit to notabilities. It was therefore right for the erring salesman to suffer. Hard cases make bad law.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3986. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7295

## *355. FOREWORD*[2]

There are two reasons for printing this edition in the Devanagari script. The main reason is that I want to see how far the Gujarati readers can welcome the Devanagari script. My dream that there should be one script for all the languages derived from Sanskrit and that should be Devanagari goes back to my South African days. However it still remains a dream. There is a good deal of talk going on for one script but, as the saying goes, who will bell the cat, who will take the initiative? The Gujaratis say, 'Our script is beautiful and easy. Why should we give it up?' And then there is another party that has emerged. I myself belong to it. According to it Devanagari is itself a difficult and imperfect script, it should be reformed and perfected. But our purpose will be defeated if we do nothing till the script is perfected. This should not be. This edition, therefore, is being brought out on an experimental basis. If it is welcomed by people we shall try to bring out other Navajivan Trust books in the Devanagari script.

The other motive behind this enterprise was to give to the Hindi-speaking people a Gujarati book in the Devanagari script. I am of the opinion that learning Gujarati will become less difficult if Gujarati books are published in the Devanagari script.

[1] Gandhiji, in the end, did not go for the A.I.C.C. session.

[2] To *Atmakatha*, Gujarati version in Devanagari script of *An Autobiography*

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In order to make this edition popular we have kept the price low. I hope that the Gujarati and Hindi-speaking people will make this venture a success.

SEVAGRAM, July 21, 1940

[From Gujarati]

*Sarvodaya*, October 1940

## *356. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

*July 21, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

Here is the foreword[1]. I have not revised it. If there are no errors, send it as it is. If you want to make any changes, you may do so and return it to me. I shall revise it and send it back. I wrote it out. . . .

The rest we shall see.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10936

## *357. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

SEGAON,
*July 21, 1940*

CHI. SHARMA,

Why did you neglect the thing till it has developed into a sinus? What has happened to your medical training? Why are you retaining Draupadi and the children there? I do not understand your ways. As for police harassment, I shall do whatever I can.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]

*Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 287

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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## *358. SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY*

I have avoided mention of the tragedy that has overtaken Gokhale's greatest creation. Through the kindness of Pandit Kunzru I was kept informed of every happening while the Society was going through the agony. It was no small matter for the Society to have to expel members or to lose one of its oldest members by resignation. The trouble had been brewing for many months. But the chief members were putting off what to them was the evil day. They tried to bridge differences. They failed. They tried to evolve discipline out of what had almost become a state of anarchy.

The Society has a high ideal. To serve India so as to purify politics and without a selfish motive or the desire to attain power for the sake of it, is itself a noble ideal. Gokhale created a certain standard of conduct and tradition for the Society. Those who could not carry it out obviously should not seek to enter the Society, or on having changed their viewpoint after entering it, should not remain in it. Such was the case with Shri Parulekar and Miss Gokhale. They subscribe to a philosophy which includes advocacy of violence for the redress of wrongs economic, political and other. There was no questioning their ability or their sacrifice. Both are inestimable qualities no doubt. But they were irrelevant to a consideration of conformity to certain tradition or discipline. The quality of the tradition too would be irrelevant to such consideration. So when the Society could not induce these members to resign, it had to perform the very painful duty of expelling them, if the Society was to function as a properly organized body with one purpose and one policy. I know that the President and the other members left no stone unturned to avoid the crisis. They invited the associates to examine the whole situation. The President put himself at their disposal. And it was on their unanimous recommendation that the Society took the final step.

So far as Shri Joshi[1] is concerned it is wrong to say, as has been said, that he was compelled to resign. For valid reasons the President and the Council thought that he should be transferred from Bombay. Shri Joshi, however, would not

[1] N. M. Joshi

move from Bombay, and resigned. And the Society voted a pension and regretfully accepted the resignation. Such is the unvarnished version of the crisis through which the Society has passed. I have felt it a duty to take notice of the incident because there has been unkind criticism and because I consider myself an unofficial and sleeping member of the Society. The reader may not know that immediately after the Chief's death I might have myself become a cause of a grave crisis. My name was suggested for membership. Some members were afraid of my entry as for them, and truly, I was an unknown quantity. As soon as I came to know of differences, I withdrew my name, and everything went off happily. We came closer to one another by this natural restraint. How nice it would have been if Shri Parulekar and Miss Gokhale had followed the example set before them in 1915! If they have the welfare of the Society at heart, they could serve it in a variety of ways in matters in which they have no differences of opinion.

SEVAGRAM, July 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *359. QUESTION BOX*[1]

Q. What work besides spinning can an active satyagrahi do in cities especially in Bombay?

A. I shall reply to your question by a cross-question. Why do you want anything else besides spinning? If you have no interest in spinning, you can be no satyagrahi, active or passive. For all satyagraha presupposes the qualification of spinning, and this has been before the country for twenty years. You can, therefore, do no better than give all your spare time to spinning. Do it in a scientific way. If there is no room for a spinning-wheel, you can ply the *takli*. A way has now been devised for easily increasing the speed on the *takli*. It costs a trifle, and it can be plied in any little corner of the house. If you are not doing your own carding, you must do so now. You may have no space for a carding-bow in your room. You should in that case card according to the Andhra method adapted by Vinoba. If you can interest yourself in this, it will add considerably to your useful knowledge. When you come to

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 20-7-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

think of the romance of cotton, you will get out of it an interest the best novel cannot give you, and you will probably discover the solution of the problem of Indian poverty. Therefore, if you want to be a true satyagrahi, if you want to cultivate true ahimsa, I would suggest to you spinning and nothing but spinning, no matter where you may be. Take it from me that without sacrificial spinning non-violent swaraj is impossible.

But if you have enough time on your hands and you are already doing all the spinning that would satisfy me, and if you are longing to do some additional act of service, I can suggest quite a number of things. For instance, there is Harijan service. Try to enter Harijans' life, go and stay in Harijan quarters, teach them, nurse those who are ill, show them the ways and means of improving their economic condition. All this offers a wide field of work. Thakkar Bapa is now going to spend a lot of time in Bombay. Go and seek his guidance.

Then I would ask you to cultivate disinterested friendship of the Mussalmans. It is likely that you do not even know your next-door neighbours. Make their acquaintance and try to render what service you can to them. If you do not know those of other faiths, try to cultivate acquaintance with them. Your contacts will be the test of your broad-mindedness.

Then you can help in the khadi propaganda. Go to Kakubhai of the main Khadi Bhandar in Bombay and ask him if he can utilize your services for khadi-hawking and similar work.

These are but a few samples. The field of service is limitless. In a city like Bombay, especially, the mountain of service is so immense that you can never compass it.

## Do Not Judge

Q. Many Congressmen in Bombay have joined the Congress for the sake of offices. They never spin. Some have spinning-wheels in their homes just for show. What about this?

A. Do not judge others. Be your own judge and you will be truly happy. If you will try to judge others, you are likely to burn your fingers. If I were secretary of a Congress committee, I should see that those who do not observe discipline are struck off the Congress register.

## May Harijans Enlist as Recruits?

Q. I am a Harijan sevak. I believe in military training. May I encourage Harijans to enlist as recruits? Those who join the army are rid of fear and untouchability and learn self-respect. What is your advice?

A. You have gone to the wrong man with this question. You know that I do not believe in military training. Nor do I believe with you that Harijans who join the army are so suddenly transformed. But I should not make an attempt to dissuade those Harijans who voluntarily want to enlist as recruits. If sons of the well-to-do go in for military training and if Harijans would like to follow their example, how can I prevent them? It is a difficult thing any day to teach the lesson of ahimsa. How can one inculcate ahimsa in those who are doubly suppressed? The wonder to me is that even among the suppressed there are some Harijans who have truly learnt the lesson of ahimsa.

## CHIVALRY *v.* DUTY

Q. You have decided not to launch civil disobedience in order that you may not embarrass the British when they are engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Don't you think this chivalry is misplaced, and that you are failing in your duty to carry on the fight for swaraj?

A. I do not think so. If I were to launch civil disobedience, my ahimsa would be at fault, and the disobedience would cease to be civil. I should never think of reaping swaraj out of British defeat. It would be anything but chivalry. Mine is, therefore, not misplaced. Chivalry is a vital part of ahimsa. Ahimsa without it is lame, it cannot work.

## IMPLICATIONS OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Q. In satyagraha camps there often crops up the question of the implications of untouchability. In Bihar this certainly is the case. If abolition of untouchability consists simply in touching the Harijans, untouchability does not exist in Bihar. But if it includes letting the Harijans use your water-pot and exchange water with non-Harijans, if it includes inter-dining and allowing them to enter your dining-room and kitchen, even Congressmen are not free from this untouchability. What do you say to this?

A. Abolition of untouchability in me will be really achieved only when I behave towards Harijans as I should towards my own kith and kin. There is no untouchability today in Congress kitchens. And so if Congressmen in Bihar observe untouchability as regards eating, I should be disagreeably surprised. Believe me that swaraj will be delayed in proportion to our failure and half-heartedness in carrying out the different items of the constructive programme. It is impossible to attain swaraj non-violently unless there is self-purification. I do not often use this word nowadays, but it is there in an important

Congress resolution. It has been a vital part of Congress politics since 1920. Letters of the late Pandit Motilalji and other leaders, written during that period, are worth perusal. Their lives had undergone a conversion. Have we descended from that high pedestal?

## Donation of Tainted Money

Q. Supposing a man has earned millions by exploiting millions of his poor brethren and made a gift of them to a Mahatma like you, and supposing you use that money for the benefit of humanity, is the exploiter absolved from sin? Does not some blame attach to you too for having accepted this ill-gotten wealth? How can one remain blameless in this unending vicious circle? How is ahimsa to cope with this immoral exploitation?

A. Let us assume for the purpose of this riddle that I am really a Mahatma, and then try to solve it. The gift of what you assume to be ill-gotten gains cannot lessen the guilt of the exploiter. If he had kept the money for himself, that would have been an additional count against him. If instead he makes a gift of it to me from pure motives, he escapes the additional sin. It is also likely that a good use of his gift may wean the exploiter from immoral means of making money. But no blame attaches to me for having accepted the gift. As the foul waters from drains flowing into the sea partake of its purity, even so does tainted wealth become pure when put to the purest use. There is one condition, however, that we have assumed, viz., that the gift is made and accepted out of pure motives.

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-co-operate with their exploiters. That will convert the exploiters also. I have even suggested that ultimately it will lead to both being equal partners. Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is evil. Capital in some form or other will always be needed.

## A Flaw in Ahimsa

Q. You have appealed to Britons to lay down arms and to adopt non-violence. But that raises a moral difficulty. A's ahimsa provokes B to *himsa* and makes him impervious to appeal to his heart. If a non-violent man comes up against an inanimate thing his non-violence will have no effect on it. There is, therefore, some flaw somewhere in your belief. It is likely that ahimsa may have success in a restricted field. If so, what use is it for universal purposes? Your claim, therefore, of its universal use falls to the ground.

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A. Ahimsa cannot be dismissed so lightly as you think. Ahimsa is the strongest force known. But if all can use the strongest force with equal ease, it would lose its importance. We have not been able yet to discover the true measure of the innumerable properties of an article of daily use like water. Some of its properties fill us with wonder. Let us not, therefore, make light of a force of the subtlest kind like ahimsa, and let us try to discover its hidden power with patience and faith. Within a brief space of time we have carried to a fairly successful conclusion a great experiment in the use of this force. As you know I have not set much store by it. Indeed I have hesitated even to call it an experiment in ahimsa. But according to the legend, as Rama's name was enough to float stones, even so the movement carried on in the name of ahimsa brought about a great awakening in the country and carried us ahead. It is difficult to forecast the possibilities when men with unflinching faith carry this experiment further forward. To say that those who use violence are all insensible is an exaggeration. Some do seem to lose their senses, but we are bound to be mistaken if we try to base a moral law on those exceptions. The safest course is to lay down laws on the strength of our usual experience, and our usual experience is that in most cases non-violence is the real antidote to violence, and it is safe to infer from it that the highest violence can be met by the highest non-violence.

But let us consider for a moment inanimate objects. He will surely break his head who strikes it against a stone. But supposing a stone comes against us through space, we can escape it by stepping aside, or if there is nowhere to step aside, we can bravely stay where we are and receive the stone. That will mean minimum injury and, in case it proves fatal, the death will not be as painful as it would be if we made an effort to ward it off.

Extend the thought a little further, and it is easy to see that, if a senseless man is left alone and no one tries to resist him, he is sure to exhaust himself. Indeed it is not quite inconceivable that the loving sacrifice of many may bring an insane man to his senses. Instances are not wanting of absolutely insane people having come back to their senses.

SEVAGRAM, July 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *360. TWO JUST COMPLAINTS*[1]

### I: Right of Translation

A Calcutta telegram protests against the reservation of copyright in translations of my Gujarati articles, saying that my articles are the property of the nation and therefore there could be no copyright in them, and that I myself had taught that Hindustani was the lingua franca of India, and that I should therefore reconsider my decision. This grievance appears on the face of it to be just. But it is forgotten that I have prohibited translation from Gujarati into all other languages. Experience had taught me that English translations of my articles written in any Indian languages were faulty, but it would not have been proper to confine the copyright to translations into English. All important Gujarati articles would be translated simultaneously into English and Hindustani and published almost at the same time. There is, therefore, no hardship involved, for there is no copyright in the translated articles which can be and are being reproduced.[2]

My object was clear and unexceptionable. If I wanted to enter the hearts of the Indian masses, I should write in an Indian language, and that language could be no other than that in which I could write with the greatest ease. If I had the same command over Hindustani as over Gujarati, I should have written only in Hindustani.

### II: Are Gujaratis More Non-violent?

The other complaint is this:

> You could not have begun to write in Gujarati out of your partiality for Gujarat, but it would seem as though you believed that you would be able to influence the Gujaratis more quickly than others. That is to say, you have assumed that they are more non-violent than others. I doubt that they are. You may have more workers in Gujarat, but you do

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 27-7-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] The Gujarati adds: "So I hope the first complaint is satisfactorily redressed. The grievance would have been just if I had not arranged for the simultaneous publication of translations."

not seem to have a greater hold on the Gujarati than on other masses. Belief in non-violence, you have always emphasized, presupposes removal of untouchability and universalization of khadi. Now I suggest that no other province in India has the curse of untouchability to the extent that one finds in your Gujarat, especially your beloved Kathiawar. Indeed we have heard you have expressed this opinion. Again according to you khadi fares no better there. Gujarat is the seat of the textile industry. I admit that the large number of workers in Gujarat are all khadi-lovers and they have all personally shed untouchability. But my complaint is against the masses in Gujarat. Where the masses are not ready, what hope is there of your influencing them more than others? Why not, therefore, address the Indian masses in your imperfect Hindustani than in your more perfect Gujarati? For the number of Hindustani-knowing masses is much larger than the Gujaratis, and I make bold to say that your influence on them is certainly the same as on the Gujaratis, if not even greater.

This complaint is couched in sweet Hindustani and made in all sincerity. I have summarized it in my own words. The correspondent will, I hope, admit that in doing so I have not only not been unfair to him, but have even put his argument more forcefully. This I have done with a purpose as my reply to him will reveal.

I claim that consciousness on my part of my belonging to Gujarat has never meant any exclusiveness. I have always believed and described myself as an Indian. When I went to South Africa I found that there were divisions among our countrymen into Tamils, Telugus and Gujaratis. Immediately on my landing I abolished the divisions. For myself I knew that all the immigrants from India were Indians, and that provincial or religious divisions between them were improper. It was true that they belonged to different provinces and to different faiths and that they spoke different languages, but all belonged to the same country, all had the same joys and sorrows, and all were under the same alien rule. Besides even the people of the country where they had gone did not know and did not recognize the distinctions of caste, religion, language or province. To them we were all Indians, all coolies, all *samis*, and all to be governed by the same law. We have ceased to be called coolies and *samis*, but we have not ceased to be

Indians. Thus alike by temperament and from experience I have been against these divisions, as I think everyone should be.

Nevertheless when I begin to think in terms of the talents God has given me and of the use I should make of them for the service of the motherland, I cannot afford to ignore the province of my birth. As Gujarati is my mother tongue and as I know the Gujaratis more intimately, I could serve India best through Gujarat and the Gujarati language. It was this consideration that was at the back of the choice of Gujarat as my place of abode on my return from South Africa. But I deliberately did not choose Porbandar or Rajkot, though I had invitations from and facilities in both the places. For I had ceased to belong to Porbandar and Rajkot, ceased to belong to my caste. My choice has been proved to be cent per cent right. It could not be otherwise, as I believe that my footsteps are guided by God, and all my life is based on this belief.

If the argument presented above appeals to the reader and to the co-worker who has made the complaint in question, I need not labour it any more. But something more I must say for the sake of the work I want from Gujarat and from the other provinces of India.

I do not enjoy elsewhere the same intimacy and extent of contact as I do with the Gujarati workers. And so if I succeed with them, I should have confidence regarding the rest of India. Some of them believe that I should again fix up my abode in Gujarat, but I do not think so. If I stayed in their midst, they would lose initiative, and cease to work independently. They have a tried leader like the Sardar to guide them at every step, and I feel that if I stayed in Gujarat my talents would not be put to the fullest possible use. It is God who has guided my steps to Sevagram. It may be a difficult field of work. If it is, surely I may not shirk it. Stay in Sevagram has taught me, is teaching me, a lot that is new. If I can be one with its six hundred souls, if I can engage them in constructive work and in the necessary work of reform, and if I can easily make a satyagrahi army of them, I should discover the key to do the same work in the whole of India. If I chose a big city, I should get lost, puzzled and perplexed. Much of what has been done and planned in Sevagram has been done from the point of view of India. It is, therefore, but meet that I must deliver my message through Sevagram and in Gujarati.

There is one fact which can upset the plan of burying myself in Sevagram. The Khan Saheb can summon me to his

province whenever he likes for his work, which indeed is also my work. If he succeeds in expressing real ahimsa, I firmly believe that the whole country can succeed. For the experiment there is out and out that of non-violence of the brave. God alone knows whether it will or will not succeed. This I know that wherever I go I will do His work. I regard the winning of Indian independence by non-violent means as God's own work, and if that is achieved, the whole world would be saved from being drowned in a sea of bloodshed.

The reader will now see that I am prompted by partiality for neither Gujarat nor anything else. If there is any partiality, it is for truth and non-violence. It is through these that I can have some glimpse of God. Truth and non-violence are my God. They are the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

My co-worker's complaint is true that in the abolition of untouchability and in love of khadi Gujarat lags behind other provinces. But that does not mean that I should leave Gujarat alone. If these two items cannot be accomplished in Gujarat, Gujarat will be an obstacle to the independence of India. If I can inspire the Gujaratis to lay down their lives for the abolition of the curses of untouchability and unemployment, what a glorious thing it would be! It would be a sight for all India to see and copy. Hindu-Muslim troubles would automatically come to an end, for the moment we cast out untouchability from our hearts Hindu-Muslim unity will be an accomplished fact and many another good thing would follow as a matter of course.

All this is only a dream today. But it is in order to realize that dream that I have undertaken in my old age this Gujarati enterprise. If it is God's will thus to take work from me, age will be no bar.

SEVAGRAM, July 22, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

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## 361. OPEN LETTER

MY DEAR GANDHIJI,

. . . I am still hoping and praying daily that Congress may see that its supreme opportunity is not to win a doubtful political victory over a foe but . . . to win the lasting friendship of all who love liberty, in England and in all the world, by revealing the only adequate zeal for India's defence or defence of democracy in the world—*the non-violent war to the finish against the whole structure of man's inhumanity to man.* The combined might of India, building a third-rate military force, can at best but become the support of force. . . . But defence committees and those who know no better way should not be discouraged. What I do mean is that, at the same time, those who understand and love peace should build up a non-violent defence force for the precise purpose for which military force is being established. Like the military forces, these should also be non-political and voluntary. Besides being negatively harmless to the interests of the defence of India, such a force should at the very outset place itself at the disposal of the Government for the purpose either of defence or offence against all the foes of liberty in India or elsewhere, as the non-violent army of India.

. . . I think that this war has already revealed that armed force cannot defend even the institutions of democracy without first nullifying them and second destroying them. Further, the very strongest military defence force in the world has not been able to make its nation secure in this war-mad world. I am convinced that a non-violent war against all aggression, the economic as well as the political, not only will prove more effective than all the armies but can very rapidly be made available, if the non-violent of the world will but put their minds and hearts to the matter. . . .

Traditional democracy theoretically reserved the right of violent rebellion to aggrieved people whose will was no longer represented in their government. But pure democracy must repudiate the violence, while reserving the right of rebellion. This is because violence, however employed, is the antithesis of democracy, . . . I do not think there is a single instance in history where defensive war has ever settled the problems for which the defenders have supposed they fought. But Denmark, on the other hand, is the supreme illustration of a nation setting itself on the road to liberty by the deliberate repudiation of the "glory" of imperial conquest or defence of integrity.



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Kristagraha has already taken its unequivocal stand for the non-violence of Christ its Master, in its two manifestos. It will perhaps be reviewing its stand shortly in order to make its present position fully clear in the face of the new turn of events, though that may seem unnecessary. Many missionaries have recently received copies of Memorandum A, under which all non-British missionaries serve in India. It was a surprise to most of them to note that the Government had provided for them to "influence" politics in the interest of assisting in the preservation of the nation's security and well-being. Here then, I believe, is the supreme opportunity for Christian lovers of freedom, missionary and non-missionary, to serve their nation and the world while adhering to their Master's injunction not to take up the sword. I can only say for myself that I am prepared to surrender fully to this great cause, and do hereby pledge to follow your leadership if you decide to launch the Satyagraha Army of the World. I do this because I believe it is the only way that the real aggression can ever be uprooted from its soil in mankind's unbrotherliness and the world established on a basis of justice, equality and peace. . . . I can see no hope whatever in the way the United States and England have so far taken. The war of 1940 will never be won. Chaos can win over order, barbarity over civilization, autocracy over democracy, darkness over light, and violence over goodwill. That has already transpired over a large part of the world and is fast coming in the rest. But generous application of goodwill can still arrest this in every part, especially when men in large numbers are ready to lay down their lives for the Truth that is in them. . . .

I pray that God may lead you in His own way. You have countless friends encircling our earth. Through the instrumentality of non-violent resistance to the mountainous lovelessness and stupidity of our age, the way may yet open into the new day and a peace of full justice prevail among the nations.

With the deepest appreciation of your single-minded devotion to Truth, and with the sincerest affection.

*I am,*
*Yours for the World Satyagraha Army,*
Ralph T. Templin

I gladly publish this letter.[1] Mr. Templin represents a growing number of Western satyagrahis. There are just two reflections arising out of this letter. I wish to say that Denmark's is not an illustration of non-violent action.[2] It was most probably the most prudent course to adopt. When armed resistance

[1] Only extracts have been reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* "Discussion with Emily Kinnaird", pp. 297-9.

is vain, it is folly to spill blood. The second is that I do not expect to lead any satyagraha army of the world. So far as I can see at present, every country will have to work out its own programme. Simultaneous action is possible.

SEVAGRAM, July 23, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *362. TRAVANCORE*

In the hope of having a talk with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and possibly arriving at some way out of the impasse, I was suppressing the manifestos sent to me by succeeding acting Presidents. The last received was from Shri Achuthan, a Harijan advocate, about the last week of June. From the manifesto I extract only statements of facts, omitting as far as possible all argument and inferences:

> Processions and meetings have been violently broken up by the special police and the ordinary police without even the semblance of prohibitory orders. To quote from the speech of Shri K. Santhanam, M. L. A. (Central) which he delivered at Madras after a brief visit to Travancore, he said: "My impression is there is police raj in Travancore. No one could speak with any sense of security or discuss matters even with friends. The Government appear determined not to allow any discussion on responsible government, and are willing to resort to any methods to prevent it. All normal channels of public expression have been stopped."
>
> Repression has worked ruthlessly along three main lines: 1. legal terrorism, 2. police terrorism, 3. complete muzzling of the Press.
>
> 1. Legal terrorism has taken the shape of 'the Defence of Travancore Proclamation'. It is not the actual number of those arrested and detained for indefinite periods under this Act, but the threat of it against every man and woman with any active sympathy towards the State Congress that has created a grave situation. Several people have been arrested under this Act and then let off, just to show that the authorities can do anything with anybody. Many important leaders have been imprisoned under this Act without trial and for indefinite periods.
>
> 2. Police terrorism has meant more than what will be ordinarily understood by that term. In Travancore it has meant more than the forcible dispersal of processions and meetings. It has meant secret as well as open goondaism by what are called the special police who wear no uniforms and who get only Rs. 5 a month. This body of special police contains in

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many cases the worst rowdies and drunkards in various localities. Their special business is to quietly mix with the crowds and start sudden goondaism. It has become physically impossible to hold any decent meeting or procession or demonstration in the face of such goondaism. In Neyyattinkara, Alleppey, Palai, Karunagapilly and many other places such goondaism has appeared openly.

3. Muzzling of the Press. No doubt there are several papers in Travancore which appear regularly. Not one of them would publish reports or news of State Congress meetings and demonstrations. Statements issued by Acting Presidents of the State Congress or by State Congress leaders never appear in them. In many cases people in one part of the State never knew anything of what happened in another part except from news appearing in the English papers at Madras. This was proved when police frightfulness occurred in Neyyattinkara and Palai.

But the Travancore Government did not rest content with the above items of repression. Every officer from the highest to the lowest went about the country treating every State Congressman or sympathizer not merely as one belonging to a disturbing political party but as an enemy to be hunted down by every means in their power. Another severe trial for those engaged in the struggle has been police violence in lock-ups. Volunteers who are under arrest and awaiting trial are mercilessly beaten and very often discharged after several weeks of detention without trial.

Every time State Congress leaders published allegations against the Travancore police, the Government as often came out with categorical and wholesale denials. But Shri G. Ramachandran's specific allegations regarding police terrorism at Neyyattinkara and Palai published in *The Hindu* of Madras supported by unimpeachable data have at last compelled the Government to order an official enquiry. It is significant that the enquiry has been ordered long after the Government had published categorical and wholesale denials of the allegation! The public are still awaiting the findings of the enquiry.

The most disquieting development in the present situation has yet to be related. This is the direct and open encouragement given to the various communal organizations in Travancore by the authorities including the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself. At one time Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar used to say that it was the presence of various communal organizations in Travancore which prevented him from inaugurating any scheme of responsible government in Travancore. But today his policy clearly appears to be to encourage each and every communal organization to develop along separate lines and thus make political unity impossible. Officers of Government including the Dewan take part in meetings of the various communal organizations. Lovers of Travancore know that, if this process is allowed to continue,

Travancore will soon become a battleground for the various communal organizations.

I know that there will be an official contradiction. I have already suggested that such contradictions can have no value unless they are backed by a definite promise of an impartial enquiry. Officials stake nothing when they issue unprovable contradictions, whereas State Congress Presidents stake their liberty and the prestige of their institution when they make rash statements.

The balance of probability, therefore, must be in their favour. The quotation given by Shri Achuthan from Shri Santhanam's speech in his support is not to be lightly brushed aside.

I sent a copy of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's wire to Shri Ramachandran. He sends a comment from which I take the following:

I can show that our Working Committee kept 'communist tendencies' clearly and absolutely out of the struggle. Mr. K. C. George who is referred to was one of the severest critics of our Working Committee, and considered our work and programme as thoroughly useless. . . . It is absolutely false to say that we depend on Bapu's periodical statements for collecting our funds and for our existence. If this were so, there should be today no State Congress. During the last eight or nine months Bapu has not said a word about Travancore. Our cause is so patently just that it does not depend even on Bapu. It depends on its own inherent justice. Bapu can of course help our cause. But that is different from saying that our movement depends on Bapu. . . .

Most of the leading members of the Travancore State Congress including Shri V. K. Velayudhan and M. N. Parameswaran Pillai and others have openly dissociated themselves, says Sir C.P. Yes, these two gentlemen have done so. But neither of them has said that the State Congress is in the wrong. Shri Velayudhan stated that he withdrew in obedience to the Mandali of the Ezhava communal organisation which has now been captured by the friends of Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Shri M.N. Parameswaran Pillai has nearly apologized and recovered his *sannad* to practise law. How do these actions touch the demand and the programme and the stand of the State Congress? But besides these two gentlemen no prominent leader of the State Congress has gone back in any sense. The number 60 requires close analysis. . . .[1] Then there is my second statement on the Palai atrocities which *The Hindu* published and a copy of which I am enclosing. It was then stated on behalf

[1] Omission as in the source

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> of the Travancore Government that there would be an official enquiry and a press communique. It is weeks now since this appeared, and no enquiry or communique has been heard of. It was a tight corner into which the Travancore Government was pushed by specific and unchallengeable allegations. They had denied everything in their first communique. Then when I replied, they said there would be an enquiry and a communique. But nothing has happened yet.

I believe every word of what Shri Ramachandran says. The terrible repression may thin the ranks of the State Congress. But even if there is one true representative left to hold aloft the torch of non-violent liberty, he will be quite enough to multiply himself till every Travancorean becomes an apostle of life-giving freedom. A friend sent me the other day a *bon mot* of an American President: 'One true man of courage represents a majority.' I have quoted from memory. But there is no mistake about the meaning. Let every member of the State Congress take it to heart, and believe that nothing is lost if one true man survives the repression. As it is I know that there are numerous men and women of the State Congress who are seasoned enough to stand the most rigorous repression that the wit of the resourceful Dewan of Travancore and his advisers can devise.

SEVAGRAM, July 23, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *363. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 23, 1940*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters. Hope you have my long letter[1] and corrected translations, etc.

I never said to K. that M.[2] must or even should become a doctor. I understood that it was her wish. If that was so I had approved of it. But my strong recommendation was for your institution. I thought there she would really grow and enjoy freedom. I had also asked M. to see the institution and then arrange for K. to go. But it did not happen. Therefore you

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 299-300.
[2] Mehrtaj, daughter of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

should pursue your project to have her in your college. I shall write to K.S. about this. You have assumed my advice as suggested by K. Never repeat the mistake. Always have confirmation from me of whatever is reported about me, before even accepting it subject to correction. Always reserve judgment. This should apply to all. But for me, it is a peremptory command.

Mira is in New Delhi. Khurshed was good this time. I have heard again from her.

I am not moving from Sevagram. Hope to be here to receive you on 3rd August, unless you alter the date.

It will be sad if G.'s eyes are damaged. I do not know whether Mira[1] is here. In any case you shall have a girl of your choice. But meanwhile bring anyone you like for a few days. No question of settling in Gujarat. I am sending you an advance copy of article from which you will know how my mind is working.

I hope not to go to Poona. The fate will be decided tonight. The Maulana is coming. Hope you are all right.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3987. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7296

## *364. NOT QUITE SO BAD*

A friend quotes from a letter received from an English friend:

> Do you think that Mahatma's appeal[2] to every Briton is going to produce right reactions in the mind or heart of a single Briton? That appeal has probably created more ill-will than anything else recently. We live in astonishing and critical times, and it is frightfully difficult to decide what should be done. At any rate we should try to avoid obvious dangers. So far as I can see, Mahatma's unadulterated policy must inevitably lead to disaster for India. How far he himself intends following it I do not know, for he has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material.

Well, I happen to know that many more than one single heart have been touched by my 'Appeal to Every Briton'. I know that many English friends were anxious for me to take some such step. But I do not want to take comfort from the approbation, however pleasing in itself, of English friends. What is of value for me is to know that at least one Englishman thinks as

[1] Not Mirabehn
[2] *Vide* pp. 229-31.

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stated in the extract. Such knowledge should put me on my guard. It should make me more careful, if possible, in the selection of the words I use to express my thought. But no displeasure even of the dearest friends can put me off the duty I see clearly in front of me. And this duty of making the Appeal was so peremptory that it was impossible for me to put it off. As certain as I am writing this, the world has to come to the state to which I have invited Britain. Those who will be witnesses of that happy and not-far-off event will recall my Appeal with gladness. I know that the Appeal has hastened its advent.

Why should a single Briton resent an appeal to him to be braver than he is, to be better than he is in every respect? He may plead inability, but he cannot be displeased by an appeal to his nobler nature.

Why should the Appeal breed any ill-will at all? There is no cause given for it by the manner or the matter of the Appeal. I have not advised cessation of fight. I have advised lifting it to a plane worthy of human nature, of the divinity man shares with God Himself. If the hidden meaning of the remark is that by making the Appeal I have strengthened Nazi hands, the suggestion does not bear scrutiny. Herr Hitler can only be confounded by the adoption by Britain of the novel method of fighting. At one single stroke he will find that all his tremendous armament has been put out of action. A warrior lives on his wars whether offensive or defensive. He suffers a collapse if he finds that his warring capacity is unwanted.

My Appeal is not from a coward to brave people to shed their bravery, nor is it a mockery from a fair-weather friend to one in distress. I suggest to the writer to re-read my Appeal in the light of my explanation.

One thing Herr Hitler, as every critic, may say: I am a fool without any knowledge of the world or human nature. That would be a harmless certificate which need excite neither ill-will nor anger. It would be harmless because I have earned such certificates before now. This one would be the latest of the many editions, and I hope not the last, for my foolish experiments have not yet ended.

So far as India is concerned, my unadulterated policy can never harm her, if she adopts it. If India as a whole rejects it, there can be no harm accruing except to those who may foolishly pursue it. The correspondent has lighted upon my strong point when he says: "Mahatma has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material." My instinctive knowledge of my material

has given me a faith which cannot be moved. I feel within me that the material is ready. My instinct has not betrayed me once. But I must not build much upon past experience. "One step enough for me."

SEVAGRAM, July 24, 1940

*Harijan*, 28-7-1940

## *365. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 24, 1940*

CHI. NARAHARI,

I got your letter only today. I very much like what is happening. Please treat *Harijanbandhu* as my weekly letter. See the corrections I have made in your draft. I have no comments to make about the pledge. If I had time, I might have shortened it. But there is nothing wrong in the present form. If the Sangh is formed and changes become necessary later on we will make them. There is a difference between Shanti Sangh and the Sangh that you have in mind. In any case the Satyagraha Sangh will be open to all. You will have to come here for the final decision.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9119

## *366. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT*

*July 24, 1940*

CHI. JETHALAL,

Am I not doing exactly what you have suggested? I am pouring into this work all the strength and energy I and my co-workers have. I have based all my plans on the success of this. Let us see what happens.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9871. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

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## 367. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 25, 1940*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your resolution did not go in this week. Do send Spear's book or bring it with you. Why waste stamps?

I have dealt with the English complaint.[1] My "Appeal to Every Briton" is being translated. It will go to you with the next collection and it will be the last. No use sending you only one.

I see jackal and fox are used interchangeably. All the patients are doing well.

I have inquired and have been told that Mira is available but going through her sixth or seventh month.[2] Not much good for you?

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3988. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7297

## 368. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
*July 25, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

Please write to Bhai Saxena and tell him that I have carefully gone through his articles from beginning to end. I did not find in them a clear answer to the question what the mind can do or cannot do. He has not correctly understood my ideas on Hindi and Urdu.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10933

[1] *Vide* "Not Quite So Bad", pp. 318-20.
[2] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 317-8.

## 369. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

*July 25, 1940*

CHI. MAGAN,

Where will you study there? What knowledge will you gain? So many years have passed now. Manjula's letter is worth thinking over. We shall discuss it when you come here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVAN MEHTA
C/O "HINDUSTAN TIMES"
NEW DELHI

From Gujarati: C.W. 1603. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

## 370. SPINNING AND CHARACTER

The Secretary of the A.I.S.A., Karnatak Branch, sends me the following report[1] of the spinning work done on the settlement schools.

There is ample evidence to corroborate the foregoing testimony as to the steadying influence of spinning. I hope Miss Briscoe[2] will continue to send me periodical reports on the progress of her experiment.

