THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXVII

(1938)

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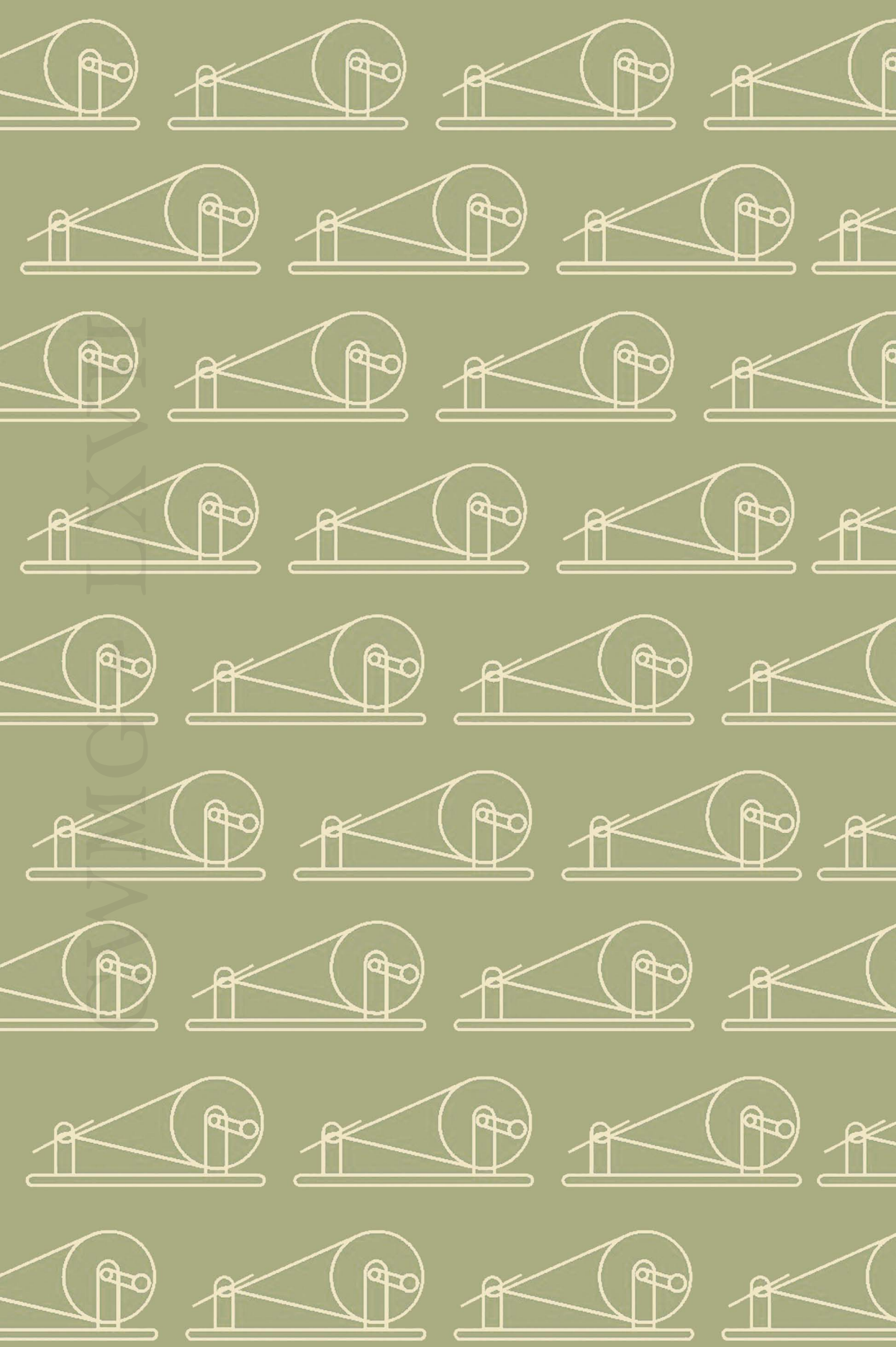

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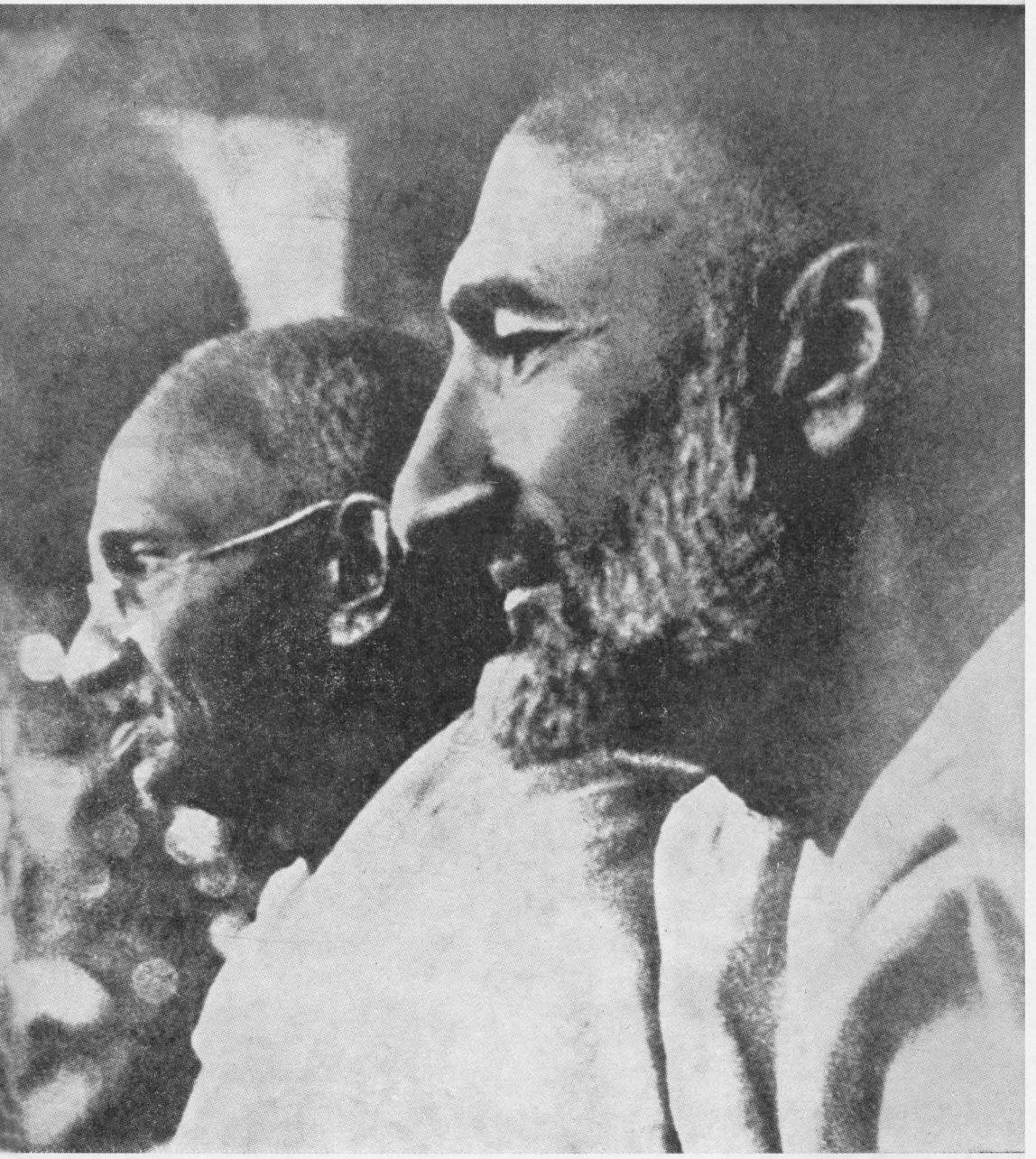

WITH GHAFFAR KHAN IN FRONTIER PROVINCE

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MAHATMA GANDHI

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(April 1 – October 14, 1938)

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

In the period covered by the present volume (April 1 to October 14, 1938) there was a heightening of the turmoil that had been building up in the country ever since the Congress took office in the provinces. There was a spurt in peasant marches and demonstrations, strikes and picketing and similar agitational activities. The States' subjects were pressing harder for responsible government and facing repression and reprisals. In the N.W.F.P., too, there was unrest, which the Frontier policy pursued by the British Government only increased, and communal riots were breaking out at many places in North India. The situation was made worse by the weakening of the Congress from within (p. 47), thanks to "the corruption and selfishness among Congressmen" and "petty bickerings", and Gandhiji wondered whether they were not "breaking up by the sheer weight of our own folly or worse" (p. 85).

All this was the cause of much distress to Gandhiji. And an occurrence of a personal nature, an involuntary discharge in waking state, turned the distress into despondency bordering on despair. The mood persisted from the middle of April to the end of June and so affected Gandhiji that his confidence in himself was shaken. He felt himself in "a Slough of Despond" and did not consider himself fit for political negotiations or any other public service (pp. 37, 38, 56 and 66). The experience was such a deep psychological shock to Gandhiji because of the paramount importance that he attached to *brahmacharya*. He had, he explained in an article in *Harijan*, "looked upon woman never as an object for satisfaction of sexual desire but always with the veneration due to my own mother," did not share the common prejudice against woman "as the source of all evil and temptation" and did not therefore follow the traditional restrictions against contact with them (p. 197), did not even feel "any embarrassment in being seen naked by a woman" (p. 117). When, therefore, he discovered a serious flaw in his *brahmacharya*, he felt, as he told Mirabehn, "as if I was hurled by God from an imaginary paradise where I had no right to be in my uncleanliness" and appealed to his "many children" to give him "a lifting hand and pull me out of the well of despair" (p. 61). Acting on her suggestion (p. 79), Gandhiji stopped from June 2, as an experiment, the personal services from women members of the

Ashram requiring physical contact with them, but the experiment showed that such contact had "not done any harm to his practice of *brahmacharya*" (p. 363) and was abandoned in September (p. 355).

Gandhiji's striving for *brahmacharya* was a part of his dedication to service through ahimsa. He was, he wrote to Amrit Kaur, "wringing my soul for adequate purity, to enable me [to] render greater service" to women "and through them to the whole of humanity". Ahimsa demanded all this (p. 156). *Brahmacharya* for Gandhiji meant "complete control over all the senses" and over thought, too, for he believed that "the vitality that is responsible for the creation of life . . . is continuously and even unconsciously dissipated by evil, or even rambling, disorderly, unwanted thoughts" and that "perfectly controlled thought is itself power of the highest potency and can become self-acting," i.e., would make his non-violence "contagious and infectious" (pp. 195-7). Gandhiji discovered that he had not acquired such control and therefore asked: "Where am I, where is my place, and how can a person subject to passion represent non-violence and truth?" (p. 58). He did not lose faith, however. Perhaps it was to be a new birth, and if so, "it must be preceded by adequate travail" (p. 69). He, therefore, even rejoiced in the pain that sometimes accompanied the labour of his search and was confident that "God who has never forsaken me is not going to do so now" (p. 73). By July 15, Gandhiji could write to Amrit Kaur: "My misery is superficial if there is any yet left. My peace cannot be permanently taken away by anything or anybody" (p. 171). This recovery was probably due to Gandhiji's practice of the *Bhagavad Gita's* teaching of non-attachment. Nothing seemed to worry him, he wrote to Mirabehn, though there were enough things to worry about (p. 391). And again to Amrit Kaur: " . . . the old devil in the shape of animal passion is at me. When he assails me, I do feel worried. But the thing will wear away. . . . It worries without disturbing me or making me morose. I seek the presence of God" (p. 416). Accepting the limitations of the human condition Gandhiji practised non-attachment even in cultivating non-attachment. " . . . I am not completely free from attachment," he wrote to a co-worker. "I aspire to be so in this life. But I will not feel sorry if I fail" (p. 287).

The volume opens with Gandhiji in Calcutta, where he had gone to try and secure the release of political prisoners and detenus who filled the jails in Calcutta, Howrah, Midnapore, Alipore,

Chittagong, Hijli and other places. For Gandhiji the release of political prisoners was "a God-sent mission" (p. 89) in the later years of his life and he declared: "They nobly responded to my call for an assurance of non-violence. I will keep my faith" (p. 397). He found the task Herculean and even his patience of a Job "was on the point of being exhausted", but he returned from Calcutta with "a ray of hope" (p. 16). After protracted correspondence between Gandhiji and the Home Minister Nazimuddin, the Government of Bengal issued a communique on the question on October 3, 1938, and though Gandhiji "gratefully" recognized that they had endeavoured to make an approach to his proposals the communique was a "severe disappointment" to him (p. 395).

Then there was the question of land reforms. Impatient spirits in the Congress were inciting the peasants to violence. In Andhra a Congress Committee openly invited the ryots of a zemindari to take possession of the land. Violence was similarly being preached to the peasants in the U.P., in prose and verse, in words of blood and thunder (p. 352), and peasant marches and demonstrations were being organized on a large scale. Gandhiji's own position was that the zemindari system "should be mended, and if it cannot be mended, it would end itself", and would "die a natural death". The "mending process" might seem very long, but, Gandhiji held, "Seemingly the longest process is often the shortest" (pp. 22-3). He endorsed the socialist theory of possession, but favoured redistribution of land by "equitable legislation" rather than by "bloody revolution" for, he argued, "It must be clear to every sane man that the act of confiscation will never last" (p. 352).

The general atmosphere in the country, however, was not favourable to such peaceful action through legislation. There were reports of growing insubordination, indiscipline and even open violence among Congressmen (p. 286), and Gandhiji was flooded with letters giving lurid accounts of the corruption that had come to characterize the functioning of the Congress at various levels (pp. 371-3 and 430-1). Critics of Congress ministries, too, indulged in "unthinkable falsehoods" and "patent inventions" (p. 353) and Gandhiji was forced to remark that "this is not civil liberty; it is criminal licence" (p. 353). A resolution which he drafted for the A.I.C.C. warned "the public that civil liberty does not cover acts of or incitement to violence or promulgation of palpable falsehoods" and stated that "the Congress will . . . support measures that may be undertaken by the Congress

Governments for the defence of life and property'' (p. 368). Gandhiji warned Congressmen as well. It looked as if they had not been ''able to digest the power that has come to the Congress'' and, writing during the indefinite silence which he was observing and which, he said, had given him indescribable peace and enabled him ''to commune with Nature'', he appealed to them to listen to ''the voice of silence'' and preserve ''the purity of the organization''. ''Democracy of the West,'' he explained, was ''only so called'', and if India was ''to evolve the true type, there would be no compromise with violence or untruth'' (pp. 303-6).

The most glaring instance of indiscipline in the Congress was provided by what came to be termed as the C. P. Ministerial crisis. There were so many allegations of malpractices on the part of Ministers that the Congress Parliamentary Board had to investigate matters and try to put things right. But the Premier Dr. N. B. Khare, in a bid to assert his independence of the Board, acted on his own and without waiting for the decision of the Congress Working Committee which was meeting soon submitted his resignation and that of some of the other Ministers, thus inviting the interference of the Governor who dismissed the Ministers who had refused to resign. The Working Committee censured Dr. Khare and held him unworthy of any position of responsibility in the Congress. Defending the action of the Committee, which was condemned by its critics as undemocratic, Gandhiji pointed out that the Congress was a democratic organization in its internal functioning but in the struggle against the British it was like an army and as such ''it ceases to be democratic'' (p. 225). The action against Dr. N. B. Khare served to establish the principle that though constitutionally the provinces were autonomous, their government must be subject to the control and supervision of an all-India political party without which provincial autonomy would result in political fragmentation of the country. The foundations were thus laid for a political system for free India which reconciled the claims of provincial autonomy with the need for a strong all-India political authority.

The formation of popular ministries in the provinces had given added impetus to the movement of States' people for responsible government. As Gandhiji noted: ''The people of the States have begun to see a new vision of liberty. What seemed to them to be a distant goal now appears to be an event to be realized almost in no time'' (pp. 348-9). This ferment gave rise

to situations of confrontation with the Rulers in many States like Mysore, Travancore, Kashmir, Jaipur, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Hyderabad and Rajkot, and the Congress, very much against its declared policy, had to become involved. The Mysore Dewan, Mirza Ismail, was "willing to listen to the advice and suggestions of friends" (p. 53) and after an initial conflict which resulted in firing on a mob by the State police, killing 32 persons and injuring 48 others, a settlement was arrived at through the mediation of Vallabhbhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani (pp. 87-8). This partial success in Mysore, however, stiffened other States against popular movements for responsible government and there was "terrible repression", with police firings, in Travancore (pp. 302-3 and 311).