SEVAGRAM, July 26, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

[1] Not reproduced here. The report spoke of the work done to teach carding and spinning to the inmates of the Remand Home for boys at Hubli and mentioned the improvement that had resulted in the conduct of the boys.

[2] E. W. Briscoe, Lady Superintendent of the certified school of Hubli Settlement.



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## 371. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

*July 26, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

This is a purely personal letter. No one shall see it except those in charge of the office.

It is reported to me by persons of status that money is being spent like water in the name of the war. Men who have enjoyed fat salaries in their respective jobs are being taken up for the war at much higher salaries and given ranks to which they have never been used before. The largest number of these are said to be Europeans or Anglo-Indians. If patriotism is the deciding factor, these gentlemen should take, and be given, no more than just enough to keep them and their dependants.

On the one hand money is said to be spent on a most extravagant scale; on the other it is collected in a manner bordering on force. It is being squeezed from rich and poor. I have letters from all parts of India complaining of these exactions giving graphic details which it is difficult to believe.[1] If you would care to have details I could furnish them.

The result of these measures but more especially of the collections is much silent discontent and ill will. I have been advising correspondents that they are in no way obliged to yield to pressure unless they are willing. I very much fear that a fair part of these collections never reaches the treasury. In my opinion they ought to be stopped altogether; leaving it to those who wish to send donations of their own accord to do so at stated Banks or Post Offices against proper receipts.

I want to avoid as far as possible publication of such information. But I felt that you would not mind my bringing these complaints to your notice.

I hope you have reassuring news about Lord Hopetoun.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, 11-8-1940.

## 372. TELEGRAM TO CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI

[On or before *July 27, 1940*][1]

CONVEY CONDOLENCES TO MR. PAMNANI'S[2] FAMILY. THE MURDER IS MOST DISCONCERTING. YOU SHOULD ADVISE WISE MEASURES MAKING PEACEFUL LIFE POSSIBLE.

*The Hindu*, 28-7-1940

## 373. IS IT PROPER?

Shri Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier of Assam, sends me a newspaper cutting which contains the full text of the speech of H. E. the Governor of Assam at the inaugural meeting of the Assam War Committee. From it I take the following extract:

> Let me say how fortunate we are in Assam to have a Ministry which is not only prepared to work the Constitution, but also is pledged to do its best to further the ends of this righteous war, an attitude indeed which reflects clearly the general attitude which prevails throughout this Province. One of the finest gestures which the Ministry has made was that which was published recently, but I consider did not get half the publicity it deserved, the gift out of public funds of Rs. 100,000 for war purposes, a gesture of which Assam may well be proud, for so far it is unique in India. It symbolizes in a concrete and in a valuable form the sentiments which the Ministry feel as members of the British Commonwealth, a proof of their belief in the righteousness of our cause, of their conviction that the outcome of this war is vital to India, and of their determination to do all in their power to achieve victory. And anyone who has the temerity to criticize this gift must inevitably stamp himself as an enemy of India and a friend of Hitler.

In reply to this Shri Gopinath Bardoloi has issued the following statement:

> The speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, at the inaugural meeting of the Assam War Committee, will have aroused mixed feelings of surprise and regret amongst all those who

[1] The news item carrying the report is dated July 27.
[2] H. S. Pamnani, a Congress M. L. A.



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hold the democratic rights of fair criticism and free speech dear. It is indeed unfortunate that the speech should lend itself to the interpretation that criticism of the Ministry's gift of a lakh of rupees to the War Fund would be an act of temerity and prove the critic to be an enemy of India and a friend of Hitler.

I do not indeed understand by virtue of what power the Ministry can make such a gift. To me it seems clear that no rules of budgetary and accounts procedure can sanction it. The only authority to do so might probably have been the Assembly, and as it gave no such sanction the gift must be unconstitutional. That is probably the only reason why other provinces have not done anything of the kind.

That we are no friends of Hitler need not, I think, be proclaimed; but when the gift is a ministerial act, I do not see why as Opposition we should not criticize it. The Congress resolution on India's co-operation in general and of Congressmen in particular is before the country, and His Excellency might well know that a fair proportion of the House and the major section of the people in the country are in full agreement with it. In view of this he should not have identified himself with the gift as he has chosen to do.

Shri Gopinath Bardoloi deserves congratulation on his dignified protest. It was certainly unbecoming of a constitutional Governor to identify himself with the act of his Ministers irrespective of the propriety or legality of their act and of the wishes of the Opposition in such a matter as a public gift. Apart from the legality of the transaction it is a serious thing for a Ministry to pay out of public funds any sum without previous provision and without the sanction of the House in whose name they have to act and from whom they derive their authority. I think Shri Bardoloi was quite right in raising the question. And I hope the money will not be paid without a thorough examination of the legality of the transaction. I myself go further and suggest that, even if the gift is held to be within the rights of the Ministry, His Excellency would put himself right if he has the gift sanctioned by the Assam Assembly. One lakh of rupees is insignificant compared to the daily expense of nine million sterling incurred by the British Treasury. It is, in my opinion, all the more necessary why extra care should be taken to ensure constitutional propriety.

SEVAGRAM, July 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

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## 374. *WOMAN'S ROLE*[1]

The Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference met recently at Abbottabad. This was their first venture in the Frontier Province. The members, I understand, had a very happy experience. There were no caste distinctions, no religious differences. Muslim, Sikh and Hindu women freely mixed together. The Standing Committee passed the following three resolutions:

> 1. The members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference assembled at Abbottabad desire to place on record their immense grief and despair at the continuance of war in Europe and the Far East. They are in deep sympathy with all those countries which have lost their independence and are under the iron heel of Nazi and Fascist domination against which all sections of India have expressed their opinion in no uncertain terms. They appeal again to the women of the world to realize the utter futility of trying to settle disputes and grievances by means of war and to throw their whole weight into the cause of peace.
>
> 2. The Standing Committee reaffirm their belief in non-violence as the only effective means of ensuring a lasting peace in the world by the formation of a brotherhood of nations. They realize how difficult of attainment this ideal is, and therefore they appeal to Indian women to try to develop the practice of non-violence in their individual and collective lives, for they feel that with their traditional inheritance of service and sacrifice they could give a lead to the women of the world in this respect.
>
> 3. The members reiterate the opinion of the A. I. W. C. that the recognition of India's free status would be a first and logical step towards the attainment of the goal for which Britain is at War—namely, the freedom of all nations, and a world democracy.

Evidently the sisters who met at Abbottabad believe like me that in the war against war women of the world will and should lead. It is their special vocation and privilege. Therefore the Committee have reaffirmed their belief in non-violence. Let me hope that the women who are under the influence of the

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English translation has been reproduced from *Harijan*, where it was published under "Notes".



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Conference share the Committee's belief, and that they will work to that end.

SEVAGRAM, July 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *375. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*July 27, 1940*

DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a full batch of corrected translations. Two more and last were ready but overlooked. They go today. Together with them go leaflets from Atulanand. His letter herewith. He must get ill every three months. Remarkable that in spite of such advertisement his books have no sale. It shows the reading public has no use for such literature. Cultural unity can't be brought about by books.

Some of your translations are good; all are not uniformly so. The language is not yet settled. The choice of words is laboured. No wonder. The wonder is that you have made so much progress. You need more practice and fair reading of current Hindi. I have suggested *Pratap*[1]. There are other good papers, too, which may be read with profit and a good grammar.

Babla still has fever though there is nothing to cause anxiety. Ku.[2] comes here. He needs rest from routine work.

A.S. is weak. She is attending to correspondence under P. and doing Urdu translations.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

This will be in your hands on 30th. I suppose there need be no more letters from me.

From the original: C.W. 3989. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7298

[1] A Hindi daily of Kanpur
[2] J. C. Kumarappa

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## 376. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
*July 27, 1940*

I have seen the Associated Press message in the Press to the effect that I intend to open a class in Bardoli under the guidance of Sardar Prithvi Singh for training a non-violent army and that all preliminary arrangements have been made. There is no foundation whatever for this report. Sardar Prithvi Singh had intended, under Sardar Patel's guidance, to open a *vyayam* class in Bardoli. As the final decision was to rest with me, with the concurrence of Sardar Prithvi Singh even that has been stopped. I can but repeat my request to the Press not to publish news about persons without reference to them, especially when reference is easy and the public is not likely to suffer any harm by a little delay.

*The Hindu*, 28-7-1940

## 377. THERE IS VIOLENCE IN IT[1]

Shri Surendra, a co-worker from Boriavi, who reads my articles usually in *Harijanbandhu*, the Gujarati edition of *Harijan*, has expressed his painful surprise that in my article on the Working Committee's statement issued from Wardha, I had written to the effect that 'I was unhappy that the privilege of a friendship of many years had now become a thing of yesterday.' 'Is there not violence in these words?' he asks. I was startled to see these words put into my mouth, and wrote to him at once that I could not have said them. For I had no doubt that there was violence in the very thought that a friendship of twenty years had become a thing of yesterday. I could say this of no friendships I have formed, much less of my friendship with the Sardar. Having repeated all these years the precept of loving even one's enemies, how could I break my friendship with a colleague like the Sardar? My differences with

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

Malaviyaji and Shastriar have not affected in the least my friendship with them. That a friendship should not bear the strain of difference in views is a sure sign of intolerance.

So I turned to *Harijanbandhu* and found that what Surendraji was referring to was translation of the following words: "Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years which seem like yesterday." These words could not possibly bear the meaning that was attributed to me in the translation. Besides it was plainly inconsistent with the words I had written only a few sentences before: "Though it is a break in the common practice of a common ideal or policy, there is no break in the friendship of twenty years' standing." My unhappiness was not over any break of friendship—there was no such break—but over the fact that my word seemed suddenly to have lost the power that it had until yesterday. The friendship endured, but I had to do more self-purification to regain the co-operation that I had lost. That was the burden of the article.

But this accidently erroneous translation shows that my decision to write in Gujarati was right in more ways than one. Translations made by translators, howsoever competent, are likely sometimes to be faulty. The Bible was translated by some forty able scholars, but it has been found to contain errors, be they ever so few.

The friendship, then, will endure. Time will even make it stronger if possible. But that does not affect the fact that in spite of my best effort I have not been able to prevent differences on a fundamental issue. Yet the more I think about it, the more I feel that in adopting the attitude it has done the Congress has gone off the rails. It has lost the capital built with patient labour.

Perhaps it may be said that the Congress had really no such capital to lose. For the non-violence of the Congress was confined to its struggle against constituted authority. That remains intact. It had not defined its attitude—there was no occasion for it—with regard to other fields. The permission to use force in individual self-defence had been given as early as the Gaya Congress. There is force in these arguments. But I know that a fair number of Congressmen believe that the Congress non-violence applied to all the fields, including internal disorder and external aggression. Non-violence restricted to a struggle against constituted authority is like a corpse lifeless. But

no amount of argument for or against can shake convictions that come from the heart.

All honour to the Sardar and others for holding fast by their conviction. The Sardar is no man of words, he is a man of action. He does not look around or about himself, when he has decided upon a course of action. He simply goes ahead. May he always be thus.

My way is clear before me. But what of those who have followed the Sardar and me in the belief that we are always of one mind? They are in a difficult situation. If their ahimsa is not part of their being but only a reflection of mine, it is their duty to follow the Sardar. I have no doubt that the Sardar has gone off the track, or rather that it is beyond his capacity to go my way. He has chosen a different path with my consent, nay, encouragement. Therefore those who are in doubt should follow the Sardar. I believe the Sardar will see his error and come back to the way he has abandoned, when he discovers in himself the capacity that he feels he has not. When that happy moment arrives, if it does, the rest will also come back to me with the Sardar. That is the safest way for them.

But those who have no doubt about their course, those who have assimilated ahimsa, those for whom ahimsa is the only way out of all difficulties, should quietly retire from the Congress and bury themselves in various non-violent activities. If they are truly non-violent, they will prevent a split in the Congress. Their retirement makes any split out of the question. But even after retiring they will not come in conflict with the Congress. They will give the Sardar any help that he summons for non-violent activities, and they will try to lay down their lives wherever there is an occasion to do so in the event of internal disturbances.

If it is possible to form small bands of satyagrahis after my pattern, it is of course desirable. They should be able not only to keep the flag of ahimsa flying, but should also be able to convert Congressmen by their steadfastness and success. For there are many Congressmen who desire that ahimsa should be the rule of life in all fields, only they doubt its practicability. It is my duty, and that of those who think with me, to dispel this doubt by successful application of ahimsa in the new fields.

SEVAGRAM, July 29, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

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## 378. FOR KHADI WORKERS[1]

A sister has sent the following complaint:

> The A. I. S. A. khadi bhandars not only render no help to, but even slight, the women who desire to spin in the name of *Daridranarayana*. Some bhandars refuse to give them slivers. Now those who are beginners need to be induced with slivers. Every bhandar should stock slivers. At certain bhandars some sisters purchased khadi *hundis* but were given no receipts for them, for they had run out of stock. We pay money in advance for fine saris, but there is vexing delay in getting them.

The sister who has written this is known for her care and for the pains she takes over selling khadi. She has mentioned in her letter the names of the bhandars, but I have deliberately deleted them. For if I gave their names, I should not do so without giving them a chance of explanation, and I have no time for writing to them. I therefore simply mention the complaints in the hope that the bhandars concerned will benefit by them and mend their ways if they are in error. I hold strong views regarding slivers. We cannot supply slivers. If we undertook the work, I am afraid khadi work might in the long run come to an end. It is uneconomic. We should never be able to cope with the demand. This much, however, may be done. In the villages where spinning is organized, some may do the carding while the rest do spinning. Even this requires careful handling. Similarly some of the sisters whom the correspondent has in mind should learn carding and then teach it to the others, or one of them may card for her group or club. In no case should slivers be sent by post, or from one centre to another. I know this golden rule is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. I fancy the A.I.S.A. has not laid down a fixed policy in this behalf. I do not, therefore, insist on my opinion being followed for the moment. But as the question has arisen I shall have it considered by the A.I.S.A. and, if possible, have some policy laid down in the matter.

SEVAGRAM, July 29, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English translation has been reproduced from *Harijan*, where it was published under "Notes".

## *379. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*July 29, 1940*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

From the above[1] you see I am advising Mira to go to Adampur instead of coming here. I see you will come on the 6th. Do not strain yourself. Finish your work well and without hurry. Your work here awaits you but does not suffer. You are not tied down to dates even as you would not be in going to your home. This is your second home if not the only home. Whilst therefore you will long to return but [*sic*] will not endanger your health or work to return here. I may write one more letter. I hope nothing radically wrong with your teeth.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3990. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7299

## *380. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

*July 29, 1940*

CHI. KAKA,

Here is Brelvi's letter.[2] The rest tomorrow at 4 o'clock. Never mind if what you have written is too long. How can we help if luck is against us? Tomorrow Rajaji and party are coming, but I shall give you whatever little time I can spare. We will finish the work bit by bit.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10934

[1] At the top of the sheet Gandhiji had written and then scratched out: "Chi. Mira, on the whole I vote for Adampur."

[2] S. A. Brelvi, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*



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## *381. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR'S EXTRAVAGANCES*

I have seen Dr. Katju's spirited reply to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's recent statement on the position of Indian States.

In my opinion the latter's thesis is self-condemned. His extravagant claims will make not the slightest difference when the British are ready, or compelled by events, to recognize India's independence. Pyarelal has shown from authentic documents the flimsy nature of the status enjoyed by the States. The guarantee is a convenient excuse for denying India's claim. But it will have no validity when the claim becomes irresistible. Surely Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, as a constitutional lawyer and student of British history, knows all this. I wholly agree with Dr. Katju when he says that the Dewan of Travancore is ill serving his own and the other Princes by inducing in them the belief that the British guarantees will perpetuate their and their successors' autocracy against the just claims of the States' people and the people of India as a whole. I venture to suggest that the best guarantee of their status consists not in the treaties with the British but in the goodwill, contentment and co-operation of their own people and the friendship of the people of non-State India. Time is running in favour of Indian independence and against all interests adverse to the people and their natural aspiration. I was, therefore, pained and surprised to find the Rana Saheb of Dholpur hastily echoing the phrases of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

SEVAGRAM, July 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *382. QUESTION BOX*[1]

### PAKISTAN AND AHIMSA

A Gujarati Mussalman correspondent writes:

> I am a believer in ahimsa as well as Pakistan. How can I use the ahimsa principle for the realization of my ideal?

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

A. It is not possible to attain an iniquitous end by non-violent means. For instance, you cannot commit theft non-violently. As I understand Pakistan I do not regard it as a worthy ideal. But since you consider it to be a worthy end, you can certainly carry on a non-violent movement on its behalf. This means that you will always strive to convert your opponents by patient reasoning. You will impress everybody by your selfless devotion to your ideal. You will give a respectful hearing to what your opponents might have to say, and respectfully point out to them their mistake if they are in the wrong. Finally, if you feel that the people do not listen to you out of sheer bigotry and prejudice although your cause is absolutely just, you can non-violently non-co-operate with the obstructionists. But you may not injure or seek to injure anybody and must, on your part, patiently endure any injury that might be done to you. All this you will be able to do if impartial persons endorse the justice of your cause.[1]

## Punjab Satyagraha Camp

Q. (From a letter from the Punjab) Preparations for satyagraha are afoot in the Punjab. There is a lot of untruth going on, and it is best to make this known as early as possible. Some plied the charkha in name. Some signed the satyagraha pledge, but did not so much as touch the charkha. The same is the case with khadi. In our satyagraha camp our satyagrahis were making fun of you and the Congress policy. I am therefore glad that the Congress has absolved you. It would be still better if the Congress were to delete the conditions about non-violence, truth, spinning, etc. All the same I have no doubt that the Working Committee's resolution has done untold harm to the country. What should one like me do in a situation like this?

A. I have had other letters from the Punjab making similar complaints, and the condition of things in many other provinces is very much, if not quite, the same as in the Punjab. It is a tragedy and spells ruin for the Congress if things do not mend. If the Congress loses its influence, it will be due to internal disease, never to external attacks.

I would give people like you the same advice as I have given to the Gujaratis believing in out-and-out non-violence. The articles in Gujarati, though written with reference to the condition of things in Gujarat, are of general applicability, for a more or less similar condition obtains in the other provinces.

[1] The Gujarati has: "If objectively your cause can be considered a just one."

## WHAT CAN A SOLITARY SATYAGRAHI DO?

Q. (From a letter from Orissa) There is one solitary satyagrahi in one of our villages. The rest do not worry about violence or non-violence. What discipline is that single satyagrahi to undergo?

A. Yours is a good question. The solitary satyagrahi has to examine himself. If he has universal love and if he fulfils the conditions implied in such a state, it must find its expression in his daily conduct. He would be bound with the poorest in the village by ties of service. He would constitute himself the scavenger, the nurse, the arbitrator of disputes, and the teacher of the children of the village. Everyone, young and old, would know him; though a householder he would be leading a life of restraint; he would make no distinction between his and his neighbour's children; he would own nothing but would hold what wealth he has in trust for others, and would therefore spend out of it just sufficient for his barest needs. His needs would, as far as possible, approximate to those of the poor, he would harbour no untouchability, and would therefore inspire people of all castes and creeds to approach him with confidence.

Such is the ideal satyagrahi. Our friend will always endeavour to come up to, wherever he falls short of, the ideal, fill in the gaps in his education; he will not waste a single moment. His house will be a busy hive of useful activities centring round spinning. His will be a well-ordered household.

Such a satyagrahi will not find himself single-handed for long. The village will unconsciously follow him. But whether they do or not, at a time of emergency he will, single-handed, effectively deal with it or die in the attempt. But I firmly hold that he will have converted a number of others. I may add in this connection that I had come to Sevagram as a solitary satyagrahi. Luckily or unluckily, I could not remain alone, several from outside came and settled with me. I do not know whether any inhabitant of the village proper can be counted as a satyagrahi, but I do hope that some of them are unconsciously shaping themselves as such. Let me say that I do not fulfil all the tests I have laid down. But I should not have mentioned them, had I not been striving to put into practice all of them. My present ambition is certainly to make of Sevagram an ideal village. I know that the work is as difficult as to make of India an ideal country. But while it is possible for one man to fulfil his ambition with respect to a single village some day, one man's lifetime is too short to overtake the whole of India. But if one man can

produce one ideal village, he will have provided a pattern not only for the whole country, but perhaps for the whole world. More than this a seeker may not aspire after.

### No Death for You

A friend from Agra writes:

> According to you a satyagrahi may no longer remain in the Congress. I too think the same. I believe in the Vedas. The Vedic text is quite clear on this point: "O thou, himsa-free man, there is no death for you, there is no death for you. Be not afraid." Why should we not implicitly believe in this hoary saying? My faith in ahimsa is daily growing. I am a Congressman. What should I do now?

A. If you really have that faith in you, you will unhesitatingly leave the Congress organization and render it greater and truer service by remaining outside. If you have love, patience and bravery, you will convert Congressmen around you to your view.

SEVAGRAM, July 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *383. INDORE STATE AND HARIJANS*[1]

I have before me an Indore State bulletin stating that out of the one lakh of rupees which the Maharaja Saheb had set aside from his privy purse for poor relief, Rs. 79,445 have been earmarked for building ninety-one tenements for Harijans. The Maharaja Saheb deserves to be congratulated on his action. I do hope that the munificence of the Maharaja will grow till there is not a single unemployed person in the State, nor a single person without milk and ghee in his diet, nor a Harijan without a well-lighted and well-ventilated house. The crushing contrast that one notices between the royal palace and the Harijan hovels must go.

SEVAGRAM, July 30, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English translation has been reproduced from *Harijan*, where it was published under "Notes".

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## 384. A TESTIMONY FROM ENGLAND

I publish the following[1] received by Mahadev as a sample of how some English minds are reacting to the non-violent movement in India.

> . . . Again and again I turn to *Harijan* and feed upon the courage and love of truth I find in its pages. I feel comforted when I mourn the devastation of Europe to reflect that the ancient village life of India will survive this storm, and beauty will not have entirely vanished from the earth. . . . The spectacle of naked force is horrible, obscene, but it exists. Continue to oppose all such force with all the spiritual forces of a great nation. This is the greatest service you may do for your own race and for humanity. . . . I am sending you a translation I have attempted of the work of an Indian village poet. It is on Indian handmade paper and bound in khadi. . . .

SEVAGRAM, July 31, 1940
*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## 385. 'WHAT ELSE BESIDES SPINNING?'[2]

With reference to my note under the above caption in *Harijanbandhu* of 27-7-1940, a friend from Bombay writes:[3]

I published the foregoing letter not because of any originality but because of his suggestions springing from practical experience. No case arises for persuasion when a person commits deliberate breaches of rules. His name simply ought to be struck off the register and restored to it only if he comes after full expiation. Indiscipline in a soldier is as dangerous a thing as the breakdown of a vital part in a high power machine. To drive in a car in which a vital part has given way would simply be to court disaster and even death, unless of course the

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-8-1940. The English adaptation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had suggested certain organizational rules to be followed by satyagrahis and activities to be taken up by them in addition to spinning. He had also suggested disciplinary action against offenders.



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car mercifully strikes work and refuses to move altogether. What applies in the case of machinery or an ordinary army applies with still greater force to a satyagrahi group. The mode of applying discipline will differ. The penalty for breach of discipline in an army would be jail or flogging or even shooting. In the case of a satyagrahi there is no penalty save that of removing him from the register. His repentance, if he has conviction of guilt, is the only punishment.

The recommendations made by the writer about work over and above spinning are quite sound and deserve to be carefully considered. But before actual work of organization can be taken up, one must watch the developments resulting from the new orientation of the Congress policy, I must also know as to how many people are actually ready to follow out-and-out non-violence. One thing, however, ought to be clear to everybody.[1] There will be no central organization. There will be one law under which innumerable autonomous, self-sustained, non-violent groups will be functioning. [This can only be possible where real non-violence rules men. India has had experience of such village republics as they were called by Mayne. I fancy that they were unconsciously governed by non-violence. These have suffered a rude check at the hands of the present rulers. An effort has now to be made to revive them under a deliberate non-violent plan.][2] My correspondent will, therefore, do well to organize a group from among those living within walking

[1] The Gujarati here adds: "There should be numerous groups of satyagrahis. I have already written on the subject. Accordingly the correspondent should organize all the satyagrahis of the area he can cover on foot. This group would be completely independent of the other groups."

[2] The Gujarati here has: "But each group will be independent of the others. In this way if one group breaks down it will not have an adverse effect on the rest. In ancient India villages were based on this system. There were as many separate administrations as there were villages. The villages used to elect the administrators; that was their Panchayat. The Panchayats framed and administered the laws. The people gladly obeyed them. That was a non-violent organization that lasted till the present day. The British government has shaken it though they have not destroyed it completely. Though I would not call it a perfectly non-violent organization, it nevertheless had seeds of non-violence. Whether that was so or not I have described above my idea of satyagraha groups. Such groups in spite of being independent of each other should work together when time comes because the common bond between all of them will be ahimsa and nothing else. Just as we can build a most beautiful building by arranging similar bricks together we can also produce a mighty satyagrahi army from several similar satyagrahi groups."

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distance. Every city may have such autonomous groups, if there are sufficient workers.

SEVAGRAM, July 31, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *386. OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE*

It is unfortunate that in answer to Mr. Sorensen's very relevant question the Secretary of State for India was betrayed into giving a reply which shows want of appreciation of the gravity of the situation in India. Who could have known the gravity of the European situation before the declaration of war by the British Government? But the British ministers knew how very grave the situation had become since Munich. They were so appalled by the gravity that they put off the declaration as long as they could. Similarly the layman does not know anything of the gravity of the situation in India. But the Secretary of State is not a layman. What he does not know, nobody else should know. And yet I venture to suggest to him that his questioner gauged the situation more accurately than he himself did, taking his answer at its face value.

In ordinary times such ignorance as Col. Amery's answer shows may be excusable. At this moment it is unpardonable. I do not propose to enlighten him on all I know. I dare not publicly exhibit all the danger signals. It would be an unfriendly act on my part to do so. Even the warning I am giving here might have been privately given. I have slept several nights over the answer. I came to the conclusion that to suppress altogether from the public what I know would also be an unfriendly act. In spite of my isolation from the Congress, I flatter myself with the belief that a large part of the public still seek my guidance and will continue to do so, as long as I am believed to represent the spirit of satyagraha more fully than any other person in India.

Col. Amery has grievously erred in underrating the restraint that the Congress has exercised in postponing civil disobedience in order not to embarrass the British Government at a most critical period in the history of the British. The restraint expects no appreciation. It is inherent in satyagraha. Therefore it is a duty. And the discharge of a duty carries no merit, even as payment of a debt does not. Nevertheless mention of the

restraint becomes relevant in order to show that but for that restraint a conflagration may burst forth whose effect no one can foresee.

It is true that civil disobedience remains in suspension also because of the internal defects in the Congress organization. But I have said repeatedly that, if the Congress is goaded to it, the science of satyagraha is not without a mode of application in spite of the internal weaknesses. Therefore the final and deciding motive for suspension is undoubtedly the desire not to embarrass the British Government at the present moment.

But this restraint has its limits. Just a suspicion is growing among Congressmen that the British authority is taking advantage of the restraint to crush the Congress. They point for example to the numerous arrests of Congressmen. The opposition on the part of so many members of the A.I.C.C. to the ratification of the Delhi resolution is, as the Maulana Saheb has said, a sign of their resentment at the feeling that the High Command was letting the British Government to get the better of the Congress. If that suspicion is proved to be well-grounded, nothing on earth can possibly deter me from adopting some form of effective satyagraha. But it is my prayer and corresponding effort to prevent it until the clouds lift from Great Britain. I do not want her humiliation in order to gain India's freedom. Such freedom, if it were attainable, cannot be manfully retained.

I have dealt with the one danger signal on which I can write with special knowledge. There are several others which I can easily mention and which are no less grave. But these I must not mention.

If I have publicly discussed one danger, I have done so because the Congress is connected with it and I have to say what is expected of Congressmen. If I retired from the Congress at Bombay in 1934, I did so to render greater service. Events have justified the retirement. The present isolation too has the same motive behind it. So far as I can judge the immediate future, satyagraha, if it comes, will be confined only to those whom I may select. The rest will be expected not to interfere with the course I may adopt. All will render very substantial help, if they will carry out the instructions that may be issued for them. One permanent instruction is: leave the Congress if you do not believe in the constructive programme, especially spinning and khadi which are visible symbols of adherence to the Congress, and if you do not believe in truth and non-violence—the

latter in the restricted sense now given to it by the recent resolution. If this elementary requirement is not fulfilled, any satyagraha that I may lead will be of no avail to the Congress. It will merely satisfy my satyagrahi soul.

SEVAGRAM, July 31, 1940

*Harijan*, 4-8-1940

## *387. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

*July 31, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have been meaning to write to you for these three days, but, being unable to spare any time from *Harijan* work, couldn't. I had long and frank talks with Kanchan. Now that you do not wish me to talk to her I have stopped it. Kanchan and I are of one opinion. You should set up house with her in Sevagram or in Balkrishna's cottage or wherever you like and as long as you like. This will please Kanchan best. If you are not prepared for this step and wish to be alone for the present, you may certainly do that. Kanchan will then stay here or wherever else you want her to. She will do what you desire. My independent opinion is that you will not be happy anywhere without her. You will not be able to overcome your love, or attachment, or whatever you call it, for Kanchan. You crave pleasures of the flesh. So does she if she can have them. But she is not pining for them as you are. There is nothing morally reprehensible in your love for Kanchan or your desire for sexual pleasure. You wish to soar high but that is beyond your capacity. Maybe your craving will be satisfied in a year or two and you will then be able to take to the path of renunciation as you wish to do. If you go, your present place will be reserved for you whenever you wish to return. If you get . . . [1] from the spinning that you do at present and can . . .[2] the science of khadi I will be . . .[3] satisfied. Only, you should decide about Kanchan.

I do not think anything is left out now.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8531. Also C.W. 7098. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1], [2] & [3] Illegible in the source

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## 388. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

*August 1, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are crazy. They have triumphed that are dead. Why then grieve over death[1]? Those who do their duty have nothing to grieve over. I understand why you did not come. Your place is there. Come here for a rest when you can.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7131. Also C.W. 4623. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

## 389. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 1, 1940*

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

The accompanying letter is from Nadiad. Please see if anything needs to be done about it.

Your falling ill so often is not good. You should take some rest.

Why do you feel uneasy? I would always regard as correct whatever you do, because ultimately a man functions according to his inspiration or ability. Even if he makes a mistake, he can rectify it only after it is made. I am having talks with Rajaji, not so as to make him change his stand but about what should be done next. At the moment I do not want to try and change his views. Experience will do that. I have no doubt in the least about it. Political wisdom also lies in following my way. But I will not dwell on that at present. Do come here whenever you wish.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, p. 241

[1] Of the addressee's father Naranbhai Patel; *vide* "Letter to Vijayabehn M. Pancholi", pp. 261-2.

## *390. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 1, 1940*

CHI. PRABHA,

It is very difficult to suggest anything about Father. My advice is that he should give up medical treatment. Let him go on repeating Ramanama. He should live on milk and fruit only. He may give up even milk, and take only fruit juice. He may take milk of course if he can digest it. Let him rest peacefully and wait for the end. You may show him this letter. Do what you think best. Come when you can. Take care of your health.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3546

## *391. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*August 2, 1940*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

So you will be delayed again. I have said don't hurry.[1] I shall postpone remaking your mattress till after your return.

The mistakes you point out are there. When you come they will be avoided. I do revise the English translations, can't revise the Hindustani.

Khanderia's letter I shall see. Maulana is just coming.

Ku. is here under my direct treatment and so is A. S. She is on her back. I have put her on a few ounces of milk.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3991. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7300

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 332.



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## 392. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 2, 1940*

DEAR SATIS BABU,

The village meeting I see is to be on 13th here. Therefore for the Pratishthan [and] A. I. S. A. there I fix 14 to 18th. During those days I ought to know the truth. Hemprabha I expect will come with you. When you come please bring 3 copies of your book on Home medicine.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1637

## 393. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

*August 3, 1940*

CHI. NARAHARI,

Draw the amount sanctioned by Thakkar Bapa from the money earmarked for me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3991

## 394. A CONVINCING ARGUMENT[1]

This is what an Englishwoman who knows what war means says about the Working Committee's decision to insist on non-violence for dealing with internal disturbances while fearing to trust non-violence to defend India:[2]

> ... To throw non-violence overboard when it comes to facing external aggression seems to me to be throwing it away at the very moment when its efficacy is the most sure and its benefit to mankind the greatest. ...

[1] This appeared under "Notes".
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.



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In internal disorder . . . it is more often than not a case of dealing with unintellectual and lower types of humanity . . . But in the case of external aggression, the two elements you are dealing with are intellectually developed leaders of nations and masses of innocent soldiers. On both of these non-violence is bound to have its reactions. . . . especially men of such intelligence as Hitler would be deeply moved by its grandeur . . .

If the Working Committee members ever thought non-violence should be and could be the ideal for internal affairs, then how much more it should be and could be the ideal for external affairs!

SEVAGRAM, August 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## *395. TRAVANCORE*

Shri P. J. Sebastian sends me the following true copy of the Press note of the Travancore Government:[1]

The Government of Travancore have observed with regret that, in the columns of his newspaper *Harijan*, Mr. Gandhi has afforded hospitality to statements emanating from Messrs Achuthan and G. Ramachandran, the former being the latest President and latter the propagandist of the moribund Travancore State Congress. Evidently it is hoped by these statements and the comments of Mr. Gandhi to force an outside enquiry and outside mediation upon the State. . . . In view . . . of the publicity which accompanies statements associated with Mr. Gandhi . . . the Travancore Government propose to take appropriate legal proceedings against Messrs Achuthan and G. Ramachandran . . .

I have published the text without interfering with the spelling or the grammar. In sending the copy Shri Sebastian says:

It has not up to now appeared in any of the Madras papers. The object of the Press note seems to be to warn the Travancore papers not to copy the article on 'Travancore' in the *Harijan* of the 28th July. It is worthy of note that none of the Travancore papers has published the *Harijan* article of the 28th, though the article of the 21st together with the reply of the Dewan had been published.

I am publishing everything important coming to me about Travancore because I believe it to be true. The threatened proceedings against Shri Ramachandran and Achuthan will not disprove the statements published. They will confirm the impression that the

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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Travancore State authorities are determined by all means at their disposal to crush the movement for liberty. If past experience is any guide, this Travancore repression will fail to crush the movement. Note how the issues are evaded in the Press note. There is no demand for an 'outside inquiry' or 'outside mediation', nor is there any question of force. The Dewan himself and many others in Travancore are outsiders. But they are not forced upon the State when the Maharaja engages them, and the use of the word 'outsider' ceases to have any meaning for the appointer. It is preposterous to use the word 'force' for friendly suggestions by the Press or appeals by State subjects, or to use words 'outsiders' and 'outside mediation' for suggestions to the State to bring impartial judges from outside. Were Justice Hunter, himself a non-Punjabi, and his non-Punjabi colleagues forced upon the Punjab Government when in response to public agitation Government appointed the Hunter Committee? Or was Justice Ramesam forced upon Sir Mirza Ismail when he appointed that learned outsider to conduct an inquiry into the Viduraswatham shooting? The public is bound to give sinister meaning to this gross misuse of the language by the Travancore authorities. Again, if the Travancore people are hostile to or apathetic to the doings of the State Congress, where is the occasion for the suppression of the State Congress bulletins and newspaper comments? Just causes truthfully and non-violently conducted have always survived repression and drawn sympathy from unexpected quarters. I call such sympathy divine help. God works in mysterious ways. Let the persecuted State Congress people have faith that God is with them.