The Congress policy, under Gandhiji's advice, had remained "one of friendliness to the States in the hope that they will recognize the signs of the times . . ." (p. 88). This policy of non-intervention but guidance from outside adopted at Haripura Congress (February 1938) respected the constitutional barrier between British India and the States as a political fact, and the recognition of that fact, according to Gandhiji, helped "the natural relationship" between the two parts to work itself out. "That is," he said, "the way of satyagraha or the way of non-resistance to evil." As in nature cure "the physician allows the poison to work itself out by setting in motion all the natural forces and letting them have full play", so by its resolution of non-interference "the Congress put the States people on their mettle, in other words set in motion the natural forces, i.e., the powers latent in the people themselves". But the condition of their success, Gandhiji warned, was "strictest observance of truth and non-violence" (pp. 157-8). He was aware that this could not be expected from "the rank and file", but then, he asserted, "Satyagraha cannot be launched by the rank and file. It has to be launched by responsible persons who are versed in the law of satyagraha" (p. 45). Gandhiji warned the States, too, that if they persisted in their obstinacy they would court "certain destruction" (p. 350).

After Jinnah's "declaration of war" (Vol. LXVI, p. 257) on the Congress the communal situation had been rapidly deteriorating. Communal riots were becoming frequent and it was clear that something had to be done to mend matters. There was a prolonged exchange of correspondence first between Nehru and Jinnah and then between Gandhiji and Jinnah, culminating in two meetings between Gandhiji and the League leader, the first on April 28 and the second on May 20. The talks were "cordial but not hopeful, yet not without hope" (p. 90). Jinnah, Gandhiji wrote to Amrit

Kaur, was a "tough customer" and he wondered whether "a unilateral undertaking" would "not be in the prevailing atmosphere a better mode of handling the situation" (p. 92).

In the North-West Frontier Province the situation continued to be troubled. Even after the assumption of office by the Congress under Dr. Khan Saheb there had been no let-up in the raids by Waziri tribesmen from across the frontier. So bad was the situation that Gandhiji had to make two visits to the area, a short one in May and then a longer one in October-November. Gandhiji told the Pathans that Islam believed not in "the brotherhood of Mussalmans only but. . . universal brotherhood" (p. 64) while complimenting the Khudai Khidmatgars on their discipline, cautioned them that "unless the discipline is rooted in non-violence the discipline might prove a source of infinite mischief" (p. 68).

In September came the European crisis and the Munich agreement and with that Gandhiji "plunged into the European waters" (p. 417). He called the agreement "peace without honour" and, moved by the plight of the Czechs "to the point of physical and mental distress", addressed a direct appeal to them in the columns of *Harijan* under the caption "If I Were a Czech". Pointing out that democracies would always be at a disadvantage in fighting dictators who glorified "organized murder", he advised the Czechs to free Britain and France from the obligation to defend their country and offer instead non-violent resistance. "Unarmed men, women and children," Gandhiji said, "offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience", to Hitler "and his likes" who had hitherto "built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force" (pp. 404-5). Gandhiji refused to think that such heroism was beyond human nature and asserted: "Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal" (p. 414).

The differences between Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhiji seemed to have widened to the point of hurting him and making him feel "positively lonely". His regard for Jawaharlal became deeper for the latter's revolt, but that, Gandhiji said, only intensified "the grief of loneliness" (p. 47). The Madras Premier C. Rajagopalachari was closer to Gandhiji in his faith in the parliamentary experiment. Defending him against his critics, Gandhiji wrote: "I have boundless faith in his wisdom, his uprightness, and his unsurpassed ability as a parliamentarian among Congressmen at least. . . . I see nothing wrong in a satyagrahi winning victories without bluster, without wrangling but by conversion, by carrying conviction. . . . The greater the peaceful penetration, the greater the virtue of satyagraha" (p. 324).

Mahadev Desai was showing signs of overwork and Gandhiji was so concerned that he admonished him severely. "Don't you know," he asked, "that if you were to be disabled, I would be a bird without wings?" Curtailing work because of Mahadev's illness would be, he said, "like a stab in my heart" (p. 338). Gandhiji was so worried that even his sleep was disturbed. "Dreams are unusual for me," he wrote to Desai. "But for the last six or seven days, I have had numerous dreams and all concerning you. . . . When will these fancies about you stop?" (p. 367). What Gandhiji had feared did happen and Mahadev Desai fell very ill. Appealing to the readers to "overlook the gaps. . . in the editing of *Harijan*," Gandhiji explained: ". . . whilst I am alive *Harijan* can only be continued so long as I am able to write or Mahadev or Pyarelal can interpret me from week to week" (p. 358).

In the midst of the raging violence and all the "hatred and bitterness" that he saw around him (p. 393), Gandhiji's faith in God remained unshaken and undimmed. Answering a question he said: ". . . I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. . . . I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God and I am dead" (p. 74). This faith in God was kept alive by Gandhiji's love of human goodness. Writing to Mahadev Desai about a Danish visitor he said: "The Danish engineer has captivated my heart. One does not come across many such frank faces" (p. 183). And again in a second letter on the same day: "The friend from Denmark seemed to me to be an excellent man. . . . his face is still before my eyes . . ." (p. 187).

CWMG LXXVII

NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CWMG-LXVII

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	v
	NOTE TO THE READER	xiii
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiv
	ILLUSTRATIONS	xxxi
1	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (1-4-1938)	1
2	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (1-4-1938)	1
3	TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM (1-4-1938)	1
4	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (2-4-1938)	2
5	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (2-4-1938)	2
6	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (3-4-1938)	3
7	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (3-4-1938)	3
8	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (4-4-1938)	4
9	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (4-4-1938)	4
10	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (4-4-1938)	5
11	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (5-4-1938)	6
12	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (5-4-1938)	6
13	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (6-4-1938)	7
14	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (7-4-1938)	7
15	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (8-4-1938)	8
16	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS (8-4-1938)	9
17	THE CHOICE (9-4-1938)	9
18	TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH (9-4-1938)	12
19	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (9-4-1938)	12
20	SPEECH AT KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR (10-4-1938)	13
21	INTERVIEW TO P. R. THAKUR (10-4-1938)	13
22	MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF MIDNAPUR (Before 11-4-1938)	14
23	LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (11-4-1938)	14
24	TALK WITH PRISONERS (On or before 12-4-1938)	15
25	MESSAGE TO GURUKUL KANGRI (12-4-1938)	15
26	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (12-4-1938)	15
27	TALK WITH CONGRESSMEN (On or before 13-4-1938)	16
28	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (13-4-1938)	16
29	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (13-4-1938)	17
30	LETTER TO ANANDI BUCH (13-4-1938)	17
31	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (13-4-1938)	18
32	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (13-4-1938)	19
33	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (13-4-1938)	21
34	DISCUSSION WITH BENGAL CONGRESSMEN (13-4-1938)	22
35	FOREWORD TO "THE PERSIAN MYSTICS" (14-4-1938)	24

CWMG - LXVII

36	LETTER TO RATILAL MEHTA (14-4-1938)	25
37	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (14-4-1938)	25
38	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (14-4-1938)	26
39	LETTER TO BAL KALELKAR (14-4-1938)	28
40	INTERVIEW TO "PRATAP" (14-4-1938)	28
41	LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS (14-4-1938)	29
42	TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH (15-4-1938)	30
43	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (16-4-1938)	30
44	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (17-4-1938)	31
45	TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH (18-4-1938)	31
46	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (18-4-1938)	32
47	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (18-4-1938)	32
48	TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH (20-4-1938)	33
49	LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI (20-4-1938)	33
50	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (21-4-1938)	33
51	LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAY (21-4-1938)	34
52	SPEECH AT VIDYAMANDIR TRAINING SCHOOL, WARDHA (21-4-1938)	34
53	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (22-4-1938)	36
54	MESSAGE TO JAIPUR RAJYA PRAJA MANDAL (Before 23-4-1938)	38
55	MARTIAL *v.* MORAL (23-4-1938)	39
56	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (23-4-1938)	40
57	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (23-4-1938)	41
58	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (23-4-1938)	41
59	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (23-4-1938)	42
60	LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (23-4-1938)	43
61	LETTER TO PRESIDENT, MYSORE STATE CONGRESS (24-4-1938)	43
62	SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH (24-4-1938)	46
63	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (25-4-1938)	47
64	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (25-4-1938)	48
65	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (25-4-1938)	48
66	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (25-4-1938)	49
67	MESSAGE FOR MYSORE (27-4-1938)	49
68	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (27-4-1938)	50
69	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (28-4-1938)	50
70	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (28-4-1938)	50
71	LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA (29-4-1938)	51
72	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (29-4-1938)	51
73	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (29-4-1938)	53
74	DISCUSSION WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL (29-4-1938)	54
75	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (30-4-1938)	56
76	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (2-5-1938)	57
77	NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI (2-5-1938)	57

CWMG - LXVII

78	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (2-5-1938)	58
79	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (2-5-1938)	59
80	TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (3-5-1938)	59
81	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (3-5-1938)	60
82	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (3-5-1938)	60
83	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (4-5-1938)	61
84	SPEECH AT ISLAMIA COLLEGE, PESHAWAR (4-5-1938)	62
85	DISCUSSION WITH CONGRESS SOCIALISTS (4-5-1938)	65
86	SPEECH AT EDWARD'S MISSION COLLEGE, PESHAWAR (5-5-1938)	66
87	SPEECH AT CHARSADDA (6-5-1938)	68
88	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (7-5-1938)	69
89	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (7-5-1938)	70
90	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (7-5-1938)	70
91	SPEECH AT MARDAN (7-5-1938)	71
92	SPEECH AT KALUKHAN (7-5-1938)	72
93	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (8-5-1938)	73
94	SPEECH AT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, PESHAWAR (8-5-1938)	73
95	INTERVIEW TO A PROFESSOR (Before 9-5-1938)	74
96	INTERVIEW TO A PROFESSOR (Before 9-5-1938)	75
97	A TELEGRAM (On or before 9-5-1938)	77
98	TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (9-5-1938)	77
99	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS (10-5-1938)	77
100	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (11-5-1938)	78
101	TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (12-5-1938)	79
102	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (12-5-1938)	79
103	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (12-5-1938)	79
104	NOTE TO D. B. KALELKAR (Before 14-5-1938)	80
105	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (14-5-1938)	81
106	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (14-5-1938)	81
107	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (14-5-1938)	82
108	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (15-5-1938)	82
109	LETTER TO VIJAYA GANDHI (15-5-1938)	83
110	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (15-5-1938)	83
111	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (16-5-1938)	84
112	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (16-5-1938)	85
113	A LETTER (16-5-1938)	85
114	LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI (16-5-1938)	86
115	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (18-5-1938)	86
116	RESOLUTION ON MYSORE SETTLEMENT (18-5-1938)	87
117	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (20-5-1938)	88
118	INTERVIEW TO JAMES A. MILLS (20-5-1938)	90
119	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (21-5-1938)	90

CWMG - LXVII

120	LETTER TO DR. N. B. KHARE (21-5-1938)	91
121	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (22-5-1938)	92
122	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (23-5-1938)	93
123	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (23-5-1938)	93
124	LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE (23-5-1938)	94
125	NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (23-5-1938)	94
126	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (24-5-1938)	95
127	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (26-5-1938)	95
128	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (26-5-1938)	96
129	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (26-5-1938)	96
130	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (27-5-1938)	96
131	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (27-5-1938)	97
132	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (27-5-1938)	98
133	LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (About 27-5-1938)	98
134	FOREWORD TO "BASIC NATIONAL EDUCATION" (28-5-1938)	98
135	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (28-5-1938)	99
136	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (28-5-1938)	99
137	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (After 28-5-1938)	100
138	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (29-5-1938)	100
139	LETTER TO ANNAPURNA (29-5-1938)	100
140	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (29-5-1938)	101
141	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (30-5-1938)	101
142	CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON (31-5-1938)	102
143	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (31-5-1938)	102
144	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (1-6-1938)	103
145	LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (2-6-1938)	103
146	LETTER TO E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO (2-6-1938)	104
147	TO ASHRAM INMATES (2-6-1938)	104
148	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (3-6-1938)	105
149	LETTER TO VIPIN D. PATEL (3-6-1938)	105
150	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (4-6-1938)	106
151	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (5-6-1938)	107
152	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (5-6-1938)	108
153	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (6-6-1938)	109
154	MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA (6-6-1938)	109
155	TO SEGAON WORKERS (6-6-1938)	109
156	LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY (8-6-1938)	110
157	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (9-6-1938)	111
158	LETTER TO E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO (10-6-1938)	112
159	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (10-6-1938)	112
160	TALKS ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION (Before 11-6-1938)	113
161	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (11-6-1938)	115
162	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (11-6-1938)	116

CWMG - LXVII

163	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (About 11-6-1938)	118
164	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (12-6-1938)	119
165	FOR SEGAON WORKERS (12-6-1938)	119
166	LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH (13-6-1938)	120
167	TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH (15-6-1938)	121
168	LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT (16-6-1938)	121
169	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (17-6-1938)	122
170	DISCUSSION WITH KALIDAS NAG (Before 18-6-1938)	122
171	A CRITICISM (18-6-1938)	123
172	QUALIFICATIONS OF A PEACE BRIGADE (18-6-1938)	125
173	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (18-6-1938)	127
174	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (Before 20-6-1938)	128
175	LETTER TO KOTWAL (20-6-1938)	128
176	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (20-6-1938)	129
177	LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH (20-6-1938)	130
178	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (After 20-6-1938)	130
179	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (After 20-6-1938)	131
180	DISCUSSION WITH DELEGATES FROM CONGRESS PROVINCES (21-6-1938)	132
181	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (22-6-1938)	132
182	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (23-6-1938)	133
183	DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS (Before 25-6-1938)	134
184	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (Before 25-6-1938)	135
185	TELEGRAM TO KANTILAL GANDHI (25-6-1938)	136
186	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (25-6-1938)	136
187	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (25-6-1938)	137
188	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (25-6-1938)	138
189	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (After 26-6-1938)	139
190	TELEGRAM TO KANTILAL GANDHI (27-6-1938)	139
191	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (27-6-1938)	140
192	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (27-6-1938)	140
193	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (29-6-1938)	141
194	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (After 29-6-1938)	141
195	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (30-6-1938)	141
196	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (30-6-1938)	142
197	LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI (30-6-1938)	143
198	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (30-6-1938)	144
199	LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN AND SISTERS (1-7-1938)	144
200	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (1-7-1938)	145
201	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (1-7-1938)	147
202	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (1-7-1938)	147
203	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (2-7-1938)	149
204	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (2-7-1938)	150

CWMG - LXVII

205	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (2-7-1938)	151
206	TESTIMONIAL TO LALJI PARMAR (2-7-1938)	151
207	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (4-7-1938)	151
208	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (4-7-1938)	152
209	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (4-7-1938)	152
210	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (4-7-1938)	154
211	ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS (6-7-1938)	154
212	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (8-7-1938)	155
213	LETTER TO RAMNIK (8-7-1938)	156
214	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (8-7-1938)	156
215	THE STATES (9-7-1938)	157
216	HIGHER EDUCATION (9-7-1938)	158
217	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (9-7-1938)	163
218	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (9-7-1938)	164
219	NOTE TO NARANDAS GANDHI (About 9-7-1938)	165
220	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (10-7-1938)	165
221	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (11-7-1938)	165
222	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (11-7-1938)	167
223	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (11-7-1938)	167
224	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (12-7-1938)	168
225	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (13-7-1938)	168
226	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (13-7-1938)	169
227	A MESSAGE TO "THE ARYAN PATH" (14-7-1938)	169
228	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (14-7-1938)	170
229	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (15-7-1938)	171
230	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-7-1938)	172
231	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (15-7-1938)	172
232	SPEAKERS AND POLITICS (16-7-1938)	172
233	SOME OBJECTIONS (16-7-1938)	174
234	A FALLACY (16-7-1938)	176
235	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (17-7-1938)	177
236	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (17-7-1938)	177
237	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (17-7-1938)	178
238	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (18-7-1938)	178
239	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (18-7-1938)	179
240	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (18-7-1938)	179
241	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (18-7-1938)	180
242	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (18-7-1938)	180
243	LETTER TO SARASWATI (18-7-1938)	181
244	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (19-7-1938)	181
245	LETTER TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL (19-7-1938)	182
246	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (19-7-1938)	183
247	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (19-7-1938)	183