SEVAGRAM, August 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## *396. DEBT BONDAGE OF A HILL TRIBE*[1]

Shri Mandeswar Sarma, who is working among the hillmen of Madugole Agency area in the Vizagapatam District, writes:

> I am glad to inform you that the debt bondage system prevailing from ages in these areas has been abolished very recently by the Government of Madras as the result of the efforts of the Hill Tribes' Association and the Provincial Zaim Ryots' Association. Debt bondage means that the hill muttahdars and employers advance some money, say Rs. 50 or 60,

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

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to tripesmen and exact whole-time services of the meek hillmen for 5, 10 and even 20 years, and at times for generations together. By this new regulation thousands of hillmen have been set free. We are leading the hillmen in all these matters in a non-violent groove. I am helping them to realize non-violent values by themselves. It is our ambition to take you to this area after three thousand persons actively take to the spinning-wheel and the *takli*. For this we need your blessing. They are about twenty thousand. At present twelve hundred hillmen are spinning. We are also trying to wean them from drink.

Though the Madras Government have taken long to redress the glaring wrong referred to here, they deserve to be thanked on principle that it is better to be late than never. It should now be easier for the workers like Shri Sarma to carry out ameliorative measures among the hillmen. My blessing he has. I do not know that I can hold out any hope of visiting his area even if he succeeds in getting three thousand charkhas going among the hillmen. He should have no difficulty in realizing his modest ambition.

SEVAGRAM, August 4, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-8-1940

## *397. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
*August 4, 1940*

CHI. AMRIT,

Although you say I may post your article to you I think you are in error if you leave on 6th. Hence it is being sent to Lucknow. No corrections. Don't much appreciate this article. The thing requires a lot of work behind it. Discuss it with me when you come.

I am handing your note to Babla.

Rajen Babu is ill. Not very.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3992. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7301

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## 398. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*August 4, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The reply is good. You may add: 'Instead of inviting me, it would be better if Mother comes here and sees for herself how happily I live. It will give her the satisfaction of meeting her son and I shall get the pleasure of seeing her.'

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4355

## 399. HOPEFUL

One reads the following in the daily Press:

> A call for passive resistance by Frenchmen and women was made by General de Gaulle in a broadcast last night. He urged all free Frenchmen in France not to help in the war against Britain.

I know that this is not a case of conversion. The gallant general will deal destruction to the 'enemy' to the best of his ability whenever he is able to. Nor can this passive resistance be called non-violent by any stretch of meaning. I simply cite General de Gaulle's advice to his countrymen to show that the world is irresistibly and unconsciously being drawn towards non-violent action.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 19-8-1940

## 400. IS NON-VIOLENCE IMPOSSIBLE?[1]

The doubts and difficulties raised by this correspondent[2] occur to others also, and I have on various occasions tried to solve them

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 10-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent, while admitting the power of non-violence, had argued that it was not possible for common people to attain to it.



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too. But when the Working Committee of the Congress has been instrumental in making of ahimsa a live issue, it seems necessary to deal with these doubts and difficulties at some length.

The correspondent doubts in substance the universal application of ahimsa, and asserts that society has made little progress towards it. Teachers like Buddha arose and made some effort with some little success perhaps in their lifetime, but society is just where it was in spite of them. Ahimsa may be good enough to be the duty of an individual; for society it is good for nothing, and India too will have to take to violence for her freedom.

The argument is, I think, fundamentally wrong. The last statement is incorrect inasmuch as the Congress has adhered to non-violence as the means for the attainment of swaraj. It has indeed gone a step further. The question having been raised as to whether non-violence continues to be the weapon against all internal disturbances, the A. I. C. C. clearly gave the answer in the affirmative. It is only for protection against outside aggression that the Congress has maintained that it would be necessary to have an army. And then even on this matter there was a considerable body of the members of the A. I. C. C. who voted against the resolution. This dissent has got to be reckoned with when the question voted upon is one of principle. The Congress policy must always be decided by a majority vote, but it does not cancel the minority vote. It stands. Where there is no principle involved and there is a programme to be carried out, the minority has got to follow the majority. But where there is a principle involved, the dissent stands, and it is bound to express itself in practice when the occasion arises. That means that ahimsa for all occasions and all purposes has been recognized by a society, however small it may be, and that ahmisa as a remedy to be used by society has made fair strides. Whether it will make further strides or no is a different matter. The Working Committee's resolution, therefore, fails to lend any support to the correspondent's doubts. On the contrary it should in a certain degree dispel them.

Now for the argument that I am but a rare individual, and that what little society has done in the matter of ahimsa is due to my influence, and that it is sure to disappear with me. This is not right. The Congress has a number of leaders who can think for themselves. The Maulana is a great thinker of keen intellect and vast reading. Few can equal him in his Arabic and Persian scholarship. Experience has taught him that ahimsa alone can make India free. It was he who insisted on the resolution accepting ahimsa as a weapon against internal disturbances. Pandit Jawaharlal is not a man to

stand in awe of anyone. His study of history and contemporary events is second to none. It is after mature thought that he has accepted ahimsa as a means for the attainment of swaraj. It is true that he has said that he would not hesitate to accept swaraj if non-violence failed and it could be won by means of violence. But that is not relevant to the present issue. There are not a few other big names in the Congress who believe in ahimsa as the only weapon at least for the attainment of swaraj. To think that all of them will give up the way of ahimsa as soon as I am gone, is to insult them and to insult human nature. We must believe that everyone can think for himself. Mutual respect to that extent is essential for progress. By crediting our companions with independent judgment we strengthen them and make it easy for them to be independent-minded even if they are proved to be weak.

I hope neither the correspondent nor anyone else believes that the Congress or many Congress leaders have bidden good-bye to ahimsa. To the limited extent that I have pointed out faith in ahimsa has been reiterated and made clear beyond any doubt by the Congress. I agree that the limit laid down by the Congress considerably narrows down the sphere of ahimsa and dims its splendour. But the limited ahimsa of the Congress is good enough for the purpose of our present argument. For I am trying to make out that the field of ahimsa is widening, and the limited acceptance of ahimsa by the Congress sufficiently supports my position.

If we turn our eyes to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards ahimsa. Our remote ancestors were cannibals. Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase. Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He therefore took to agriculture and depended principally on mother earth for his food. Thus from being a nomad he settled down to civilized stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he became member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progressive ahimsa and diminishing *himsa*. Had it been otherwise, the human species should have been extinct by now, even as many of the lower species have disappeared.

Prophets and avatars have also taught the lesson of ahimsa more or less. Not one of them has professed to teach *himsa*. And how should it be otherwise? *Himsa* does not need to be taught. Man as animal is violent, but as spirit is non-violent. The moment he awakes to the spirit within he cannot remain violent. Either he progresses towards ahimsa or rushes to his doom. That is why the

prophets and avatars have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice, etc.—all attributes of ahimsa.

And yet violence seems to persist, even to the extent of thinking people like the correspondent regarding it as the final weapon. But as I have shown history and experience are against him.

If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards ahimsa, it follows that it has to progress towards it still further. Nothing in this world is static, everything is kinetic. If there is no progression, then there is inevitable retrogression. No one can remain without the eternal cycle, unless it be God Himself.

The present war is the saturation point in violence. It spells to my mind also its doom. Daily I have testimony of the fact that ahimsa was never before appreciated by mankind as it is today. All the testimony from the West that I continue to receive points in the same direction. The Congress has pledged itself to ahimsa however limited. I invite the correspondent and doubters like him to shed their doubts and plunge confidently into the sacred sacrificial fire of ahimsa. Then I have little doubt that the Congress will retrace its step. "It is always willing." Well has Pritam, our poet, sung:

Happiest are those that plunge in the fire.
The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *401. THE TEST OF NON-VIOLENCE*[1]

Those who regard themselves as out-and-out votaries of non-violence and believe the step taken by Rajaji and others to be wrong,[2] have to pass through a severe test. I have expressed my opinion in the clearest possible language. I believe that Rajaji has gone off the track. He believes that I have. The future alone will decide who is right.

But as I have not the slightest doubt about the correctness of my position, I have not hesitated to advise those who think with me to leave the Congress. But this does not mean that they have to do so forthwith. It is enough if they are ready to retire when I decide upon the date. Before the actual step is taken, we shall have to make sure of certain things. Their retirement must be such as to

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 10-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] *Vide* "The Delhi Resolution", pp. 255-7.

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cause no shock to fellow Congressmen. If these do not appreciate the step, I have to explain it to them patiently, and to convince them that it is in the interest of the Congress that it should be taken. It is common cause between them and us that it would be an ideal thing if we could protect the country against foreign aggression by non-violence. It is therefore desirable that there should be a group of people pledged to devote their lives to proving the efficacy of non-violence. If the existence of such a group is good for the country, it is apparent that they should remain outside the Congress, and that the Congress should not only tolerate them but welcome them, render them as much help as possible, and regard them as their own. That means that far from there being any estrangement or misunderstanding between the Congress and this group, their relations should, if possible, be sweeter than before.

To bring about this happy consummation, the out-and-out votaries of non-violence should not even mentally find fault with their erstwhile comrades. They may not remind them of their previous statements. It is their duty to revise their statements if they feel that they were erroneous, and it is possible that they may not read in them the same implications as others discover in them. The best thing, therefore, is to bear joyously with one another. This mutual tolerance presupposes their choosing different spheres of action and working in co-operation wherever possible.

It will be some time before we can create such an atmosphere, but we are sure to succeed if we make a serious endeavour in this direction. In the meanwhile let everyone occupy himself with the constructive activities I have suggested and make steady progress therein. One or more leaders in each province should prepare a list of the seceders at the proper time. But I will not take a single step without mature deliberation.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *402. SPINNING ANNIVERSARY*[1]

Shri Narandas Gandhi writes from Rajkot as follows about the Spinning Anniversary:

> The 71 days' Programme for the forthcoming anniversary was commenced on the morning of 20th July with prayers and the song of

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 10-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

the 'True Vaishnava'. Spinning is in full swing. Some begin from 4 a.m. Amritlal gets up at 3.30 a.m. and begins spinning from 4 a.m., and by 3.30 p.m. with a break for breakfast and lunch spins nearly 6,000 yards in 11 hours. After this he learns music, has his walk and rest. He has resolved to spin 400,000 yards in 71 days. We have the evening prayer at 6.30. About 75 people attend. The following figures of collections for *Daridranarayan* made on the last five birthdays may be of interest:[1]

Figures are usually uninteresting and I rarely give details of these collections. But I have given these in detail as they are of striking interest. They are an eloquent testimony to the work that can be done by the single-minded devotion and efficiency of a single man. This annual spinning sacrifice goes on without fuss and advertisement. It is worthy of emulation everywhere for it means automatic propagation of khadi.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *403. ONE STEP FORWARD*[2]

I have before me two neatly bound volumes in English and Hindustani, being a report of the first Conference of Basic National Education held at Poona in October 1939. The English volume is entitled *One Step Forward*. It covers 292 pages in English and 290 in Hindustani. The price is Rs. ¼ per volume. Besides instructive introductory pages the report is divided into three parts. The first contains general speeches and discussions. The second is devoted to various interpretations of basic education, and the third part is devoted to a description of the exhibition of basic education for which Shrimati Ashadevi[3] made herself mainly responsible. There is an appendix which contains the names and addresses of delegates and invited guests. In the concluding part of his brief introduction Shri Aryanayakam says:

> The conference and the exhibition have finally lifted the scheme of basic national education above the realm of controversy and proved

[1] The figures are not reproduced here. They showed the amounts collected in the years from 1935 to 1939 and their disbursement for Harijan work, khadi work, education and famine-relief.

[2] This appeared under "Notes".

[3] Ashadevi Aryanayakum



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to the educational world that as regards the fundamental principles, contents and method, the claims of this new education are justified by a year's experience of work with the teachers and children.

The proceedings of the conference are proof of that claim. I must resist the temptation to quote from the body of the report. Those who are interested in education should not be without a copy. For me it is a matter of comfort that this the latest, though perhaps not the last, effort of mine has met with almost universal approbation. The year's record promises a bright future for the experiment. I must review the annual report in another issue.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## *404. THE CASE OF MY FIRST SON*[1]

Q. You have failed to take even your own son with you, and he has gone astray. May it not, therefore, be well for you to rest content with putting your own house in order?

A. This may be taken to be a taunt, but I do not take it so. For the question had occurred to me before it did to anyone else. I am a believer in previous births and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the *samskars* we carry from our previous births. God's laws are inscrutable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them.

This is how I regard the case of my son. I regard the birth of a bad son to me as the result of my evil past whether of this life or previous. My first son was born when I was in a state of infatuation. Besides, he grew up whilst I was myself growing and whilst I knew myself very little. I do not claim to know myself fully even today, but I certainly know myself better than I did then. For years he remained away from me, and his upbringing was not entirely in my hands. That is why he has always been at a loose end. His grievance against me has always been that I sacrificed him and his brothers at the altar of what I wrongly believed to be public good. My other sons have laid more or less the same blame at my door, but with a good deal of hesitation, and they have

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 10-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*, where it appears under the heading "Question Box".

generously forgiven me. My eldest son was the direct victim of my experiments—radical changes in my life—and so he cannot forget what he regards as my blunders. Under the circumstances I believe I am myself the cause of the loss of my son, and have therefore learnt patiently to bear it. And yet it is not quite correct to say that I have lost him. For it is my constant prayer that God may make him see the error of his ways and forgive me my shortcomings, if any, in serving him. It is my firm faith that man is by nature going higher, and so I have not at all lost hope that some day he will wake up from his slumber of ignorance. Thus he is part of my field of experiments in ahimsa. When or whether I shall succeed I have never bothered to know. It is enough for my own satisfaction that I do not slacken my efforts in doing, what I know to be my duty. 'To work thou hast the right, never to the fruit thereof' is one of the golden precepts of the *Gita*.

SEVAGRAM, August 5, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## *405. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

*August 5, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I agree with you. Would you consider Kanchan touching me undesirable? Should she avoid touching a man even for the sake of serving him? Tell me unhesitatingly what you wish.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8530. Also C.W. 7099. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *406. WHAT OF THE 'WEAK MAJORITY'?*

Prof. Timur of Islamia College, Peshawar, writes:[1]

> . . . The experiment which you want to make of defending India against foreign aggression without the use of arms would be the boldest moral experiment of all times. There are two possible results of such a course. Either the conscience of the invaders may be awakened by

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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> the love of the invaded and they may repent of their sin. Or the proud invaders may take non-violence as a sign of physical weakness and degeneration and may think it right to subjugate, rule over, and exploit, a weak people. This is the doctrine of Nietzsche which is followed in practice by Hitler. A great loss is involved in such conquest of the physically weak by the physically strong. A few strong-willed members of the conquered nation may refuse to owe allegiance to the conquerors, but the large majority always submits . . . It is the weak majority which needs protection. The question is how to protect it by non-violent methods. . . .

The weak majority no doubt needs protection. If all were soldiers either of ahimsa or *himsa*, no such questions as call for discussion in these columns would arise. There is always a weak majority that would want protection against man's mischief. The orthodox method we know. Nazism is its logical outcome. It is an answer to a definite want. A terrible wrong wantonly perpetrated against a whole nation cried out for redress. And Hitler arose to avenge it. Whatever the ultimate fortune of the war, Germany will not be humiliated again. Humanity will not stand a second outrage. But in seeking to avenge the wrong by the wrong method of violence brought to very near perfection, Hitler has brutalized not only Germans but a large part of humanity. The end of it we have not yet reached. For Britain, so long as she holds to the orthodox method, has to copy the Nazi methods if she is to put up a successful defence. Thus the logical outcome of the violent method seems to be increasingly to brutalize man including "the weak majority". For it has to give its defenders the required measure of co-operation.

Now imagine the same majority defended after the method of non-violence. As it admits of no grossness, no fraud, no malice, it must raise the moral tone of the defenders. Hence there will be a corresponding rise in the moral tone of the "weak majority" to be defended. No doubt there will be difference in degree, but not in kind.

But the snag comes in when we consider the ways and means of working the non-violent method. In working the other, there is no difficulty in getting the human material. Therefore that way seems easy. In getting non-violent defenders, we have to pick and choose. Money cannot buy them. The non-violent process is wholly different from the one commonly known. I can only say that my own experience in organizing non-violent action for half a century fills me with hope for the future. It has succeeded in a marked measure in protecting the "weak majority". But half a century is nothing in discovering the hidden possibilities of this force and

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working them out. Those, therefore, like the correspondent who are attracted to non-violence, should, according to their ability and opportunity, join the experiment. It has entered upon a most interesting, though at the same time a most difficult, stage. I am myself sailing on uncharted waters. I have to take soundings every half-hour. The difficulty only braces me for the struggle.

SEVAGRAM, August 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *407. THE BISWA AFFAIR*

Though late in the day I must redeem my promise to give my opinion on this unfortunate case. I have letters containing angry protests against the five Congress Ministers in C. P., chiefly the Prime Minister. I have carefully read both the judgments, that of the learned Chief Justice and of the concurring Judge. There is no doubt whatsoever that there has been a gross miscarriage of justice due to the police bungling. I hold Pandit Shukla and his fellow-ministers to be wholly free from blame. These are the remarks of the Chief Justice about Pandit Shukla:

> In the course of the debate the then Prime Minister himself did not hesitate to use the word 'murder' and to indicate that this was not a case of riot but a carefully planned murder ruthlessly carried out.

I can find nothing objectionable in this statement. He made use of the information then in his possession. He might have used the orthodox prefix 'alleged' in connection with 'murder' and used guarded language. But there is nothing in his statement to justify the wrath poured upon his head. The judges' finding, however, is that there was a murder and that it was worthy of condemnation. Their natural regret was that because of want of reliable evidence the crime had to go unpunished. I have not, therefore, been able to understand, much less to appreciate the rejoicing over what is a manifest failure of justice. So far as the discharge of the prisoners was concerned, it was a matter for common, not communal, rejoicing that no man suffered unless there was conclusive evidence. All must accept the unequivocal judgment of the final court of appeal. But there should have been common regret too that there was failure of justice. It cannot be to the advantage of any community that a murderer should be screened. Panditji has written

a long letter to the Maulana Saheb about the affair. I have seen the letter. I do not know what the Maulana Saheb has said on the letter. I hold it to be quite convincing. I take from the letter the following Muslim testimony quoted by him:[1]

I hope that my opinion will not revive the dying embers of an unfortunate controversy which should never have arisen. If the two communities must quarrel, is it not possible to fight fair? Charges without foundation can but add to the existing bitterness.

SEVAGRAM, August 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *408. AUNDH*

Who does not know little Aundh? Little it is in size and income, but it has made itself great and famous by its Chief having bestowed, unasked, the boon of full self-government on his people. Its chief minister Appasaheb Pant has brought out an attractive pamphlet of nine pages describing the experiment, from which I reproduce the following:

> Village democracy is the basis of the new Constitution. Every village elects by the vote of all of its adults a panchayat of five persons. One of these five is elected by the panchayat unanimously as their president. If this unanimity is not possible, then all the adults of the village elect the president out of the panchayat.
>
> Duly elected presidents of a group of villages constitute the taluka panchayat. The taluka panchayat decides in its meetings the way in which it would spend the money that it receives. It receives as near as possible half the revenue that is collected in the taluka. The villages prepare their budgets and present them through their presidents to the taluka panchayat. These are discussed and a budget for the whole taluka is prepared. The villages can spend the money they get as they think fit. As yet education and public works constitute the chief items of expenditure.
>
> The members of the Assembly know not only about the affairs of the Central Government, but they are intimately connected with the

[1] Not reproduced here. Shukla in his letter had described how he had visited the place accompanied by Hindu and Muslim M.L.A.s, taken tea at the Muslim High School at Khamgaon and when this was objected to by some, had appealed to both the communities for harmony and goodwill and how Khan Saheb Abdul Rahman was pleased by this.

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everyday work in the villages, and they get acquainted with the work of other villages in their taluka at the meetings of the taluka panchayat. The member of the Legislative Assembly, in this way, is an active worker almost 12 hours of the day. It is not that he stands for election, gets elected on certain issues, and does not worry about these till the next election. He has to face the villagers every day. The Constitution gives the power of recall to the villagers. 4/5ths of the voters can ask for a re-election of the panchayat.

The panchayats dispense justice. The villager need not spend money, go out of his village, and spend days at the taluka town to get a hearing. The panchayat decides his case on the spot. The peasant can get witnesses in the village. And in the cases that are difficult and involve intricate points of law, a sub-judge comes to the village and assists the panchayat with the dispensation of justice. The sub-judge not only gives expert advice to the panchayat, but also acts as a guide to the peasant who many a time is completely ignorant of his legal rights and is therefore liable to be misguided by the vested interests—the *goondas*.

Justice in Aundh is therefore cheap, swift and effective. In the panchayats of two talukas alone 197 criminal and civil suits have been disposed of. In 75 per cent of civil suits and 50 per cent of criminal cases no pleaders were engaged. The witnesses had to be paid nothing, being themselves on the spot. There was thus great saving of time and money. Most cases were decided at a single sitting. The whole village turns out at the hearing of cases. Hence lying is rare, because it can be easily detected. Therefore many cases are compromised out of court. This method of dealing out justice is itself great adult education.

There are 88 village schools for 72 villages. After the introduction of adult franchise, 35 per cent of the adult population received education. Basic education is not neglected, nor is physical. The Rajasaheb himself takes a keen interest in the physical development of his people. It is done through *surya-namaskar*. It is a special style.

If Appasaheb has shown the bright side of the experiment, he has not lost sight of the difficulties and troubles. I omit notice of these. For they are the usual difficulties that attend all such experiments. The leaders of the people, if they retain their faith, will surely surmount them. This is how the pamphlet closes:

> Little has been done. Much remains to be done. It's an important work we are doing. We want sympathy and advice.

I am sure everybody sympathizes with the Aundh people. Let those who have any to give send Appasaheb their thoughts. Let them be sure that they are sound and relevant.

SEVAGRAM, August 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *409. NAZISM IN ITS NAKEDNESS*

A Dutch friend writes:[1]

You will perhaps be able to remember me having made a drawing of you at Romain Rolland's in 1931.... I am a Dutchman and lived for many years in Germany, where I had built up a living as an artist. Nazism, which gained hold in Germany seven years ago, caused me many conscientious doubts . . .

It is just one year ago since I left my house in Munich to spend some time in Holland. . . . On 10th May, by the use of every possible subtle trick, Holland was overpowered. After four days of the most ruthless bombing we fled to England and are now on our way to Java, the country of my birth, where I hope to find work . . .

Hitler aims at nothing less than the destruction of all moral values, and in the bulk of German youth he has already attained that end.

Your article in *Harijan* about the Jewish problem in Germany particularly interested me since I had many Jewish friends there. You say in it that, if ever a war were justified, it is this one against Germany. In the same article, however, you write that, if you were a Jew, you would attempt to soften the hearts of the Nazis by non-violence.[2] Recently you also advised Britain and the British people to surrender their beautiful island to the German invader, without resistance by force, and to conquer him afterwards by non-violence.[3] There is probably no man in the whole history who has a better knowledge of the practice of non-violence than yourself. Your views have awakened veneration and love for you in millions of hearts not only in India but in the outside world as well....

Through Nazism, the German youth has lost all individuality of thought and feeling. The great mass of young people has lost its heart and is degraded to the level of a machine. The German conduct of the war is absolutely mechanical; machines are driven by robot

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVIII, "The Jews", pp. 137-41.
[3] *Vide* "To Every Briton", pp. 229-31.

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men who have no qualms of conscience about crushing under their tanks the bodies of women and children, bombing open towns, killing hundreds of thousands of women and children, and on occasion using them as a screen for their advance, or distributing poisoned food. These are all facts, the truth of which I can vouch for. I have spoken with many of your followers about the possibility of applying non-violence against Germany. A friend of mine, whose work it is to cross-examine German prisoners of war in England, was deeply shocked by the spiritual narrowness and heartlessness of these young men, and agreed with me that non-violence could not be applied with any success against such robots. . . .

The friend has sent his name and address. But I withhold both for fear of harm coming to him through unnecessary publicity. The letter must be valued on its own intrinsic merits.

What, however, concerns me is not so much his characterization of Nazism as his belief that non-violent action may have no effect on Hitler or the Germans whom he has turned into so many robots. Non-violent action, if it is adequate, must influence Hitler and easily the duped Germans. No man can be turned into a permanent machine. Immediately the dead weight of authority is lifted from his head, he begins to function normally. To lay down any such general proposition as my friend has, betrays ignorance of the working of non-violence. The British Government can take no risks, can make no experiments in which they have not even a workable faith. But if ever an opportunity could be given to me, in spite of my physical limitations, I should not hesitate to try what would appear to be impossible. For in ahimsa it is not the votary who acts in his own strength. Strength comes from God. If, therefore, the way is opened for me to go, he will give me the physical endurance and clothe my word with the needed power. Anyway all through my life I have acted in that faith. Never have I attributed any independent strength to myself. This may be considered by men who do not believe in a higher Power than themselves as a drawback and a helpless state. I must admit that limitation of ahimsa, if it be accounted as such.

SEVAGRAM, August 6, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## 410. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

*August 6, 1940*

CHI. MANUDI[1],

It is but natural that you should expect my letters. But where is the time? Yes, I do assume that even if I don't write to you, you will not chide me in your heart. I do get news of you from time to time. Are you not coming here some time? Do not wait for my invitation. Ba's should be sufficient. Do not come now even if Ba calls you. Wait till the weather improves.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MANUBEHN MASHRUWALA
"BALKIRAN"
SANTA CRUZ, B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2677. Courtesy: Kanubhai Mashruwala

## 411. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[2]

*August 6, 1940*

Q. You say that God has a hand in the creation of the world. Why is then there this frightful war? Why aren't they inspired by God? Millions of men, women and children are being killed. It seems that God loves it. What are the things inspired by God? Can't He prevent bad deeds?

A. If we knew this should we not become God? It is all [beyond] reason.

Q. 'Rama cares only for love." Will you explain what is meant by love here?

A. Those who love Rama's creation, love Rama.

*August 6, 1940*

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

The replies are given above.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

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

[1] Gandhiji's grand-daughter, Harilal Gandhi's daughter
[2] Questions were asked by Prabhu Dayal Vidyarthi

## 412. DISCUSSION WITH MEMBERS OF THE A.I.C.C.[1]

[Before *August 7, 1940*][2]

A few members of the A. I. C. C. who are out-and-out believers in non-violence visited Sevagram the other day. Some of them had remained neutral on the Delhi resolution, some had opposed it. What was the right attitude? What were they to do next? What was the programme before them? Should they not retire forthwith? These and other questions were troubling them, and they did not know what to do. In response Gandhiji began to do some loud thinking. Gandhiji said:

Wait, watch, and pray. You must carefully follow what I am writing from week to week. You must be absolutely sure that you are out-and-out believers in non-violence. Can your ahimsa stand the test? Rehearse to yourselves what you would do in case of riot. Those who have differed from us are no cowards. If they say that they cannot do without an army and police, they deserve a respectful hearing. I myself do not know what I should do in a difficult situation. You know I have capitulated on the question of the desirability of maintaining a police force. But what I can say is that I shall hope to behave non-violently, should the occasion arise. I should not like to die before my death. I do not want to prepare India for military defence from today. We should never forget that we are not the whole of India. The Congress is without doubt a powerful organization, but the Congress is not the whole of India. The Congress may not have an army, but those who do not believe in non-violence will. And if the Congress too surrenders, there is no one to represent the no-army mentality. This was my argument in a nutshell. But I failed to carry conviction. Therefore I must find fault not with my comrades but with myself. There must be some weakness in my argument, and so I must prepare myself to carry conviction to those who differ from me.

But, I have digressed. What you and I have to do is to show our ahimsa when there is rioting or similar disturbance. If every one of us, wherever he is, begins doing so there will come into being a non-violent army. Even the limited non-violence

[1&2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "The Live Issue", 7-8-1940

that all are subscribing to would not have come into being if we had seen no successful demonstrations of it. So we have to hold on to our faith, even if when the time comes we may fail. There is no use arguing with the comrades who have differed from us, I hope only temporarily. The question is one of demonstrating the truth in us, and we won't do it, unless we show that we have no malice, no bitterness, no inclination to find faults. We have to prepare ourselves for the terrible ordeal. The testing time may come sooner than we imagine. I am sailing on an uncharted sea. I have no cut and dried programme, and I am brooding from moment to moment. In the meanwhile follow my weekly writings and carry out the constructive programme. The time for resignation is not yet. We must not be misunderstood.

A WORKER: But, you have asked us to retire immediately, and all of us are ready.

GANDHIJI: Your readiness is good, and it is enough for me for the time being. If you conscientiously voted against the Delhi resolution, you did nothing wrong; if you remained neutral, you did nothing wrong. You would have been wrong if you had joined hands with those who sought to defeat the resolution on any but the ground of non-violence. For having given your vote on the Wardha resolution, and having lost, you could not vote against the Delhi resolution which was the natural corollary of the Wardha resolution.

A WORKER: But it was by accident that those who voted against the Delhi resolution, did so.

G. No, it was by design. They are no believers in non-violence to the extent you are, but they wanted to defeat the resolution for the sake of their policy.

Q. But then how long are we to remain in the Congress?

G. I cannot give a definite answer. I shall have a talk with the Maulana. We must not rush the Maulana and the Working Committee. If they find that the out-and-out non-violence people were the sustaining part of the Congress organization, they will retrace their step.

Q. Then how long shall we wait?

G. Until I give you the word.

A WORKER: But, I disliked the Wardha resolution and wanted to resign at once.

G. You might have done so. Then you would have been within your rights. But to do so now might savour of violence and self-righteousness. You must remember that I waited for more than a year before taking the final step and then too I took it with the full approval of the friends of the Working Committee.

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *413. NOT A HARIJAN*

Shri Ramchandran draws my attention to the fact that Shri Achuthan should not have been described as a Harijan. Whilst he is too big to resent the description, his fellow Ezhawas are likely to take offence. I ought to have known this. For when I was touring in Travancore I had this delicate matter brought to my notice. All those whose feeling has been hurt by my use of the word will please believe me when I say that no offence was intended by me. I have never regarded the word as a term of reproach. But I am aware that there are many who do not look at things with my eyes.

SEVAGRAM, August 7, 1940

*Harijan*, 11-8-1940

## *414. FOREWORD TO TAMIL TRANSLATION OF TULSIDAS'S "RAMACHARITAMANAS"*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 7, 1940*

Everyone knows of my close association with Shrimati Ambujammal. She has studied Hindi with great devotion. She has shown the same devotion in the study of the *Ramayana*. Now she has rendered that peerless epic into Tamil. I hope Tamilians will read it with joy. I congratulate Ambujammal.

M. K. GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9613. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

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## 415. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 7, 1940*

MY DEAR AMBUJAM[1],

I was glad to hear from you after a long silence, if only to remind me that I had not sent you the promised foreword[2]. My memory does betray me nowadays. What I intend to do I often take for granted I have done. Since you have not received the previous letter I am inclined to regard it as another betrayal of memory. I shall not be happy till I receive your letter that you have the foreword. I am sorry for the delay wholly unintended.

It is a good thing you are attending to the parents. I hope both are well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 9614. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

## 416. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
*August 7, 1940*

CHI. NARANDAS,

Your figures, etc., have been despatched. They will appear in all the three journals.[3] Why did you not send them earlier?

Enclosed is a letter from Prema as usual.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8577. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Daughter of S. Srinivasa Iyengar
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* "Spinning Anniversary", pp. 352-3.



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## 417. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
*August 7, 1940*

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. If true ahimsa is to be manifested, it will be manifested now. But we must put our own house in order. Our first duty is to show generosity towards those who part company with us. If we succeed in doing that, the next step will be easy. If we fail, we shall not be able to take the next step at all. Is this clear? Read *Harijan* and *Harijan-bandhu* very carefully.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10410. Also C.W. 6849. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

## 418. LETTER TO MANJULABEHN M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 7, 1940*

CHI. MANJULA,

I have your letter. Here you will not get a Gujarati teacher. You should bring one from there. My advice to you is that you should come here once, stay for a month or so and then decide which place will suit you. If you come I will of course like it. If you come, perhaps Magan also may come. I do not think that letters will have much influence on him. I did expect that he would turn out as you have described him to be. But you are brave and sensible and so I keep patience.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1604. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

## 419. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 7, 1940*

CHI. URMI[1],

I was extremely pleased to read your letter. How big have you grown now? I may not even be able to recognize you. I hope that we shall meet soon. Keep on writing to me. You have given a fine description of the monuments in Ahmedabad. Did you see the windows of Bhadra?[2]

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1605. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

## 420. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
*August 7, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

There should be no eating in the kitchen. I shall advise the women.

Clothes must be washed, slivers made. Grinding, sweeping and dish-washing should be compulsory. If there is any confusion, I shall see about it.

Bharatanandji's dog should be sent away. Dhiren's has been. I shall see.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4350

[1] Daughter of Maganlal Mehta
[2] The Bhadra mosque famed for its grillwork windows



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## 421. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
*August 8, 1940*

RAJKUMARI
MANORVILLE
SUMMER HILL
SIMLA

KHANSAHEB WANTS MEHRTAJ IRWIN COLLEGE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3993. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7302

## 422. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 8, 1940*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Maulana Saheb gave me the Hyderabad preliminary report. It makes fearful reading. There is nothing new in it for me. But one does not want confirmation of worst fears. I have been taxing myself about the remedy. I meet the workers tomorrow. If you have any thoughts pass them on to me.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Will you send me any authentic evidence you may have of the war exactions?[1]

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] For Jawaharlal Nehru's reply, *vide* Appendix VI.



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## 423. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
*August 8, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I will see about Kanchan. I will do something about those among them who have real enthusiasm. I will get for you whatever journal you want. If you are ready, I even want your services in that field. I should also like your comments on the language.

I will have a talk with Bharatanandji.

Pyarelal writes his name on whatever is addressed to him. I will manage to get that booklet.

My explanation about what a single village-worker can do was intended for all villages and that included Sevagram too. But not the Ashram. Shouldn't my remarks be applied to me also? Hence I pointed out my shortcomings in that article. If I had only the Sevagram work with me and if I were the only worker, my article would have literally applied to me, too.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8529

## 424. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
*August 9, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I received your kind wire on Wednesday and yesterday your letter referred to in the wire. I thank you for both of them.

I have very carefully read your pronouncement[1] and slept over it. It has made me sad. Its implications frighten me. I cannot help feeling that a profound mistake has been made. I recognize that yours is a tremendous responsibility and that you can only do what you think is best. But since you have given me the

[1] *Vide* Appendix VII.



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privilege of sharing my thoughts with you and since I fancy I know more of a vital part of India than you can, I have thought it my duty to let you have my reaction to your pronouncement. I am filled with the greatest misgivings. I hope, however, that events will prove that there was no warrant for them.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *425. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 9, 1940*

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

Please thank Dr. Vaidya on my behalf for his joining you. You will certainly have warmth from him. You have done well in taking over the responsibility of the exhibition.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10847. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

## *426. LETTER TO NRISINHPRASAD K. BHATT*[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 9, 1940*

BHAI NANABHAI,

I do not know where Prithvi Singh is these days. If he is somewhere there and if you feel disposed please do this. Mirabehn looks upon him as her husband. She believes that her love for him is the result of her previous life. She has pledged her all to him. Prithvi Singh regards her as a sister. For this I am responsible. The moment he came here I told him that he should regard all the women here as his sisters. As a result he

[1] Nrisinhprasad Kalidas Bhatt, founder of Dakshinamurti, an educational institution in Bhavnagar

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does not look upon her in any other way. Mirabehn is pining for him here. It is not that Prithvi Singh is not going to marry. I feel that if a woman whom one regards as a sister is really not one's sister and if there is no violation of morality, the brotherly sentiment is not binding. It is a question of life and death for Mirabehn. Mirabehn is worthy in every way. She can be a great help to Prithvi Singh. Mirabehn does want a child and that too by Prithvi Singh. Under such circumstances it becomes my duty to persuade Prithvi Singh and if he has no religious objection it is his duty to marry her. If Prithvi Singh is likely to come this way or if you have any hesitation about talking to him, you need not involve yourself in this. If his coming is likely to be delayed and you hesitate to speak to him, let me know when he will be coming.[1]

I trust your work is going on well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10861. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

## *427. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 10, 1940*

CHI. PURATAN,

The advice you have given to the Bhangi friends is perfectly sound.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI PURATAN BUCH
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI
B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9178

[1] Mirabehn's version of this episode is to be found in *The Spirit's Pilgrimage*, Ch. LI.

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## 428. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 10, 1940*

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your letter. I see there is a divergence between your views and mine. There is no harm in this. Every individual should have freedom of thought. I perceive flaws in your views. You do in mine. It is possible that I may be mistaken in my views. I have confessed that I have no first-hand knowledge of *himsa*. Therefore if you have really accepted ahimsa, I shall not be surprised if yours is purer than mine. On the contrary I shall only be pleased. I therefore thank you for so frankly placing your views before me.

What you think about Guru ka Bagh[1] is not correct because those people came to me and I told them that what they had done was wrong. They agreed with me. Your assumption about Khudai Khidmatgars is also wrong. Neither Khan Saheb nor I can say that they have really become non-violent. I do not feel Nathji would agree with your assessment. I shall look into it. But even if it should be so my views remain unaltered. The ideas which have gripped me for now fifty years cannot be given up suddenly.

Your saying that I had asked you to run classes in Wardha shows a slip of memory. I had said that you should start your experiment initially in the Ashram and that if I was convinced, you certainly had boys from Wardha to instruct.

Your last statement is significant. You say that the Government notice has left you without an ideal. That falsifies your ideal because no one can stop the preparation for satyagraha. Even though I do not have the time I have written such a long letter just to let you know some of the flaws in your views. Let the three brothers getting training in Baroda, continue to do so. As I have understood it is a three months' course. However if our field of activity is going to be different, I am not responsible for them. All the same I will pay for their 3 months' expenses up to Rs. 180.

[1] A place near Amritsar from where Akali Sikhs launched satyagraha to take possession of the Gurudwara

We shall further discuss things when you come.

It is good that you stayed on to nurse Nalini[1] and that she has recovered.

I have sent an important letter to Nanabhai.[2] You will perhaps get it when you go there.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5642. C.W. 2953. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

## *429. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 11, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

With reference to your kind letter of 31st July, I am now able to send you some papers. I have picked up a letter from one whom I know well and who has never deceived me. That is marked (A)[3]. Another is from Hinganghat (Dist. Wardha, C. P.). I do not know the writer. But the information he gives can be easily checked. It is marked (B)[4]. (C)[5] is copy of a minatory notice. These are but samples. The complaints are universal.

About the increase in the salaries given to persons appointed to the new posts created I send you a sample list herewith. I cannot have free access to this kind of information. The figures I am sending you are supplied by those who claim to know.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[1] Wife of Gopalrao Kulkarni, a worker for Nayee Taleem

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Nrisinhprasad K. Bhatt", pp. 371-2.

[3] This was a translation of H. L. Sharma's letter of July 15, addressed to Gandhiji wherein he had described the high-handedness resorted to by officials in extorting contributions for the war fund.

[4] This pertained to deduction of war fund contribution from the mill-hands' salary itself as the millowner was expected to pay a huge amount towards the war fund.

[5] This was a copy of a Tehsildar's letter to an Honorary Magistrate who had failed to attend a war fund meeting. The Tehsildar had threatened to bring his 'indisciplinary attitude' to the notice of the Government.

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[PS.]

I was glad to have the good news about Lord Hopetoun.

M. K. G.

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

## *430. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 11, 1940*

MY DEAR MAHMUD,

Your two letters. I am reading your booklet. Do come whenever you like. Hope you are well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5086

## *431. MORAL SUPPORT*[1]

A friend writes as follows:

> On the declaration of war you had advised giving moral support to Britain. Many persons never understood the implications of such support. You have never explained them either so far as I know. I am a regular reader of *Harijanbandhu*, but I have not seen a clear explanation there. Everyone puts his own interpretation on the words. At the last sitting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee the leaders said: 'Bapu was ready to give moral support to Britain. What else has the Congress done in its latest resolution? As a matter of fact the Congress asks for more than it promises to give. Bapu was willing to give all for nothing.' If war is itself a wrong act, how can it deserve moral support or blessings? In the *Mahabharata*, was the help that Lord Krishna gave to Arjuna moral, or was it more destructive than the deadliest weapons of war?

I did explain in *Harijan* what I meant by moral support. It is possible that the explanation did not appear in *Harijanbandhu*. In my English writings things are often left to be understood. The ellipses need, however, to be brought out in translations.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 17-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

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Broadly speaking, Britain could have had moral support from the Congress, if only she had acted justly towards India. There was no spirit of bargaining in my proposal because the help was not offered in exchange for anything.

Suppose my friend possesses moral strength which he has acquired through *tapasya*. And suppose I am in need of this strength. I shall not get it from him for the asking. He may always be ready to give it to me, but if I have not the capacity within me to take it from him, how shall I ever obtain it? Moral support cannot really be given in the sense of giving. It automatically comes to him who is qualified to take it. And such a one can take it in abundance.

The Congress has this moral reservoir. The acceptance of the creed of truth and non-violence has been its *tapasya*. It has acquired world prestige through the acceptance of truth and non-violence for the attainment of its goal. If the Congress could have given its blessings to Britain, the world would have adjudged Britain's cause to be just. The masses over whom the Congress holds sway would also have acknowledged justice to be on Britain's side. But in all this the Congress would have had nothing material to give. The British Government would, by its own action, have acquired moral prestige or strength. Though the Congress would not give one man or one pice as material aid, its moral support and blessings would definitely have turned the scales in favour of Britain. This is my belief. That my belief may be groundless and that the Congress never had any moral prestige is quite possible. The determination of this question is unnecessary for my argument.

But the opportunity for rendering moral support now seems almost to have gone. The Congress felt itself unable to adopt my course. It cannot be taken mechanically. It presupposes a living faith in truth and non-violence. The greatest quality in the Congress is this that it has never claimed to have what it really does not possess. And therefore its resolutions are dignified and carry force with them.

The help that the Congress in its latest resolution promises to give is material and for a consideration, eminently just, no doubt, but it is not and cannot be unconditional. I do not suggest that this position is either untenable or morally wrong. The resolution has dignity because it is the considered opinion of the majority. But by passing it the Congress has, in my opinion, surrendered the prestige it had or was supposed to have. Many Congressmen say that while they firmly believed that they

could attain swaraj through non-violence, they had never meant it to be understood that they could retain it also through non-violence. The entire outside world, however, believed that the Congress was showing the golden way to the abolition of war. No one outside India ever dreamed that, if the Congress could wrest independence from a mighty power like Britain purely through non-violence, it would not be able to defend it also by the same means.

In my opinion Lord Krishna's help to Arjuna cannot be said to be moral, because he himself had an army and was an expert in the art of war. Duryodhana acted foolishly in that he asked for Krishna's army, while Arjuna got what he wanted in the person of the expert in the science of war. Therefore, if we interpret the *Mahabharata* literally, Lord Krishna's strength was certainly more destructive than that of his army. Because of his scientific skill Krishna was able with an army of seven divisions to destroy Duryodhana's army of eleven. But it is well known that I have never looked upon the *Mahabharata* as a mere record of earthly warfare. In the garb of an epic the poet has described the eternal warfare within the individual as well as in society, between Truth and Untruth, Violence and Non-violence, Right and Wrong. Looking at the epic even superficially one can understand how the great Vyasa has demonstrated that in this war the victor was no better off than the vanquished. Out of that vast concourse of warriors only seven remained to tell the tale. And the poet gives a true picture of the woeful state of mind also of these seven. The author has shown clearly too that in armed warfare the contending parties are certain to stoop to meanness and trickery. When occasion arose even the great Yudhishthira had to resort to untruth to save the battle.

One more question of the writer remains to be answered. If war is itself a wrong act, how can it be worthy of moral support or blessings? I believe all war to be wholly wrong. But if we scrutinize the motives of two warring parties, we may find one to be in the right and the other in the wrong. For instance, if A wishes to seize B's country, B is obviously the wronged one. Both fight with arms. I do not believe in violent warfare, but all the same B, whose cause is just, deserves my moral help and blessings.

SEVAGRAM, August 12, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## 432. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*August 12, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

A mistake has been made; but do not grieve over it. I shall be present if Su[shila] permits.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4356

## 433. IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME[1]

A correspondent writes:

> What are the qualities that you intend to inculcate in people by laying stress on the constructive programme? What are the qualifications necessary for a constructive worker in order to make his work effective?

The constructive programme is a big undertaking including a number of items: (1) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity; (2) Removal of untouchability; (3) Prohibition; (4) Khadi; (5) Other village industries; (6) Village sanitation; (7) New or basic education; (8) Adult education; (9) Uplift of women; (10) Education in hygiene and health; (11) Propagation of Rashtrabhasha; (12) Cultivating love of one's own language; (13) Working for economic equality. This list can be supplemented if necessary, but it is so comprehensive that I think it can be proved to include items appearing to have been omitted.

The reader will see that it is the want of all these things that is responsible for our bondage. He will also see that the constructive programme of the Congress is not supposed to include all the items. That is understood to include only four items, or rather six, now that the Congress has created the All-India Village Industries Association and the Basic Education Board. But we

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 17-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.



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have to go further forward, we have to stabilize and perfect ahimsa, and so we have to make the constructive programme as comprehensive as possible. There should be no room for doubt that, if we can win swaraj purely through non-violence, we can also retain it through the same means. In the fulfilment of the constructive programme lies the non-violent attainment of swaraj.

The items I have mentioned are not in order of importance. I have put them down just as they came to my pen. Generally I talk of khadi only nowadays, because millions of people can take their share in this work, and progress can be arithmetically measured. Communal unity and the removal of untouchability cannot be thus assessed. Once they become part of our daily life, nothing need be done by us as individuals.

Let us now glance at the various items. Without Hindu-Muslim, i.e., communal unity, we shall always remain crippled. And how can a crippled India win swaraj? Communal unity means unity between Hindus, Sikhs, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis, Jews. All these go to make Hindustan. He who neglects any of these communities does not know constructive work.

As long as the curse of untouchability pollutes the mind of the Hindu, so long is he himself an untouchable in the eyes of the world, and an untouchable cannot win non-violent swaraj. The removal of untouchability means treating the so-called untouchables as one's own kith and kin. He who does treat them so must be free from the sense of high and low, in fact free from all wrong class-sense. He will regard the whole world as one family. Under non-violent swaraj it will be impossible to conceive of any country as an enemy country.

Pure swaraj is impossible of attainment by people who have been or who are slaves of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It must never be forgotten that a man in the grip of intoxicants is generally bereft of the moral sense.

Everyone now may be said to believe that without khadi there is no just and immediate solution of the problem of the starvation of our millions. I need not therefore dilate upon it. I would only add that in the resuscitation of khadi lies the resuscitation of the ruined village artisans. Khadi requisites (wheels, looms, etc.,) have to be made by the village carpenter and blacksmith. For unless these requisites are made in the village it cannot be self-contained and prosperous.

The revival of khadi presupposes the revival of all other village industries. Because we have not laid proper stress on this, khadi-wearers see nothing wrong in using other articles which are foreign

or mill-made. Such people may be said to have failed to grasp the inner meaning of khadi. They forget that by establishing the Village Industries Association the Congress has placed all other village industries on the same level as khadi. As the solar system will be dark without the sun, even so will the sun be lustreless without the planets. All things in the universe are interdependent. The salvation of India is impossible without the salvation of villages.

If rural reconstruction were not to include rural sanitation, our villages would remain the muck-heaps that they are today. Village sanitation is a vital part of village life and is as difficult as it is important. It needs a heroic effort to eradicate age-long insanitation. The village worker who is ignorant of the science of village sanitation, who is not a successful scavenger, cannot fit himself for village service.

It seems to be generally admitted that without the new or basic education the education of millions of children in India is well-nigh impossible. The village worker has, therefore, to master it, and become a basic education teacher himself.

Adult education will follow in the wake of basic education as a matter of course. Where this new education has taken root, the children themselves become their parents' teachers. Be that as it may, the village worker has to undertake adult education also.

Woman is described as man's better half. As long as she has not the same rights in law as man, as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis. Suppression of woman is a denial of ahimsa. Every village worker will, therefore, regard every woman as his mother, sister or daughter as the case may be, and look upon her with respect. Only such a worker will command the confidence of the village people.

It is impossible for an unhealthy people to win swaraj. Therefore we should no longer be guilty of the neglect of the health of our people. Every village worker must have a knowledge of the general principles of health.

Without a common language no nation can come into being. Instead of worrying himself with the controversy about the Hindi-Hindustani and Urdu, the village worker will acquire a knowledge of the *Rashtrabhasha*, which should be such as can be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

Our infatuation about English has made us unfaithful to provincial languages. If only as penance for this unfaithfulness the village worker should cultivate in the villagers a love of their own

speech. He will have equal regard for all the other languages of India, and will learn the language of the part where he may be working, and thus be able to inspire the villagers there with a regard for their speech.

The whole of this programme will, however, be a structure on sand if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality. Economic equality must never be supposed to mean possession of an equal amount of worldly goods by everyone. It does mean, however, that everyone will have a proper house to live in, sufficient and balanced food to eat, and sufficient khadi with which to cover himself. It also means that the cruel inequality that obtains today will be removed by purely non-violent means. This question, however, requires to be separately dealt with.

SEVAGRAM, August 13, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## *434. QUESTION BOX*[1]

### CAN HE STAND ALONE?

Q. You are anxious that there should be believers in complete non-violence in every province. Is there not need then to organize a Sangh of such persons? Or are you of opinion that ahimsa is a force that enables individuals to stand alone?

A. Complete non-violence needs neither the aid of speech nor of the pen. And if it does not require the help of these two means, it certainly does not stand in need of organized strength. A man or woman who is saturated with ahimsa has only to will a thing and it happens. I can picture this truth in my imagination. It is stated in the scriptures, too. But my experience can only be reckoned as meagre; so meagre that I cannot ask anyone to build on it. Hence my desire to build an organization pledged to unadulterated non-violence. At the same time I believe that true believers in out-and-out non-violence should have the strength to stand alone. They will thus be soldiers and their own generals at the same time. If the non-violent army of my dreams can be set up, it will put an end to the existing disbelief in the power of non-violence. Indeed the Congress will itself be converted to complete non-violence.

### WHAT SHOULD HE DO?

Q. I am a Congressman and I believe in out-and-out non-violence. I am also a member of Congress Committees. You have advised people like

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 17-8-1940. The English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

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me to leave the Congress. I am in touch with the villagers in my area. Should I continue to bring these into the Congress fold or allow them to remain outside?

A. This is not a good question. So long as you are in the Congress, it is your duty [to persuade others to join its ranks].[1] You should explain the Congress policy to them. Those who join the Congress with an understanding of the real difference between *himsa* and ahimsa will do so knowingly. They will join the Congress either with the desire to try to bring the Congress on to the path of complete non-violence or to support it in its present policy. Your duty is to explain the position fully to them and freely admit as many as wish to join. You may resign from the Congress only when the date of leaving it is fixed. Until then you are to carry on as you have been doing heretofore.

### What Should a Briton Do and Not Do?

Q. In your appeal to 'Every Briton' you say: "You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want. . . . You will give all your 'earthly possessions' but never your souls or your minds. . . . You will refuse to owe allegiance to them." Please explain clearly what a Briton should or should not do. I ask the question because your answer will have a bearing on the duty of every satyagrahi.

A. Not to yield your soul to the conqueror means that you will refuse to do that which your conscience forbids you to do. Suppose the 'enemy' were to ask you to rub your nose on the ground or to pull your ears or to go through such humiliating performances, you would not submit to any of these humiliations. But if he robs you of your possessions, you will yield them because as a votary of ahimsa you have from the beginning decided that earthly possessions have nothing to do with your soul. That which you look upon as your own you may keep only so long as the world allows you to own it.

Not to yield your mind means that you will not give way to any temptation. Man is often-times weak-minded enough to be caught in the snare of greed and honeyed words. We see this happening daily in our social life. A weak-minded man can never be a satyagrahi. The latter's 'no' is invariably a 'no' and his 'yes' an eternal 'yes'. Such a man alone has the strength to be a devotee of truth and ahimsa. But there one must know that difference between steadfastness and obstinacy. If after having said 'yes' or 'no' one finds out that the decision was wrong and in spite

[1] The Gujarati has "to admit as many as are willing to join it".

of that knowledge clings to it, that is obstinacy and folly. It is necessary to think things out carefully and thoroughly and before coming to any decision.

The meaning of refusal to owe allegiance is clear. You will not bow to the supremacy of the victor, you will not help him to attain his object. Herr Hitler has never dreamt of possessing Britain. He wants the British to admit defeat. The victor can then demand anything he likes from the vanquished, and the latter has perforce to yield. But if defeat is not admitted, the enemy will fight until he has killed his opponent. A satyagrahi, however, is dead to his body even before the enemy attempts to kill him, i.e., he is free from attachment to his body and only lives in the victory of the soul. Therefore, when he is already thus dead why should he yearn to kill anyone? To die in the act of killing is in essence to die defeated. Because, if the enemy is unable to get what he wants from you alive, he will decide to get it after killing you. If, on the other hand, he realises that you have not the remotest thought in your mind of raising your hand against him even for the sake of your life, he will lack the zest to kill you. Every hunter has had this experience. No one has ever heard of anyone hunting cows.

You may find that I have not answered the questions that you had in your mind[1]. I have made a humble effort and dealt with your general question by giving you a few homely examples. I hope that from them you will be able to deduce answers to the questions left unanswered.

Dignity of the soul and self-respect are interpreted differently by different persons. I am aware that self-respect is often misinterpreted. The over-sensitive man may see disrespect or hurt in almost everything. Such a man does not really understand what self-respect is. That has been my experience in many cases. But no harm accrues even if a non-violent man holds mistaken notions of self-respect. He can die cheerfully for the sake of what he believes to be his dignity and self-respect. Only he has no right to injure or kill the supposed wrongdoer.

SEVAGRAM, August 13, 1940

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

[1] The Gujarati here adds: "I did not intend to deal with all the questions that might come up."

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## 435. CABLE TO "THE NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

SEVAGRAM,
*August 13, 1940*

HAVING RETIRED FROM PARTICIPATION IN CONGRESS POLITICS, I HAVE REFRAINED FROM EXPRESSING OPINION ON THE RECENT VICEREGAL PRONOUNCEMENT[2]. BUT PRESSURE FROM FRIENDS IN ENGLAND AND FELLOW WORKERS HERE DEMANDS RESPONSE FROM ME. THE VICEREGAL PRONOUNCEMENT IS DEEPLY DISTRESSING. IT WIDENS THE GULF BETWEEN INDIA, AS REPRESENTED BY THE CONGRESS, AND ENGLAND. THINKING INDIA OUTSIDE THE CONGRESS, TOO, HAS NOT WELCOMED THE PRONOUNCEMENT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S GLOSS SOOTHES THE EAR, BUT DOES NOT DISPEL SUSPICION. NEITHER DOES THE PRONOUNCEMENT TAKE NOTE OF THE SMOULDERING DISCONTENT. MY OWN FEAR IS THAT DEMOCRACY IS BEING WRECKED. BRITAIN CANNOT CLAIM TO STAND FOR JUSTICE, IF SHE FAILS TO BE JUST TO INDIA. INDIA'S DISEASE IS TOO DEEP TO YIELD TO ANY MAKE-BELIEVE OR HALF-HEARTED MEASURES.

*Harijan*, 18-8-1940

## 436. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKWASA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 14, 1940*

BHAI MANGALDAS[3],

This letter is merely by way of an apology. I inquired again about your letter today and Pyarelal found it. The letter must have arrived here on the 31st July. It was rather shameful that though the letter was an important one it remained unattended to.

[1] This was also reproduced in *The Hindustan Times*, 14-8-1940.
[2] *Vide* Appendix VII.
[3] President of the Bombay Legislative Council



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Lapses like this occur more than once. At that time I do feel pained, but there can be no assurance that such a thing will never happen again. I am returning that telegraph form.

Jayantibhai may come whenever he wishes. You also may come if you wish.

The first step about the income-tax matter was good. I hope the second will be equally good. I know you will do your best.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4685. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakwasa

## *437. LETTER TO EDMOND AND YVONNE PRIVAT*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 15, 1940*

MY DEAR ANAND AND BHAKTI,

It was a delight to hear from you after such a long lapse of time. Yes, you are passing through most anxious times. There must come light out of this darkness.

Love.

BAPU

MONS. EDMOND PRIVAT
SAN BIAGIO
LOCARNO (TESSIN)
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat: G.N. 8801

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## 438. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 15, 1940*

Yes, your appointment stands.[1]

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

It is good you are bringing Taralika along. Charu should be sent somewhere early. If you wish to bring him here, do so. You may bring five copies of Satis Babu's book[2] with you.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI HEMPRABHA DEVI
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
15 COLLEGE SQUARE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1638

## 439. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 15, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have framed the rule. Now it is up to you to implement it to the extent possible. Take from me whatever help you need in doing so.

What you say about servants is true. We shall not be able to do anything in the matter. Our progress will depend on our internal purity.

That is why this institution was never a burden. You do not realize this, at least not fully. But as you proceed with faith, others will automatically support you and you will feel no burden. You have to be content with yourself. Everything will then become easy.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4357

[1] This sentence is written at the top of the letter.
[2] On home medicine; *vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", p. 344.

## 440. DISCUSSION WITH B. G. KHER AND OTHERS[1]

[*August 15, 1940*][2]

You see that I am answering every one of your questions straightway without the slightest hesitation. That is because the great question underlying your questions possesses me and I have rehearsed to myself every one of the situations arising out of the various implications of ahimsa.

Q. Should one stop with the human species or extend ahimsa to all creation?

GANDHIJI: I was not prepared for this question. For the Congress ahimsa is naturally confined to the political field and therefore only to the human species. Hence out-and-out non-violence means for our purpose every variety of non-violence in the political field. In concrete terms it covers family relations, relations with constituted authority, internal disorders and external aggression. Put in another way it covers all human relations.

Q. Then what about meat-eating and egg-eating? Are they consistent with non-violence?

G. They are. Otherwise we should have to exclude Mussalmans and Christians and a vast number of Hindus as possible co-workers in ahimsa. I have known many meat-eaters to be far more non-violent than vegetarians.

Q. But what if we had to give them up for the sake of a principle?

G. Oh yes, we would, if we had to compromise our principle. Our principle is defined as I have shown already.

Q. If, as you have said, Polish resistance to the German invasion was almost non-violent, and you would thus seem to reconcile yourself with it, why do you object to the Wardha resolution of the Working Committee?

G. Surely, there is no analogy between the two cases. If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting almost non-violently.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "An Interesting Discourse". B. G. Kher, a former Prime Minister of Bombay had come with a party from Poona "for the sole purpose of clearing their doubts on ahimsa".

[2] The date is from *Bapu Smaran*, p. 197.

Haven't I said to our women that, if in defence of their honour they used their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct non-violent? She does know the distinction between *himsa* and ahimsa. She acts spontaneously. Supposing a mouse in fighting a cat tried to resist the cat with his sharp teeth, would you call that mouse violent? In the same way, for the Poles to stand valiantly against the German hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence. I should not mind repeating that statement over and over again. You must give its full value to the word 'almost'. But we are 400 millions here. If we were to organize a big army and prepare ourselves to fight foreign aggression, how could we by any stretch of imagination call ourselves almost non-violent, let alone non-violent? The Poles were unprepared for the way in which the enemy swooped down upon them. When we talk of armed preparation, we contemplate preparation to meet any violent combination with our superior violence. If India ever prepared herself that way, she would constitute the greatest menace to world peace. For if we take that path, we will also have to choose the path of exploitation like the European nations. That is why I still regret the moment when my words lacked the power of convincing the Sardar and Rajaji. By having passed that resolution we proclaimed to the world that the ahimsa we had subscribed to all these years was not really ahimsa but a form of *himsa*.

Q. How will you run your administration non-violently?

G. If you assume that we would have won independence by non-violent means, it means that the bulk of the country had been organized non-violently. Without the vast majority of people having become non-violent, we could not attain non-violent swaraj. If, therefore, we attain swaraj by purely non-violent means, it should not be difficult for us to carry on the administration without the military. The *goondas* too will then have come under our control. If, for instance in Sevagram we have five or seven *goondas* in a population of seven hundred who are non-violently organized, the five or seven will either live under the discipline of the rest or leave the village.

But you will see that I am answering the question with the utmost caution, and my truth makes me admit that we might have to maintain a police force. But the police will be after our pattern, and not the British pattern. As we shall have adult suffrage, the voice of even the youngest of us will count. That is why I have said that the ideally non-violent State will be an ordered anarchy. That

State will be the best governed which is governed the least. The pity is that no one trusts me with the reins of government! Otherwise I would show how to govern non-violently. If I maintain a police force, it will be a body of reformers.

Q. But you had the power in the Congress?

G. That was a paper-boat. And then you must not forget that I never spared the Congress ministries. Munshi and Pantji came in for a lot of strictures from me. As I have said in another connection even the dirty water from the gutter, when it mixes with the water of the Ganges, becomes as pure as the Ganges water; even so I had expected even the *goondas* would work under Congress discipline. But evidently our ministers had not attained the purifying potency of the fabled Ganges.

B. G. KHER: But the Congress ministers had no non-violent power with them. Even if 500 *goondas* had run amuck and had been allowed to go unchecked, they would have dealt untold havoc. I do not know how even you would have dealt with them.

G. Surely, surely, I had rehearsed such situations. The ministers could on such occasions have gone out and allowed themselves to be done to death by the *goondas*. But let us face the fact that we had not the requisite ahimsa. We went in with our half-baked ahimsa. I do not mind it, inasmuch as we gave up power the moment we felt we should give it up. I am sure that, if we had adhered to strictest non-violence during these two or three years, the Congress would have made a tremendous advance in the direction of ahimsa and also independence.

B. G. K. But four or five years ago when there was a riot, and I appealed to the leaders to go and throw themselves into the conflagration, no one was ready.

G. So you are supporting my argument. You agree that our loyalty to ahimsa was lip-loyalty and not heart-loyalty. And if even the half-baked ahimsa carried us a long way, does it not follow that ahimsa would have carried us very far indeed, even if it had not already brought us to the goal?

Q. But we cannot visualize how you will stand non-violently against a foreign invasion.

G. I cannot draw the whole picture to you because we have no past experience to fall back upon and there is no reality facing us today. We have got the Government army manned by the Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas. What I can conceive is this that with my

non-violent army of, say, two thousand people I should put myself between the two contending armies. But this, I know, is no answer. I can only say that we shall be able to reduce the invaders' violence to a minimum. The general of a non-violent army has got to have greater presence of mind than that of a violent army, and God would bless him with the necessary resourcefulness to meet situations as they arise.

B. G. K. The world is made up of pairs of opposites. Where there is fear, there is courage too. When we walk on the edge of a precipice we walk warily, for we have fear. Fear is not a thing to despise. Will your non-violent army be above these pairs of opposites?

G. No. No, for the simple reason that my army will represent one of the pair—ahimsa—out of the pair of *himsa* and ahimsa. Neither I nor my army is above the pair of opposites. The state of *gunatita*[1], in the language of the *Gita*, rises above *himsa* and ahimsa both. Fear has its use, but cowardice has none. I may not put my finger into the jaws of a snake, but the very sight of the snake need not strike terror into me. The trouble is that we often die many times before death overtakes us.

But let me explain what my army will be like. They need not and will not have the resourcefulness or understanding of the general, but they will have a perfect sense of discipline to carry out faithfully his order. The general should have the quality which commands the unquestioning obedience of his army, and he will expect of them nothing more than this obedience. The Dandi March was entirely my conception. Pandit Motilalji first laughed at it, he thought it to be a quixotic adventure, and Jamnalalji suggested instead a march on the Viceroy's House! But I could not think of anything but the salt march as I had to think in terms of millions of our countrymen. It was a conception that God gave me. Pandit Motilalji argued for some time, and then he said he must not argue as after all I was the general, and he must have faith in me. Later when he saw me in Jambusar, he was completely converted for he saw with his own eyes the awakening that had come over the masses. And it was an almost magical awakening. Where in history shall we find parallels of the cool courage that our women displayed in such large numbers?

And yet none of the thousands who took part in the movement were above the average. They were erring, sinning mortals. God has a way of making use of the most fragile instruments and remaining Himself untouched by everything. Only He is *gunatita*.

[1] One who has transcended the three constituents of nature—*Bhagavad Gita*, xiv. 25

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And then what after all is the army that wins? You know Rama's reply to Vibhishana when the latter wondered how Rama would be able to conquer a foe like Ravana, when he had no chariot, no armour, nor any shoes to his feet? Rama says:[1]

> The chariot, my dear Vibhishana, that wins the victory for Rama is of a different sort from the usual one. Manliness and courage are its wheels; unflinching truth and character its banners and standards; strength, discrimination, self-restraint and benevolence its horses, with forgiveness, mercy, equanimity their reins; prayer to God is that conqueror's unerring charioteer, dispassion his shield, contentment his sword, charity his axe, intellect his spear, and perfect science his stout bow. His pure and unwavering mind stands for a quiver, his mental quietude and his practice of *yama* and *niyama* stand for the sheaf of arrows, and the homage he pays to Brahmins and his guru is his impenetrable armour. There is no other equipment for victory comparable to this; and, my dear friend, there is no enemy who can conquer the man who takes his stand on the chariot of dharma. He who has a powerful chariot like this is a warrior who can conquer even that great and invincible enemy—the world. Hearken unto me and fear not.

That is the equipment that can lead us to victory. I have not retired from the world, nor do I mean to. I am no recluse. I am content to do what little work I can in Sevagram and give what guidance I can to those that come to me. What we need is faith. And what is there to be lost in following the right path? The worst that can happen to us is that we shall be crushed. Better to be crushed than to be vanquished.

But if we had to equip ourselves violently, I should be at my wit's end. I cannot even think out an armament plan, much less work it. On the other hand my non-violent plan is incredibly simpler and easier, and with God as our Commander and Infallible Guide where is there cause for any fear?

Q. May a non-violent man possess wealth, and if he may, how can he keep it non-violently?

G. He may not own any wealth, though he may possess millions. Let him hold it in trust. If he lives among dacoits and thieves, he may possess very little, indeed little beyond a loin-cloth. And if he does this, he will convert them.

[1] Mahadev Desai says: "Gandhiji only made a reference to these verses from Tulsidas's *Ramayana*. I translate them here fully for the benefit of the reader."

But you must not generalize. In a non-violent State there will be very few dacoits. For the individual the golden rule is that he will *own* nothing. If I decided to settle and work among the so-called criminal tribes, I should go to them without any belongings and depend on them for my food and shelter. The moment they feel that I am in their midst in order to serve them, they will be my friends. In that attitude is true ahimsa. But I have discussed this question at length in a recent article in *Harijan.*

Q. How is one to protect the honour of women?

G. I am afraid you do not read *Harijan* regularly. I discussed this question years ago, and have discussed it often since. The question may be discussed under two heads: (1) how is a woman to protect her own honour? and (2) how are her male relatives to protect it?

As regards the first question, where there is a non-violent atmosphere, where there is the constant teaching of ahimsa, woman will not regard herself as dependent, weak or helpless. She is not really helpless when she is really pure. Her purity makes her conscious of her strength. I have always held that it is physically impossible to violate a woman against her will. The outrage takes place only when she gives way to fear or does not realize her moral strength. If she cannot meet the assailant's physical might, her purity will give her the strength to die before he succeeds in violating her. Take the case of Sita. Physically she was a weakling before Ravana, but her purity was more than a match even for his giant might. He tried to win her with all kinds of allurements but could not carnally touch her without her consent. On the other hand, if a woman depends on her own physical strength or upon a weapon she possesses, she is sure to be discomfited whenever her strength is exhausted.

The second question is easily answered. The brother or father or friend will stand between his protege and her assailant. He will then either dissuade the assailant from his wicked purpose or allow himself to be killed by him in preventing him. In so laying down his life he will not only have done his duty, but given a new accession of strength to his protege who will now know how to protect her honour.

"But," said one of the sisters from Poona, "there lies the rub. How is a woman to lay down her life? Is it possible for her to do so?"

G. Oh! Any day more possible for her than for man. I know that women are capable of throwing away their lives for a much lesser purpose. Only a few days ago a young girl of twenty burnt

herself to death as she felt she was being persecuted for refusing to go in for ordinary studies. And she perished with such cool courage and determination. She ignited her sari with an ordinary oil-light and did not so much as raise a cry, so that the people in the neighbouring room were unaware of the happening until all was over. I do not give these details to commend her example, but to show how easily a woman can throw away her life. I at any rate am incapable of this courage. But I agree that it is not the external light but the inner light that is needed.

The same sister wondered how one was to avoid anger and violence altogether in dealing with children.

G. You play with him till he is five, hammer him for ten years, treat him as your friend when he is sixteen.[1] But don't you worry. If you have to be angry with your child on occasion, I shall call that anger non-violent anger. I am speaking of wise mothers, not the ignorant ones who do not deserve to be mothers.

Q. Is the central teaching of the *Gita* selfless action or non-violence?

G. I have no doubt that it is *anasakti*—selfless action. Indeed I have called my little translation of the *Gita* "*Anasaktiyoga*". And *anasakti* transcends ahimsa. He who would be *anasakta* (selfless) has necessarily to practise non-violence in order to attain the state of selflessness. Ahimsa is, therefore, a necessary preliminary: it is included in *anasakti*, it does not go beyond it.

Then does the *Gita* teach *himsa* and ahimsa both?

I do not read that meaning in the *Gita*. It is quite likely that the author did not write it to inculcate ahimsa, but as a commentator draws innumerable interpretations from a poetic text, even so I interpret the *Gita* to mean that, if its central theme is *anasakti*, it also teaches ahimsa. Whilst we are in the flesh and tread the solid earth, we have to practise ahimsa. In the life beyond there is no *himsa* or ahimsa.

B. G. K. But Lord Krishna actually counters the doctrine of ahimsa. For Arjuna utters this pacifist resolve:

Better I deem it, if my kinsmen strike,
To face them weaponless, and bare my breast
To shaft and spear, than answer blow with blow.
And Lord Krishna teaches him to answer blow with blow.[2]

[1] लालयेत् पञ्चवर्षाणि दश वर्षाणि ताडयेत् ।
प्राप्तेतु षोडशेवर्षे पुत्रं मित्रवदाचरेत् ॥

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, I. 46

G. There I join issue with you. Those words of Arjuna were words of pretentious wisdom. 'Until yesterday,' says Krishna to him, 'you fought your kinsmen with deadly weapons without the slightest compunction. Even today you would strike if the enemy was a stranger and not your own kith and kin!' The question before him was not of non-violence, but whether he should slay his nearest and dearest.

Again the questioners came down to solid earth, and began to put questions about the Congress and the attitude of those who believed in complete non-violence.

Gandhiji explained that they should refrain till he gave the word. He wanted still to plead with the leaders who had passed the Poona resolution. He expected to show them that the Congress would lose all its prestige if they adhered to the new policy. But the question had to be dealt with patiently. On the other hand, it did not matter even if the Congress resolution received no response. The resolution was as good as enforced, when it was deliberately passed, and their duty did not alter with the refusal of the Government to respond.

Besides there is an inherent flaw in the Poona resolution. It should be obvious to the meanest understanding that, if you think that you cannot do without arms in meeting foreign aggression, they would *a fortiori* be needed in dealing with daily disturbances internecine feuds, dacoities and riots. For organized unarmed resistance against an organized invasion is any day easier than deliberate ahimsa in face of a dacoit who breaks into your house at night. That calls for ahimsa of the highest type.