CWMG - LXVII

248	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (19-7-1938)	184
249	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (19-7-1938)	184
250	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (19-7-1938)	185
251	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (19-7-1938)	186
252	LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND (19-7-1938)	186
253	TO SEGAON WORKERS (19-7-1938)	187
254	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (19-7-1938)	187
255	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (20-7-1938)	188
256	LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI (21-7-1938)	188
257	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (21-7-1938)	189
258	WHAT IS SARVODAYA? (21-7-1938)	189
259	NOTE TO D. B. KALELKAR (21-7-1938)	190
260	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (21-7-1938)	191
261	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (21-7-1938)	191
262	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (22-7-1938)	192
263	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (22-7-1938)	192
264	LETTER TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN (22-7-1938)	193
265	LETTER TO R. (22-7-1938)	193
266	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (22-7-1938)	194
267	HOW NON-VIOLENCE WORKS (23-7-1938)	194
268	DUTY OF KHADI-WEARERS (23-7-1938)	198
269	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (23-7-1938)	200
270	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (23-7-1938)	200
271	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (23-7-1938)	201
272	LETTER TO SARASWATI (23-7-1938)	201
273	TO THE KATHIAWAR HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH (24-7-1938)	202
274	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (24-7-1938)	203
275	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (24-7-1938)	203
276	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (24-7-1938)	204
277	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (24-7-1938)	204
278	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (24-7-1938)	205
279	LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA (24-7-1938)	205
280	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (24-7-1938)	206
281	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (25-7-1938)	206
282	LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW (27-7-1938)	207
283	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (27-7-1938)	207
284	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (27-7-1938)	208
285	LETTER TO SARASWATI (27-7-1938)	208
286	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (28-7-1938)	209
287	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (29-7-1938)	209
288	LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE (29-7-1938)	210
289	A CLARIFICATION (30-7-1938)	210
290	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (30-7-1938)	213

CWMG - LXVII

291	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (30-7-1938)	213
292	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (30-7-1938)	214
293	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (31-7-1938)	214
294	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (31-7-1938)	215
295	LETTER TO SARASWATI (31-7-1938)	215
296	INSTRUCTIONS ON PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA (1-8-1938)	216
297	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (1-8-1938)	216
298	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (1-8-1938)	217
299	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (1-8-1938)	217
300	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (After 1-8-1938)	218
301	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (2-8-1938)	218
302	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (3-8-1938)	218
303	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (3-8-1938)	219
304	TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, BURMA CONGRESS COMMITTEE (On or before 5-8-1938)	219
305	LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH (5-8-1938)	220
306	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (5-8-1938)	220
307	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (5-8-1938)	221
308	LETTER TO SARASWATI (5-8-1938)	221
309	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (5/6-8-1938)	222
310	FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE (6-8-1938)	222
311	LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA (6-8-1938)	227
312	NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA (6-8-1938)	227
313	TO SEGAON WORKERS (6-8-1938)	228
314	LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR (Before 7-8-1938)	228
315	HARIJANS AND HINDU HOTELS (7-8-1938)	229
316	LETTER TO DIRECTOR, THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY (7-8-1938)	231
317	LETTER TO PERINBEHN CAPTAIN (7-8-1938)	232
318	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (7-8-1938)	232
319	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (7-8-1938)	233
320	LETTER TO NANA DHARMADHIKARI (7-8-1938)	233
321	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (7-8-1938)	234
322	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (7-8-1938)	234
323	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (7-8-1938)	235
324	LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ (7-8-1938)	235
325	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (7-8-1938)	236
326	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (7-8-1938)	237
327	TELEGRAM TO S. K. PATIL (8-8-1938)	237
328	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (8-8-1938)	237
329	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (8-8-1938)	238
330	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (9-8-1938)	238

CWMG - LXVII

331	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (9-8-1938)	238
332	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (9-8-1938)	239
333	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (10-8-1938)	240
334	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (10-8-1938)	240
335	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (10-8-1938)	241
336	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (10-8-1938)	241
337	LETTER TO UMABAI L. ATHAVALE (11-8-1938)	242
338	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (11-8-1938)	242
339	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (11-8-1938)	243
340	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (12-8-1938)	243
341	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (12-8-1938)	244
342	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (12-8-1938)	244
343	LETTER TO SARASWATI (12-8-1938)	245
344	IS VIOLENCE CREEPING IN? (13-8-1938)	245
345	TWISTING OR INTERPRETING? (13-8-1938)	247
346	LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH (13-8-1938)	247
347	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (13-8-1938)	248
348	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (13-8-1938)	248
349	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (13-8-1938)	249
350	LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI (14-8-1938)	249
351	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (14-8-1938)	249
352	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (14-8-1938)	250
353	DISCUSSION WITH HENGCHIH TAO (Before 15-8-1938)	250
354	LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER (15-8-1938)	253
355	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-8-1938)	253
356	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (15-8-1938)	254
357	NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR (On or before 16-8-1938)	255
358	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (16-8-1938)	255
359	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (16-8-1938)	255
360	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (16-8-1938)	256
361	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (17-8-1938)	256
362	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (17-8-1938)	257
363	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (17-8-1938)	257
364	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (17-8-1938)	258
365	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (17-8-1938)	258
366	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (18-8-1938)	259
367	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (18-8-1938)	259
368	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (18-8-1938)	260
369	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (18-8-1938)	260
370	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (About 18-8-1938)	260
371	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (19-8-1938)	261
372	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (19-8-1938)	262
373	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (19-8-1938)	263

374	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (19-8-1938)	263
375	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (After 19-8-1938)	264
376	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (After 19-8-1938)	264
377	HOW TO SAVE HANDLOOM WEAVERS (20-8-1938)	265
378	RECENT RIOTS IN BURMA (20-8-1938)	266
379	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (20-8-1938)	269
380	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (20-8-1938)	269
381	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (20-8-1938)	270
382	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (20-8-1938)	270
383	LETTER TO PARVATIDEVI GHORPADE (20-8-1938)	271
384	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (20-8-1938)	271
385	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (20-8-1938)	272
386	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (20-8-1938)	272
387	LETTER TO DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA (21-8-1938)	272
388	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (21-8-1938)	273
389	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (21-8-1938)	273
390	REPLY TO NAGPUR DEPUTATIONISTS (21-8-1938)	274
391	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (22-8-1938)	275
392	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (22-8-1938)	275
393	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (22-8-1938)	276
394	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (23-8-1938)	276
395	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (23-8-1938)	277
396	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (23-8-1938)	277
397	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (24-8-1938)	278
398	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (24-8-1938)	278
399	LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH (24-8-1938)	278
400	LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYYA (24-8-1938)	279
401	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (24-8-1938)	279
402	LETTER TO S. GANESAN (25-8-1938)	280
403	A MESSAGE (25-8-1938)	280
404	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (25-8-1938)	281
405	TELEGRAM TO SATIN SEN (26-8-1938)	281
406	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (26-8-1938)	282
407	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (26-8-1938)	282
408	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (26-8-1938)	283
409	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (26-8-1938)	283
410	MY SO-CALLED INCONSISTENCIES (27-8-1938)	284
411	LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN (27-8-1938)	286
412	LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM (27-8-1938)	286
413	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (27-8-1938)	286
414	LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI (27-8-1938)	288
415	DISCUSSION WITH HARIJAN SATYAGRAHIS (27-8-1938)	289
416	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (After 27-8-1938)	290

CWMG - LXVII

417	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (28-8-1938)	290
418	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (28-8-1938)	291
419	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (28-8-1938)	291
420	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (28-8-1938)	292
421	MESSAGE TO HARIJAN SATYAGRAHIS (28-8-1938)	292
422	TELEGRAM TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (29-8-1938)	293
423	LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH (30-8-1938)	293
424	LETTER TO LALI (30-8-1938)	294
425	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (30-8-1938)	294
426	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (30-8-1938)	295
427	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (30-8-1938)	296
428	LETTER TO S. GURCHARAN SINGH (31-8-1938)	296
429	LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA (31-8-1938)	297
430	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (31-8-1938)	297
431	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (31-8-1938)	298
432	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (31-8-1938)	299
433	LETTER TO RAJKUMAR SINHA (On or before 1-9-1938)	299
434	TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY (1-9-1938)	300
435	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (1-9-1938)	300
436	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (2-9-1938)	301
437	LETTER TO HARISHANKAR PANDYA (On or before 3-9-1938)	301
438	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (3-9-1938)	302
439	CHOICE BEFORE CONGRESSMEN (3-9-1938)	303
440	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (3-9-1938)	306
441	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (3-9-1938)	307
442	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (3-9-1938)	307
443	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (4-9-1938)	308
444	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (4-9-1938)	308
445	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (5-9-1938)	309
446	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (5-9-1938)	310
447	LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ (5-9-1938)	310
448	LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN (6-9-1938)	311
449	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (6-9-1938)	311
450	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (6-9-1938)	312
451	LETTER TO HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI (6-9-1938)	312
452	LETTER TO LORD BRABOURNE (7-9-1938)	313
453	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (7-9-1938)	313
454	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (7-9-1938)	314
455	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (7-9-1938)	314
456	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (7-9-1938)	315
457	LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT (7-9-1938)	315
458	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (7-9-1938)	316

459	LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA (7-9-1938)	316
460	A LETTER (8-9-1938)	317
461	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (8-9-1938)	317
462	LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI (8-9-1938)	318
463	LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH (8-9-1938)	318
464	LETTER TO POTHAN JOSEPH (8-9-1938)	319
465	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (8-9-1938)	319
466	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (8-9-1938)	319
467	LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND (8-9-1938)	320
468	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (About 8-9-1938)	321
469	MESSAGE TO "THE NATIONAL HERALD" (On or before 9-9-1938)	321
470	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (9-9-1938)	321
471	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (9-9-1938)	322
472	LETTER TO RATILAL (9-9-1938)	322
473	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (9-9-1938)	322
474	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (9-9-1938)	323
475	CONGRESSMEN BEWARE! (10-9-1938)	323
476	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (10-9-1938)	326
477	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (10-9-1938)	327
478	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (10-9-1938)	327
479	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (11-9-1938)	328
480	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (12-9-1938)	328
481	NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR (After 12-9-1938)	329
482	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (After 12-9-1938)	329
483	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (13-9-1938)	330
484	LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (13-9-1938)	332
485	LETTER TO CARL HEATH (13-9-1938)	332
486	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (13-9-1938)	333
487	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (13-9-1938)	333
488	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (13-9-1938)	334
489	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (13-9-1938)	334
490	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (13-9-1938)	335
491	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (13-9-1938)	336
492	NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR (13-9-1938)	336
493	LETTER TO THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL (14-9-1938)	337
494	LETTER TO M. C. RAJAH (14-9-1938)	337
495	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (14-9-1938)	338
496	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (14-9-1938)	339
497	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (After 14-9-1938)	339
498	LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY (15-9-1938)	340
499	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-9-1938)	340

CWMG - LXVII

500	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (15-9-1938)	341
501	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (15-9-1938)	341
502	LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS (15-9-1938)	342
503	LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI (15-9-1938)	342
504	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-9-1938)	343
505	TELEGRAM TO HUMAYUN KABIR (On or after 15-9-1938)	344
506	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (16-9-1938)	344
507	CABLE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (16-9-1938)	345
508	LETTER TO B. K. DUTTA (16-9-1938)	345
509	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (16-9-1938)	346
510	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (16-9-1938)	346
511	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (16-9-1938)	346
512	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (16-9-1938)	347
513	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (On or after 16-9-1938)	347
514	NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA (On or after 16-9-1938)	348
515	THE STATES AND RESPONSIBILITY (17-9-1938)	348
516	ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE (17-9-1938)	352
517	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (17-9-1938)	353
518	LETTER TO DURGA DESAI (17-9-1938)	354
519	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (17-9-1938)	354
520	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (17-9-1938)	355
521	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (17-9-1938)	356
522	LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT (17-9-1938)	356
523	NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR (17-9-1938)	356
524	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (Before 18-9-1938)	357
525	TO THE READERS (18-9-1938)	357
526	NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR (18-9-1938)	359
527	NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM (Before 19-9-1938)	360
528	NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM (Before 19-9-1938)	360
529	NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM (Before 19-9-1938)	360
530	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (Before 19-9-1938)	361
531	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (On or before 19-9-1938)	361
532	A NOTE (19-9-1938)	362
533	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (20-9-1938)	363
534	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (20-9-1938)	363
535	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (20-9-1938)	364
536	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (20-9-1938)	364
537	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (20-9-1938)	364
538	LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA (20-9-1938)	365
539	NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (After 20-9-1938)	365

540	NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (After 20-9-1938)	366
541	NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (After 20-9-1938)	366
542	NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (After 20-9-1938)	367
543	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (Before 21-9-1938)	367
544	LETTER TO F. MARY BARR (22-9-1938)	368
545	DRAFT OF RESOLUTION FOR A. I. C. C. (Before 23-9-1938)	368
546	TELEGRAM TO TRIVANDRUM LAW COLLEGE UNION (On or before 23-9-1938)	369
547	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (23-9-1938)	369
548	SPEECH AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE (23-9-1938)	369
549	CORRUPTION IN THE CONGRESS (24-9-1938)	371
550	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (24-9-1938)	373
551	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (24-9-1938)	373
552	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (24-9-1938)	374
553	INTERVIEW TO F. S. YOUNG (24-9-1938)	374
554	SPEECH AT THE FOUNDATION-LAYING OF PRAYER HALL (25-9-1938)	376
555	DRAFT OF RESOLUTION HALL FOR A. I. C. C. (On or before 26-9-1938)	376
556	NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (26-9-1938)	378
557	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (27-9-1938)	378
558	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (27-9-1938)	378
559	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (27-9-1938)	379
560	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (27-9-1938)	380
561	LETTER TO SARASWATI (27-9-1938)	380
562	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (29-9-1938)	381
563	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (29-9-1938)	381
564	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (29-9-1938)	382
565	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (29-9-1938)	382
566	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (29-9-1938)	383
567	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (29-9-1938)	383
568	FOREWORD TO "PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS" (September, 1938)	384
569	FEDERATION (1-10-1938)	384
570	NON-INTERVENTION (1-10-1938)	385
571	DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR JAMNALAL BAJAJ (1-10-1938)	387
572	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (3-10-1938)	387
573	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (3-10-1938)	389
574	TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN (3-10-1938)	389
575	LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI (3-10-1938)	389
576	NOTE TO P. SREEDHARAN NAIR (3-10-1938)	390
577	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (4-10-1938)	390
578	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (4-10-1938)	391

CWMG - LXVII

579	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (4-10-1938)	391
580	LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN (4-10-1938)	392
581	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (4-10-1938)	392
582	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (4-10-1938)	393
583	LETTER TO MATHURIBEHN KHARE (4-10-1938)	394
584	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (4-10-1938)	394
585	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (4-10-1938)	395
586	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (4-10-1938)	395
587	LETTER TO M. C. RAJAH (5-10-1938)	398
588	LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH (5-10-1938)	398
589	LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ (5-10-1938)	399
590	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (5-10-1938)	399
591	LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI (5-10-1938)	400
592	LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR (5-10-1938)	400
593	THAT UNFORTUNATE WALK-OUT (5-10-1938)	401
594	LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (5-10-1938)	402
595	LETTER TO LALA GIRDHARILAL (5-10-1938)	403
596	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (5-10-1938)	403
597	IF I WERE A CZECH (6-10-1938)	404
598	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (6-10-1938)	407
599	FILTH IN LITERATURE (7-10-1938)	407
600	UNCERTIFIED KHADI (7-10-1938)	409
601	SEVEN COMPLAINTS (7-10-1938)	410
602	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (7-10-1938)	412
603	LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI (7-10-1938)	412
604	LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE (8-10-1938)	413
605	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (8-10-1938)	415
606	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (8-10-1938)	415
607	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (8-10-1938)	417
608	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (9-10-1938)	417
609	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (9-10-1938)	418
610	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (9-10-1938)	418
611	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (9-10-1938)	419
612	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (9-10-1938)	419
613	LETTER TO STUART MORRIS (10-10-1938)	420
614	TALK WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN (10-10-1938)	420
615	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (10-10-1938)	421
616	LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (10-10-1938)	422
617	ADDRESS TO THE OFFICERS OF RED SHIRTS (After 10-10-1938)	422
618	REPLY TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS (Before 11-10-1938)	423
619	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (11-10-1938)	423
620	LETTER TO SARASWATI (11-10-1938)	424

621	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (11-10-1938)	424
622	NOTES (12-10-1938)	425
623	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (12-10-1938)	425
624	LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI (12-10-1938)	426
625	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (12-10-1938)	426
626	LETTER TO SHYAMJI SUNDERDAS (12-10-1938)	427
627	LETTER TO JUAN NEGRIN (Before 13-10-1938)	428
628	HISSAR FAMINE AND KHADI (13-10-1938)	428
629	CONGRESS CORRUPTION (13-10-1938)	430
630	NOTES (13-10-1938)	432
631	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (13-10-1938)	432
632	LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI (13-10-1938)	433
633	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (13-10-1938)	433
634	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (13-10-1938)	434
635	A CORRECTION (14-10-1938)	435
636	WHAT ARE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS? (14-10-1938)	435
637	"NAYEE TALEEM" (14-10-1938)	438
638	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (14-10-1938)	438
639	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (14-10-1938)	439
640	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (14-10-1938)	440
	ADDENDA	
1	LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW (4-4-1938)	441
2	LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW (21-5-1938)	441
3	LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW (22-6-1938)	443
4	LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI (26-8-1938)	443
5	LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI (14-9-1938)	444
6	LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI (9-10-1938)	444
	APPENDICES	
	I A TRAGEDY	445
	II LETTER FROM KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN	448
	III STATEMENT OF DR. N. B. KHARE	450
	IV WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION NO C. P. CRISIS	450
	SOURCES	452
	CHRONOLOGY	454
	INDEX OF TITLES	459
	INDEX	463
	ERRATUM	478

CWMG - LXVII

ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH GHAFFAR KHAN IN FRONTIER PROVINCE	*Frontispiece*
WITH JINNAH IN BOMBAY	*facing* p. 48
AT LAHORE RAILWAY STATION ON WAY TO FRONTIER PROVINCE	p. 64

CWMG - LXVII

1. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 1, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

WIRE HEALTH TEMPERATURE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3851. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7007

2. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*April 1, 1938*][1]

CHI. AMTUSSALAAM,

You must not be in a hurry to leave the hospital. Leave only when the doctor permits. Restrain your eagerness to come to me. I am quite well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 715

3. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

CALCUTTA,
April 1, 1938

AMTUSSALAAM
EASTERVILLA
SANTACRUZ

GLAD YOUR DISCHARGE. HEALTH ALL RIGHT.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 408

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, "Letter to Amtussalaam", pp. 457-8, in which Gandhiji enquires after her health following an operation for tonsillitis.