Q. Can one work in two capacities—one's own individual capacity and one's representative capacity?

G. Yes, but they should not be in conflict with each other. And how can a leader follow the people? He has to lead them and they have to follow him. A newspaper may both lead and follow the public, but not a leader of the people.

Q. Then, how is it that the Sardar is reported to have said in Ahmedabad that individually he would follow Mahatmaji but otherwise he would act as a representative of his province?

G. I do not believe that he said this. Can one think of the Sardar taking up the sword as a representative of Gujarat, and abandoning it in his individual capacity?

Q. You have told us how to behave in case of riots. May we know how you acted in 1921 when there was rioting on the day the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay?

G. There were two occasions. The first was the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha. Then as I was discharged near Marine Lines I heard that rioting was going on near Pydhunie. I got into a car, drove straight to the scene, and was able to restrain the crowd. The second was at the time of the Prince of Wales's visit when the people were burning motors, tram-cars, etc. I went to the scene and pacified them. But riots broke out at Byculla and spread in other parts. The anger was against Congressmen. I did not go myself, but I sent Congressmen to face the angry crowds and pacify them. That was a most delicate situation. I purposely did not go myself, because I thought an injury to me by the angered crowd would be attended with much bloodshed instead of resulting in pacification.

That, however, is not to say that I am a brave man. I am by nature timid, but God has always come to my rescue and blessed me with the courage needed for the occasion. The one occasion on which my courage was put to the severest test was on 13th January, 1897 when, acting against Mr. Escombe's advice not to disembark until dusk, I went ashore and faced the howling crowd determined on lynching me. I was surrounded by thousands of them, I was pelted with stones and kicked, but my courage did not fail me. I really cannot say how the courage came to me. But it did. God is great.

*Harijan*, 25-8-1940 and 1-9-1940

## *441. LETTER TO TARA SINGH*

SEVAGRAM,
*August 16, 1940*

DEAR SARDARJI,

I am glad you have sent me a copy of your letter[1] to Maulana Saheb. As I have told you, in my opinion, you have nothing in common with the Congress nor the Congress with you. You believe in the rule of the sword; the Congress does not. You have all the time 'my community' in mind. The Congress has no community but the whole nation. Your civil disobedience is purely a branch of violence. I am quite clear in my mind that being in the Congress you weaken 'your community' and weaken the Congress. With your mentality, you have to offer your services to the British Government unconditionally and look to it for the protection of the

[1] In his letter the addressee had argued that the Congress should not prevent recruitment to the army.

rights of 'your community'. You do not suppose for one moment that the British will take your recruits on your conditions. They would commit suicide if they did. You have to be either fully nationalist or frankly communal and therefore dependent upon the British or other foreign power.

This is the considered opinion of one who loves you and the Sikhs as he loves himself and in reality more. For I have ceased to love myself.

*Yours faithfully,*
M. K. GANDHI

*Harijan*, 29-9-1940

## *442. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 17, 1940*

CHI. LILA,

I do write to you regularly. I got the *raksha*. It is not at all good that you do not go for walks. You will regret it. Be regular about going for walks every morning and evening as you are about other things. Your mind will remain fresh and your reading will be more fruitful. There is no book on zoology here. Which do you want? You will get help in science when you come here. Shakribehn has not come. She is not coming in the immediate future. Sushila will not come before September at any rate. Damayanti's son will get well. To bring up children is no easy job. Rajkumari has come. Mirabehn is here at present.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9937. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

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## 443. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

*August 17, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You are right. You should yourself do whatever you can. But if some difficulty crops up that must be got over, do consult me.

Ba's problem is perennial. It has got to be put up with. Keep on reporting to me. I shall do whatever I can.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4358

## 444. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
*August 17, 1940*

CHI. SHARMA,

I have made full use of your letter.[1] Now I have been asked to supply the names and addresses of persons you have mentioned. I think this is a just demand. You say that those who want to inquire into your complaint may approach you. Now you may send all details to me urgently.

How is your leg? You have been very careless.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

What about your own case[2]? Write to me in detail. Did you meet the Collector?

[From Hindi]

*Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 288

[1] The addressee had complained of coercion being used by officials in collecting money for the war fund, furnishing instances. *Vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", p. 374.

[2] Alleged harassment at the hands of the police

## 445. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
*August 18, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant.

I gave all the particulars I had from Nagla Nawabad. But I admit that enquiry into the particular cases will be difficult without the details you ask for. I am at once writing to my correspondent.[1] It may be difficult for him to produce the required details. Direct proof of these cases may be impossible save in a case like Hinganghat. But I shall try to get what details I can. You may expect a further letter from me containing information about other cases.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## 446. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA[2]

*August 18, 1940*

I am glad you wrote. I was wondering why there was no letter from you. Endure the ulcer cheerfully as a gift from God.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7561. Also C.W. 5036. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This was a postscript Gandhiji added to a letter Mahadev Desai wrote to the addressee.



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## 447. *EQUAL DISTRIBUTION*[1]

In last week's article on the Constructive Programme[2] I mentioned equal distribution of wealth as one of the 13 items.[3]

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt this way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasize the fact that no one need wait for anyone else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 24-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] *Vide* "Implications of Constructive Programme", pp. 378-81.

[3] The Gujarati adds: "Let us consider it here."

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is ahimsa in his venture. Moreover, if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale in non-violence. Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that ahimsa is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should therefore be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. Ahimsa is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples. To try to root out religion itself from society is a wild goose chase. And were such an attempt to succeed, it would mean the destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other imperfections creep in from age to age and mar religion for the time being. They come and go.[1]

[1] The Gujarati version has: "Religion undergoes transformation. The apparent superstitions, evil customs and imperfections can be removed—in fact they are and will be removed."

But religion itself remains. Because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate definition of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His law are synonymous terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But avatars and prophets have, by means of their *tapasya*, given to mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal Law.

If, however, in spite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been conversant with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal in his nature. It was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of ahimsa entered into his soul. This knowledge has grown within him slowly but surely. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities [which have brought them to the verge of starvation][1].

I scarcely need to write anything about non-co-operation and civil disobedience, for the readers of *Harijanbandhu* are familiar with these and their working.

SEVAGRAM, August 19, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-8-1940

## *448. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

*August 19, 1940*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I am returning the letter[2] duly revised.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3013

[1] This portion is not to be found in the Gujarati.
[2] The letter, addressed to the Viceroy, is not traceable.



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## 449. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

*August 19, 1940*

There is no need for you to feel unhappy because [I have said that] I am your faithful dog. That quadruped brother of ours possesses great nobility. . . .[1]

According to the commentators the dog was Dharma personified[2]. But if the dog has become rabid, you can and should remove him. My advice to you now is that you should set right this mistake made by me. I have exceeded my authority as a general. Either rectify the mistake I made in allowing Raja to have his resolution[3] twisting the meaning of ahimsa or remove me. If you rectify the mistake I have a plan for future action.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

## 450. MY IDEA OF A POLICE FORCE[4]

A friend writes as follows:[5]

The questions asked in this letter are of the utmost importance and deserve notice.[6] If true ahimsa had come into being within us, and if our so-called satyagraha movements had been truly non-violent, these questions would not have arisen because they would have been solved.

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] In the *Mahabharata* Dharma appearing as a dog is said to have accompanied Yudhishthira on his last journey.

[3] The Delhi resolution of July; *vide* Appendices III and IV. *Vide* also "The Delhi Resolution", pp. 255-7.

[4] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 31-8-1940. This translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[5] Not reproduced here. The correspondent, while conceding the effectiveness of non-violence to meet external aggression, had argued that so long as social injustice and poverty existed internal disturbances were bound to continue and hence also the need for a police force. He had asked Gandhiji whether he envisaged such a police force to be maintained for all time.

[6] The Gujarati version has: "deserve consideration by all the responsible satyagrahis."



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For one who has never seen the arctic regions an imaginary description of them, however elaborate, can convey but an inadequate idea of the reality. Even so is it with ahimsa. If all Congressmen had been true to their creed, we would not be vacillating between violence and non-violence as we are today. The fruits of ahimsa would be in evidence everywhere. There would be communal harmony, the demon of untouchability would have been cast out, and, generally speaking, we should have evolved an ordered society. But the reverse is the case just now. There is even definite hostility to the Congress in certain quarters. The word of Congressmen is not always relied on. The Muslim League and most of the Princes have no faith in the Congress and are in fact inimical to it. If Congressmen had true ahimsa in them, there would be none of this distrust. In fact the Congress would be the beloved of all.

Therefore I can only place an imaginary picture before the votaries of ahimsa.

So long as we are not saturated with pure ahimsa we cannot possibly win swaraj through non-violence. We can come into power only when we are in a majority or, in other words, when the large majority of people are willing to abide by the law of ahimsa. When this happy state prevails, the spirit of violence will have all but vanished and internal disorder will have come under control.

Nevertheless I have conceded that even in a non-violent State a police force may be necessary. This, I admit, is a sign of my imperfect ahimsa. I have not the courage to declare that we can carry on without a police force as I have in respect of an army. Of course I can and do envisage a state where the police will not be necessary; but whether we shall succeed in realizing it, the future alone will show.

The police of my conception will, however, be of a wholly different pattern from the present-day force. Its ranks will be composed of believers in non-violence. They will be servants, not masters, of the people. The people will instinctively render them every help, and through mutual co-operation they will easily deal with the ever-decreasing disturbances. The police force will have some kind of arms, but they will be rarely used, if at all. In fact the policemen will be reformers. Their police work will be confined primarily to robbers and dacoits. Quarrels between labour and capital and strikes will be few and far between in a non-violent state, because the influence of the non-violent majority will be so great as to command the respect of the principal elements in society. Similarly there will be no room for communal disturbances. Then we must remember that when such a Congress Government comes into power the large

majority of men and women of 21 years and over will have been enfranchised. The rigid and cramped Constitution of today has of course no place in this picture.

SEVAGRAM, August 20, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-9-1940

## *451. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 20, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

As I have not had any acknowledgment—a most unusual thing for you—of my letter of the 9th instant, lest it might have miscarried I send herewith a copy of it in order to make assurance double sure.[1]

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *452. LETTER TO BHOLANATH*

SEVAGRAM,
*August 20, 1940*

BHAI BHOLANATH,

I think I have given you my blessings. But your letter is before me and hence I write again. May you succeed in your endeavours.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]

*Gandhiji aur Rajasthan*, p. 275

[1] The Viceroy's note on this letter was: "P. S. V. Perhaps an acknowledgment to an acknowledgment might be held to be superfluous! But we can afford to be magnanimous and to say that I received his letter and was grateful for it. This letter is clearly an invitation to expand and perhaps a sign of distress. But there is nothing doing."

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## *453. DR. LOHIA AGAIN*

By courtesy of Shri Achyut Patwardhan I have a copy of Dr. Lohia's statement before the court and the judgment of the presiding magistrate. The whole of Dr. Lohia's statement is sound, but I resist the temptation to give it in full. Here, however, is its pertinent part:

> In all our activities we have to be non-violent. Non-violence is dictated not only by the circumstances in our country but by considerations that operate throughout the world. It is not only a practical necessity, it is an ethical desirability. Whatever little confusion there might be on this point due to faulty reporting is set aside by the reporter himself. I am reported to have said: 'When we have recourse to weapons we become weak of heart. Those who rely on weapons do not rely on their hearts. They turn into slaves of their own weapons. They have no strength left in themselves.'
>
> I am an opponent of the old cult of the lathi, and its modern equivalent the cult of the aeroplane. There is an inner contradiction between these cults and the enduring of human life, a contradiction which is daily becoming more fierce. The next twenty years will show which wins, and the dualism cannot last longer.
>
> Should human life endure, there can be only one form of organization. Adult democracy must obtain throughout the world, and there will be no place in it for imperialism, nor for capitalism. I have given an indication in my speech of this form of government as it will affect the Indian people. It was with a view to bring into the foreground this principle of adult democracy that I suggested an immediate peace plan to Mahatma Gandhi. I claim no originality for this plan whose items are:
>
> 1. All peoples will be free. Those newly acquiring freedom will determine their constitution through a constituent assembly.
>
> 2. All races are equal, and there will be no racial privileges in any part of the world. There will be no political bar to anyone settling wherever he likes.
>
> 3. All credits and investments owned by the Government and nationals of one country in another will be scrapped or submitted for impartial review to international tribunals. They will then be owned not by individuals but by the state.
>
> When these three principles will have been accepted by the peoples of the world, a fourth will automatically come into operation.
>
> 4. There will be total disarmament.



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I am happy in the knowledge that Mahatma Gandhi has endorsed this peace plan.

Let me in conclusion state that I have no ill will towards any people. I have lived among the German people and liked their thoroughness of enquiry, the scientific bent of their mind and their efficiency in action. I am unhappy that they have today to carry on their shoulders a system which results in war and conquest. I have no intimate knowledge of the British people. I dare say that they have their virtues. I may be permitted to quote from my speech: 'I do not want the destruction of Britain. The British have done evil to us, but I do not want to do evil to them.' Again, I am unhappy that the British people have to carry on their shoulders today a system which has enslaved the peoples of the world.

Of Dr. Lohia this is what the court has to say:

The accused is a highly intellectual and cultured gentleman, perhaps with a doctorate degree of some European University, a man of high principles and morals whose honesty of purpose nobody can doubt. He does not mind suffering for his convictions and does not care much for his sentence or its duration. We certainly do not punish him for holding certain political views about the present Government, for the very claim of the Government that it is democratic and run on public opinion entitles the public to criticize it according to his [*sic*] light by constitutional means, but we must protect such Government from embarrassment in her relations with the masses who are bound to be disaffected by a speech like the one the accused has delivered in Dostpur, and particularly when the British nation and Empire is in grip with the most unscrupulous enemy. I, therefore, consider that his detention in jail for a long duration or until the present cloud is drifted away is very desirable and to that end in view I sentence him to two years R.I. He is recommended for B Class.

Then why has he been rewarded with rigorous imprisonment? The duration of the term I understand. He must be kept from the supposed mischief. I wonder whether the fact of the imprisonment will not aggravate the mischief. Of this, the Government must be the judge. But the people will remember that love of one's country and outspokenness are a crime in a country where the state is irresponsible to the people. Dr. Lohia and other Congressmen's imprisonments are so many hammer-strokes that must weaken the chain that binds India. The Government is inviting the Congress to start civil disobedience and deliver the last blow it would fain have reserved for a better day—better for the British. It is a pity.

SEVAGRAM, August 21, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-8-1940

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## 454. IMPROPER USE[1]

There is in Kashmir a firm called Ganju House. I do not know any of its partners or the nature of the business done by the Company. Shri H. Kotak who was for some time in the Ashram at Sabarmati and later in the A. I. S. A., having ceased connection with the latter, joined the Ganju House and advertised it and his connection with it by using without my permission a private and personal letter written to him by me. My attention was drawn to the improper use. I rebuked Shri Kotak for such use of my letter. He has realized his mistake and sent the following notice to the Lahore *Tribune* for publication:[2]

I am glad that Shri Kotak has repaired the blunder.

SEVAGRAM, August 21, 1940

*Harijan*, 25-8-1940

## 455. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE[3]

WARDHA,
*August 21, 1940*

The Working Committee have considered the Viceregal pronouncement dated 8th inst.,[4] on the Indian situation and the statement made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons. The W. C. are of opinion that both are highly unsatisfactory and provocative because they ignore patent facts. They constitute one more among the many impositions on an unwilling India. In spite of all repudiations the indisputable fact stands out that the Congress is the only national organization in the country that is non-communal, non-sectional and wholly democratic. It is the one organization that has for fifty-five years growingly represented the dumb

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] Not reproduced here. Kotak admitted in the notice that his action was highly improper and wholly unauthorized.

[3] The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from 18th to 22nd August. The resolution was not accepted *in toto*. For the resolution as passed, *vide* Appendix VIII.

[4] *Vide* Appendix VII.



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millions of India, as has been repeatedly proved during its career. The most convincing proof that can be understood by the world consists in the fact that barring four out of the eleven provinces the Congress has a decisive majority given even by the limited electorate provided by the British Government in their Act imposed upon India. If the electorate was not manipulated, as it has been under the said Act, and if representatives were elected under adult suffrage, it is admitted that the Congress would sweep the polls throughout India not excluding States India. This claim has not been put forth by any other organization in India. In the face of this the Secretary of State has misled the British public and world opinion by mentioning as 'separate constituent factors the Muslim League, the Depressed Classes and the Princes. The Muslim League is undoubtedly a powerful organization demanding the greatest consideration. It is the primary concern of the Congress to placate the Muslims of India. What the British Government have done is to play the Muslims against the Hindus and *vice versa* in order to consolidate their power and to exploit the vast resources of India in their own interest. It is they who finally cut the nation in twain by introducing the virus of separate electorates. The Congress therefore repudiates the British claim specially to represent Muslim interests in so far as they may be in danger from the Hindu majority. The Congress has claimed that the political and economic state of both is identical. The Congress has undertaken to guarantee to the full the protection of the religious and the cultural rights of Muslims. So far as the depressed classes are concerned the indisputable fact is that the British Government is incapable of protecting them. It is admitted that they have suffered and are suffering from wrongs which no other part of the nation has suffered. But their disabilities are social and religious. They are beyond the power of any foreign Government to redress. All that the British Government have done is to sow seeds of dissension among the Hindus themselves of whom the depressed classes are an inseparable part. There is no such thing as a class known as depressed. No single organization specially devoted to their interest can represent the whole of them. They have no class consciousness. If the British Government could have helped it, they would have vivisected the Hindus by creating separate electorates for them as they have for Muslims and destroyed both the caste Hindus and the non-caste Hindus which the depressed classes are. The British Government know very well that the legal status of these classes was improved under Congress ministries as never before. They know that removal of untouchability is a plank in the Congress

programme. They know that the Congress has worked ceaselessly for the social amelioration of their lot. It is therefore false and hypocritical for the British Government to pose as their protectors as against the Congress. Equally false is their claim to protect the Princes against the Congress. The British Government know that the Princes are their creation sustained to secure the British hold on the whole of India. They cannot be played against the Indian claim for independence.

Rejection by the British Government of the Congress resolution[1] is proof of their determination to hold India by the sword against her will. In order to compass this they have been gradually undermining the power of the Congress by picking out some of the best workers of the Congress under the Defence of India Act which has no popular sanction whatsoever.

It was to this Government that the Congress resolution was addressed in the hope that the Congress goodwill and the hand of friendship will be recognized, appreciated and reciprocated. Instead it has been rejected on grounds which have been shown to be false and hypocritical.

It is well known that the offer was made against Gandhiji's advice. He had warned the members of the W. C. that the Congress was abdicating its moral position by promising to associate itself actively with the War as against declaration of independence and immediate composition of a national executive responsible to the elected legislature. It would be no answer to this proposition that under the existing Act this could not be done. The desired change could have been made in one hour as a peremptory war measure. But the British Government did not and do not wish to part with their possession of India. Events that have happened compel the W. C. to recognize the soundness of Gandhiji's advice from the purely political platform if not from his ethical standpoint. The Congress which has inculcated non-violence for the past 20 years for ousting the British Power could not be turned into a war machine without losing its fibre and without doing violence to the dumb masses which have hitherto responded to the Congress call. The W. C. therefore consider the British Government's rejection of the Congress resolution as a God-sent escape from a false and untenable position. The W. C. therefore wish it to be known that the effect

[1] Promising co-operation in the war effort if Britain acknowledged the independence of India and formed a national government at the Centre. The resolution was passed at the A. I. C. C. session held at Poona on 27th and 28th July.

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of the resolution must be regarded as exhausted. It has no further currency. The W. C. must revert to Gandhiji's position and so far as the Congress is concerned it must strive to build up a non-violent society and believe with Gandhiji in the possibility of building up a State able to defend its liberty against the whole world by its own sheer goodwill towards the whole of mankind working under a democratic system which will eschew all violence and which by its simple code will afford no temptation to an invader.

It follows from this that the Congress must now vindicate its position and seek to protect itself against a slow death by the means that the British Government have chosen to adopt for the purpose.

The W. C. cannot but put on record its deep sorrow that the desire of the Congress not to embarrass the British Government has been despised by them and they have thus driven the Congress to defend itself against political extinction. It therefore invites and appoints Gandhiji to devise such measures as he may think necessary for the protection of the Congress and national honour and calls upon all Congress organizations and Congressmen to carry out such instructions as he may issue himself and through the W.C. or otherwise.

The W. C. wish it to be known that they have no quarrel with the Muslim League or the Muslims or any other organization or persons. Nor have they anything but goodwill towards the Princes. Their non-violence, if it is worth the name, precludes any ill will towards any part of the nation of which the Congress is proud to be known as servant. Nor has the Congress anything but goodwill towards the British people. In entering upon a life and death struggle, as the Congress must, Congressmen can have no thought but that of the supreme good of the dumb and toiling millions of India and through them of the whole of submerged humanity. In seeking that good, Congress has chosen the most harmless and the most powerful method of unadulterated non-violence.

The W. C. seek the co-operation in their task of all the forces of good throughout the world.

A.I.C.C. File No. 1251, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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## 456. TO THE HINDI READERS

Ever since I started writing for *Harijanbandhu* in Gujarati, readers have been complaining—though in sweet words—that I have been partial to Gujarati. I have already answered this complaint, but the readers are not satisfied. Viyogiji[1], therefore, says that I must write something exclusively for *Harijan Sevak*. There is no need to persuade me in this connection because I love to write in the national language. I would, therefore, only say that I will try. The Congress has recognized Hindustani as the national language. Hindustani is that language which is spoken in North India by both Hindus and Muslims and is written either in Devanagari or Urdu script. My endeavour will be to write in such Hindustani.

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, August 21, 1940

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1063

## 457. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
*August 21, 1940*

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

Mirabai is going there with a different intention. A special reason which is blameless. She wants to do penance. She does not want to participate in any activity. She would devote her time only to spinning and singing the praise of God for a while. I know you have helped Mirabai a lot. Being aware that you like her pious company, I am sending her there. If this inconveniences you in any manner, let me know.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10051. Also C.W. 6456

[1] Viyogi Hari, editor of *Harijan Sevak*

## 458. ADVICE TO MYSORE CONGRESSMEN[1]

[Before *August 22, 1940*]

Gandhiji is reported to have emphasized that no out-and-out non-violent Congressman, whether belonging to the State Congress or British Indian Province, could extend his material co-operation with his own money to a cause which demands perpetration of inhumanity. Gandhiji is also stated to have added:

It is entirely a matter for the Mysore Congress to decide whether they have the courage of their conviction to go with me. No useful purpose can be served by quoting the 1917 incident. I had no message to deliver then. I now have the courage of conviction that a believer in non-violence could not co-operate in war efforts. It was purely a matter of personal belief then. Recent experiments have given me the courage to extend it further, including Defence.

*The Hindu*, 22-8-1940

## 459. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

*August 24, 1940*

BHAI MAVALANKAR[2],

Bhai Prabhashankar[3] has come here. He told me his tale of woe. I was glad to hear that this work had been entrusted to you. I know that you will do whatever you can.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1248

[1] In view of the different opinions prevailing among Mysore Congressmen K. T. Bhashyam and K. C. Reddi asked Gandhiji whether the Mysore Congress could co-operate in the war efforts if the State promised responsible Government to the subjects.

[2] A Congress leader, Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, later Speaker of the Lok Sabha

[3] Prabhashankar Parekh



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## *460. OUTLINE RESOLUTION FOR A.I.C.C.*

*August 25, 1940*

The Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. should pass a resolution in the following terms:

1. In view of the British Govt.'s statements and decision the offer made by the A.I.C.C. in the Poona resolutions[1] is exhausted and has no further currency. The British Govt.'s proposals are rejected and the Congress, which took a step in non-co-operation with the British Govt. in November last, must now, in order to defend the honour and liberties of the Indian people, take further steps in this direction and resist the activities of the British Govt. which are injurious to the nation. The A.I.C.C. call upon the people to refuse every kind of participation in the war and in men and money.

2. A reference to the British Govt.'s repressive measures, arrests of Congressmen, etc., functioning of the Defence of India Act and their attempt to suppress the Indian people, rule them by the sword and impose their will upon them promoting divisions.

3. The position thus created is intolerable and if submitted to would mean degradation of the people and their continued enslavement.

4. The Congress, therefore, must now function in terms of the Ramgarh resolution and undertake satyagraha for this purpose. It requests and authorizes Mahatma Gandhi to guide the nation and calls upon the people to follow his directions with a view to making this satyagraha effective and in conformity with the principles of the Congress.

5. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the previous resolutions the A.I.C.C. affirms afresh its firm faith in the policy and practice of non-violence. It believes in the principle not only

[1] At its meeting at Poona on July 27 and 28, the A. I. C. C. had endorsed the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee offering co-operation in the war effort subject to the British Government making "an unequivocal declaration according complete independence to India" and constituting a "National Government" at the centre. In another resolution it had said that "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".

in the struggle for swaraj but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India. The A.I.C.C. is convinced that world events demonstrate that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new political and economic order, wherein free nations co-operate with each other; if the world is not to revert to barbarism. A free India will therefore throw all its weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions. But the State must do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament.[1]

From a photostat: C.W. 10880. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan

## *461. CABLE TO CARL HEATH*[2]

WARDHAGANJ,
*August 26, 1940*

CARL HEATH
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD
LONDON

SITUATION SERIOUS CONGRESSMEN FEEL GOVERNMENT REPRESSION AIMED AT CONGRESS. THIS WILL MAKE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE INEVITABLE THOUGH TRYING AVERT CRISIS MYSELF MAY BE INVOLVED. POLICY NON-EMBARRASSMENT ADOPTED MY INITIATIVE. IT MAY NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE USED TO CRUSH CONGRESS. WILL DO NOTHING WITHOUT TRYING SEE VICEROY. FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONGRESS AND ME BEING ELIMINATED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1040

[1] For the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. at its sitting in Bombay on September 15/16, 1940, *vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 1-3.

[2] On August 13, he and Agatha Harrison had cabled to Gandhiji: "Realize difference between government proposals and Congress demand. But feel much depends on specific interpretations face to face. We recall your words when Andrews died. Would venture to suggest to you and Congress that this is moment to implement Andrews's legacy."

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## 462. NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE[1]

A correspondent writes:

> You say non-violence is for the brave, not for cowards. But, in my opinion, in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. Even if we claim to be brave, how is the world to believe us when it knows that India has no arms and is therefore incapable of defending herself? What then should we do to cultivate non-violence of the brave?

The correspondent is wrong in thinking that in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. It is a matter for shame that because foreigners once labelled us as cowards we should accept the label. Man often becomes what he believes himself to be. If I keep on saying to myself that I *cannot* do a certain thing, it is possible that I may end by really becoming incapable of doing it. On the contrary, if I have the belief that I *can* do it, I shall surely acquire the capacity to do it even if I may not have it at the beginning. Again it is wrong to say that the world today believes us to be cowards. It has ceased to think so since the satyagraha campaign. The Congress prestige has risen very high in the West during the past twenty years. The world is watching with astonished interest the fact that although we have no arms we are hoping to win swaraj, and have indeed come very near it. Moreover, it sees in our non-violent movement rays of hope for peace in the world and its salvation from the hell of carnage. The bulk of mankind has come to believe that, if ever the spirit of revenge is to vanish and bloody wars are to cease, the happy event can happen only through the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress. The correspondent's fear and suspicion are, therefore, unfounded.

It will now be seen that the fact that India is unarmed is no obstacle in the path of ahimsa. The forcible disarmament of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and a cruel injustice. But we can turn even injustice to our advantage if God be with us, or if you prefer, we have the skill to do so. And such a thing has happened in India.

[1] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 31-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

Arms are surely unnecessary for a training in ahimsa. In fact the arms, if any, have to be thrown away, as the Khan Saheb did in the Frontier Province. Those who hold that it is essential to learn violence before we can learn non-violence, would hold that only sinners can be saints.

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence. Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He recks not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise ahimsa to perfection. The votary of ahimsa has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the *atman* that transcends the body; and the moment one has a glimpse of the Imperishable *atman* one sheds the love of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence. Violence is needed for the protection of things external, non-violence is needed for the protection of the *atman*, for the protection of one's honour.

This non-violence cannot be learnt by staying at home. It needs enterprise. In order to test ourselves we should learn to dare danger and death, mortify the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships. He who trembles or takes to his heels the moment he sees two people fighting is not non-violent, but a coward. A non-violent person will lay down his life in preventing such quarrels. The bravery of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent. The badge of the violent is his weapon—spear, or sword, or rifle. God is the shield of the non-violent.

This is not a course of training for one intending to learn non-violence. But it is easy to evolve one from the principles I have laid down.

It will be evident from the foregoing that there is no comparison between the two types of bravery. The one is limited, the other is limitless. There is no such thing as out-daring or out-fighting non-violence. Non-violence is invincible. There need be no doubt that this non-violence can be achieved. The history of the past twenty years should be enough to reassure us.

SEVAGRAM, August 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-9-1940

## 463. QUESTION BOX[1]

### A.I.S.A. Employees

Q. Is there a ban on A.I.S.A. employees as far as signing the satyagraha pledge is concerned? They fulfil all the conditions of the pledge, but they may not offer themselves for jail without the permission of the A.I.S.A., and therefore they cannot sign the form. Is it then permissible for them to retain their membership of Congress executive committees, or should they resign from them?

A. Your interpretation of the rule of the A.I.S.A. is correct. No one can work in two spheres at the same time. The work of the A.I.S.A. too is Congress work. None of its employees can be allowed to court imprisonment. His absence must harm khadi. Therefore, granted that the rule is necessary, it is plain that no A.I.S.A. employee may remain a member of a Congress committee. The entire committee may be arrested, or if the committee so desires, it can order any of its members to court imprisonment.

### Uncertified Khadi

Q. Members of Congress local executive committees sometimes sell uncertified khadi. They give the same wages to spinners and weavers as the A.I.S.A. Only their khadi is not certified. According to Congress rules are they entitled to remain on Congress committees or should they resign from them?

A. In my opinion they are not entitled to membership of Congress committees. The official answer must be officially secured. If it is correct that they give the same wages to spinners and weavers, why do they not get the necessary certificate from the A.I.S.A.?

### How to Convert Atheists

Q. How can one convert atheists to belief in God and religion?

A. There is only one way. The true servant of God can convert the atheist by means of his own purity and good

[1] Gandhiji wrote this in Hindi except for the last question. The Hindi was published in *Harijan Sevak*, 31-8-1940 and the Gujarati in *Harijanbandhu*, 31-8-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

conduct. It can never be done by argument. Innumerable books have been written to prove the existence of God, and if argument could have prevailed, there would not be a single atheist in the world today. But the opposite is the case. In spite of all the literature on the subject, atheism is on the increase. Often, however, the man who calls himself an atheist is not one in reality; and the converse also is equally true. Atheists sometimes say, "If you are believers, then we are unbelievers." And they have a right to say so, for self-styled believers are often not so in reality. Many worship God because it is the fashion to do so or in order to deceive the world. How can such persons have any influence on atheists? Therefore let the believer realize and have the faith that, if he is true to God, his neighbours will instinctively not be atheists. Do not let him be troubled about the whole world. Let us remember that atheists exist by the sufferance of God. How truly has it been said that those who worship God in name only are not believers but those who do His will!

## Living Wage

Q. You once wrote in *Harijan* to the effect that villagers are at liberty to buy yarn spun in their own villages without reference to the living wage, and that the A.I.S.A. should let them go their way in this matter. Are those who wear khadi woven from such yarn eligible as Congress delegates? And what is the village worker to do in this regard? He naturally does propaganda in favour of a living wage. There are always a certain number of villagers who buy A.I.S.A. khadi, but at the same time there are many who cannot afford to do so. And even if they pay less than the living wage, there is no doubt that the spinners get some relief and khadi finds a certain place in village life too. Is the village worker there to encourage such khadi?

A. If we were always careful enough not to read into a writer's sentences a meaning which defeats his very purpose, such questions would rarely arise. Where no wages are paid and the yarn is self-spun, no ban of any kind can be applied. It is of course assumed that the A.I.S.A. rule is not broken on a false plea of self-sufficiency. The same applies to the village worker.

But there is one important issue raised in your question. The A.I.S.A. worker in a particular village cannot pay a living wage if he is to use the village khadi. Therefore he will buy yarn at a lesser rate and give some work to the spinners who would otherwise get nothing. But he may not become a member of the Congress. He will serve the Congress from without.

Sometimes such persons serve the Congress far better, and they are moreover saved from the ambitions that membership often carries with it. It is clear that such khadi cannot be sold outside the village. It should all be absorbed locally. The moment uncertified khadi is put into the market the A.I.S.A. law is broken and real khadi receives a setback. The A.I.S.A. is labouring under great stress in trying to raise the spinners' wages. Never in the world have I heard of wages being increased from one or two pice to 8 or 12 pice per day without the wage-earners having asked for a rise in pay. The A.I.S.A. has done monumental work in this matter.

### Will It Fail?

Q. You say that the Congress is not cent per cent non-violent today. If that is so, will not a satyagraha movement launched by it be unsuccessful?

A. It is not possible for a large popular organization like the Congress to be wholly non-violent, for the simple reason that all its members cannot have attained a standard level of non-violence. But it is perfectly possible for some of its members, who truly understand the implications of pure ahimsa and observe its law in their lives, to lead a successful satyagraha movement. This truth has even been demonstrated so far by the Congress.

Sevagram, August 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-9-1940

## *464. ANDREWS MEMORIAL*

A friend, who is himself trying to collect for the Andrews Memorial, has written a letter from which I take the following relevant paragraphs:

> As I read it there are four objects of the appeal[1] (you will kindly correct me, if I am wrong):
>
> (i) Ensuring the permanence of the present established work by an endowment to enable Santiniketan to fulfil Andrews's high hopes for it, unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened.
>
> This is obviously the first need, for it would be doubtful wisdom to add new developments to an institution which itself is insecure. At the same time the amount required for this purpose is nowhere specified.

[1] For the text of the appeal, *vide* Appendix II.

If there is a sufficiently generous response to the appeal, providing more than is required for this first need, then it will be possible to go on to the other three parts of the scheme, viz.,

(ii) a small but properly equipped hospital;

(iii) the provision of 'Deenabandhu wells' in the district;

(iv) the provision of the Hall of Christian culture.

Now, if I am right in this, it must surely occur to the reader of the appeal that, if, as seems likely, the institution requires a considerable sum for its endowment fund, the chances that any contributions made now will actually be available for either of the second, third or fourth part of the scheme are somewhat remote. It is not stated whether contributors are allowed to earmark their gifts for any of the special objects in the scheme; and obviously, if a large proportion of contributors did so, the primary object of the appeal—the placing of Santiniketan on a sound basis financially—may be defeated.

My second difficulty was about the statement of the aims, and I had in view particularly those of the proposed hall of Christian culture, in which I am naturally interested.

That is first described as providing for India's thought contact with the Western world, on the analogy of the 'Cheena Bhavan' and China. This suggests a doubtful identification of 'Christian culture' and 'Western culture'.

The statement then goes on to speak of (a) the application of the teaching and character of Christ to international problems, and (b) the task of interpreting in Eastern modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ.

What we have, therefore, seem to be three rather different aims, all very important and relevant. Perhaps it may be necessary to leave it in this rather wide form; and yet I cannot help thinking that a more careful wording might make clear the relation of the other two aspects of the aim to that which is described as the 'central purpose'.

Thirdly, I raised the question of trustees and a sound basis for confidence in the future running of the scheme. If I understand your letter rightly, the trustees of this special fund are to be the trustees of Santiniketan and Sriniketan, mentioned at the end of the appeal. The appeal itself does not seem to make this clear.

Does this imply that the disposal and allocation of the special fund raised is directly in the hands of these trustees of Santiniketan, so that, in effect, the fund becomes an additional part of the corpus of the Trust?

It seemed to me that for a scheme of the importance and magnitude of that contemplated in the appeal there would be a place for some special committee or body of trustees related a little more definitely

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both to the special objects and to the wider interests to which the appeal will extend.

The enquiry is pertinent and deserves a proper answer. As I happen to be one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, what I write may be taken as authoritative. The present trustees have made a rough calculation of the expenses in connection with the three definite additions to Santiniketan. After providing for them, a surplus is expected to be available which will go into the general funds. But naturally these three items will have precedence. Nevertheless it is open to donors to earmark their funds for any of the three additions, and the money will be so used. Therefore there need be no apprehension about the additions, whether donations are earmarked or not. If I may let out a secret, I may say that the general appeal was my idea. Gurudev, who first thought of the memorial being identified with Santiniketan, has in mind only two things—the hospital and the hall, the latter being the suggestion of a Christian friend. Deenabandhu wells were to be built out of Santiniketan funds. Taking the cue from Gurudev, I felt there should be no hesitation whatsoever in identifying the whole of Santiniketan with Andrews's memory. The Poet is a host in himself. He has an established international fame which will grow with time. Nevertheless Andrews was its best advertiser. Gurudev has no advertising ability. He simply works, wishes, and then leaves his wishes to fate. Not so the practical Englishman. He felt attracted to the Poet and found his peace and permanent abode in Santiniketan. England was his birth-place; he never tore himself away from her. But his soul found its full expression and home in Santiniketan, and I know, because I was his co-worker, that he went literally from door to door in order to get funds for Santiniketan. And he would often say to me: 'Never mind Santiniketan, but you must get so much money for me. You know what Santiniketan means to me and what the Poet means to the world.' And I succumbed to his advance whenever he made it, even though I could ill afford the time. His love for Santiniketan was greater —I say this without any offence to anyone living in Santiniketan —than theirs. It was certainly as great as the Poet's, and Santiniketan, as it is at present, is due as much to Andrews as to the Poet. Probably Andrews was the more persistent of the two.

With this knowledge at the back of my mind I had no hesitation in suggesting that the appeal should be general. Hence I would say to would-be donors that they would miss the central

fact of the memorial if they detached the three additions from Santiniketan. For the three together would be a poor memorial to Deenabandhu if Santiniketan were no more. And let me say at once that Santiniketan will never owe its permanence to the five lakhs that may be collected. It will be permanent because the Poet has breathed life into it and the spirit of Andrews hovers over it. If it keeps up the character imparted to it by its founders, including Andrews, it will never die.

The second difficulty is easily answered. The interpretation of Christ in the Hall of Christian Culture will bear the imprint of the Poet's all-embracing soul, and therefore Christian culture, as it will flourish in Santiniketan, will never be exclusive. Much will depend upon the Christians who might be attracted to Santiniketan. A more careful wording in defining the scope of the Hall of Christian Culture was not possible, was not intended. I suggest to my correspondent that such matters are better left in a liquid state. Who shall say what the future has in store for any of the big things of the world?

The third difficulty is also easily disposed of. It had occurred even to me, but I felt that it would not be right to create a new trust for the memorial funds. The names of the present trustees are given in the appeal. If they are good enough to be made responsible for the management of the vast international estate, called Santiniketan and Sriniketan, they might well be entrusted with the additional responsibility of dealing with the funds that may be collected for the memorial.

Finally I may mention that the response hitherto made through the memorial appeal has been very poor. I know that the organization of the fund rests principally upon my shoulders. I have done nothing in the hope that Deenabandhu's solid work for submerged humanity would need no organized effort, and that it would evoke spontaneous response. I have not yet lost that hope. I publish the meagre list of donations hitherto received. The reader will notice, as I have noticed, that as yet there is no collection from the student world nor any coppers from the labour world.

SEVAGRAM, August 27, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-9-1940

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## 465. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 27, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

In continuation of my letter of the 11th instant, I send herewith a second batch of complaints about the alleged exactions and high salaries. In the latter you will find in places the same names repeated. The reason is that against the names you will notice additional information about them. The note[1] about alleged exactions is supplied by Pandit Nehru. The list about salaries has been supplied principally by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## 466. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 27, 1940*

MY DEAR C. R.,

Here is the draft[2] prepared by the jury. The addition in my hand in the last paragraph was suggested by me and verbally accepted. I have no time to describe to you the background but you will have no difficulty in filling it in. Mahmud, R. Babu, Jamnalal and the Nightingale[3] were also present. What will happen on 13th[4], I do not know. If all goes well

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[2] Not traceable
[3] Sarojini Naidu
[4] On September 13, the Congress Working Committee was to meet at Bombay.

I may have to go to Bombay also. I am not too happy over what is happening but I rejoice in my faith in God.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Can you bring Papa[1] this time?

From a photostat: G.N. 2080

## *467. NOTES*

### SIND

The position of Congressmen in Sind is by no means enviable. They have a most difficult time before them. Their non-violence, if they have it in them, has not benefited those who live in fear of their lives. It is true that no one else has helped them. I warned them at the very outset that they must learn the art of helping themselves as others do, or by non-violence as Congressmen are supposed or expected to do. In some places they are organizing national guards. Those who do, look up to Congressmen for help and guidance. For the latter have been their helpers and guides hitherto. Some Congressmen feel that without any intention themselves of taking up arms they can put courage into the people, if they train them in the art of self-defence whether with or without arms. The question has attained importance and demands immediate answer in view of the unequivocal resolution of the A.I.C.C. recently held at Poona. I am quite clear that no Congressman, so long as he is even a four-anna member of the Congress, can take part in organizing or aiding self-defence groups without committing a breach of the Poona resolution. But I am equally clear that it is the duty of those Congressmen who feel the need for helping self-defence groups and have the capacity for doing so, to go to the rescue of the terror-stricken men. This they can do by resigning their membership of the Congress. By doing so they will enhance the prestige of the Congress and their own usefulness. The fact that they feel the call to help is the decisive factor in determining their course of action.

[1] Eldest daughter of the addressee

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### Peaceful Methods?

A correspondent sends a leaflet published by the Madras Provincial War Committee and printed at the Government Press, which enumerates the seven "great ideals" for which "war is being waged" today by England. The second of the ideals runs thus:

> The ideals for which England is fighting are the ideals of India. Our philosophy of life, our traditions of domestic and international policy have had:
>
> Peace for its ideal—as exemplified in the teaching of the Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.
>
> Peaceful methods and tolerance—as the means of political progress and international relations, as symbolized by the policy of India's ideal king Asoka.
>
> In fighting with England we shall be fighting for what we hold most precious in our own national heritage.

My correspondent says these leaflets are issued in the provincial languages and are widely distributed among the villagers. I suggest to the Madras War Committee that they remove Clause 2 altogether as being untrue. For my ideal as put before the British people is well known. If Lord Buddha was on earth in the body at this moment, such a war would be impossible. It is a travesty of truth to call English methods methods of peace. Asoka's is perhaps the only instance of a great king having voluntarily abandoned war and adopted peaceful methods.

It is no reflection on the British people that they do not accept my advice or follow Asoka's way. These things cannot be done mechanically. But it is not right to give them the credit they do not deserve or want. Well may the British people who read the leaflet say: 'Save us from our friends.'

Sevagram, August 28, 1940

*Harijan*, 1-9-1940

## *468. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

Sevagram, Wardha, C.P.,
*August 29, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I thank you for your letter of the 23rd instant; my reminder was proof of my anxiety that the letter should not miscarry.

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My distress is going deeper. Recent events disconcert me. My complaint about 'exactions' and inflated salaries is already before you. I fear that free expression of public opinion will presently be suppressed with a heavy hand.[1] No discordant note will be allowed. Perhaps wars cannot be carried on otherwise. That is one of the many reasons for making them hateful.

If things go on as they are and if the Congress remains supine, the Congress will die a slow death.[2]

In the domain of politics your words alarm me. I must confess I do not understand some of them.

The profound differences between Congressmen and me are practically bridged.[3] They nearly feel that it was wrong to have decided in advance that a State could not be run without an army. All hope for the world seemed to have been lost so far as the Congress was concerned. If you are interested in this part of the inner history of the Congress you shall have it.

If I cannot help the British Government, I do not wish to embarrass them. But this desire must not be carried to the extent of committing hara-kiri[4].

Before I take any step, I would like to bare my heart and mind to you and seek light if it is darkness that envelops me. If, therefore, you think that it is worth while our meeting, you will please wire appointment.[5] I am seeking the interview in anticipation of the 13th which is the date of the meeting of the Working Committee.

If our meeting comes off before the 13th so as to enable me to return to Wardha before that date, it will be helpful. If you will feel embarrassed to meet me or would otherwise not meet me, there need be no telegram sent me. I shall take your silence to mean that you cannot see me on the issues raised by me. If you cannot, I shall not misunderstand you. I hope you will find it possible to pardon me for causing you trouble when your attention should not

[1] Here the Viceroy has noted in the margin: "False association. This has no place in its context."

[2] Viceroy's note in the margin: "There is the rub."

[3] Viceroy's note in the margin: "Am I to understand this to mean that he comes as the Congress leader?"

[4] Viceroy's note in the margin: "I did not know that the company of the saints were accustomed to limit their liability ! !"

[5] Viceroy's note in the margin: "This is for Mr. G. to judge. I can only discuss matters within the four corners of the Statement. Upon that understanding I shall be glad to grant his request for an interview, and to do my best to help him."

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be diverted from the task before you. My object in seeking an appointment is to leave no stone unturned, first to avoid all possibility of an error of judgment and, secondly, to put before you my case before taking any irretrievable step.[1]

I am now able to send you a translation of the reply I had asked from my Khurja correspondent.[2]

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

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

## *469. A NOTE*

*August 29, 1940*

The above does not satisfy me, nor do I like that you should be satisfied with it. We shouldn't be satisfied too easily.

BAPU

About Munnalal's objection, it should be decided where meetings of permanent inmates of the Ashram should be held from time to time, and their recommendations and decisions should be recorded. Do you find anything impracticable in this?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10604

[1] Viceroy's note: "P. S. V. He must of course come. My reply should contain an expression of regret that the Maulana declined my invitation and the public must know that Mr. G. has asked for an invitation."

[2] The reference is to a letter from H. L. Sharma containing allegations of intimidation of the people for exaction of war loans and contributions to the War Fund.

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## 470. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

*August 30, 1940*

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Come whenever you like. Do not wait till you are so weak that you have to take to your bed.

Give Bhagawati his letter and explain the matter to him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Rajendra Babu has gone to Sikar. He will stay there for a month. Jamnalalji is with him.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3547

## 471. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

[*August 30, 1940*][1]

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

Your letter. Your pain is apparent in spite of your very delicate words. But your duty consists in parting with it in its own interest although it is your own handiwork. Ultimately we must abandon the desire for captainship or success. You still have it. Let us see how I can manage now. Henceforth you have a greater opportunity to concentrate on service to Harijans. I shall seek one thing from you. Please send me some articles for *Harijan Sevak* every week. Also send your criticism about the language, etc., of the *Harijan Sevak*.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN NIWAS
KING'S WAY, DELHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1090

[1] From the post-mark



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## 472. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*August 31, 1940*

CHI. MAGAN,

See that you pass. Keep your pledge of fulfilling Manjula's wish. She is as gentle as a cow.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL P. MEHTA
C/O Y.M.C.A.
NEW DELHI

From Gujarati: C.W. 1607. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

## 473. LETTER TO MANJULABEHN M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
*August 31, 1940*

CHI. MANJULA,

I have your letter. I understand. Come when you can. I had a letter from Magan. He is repenting. He is sure to improve, thanks to your merit.

Keep writing to me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI MANJULA MEHTA
BRAJ BHUVAN
ELLIS BRIDGE
AHMEDABAD, B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From Gujarati: C.W. 1606. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

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## 474. LETTER TO DR. VARIAVA

*August 31, 1940*

BHAI VARIAVA,

Chi. Kunvarji is the husband of my grand-daughter, Ramibehn. He was suffering from tuberculosis. Now the T. B. specialist Dr. David says that he is all right. I shall be grateful if you will examine him after a fortnight or so and send me your report.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 221

## 475. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

SEVAGRAM,
*August 31, 1940*

BHAI SAHEB,

I was happy to see your handwriting. The very word convocation scares me.[1] Where do I have knowledge worthy of a scholar? How can I face the boys? And certainly the lack of time is an important consideration. Therefore please excuse me. I know it is your love and Radhakrishnan's that calls me, but I am helpless.

Hope you are well.

*Your younger brother,*

From Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee in his letter of August 28, had invited Gandhiji to deliver the convocation address at the Banaras Hindu University on November 30 or any other day convenient to him.



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## 476. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
*August 31, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

All the questions that you have raised are important.

Keshav will never steal eatables. It is mere suspicion on the part of you people. It has to be put up with. I do not see anything wrong in using a lock and key. The custody of fruit should be with you only.

Make it clearly known that cots are meant only for the sick and for those who sleep in risky corners. I shall write this in the Note-book if you want me to.

Ramanarayanji has come for *sadhana*. It is our duty to look after his health. The problem of servants is knotty. We shall not improve merely by removing servants. It will be enough if we limit the jobs to be entrusted to servants.

If flour is not available we should certainly have porridge.

Things like . . .[1] soap should be eschewed.

A copy of the *Ramayana* has been ordered. Hindi *Bhajanavali* is under print. You should get all the three newspapers. Make the necessary arrangements.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4359

## 477. TALK TO VILLAGERS[2]

[*September 1, 1940*][3]

In ancient India a man's wealth was reckoned according to the number of cows he possessed, not according to the gold and silver he owned. The Cow was worshipped as mother, for she sustained

[1] The brand name has been omitted.

[2] & [3] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Sevagram Notes", 9-9-1940. The villagers had invited Gandhiji to go and see their cattle parade on the lst September which day was observed as their day of annual rest when the bullocks were decorated and garlanded.



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us with milk and her male progeny helped us to carry on agriculture which kept us alive. Cows are there in the West also, and they are kept very well indeed. But their male progeny is not used for agricultural purposes, it is turned into beef. From time immemorial this idea has been repugnant to us, and we have worshipped the cow and her progeny. The bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like Simla. The railway train and the motor-car go there, but all along the mountain road I found bullocks trudging up and down dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if this means of transport is part of our lives and our civilization. And the bullock has to endure if our handicraft civilization is to endure.

But we have fallen on evil days. Our idea of wealth has changed, we reckon it in terms of hard cash, and have come to neglect our cattle which have been progressively deteriorating. I am glad that you are celebrating this day, but you must know its implications. A day's celebration would have no meaning if you neglected them the rest of the year. You have to find out whose animals are the best and to discover how he manages to keep them so well. You will find out whose cow gives the largest amount of milk and discover how he keeps her and feeds her. You may fix some prize for the best bullock and the best cow in the village. We are here for your service. Parnerkarji, who is a qualified dairyman, and Balvantsinha, known for his love and care of the animals, are at your disposal. The stud bull is being maintained for the benefit of the village. You must make use of all the facilities we have provided. But you can do so only when you have a genuine love for your animals. Here is a thing of which you and I should be ashamed.[1] Supposing I were to prod one of your children with this stick, would you let me do it? And if you will not, how dare you treat these useful animals so? Nowhere else in the world, to my knowledge, is such an instrument of torture used. You should either give this up or not invite me to these shows. You should treat them so kindly and handle them so gently that they will understand a word or a gesture from you without the use of any stick at all. Address yourselves to the task from today, and see what progress you can make by the time we have the next festival. Our aim is to make of Sevagram a model village. I have on another occasion told you what to do in other matters. Today I am telling you that without model cattle we cannot have a model village. Our service is at your disposal,

[1] Here Gandhiji showed them a goad.

but our service too cannot be of much use without your co-operation. I hope you will, therefore, meet together at once and frame a programme of immediate action.

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## *478. DISCUSSION WITH BHARATANAND*[1]

[Before *September 2, 1940*][2]

BHARATANAND: You say that the Poles were 'almost non-violent'. I do not think so. There was black hatred in the breast of Poland and I do not think the compliment is deserved.

GANDHIJI: You must not take what I say so terribly literally. If ten soldiers resist a force of a thousand soldiers armed cap-a-pie, the former are almost non-violent, because there is no capacity for anything like proportionate violence in them. But the instance I have taken of the girl is more appropriate. A girl who attacks her assailant with her nails, if she has grown them, or with her teeth, if she has them, is almost non-violent, because there is no premeditated violence in her. Her violence is the violence of the mouse against the cat.

B. Well, then, Bapuji, I will give you an instance. A young Russian girl was attacked by a soldier. She used her nails and teeth and tore him, so to say, to pieces. Was she almost non-violent?

MAHADEV DESAI: How can it cease to be non-violence, if offered on the spur of the moment simply because it was successful?

G. No.

B. Then I am really puzzled. You say there should be no premeditated violence and no capacity to offer proportionate violence. Here in this case she by her success proved that she had the capacity.

G. I am sorry that I inadvertently said 'no' to Mahadev. There was violence there. It was equally matched.

B. But, then, is not intention ultimately the test? A surgeon uses his knife non-violently. Or a keeper of the peace uses force against miscreants in order to protect society. That too he does non-violently.

G. Who is to judge the intention? Not we. And for us the deed in most cases is the test. We normally look at the action and not at the intention. God alone knows the intention.

[1] & [2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Ahimsa in Daily Life", 2-9-1940.

B. Then God alone knows what is *himsa* and what is ahimsa.

G. Yes, God alone is the final judge. It is likely that what we believe to be an act of ahimsa is an act of *himsa* in the eyes of God. But for us the path is chalked out. And then you must know that a true practice of ahimsa means also in one who practises it the keenest intelligence and wide-awake conscience. It is difficult for him to err. When I used those words for Poland, and when I suggested to a girl believing herself to be helpless that she might use her nails and teeth without being guilty of violence, you must understand the meaning at the back of my mind. There is the refusal to bend before overwhelming might in the full knowledge that it means certain death. The Poles knew that they would be crushed to atoms, and yet they resisted the German hordes. That was why I called it almost non-violence.

B. But, Bapuji, I cannot somehow forget that it is God who is the Judge, and God permits violence. There is a *puranic* story I should like to tell you. God Shiva once suddenly disappeared as he and Parvati were in the midst of a conversation. But soon he appeared again. On being asked where he had been, he said he had gone to the rescue of a *bhakta* who had been attacked, but he had come back on finding that the *bhakta* had helped himself by striking his assailant with a stone.

G. Well, well, no amount of argument can teach us ahimsa. And you must not forget that one cannot be sure of the purity of one's intention until one has gone through the whole course of spiritual training laid down by masters of yoga like Patanjali. Perfect *chittashuddhi*[1] cannot be achieved in any other way.

B. Ahimsa, *brahmacharya*, spinning are all *sadhanas*, and whereas one may suit one, it may not suit another. Why have you made of ahimsa a universal precept?

G. When a means has been tried by a scientist and he has found it of infallible effect he puts it before all. You know the maxim यथा पिण्डे तथा ब्रह्माण्डे. What is true of the individual is true of the universe.

B. But you lay down the same law for a saint and a robber!

G. The law is the same; the way may be more difficult for the robber than for the saint. The law is the ideal, no matter how much individuals may fall short of the ideal.

B. But you forget the reality before the ideal.

[1] Purification of mind

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G. No. The reality is always present before me, but my striving is always to reach the ideal. Euclid's straight line exists only in our conception, but we have always to postulate it. We have always to strive to draw a true line corresponding to Euclid's imaginary line.

*Harijan*, 8-9-1940

## *479. QUESTION BOX*[1]

### A Riddle

Q. You have said that a non-violent person should at all times be ready to renounce everything, for the things of this world pertain to the body and not to the spirit. If we were all thus prepared, the question of violent or non-violent warfare would not arise. Wars are fought in order to protect life and property, should these be endangered. You also say that, so long as the desire to protect life and property remains within us, our ahimsa cannot be said to be pure. How can we reconcile the two?

A. Yours is a good question. I wrote with reference to the satyagraha army. Take our own country for instance. Its entire population will not enlist in the army. But those who are willing to protect the millions by means of non-violence will have to renounce all worldly attachment.

### Khadi and Purity

Q. Can one whose heart is not pure wear khadi?

A. It appears you do not read the papers. I have said and written times without number that khadi, as cloth, is there for everyone to use, the drunkard, the immoral, the thief and the dacoit included. But inasmuch as khadi has been accepted as the symbol of our freedom, it is obligatory for all those who wish to gain and protect that freedom to wear it. And what you say is, therefore, applicable to such persons. Because a satyagrahi must be pure in heart, he must shun drink and immorality, and for him the wearing of khadi is a duty.

### A Quandary

Q. I was walking along the railway line some distance from the station when I saw a young man standing on the lines with the obvious intent of

[1] The Hindi original of this was published in *Harijan Sevak*, 7-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

committing suicide. I tried to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, but he was adamant. Thereupon I dragged him away and held him until the train had passed, but inflicted some bodily injury on him by so doing. I acted spontaneously. Was my action violent or non-violent? I cannot decide for myself.

A. It is good that you acted spontaneously. [We act truly only when we act spontaneously.][1] I have no doubt that your action was non-violent and brave. You are to be congratulated on saving the young man's life. You acted as a true friend, just as a surgeon does when for the sake of the good of the patient he does not hesitate to operate even though the operation inflicts temporary pain. [Congratulations.][2]

SEVAGRAM, September 2, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-9-1940

## *480. HOW TO QUENCH IT?*[3]

Elsewhere in these columns the reader will see "A Seeker's" letter in which he has asked a question which must have occurred to everyone. The beauty lies in the way in which he has introduced the question. He has depicted the present conflagration in such lurid colours that violence cannot but stink in our nostrils. The reader is sure instinctively to exclaim: "Even if it were possible to win the kingdom of the world by means of such violence, I would not have it."

But this exclamation will be of no avail to quench the conflagration. No doubt it will some day quench itself, but it means mutual fratricidal slaughter like that of the Yadavas of old who destroyed themselves and relieved the earth of so much burden. And such a consummation would any day be preferable to a perpetual conflagration. But no one would wish for this. What one would devoutly wish for is some brave step to stop the conflagration before there is total destruction. This can only be a non-violent step. How and when it can be taken has to be discovered. The "Seeker" will be satisfied when the

[1] The Hindi version has: "The world does not act in that manner. We form a habit by constant practice and we act from that habit when the time comes. You have done the same."

[2] From the Hindi version

[3] The Gujarati original of this was published in *Harijanbandhu*, 7-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

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discovery is made. In my opinion the discovery has already been made. If India can win swaraj non-violently even while this conflagration is going on, the latter is bound to be extinguished by that one event. That being my firm faith I fought the Wardha resolution tooth and nail, and secured my freedom —not indeed to tickle my vanity but for the success of the experiment. And if I have to forgo this freedom—as is quite likely—it will be for the same purpose.

We read in our religious books that whenever, in the days of old, all ordinary means failed to secure release from an ordeal or a calamity, people resorted to *tapasya* (penance), i.e., actually burnt themselves. I do not regard these stories as legendary. *Tapasya* is of various kinds. Misguided men can resort to it, as we find them doing today. The wise also can do it. It is worth while understanding the implications of *tapasya.* It was by dint of *tapasya* that Western scientists made their discoveries. *Tapasya* does not simply consist in betaking oneself to the forest and sitting down there surrounded by blazing fires. That *tapasya* may even be the height of folly. We have therefore to discriminate.

The question asked by "A Seeker" does not arise out of despair. It is intended to quicken the conscience of those who believe in ahimsa. I have already shown the way. It is the fulfilment of the thirteenfold constructive programme described in a recent article. Those who will carry it out in faith, in full knowledge, and without the slightest fuss will have done their share in the *tapasya* to quench the conflagration. They will achieve two ends at the same time. They will make India free and will also quench the conflagration. It is likely that the number of such people is limited, so limited that it can have no effect. I have maintained that, even if there is one individual who is almost completely non-violent, he can put out the conflagration. But I have suggested a *tapasya* which can easily be performed by the average individual. In this age of democracy it is essential that desired results are achieved by the collective effort of the people. It will no doubt be good to achieve an objective through the effort of a supremely powerful individual, but it can never make the community conscious of its corporate strength. An individual's success will be like a millionaire doling free food to millions of starving people. We should, therefore, bend our energies to a fulfilment of the thirteenfold constructive programme. It may or may not bring swaraj, but we shall surely have the satisfaction of having done our best.

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There is a warning in the "Seeker's" letter to which I should like to draw the reader's attention. He says papers and broadcasts describe with devilish pleasure the amount of injury each is able to inflict upon the other, and suggests that such news should sicken people instead of providing pleasure, if they are to take part in the propagation of peace. I agree. Such people will not be able to carry out even the constructive programme, for they will have no faith in it.

However that may be, it is as clear as daylight that, if this conflagration is to be put out through non-violent effort, it will be done only by India.

SEVAGRAM, September 2, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-9-1940

## *481. TO THE READERS*

When it was decided that I should also write for *Harijan Sevak*, I thought it would be convenient for me if all the three, i.e., *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijan Sevak* were published from the same place. Shri Viyogi Hari also liked the suggestion. There had been talk over the past many months of lightening his burden of *Harijan Sevak* work. His chief task, in fact only task, is to make the Harijan Nivas an ideal school for Harijans. In this he has also met with a degree of success. *Harijan Sevak* was a pretty heavy burden for him. Efforts were being made to lighten that burden and we had succeeded to some extent. Now shifting the publication of *Harijan Sevak* will reduce the burden even further. He cannot of course be wholly relieved of *Harijan Sevak* work. Though staying away he will still be the editor. I tried to relieve him even of this, but it is good that I did not succeed. *Harijan Sevak* is Viyogiji's creation. It was kept going because of his enthusiasm. He also enrolled the subscribers. Therefore it is proper that his link with *Harijan Sevak* is maintained in some way or other. His articles of course will continue to appear in *Harijan Sevak*.

The language of *Harijan Sevak* will certainly change. My knowledge of Hindustani is very imperfect. I have not studied it. I picked it up while talking and listening to people. So my language will have grammatical and other mistakes. Other co-workers who make similar mistakes will also write. I hope the readers will be generous enough to tolerate such mistakes. This means that no one should buy *Harijan Sevak* for its language.

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Those who buy and read it, will do so to know the views it contains. Yielding to the persistent requests from the readers I have decided to write for *Harijan Sevak* also. I had assumed that Hindi-Hindustani speaking readers will be satisfied with the translations of my articles from Gujarati. But this did not satisfy them. There is of course this. I had no control over the translation when it was done in Delhi. But now it has been decided that the translation also will be done under my supervision. Therefore there will be no misinterpretations, or very few, such as one saw often in *Harijan Sevak*.

SEVAGRAM, September 2, 1940
[From Hindi]
*Harijan Sevak*, 7-9-1940

## *482. BISWA MISCARRIAGE AGAIN*

Moulvi Saheb Fazlul Haq, the Premier of the largest Province in all India has done me the honour of addressing an open letter holding the National Congress, of which he was at one time an ardent follower and admirer, to public ridicule. In his opinion the Congress has done everything to wound Muslim feeling. Says the Moulvi Saheb:

> On several occasions I have published instances of the manner in which the Congress chariot wheels of democracy have ridden roughshod over the feelings and sentiments of countless Muslims and other minorities, and in many cases with your connivance, approbation and consent.

I must plead not guilty so far as the indictment concerns me. I have claimed to have inquired into every case of alleged injustice brought to my notice. I have never hesitated to condemn Congress acts when facts have demanded condemnation.

Let us, however, examine the latest illustration quoted by the Bengal Premier in support of his charge. He deals at length with the notorious Biswa miscarriage of justice. I am invited to give my opinion on it. The Moulvi Saheb evidently had not my opinion before him when he penned the open letter. I refer him to *Harijan* dated 11th ultimo (p. 244) wherein he will find my opinion. I adhere to every word of that opinion.

If the cases of injustice quoted by him are on a par with the Biswa case, his indictment singularly fails. The Congress Ministry had as much to do with the miscarriage of justice as the Moulvi Saheb. No judge has suggested that the police were

under the influence of the Congress Ministry and that the latter used it to procure the miscarriage. The fact is that the ministers were in no way responsible for the conduct of the police or the prosecution. Miscarriages, like the one under examination, have occurred before now in India. But in every case the police were held blameworthy, not the Government, except when a clear case of Government complicity was made out. The Moulvi Saheb has produced no evidence whatsoever in support of his statement that the ministers had in any way interfered with the conduct of the prosecution.

He has produced certain remarks of the court on Pandit Shukla's speech in the C. P. Assembly. It amounts to no more than a reflection on the political unwisdom of making a speech which would seem to prejudge the case. The court's stricture in no way connects Pandit Shukla with the police or the prosecution. Moreover it is an *obiter dictum* which has no judicial value. I doubt if the court was wise in making the stricture without having called upon Pandit Shukla to explain his speech. This explanation, however, Pandit Shukla has given in his letter to the President of the Congress.

The Moulvi Saheb has omitted to notice the outstanding fact that the appellate court has found as a matter of fact that Jagdevrao was killed and that many persons were seriously injured. Their regret is that the guilty ones got off scot-free. Surely the ministers cannot be blamed for this untoward result by the Muslims. If a complaint can be legitimately made by anybody, it is the Hindus who can make it. So far as I am aware there were no Hindus tried, and there were no serious injuries sustained by the Muslims. The Sessions Judge may have erred in weighing evidence. But the fact that he condemned six Muslims to the gallows is a matter that demands serious thinking by all right-minded men. For if the ones condemned were not guilty, some other Muslims were.

I miss in the Moulvi Saheb's open letter any regret for the murder of a Hindu leader and for serious injury to other Hindus, and the fact that the culprits who were responsible for the murder and injuries had gone unpunished. Pandit Shukla was a fellow Premier in a neighbouring Province. I suggest to the Bengal Premier that courtesy required him to ask for Pandit Shukla's explanation before condemning him.

SEVAGRAM, September 3, 1940

*Harijan*, 8-9-1940

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## 483. LETTER TO KULSUM SAYANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P,
*September 4, 1940*

MY DEAR KULSUM,

I was delighted to hear from you. I shall see what I can do with your report.[1] But you have my blessings in your work and also for your dear ones, here and in England.

Love.

BAPU

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

## 484. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

*September 4, 1940*

CHI. AMRITLAL,

When Kakasaheb comes, put this letter[2] before him. Ask him to discuss the last paragraph, too, with me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10800

## 485. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

*September 4, 1940*

CHI. VIJAYA,

You seem to have become very busy. There is no letter at all from you. Spend three pice every week. Haven't you fully recovered yet? How is Nanabhai? Does Manubhai take enough ghee? Here things are fairly well. Sushila is still in Delhi. There is some new

[1] The addressee was conducting classes in Bombay for spreading Literacy among women.

[2] This was Sunderlal's letter to Gandhiji which is not traceable.



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company. I will expect you at Diwali time. But I do not wish that you should neglect your work there and come.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7132. Also C.W. 4624. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

## *486. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

SEVAGRAM,
*September 4, 1940*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter becomes your ahimsa. I did not wish to examine the entire case but only wanted to reply to the grave allegations of the Bengal Premier[1]. It is one thing for the C.P. representative to take interest and another altogether that he should bring forward false witnesses. The fact that the Hindus in Biswa had suffered greatly was relevant, and the ill-treatment of the prisoners subsequently, though a fact, was irrelevant.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8528. Also C.W. 7101. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

## *487. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

SEVAGRAM,
*September 4, 1940*

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

All of them do not take the same interest in collecting my articles as you do. Therefore I do not find anything wrong in your taking *Harijan Sevak*.

I understand the rest.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4360

[1] *Vide* "Biswa Miscarriage Again", pp. 439-40.

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## 488. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

*September 4, 1940*

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. You should get well quick. There have been heavy rains this side and some damage. There has been no development of note here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Hindi]

*Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 289

## 489. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*September 4, 1940*

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I shall write about the members of the Prajamandal, etc., in the next issue of *Harijan Sevak*.[1]

We have to see how the language of *Harijan Sevak* shapes up now. Pyarelal has been charged with the responsibility. All the articles will pass through him. Pyarelal will write to you. If you can send some factual articles, not just essays, do so. And of course your comment on the language.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Hindi: Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* "Question Box", pp. 452-3.

## 490. CABLE TO CARL HEATH

WARDHAGANJ,
*September 6, 1940*

CARL HEATH
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD
LONDON

YOUR WIRE.[1] TRYING BEST AVOID CLASH WHICH SEEMS INEVITABLE. AM IN COMMUNICATION WITH VICEROY. CORRESPONDENCE SHOWS POLICY ENUNCIATED BY AMERY UNCHANGEABLE. ARRESTS PROMINENT CONGRESSMEN CONTINUE. AMERY'S ASSURANCE GIVEN YOU UNSUPPORTED BY PATENT FACTS. CONGRESS RESTRAINT CANNOT BE USED FOR SELF-DESTRUCTION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1042

## 491. LETTER TO SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*September 6, 1940*

DEAR SAILENDRA[2],

I have your letter. I have had a chat with Father. For a man with Father's ideals it would be wrong to tempt you. God must be trusted to look after everyone. Father may talk of death. You should not. For you, he lives for ever. My advice to you is to hold on to what you have.[3] By sheer merit, you should be able to earn more in the Sangh. You

[1] In his cable of August 30, the addressee had said that he had been assured by Amery that no advantage was being taken of the non-embarrassment policy of the Congress and that orders were not specially directed against the Congress but were of a general nature. He had urged that Gandhiji seek an interview with the Viceroy.

[2] Son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee, an inmate of the Ashram

[3] He was working in the A. I. S. A., Calcutta.



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should know that there are men who earn more than Rs. 20 in the Sangh. You need not worry about the sisters. For when they marry there will be no expense. Dhiren[1] is qualifying himself for earning a fair wage. Mother is being provided for by Father. Hence you need worry for nobody at least for the time being.

*Yours*,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10161. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

## *492. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
*September 6, 1940*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 29th ultimo. I had your wire too. I appreciate your hesitation to send me an appointment straight away.[2]

Whenever I come, if I do, as a result of this correspondence, of course the announcement will be that I had sought an appointment. As I can see things now, it is likely that after the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee I shall renew my request for an appointment. For I wish to take no step without first discussing things with you and making myself sure that there is no room left for any misunderstanding.

I was well aware that your statement and the Secretary of State's speech represented the decided policy of H. M. G. Had we met, I would have sought a clearance of my doubts about the manner in which the policy is being enforced and put before you more fully my grounds for dissatisfaction which, I must say, daily events are deepening. I do not at all mind the Congress wandering in the wilderness. Nor should I at present engage in a fight with the Government over their policy if it were based on grounds which could be understood by the plain

[1] The addressee's younger brother, who was being trained for work at the Ashram

[2] The Viceroy in his letter of September 2 had said: "I shall of course be happy to see you . . . though I must in fairness to you make it clear that my statement . . . represents the decided policy of H. M. G. Nor, I am sure, will you misunderstand if I say that . . . I should have to make it clear . . . that . . . the initiative did not come from me."

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man. But I must not be a helpless witness to the extinction of a great organization which I have held under curb on the ground of refusal to embarrass H. M. G. at the present critical juncture. I must not have it said of me that for a false morality I allowed the Congress to be crushed without a struggle. It is this thought that is gnawing at me.

As to the Maulana Saheb's disinclination to see you I had clearly understood that you would give him the option either to see you, if he felt like it, or to send you a written reply. You did, as a matter of fact, give him the option. But instead of sending a written reply he first wanted to ascertain whether he was free to discuss the announcement itself, and when he was told that he was not, naturally he chose not to take up your time over discussing details of enforcing a plan of which he thoroughly disapproved.[1] Don't you think, taking the position in the light I have understood it, that he was quite correct in not visiting you?