CWMG - LXVII

4. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 2, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

HEALTH ALL RIGHT. WRITING. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3852. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7008

5. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 2, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a wire[1] yesterday and no reply as yet ! ! ! I hope it is well with you. I do not like these frequent attacks. I know that earth and water are the two cures. Of course light and air are there; you have a fair dose of them. But not of the other two. You must take the hip, friction and sitz-baths and have abdominal and local earth bandages.

There is no set-back in my health. But Ba foolishly entered the Puri temple and it upset me terribly.[2] I must not give you the whole history. I have not yet got over the shock. The pressure therefore has just now steadied round 175-80 and 108-104. The mental fatigue I had lost has returned. I have lost perhaps 5 lb. in weight. As soon as I am free from the Calcutta business I shall make up for the losses. I impose long silences on myself and hope to continue them for the time being. This is being written during silence.

Prabhavati is with me. Jayaprakash was with me at Delang. He brought Prabhavati with [him].[3] He has gone

[1] *Vide* p. 1.

[2] This temple had not been thrown open to the Harijans.

[3] The source has : "He brought P. with me." In *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, however, this has been changed to: "I brought P. with me."

CWMG-LXVII

to Dacca and will pick her up on his return. Probably there will be a note from her with this.

I often thought of you in Delang and wished you were there. There was much to see and learn.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

Wire just received.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3853. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7009

6. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

April 3, 1938

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I do not understand why you abandoned your work among the stone-breakers and the tongawalas. I stopped you from coming to Segaon for a short visit but it is different if you want to come for good for the sake of service. I am a little afraid that you will get tired quite soon; what will you do in Segaon? Take it that coming over merely to serve me is nothing but false attachment. I am weary of the overwhelming service I receive. I fear it may make a cripple of me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall accommodate Deka somewhere if he comes only to serve.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2469

7. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*[1]

April 3, 1938

My attention has been drawn to the Press report purporting to give the gist of the conversations that took place between Sir Nazimuddin[2] and me on April 2. The conversations were strictly confidential and, therefore, the report can only come from

[1] Published under the title "No Assurances Given"

[2] Khwaja Nazimuddin, Muslim League Home Minister of Bengal

CWMG - LXVII

a fertile journalistic brain. Ever since I have entered upon this self-imposed mission on behalf of political prisoners and detenus, I have made known the terms upon which I have intervened. But the giving of assurances by prisoners or detenus as a price of freedom has never crossed my mind. As a civil resister, I would not be guilty of inducing any political prisoner to give such assurances. And I can also add that during my talks with the prisoners at Alipore and Howrah jails and the Regulation III prisoners at Hijli, they made it absolutely clear to me that they would give no assurance to anyone for the purpose of purchasing their freedom. I wish for the sake of the cause that the newspapers will not anticipate events. Every unauthentic report adds to my difficulties which are already formidable.

Harijan, 9-4-1938

8. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

April 4, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

This is not a final draft[1]. I want you to read it sympathetically. I feel that unless we do some such thing, the tension must continue. Anyway at one o'clock I won't take all of you by surprise. I have discussed the subject with the Maulana at some length.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

9. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 4, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is a strictly business letter. You want a p.c. when I am ill, I send you a letter to say I am really well. The breakdown was mental, not physical, due also to mental causes

[1] Presumably of the resolution on the C. P. crisis, which the Working Committee passed later at Calcutta

CWMG LXVII

as you will learn from *Harijan*.[1] It is Mahadev's version of as he saw me and felt me. If he missed my love in all I did, it was missing. Love to be love must be felt by the loved one at some stage or another.

I am taking the strain really well. I have done a lot of writing and I am none the worse for it. I may have to go to Delhi in a few days' time. You will hear if I have to.

Did I say anything about your offer to do some of my work in the Punjab? I fancy not. But how can I ask you to face the Lahore heat? How can I bear your separation from Shummy[2] whilst he is in Simla? And to what end? It may prove an utterly fruitless and thankless errand. I have not the courage to exploit you for the Punjab muddle. And where is the time? Your hands are already more than full.

My work here is not prospering. Only I do not lose hope.

If I go to Delhi it will be only for a few hours.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3625. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6434

10. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

CALCUTTA,
April 4, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I am distressed that my return is being unduly prolonged. The suspense must be terrible for you. But if you have found your bottom, you won't be upset. In spite of what you may see from the papers or other sources, believe me I am quite well. Deep down in me there is the feeling that I shall stand the strain I have still to go through. The people spare me generously. The weather is not trying. I shall feel happy if I know that you are not worrying over the delay in returning or over my health. After [all] we are in God's hands for everything.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6399. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9994

[1] Mahadev Desai's article "A Tragedy", published in *Harijan*, 9-4-1938, described Gandhiji's anguish at Kasturba's and Durga Desai's visit to the Puri Temple which was not open to the Harijans. For the text of Mahadev Desai's article, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] Col. Shumshere Singh, addressee's brother

11. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[Before *April 5, 1938*][1]

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Yes, you may stay on while I am in Calcutta. What do you gain by placing so much faith in me? I am not perfect, nor am I free from passion. Only last night I had a dirty dream. This is not a good thing. What can you hope to gain by living with such a person? Know me as I am. A Bapu who exists only in your imagination will not be of any use to you. Whatever I have in me is known to the world. You can draw from it a good deal wherever you may be. You know my definition of freedom from passion, don't you? Such a man, even though virile, does not become sexually roused in thought word or deed, whether waking or asleep. I am striving to become such in this very life. If I succeed you will benefit by being with me. Let us see what God wills.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You can show this to anyone. Do show it to Mahadev and others.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2467

12. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

April 5, 1938

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I described myself as I saw myself.

Yes, you may go to Segaon whenever you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2468

[1] The letter is entered in Mahadev Desai's Diary under the date April 5, 1938; *vide* however the following item which appears to refer to this.

CWMG - LXVII

13. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 6, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

Today is the fasting day[1] and I think of you all. I have decided provisionally that even though I may not finish my work, I shall leave here not later than 12th. May leave earlier. I shall hope to reach you not later than 16th. This is all unconscionably long but I have become perfectly helpless. A day out of Segaon is a day lost. But there it is and here I am. God will have His way.

I am well. Details from Sushila in so far as she gives them.

I hope Balkrishna is keeping well. If he feels the heat, he should have the *tattis*[2] to keep him cool. He must sit in water hip-bath. In the afternoon he may take abdominal bandage.

I hope you are not feeling the heat overmuch.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6400. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9995

14. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 7, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You won't be disturbed over the news that S.[3] may give you today. Blood-pressure may help doctors. It is no help to patients. When they feel bad, they are bad. Such was my case last night. The same kind of pain in the back of the head. But gentle massage by S. brought me round in a few minutes

[1] Since 1919, April 6 had been observed as Satyagraha Day—a day of fasting and prayer—to protest against the Rowlatt Act; *vide* Vol. XV, p. 150, and Vol. XXXIX, pp. 365-6.

[2] Screens made of *khas*

[3] Sushila Nayyar

CWMG - LXVII

and there is no return. B.P. was 154/98 at 12 noon. It rose again later to 170/98 or something like that. So you are not to worry. When the real alarm comes, you will hear after the event and then there must be no idle sorrow but greater dedication to service.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

Did you observe 6th April?

From the original: C.W. 3626. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6435

15. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

April 8, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You must excuse the pencil hand. You should tell Paul that you are not interested in the tours he suggests, your time being solely occupied with your own affairs. You should send Rs. 100 telling him that you had not expected your donation to be treated as a yearly call. The present one should therefore be treated as final. Future calls will be treated on their own merits and your then commitments.

I like George. I have not yet read his pamphlet.

Sir Mirza's[1] herewith with correction.

Poor Prabha! She had to go to Patna.

I am well in spite of the work. I may leave even tomorrow or on Monday.

Papers herewith.

Love. In haste.

TYRANT

[PS.]

George's pamphlet is all right. He may go on with the movement.

From the original: C.W. 3854. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7010

[1] Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore

CWMG-LXVII

16. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

CALCUTTA,
April 8, 1938

With a smiling face Mahatma Gandhi came out of the Presidency Jail at 5 p. m. after having been closeted with 14 State and four women political prisoners for about three hours. While leaving the jail gate, Mahatmaji was approached by the Associated Press. He said he had a long talk with the prisoners, but that was all he could say at this stage. Asked if he was going to see the prisoners again, Mahatmaji said:

I may, but not this time.

Further questioned, he said he might have one or two more meetings with Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister, to complete his negotiations, but there is no possibility of his meeting the Governor again now.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-4-1938

17. THE CHOICE

My remarks arising out of the recent riots in U. P.[1] have attracted much attention. Friends have sent me cuttings from the Press. This is some of the criticism printed or spoken:

(1) My writing betrayed hysteria.
(2) I wrote without sufficient data.
(3) I had recanted my views on non-co-operation and civil resistance.
(4) I had been driven to the policy of the Liberals.
(5) Congressmen had never adopted non-violence as between themselves.
(6) I was expecting the impossible from human nature.
(7) If my position was accepted swaraj would never be obtained, for all India could never become non-violent.

There is much more I could cull from the criticism. I have only taken the relevant parts.

1. If my article betrayed hysteria, the symptoms still persist, for in spite of the criticism which I have studied with the care it demanded, I see nothing to change the position I have

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, pp. 405-7.

CWMG - LXVII

taken up. The critics should remember that my proposition was specific and narrow. Swaraj could not be obtained through non-violent means unless our non-violence was of the brave and such as to be able to deal effectively with violence. I have not maintained that it could not be obtained by other means. But if it could be so obtained we were not ready to deliver the goods, for we were not ready for matching our force against the British.

2. All the data required were that there were riots, no matter on how small a scale, that Congressmen were not able to deal with them non-violently, and that the aid of the police and the military had to be summoned. There was no dispute about these three broad facts. They were enough to enable me to draw the conclusions I did. In this there was no reflection on the Ministers. I have admitted that they could not have acted otherwise. The fact, however, remains that the Congress non-violence was not able to cope with the emergency.

3. There is nothing in my article to warrant the inference that I had lost my faith in non-co-operation and civil resistance. All I need say is that it is brighter than ever. The two are quite enough to bring swaraj, provided that non-violence practised is of the bravest.

4. I wish I could be drawn towards the policy of the Liberals. I have many personal friends among them. But they have no sanction. I claim that I have an infallible sanction. My article was written to show that during the riots it was not the sanction that had failed, the failure was of the organization which had accepted the sanction, namely, active, constructive non-violence.

5. I can only refer the critics to the many resolutions of the Congress which do not confine the use of non-violence only towards Englishmen. Indeed I remember having many discussions at the Working Committee meetings at which the necessity of non-violence among ourselves was emphasized.

6. Well, human nature has hitherto responded nobly to the call of non-violence. But I am concerned with the Congress nature. Congressmen have to sign a pledge which commits them to non-violence.[1] My question was and is—have they non-violence in them? If they have, is it of the brave? My thesis is that if it is of the brave, it should be enough for dealing with the riots and for delivering the goods.

[1] The practice was started in 1919 at the time of the satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 118-9.

CWMG-LXVII

7. This is answered in the foregoing.

But I have the fear that our non-violence is not of the kind required. Congressmen may not treat my warning lightly. After all I am supposed to be the Congress expert, however inefficient, on non-violence. I have confidence in my readings and my remedies. I cite Ahmedabad and Viramgam violences[1], Bombay violence during the Prince's visit,[2] and Chauri Chaura[3] on the eve of Bardoli. The results have amply justified the remedies applied at my instance, though on these occasions critics were not wanting who had expressed their strong disapproval of the suspensions. I have no doubt about my present diagnosis [or] about the remedies. The remedies are not beyond our ability if we have a living conviction about non-violence and its nature. Here are some of the remedies:

1. We must discover a solution for the Hindu-Muslim tension. I use that expression deliberately instead of 'communal'—for if we find this, the other will follow as a matter of course.

2. There must be a purging of the Congress registers so as to make them proof against bogus voters. From all accounts I receive, our registers contain too many bogus names to be called at all accurate.

3. Congressmen must not be afraid to find themselves in a minority.

4. Without delay every Provincial Congress Committee should raise a proper corps of volunteers pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed. And there should be a manual of instructions as to training, etc., prepared for universal use.

There is nothing heroic or impracticable in these suggestions. But they are impracticable if those who lead have no living faith in non-violence. If they have not, the sooner non-violence is removed from the Congress vocabulary the better it is for the Congress and the nation. The alternative is certainly not unadulterated violence. The Congress is the only political organization in the world which has, at my instance, adopted unadulterated non-violence for the attainment of swaraj. It is its only sanction. I dare say that if its quality is not what it should be, it will do great harm to the nation. In the last heat we may be found to be cowards instead of brave men and

[1] In April 1919 during demonstrations against Rowlatt Act; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 243-5.

[2] On November 17, 1921; *vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 462-5.

[3] In February 1922; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 415-21.

women. And there is no disgrace greater than cowardice for fighters for freedom. Surely there is nothing to be ashamed of in retracing our steps. If we feel that we shall not be able to displace the British power without a violent struggle, the Congress must say so to the nation and prepare accordingly. We must do what is being done all the world over—'forbear when we can, hit when we must'. If that is to be our creed or policy, we have lost precious seventeen years. But it is never too late to learn and mend. Seventeen years in the life of a nation is nothing. It will go hard with Congressmen if having received the warning they do not make the choice.

Harijan, 9-4-1938

18. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

April 9, 1938

I AM LIKELY TO BE IN DELHI ABOUT 19TH. IF AT ALL POSSIBLE I SHOULD LIKE TO MEET YOU THERE INSTEAD OF IN BOMBAY IN ORDER TO SAVE TIME AND ENERGY. IF AGREEABLE MAULANA WILL ACCOMPANY ME.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-7-1938

19. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

April 9, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

If you can, stay on till I return. If you think it is your duty to leave, do so. If this is still not clear, ask Amritlal and do as he advises.

I hope to return in a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7079. Also C.W. 4571. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

CWMG - LXVII

20. SPEECH AT KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

April 10, 1938

Gandhiji said that he would like to spend at least a day in the Ashram, but he was unable to do so this time owing to his preoccupations in Calcutta. He found it difficult to express in words his love for the Ashram and the Ashramites, and urged them to carry on their mission of spreading the use of khadi amongst the masses.