I must deal with my complaints about the allegations as to pressed contributions and higher salaries in another letter if it becomes necessary to do so. Meanwhile I thank you for the pains you are taking over my complaints.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*

From a copy: C.W. 7848. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

## *493. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI*

*September 6, 1940*

CHI. VITHALDAS,

I have your letter. Bhai Lakshmidas's[2] plan is good but it cannot be implemented just now. We shall never make enough profit from khadi to repay the money borrowed or increase the

[1] The Viceroy in his letter of August 4 to Abul Kalam Azad had said: " . . . I have been authorized to invite a number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council . . . I trust sincerely that the Indian National Congress will feel able to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council . . . I readily conceive that it might be convenient for you to discuss this matter further with me before you send me a formal reply . . . I shall be very glad to see you . . . at any time convenient to you . . ." Azad declined the invitation since in the terms of the Viceregal declaration he found no meeting ground.

[2] Lakshmidas Asar

capital. For khadi still subsists purely on faith, and cannot therefore be considered as a commercial proposition. As long as power has not come into the hands of the people or as long as the State has not adopted it, khadi will have to depend on voluntary contributions. Khadi cannot be propagated in any other way. I understand that even in Bhai Lakshmidas's plan, there is no intention of returning the capital, only a little interest on the investment will be paid. No trader would invest his money on that rate of interest. We can give no guarantee that they can sell khadi stocks in the share market. So even if we get loans, it will be only from philanthropically inclined khadi-lovers. I am, therefore, trying at present to get voluntary contributions. The statement sent to Bhai Shantikumar[1] contains some signatures also. Let us see now what happens. If we get our present requirements, we can make much greater progress.

If you have any further suggestions to make, please do so. I hope Vaidya is getting along with his work.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9796

## *494. LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

*Unrevised*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
*September 7, 1940*

CHI. MIRA,

I have your long letter. It enables me to follow the struggle that is going on within you. You have not yet acquired the art of looking within for everything. Carding should soothe just as much as spinning once you connect the process with God. Farhad saw his God through breaking a mountain. He is represented as one incessantly delivering heavy blows with God-given strength. He broke the mountain and found his God who is represented as a fair bride. It will be an indulgence if you spin with slivers supplied from Sabarmati or elsewhere. But your arms may be too weak to card heavily. The body may be too weak to respond to the routine involved in all the processes involved in attaining speed and quantity. But, for you neither of these two things is essential. What is essential is the

[1] Shantikumar N. Morarjee

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spirit of dedication to God. Whatever your outward activity it must be all for God. In order to avoid self-deception we have devised spinning including all the anterior processes. If this much is clear to you, you should have a small quantity of unginned cotton. This you will gin with the hand-roller. You know the process. You can devise these there. Instead of an iron rod you can have a wooden roller. You will gin enough for your purpose. To card this cotton would be child's play. You will employ the Andhra method. The slivers thus made will be flawless—no sound, no exertion, no untidiness, no dust. You will draw the finest thread and every draw will bring you nearer to God. It may be difficult for me to find unginned cotton at this time of the year. But as soon as I know your mind I shall find out what can be done. Till I hear from you I shall be doing nothing.

I shall have to go to Bombay for the Congress meeting for a few days from 12th.

The weather here is dry. Presently we shall want some showers, if the crops are to be saved.

God be with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6458. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10053

## *495. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI*

SEVAGRAM,
*September 7, 1940*

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

Your submitting the resignation is perfectly all right.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10848. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

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## 496. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
*September 7, 1940*

CHI. NARANDAS,

You are also growing in years as the days go by and will soon be counted among the old. I wish you to complete a century and to remain ever young.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI NARANDAS GANDHI
RASHTRIYA SHALA
NAVU PARU
RAJKOT (KATHIAWAR)

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8578. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## 497. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
*September 7, 1940*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

What does the enclosed letter say? You may do whatever you consider proper.

I hope Rajendra Babu is well. How is your health? Haribhau has written to me. I shall write about it in *Harijan Sevak*.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3014

## *498. TO THE READERS*

The first issue of *Harijan Sevak* published from Poona has many printer's errors. Readers will excuse me for that. There are very few people knowing Hindustani in Poona. For that matter, those knowing Gujarati are also few in number. Readers know under what conditions *Harijan* was started. It did not prove so difficult to bring out *Harijanbandhu* from Poona because I had with me workers who knew Gujarati while those who know Hindustani are scattered everywhere. I hope the printing of *Harijan Sevak* will improve soon and the mistakes will gradually become fewer. If those who take interest in the language of *Harijan Sevak* send me their criticism I shall be grateful.

Although Viyogiji had wired his willingness to continue as editor he writes to say that he would be happy if he was relieved. He believes that it is morally wrong to continue as editor without any responsibility. He also says that he will hardly get any time to write. I understand his viewpoint and I appreciate it. I have therefore relieved him. Pyarelal consented to my proposal and has agreed to become the editor. Knowing his temperament, I wanted to keep him free. But he is the only person among my associates who is fit to be editor. He is well versed in Urdu and he has also a knowledge of Hindi. He can therefore carry the responsibility of editing a Hindustani paper. He was at one time editor of *Young India*. Notwithstanding all this I would need the generosity of the readers and their help by way of comment and criticism.

The main thing is the realization of the purpose. The purpose of publishing *Harijan Sevak* is to lay before the Hindustani knowing people all aspects of satyagraha. Satyagraha does not mean only civil disobedience. Of much greater importance are the various constructive activities. Without these civil disobedience is nothing. *Harijan Sevak* will strive to explain to the people what this thirteen-point programme is, how it can be conducted and what progress it has made. The work was the same even before, but it was not done under my direct supervision. Now I will look after it to the extent I can. We shall never forget the aim of *Harijan Sevak*, which is the service of the Harijans. For so long as the incubus of untouchability remains our efforts to win swaraj will be like looking for flowers in the sky.

Now the readers will understand why I have given a secondary place to the language. The language is not an end in itself. It is neither jugglery of words nor bombast. It is certainly an important means of expressing thought. However poor the language of the writer may be, if his ideas have any force, if he has something worth saying or some information useful to the reader, it is sure to find its way to his heart.

### The Thirteen-point Programme

The above programme is as follows:

1. Hindu-Muslim or communal unity
2. Removal of untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Charkha and khadi
5. Other village industries
6. Village sanitation
7. Nayee Taleem or Basic Education
8. Adult education
9. Uplift of women
10. Education in health and hygiene
11. Propagation of the national language (Hindustani)
12. Cultivating love for mother tongue
13. Working for economic equality.

Sevagram, September 8, 1940

[From Hindi]

*Harijan Sevak*, 14-9-1940

## *499. ADVICE TO PRABHAKAR*[1]

[Before *September 9, 1940*][2]

I am prepared to go one better than you. Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing but grass and grain. Our mother often falls ill and expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill. Hers is an unbroken record of service which does not end with her death. Our mother when she dies

[1] & [2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Sevagram Notes", 9-9-1940. Prabhakar, a Harijan worker from Andhra, had given up cow's milk in expiation for the sin he had committed against her in eating carrion.

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means expenses of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as when she is alive. We can make use of every part of her body—her flesh, her bones, her intestines, her horns and her skin. Well, I say this not to disparage the mother who gives us birth but in order to show you the substantial reasons for my worshipping the cow. Although I am such a cow-worshipper, I ask you to take milk. I don't take cow's milk as I took a vow about it. But yours is not a vow. You see what I am doing to expand the dairy here. If you feel so much for the cow, you can dedicate yourself to her service.

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## *500. QUESTION BOX*[1]

### Indian States and Congress Activity

Q. Should Congress members be enrolled in Indian States?

A. This question has been frequently put and answered by me. I have always held that it would be inadvisable to enrol Congress members in the States. There is danger of friction and clash with authority, and the latter interfering with this work of organization. Indian States subjects who may be anxious to become Congress members can enrol themselves on the register of the nearest Congress office of their Province in British India. But it would be better for them not to bother about membership and to confine themselves to such activity as is possible within their own States. This can be largely only constructive work. It will arouse self-consciousness and solidarity among the masses. In fact it may on the whole be better to make people Congress-minded in the true sense of the term than to enrol them as Congress members.

### A. I. S. A. Workers

Q. Supposing members are enrolled in the States for the Congress, should not workers of the Charkha Sangh or the Praja Mandals participate or co-operate in Congress political work?

A. Neither of these organizations may go outside its allotted field. The Charkha Sangh workers are already precluded from doing so by the existing rules. Although it is a creation of the Congress, it has no connection with Congress politics. It is purely an economic and philanthropic organization and cannot be made to subserve a

[1] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 14-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

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dual purpose. The Praja Mandals should be ruled by their peculiar position. They are functioning under heavy odds. [It would not be fair or proper][1] to burden them with Congress work. It follows from this that they cannot be asked to lend co-operation to the Congress organization, unless it be in the sense of [silent homage expressed in the constructive work.][2] All these organizations can help one another by each rendering true service within its well-defined ambit. Thus if the Congress is successful in the political field, the Charkha Sangh and the Praja Mandals would profit thereby. Similarly the success of the Charkha Sangh equally serves the Congress. Any single Praja Mandal that achieves success in its mission strengthens the Congress to that extent. By straying from our allotted fields we are likely to do more harm than good.

SEVAGRAM, September 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## *501. KHADI PATRIKAS*[3]

Several Khadi Patrikas are being published these days by the various branches of the All-India Spinners' Association. I have not seen all of them. But of those that I have seen the Maharashtra Khadi Patrika alone has captured my attention. The rest, so far as I have seen them, are not up to much. If all the provinces will send me their respective khadi *patrikas*, I will gladly have them examined and send them the result. Besides these there is too the *Gram Seva Patrika* published on behalf of the Nalwadi (Wardha) Karyalaya which is always well worth reading. It is published in Marathi. Shri Vinoba is the inspiration behind it. As a rule, it contains at least one article by him. In my opinion no *patrika* should be brought out for its own sake. They should be self-supporting, notwithstanding the fact that their readers are likely to be mostly workers of the publishing organization. The latter will and must pay for the publications if they are really needed, since they will be getting back many times the worth of money spent on them in the form of useful knowledge.

The August issue of the *Maharashtra Khadi Patrika* is lying before me. One item out of it, viz., "One Aspect of Khadi", has

[1] The Hindi version has: "It would be dangerous."

[2] The Hindi version has "moral support".

[3] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 14-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

already been reproduced in these columns. The *patrika* is mostly in Hindi, partly in Marathi. Each issue is priced as. 2; the subscription for the year being Rs. 1/4/-. It is printed on handmade paper. It is published from *chanda* and can be had from the Khadi Karyalaya, Wardha.

The *patrika* is filled with useful knowledge about khadi. The issue under review contains the following articles: "The thickness of yarn and width of cloth", "The Care of Slivers", "Some Experiments of Gandhi Ashram, Raniwa", "The Curriculum of the Vastra Vidyalaya, Mool", "The Village Service Scheme of the Gandhi Seva Sangh", "For Spinners on the Yeravda and the Kisan Charkhas", "Dhanush Takli", "The Arithmetic of Spinning", "Organizational Notes". No student of khadi can afford to go without this *patrika*.

SEVAGRAM, September 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 22-9-1940

## *502. NOTES*[1]

### CONGRESS AHIMSA

I am being inundated with letters[2] complaining that by giving my definition of ahimsa before the Poona Congressmen, who saw me recently at Wardha,[3] I have seriously circumscribed the scope of ahimsa. These friends forget that my remarks were confined to Congress ahimsa only. Personally I would not kill insects, scorpions or even snakes. Nor would I under any circumstance take meat. But I may not impose the creed of such ahimsa on the Congress. The Congress is not a religious institution, it is a political organization. Its non-violence is limited to human beings. If it were to be further extended, only Hindus, and among even them only Vaishnavas and Jains, would be left to participate in it. Millions of Hindus who eat fish and meat would be excluded. My proposition, to my mind, is so simple and straight that I never thought that anybody could object to it.

My critics should further understand that many Mussalmans have not accepted even the limited ahimsa of the Congress as their

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] The Gujarati adds: "Some sent by registered post".

[3] *Vide* "Discussion with B. G. Kher and Others", pp. 387-95.

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creed, and that the Congress, itself has by its Wardha and Poona resolutions, so cramped its scope as to render it almost meaningless. It follows, therefore, that any attempt to widen its scope to include the sub-human species will defeat its purpose. Unlimited ahimsa will take time to be universalized.[1] We will have ample cause to congratulate ourselves if we learn to substitute the law of love in society for that of the jungle, and if instead of harbouring ill will and enmity in our bosoms against those whom we regard as our enemies we learn to love them as actual and potential friends. It should be remembered too that mere *jivadaya* (kindness to animals) does not enable us to overcome the 'six deadly enemies' within us, namely, lust, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and falsehood.[2] Give me the man who has completely conquered self and is full of goodwill and love towards all, and is ruled by the law of love in all his actions, and I for one will offer him my respectful homage even though he be a meat-eater. On the other hand the *jivadaya* of a person who is steeped in anger and lust but daily feeds the ants and insects and refrains from killing has hardly anything in it to recommend itself. It is a mechanical performance without any spiritual value. It may even be worse—a hypocritical screen for hiding the corruption within.

## Non-Violence During Riots

A friend writes:

> How can non-violence be efficacious during riots? By self-immolation we can influence only those with whom we have already established living contacts. But the hooligans who perpetrate violence during riots are, as a rule, hirelings imported from outside. How can they have any scruples about hurting those whom they have never known before and for whom they can have no regard or consideration?

The question deserves careful consideration. The friend who has put it is a valiant worker who nearly lost his life in trying to do his duty during a riot.

I have often written on this question before. The pity of it is that Congressmen have never seriously thought over the question of finding a non-violent way of quelling riots. Their non-violence was restricted to the sole purpose of offering civil resistance to the authorities. In my opinion the non-violence that goes so far and no further scarcely deserves the name 'ahimsa'. You may, if you like,

[1] The Gujarati adds here: "It certainly has its uses for the devotees."

[2] The Gujarati has here: "Only non-violent behaviour towards other human beings will help us to overcome these six enemies."

call it unarmed resistance. So far as it is a device for embarrassing the Government it is a species of *himsa*. To quell riots non-violently, there must be true ahimsa in one's heart, an ahimsa that takes even the erring hooligan in its warm embrace. Such an attitude has to be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and patient effort which must be made during peaceful times. The would-be members of a peace brigade should come into close touch and cultivate acquaintance with the so-called *goonda* element in his vicinity. He should know all and be known to all and win the hearts of all by his living and selfless service. No section should be regarded as too contemptible or mean to mix with. *Goondas* do not drop from the sky, nor do they spring from the earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganization, and society is therefore responsible for their existence. In other words, they should be looked upon as a symptom of corruption in our body politic. To remove the disease we must first discover the underlying cause. To find the remedy will then be a comparatively easy task. So far we have not even attempted a proper beginning. But it is never too late to mend. It is enough that we are at last alive to the necessity of it. We have now to follow it up with prompt action. Let everyone who is interested make a prompt beginning in his own neighbourhood. The difficulty mentioned by my correspondent will automatically resolve itself if we proceed with our effort in the right spirit.

## How to Universalize Khadi?

A correspondent[1] writes:

> 1. The spinning propaganda is going on in every part of India; but I wish the A.I.S.A. would simultaneously open khadi production centres where people could send or take their yarn, without much expense, for weaving, and where they could sell their yarn if they wished.
>
> 2. The A.I.S.A. should allow every spinner to have his or her yarn woven locally and also to sell it locally.
>
> 3. Khadi bhandars in big towns and cities mean heavy overhead charges due to house-rent, electric lighting, management, and other office expenses, and that makes khadi too dear. It ought to be possible for people to purchase cheap khadi in villages or taluka centres.

All the three suggestions are good. But the great difficulty in carrying them out is that we have not enough workers. There is no doubt that all the yarn should be woven where it is spun, and that the khadi should be disposed of there and then. Therein lies the

[1] The Gujarati version has "from Dabhoi".

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beauty of khadi. The economics of khadi are to a great extent contrary to those of mill cloth. Cloth manufactured in Manchester is meant for use not in Manchester or England or Europe, but to be exported to Asia or Africa for the use of the people there. On the contrary khadi is meant to be made for the millions by the millions living in villages. Mills use cotton imported from all parts of the world. Cotton for khadi should be produced where it is turned into khadi. We have not yet attained the ideal of the science of khadi, and to that extent the foundation of khadi must be regarded as weak. There was no science of khadi when we began to use khadi. It has evolved with the progress of khadi, and even now it is far from being perfect. But ever-watchful khadi servants are constantly thinking about it and going on perfecting it in the light of experience. I am afraid it will be some time before we can reach the ideal pictured by the correspondent. The A. I. S. A. is not slack in its effort, but it is faced with difficulties at every step. The main thing needed for the universalization of khadi is the co-operation of the people. Machine manufacture can be planned in an office and can be carried out according to plan. Where people have to be converted to an idea it does take time. We have therefore, for the time being, to put up with khadi bhandars in towns and cities. Most of these are self-supporting. But for them there would not be the demand for khadi that there is today. While, therefore, we should make every attempt to reach the ideal, we cannot jump to it at one bound.[1]

SEVAGRAM, September 9, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## *503. QUESTION BOX*[2]

### STUDENTS AND SATYAGRAHA

Q. Why do you object to students participating in the satyagraha campaign, if it is launched? And why must they leave school or college for good, in case they are permitted? Surely students in England are not silently looking on when their country is engaged in a war.

A. To withdraw students from schools and colleges is to encourage them in a programme of non-co-operation.

[1] The Gujarati version has: "and as long as we do not reach the ideal we should not underestimate the existing arrangement."

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-9-1940. This English translation is reproduced from *Harijan*.

It is not on our programme today. If I were in charge of the satyagraha campaign, I should neither invite nor encourage the students to leave their schools and colleges. We have seen by experience that the students have not yet got over their passion for Government schools and colleges. That these institutions have lost their glamour is a gain, but I do not set much store by it. And if the institutions are to continue, withdrawal of students for satyagraha will do them no good and will be of little help to the cause. Such withdrawal will not be non-violent. I have said that those who intend to join the campaign should leave their schools or colleges for good and resolve to devote themselves to the nation's service even after the struggle is over. There is no comparison between the students here and those in England. There the whole nation is involved in the war. The institutions have been closed down by the managers. Here, on the contrary, students leaving their schools and colleges would do so in spite of the heads of those institutions.

### Are Not All Fasts Violent?

Q. Are not all fasts violent? Do I not coerce a friend when I try to prevent him, by means of my fast, from doing a wrong act?

A. Fasts undertaken according to the rules governing them are truly non-violent. There is no room there for coercion. If a friend of mine is going astray, and if I impose suffering on myself by fasting in order to awaken his better instincts, it can be only out of love. If the friend for whom I fast has no love in him, he will not respond. If he has it and responds, it is all to the good. This is how I would analyse his act: He valued his love for me more than his bad ways. There is a possible risk, I admit, namely that as soon as the effect of the fast is over he would be tempted to go back to his old ways. But then I can fast again. Ultimately the increasing influence of my love will either convert the friend to the extent of weaning him completely from his evil ways, or repeated fasts may lose their novelty, blunt his mind, and make it impervious to my fasting. It is my conviction that a fast undertaken out of genuine love cannot have such an untoward result. But because such a result is not impossible we cannot afford to disregard this pure instrument of moral reform. The risk, however, makes it clear that he who fasts should be properly qualified, and that it should not be lightly undertaken.

### Penance

Q. Is not the realization of one error and the resolve never to repeat it a penance in itself? Is any further penance necessary?

A. Realization of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance. One casts away one's evil habits as a snake casts off its skin, and thus purifies oneself. Such self-purification is itself complete penance. But he who gets into the habit of committing errors cannot easily shed it. For all such penance in its accepted sense, if undertaken with discrimination, is likely to be a great help.

SEVAGRAM, September 10, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## *504. LETTER TO SHAKRIBEHN C. SHAH*

*September 10, 1940*

CHI. SHAKRIBEHN,

Why do you feel worried? Happiness and misery, health and disease, youth and old age are always with the body. Who knows which is the fruit of sin and which of good deeds? There is nothing wrong in your staying on there. Come here whenever you wish. You may start as soon as you get this letter so that you may be free from worry. You have to bring Sharda with you. Everything will be all right.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.G. 31

## *505. NOT QUITE NEW*[1]

Apropos of my suggestion that a successful non-violent defence against aggression from without is not so fantastic as is supposed, a correspondent sends me the following extract from a writing in *Visvabharati* of 1927:

> Of course, we must not think that killing one another is the only form of war. Man is pre-eminently a moral being. His war instinct should be shifted to the moral plane and his weapons should be moral weapons. The Hindu inhabitants of Bali, while giving up their lives before the invaders, fought with their moral weapons against physical power. A day will come when men's history will admit their victory. It was a war. Nevertheless it was in harmony with peace, and therefore glorious.

SEVAGRAM, September 11, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

[1] This was published under "Notes".

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## *506. ECONOMIC RUIN IN SINDH*

The following printed letter has been circulated by Shri Tarachand D. Gajra and Shri C. T. Valecha:

> We trust you received our previous communication, 'A note on the present state of lawlessness in Sindh'. Herewith follows another one, 'Economic ruin due to the lawlessness in Sindh'. It is a sad story of silent misery that has befallen those who are migrating without any financial aid from the public or the authorities. Elsewhere such a thing would evoke wide international public support and sympathy. We hope your interest in our province will grow.

I take the following from the statement referred to in the letter:

> Great havoc has been wrought in the economic life of the province by the present lawlessness in Sindh. The village life is almost at the brink of total ruin. The peasantry, whose only property and means of sustenance are the bulls and the milch cattle, find themselves without both on account of depredations by thieves, as thefts of cattle have risen to abnormal proportions. The lot of the cultivators has come to this that he passes the day of toil followed by a night of vigil.
>
> The Hindus in the villages do not feel themselves strong enough to face thieves and dacoits. Hence they have taken to migrating from smaller villages to bigger villages, and those who are in bigger villages are leaving for urban areas.
>
> With a view to having some idea of this migratory movement, herein below are given figures about one of the sixty-one tahsils in Sindh, namely, Hyderabad taluka. These have been collected by Prof. Ghanshyam, M.L.A. (Congress—Hyderabad Rural Constituency). From several villages almost all Hindu families have left, and from most of the remaining ones nearly fifty per cent of the Hindus have migrated.

Then follow the figures about the migration from 42 villages in the single tahsil of Hyderabad. Of these all the Hindu families in 17 villages have migrated. Of the rest some villages had only one family left. More than 50 per cent of the families had left all the other villages.

The framers of the statement thus comment on the figures:

> To fully grasp the significance of the above figures it should be borne in mind that Hyderabad tahsil is in one of the best situated



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parts of the province. It is immediately round the district headquarters, while the Hyderabad district itself is the central district of the province—both the eastern desert boundary and the hilly western border of the province lying far away. Even the Sukkur district, which witnessed the recent abominable atrocities, is far distant from Hyderabad. If that is the state of affairs in the safest part of the province, the extent of migration from villages in the tahsils in other districts such as Dadu, Jacobabad, Larkana and Sukkur can easily be imagined.

I need not reproduce the other paragraphs of the statement. The whole of it is a dignified and dispassionate narrative of the calamity that has overtaken the Hindus. The narrative shows that it has begun to affect the Muslims also. The Hindus of Sindh are enterprising. They supply the felt wants of the Muslim agriculturists. The two are closely intertwined. Communalism of the virulent type is a recent growth. The lawlessness is a monster with many faces. It hurts all in the end including those who are primarily responsible for it.

The writers of the covering letter are right in saying that the Sindh calamity is an all-India concern. It is as much the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right spirit. The Government of Sindh will be judged by the manner in which they handle the situation. Nor can the Central Government look on indifferently while a province of India, which is watered by the mighty Indus and which contains the remains of our proud and ancient past, is being devastated by lawlessness which, if not checked in time, may travel beyond the imaginary boundary of Sindh. For what happens in India, whether good or bad, in one part, must ultimately affect the whole of India.

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY, September 11, 1940

*Harijan*, 15-9-1940

## 507. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI

[Before *September 12, 1940*][1]

In the course of a letter written to Sir Akbar Hydari, Gandhiji says that satyagraha has been suspended by the State Congress under his advice. However, he thinks that the time is come for some action to be taken and he has picked up only four satyagrahis[2] out of a long list to offer satyagraha at Aurangabad tomorrow. After they are arrested, none else will offer satyagraha, but if they are released, they will again offer satyagraha.

Those four satyagrahis left Wardha last night for Aurangabad.

*The Hindu*, 12-9-1940

[1] The news item in the source is dated September 12.

[2] These were Achyuthrao Deshpande, Motilal Manthiri, Devram Nanji Chohan and Hiralal Kotecha.



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# *APPENDICES*

## APPENDIX I

### *SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE*[1]

To the Satyagraha/Congress Committee

.....

I desire to enroll myself as an active satyagrahi.

I solemnly declare that,

(1) So long as I remain an active satyagrahi I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced today, non-violence alone can help and result in the attainment of *purna* swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(2) I believe and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(3) I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

(4) I believe in swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth. I shall so far as possible use the produce of hand and village industries.

(5) I shall spin regularly.

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all rules and regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by any superior Congress organization or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment or even death for the sake of the cause and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for myself, my family and dependants.

Signed

Full name .....
Address .....
Date. .....

Note. Nobody who is not above the age of 18 may take this pledge.

*The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. I, p. 240

[1] *Vide* p. 77.

## APPENDIX II

### *DEENABANDHU MEMORIAL*[1]

Innumerable people all over the world, who have been plunged into sorrow by the recent death of Charles Freer Andrews, must have been feeling, in their grief, that it behoves his friends to carry on the work of service and reconciliation in which he laboured so greatly. We would not willingly let die the memory of his life; we seek a way to perpetuate, in permanent and visible form, the spirit of that life. Andrews's permanent Indian home, the place with which for over a quarter of a century he affectionately identified himself, was Santiniketan in the Birbhum District of Bengal. This Ashram was originally founded by the late Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and supported by the ancestral funds. Under the leadership of his son, the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, the educational institutions at Santiniketan, with the centre of rural reconstruction close by at Sriniketan, have far outgrown the first conception, and become a world-famous centre of international culture. To the welfare of these institutions, with their vision of universal brotherhood and their service of international understanding and peace, Andrews, the Poet's closest friend, gave his whole-hearted devotion. No private resources could be adequate for the support of such a centre of study and research, and many of the financial and other contributions which have been made to it from East and West alike have been owed to Andrews's perseverance, hard work, and faith in its future. No more fitting place can be conceived for a memorial to him, nor one which he himself would have loved better, as we who came into the closest contact with him know.

It is true that no memorial in stone and mortar can fully perpetuate Andrews's memory. That can best be done by promoting true and lasting peace between India and Great Britain as independent nations and, through their joint effort, universal peace. But this work of reconciliation must find concrete form in some centre from which his influence can radiate. There could be no better memorial to him than that the place where he found his spiritual home and greatest human inspiration should be so endowed as to enable it to fulfil his high hopes for it unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened. In his name and that of the Poet whose vision he so entirely shared, we appeal for this endowment to be generously given.

[1] *Vide* pp. 163-4 and 419-22.

There are two projected developments of the work of Santiniketan and Sriniketan which Charles Andrews himself specially longed to see. The generous response of the public to our appeal for a memorial fund will enable them both to be carried out in addition to ensuring the permanence of the present established work. They are as follows:

Andrews was most appropriately called 'Deenabandhu', the friend of the poor, and the poor of the Birbhum district knew his friendship. The rural centre at Sriniketan has a good doctor and dispensary but no hospital or operating theatre. We propose to build a small but properly equipped hospital to serve the villages round us, and to dig each year 'Deenabandhu wells' in the neediest areas. The Birbhum district is not served by the large rivers of Bengal, and lack of adequate water supply is the main cause of its grinding poverty.

It was true insight which caused an Indian friend to interpret the initials C. F. A. as meaning "Christ's Faithful Apostle". Christ was the centre of his life. Devotion to Him was his outstanding characteristic and the source of his inspiration and strength. During the last months at Santiniketan he often expressed the hope that in this place, where the civilizations of the world can share with each other the bases of their strength, there might be established a Hall of Christian culture which could do for India's thought through contact with the Western world, what the 'Cheena-Bhawan' is expected to do for our relationship with China. The central purpose of the Hall would be the study of the teaching and character of Christ and its application to the solution of international problems. It would seek to attract scholars and students, especially of the East, to the task of interpreting in their own modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ. We envisage a modest building, sufficiently endowed to enable us to offer such scholars and students a home at a minimum cost, with simple living accommodation, meeting hall, and the library whose nucleus Charles Andrews had already begun to assemble. He himself made Santiniketan his headquarters during a life of practical Christian service which reached out from here to the ends of the earth. We hope that such a Hall would enable others consecrated to the same kind of service to enjoy the same kind of home.

The full carrying out of this programme will require a fund of at least Rs. 5,00,000 (£40,000). We ask Andrews's friends and admirers all over the world to give liberal support to a scheme which will make possible, in his name, the preservation and enrichment of this work nearest to his own heart.

Santiniketan and Sriniketan are in the charge of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Founder-President, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Shri Hirendranath Datta, Shri L. K. Elmhirst, Dr. D. M. Bose, Treasurer, and Shri Rathindranath Tagore, General Secretary, as trustees. The trust deed is registered. Its corpus

today is valued at Rs. 1,700,000. Its annual expenditure is about Rs. 330,000.

ABUL KALAM AZAD
S. K DATTA
M. K. GANDHI
M. M. MALAVIYA
SAROJINI NAIDU
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
FOSS WESTCOTT (Bishop)

*Harijan*, 1-6-1940

## APPENDIX III

### *RAJAGOPALACHARI'S RESOLUTION FOR WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING, DELHI*[1]

*July 3, 1940*

The Working Committee is of opinion that the proposals communicated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his conversation with Mahatma Gandhi do not meet the requirements of the present situation in any satisfactory manner.

According to these proposals the claim of the Congress that the status of India should be declared by Britain to be one of complete independence remains unsatisfied. Any declaration that India shall be in the same position as the self-governing countries in the British Commonwealth does not meet the case of India. Nor has it any real meaning in the present state of world affairs.

Apart from this and what is even more important in relation to the immediate activities in regard to Defence efforts,—the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that the Congress cannot withdraw its non-co-operation unless the entire field of central government including defence is immediately placed in charge of a national government, which, though formed *ad hoc* and as a transitory measure, should be so constituted as to command the confidence of all the elected elements of the Central Legislature and of the Responsible Governments in the provinces. Unless such a central national government is immediately formed, any efforts in the direction of the defence of India will not only be contrary to the fundamental principles of justice and democratic government, but will also prove utterly futile.

Wardha Office, Satyagraha file, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* p. 402.

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## APPENDIX IV

### *RESOLUTION PASSED AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING AT DELHI*[1]

POLITICAL SITUATION

*July 7, 1940*

The Working Committee have noted the serious happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation; and in view of the desirability of clarifying the Congress position they have earnestly examined the whole situation once again in the light of the latest developments in world affairs.

The Working Committee are more than ever convinced that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete independence of India, is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain and are, therefore, of opinion that such an unequivocal declaration should be immediately made and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the Responsible Governments in the provinces.

The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the aforesaid declaration is made, and a National Government accordingly formed at the the Centre without delay, all efforts at organizing the material and moral resources of the country for Defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will therefore be ineffective. The Working Committee declare that if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the Defence of the country.

*The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, pp. 176-7

[1] *Vide* pp. 255-7 and p. 402.

## APPENDIX V

### *EXTRACTS FROM SRINIVASA SASTRI'S LETTER*[1]

*July 16, 1940*

. . . When you ask Britain to admit that India is free or declare that India shall be free from a certain date, you ask for the impossible. South Africa and Eire have not asked for it. The right to secede at will is equivalent to independence. This right has been openly claimed by both Dominions and no one in authority has raised a voice of protest from the British side. No one will venture to do so. It is a very different thing to demand a resolution or Act of Parliament declaring or granting in express terms the right of secession. Why shall we not be realists for once and rest content with Dominion Status, of which we now know the implicit as well as the explicit significance? You recently said that Dominion Status will go after the war or change beyond recognition. Let it. We shall be no worse than the other Dominions . . . The Congress and you believed, or allowed yourselves to be persuaded, when the war began in earnest, that your demand of independence would be complied with. As the war grows more grim, you are confirmed in that belief. True, Britain could be squeezed today if things were normal in India. I mean you would obtain your desire if Britain could be sure that she would gain more than she would lose by compliance. She calculates that she would be worse off in the result. Who can gainsay it with confidence? My own opinion—I am so ignorant it isn't worth much—is that Muslim displeasure is a greater minus than Congress adhesion is a plus. Nobody can gauge the precise extent of Jinnah's influence. As a man and as a politician he has developed unexpectedly. . . . Nevertheless, Congress is unable to ignore or neglect him; how can the British Government do so? The risk is great. . . .

To sum up: Independence at Britain's hands is out of the question. Independence of Britain the fortune of war may thrust upon us (God forbid it). But independence we shall neither get nor keep. . . .

Rajaji's resolution in my judgment is foredoomed by being coupled with the independence demand. Consistency and prestige perhaps require it, but neither of these is an all important consideration.

Let me paraphrase the W.C.C.'s offer to Britain. Grant our independence and in earnest thereof nationalize the Central Government. We

[1] *Vide* p. 295.



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shall abandon non-violence and harness all India's resources in your aid. It is the clear duty now of the strongest and the most patriotic party to grasp at every opportunity of acquiring power and using it for the protection of the people, subordinating and postponing for the moment all other considerations, including independence. Instead, Rajaji's position, stated briefly, is: "Congress can't do its best till India is independent or declared so. Because you don't enable us to do our best, we won't do even what we can, though for our own people's primary needs."

Suppose, now, on the contrary, the W.C.C. directed the men who were Ministers in the Provinces to resume office and other measures necessary for the protection of the people. Will it not immediately restore the confidence of the public and dispel the fear of anarchy which is now widespread and may soon demoralize the inhabitants of the villages? Power carries a responsibility; Congressmen may not say now to the harassed citizens: "You must suffer till the Britisher yields." Will you not shake off your prepossessions and obsessions and order the provincial parliamentarians back to their posts of duty? Tell them that peaceful existence is prior to independence, and that Britishers and Muslims may be disposed of later. . . .

Srinivasa Sastri Papers. File No. G-1. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## APPENDIX VI

### *LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*[1]

*August 10, 1940*

MY DEAR BAPU,

I have just received your letter of the 8th. About Hyderabad, I can make no suggestion. So much depends on the strength of the people and their organization. I think, however, that it is far better for them to concentrate on the rural areas where the chances of communal clashes are probably less. I do not see how they can remain passive under the circumstances. Yet it may be perhaps better not to precipitate a big crisis immediately in view of the rapid developments of the political situation in India as a whole. When this all-India situation advances further, Hyderabad people might be in a better position to assert their right.

In a sense I am not sorry at the developments in Hyderabad. The impossible attitude that Bahadur Yar Khan and others have taken up will

[1] *Vide* p. 423.

react on them. It may of course lead to a great deal of trouble and bloodshed. In any event the State Congress people should make it perfectly clear that they cannot reduce by an iota their demand for responsible government.

I understand the Working Committee is likely to meet in Wardha in eight or nine days' time. I hope to meet you then.

About the exactions for war funds, I have written to the secretary of the U.P.P.C.C. to send you some particulars. Some have been published in the Press and are clear enough. Some others, though equally clear, might be explained differently. For instance an usual case is for a person to be approached for a donation. He refuses or offers a smaller sum than what is demanded. Immediately or a day or two after, he is arrested on the charge of preventing others from subscribing to the war funds, and thereby coming in the way of war efforts.