Through Sodepur, he added, they were serving the entire Hindustan. Mahatma Gandhi hoped that their services would be more and more appreciated all over the country.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1938

21. INTERVIEW TO P. R. THAKUR[2]

CALCUTTA,
April 10, 1938

Mahatmaji intimated his good wishes to Mr. Thakur and desired that he should follow in the footsteps of his noble grandfather, Sree Guru Chand Thakur, who devoted his life to the cause of the Scheduled Castes. He further added that the Congress would try its level best to stamp out the sin of untouchability from the soil of Bengal. He asked Mr. Thakur to visit the different Congress Provinces and study for himself the Congress work and activities for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and make a propaganda in Bengal so that the Bengal Scheduled Castes might respond to the clarion call of the Congress for achieving India's political end.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12-4-1938

[1] Gandhiji's Hindi speech was translated into Bengali by Hemprabha Devi Das Gupta.

[2] P. R. Thakur, M. L. A., had told Gandhiji that the Scheduled Castes in Bengal would willingly co-operate with the Congress if Harijan uplift programmes undertaken by the Congress Ministries were followed in Bengal as early as possible.

CWMG - LXVII

22. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF MIDNAPUR

[Before *April 11, 1938*][1]

I hope that Midnapore will show that it stands for unadulterated non-violence. In my opinion that is our greatest need.

The Hindu, 12-4-1938

23. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

CALCUTTA,
April 11, 1938

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

Please forgive the pencil hand.

I wish I could be with you to witness the enthusiastic response of the young men to your call. But that cannot be. I hope the enthusiasm will last and that soon illiteracy will be banished from Bihar.

Tell Begum Mahmud with my love that she has no right to invite me till she has given up the *purdah*. Has not the Prophet said that the real *purdah* lies in the woman's chastity?

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MR. SYED MAHMUD
MINISTER OF EDUCATION
PATNA, BIHAR

From the original: Dr. Syed Mahmud Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also G.N. 5083

[1] The message was sent through Subhas Chandra Bose who visited Midnapur on April 11.

CWMG - LXVII

24. TALK WITH PRISONERS[1]

[On or before *April 12, 1938*][2]

I am at the end of my resources and although I am ready to return to Bengal if the Government of Bengal wants me, very much, I am afraid, will depend on my health.

Harijan, 23-4-1938

25. MESSAGE TO GURUKUL KANGRI

CALCUTTA,
April 12, 1938

A serious problem faces the teachers and students of the Gurukul: How can the country and dharma be protected—by truth and non-violence or by untruth and violence? How nice it would be if the Gurukul could provide the answer to this question with its head as well as its heart.

[From Hindi]

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

26. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

April 12, 1938

Approached by waiting Pressmen as he came out,[3] Gandhiji said that he would be issuing a statement on the subject of their discussion either that evening or on the following day.[4] Pressed further as to whether any settlement was arrived at, Mahatmaji pointed out to Sir Nazimuddin and told the journalists to approach him.

Sir Nazimuddin, however, expressed his inability to state whether any agreement had been reached or not.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"

[2] According to *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 13-4-1938, Gandhiji paid his last visit to the political prisoners on April 12.

[3] After the interview with Khwaja Nazimuddin

[4] *Vide* pp. 18-9.

CWMG - LXVII

As he came out with Gandhiji, Sir Nazimuddin introduced Maulana Abdul Rashid Tarkabagish of Bogra as a leader of the Proja Party. At that Gandhiji humorously remarked that in that case he had got to please the Maulana.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13-4-1938

27. *TALK WITH CONGRESSMEN*[1]

CALCUTTA,
[On or before *April 13, 1938*][2]

I have found my task here Herculean and I am sure any other person would have slunk away from it. I have the patience of a Job, but even that was on the point of being exhausted. But now I have a ray of hope bright enough to light my path to Wardha. I now want your hearty approval, not mechanical consent to my suggestion to stop all demonstrations and receptions and addresses, in order that the ray of hope may be multiplied a hundredfold.

Harijan, 23-4-1938

28. *TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR*

CALCUTTA,
April 13, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA

REACHING DELHI TOMORROW NIGHT. LEAVING DAY AFTER. QUITE WELL.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3856. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7012

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes"
[2] Gandhiji left Calcutta on April 13.

CWMG - LXVII

29. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

April 13, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I had your letter. You must have received mine. I do not like your worrying all the time. You must regain perfect health.

I hope Jayaprakash is well. Write to me fully. Don't postpone writing till I write to you. I am going to Delhi for a day. I will leave there on the 15th and reach Wardha on the 16th. I am fairly well. The blood-pressure at present is 154/100. I observed a fast today[1], but didn't feel it.

The work here has remained unfinished. Perhaps I shall have to come back. I do hope that everything will be all right. But why need we concern ourselves with the result? Write to me regularly. Write to Ba also. And don't forget A. S.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3511

30. LETTER TO ANANDI BUCH

April 13, 1938

CHI. ANANDI[2],

Haven't you still got over the fatigue of nursing me? How is your home life? Have you set up house on your own? The amount of service which you two together render should be not twice but four times as much. There should be multiplication and not addition in such matters.

I had Puratan's[3] and Lalitji's letters. I am not writing to them separately. Won't this letter suffice?

Both of you should daily read Chapter XII[4] [of the *Gita*] and ponder over it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9163

[1] It being Jallianwala Bagh Day
[2] Daughter of Lakshmidas P. Asar
[3] Puratan Buch, addressee's husband
[4] Which describes the characteristics of a *bhakta*

31. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

CALCUTTA,
April 13, 1938

I regret to inform the public that the negotiations that I have been conducting with the Government of Bengal through Sir Nazimuddin have not yet been concluded. I must confess that my arrival in Calcutta was ill-timed, as the Ministers were all busy with the Assembly work; and as it was known that I should come back before the end of March, I felt it was unnecessary to ascertain Sir Nazimuddin's wishes about the time of my arrival. Had I taken the precaution of writing to him, I would not have found myself in Calcutta at an inauspicious moment. I have now to write a letter[2] to Sir Nazimuddin, summarizing my suggestions which, I am assured, will be considered by the Government as speedily as possible and definite decisions taken—a process which, it is expected, will be completed within one month. It is hoped, however, that the decisions may be taken much earlier, and if it becomes necessary for me to return to Calcutta, I shall do so without hesitation, provided, of course, that my health permits it.

Meanwhile I must repeat that all agitation for the release of detenus and prisoners should be suspended while negotiations continue. I must also state that it is not conducive to the success of the negotiations if public demonstrations are held in honour of those who may be discharged. In my opinion, it is more dignified for Congressmen to exercise restraint. I have seen extracts of speeches and addresses as reported in the papers which do not betray any spirit of non-violence.

I may add that whilst I have been seeing the convicted prisoners and discussing with them their attitude to non-violence for my own guidance, the Government have made it plain to me that whatever the prisoners might state to me will not be allowed to determine their policy. They think that it will be improper for them to base their action on such assurances as

[1] This was published in the *Harijan* under the title "Negotiations Not Concluded".

[2] *Vide* the following item.

I may issue. I fully appreciate the Government view. My talks with political prisoners therefore are purely for my own personal satisfaction.

In so far as the 14 Regulation prisoners are concerned, they gave me at the interview I had with them the following letter:

> During your last visit you expressed your desire to be acquainted with our definite views on certain things. After giving full consideration to the matter we can only reaffirm what we said then. As long as we are in detention we are unable to discuss our past and future and our political opinion. Particularly when the talk of release is in the air it affects our sense of self-respect to say anything that may have some bearing on the question of our own release. We hope you will appreciate our standpoint and readily concede that we mean no personal disrespect.

It was signed by nine. Four other prisoners had not signed the letter but they associated themselves with the sentiments expressed therein, and the fifth gave a letter very similar to the foregoing.

Harijan, 16-4-1938

32. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

[*April 13, 1938*][1]

DEAR SIR NAZIMUDDIN,

In accordance with the understanding of yesterday, I submit herewith my suggestions:

(1) I understand that the detenus, including the Regulation III prisoners, will be discharged and all restrictions upon their liberty will be removed inside of one month from this date.

I can only hope that I shall not have to return to Calcutta in that connection. Should my presence, however, be required, I shall gladly come whenever wanted.

(2) With regard to the convicted political prisoners I suggest that—

(A) the ailing prisoners should be discharged forthwith irrespective of their terms of imprisonment;

[1] Although the addressee in his letter of April 17 to Gandhiji acknowledges this as of the 12th, this was obviously written after the "Statement to the Press", 13-4-1938; *vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

(B) those who have less than 6 months to serve should be discharged forthwith;

(C) those who have 18 months or less, but over 6 months to serve, should be discharged within 3 months;

(D) those who have longer terms than 18 months to serve should be discharged within one year at the most.

(3) Those releases should be contingent upon a public understanding between the Government and the Opposition, that is, the Congress Party, to the effect that—

(A) there shall be no public demonstrations or processions in honour of those detenus or prisoners who may be discharged;

(B) there should be no agitation, directly or indirectly, initiated or countenanced by the Congress Party to depart from or improve upon the settlement that may be arrived at. In other words, so far as Bengal at any rate is concerned, the question of the release of detenus and political prisoners shall cease to be a Party question or a matter of public controversy.

I have purposely refrained from entering into any argument in favour of the suggestions made herein. I have discussed them threadbare with you and you have very patiently listened to me.

Whatever the fate of the negotiations and suggestions, it is agreed between us that a final decision will be taken by the Bengal Government within a few days, certainly within one month from today.

You have told me that any assurances the prisoners or detenus may give me about non-violence could not or would not be allowed by the Government to influence their decision. But, as you know, I have interested myself in their cases on the strength of their disavowal of violence for the attainment of India's freedom. Therefore, for my own satisfaction, I discussed the question with them and whilst they did not want to make any statement for the sake of furthering their release, they assured me that they had no faith in violence for securing India's freedom. I believe in their assurance and it would be a pity if such men could not be discharged.

I forgot to mention one thing during our conversations of yesterday. The prisoners at Dum Dum asked me whether I had received the many messages they had sent me through the usual channels. I cannot recall having received any, except the messages from the Midnapur girl prisoners. Whatever may have happened in the past, I trust that in future you will kindly

CWMG - LXVII

issue instructions so as to ensure the delivery of their messages to me, assuming, of course, that they are not objectionable.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1938; also C.W. 9919

33. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
April 13, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

A wire has gone to you telling you I am well and going to Delhi and thence at once to Wardha. Of Delhi you will know from the papers and later from me or Mahadev after the work is finished.[2]

I am really well and have stood the strain in a wonderful manner.

The negotiations[3] have been difficult but I have hope of their being successful. Everything will depend upon the result of my appeal[4] for restraint. I might have to come again.

One of these days Mahadev or I must tell you all about the interview with the girls[5] but not before we meet.

It will be good if you can go to Ooty and pass a day with me on your way.

Mind I am likely to have to go to Bombay on 25th to see Jinnah.

[1]In his reply dated April 17, the addressee wrote: "In view of the wording of the paragraph (1) of your letter which refers to detenus, I think it desirable, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, to repeat what I stated at the commencement of our interviews that proposals made by me personally as a basis of settlement in the course of negotiations were, and are, subject to, and, conditional upon, the approval of the Government of Bengal as a whole.

"Secondly, what I endeavoured to convey at our last interview was simply this—that, subject to an agreed solution of the problem of convicted prisoners being arrived at, I felt sure you would not be dissatisfied with the action that the Government would in that event take regarding State prisoners and detenus."

[2] Gandhiji was going to meet the Viceroy on April 15.

[3] With the Government of Bengal

[4] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 18-9.

[5] Presumably Bina Das and Ujjala Majumdar who were sentenced to nine and ten years' imprisonment respectively and whom Gandhiji met at Presidency Jail, Calcutta, on April 12.

CWMG - LXVII

So, Mrs. Subbaroyan is in the Assembly. I suppose you meet her often.

Of course there is no chance whatsoever of my arbitrating over the Shahidganj issue. It almost defies a reasonable solution.

This U. P. dacoity[1] is a disturbing affair. Heaven knows what is in store for this country.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3627. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6436

34. DISCUSSION WITH BENGAL CONGRESSMEN [2]

CALCUTTA,
[*April 13, 1938*][3]

The difference between your view and mine is based on the question whether the Zemindari system is to be mended or ended. I say it should be mended, and if it cannot be mended, it would end itself. You say that it is incapable of being mended.

In these words Gandhiji summed up the difference between the Socialist school and what may be called the Satyagrahi school, before an informal meeting of Calcutta Congressmen.

Q. The zemindars and *mahajans* are the instruments of the bureaucracy. They have always sided with it and are an obstacle to our progress and freedom. Why should not the obstacle be removed?

A. They are indeed part and parcel of the bureaucracy. But they are its helpless tools. Must they for ever remain so? We may do nothing to put them away from us. If they change their mentality, their services can be utilized for the nation. If they will not change, they will die a natural death. If we have non-violence in us, we will not frighten them. We have to be doubly careful when the Congress has power.

Q. But can't we say the system of zemindari is an anachronism and should go, by non-violent means of course?

[1] Staged by terrorists on April 11 at Pipribih, on the North Eastern Railway between Allahabad and Kanpur

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's article "Kisans and Zemindars". Among others who attended this informal meeting were Subhas Chandra Bose and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

[3] From *The Hindu*, 14-4-1938

CWMG-LXVII

A. Of course we can. The question is: 'must we?' Why can we not say to the zemindars, 'These are the evils which we ask you to remove yourselves'? I admit that this presumes trust in human nature.

Q. Would you say that the Permanent Settlement[1] should remain?

A. No, it has to go. The way to make the *kisans* happy and prosperous is to educate them to know the reason of their present condition and how to mend it. We may show them the non-violent way or the violent. The latter may look tempting, but it is the way to perdition in the long run.

Q. But don't you agree that the land belongs to him who tills it?

A. I do. But that need not mean that the zemindar should be wiped out. The man who supplies brains and metal is as much a tiller as the one who labours with his hands. What we aim at, or should, is to remove the present terrible inequality between them.

Q. But the mending process may be very long.

A. Seemingly the longest process is often the shortest.

Q. But why not parcel out the land among the tillers?

A. That is a hasty thought. The land is today in their hands. But they know neither their rights nor how to exercise them. Supposing they were told neither to move out of the land nor to pay the dues to the zemindars, do you think their misery would be over? Surely much will still remain to be done. I suggest that that should be undertaken now and the rest will follow as day follows night.

That led up to the question of the Kisan Sabhas, their relations with the Congress, their scope and their function.

My opinion is clear-cut, having worked among the *kisans* and labour all my life. There is nothing constitutionally wrong in the Congress allowing the Kisan Sabhas to work independently nor in allowing the office-bearers of the Kisan Sabhas to be office-bearers of the Congress, for they will come in the usual way. But my study of separate *kisan* organizations has led me definitely to the conclusion that they are not working for the interests of the *kisans* but are organized only with a view to capturing the Congress organization. They can do even this by leading the *kisans* along the right channels, but I am afraid

[1] Introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793

CWMG - LXXVII

they are misleading them. If the *kisans* and their leaders will capture the Congress by doing nothing but authorized Congress work, there is no harm. But if they do so by making false registers, storming meetings and so on, it would be something like Fascism.

But the main question is whether you want the Kisan Sabhas to strengthen the Congress or to weaken it, to use the *kisan* organization to capture the Congress or to serve the *kisans*, whether the Sabha is to be a rival organization working apparently in the name of the Congress or one carrying out the Congress programme and policy. If it is really a rival organization and Congress organization only in name, its strength and energy will be utilized in resisting the Congress and those of the Congress will be utilized in resisting the Kisan Sabha, with the result that the poor *kisans* will be ground between the two mill-stones.

Harijan, 23-4-1938

35. FOREWORD TO "THE PERSIAN MYSTICS"

April 14, 1938

Sir Jogendra Singh is to be congratulated on having given us his rendering into English of the "Sayings of the Mystic" by Abdullah Ansari[1]. Islam has given the world mystics no less than Hinduism or Christianity. In these days when irreligion masquerades as religion, it is well to remind ourselves of what the best minds of all the religions of the world have thought and said. We must not, like the frog in the well who imagines that the universe ends with the wall surrounding his well, think that our religion alone represents the whole Truth and all the others are false. A reverent study of the other religions of the world would show that they are equally true as our own, though all are necessarily imperfect.

M. K. GANDHI

The Persian Mystics

[1] Sheikh Abdullah Ansari of Herat, 1005 A. D.-1090 A. D.

CWMG - LXVII

36. LETTER TO RATILAL MEHTA

April 14, 1938

BHAI RATUBHAI[1],

Maganlal[2] writes that Chhaganlal's[3] condition is pitiable. He has incurred debts and has suffered losses. Do you know about his real condition? Does he listen to you? I have written to him, but I don't expect a reply. I hope you are keeping well.

I write this in a moving train.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7176. Also C.W. 4672. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

37. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 14, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

Give the enclosed[4] to Ratubhai.

Kanaiyo is quite happy. I do feel unhappy that I am not able to pay the attention that I ought to pay him. If I could but manage it, I could take much work from him. I am fairly well. I am writing this in a moving train.

I hope everything is well with you. Are you quite satisfied with Kamala? I return to Wardha the day after tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Father-in-law of Chhaganlal Mehta
[2] & [3] Sons of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

38. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI,
April 14, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

You have done something really excellent.[1] Act in the same manner in future also. And now the answers to your questions[2].

1. It has not been my experience that in daily life it is untruth and dishonesty that always triumph. We of course come across instances of these sometimes winning, but if we look deep into the matter we shall see that the real triumph goes to truth. If, however, the victory of truth was always self-evident, what would be its value, and what would be the merit of adhering to it? Is not this the reason why the *Ishopanishad*, which is regarded as authoritative as the Vedas has this *mantra*, that the face of truth is covered with a golden lid? We are dazzled by the splendour of that lid.

2. Now the second question. It may not be our lot always to suffer, but that doesn't mean that we shouldn't advise other people to follow the seemingly strait and narrow path of truth. Even if the old man had been able to hide himself and reach Madras, what would it have availed? Where was the guarantee that he would not have got caught somewhere ? And why should we assume that he had to suffer because finally he had to get down? We don't always know what is for our good. We should, therefore, proceed blindly on the assumption that the path of truth cannot but lead to our good.

[1] The addressee had helped an old Mussalman fellow-passenger on the train who had lost his ticket (*Harijan*, 14-5-1938).

[2] These, briefly, were:

(i) Would it not have been proper for the ticketless passenger to evade the ticket-examiner? Didn't dishonesty often pay?

(ii) How far was it proper for the addressee to advise him to be honest?

(iii) What right had the ticket-examiner to let the passenger off?

(iv) Not himself having any money to pay, how could the addressee have appealed to other passengers to pay the ticketless passenger's fare?

(v) If the passenger could complete his journey to Madras, would it have been right for the addressee to see him out of the platform on a platform ticket?

3. It was certainly within the right of the ticket-examiner to let that man go. If, however, he did not think he had such a right, he could not have neglected his duty out of false pity. But even in that case he could have issued the man a ticket and paid for it from his own pocket or could have collected the money from other passengers.

4. Supposing the examiner did not let the man travel, nor issued him a ticket with his own money, and the old man had therefore to miss the train or go to jail, why should he have minded that? If he was a lover of truth, he should have faced that cheerfully. And we are thinking here about the duty of a lover of truth. Even though you are not maintaining yourself with money earned by yourself, on an occasion like this, which arises only once in a while, you could have paid something yourself and collected the balance from the other passengers. If the latter had paid anything, so far so good; but even if they hadn't, you would have done your duty. But I didn't feel, either, that even the little you did was not enough.

5. Had the examiner let the man travel to Madras, he could have informed the ticket collector there that he had used his discretion in letting him go. But supposing he had refused to do that, it would not have been right for the old man to get out of the station with the help of a platform ticket. However, the way out of that situation would have been easy. You yourself could have explained his condition to the ticket collector and if the latter had not been convinced he could have kept the man in custody. These days, however, they don't follow that practice since it puts the railway company to a loss; the ticket collector merely shouts angrily at such persons and lets them go.

If you have any doubts even after reading these answers to your questions, ask me again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7334. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

39. LETTER TO BAL KALELKAR

April 14, 1938

CHI. BAL,

I am writing this on a train to Delhi. I will leave Delhi tomorrow and reach Wardha the day after. You will have read about the visit before you get this.

I am writing this just to tell you that I have not forgotten you. I always wish that you should progress spiritually and in health even as you are cultivating the intellect. Progress in all the three spheres necessarily includes progress in each.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7969

40. INTERVIEW TO "PRATAP"[1]

KANPUR,
[*April 14, 1938*][2]

Q. Do you approve of the decision of the Congress Working Committee regarding the C. P. Ministerial crisis?

A. I cannot say anything in this matter. I cannot describe the Working Committee's decision as wrong.

Q. Do you think you have succeeded in your mission regarding the release of the Bengal political prisoners?

A. Let us hope so.

Q. Have you been invited by the Viceroy to Delhi?

A. It appears that the public knows more about it than I do.

Q. Are you expected to discuss the question of political prisoners at Delhi?

A. I do not know what I shall do at Delhi.

[1] A Hindi daily of Kanpur
[2] Gandhiji passed through Kanpur on April 14 *en route* to Delhi.

CWMG - LXVII

Q. What is your purpose in going to Delhi?

A. I am afraid I cannot say anything about it.

Q. Do you think that the Congress will accept the Federation, if certain changes were introduced in it?

A. How can I say what the Congress will do in this matter?[1]

Q. What will you recommend to the Congress in case modifications are made?

A. Let us see what these are.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-4-1938, and *The Statesman*, 15-4-1938

41. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

April 14, 1938

MY DEAR ANGAD[2],

My heart goes out to you. What does it matter that on some things we do not see eye to eye? I must however ask one question. Did you think it lawful to sexually love the married lady or do you say that although it was wrong you could not help yourselves, and having fallen, the only honourable course for you was to marry?[3] I need to know this, if I may, to see how far we have drifted from each other and what philosophy guides us. The fact that you are a seeker of Truth is enough to sustain the bond between us.

I hope you are completely cured.

Love from us all.

BAPU

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

[1] What follows is from the correspondent of *The Statesman*.

[2] The monkey-prince sent as a messenger by Rama to Ravana. Gandhiji gave the addressee this name as he had carried his letter of March 2, 1930, to the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin; *vide* Vol. XLIII, pp. 2-8.

[3] The addressee had married Ethel Mannin, a divorcee.

CWMG - LXVII

42. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

DELHI,
April 15, 1938

IF ON RETURN BOMBAY YOU CAN BREAK JOURNEY AT WARDHA FOR ONE DAY YOU WILL SPARE ME THE STRAIN OF UNDERTAKING THE JOURNEY TO BOMBAY. I NEED SOME UNINTERRUPTED PHYSICAL REST IF POSSIBLE. IN ANY EVENT COULD MAULANA AZAD ACCOMPANY ME AT THE INTERVIEW? PLEASE WIRE WARDHA WHICH REACHING TOMORROW.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1938

43. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

ON THE TRAIN,
April 16, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

We are moving towards Wardha. I am in a fit condition. I have started the day with 160-4/98—an unusual thing nowadays. And mark you, up to Gwalior the crowds won't let me rest. They would shout in my ears, as it were.

Mahadev I have sent to the Frontier to see things for himself. He should be there three or four days.

It was a nice chat with the Viceroy. Quite inconclusive. It was not meant to be conclusive. It was an exchange of ideas. More when we meet.

You must make yourself fit in Simla. You must take the hip-baths and exercise. It is criminal to tie yourself to the desk. Play tennis daily, if it suits you.

Sushila has remained in Delhi. She must have written to you.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3628. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6437

[1] In his reply the addressee telegraphed: "Extremely sorry unable change programme now. Will receive you at Bombay on 25th or thereafter as arranged. Would prefer to see you alone."

CWMG - LXVII

44. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

[After *April 17, 1938*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

What you say is correct from the economic point of view; but I look at it, and I ought to look at it, as a purely political issue.[2] We cannot enter into any agreement with Lancashire which will bind us to buy their cloth. The argument that Lancashire cloth is bound to come here anyway is irrelevant. There has been no change in the Congress position, as it has always been explained to the people, as regards Lancashire cloth. I think, therefore, that we cannot enter into the sort of agreement you suggest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Purushottamdas Thakurdas Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

45. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

WARDHA,
April 18, 1938

THANKS. 25TH HAPPENS TO BE MONDAY. WILL REACH BOMBAY 28TH IF NOT INCONVENIENT.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1938

[1] & [2] The addressee in his letter dated April 17 had written: "I thought I might clear the point again as regards the Indo-British Trade Pact. The period of protection expires next March and in any case the amount of protection will be revised. I believe that Lancashire would in any case get a 5% reduction in the tariff. The question therefore is: should we give Lancashire a grant of 5% under the recommendations of the Tariff Board without asking for any *quid pro quo* or should we insist on a pact based on 5% reduction and a definite guarantee by Lancashire to purchase a large amount of Indian cotton? . . . Purely from the economic point of view, we would not think of giving a free gift of 5%. But from the political point of view there may be reasons for taking up such an attitude. I should like you therefore to send me, at your leisure, your arguments in favour of such a position which, you will agree, would appear to be anomalous from the economic point of view. Because under this position Lancashire will get what she wants without having to pay anything for it."

CWMG LXVII

46. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

April 18, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

3 p.m. on 21st if that will suit the members. I know it is a hot time but I am helpless. Will you prefer 6.30 to 7.30 a. m., or have I to go to Wardha on 21st morning?

You will talk to me about finances when we meet.

Yes, there must be a joint committee for the Museum.

Rajkumari comes on 22nd by the Calcutta Mail at 7 a. m. (is it?). Look up the time-table. Will you receive her and pack her off here? I may not be able to send anyone from here.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10134

47. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON,
April 18, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Pyarelal wrote to you yesterday. If you can come, we shall discuss a few things. But if you cannot it doesn't matter. I have had a talk about the land in Gujarat. I think it impossible to do anything more about Nagpur now. Let things take their own course. The entire policy requires careful consideration. In any case, I have to be there on the 28th to meet Jinnah. I intend to return the same day. Did you call on Jalbhai? Do you write to him?

I request you not to take me to the sea coast. And on May 6-7 your committee is meeting at Wardha. I am really keeping fine health. Mahadev is expected back on the 20th or the 21st.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
PURUSHOTTAM BUILDING
OPP. OPERA HOUSE, BOMBAY 4

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 219

48. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

WARDHA,
April 20, 1938

IF NOT INCONVENIENT WOULD LIKE TO REACH YOUR HOUSE AT 11.30 A.M.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1938

49. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

SEGAON,
April 20, 1938

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

You are by . . .[1] doing credit to your birthday . . .[2] The policy of neglecting your health . . .[3] and carrying on somehow or other is immoral. Have no doubt about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

50. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 21, 1938

DEAR SIR NAZIMUDDIN,

I thank you for your letter.[4] Of course, I understand that everything has to go to the Cabinet before the final decision is taken. My suggestions were, therefore, intended to be independent and for examination on their merits. Only, I had felt that the policy so far as the detenus are concerned was a reiteration of that adopted by the Cabinet. I am anxiously awaiting your final decision. But before it is taken, if my presence is considered

[1], [2] &[3] Some words are illegible here.
[4] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 19.

CWMG - LXVII

necessary you are only to send me a line—even a wire if necessary.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1938; also C.W. 9921

51. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAY

SEGAON,
April 21, 1938

DEAR HARIBHAU,

Bapuji has received both of your letters. He says he had a talk with Jamnalalji about sending Ba. He will certainly send her if she can be sent. There is no objection from Bapuji's side.

About the prisoners he says that we have to await the decision regarding the Bengal prisoners. Only after that shall we know what can be done about the prisoners of the other provinces. About the prisoners there we shall discuss when there is an occasion for you to write about them.

Yours,
PYARELAL

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

52. SPEECH AT VIDYAMANDIR TRAINING SCHOOL, WARDHA[2]

April 21, 1938

Today the students of the Vidyamandir have taken a solemn pledge. It is a momentous pledge. Its fulfilment would seem well-nigh impossible. This pledge binds one to serve without a break for twenty-five years on a monthly salary of Rs. 15. The fact

[1] The addressee on May 6 replied: "The Muslim League Conferences made it impossible for the Assembly to meet in Darjeeling until April 20. The Cabinet at once took the matter into consideration and definite conclusions have been reached. I am afraid that, in any circumstances, a short delay may be inevitable before we are in a position to communicate with you further. This delay will not, I anticipate, be much, and you can rest assured that I and my colleagues have taken and are taking every possible step to expedite the matter."

[2] The school, a combination of the Wardha Scheme and Ravishankar Shukla's Vidya Mandir Scheme, was to be conducted under the supervision of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

CWMG - LXVII

that more than five thousand applications[1] were received is proof that unemployment in our country has reached the extreme limit. Some persons, while working for high ideals cannot get even dal and rice; many persons cannot obtain work to fill their bellies.[2] It is also proof of the glamour that surrounds Government employment. I know that people apply for constableships or teacherships in the hope of adding to their legal pay in illegal ways. I hope that no one of you entertains any such hope. I do not know that with all my patriotism I could bind myself to serve as a teacher for Rs. 15 per month. You must dismiss from your minds the thought that there may be profits left over in your schools to be divided amongst you. If, therefore, there is anyone among you who repents of the contract, you will ask the Minister to relieve you. I promise to plead for you. Having said this, I tender my congratulations to those who hold to their contract. I hope that God will give you strength to abide by your pledge.

Yours is a self-sacrificing pledge. If you prove true to your pledge you will set a noble example before the world. If you do not succeed, both Ravishankar Shukla and I will be condemned by the world. So the weaklings had better withdraw now.

This scheme is wholly Indian. Its ideal was born in Segaon. Real India is enshrined in the seven lakhs of villages, whose plight is even worse than Segaon's. I want you to drive away illiteracy from these villages, find out means whereby villagers can obtain food and clothing, and take the message of winning swaraj through truth and non-violence to the villages. This responsibility rests on you. It is your dharma to work with this ideal in view. I have presented my scheme after mature deliberation. If it fails, the teachers would be to blame. It is through handicrafts that instruction in geometry, history, geography and arithmetic will be given and an attempt will be made to meet the expenses of the school through the students' manual labour.[3]

You know that the scheme of this education has been drawn up in pursuance of the Congress programme. Now the Congress is pledged to win swaraj by non-violent and truthful means. Therefore the cultivation of these cardinal virtues is the foundation of the scheme. And if you do not show these in your daily

[1] Out of these 166 candidates were selected.

[2] The remaining part of the paragraph is from *Harijan*.

[3] The following paragraph is from *Harijan*.

contact with your pupils and a character in keeping with them, you will fail and so will your school. You know what Hitler is doing in Germany. His creed is violence, of which he makes no secret. The other day we were told that the sword was their soul. The boys and girls there are taught the science of violence from the beginning. They are taught to hate the enemy even in their arithmetic, and you will find that the examples have been chosen with a view to inculcate the military spirit. If we endorse their creed, we must recognize the necessity of inculcating the spirit of violence from infancy. The same thing is happening in Italy. We must be honest even as they are honest. I have no doubt that if the scheme is worked with all its implications and becomes popular throughout India, a silent revolution will have taken place and swaraj will be a certainty.

Herr Hitler is achieving his goal through the sword, I through soul. Cast off the cloak of foreign thoughts and ideals, identify yourselves with the villagers. The Western world is giving us destructive knowledge; we want to impart constructive education through non-violence. May God give you the strength to reach your cherished goal and to fulfil the pledge which you have taken today.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 30-4-1938, and *Harijan*, 30-4-1938

53. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

April 22, 1938

I observe that the forthcoming interview between Shri Jinnah and myself is not only attracting very wide attention, but is also inducing high hopes in some. Then there are friends who gravely warn me against this visit and against building any hope on the interview. It is better, therefore, for me to take the public into my confidence and tell them why and how I am waiting upon Shri Jinnah on April 28.

He has himself published my first letter[1] to him, showing my attitude on the question of communal unity, which is as dear to me as life itself. In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was praying for light. If anything,

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXV, p. 231.

CWMG - LXVII

the darkness has deepened and the prayer become more intense. Add to this the fact that for causes some of which I know and some of which I do not, for the first time in my public and private life I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and ahimsa. I am going through a process of self-introspection, the results of which I cannot foresee. I find myself for the first time during the past 50 years in a Slough of Despond. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment.

There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my despondency. It is purely internal. It comes from within. It must be now clear that, if I regarded the forthcoming interview as between two politicians, I should not entertain it in my present depression. But I approach it in no political spirit. I approach it in a prayerful and religious spirit, using the adjective in its broadest sense.