I have just had a case like this from Allahabad district. A poor village shopkeeper was asked to give Rs. 15 or Rs. 20. He said the most he could possibly give was Rs. 5. He was cursed and sworn at and immediately a notice was given to him to appear to show cause why he should not be proceeded against under the Defence of India rules. His case is up today in a court here. Usually this kind of thing is not done with full-fledged Congressmen who are expected to refuse anyhow. Another case which has come to me today is from Kasganj in Etah district. A Naib Tahsildar went to the shop of a Congressman on 2nd of August and demanded money for the war funds. This was refused and the man stated that as a Congressman he could not do so. Thereupon the Naib Tahsildar threatened to take action and had the name of the person noted down. On the next day this man, who is the nephew of a well-known Congressman in the district, was suddenly arrested for non-payment of a punitive police tax. He was put in the lock-up and for 30 hours he was not given any food or facilities for bathing, etc. This arrest was completely illegal as punitive tax can only be recovered by attachment of property and the person concerned, whose name is Omprakash, has considerable movable and immovable property. The amount of Punitive Tax concerned was only Rs. 6 which could easily have been realized by attachment. Omprakash's uncle, Manpal Gupta, thereupon created a lot of fuss and ultimately Omprakash was discharged. That is how the matter stands now.

Another interesting case is that of Thakur Surendra Bahadur Singh, Taluqadar of Simri in Rae Bareli district. He is a Congress M.L.A. His father, the Taluqadar, recently died and thereupon, at his own request, his taluqa was taken under the Court of Wards. The Deputy Commissioner informed him that he should contribute Rs. 1,500 to the War Fund. He refused to do so as a Congressman. He was then told that he held his taluqa on conditions of loyalty and good service and the Court of Wards had

a perfect right to give the donation out of the revenues of the taluqa. Thereupon he sent a registered notice to the Deputy Commissioner protesting against this imposition and saying that it was wholly illegal. His case was that it might or might not be open to the Government to confiscate his taluqa for want of loyalty to them. But it was certainly not open to them to give a donation on his behalf and against his will. In spite of this the Deputy Commissioner has already or is going to pay this sum to the war fund and Surendra Bahadur Singh is thinking of bringing a declaratory suit in a court of law.

I am getting complaints from various districts of pressure being brought on kisans to pay eight annas or a rupee or more per plough. It is obvious that they do not want to pay but are compelled to do so.

Petty Government servants and minor officials dare not say no when they are asked to contribute. A recent case which came to my notice informally but nevertheless correctly was that of a stenotypist of a District Magistrate. He was asked to give Rs.200. His salary was Rs. 125 a month. He pointed out hesitatingly that he had a large family and it was entirely beyond his capacity to pay that sum. He was then told that in any event he and his family would have to starve if the British lost the war. So this was a kind of insurance that he had to pay. Ultimately it was settled that he should pay Rs. 150 to the war fund. A curious thing is that one does not hear very much about donations from higher officials. They think it is enough for them to serve the cause by giving their very efficient service at a high rate of payment.

The number of new appointments at high salaries grows from day to day. Probably a very large proportion of the funds that are being collected goes towards the payment of these high salaries. Simla, I understand, is crowded with this type of officials serving the great cause by drawing a fancy salary for little or no work. There was a recent case of an English official who was till recently drawing Rs. 750 a month suddenly being pushed into some war work and is being given Rs. 2,500 a month. It was stated that he had accepted this new job at considerable sacrifice to himself.

*Yours affectionately,*

MAHATMA GANDHI

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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## APPENDIX VII

### *STATEMENT MADE BY THE VICEROY ON AUGUST 8, 1940*[1]

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorized me to make the present statement.

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorize the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the provinces between the major parties was a desirable prerequisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year, I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorized me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorized me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

[1] *Vide* pp. 370-1 and pp. 407-10.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear however that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility. It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorize me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree. Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take, and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions and secondly, upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. They trust however that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all

parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

From a printed copy: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Microfilm No. 109. Part II, item No. 137. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## APPENDIX VIII

### *RESOLUTION PASSED AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING AT WARDHA*[1]

*August 21, 1940*

The Working Committee have read the statement issued by the Viceroy on the authority of the British Government on the 8th of August and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons explaining the Viceroy's statement. They note with deep regret that the British Government have rejected the friendly offer and practical suggestion contained in the Poona resolution of the A. I. C. C. on 28th July framed for a solution of the deadlock and to enable the Indian National Congress to withdraw its non-co-operation and to secure in the present crisis the patriotic co-operation of all the people of India in the governance of India and organization of national defence.

The Working Committee have read with deep pain and indignation the declaration and assumptions contained in the statements and speeches made on behalf of the British Government which seek to deny India her natural right of complete national freedom and reiterate the untenable claim that Britain should maintain herself in a dominant position in India in the discharge of the higher functions of the State. These claims render fasle and empty even their own promise to recognize India at an early date, as a free and equal unit in the British Commonwealth. Such claims and recent events and developments in the world have confirmed the Committee's conviction that India cannot function within the orbit of an imperial power and must attain the status of a free and independent nation. This does not prevent close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace of the world.

The Working Committee are of opinion that the assertion contained in the statements made on behalf of the British Government that they will not part with power and responsibility in favour of the elected representatives of the people of India, and that therefore the present autocratic and irresponsible system of government must continue so long as any group of people or the Princes, as distinguished from the people of the States or perhaps even foreign vested interests

[1] *Vide* pp. 407-10.

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raise objections to any constitution framed by the elected representatives of the people of India, is a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife, and amounts to a fatal blow to all willingness to compromise and adjustment of claims.

The Committee regret that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less of asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of the constitution through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been misrepresented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress. The Congress has proposed that minority rights should be amply protected by agreement with elected representatives of the minorities concerned. The Working Committee therefore cannot but conclude that the attitude and assertions contained in these statements made on behalf of the British Government confirm the prevailing feeling that the British authority has been continually operating so as to create, maintain and aggravate differences in India's national life.

The Working Committee note with astonishment that the demand for the constitution of a Provisional National Government composed of persons commanding the confidence of the various elected groups in the present Central Legislature, formed under the 1919 Constitution of India, has been described by the Secretary of State for India as one that would raise the unsolved constitutional issue and prejudge it in favour of the majority and against the minorities. The Working Committee are of opinion that the rejection of this proposal unmistakably indicates that there is no willingness on the part of the British Government to part with any power and authority even for the immediate purpose of securing co-operation in war efforts. The British Government would gather together and carry on with such dissentient groups and individuals as oppose the wishes of the majority of the people of India and without any co-ordination with elected legislatures at the Centre or in the Provinces, rather than concede anything that would work towards the recognition of the rights of the people of India to rule themselves democratically.

For these reasons the Working committee have come to the conclusion that the statements referred to are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy as acclaimed by the British Government in the War, but also to the best interests of India, and they cannot be a party to accepting the proposals contained in the statements, or advising the country to accept them. The Working Committee consider that these declarations and offers not only fall far short of the Congress demand but would be impediments to the evolution of a free and united India.

The Working Committee call upon the people to condemn the attitude adopted by the British Government by means of public meetings and otherwise, as also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures.

*The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, pp. 196-7

*Bapu—Maine Kya Dekha Kya Samjha?* (Hindi): Ramnarayan Choudhri, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1954.

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*Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh* (Hindi): H. L. Sharma, Ishwar Saran Ashram, Allahabad, 1957.

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(*April 16—September 11, 1940*)

*April 16:* Sevagram. Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*April 17:* Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha. Had discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru.

*April 20:* Had discussion with Maulana Azad.

*April 24:* K. M. Munshi called on Gandhiji.

*May 3:* Gandhiji attended All-India Education Conference. Had discussion with R. S. Pandit about Congress Volunteer Corps.

*May 9:* In an interview to *The Times of India* said that he would "welcome a settlement which ensures peace with honour".

*May 16:* Received a delegation of Red Shirts; Jawaharlal Nehru was present.

*May 17:* Gandhiji had discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru.

*May 18:* Wrote Foreword to *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.*

*May 24:* Took silence for indefinite period from 7.30 a.m. In an interview to Associated Press refused to comment on Amery's statement in House of Commons.

*June 2:* There was a theft of a pen and some letters in Ashram.

*June 3:* Announced his intention to fast from June 8 if theft was not traced.

*June 8:* Gave up proposed fast over theft incident as all Ashram inmates were against it.

*June 17—19:* Attended meetings of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha.

*June 20:* Sevagram. Maulana Azad called in the morning. Gandhiji had discussion with Subhas Chandra Bose.

*June 21:* Attended joint meeting of Gandhi Seva Sangh and Charkha Sangh at Wardha.

The Congress Working Committee passed resolution absolving Gandhiji from responsibility of future programme and policies of the Congress.



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*June 22:* Gandhiji addressed a joint meeting of Gandhi Seva Sangh and Charkha Sangh at Wardha.
Was present at the meeting of Rashtrabhasha Seva Sangh, Wardha.
Had long discussion with Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad and Jamnalal Bajaj.

*June 27:* Left for Delhi *en route* to Simla accompanied by Jamnalal Bajaj, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal and others.

*June 28:* Arrived in Delhi.
Had discussion with Asaf Ali.
Left for Simla.

*June 29:* At Simla. Met the Viceroy.
Left for New Delhi.

*June 30:* New Delhi.
Attended public prayer at Harijan colony.

*July 2:* New Delhi. Issued appeal 'To Every Briton' to fight Nazism with 'non-violent arms'.

*July 3:* Attended meeting of the Congress Working Committee on special invitation and reported to the Committee on his interview with the Viceroy.

*July 4* and *5:* Attended meetings of the Congress Working Committee.

*July 6:* Attended meeting of the Congress Working Committee. Discussed political situation with Aney.

*July 7:* The Congress Working Committee passed resolution stating that Britain should immediately make an unequivocal declaration according complete independence to India.
Gandhiji visited the Charkha Club.
Left New Delhi for Wardha.

*July 8:* Reached Wardha and then proceeded to Sevagram. Declared copyright on translations of all his articles.

*July 10:* Had discussion with Rajagopalachari.

*July 13:* At Wardha attended the wedding of Uma, youngest daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj.

*July 20:* Emily Kinnaird called on Gandhiji to persuade him to adopt Christianity.

*July 21:* Gandhiji had long meeting with Pandit Kunzru. Kodanda Rao met Gandhiji.

*July 23:* Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh met Gandhiji.

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*July 24:* Gandhiji had a long discussion with Maulana Azad, Rajendra Prasad and Profulla Chandra Ghosh.

*July 30:* Rajagopalachari, Profulla Chandra Ghosh and Gopinath Bardoloi met Gandhiji.

*August 1:* Gandhiji had a long talk with Rajagopalachari.

*August 2:* Maulana Azad met Gandhiji in the morning.

*August 10:* Gandhiji had discussion with Jamnalal Bajaj about Jaipur affairs.

*August 17:* Maulana Azad arrived for discussions.

*August 18:* Gandhiji had long discussion with Maulana Azad. Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*August 19:* Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*August 20:* Attended afternoon session of Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*August 21:* Attended afternoon session of Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*August 22:* Attended afternoon session of Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

*August 23:* Sardar Patel, Nehru and Maulana Azad met Gandhiji.

*August 24:* Gandhiji had discussion with Maulana Azad in the morning. Later other Congress leaders also came. Attended meeting of National Planning Committee at Wardha.

*August 25:* Went to Wardha to have discussion with the Congress leaders.

*September 5:* Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee at Wardha.

*September 6:* Sevagram: Attended wedding of Dakshayani and Velayudhan.

*September 8:* Attended the Bullocks festival.

*September 10:* Syed Mahmud and Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived for talks with Gandhiji.

*September 11:* Gandhiji had meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Left for Bombay accompanied by Kasturba, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Syed Mahmud.

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| 233 | Item 286, date-line | SEVAGRAM | NEW DELHI |

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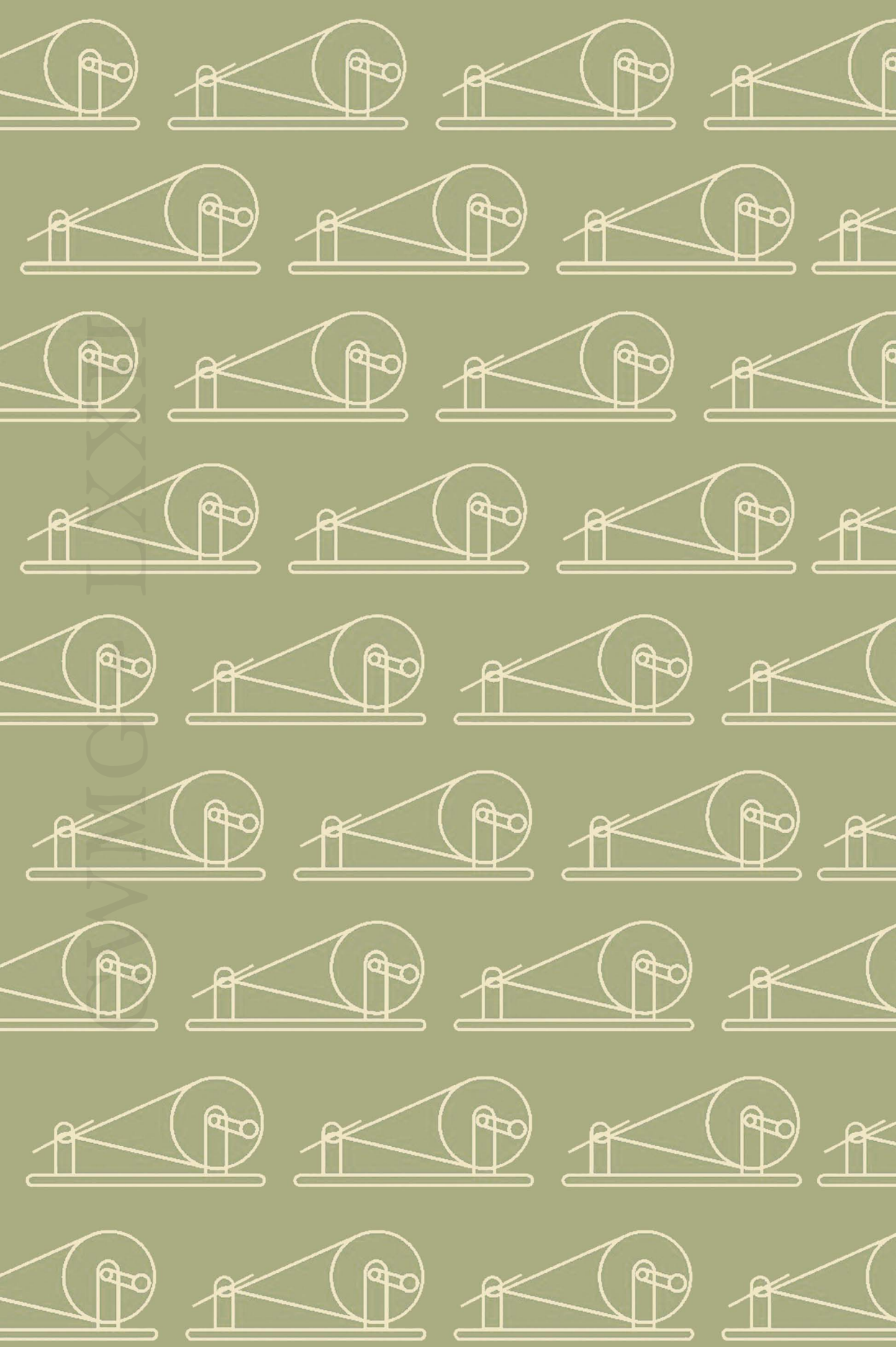

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FN = Foot-Note; SS = Super Script;
APP = Appendix; RS = Right Side; LS = Left Side;
I.O. = Indian Opinion; NJ = Navajivan; Y.I. = Young India;
HJ = Harijan; HJB = Harijan Bandhu;
M.D.D. = Mahadev Desai's Diary;
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| 31 | I-33 | April 30, 1930 | April 30, 1940 | HJ. 4-5-1940 |
| 67 | P-1, SL | *Patro- 2 :* | *Patro- 2:* | STYLE |
| 80 | I-93, P-1, L-4 | whithdraw | withdraw | TEXT |
| 81 | P-2, LL-4 | refr ains | refrains | TEXT |
| 99 | FN-1 | *Vide* | [1] *Vide* | TEXT |
| 120 | I-157, SL | phoststat | photostat | TEXT |
| 194 | I-255, P-1, L-2 | Harijan | in Harijan | TEXT |
| 198 | LP-5, L-1 | *thi s* | *thi s* | STYLE |
| 213 | P-3, L-3 | Excecutive | Executive | TEXT |
| 213 | FN-1, L-2-3 | diffe rent | diffe- rent | TEXT |
| 231 | P-3, SL | July 2, 1970 | July 2, 1940 | REF-P-E/C |
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| 252 | FN-1, L-1 | Gujarati | The Gujarati | TEXT |
| 252 | I-296, P-2, L-6 | unsucessful | unsuccessful | TEXT |
| 260 | P-1, L-9 | rivetted | riveted | TEXT |
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| 374 | P-3, Greetings | BaPU | BAPU | TEXT |
| 381 | P-2, LL | seperately | separately | TEXT |
| 382 | P-4, L-7 | possesions | possessions | TEXT |
| 383 | P-1, L-2 | thorughly | thoroughly | TEXT |
| 383 | P-2, L-2 | supermacy | supremacy | HJ. 18-8-1940 |
| 383 | LP, L-5 | experienee | experience | TEXT |
| 387 | I-440, P-3, L-6 | authortity | authority | TEXT |
| 394 | P-2, LL | violence | violence. | TEXT |
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| 434 | LP-4, L-3 | ब्रह्माण्डे | ब्रह्माण्डे. | HJ. 8-9-1940 |
| 443 | Item No. | 488 | *488* | STYLE |
| 463 | FN-1 | *Vide* p. 77 | [1] *Vide* p. 77 | TEXT |
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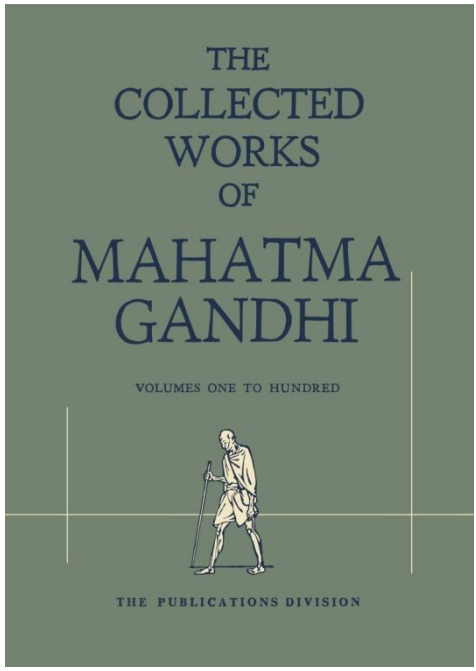


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MKG, January 16, 1933; CWMG-Vol.-053-LIII-p.61.

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**2.** Downloadable from : www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
*Finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, with necessary corrections* (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); these *image-PDFs* are for the full series of hundred volumes, in downloadable form – in volume-wise manner – replacing the BETA version;

a. The download searchable PDF icon to be clicked;
b. Fully searchable image-PDF files can be opened in any PDF reader;
c. They contain individual files of finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, volume-wise from cover to cover, arranged in sequential order;
d. They contain archival images of refined (finished) quality in the form of image-PDFs; the searchable text is hidden in the background;
e. These image-PDFs are fully searchable for English text; the same are fully searchable for non-English text as well;

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f. Any text area from the same can be selected and copied and pasted in any text-based document;

g. Such copied and pasted text would retain the volume structure, page structure and line structure and font structure;

h. Such copied and pasted text would be in in-built fonts, i. e.: TimesNewRoman font (different from regular Times New Roman font);

i. Readers are requested to convert the text thus copied and pasted to: Times New Roman font for reading comfort;

j. Readers are also requested to check the text thus copied and pasted on text-based document word by word with the given image-PDF;

k. These image-PDFs can be printed in high resolution; they are water-marked, non-editable and locked;

**3.** Volume structure :

a. Volumes I to XC (001 to 090) are the main series.

b. Volumes XCI to XCVII (091 to 097) are the supplementary series.

c. Volume XCVIII (098) is Index of Subjects for volumes I to XC (001 to 090).

d. Volume XCIX (099) is Index of Persons for volumes I to XC. (001 to 090).

e. Volume C (100) is a compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes as and when they were published.

f. Each volume from I to XCVII (001 to 097) carries its own Index.

**4.** Authentic navigational guide-posts : as in-built in the original series :

i. For every volume individually :
   a. Contents – Item-wise and Date-wise;
   b. Index of Titles; Index (Subjects and Persons together);

ii. For volumes upto XC collectively:
   a. Volume of Index of Subjects (XCVIII – 098); and
   b. Volume of Persons (XCIX – 099);

iii. For all volumes: Volume of Prefaces (C – 100);

**5.** The following records is for archiving of the Master Copy with dedicated Gandhi-archives and some of it with The National Archives of India, New Delhi, as well :

i. *Archival-source-images* in high-resolution scanning;

ii. *Corresponding black-&-white images*;

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iii. *Finished-digital images, with necessary corrections* (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

iv. *Finished-digital-ready-to-print images, with necessary corrections* (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15) (in singe PDF volume-wise); these images are from cover-to-cover – with separate folders : text, jacket cluster, photographs, maps, etc. in suitable formats, so as to facilitate printing as an ongoing process;

v. *Finished-digital-searchable images* in the PDF format volume-wise :

a. As a full, sequential series of hundred volumes to be made available on demand in DVD SETS / PEN-DRIVES; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

b. In volume-wise downloadable form from the web-portal; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); (a record of the same is attached at the end of each respective volume);

vi. Full work-record including project-story of the CWMG Cell - Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.

Remark : All the above records are in multiple formats, in original property, as well as suitably reduced property, where and in a manner necessary.

**6.** * Note on corrections – for record :

Out of the above, matter indicated with '*' bear the following kinds of corrections with proper and disciplined documentation; these changes can be verified with *archival-source-images* as well:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | Listed dummy errors of the original editions : | corrections done; |
| b. | Listed errata / corrigenda : | corrections done; |
| c. | Fresh errata / corrigenda : | added; |
| d. | References to editions later standardized : | corrected and / or listed as fresh errata / corrigenda |

**7.** Standard edition of each volume : Table of standard edition used for reproduction of each respective volume separately attached herewith.

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI :

CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) : ENGLISH SERIES

AVAILABLE AS OF NOW:

1. Linkage with :

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   (For the cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images*)

   www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist

   (For *finished-digital images corresponding to the finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs with necessary corrections* – a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume)

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   ii. CWMG Cell, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ashram Road,
   Ahmedabad -380 014, Gujarat, INDIA;
   E-mail : cwmg.gv@gmail.com

   iii. Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust – SAPMT,
   Gandhi Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad – 380 027;
   E-mail : sales@gandhiashramsabarmati.org;

   iv. National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat, New Delhi : 110 002;
   Telephone no. : 011-23310168;
   E-mail : nationalgandhimuseum@gmail.com
   Website : www.gandhimuseum.org

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CWMG CELL, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD, OCTOBER 2018

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| VOLUME NO. | PERIOD COVERED | EDITION USED |
|---|---|---|
| 001 - I | 1884 – June 4, 1896 | *Second revised edition: January 1969* (*Māgha 1890*) |
| | {**EDITIONS NOT USED** *First edition: January 26, 1958* (*Māgha* 6, *1879*) *Reprinted: August 1958* (*Srāvana 1880*)} | |
| 002 - II | May 26, 1896 – December 17, 1897 | *Second Edition: October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*) |
| | **{EDITION NOT USED** *First Edition: January 1959* (*Pausa 1880*)} | |
| 003 – III | February 28, 1898 – October 1, 1903 | *Second Revised Edition: June 1979* (*Jyaishtha 1901*) |
| | **{EDITION NOT USED** *First Edition: April 1960* (*Chaitra 1882*)} | |

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| VOLUME NO. | PERIOD COVERED | EDITION USED |
|---|---|---|
| 004 – IV | October 8, 1903 – June 30, 1905 | *August 1960* (*Bhādrapad 1882*) |
| 005 – V | July 1, 1905 – October 20, 1906 | *June 1961* (*Asādha 1883*) |
| 006 – VI | October 20, 1906 – May 30, 1907 | *December 1961* (*Pausa 1883*) |
| 007 – VII | June 1, 1907 – December 31, 1907 | *July 1962* (*Asādha 1884*) |
| 008 – VIII | January 3, 1908 – August 30, 1908 | *December 1962* (*Agrahāyan 1884*) |
| 009 – IX | September 1, 1908 – November 12, 1909 | *April 1963* (*Vaisākh 1885*) |
| 010 – X | November 18, 1909 – March 31, 1911 | *September 1963* (*Bhādra 1885*) |
| 011 – XI | April 1, 1911 – March 29, 1913 | *March 1964* (*Chaitra 1886*) |
| 012 – XII | April 1, 1913 – December 23, 1914 | *August 1964* (*Shrāvana 1886*) |

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|---|---|---|
| 013 – XIII | January 9, 1915 – October 4, 1917 | *November 1964* (*Agrahāyana 1886*) |
| 014 – XIV | October 9, 1917 – July 31, 1918 | *March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*) |
| 015 - XV | August 1, 1918 – On or after July 30, 1919 | *March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*) |
| 016 – XVI | Before August 2, 1919 – January 31, 1920 | *July 1965* (*Shrāvana 1887*) |
| 017 – XVII | February 1, 1920 – Before July, 1920 | *September 1965* (*Ashvina 1887*) |
| 018 – XVIII | July 1920 – November 17, 1920 | *November1965* (*Agrahāyana 1888*) |
| 019 – XIX | November 19, 1920 – April 13, 1921 | *March 1966* (*Phālguna 1888*) |
| 020 – XX | April 15, 1921 – August 19, 1921 | *May 1966* (*Vaisākha 1888*) |
| 021 – XXI | August 21, 1921 – On or after December 14, 1921 | *August 1966* (*Bhādra 1888*) |
| 022 – XXII | December 15, 1921 – March 2, 1922 | *November 1966* (*Agrahāyana 1888*) |
| 023 – XXIII | March 4, 1922 – May 7, 1924 | *March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*) |
| 024 – XXIV | May 8, 1924 – August 15, 1924 | *March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*) |
| 025 – XXV | August 16, 1924 – January 15, 1925 | *May 1967* (*Vaisākh 1889*) |
| 026 – XXVI | January 16, 1925 – April 30, 1925 | *November 1967* (*Agrahāyana 1889*) |
| 027 – XXVII | May 1, 1925 – July 31, 1925 | *March 1968* (*Phālguna 1889*) |
| 028 – XXVIII | Before August 1, 1925 – November 22, 1925 | *April 1968* (*Chaitra 1890*) |

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|---|---|---|
| 029 – XXIX | November 22, 1925 – February 10, 1926 | *June 1968* (*Jyaistha 1890*) |
| 030 – XXX | February 11, 1926 – June 14, 1926 | *September 1968* (*Asvina 1890*) |
| 031 – XXXI | June 15, 1926 – November 4, 1926 | *February 1969* (*Māgha 1890*) |
| 032 – XXXII | November 5, 1926 – January 20, 1927 | *April 1969* (*Chaitra 1891*) |
| 033 – XXXIII | January 21, 1927 – June 15, 1927 | *May 1969* (*Vaisākha 1891*) |
| 034 – XXXIV | After June 15, 1927 – September 15, 1927 | *June 1969* (*Asādha 1891*) |
| 035 – XXXV | September 16, 1927 – January 31, 1928 | *August 1969* (*Srāvana 1891*) |
| 036 – XXXVI | February 1, 1928 – June 30, 1928 | *January 1970* (*Māgha 1891*) |
| 037 – XXXVII | July 1, 1928 – October 31, 1928 | *February 1970* (*Māgha 1891*) |
| 038 – XXXVIII | November 1, 1928 – February 3, 1929 | *March 1970* (*Phālguna 1891*) |
| 039 – XXXIX | February 3, 1929 – February 14, 1929 | *September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)* |
| 040 – XL | On or after February 15, 1929 – May 31, 1929 | *September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)* |
| 041 – XLI | June 2, 1929 – October 15, 1929 | *October 1970 (Asvina 1892)* |
| 042 – XLII | October 16, 1929 – February 28, 1930 | *December 1970 (Agrahāyana 1892)* |
| 043 – XLIII | March 2, 1930 – June 30, 1930 | *January 1971 (Pausa 1892)* |
| 044 – XLIV | July 1, 1930 – December 15, 1930 | *May 1971 (Vaisākha 1893)* |

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|---|---|---|
| 045 – XLV | December 13/16, 1930 – April 15, 1931 | *July 1971* (*Asādha 1893*) |
| 046 – XLVI | April 16, 1931 – June 17, 1931 | *August 1971* (*Srāvana 1893*) |
| 047 – XLVII | June 18, 1931 – September 11, 1931 | *September 1971* (*Bhādra 1893*) |
| 048 – XLVIII | September 12, 1931 – January 3, 1932 | *November 1971* (*Agrahāyana 1893*) |
| 049 – XLIX | January 4, 1932 – May 30, 1932 | *January 1972* (*Pausa 1893*) |
| 050 – L | June 1, 1932 – August 31, 1932 | *March 1972* (*Chaitra 1894*) |
| 051 – LI | September 1, 1932 – November 15, 1932 | *August 1972* (*Bhādra 1894*) |
| 052 – LII | November 16, 1932 – January 10, 1933 | *October 1972* (*Asvina 1894*) |
| 053 – LIII | January 11, 1933 – March 5, 1933 | *December 1972* (*Pausa 1894*) |
| 054 – LIV | March 6, 1933 – April 22, 1933 | *April 1973* (*Chaitra 1895*) |
| 055 – LV | April 23, 1933 – September 15, 1933 | *August 1973* (*Bhādra 1895*) |
| 056 – LVI | September 16, 1933 – January 15, 1934 | *November 1973* (*Kārtika 1895*) |
| 057 – LVII | January 16, 1934 – May 17, 1934 | *January 1974* (*Pausa 1895*) |
| 058 – LVIII | May 18, 1934 – September 15, 1934 | *March 1974* (*Chaitra 1896*) |
| 059 – LIX | September 16, 1934 – December 15, 1934 | *November 1974* (*Kartika 1896*) |
| 060 – LX | December 16, 1934 – April 24, 1935 | *December 1974* (*Agrahāyana 1896*) |

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|---|---|---|
| 061 - LXI | April 25, 1935 – September 30, 1935 | *May 1975* (*Vaisākha 1897*) |
| 062 – LXII | October 1, 1935 – May 31, 1936 | *October 1975* (*Asvina 1897*) |
| 063 – LXIII | June 1, 1936 – November 2, 1936 | *January 1976* (*Māgha 1897*) |
| 064 – LXIV | November 3, 1936 – March 14, 1937 | *April 1976* (*Chaitra 1898*) |
| 065 – LXV | March 15, 1937 – July 31, 1937 | *July 1976* (*Asādha 1898*) |
| 066 – LXVI | August 1, 1937 – March 31, 1938 | *October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*) |
| 067 – LXVII | April 1, 1938 – October 14, 1938 | *December 1976* (*Pausa 1898*) |
| 068 – LXVIII | Before October 15, 1938 – February 28, 1939 | *January 1977* (*Māgha 1898*) |
| 069 – LXIX | March 1, 1939 – July 15, 1939 | *July 1977* (*Asādha 1899*) |
| 070 – LXX | July 16, 1939 – November 30, 1939 | *September 1977* (*Bhādra 1899*) |
| 071 – LXXI | December 1, 1939 – April 15, 1940 | *January 1978* (*Pausa 1899*) |
| 072 – LXXII | April 16, 1940 – September 11, 1940 | *March 1978* (*Phālguna 1899*) |
| 073 – LXXIII | September 12, 1940 – April 15, 1941 | *April 1978* (*Chaitra 1900*) |
| 074 – LXXIV | April 16, 1941 – October 10, 1941 | *June 1978* (*Jyaistha 1900*) |
| 075 – LXXV | October 11, 1941 – March 31, 1942 | *January 1979* (*Māgha 1900*) |
| 076 – LXXVI | April 1, 1942 – December 17, 1942 | *July 1979* (*Asādha 1901*) |

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|---|---|---|
| 077 – LXXVII | December 17, 1942 – July 31, 1944 | *October 1979* (*Asvina 1901*) |
| 078 – LXXVIII | August 1, 1944 – December 31, 1944 | *December 1979* (*Pausa 1901*) |
| 079 – LXXIX | January 1, 1945 – April 24, 1945 | *May 1980* (*Vaisākha 1902*) |
| 080 – LXXX | April 25, 1945 – July 16, 1945 | *September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*) |
| 081 – LXXXI | July 17, 1945 – October 31, 1945 | *September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*) |
| 082 – LXXXII | November 1, 1945 – January 19, 1946 | *September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*) |
| 083 – LXXXIII | January 20, 1946 – April 13, 1946 | *September 1981* (*Asvina 1903*) |
| 084 – LXXXIV | April 14, 1946 – July 15, 1946 | *November 1981* (*Kārtika 1903*) |
| 085 – LXXXV | July 16, 1946 – October 20, 1946 | *February 1982* (*Māgha 1903*) |
| 086 – LXXXVI | October 21, 1946 – February 20, 1947 | *August 1982* (*Srāvana 1904*) |
| 087 – LXXXVII | February 21, 1947 – May 24, 1947 | *February 1983* (*Māgha 1904*) |
| 088 – LXXXVIII | May 25, 1947 – July 31, 1947 | *May 1983* (*Vaisākha 1905*) |
| 089 – LXXXIX | August 1, 1947 – November 10, 1947 | *September 1983* (*Asvina 1905*) |
| 090 – XC | November 11, 1947 – January 30, 1948 | *April 1984* (*Vaisākha 1906*) |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME I | | |
| 091 – XCI | 1894 – January 14, 1929 | *April 1989 (Chaitra 1911)* |

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|---|---|---|
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME II | | |
| 092 – XCII | January 13, 1929 – December 21, 1934 | *June 1991* (*Asādha 1913*) |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME III | | |
| 093 – XCIII | January 16, 1935 – July 15, 1941 | *March 1993* (*Phālguna 1914*) |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME IV | | |
| 094 – XCIV | July 18, 1941 – April 1947 | *August 1994 (Bhādrapad 1916)* |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME V | | |
| 095 – XCV | June 29, 1900 – After December 25, 1947, and without dates | *August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*) |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VI | | |
| 096 – XCVI | July 3, 1905 – December 3, 1944, and without dates | *August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*) |
| SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VII | | |
| 097 – XCVII | November 25, 1903 – April 22, 1947, and without dates | *August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*) |
| INDEX OF SUBJECTS | | |
| 098 – XCVIII | Index of Subjects for volumes upto XC | *April 1988* (*Vaisākha 1910*) |
| INDEX OF PERSONS | | |
| 099 – XCIX | Index of Persons for volumes upto XC | *December 1992* (*Pausa 1914*) |
| PREFACES | | |
| 100 – C | Compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes | * SEE SPECIAL REMARK BELOW |

* SPECIAL REMARK : CWMG VOLUME 100 – C PUBLISHED IN 1994 IS REORGANIZED IN 2015 AS FOLLOWS :

IN THE VOLUME C (100), TEXTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL PREFACES, AS WRITTEN FOR EACH VOLUME AS AND WHEN THEY WERE PUBLISHED, HAVE BEEN PICKED AND STRINGED TOGETHER TO AVOID ANY ERROR OF REPRODUCTION. ALSO, THE FOREWORDS THAT APPEAR IN VOLUMES I (001), XC (090), XCVIII (098), XCIX (099) AND C (100) (1994-Ed.) HAVE BEEN REPEATED HERE TO GIVE AN OVERVIEW AND A PERSPECTIVE OF THE EFFORT THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE YEARS 1956 TO 1994.

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

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