My Hinduism is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. I approach politics as everything else in a religious spirit. Truth is my religion and ahimsa is the only way of its realization. I have rejected once and for all the doctrine of the sword. The secret stabbings of innocent persons and the speeches I read in the papers are hardly the thing leading to peace or an honourable settlement.

Again, I am not approaching the forthcoming interview in any representative capacity. I have purposely divested myself of any such. If there are to be any formal negotiations, they will be between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League. I go as a lifelong worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It has been my passion from early youth. I count some of the noblest of Muslims as my friends. I have a devout daughter of Islam as more than a daughter to me. She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it. I had the son[1] of the late Muazzin of the Juma Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram. I have not met a nobler man. His morning *azan*[2] in the Ashram rings in my ears as I write these lines during midnight. It is for such reasons that I wait on Shri Jinnah.

I may not leave a single stone unturned to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. God fulfils himself in strange ways. He may, in

[1] Abdul Kadir Bawazeer
[2] Call to prayer

a manner least known to us, both fulfil himself through the interview and open a way to an honourable understanding between the two communities. It is in that hope that I am looking forward to the forthcoming talk. We are friends, not strangers. It does not matter to me that we see things from different angles of vision. I ask the public not to attach any exaggerated importance to the interview. But I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that the God of truth and love may give us both the right spirit and the right word and use us for the good of the dumb millions of India.

Harijan, 30-4-1938

54. MESSAGE TO JAIPUR RAJYA PRAJA MANDAL[1]

[Before *April 23, 1938*][2]

Everyone who cares to study what is happening at the present moment in our country can see that what we want can be attained if we will but achieve the *mantra* of peace, the creed of non-violence. You cannot breed peace out of no-peace. The attempt is like gathering grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. The more I go into the question, the more forcibly the conclusion is borne in upon me that our first duty is to grasp this fundamental fact. There was a day when I used to flatter myself with the belief that I had mastered the key to learning that lesson. Today I am filled with doubt. I do not know that I have in me purification enough to realize true peace or non-violence. In that frame of mind I cannot think of any other thing, talk of any other thing. But whatever may be my condition, I have no doubt in my mind that there is no swaraj without non-violence, nothing that goes by the name of constructive work. Constructive work is a mild aspect of non-violence, but the true test of non-violence lies in acquiring the capacity to meet an innocent and unflinching death in the service of our cause. How to achieve it is the question. I want you to apply your minds to it.

Harijan, 4-6-1938

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". The message was sent through Jamnalal Bajaj who presided over the Conference.

[2] Although the message was read out at the Conference by Jamnalal Bajaj on April 30, this was obviously drafted before April 23; *vide* "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 40.

CWMG-LXVII

55. *MARTIAL* v. *MORAL*

It is often forgotten that the Congress has only moral authority to back it. The ruling power has the martial, though it often dilutes the martial with the moral. This vital difference has come to the fore since the assumption of office by the Congress in seven provinces. This office-holding is either a step towards greater prestige or its total loss. If it is not to be a total loss, the ministers and the legislators have to be watchful of their own personal and public conduct. They have to be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion in everything. They may not make private gains either for themselves or for their relatives or friends. If the relatives or friends get any appointment, it must be only because they are the best among the candidates, and their market value is always greater than what they get under the Government. The ministers and the legislators of the Congress ticket have to be fearless in the performance of their duty. They must always be ready to risk the loss of their seats or offices. Offices and seats in the legislatures have no merit outside their ability to raise the prestige and power of the Congress. And since both depend wholly upon the possession of morals, both public and private, any moral lapse means a blow to the Congress. This is the necessary implication of non-violence. If the Congress non-violence is merely confined to abstention from causing physical hurt to the British officials and their dependants, such non-violence can never bring us independence. It is bound to be worsted in the final heat. Indeed we shall find it to be worthless, if not positively harmful, long before the final heat is reached.

There is considerable force in the argument of those who have conceived Congress non-violence in that narrow light when they say that it is a broken reed.

If on the other hand non-violence, with all the implications, is the Congress policy, let every Congressman examine himself and reconstruct himself accordingly. Let him not wait for instructions from the Working Committee. After all the Working Committee can act only in so far as it interprets the public mind. And non-violence is not a quality to be evolved or expressed to order. It is an inward growth depending for sustenance upon intense individual effort.

I have received several letters offering the writers' names for enrolment as volunteers ready to immolate themselves at times of rioting and the like. To these writers I would suggest that they enlist co-workers themselves, form local corps, and begin training in accordance with the suggestion I have made. Let them not confine themselves merely to preparedness for emergencies, but for the daily walk of life in all its departments, personal, domestic, social, economic, political, religious. Only thus will they find themselves more than ready for dealing with emergencies in their own localities or beats. They may not aim, except indirectly, at influencing events happening hundreds of miles away from their scene of activity. That ability will come, if the right beginning is made in the first instance.

Harijan, 23-4-1938

56. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEGAON,
April 23, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have written to Lilavati Munshi and said "No". Wait for me on the 28th morning. You must have seen the wire I have sent to Khan Saheb. A letter[1] for Vallabhbhai is enclosed. Read it and pass it on to him. If he is not there, post it to him wherever he is. Calm yourself. You may make any changes you like in the draft of the speech[2] I have sent to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2990

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] Which Gandhiji had drafted for the addressee who was to preside over the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal; *vide* p. 38.

CWMG - LXVII

57. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON,
April 23, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. Mahadev should be back here this evening. I hope to be there on the morning of the 28th. I may also meet the Governor informally on the same day. I can see him at 9 or 9.30.

I had a long talk with the Viceroy about Orissa, the land in Kheda, the detenus, etc. Orissa's case deserves consideration.[1] It will be possible to arrange a few days' stay in Gujarat at any time. Maybe I shall have to go to the Frontier Province in May. I have sent a wire to Khan Saheb today. I shall know more when Mahadev arrives.

My health is good enough just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Read my statement[2] regarding Jinnah. If I don't meet him, it is bound to be misunderstood.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 220

58. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEGAON,
April 23, 1938

CHI. MANUDI[3],

I get no time at all to write to you. But I do get news of you from time to time. I hope you will not stop writing to me because I do not write to you. Kanti and Saraswati have arrived today. They will stay for a month.

[1] In Orissa, Dain, a civilian, was appointed to act as Governor during the period of leave of Sir John Habback. *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 51-2.

[2] *Vide* pp. 36-8.

[3] Daughter of Harilal Gandhi

On the 28th I am leaving for Bombay for a day's stay. I shall probably return on the same evening. Come and see me. Bring Surendra[1] with you. I am keeping fairly well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1569. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

59. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

SEGAON,
April 23, 1938

CHI. SHARDA,

It seems you are being sensible. I had really thought that after my letter you had abandoned the idea of going to Ahmedabad, in which case you should have told me. You had my permission, but I would want to know. Now stay with Shakaribehn[2] to your heart's content. Also tell her from me that there is a lot of difference between what she told me and what she had in mind. She must talk to me without reserve. She must let me know through you what she wants. I do not intend doing anything against her wish. Stay there as long as necessary on condition that you maintain your health. Give me regular account of how you spend your time. You should not be too sure of a letter from me.

I shall write to Saraswatibehn when I have the time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9993. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

[1] Addressee's husband
[2] Addressee's mother

CWMG - LXVII

60. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEGAON,
April 23, 1938

I have your letter. Riots appear to be our fate.[1] At such a time there is special need for us to meet.[2] What is important is the urge that impels us to meet. I have today sent to the Press a statement[3] which might have been drafted precisely to answer your questions. Read it and think over it.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 167

61. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, MYSORE STATE CONGRESS

April [*24,*][4] *1938*

DEAR FRIEND,

B. Chandrasekhara, D. Chandrasekharayya, B. Ramachandran have seen me with reference to the recent unfortunate arrests that have taken place in Mysore. I am sorry that Siddhalingaiya and seven other friends are in jail over what has been called the flag satyagraha. I had hoped that after the full talks I had with friends including Siddhalingaiya at Delang there would be no friction between the State and the Congress. With the concurrence of these friends and their hearty approval I had given Sir Mirza a fairly full summary of the conversation they had with me. Sir Mirza has been writing to me about developments, but I was loath to intervene unless I had heard from the State Congress.

I must also admit that my preoccupation in Bengal would have most probably prevented my doing anything even if you

[1] The reference is to Hindu-Muslim riots in Allahabad.
[2] Gandhiji is here referring to his proposed meeting with Jinnah.
[3] *Vide* pp. 36-8.
[4] The source has "14". But on April 14, Gandhiji was on way to Delhi from Calcutta. Presumably it is a slip for '24'. The representatives from Mysore met Gandhiji at Wardha and they were in Bombay on the 26th on their way back to Mysore.

or any member had written to me. Today I had a full discussion with the friends above named. I feel that there has been some misunderstanding or some haste on the part of overzealous workers. Thus I had clearly advised at Delang that the confining of membership of the Mysore State Congress only to primary members of the Indian National Congress was wholly wrong and that in effect it made the State Congress an Indian National Congress organization even though it might be unaffiliated. In my opinion that is contrary to the spirit of the Haripura resolution[1] on the subject and, what is more, calculated to defeat the end you have in view. And as Sir Mirza was in possession of my opinion, the action of the State Congress in spite of my advice was evidently the first cause of misunderstanding and the hoisting of the flag was evidently interpreted as a challenge to the State and the State flag. I am quite clear in my mind that such was not the intention of the authors of the demonstration but we may not expect the State authorities to go behind our action and interpret it in terms of our intention expressed or implied. On the contrary they would infer intention from action. I, therefore, suggest that necessary change is immediately made in the State Congress constitution and an unequivocal declaration is made to the effect that the hoisting of the National Congress flag is in no way intended as a hostile demonstration or insult to the State flag. If Mysore is an integral part of India, as it is, it should be equally proud of the All-India national flag as it must be of its own.

It will also be necessary for you to make it clear that you will not hoist the national flag on ceremonial occasions where persons other than registered Congress members are admitted,

[1] The relevant part of the resolution read:

"In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements, but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organizational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy."

unless you also at the same time hoist the Mysore flag. Remember, you are not in a state of rebellion against the Maharaja. So far as I understand you do not aim at the destruction of the Principality of Mysore. You aim at radical reforms. If such is the case, you may not ignore the Mysore flag on ceremonial occasions, if you have also the all-India flag.

If, therefore, you could see your way to adopt my advice I should think that the State authorities will release the prisoners as they should. When the operating cause ceases there is no meaning in keeping political prisoners in jail. Please remember that satyagraha has to be full in thought, word and deed. If I have understood the situation correctly, I must confess that in the highest sense of the term there has been a departure, albeit entirely unconscious, from both truth and non-violence. Truth demanded the carrying out of what I had understood would be done and I had conveyed to Sir Mirza. I know it was open to the State Congress to reject my advice.

But in that case I should have been told so that I would have informed Sir Mirza accordingly. There was a flavour of violence because any hasty or thoughtless action is a breach of non-violence. I am well aware that such meticulous observance of non-violence and truth is not to be expected from the rank and file. But then satyagraha cannot be launched by the rank and file. It has to be launched by responsible persons who are versed in the law of satyagraha.

I understand there is to be a black-flag demonstration. It savours of violence. I hope if there has been any such idea, it will be abandoned.

I need hardly say that my letter carries no authority save what it may possess on account of my supposed expert knowledge of satyagraha. You are at perfect liberty to reject the whole of my advice if it does not commend itself to you and other members of the State Congress.

If you can get permission, you should see Siddhalingaiya and other prisoners and if it is at all possible arrive at a unanimous decision.[1]

The Hindu, 7-5-1938

[1] According to the source the letter was cancelled on receipt of news of the Mysore firing.

62. SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH[1]

WARDHA,
April 24, 1938[2]

We have to make of this training school a school for winning freedom and for the solution of all our ills, of which the chief one is our communal troubles. For this purpose we shall have to concentrate on non-violence. Hitler's and Mussolini's schools accept as their fundamental principle violence. Ours is non-violence according to the Congress. All our problems have therefore to be solved non-violently. Our arithmetic, our science, our history will have a non-violent approach, and the problems in these subjects will be coloured by non-violence. When Madame Halide Edib Hanum delivered her address to the Jamia Millia Islamia on Turkey I remarked that whereas generally history is a chronicle of kings and their wars, the future history will be the history of man.[3] That can be or is only non-violent. Then we shall have to concentrate not on city industries but on rural industries, that is to say, if we want to keep all the 700,000 of villages alive, and not only a fraction of them, we have to revive our village handicrafts. And you may be sure that if we can impart scholastic training through those crafts we can bring about a revolution. Our text-books will have also to be prepared with the same end.

I want you to give your close consideration to what I am saying and reject what does not appeal to you. If what I say does not appeal to our Mussalman brethren, they may reject it summarily. The non-violence I want is not non-violence limited to the fight with the British but is to be applied to all our internal affairs and problems—true active non-violence from which will issue live Hindu-Muslim unity and not a unity based on mutual fear like the pact, for instance, between Hitler and Mussolini.

When the New Education Scheme was launched I was full of self-confidence in which I now feel I am lacking. My words had power of which they seem to be bereft today. This lack of

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"
[2] From *The Hindu*, 25-4-1938
[3] *Vide* Vol. LX, pp. 93-4.

confidence is due not to things without but to things within. It is not that my senses are paralysed. My intellect gives me good work for my age. Nor is it that I have lost faith in non-violence. That faith is burning brighter than ever. But I have for the moment lost self-confidence. I would therefore ask you not to accept anything from me implicitly. Accept only what carries conviction to you. But I am sure that if we could conduct even two schools on the right lines I should dance with joy.

Harijan, 7-5-1938

63. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON,
April 25, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Here is a copy of Mahadev's notes on his Frontier Province visit. As I could not go and as we had disturbing news[1], I felt that he should be sent. I am not circulating the notes among all the members. I am sending copies to the Maulana and Subhas. The notes have made me disconsolate. Mahadev has more to say. I am sending a copy, of course, to the Brothers[2]. I hope you will feel impelled to use your great influence over the Brothers. I am of course in telegraphic communication. I may even visit the Province for a few days, if Khan Saheb wants me to go, in spite of the shock I have received. We seem to be weakening from within. It hurts me that, at this very critical juncture in our history, we do not seem to see eye to eye in important matters. I can't tell you how positively lonely I feel to know that nowadays I can't carry you with me. I know that you would do much for affection. But in matters of state, there can be no surrender to affection, when the intellect rebels. My regard for you is deeper for your revolt. But that only intensifies the grief of loneliness. But I must stop.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Presumably this is a reference to the tragedy at Mayar; *vide* "Speech at Mardan", 7-5-1938.

[2] Khan Brothers

64. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON,
April 25, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

You have become lazy in writing letters. Nowadays I eagerly await your letters. I couldn't bear the news that you had a fainting fit. Moreover, is it not my unworthiness that you couldn't remain calm this time although you were with me? I am not joking. These days I often feel my unworthiness. That hinders my work, too. You have to rely on your own efforts to attain peace of mind. Why do you want me to tear up your letters? Is there anything confidential in them? Since you wish, however, I do tear them up. But you should shake off this shyness. Write to me freely and let me know all your thoughts. I hope Father is keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3512

65. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

April 25, 1938

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I understand your point.[1] It is also correct. Do give your approval, looking at it purely from the economic point of view. My point was that in case you wanted Congress approval later on, you would not get it. After all, economic and political interests should not be at variance. There is no difference between them. The rulers have taught us the difference.

[1] With reference to Gandhiji's letter (p. 31), the addressee had *inter alia* written: "I fear it will be very difficult for the Congress to justify its position if it took up the attitude suggested by you. I can understand refusing to conclude an agreement on economic grounds. But your grounds being purely political, it would look rather odd if after having kept silent for eighteen months, the Congress now comes out to denounce the resolutions which were taken up at their request."

CWMG - LXVII

WITH JINNAH IN BOMBAY

I shall be needing Rs. 50,000 for rural education and maybe an equal amount for the A. I. V. I. A. The burden of the Harijan Sevak Sangh is already there. This needs to be discussed further. I hope Brijmohan is well and so is Krishna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7992. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

66. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

April 25, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Do whatever you want after due deliberation. I shall certainly like it. May God give you peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4300

67. MESSAGE FOR MYSORE

[*April 27, 1938*][1]

Do everything possible to keep the movement absolutely non-violent.[2] The death of a large number of pilgrims, if true, is too high a price to pay. If necessary, I am prepared personally to lead the movement in Mysore, wherever I happen to be in India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-4-1938

[1] Mahadev Desai's telegram to the Press dated April 27 stated that Bhupal Chandrasekharayya, representative of the State people was leaving that evening for Mysore with Gandhiji's message.

[2] On April 26 at Viduraswatham village in Kolar District, when the people defied the order banning the hoisting of the national flag and prohibiting meetings, the police opened fire and as a result 32 persons were killed and 48 seriously injured.

CWMG - LXVII

68. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
April 27, 1938

I approach the Frontier visit[1] in fear and trembling. I dread the crowds that gather at stations. I have only limited physical energy. I would, therefore, urge all Congress Committees *en route* to prevent crowds from coming to platforms, making noisy demonstrations and even insisting on my getting up at all hours of night.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-4-1938

69. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

BOMBAY,
April 28, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
C/O YWCA
ANANDAGIRI
OOTACAMUND

TALKS[2] NOT UNHOPEFUL. AM[3] WELL.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3857. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7013

70. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[4]

April 28, 1938

We had three hours' friendly conversation over the Hindu-Muslim question and the matter will be pursued further. The public will be informed in due course of its developments.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-4-1938

[1] Gandhiji left for the Frontier Province on April 29.
[2] With M. A. Jinnah
[3] The source has "and".
[4] This was issued jointly by Gandhiji and M. A. Jinnah.

CWMG - LXVII

71. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

JUHU,
April 29, 1938

BHAI PAKVASA,

I only knew from a newspaper yesterday, as we were nearing Kalyan Junction, of the wrath that has descended on you. However, God's wrath is in fact an expression of His kindness. He takes back what He had given. I don't wish, therefore, to offer you any condolences. On the contrary, I want a promise from you that you will not lose fortitude. May this loss increase your devotion to service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4679. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

72. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

April 29, 1938

The appointment of Mr. Dain, a subordinate of the Orissa Government, to be the acting Governor threatens to precipitate a crisis of the first magnitude. The matter looked small on the surface. The fact that he is to retire after the termination of the acting appointment has been regarded as sufficient atonement for an admitted mistake. In my opinion it is no atonement. If he is reverted to his original permanent post, not only would there not be anything wrong but if the Ministers wanted to be churlish, they might take a secret delight in their quondam acting Governor becoming their subordinate. The whole of the sting lies in a subordinate official becoming an acting Governor of his Province with whom the Ministers are expected to work and almost daily submit documents for his signature and have him to preside at their meetings.

It is incongruous and unbecoming and reduces autonomy to a farce. If this autonomy is real, and is to blossom forth into

[1] This was published under the title "Acting Governorship of Orissa".

full freedom, nothing should be done by superior powers after the previous style. Every one of their acts must conform to a rule or convention. It must not depend upon the caprice of the Governor-General or even the Secretary of State for India. Wherever the prestige of autocracy depended upon its exacting obedience, willing or unwilling, from the ruled, the prestige of the superior authority that has voluntarily divested itself of autocracy and conferred autonomy should consist in always carrying the majority party with it. There is no other way that I can think of for the healthy growth of autonomy and the avoidance of friction.

The Viceroy and the Governors have bestowed unstinted praise upon all the Ministers of India. They have given no cause for the exercise of the more than ample powers reserved under the Government of India Act. The prestige of the majority party depends upon never sleeping over the rights of the people, never allowing a single error on the part of the superior authority to escape their vigilant eyes. Looked at in this light, the Congress, it seems to me, cannot allow the appointment to pass unchallenged.

I hear that the Orissa Ministry has threatened to resign as soon as Mr. Dain occupies the gubernatorial chair. I understand too that an interim Ministry will be appointed to carry on the Government. I suppose that as soon as the acting appointment is over and the Governor returns from leave, by some arrangement the present Ministry will be reinstated. That won't be fair play. The Congress will stultify itself to submit to any such arrangement. The governance of a province is not like a play of children. The Congress is discovering what a thankless task it is, how serious it is. The real Ministers, who represent the real majority of the Orissa legislators, cannot look unconcerned on the administration of their province passing into the hands of new irresponsible persons appointed at the will of the Governor or acting Governor as the case may be. I do hope, therefore, that the mistake will be undone before it is too late. There are many ways of doing it gracefully. But there must be a will before a graceful way is found. I hope it will be.[1]

Harijan, 7-5-1938

[1] In response to this the Secretary to the Governor of Orissa issued the following communique on May 4, 1938: "In view of the instability of the political situation which he would be bound to leave to his successor, His

73. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

April 29, 1938

I enjoy the privilege of friendship with Sir Mirza Ismail. I know that he is anxious to liberalize the administration of Mysore. I have found him to be willing to listen to the advice and suggestions of friends. And I know that the tragedy[2] which has been enacted in Mysore has filled him with distress.

I have read the communique issued by the Mysore Government. It does not read convincing to me. But for the advice that I am about to tender, I do not need an accurate knowledge of all the facts surrounding the tragedy. Seeing that I receive pressing letters, deputations and wires from representative people of Mysore for guidance, and seeing that I know so many workers of Mysore who look to me for a solution of their difficulties, it would be wrong on my part at this critical juncture to content myself merely with sending letters or even telegrams of advice.

One or two facts stand out prominently. There has been firing upon an unarmed crowd, resulting in several deaths and many more being injured. I will assume, though the information received by me on behalf of the public is to the contrary, that there was some provocation. We can never know with absolute certainty whether the firing was justified. There is no code which can give an exact definition of justification. It must always be a matter of opinion, and opinions always have a knack of varying.

What I, therefore, venture to suggest to the Mysore Government is that they should not be satisfied with making an inquiry, however impartial it may be. The demonstration that is going on in Mysore about the national flag is a symptom of the time.

Excellency the Governor of Orissa does not feel justified in proceeding with his original plan, and considers that he has in the interests of the province no option but to ask for the cancellation of the leave granted to him. The Secretary of State has acceded to his request with the concurrence of the Governor-General."

[1] This was published under the title "Price for Gaining Liberty".

[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 49.

I must confess that I was not aware of a popular awakening in Mysore on a wide scale, as there undoubtedly is. It gladdens me, as I hope it gladdens the Mysore authorities. I suggest, therefore, that the best and only remedy for the Maharaja and his Adviser, Sir Mirza Ismail, is to divest the Government of its autocracy and to make popular representatives responsible for the administration of Mysore. The responsibility must be on the broadest scale possible if it is to ensure peace in Mysore. It has been suggested that the State being backward, responsibility can only be a plant of slow growth. I have never subscribed to that doctrine. It is not a compliment to the States. One would expect them, with all the natural advantages in their favour, to show much greater progress than in unwieldy British India.

To the leaders of the people of Mysore I will say: These tragic deaths and injuries inflicted upon innocent persons would be a small price paid for the liberty of the people. They may make an enquiry and the injured and the heirs to the deceased may receive compensation. But if I were a Mysorean, I would not lay stress on personal gains; I would use these sacrifices for gaining the liberty for which they had been made voluntarily or involuntarily. They should also remember that one condition of success is the retention of a truly non-violent spirit and atmosphere under every conceivable circumstance. I have been told that the people have been behaving with exemplary non-violence and that the crowd bravely suffered the firing. If that is proved to be the case, I for one will rejoice over the loss of life. It is the necessary price paid for gaining liberty.

Harijan, 7-5-1938

74. DISCUSSION WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL[1]

April 29, 1938

Sardar Vallabhbhai raised the question of the Lancashire Delegation coming out and asked Mahatmaji as to the lines on which the Congress is likely to approve of an agreement with U. K. Mahatmaji said that he could not see under what circumstances the Congress could be a party to agreeing to take cloth from Lancashire in return for cotton from India. He said that that would be definitely against the whole creed of the Congress.

[1] As reported by Purushottamdas Thakurdas

CWMG-LXVII

Sardar Vallabhbhai pointed out that the Advisory Committee was appointed on a recommendation of the Assembly and the report of the Advisory Committee and the recommendation of the Government of India thereon were, without division, demanded by the Assembly to be put before them. He, therefore, inferred that the Congress party in the Assembly were committed to negotiations with Lancashire, and he said that it would not be right for the Congress to go back on it. Mahatmaji said that he was not a party to these requests and demands, but he said that as far as the Advisory Committee were concerned, he would say to them as under:

1. The Advisory Committee may examine the trade pact from a purely economic point of view.
2. That if, on that examination, they could honestly recommend an agreement with U. K., including an arrangement with Lancashire, he saw no objection to their making such recommendation.
3. *Per contra*, if, on such examination, the Advisory Committee felt that they could not recommend such an agreement, he would not be sorry.
4. That any such recommendation made by the Advisory Committee, as constituted, would command his best attention, but he would advise the Advisory Committee to put in a paragraph at the end of their recommendation saying that they had examined the whole question only from an economic point of view and no other. Other points of view, viz., political, etc., were for the Government of India to consider and the Assembly to express an opinion on.
5. Mahatmaji, however, made it clear in unambiguous language that if the Advisory Committee felt that they could not put in any such observation out of what he calls self-respect, they may not do so. He said that, in that case, the Congress was quite capable of raising its own points.

As I was leaving, he said:

Do your best according to your lights and leave us to do our best according to the political light.[1]

He added that both these expressions of opinion from different points of view would be equally valuable and consistent.

From Purushottamdas Thakurdas Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to G. D. Birla", pp. 48-9.

75. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ON THE TRAIN TO PESHAWAR,
April 30, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Here is a copy of the brief notes I have jotted down of the 3½ hours' talks with Jinnah. It may be that you and the other members may not like the basis. Personally I see no escape from it. My handicap today is that I do not move about the country, as you do, and a still more serious handicap is the inner despondency that has overtaken me. I am carrying on, but it is galling to me to think that I have lost the self-confidence that I possessed only a month ago. I hope that this is but a temporary phase in my life. I have mentioned this to help you to examine the proposals on their merits. I do not suppose the first will present any difficulty. The second is novel, with all its implications. You will not hesitate summarily to reject it if it does not commend itself to you. In this matter you will have to give the lead.

I expect to return on the 11th. Subhas in reply to my telegram suggesting that he should open formal negotiations with Jinnah telegraphs that he will be in Bombay on the 10th. I wish that you could also go there early. I am writing to Maulana Saheb in the same strain sending him a copy of this letter.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

CWMG-LXVII

76. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

May 2, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
CARE YWCA
ANANDAGIRI
OOTACAMUND

HEALTH GOOD. WEATHER PERFECT. LEAVING FOR BOMBAY TENTH. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7858. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7014

77. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 2, 1938

Tell Khan Saheb that my health will not permit such a heavy tour programme. This time we should undertake only what can be done by staying at Peshawar. We may certainly go to Utmanzai for a day. We may leave out Khyber if necessary. Those who want to meet me should be given appointments in Peshawar. A women's meeting must be arranged. The programme for September or October can be arranged right now. It may be a one-month programme if they want it. Impatience may damage my health and may prevent our finishing all the work that we propose to do. Even after considering this, if you wish to go ahead with the programme as shown to me, it may be done. The will of God shall prevail. The programme for Peshawar may be arranged for tomorrow, if possible.

[From Gujarati]

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

CWMG - LXVII

78. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 2, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

May you always remain a youth of eighteen or twenty-two. How could that be my condition? You don't know passion, but I was a slave of passion for thirty years and tried to satisfy it. Moreover, I recently discovered that I have not been able to subdue it at all. I don't remember having had an emission while awake at any time during the last fifty years. I am not referring here to the emission in dreams or those brought on by desire. But I was in such a wretched and pitiable condition that in spite of my utmost efforts I could not stop the discharge though I was fully awake.[1] I feel now that the despondency that I had been feeling deep down in me only foreshadowed this occurrence. After the event, restlessness has become acute beyond words. Where am I, where is my place, and how can a person subject to passion represent non-violence and truth? This turmoil goes on in my heart. I keep asking myself: am I worthy of you all who follow me, am I fit to lead you all? God will answer the question when He pleases. Is it not said that Rama is the strength of the weak?

There must be some place where you can settle down. We will think over the matter when I return. Think over what you would like to suggest.

A wire was sent to Vijaya. Now let us await her reply.

Mahadev will write about Surat.

If you have in mind an indigenous machine, you needn't ask anybody.

What you write about the weaving shed seems all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10747

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Mirabehn", pp. 60-1.

CWMG - LXVII

79. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

PESHAWAR,
May 2, 1938

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. Stay there in peace. I shall reach Segaon by the beginning of June. Maybe a couple of days earlier. Do not let your health suffer. The Jains who visit the common temples follow Hinduism. Jain philosophy is not distinct from Hindu philosophy. A temple-goer should certainly keep away from any temple which the untouchables cannot enter, shouldn't he?

Are you studying anything there? I expect to leave the Frontier Province on the 9th. I shall have to go to Bombay again. Your reply to this letter may be sent to Bombay. I shall be staying at Juhu. Let me know whatever talk you have with Shakaribehn. I am of course keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9994. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

80. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

PESHAWAR,
May 3, 1938

SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ
JAIPUR

FORGOT TELL YOU VALLABHBHAI CANNOT GO JAIPUR.[1] HE HAS TO GO MYSORE. HEALTH WELL CLIMATE EXCELLENT BUT TOUR PROGRAMME CANCELLED AS TOO HEAVY.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 195

[1] For the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal Conference

81. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

PESHAWAR,
May 3, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
OOTACAMUND

YOU CAN GO.[1] TAKE CAREFUL NOTES. FRAME CONCLUSION WITH ME. KEEPING WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3859. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7015

82. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 3, 1938

I like your letter for its transparent love. It tells me nothing new, but it comes at a moment when I am most receptive. The problem however is not so simple as you have put it. If complete *brahmacharya* under the conditions I am trying is like an attempt to climb the craters in the moon, what is the value of the species that requires the nine fortifications?[2] You are quite right in describing my experiment as new. So is my experiment in ahimsa. The two hang together. Remember that my experiment has natural limitations. I may neither tempt God nor the Devil. I have not the time to prolong the argument.

In your next letter you must tell me in concrete terms what definite changes I should make so as to fit in with your idea. Should I deny myself the service rendered by Sushila? Should I refuse to have *malish*[3] by Lilavati or Amtul Salaam for instance? Or do you want to say that I should never lean on girls' shoulders? Needless to say you won't pain me at all by telling me frankly whatever you think I should do to get out of the terrible despondency. Just now I am most in need of support from those who surround me with service and affection, undeserved

[1] To Mysore; *vide* letter to the addressee dated May 16, 1938.

[2] The reference is to the nine rules of behaviour known as "the nine-fold hedge or wall" for the protection of *brahmacharya*.

[3] Massage

CWMG - LXVII

as it seems to me, for the time being. In guiding me remember that what I am doing I have done all my life you may say. And my *brahmacharya* has become firmer and more enlightened. Of course I have been far away from perfection. But I felt I was progressing. That degrading, dirty, torturing experience of 14th April shook me to bits and made me feel as if I was hurled by God from an imaginary paradise where I had no right to be in my uncleanliness.

Well, I shall feel pride in my being parent to so many children, if any of them will give a lifting hand and pull me out of the well of despair. My faith in myself and my experiment will revive and will burn all the brighter.

Love.

BAPU

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

83. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

[AS AT] SEGAON,
May 4, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I am replying today; but this should not become a practice. Whenever there is an opportunity you should ask orally as it is easier for me to give oral answers. It saves time.

Your interpreting it as 'natural' is correct. All *vikaras*[1] need not be rejected. Even pitying a man is a *vikara*. Our distaste for something bad is also a *vikara* but not to be rejected. If it is desirable to carry on the business of the world, then the *vikara* needed for this is not only in order but is necessary. Of course vital fluid is discharged also when man and wife come together to procreate; but then it does not go waste. It may be a fall. The fall leads to new creation as a rise often does. It cannot be said that procreation is always harmful. Saying this would amount to finding fault with God. Those couples who come together only for the sake of a felt need for offspring and otherwise remain like brother and sister—can remain so without any *vikara*—deserve a million salutations; they are perfect *brahmacharis*.

[1] Mutations of the mind

CWMG - LXVII

What you have written about expenses is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4291

84. SPEECH AT ISLAMIA COLLEGE, PESHAWAR[1]

May 4, 1938

I have become a member of the Khyber Union without reading its constitution. It is the Pathan's trick. Our people tremble at the mention of the Pathan's name.

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi said that he had been unable to participate in active discussion for the last two or three years.

I cannot speak standing. Even when I talk at length sitting, I get dizzy in the head. It is the Khan Brothers' love of me that has brought me here.[2]

It is well that you referred to the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, and I would ask you to consider what you can do in furtherance of that great cause. There is no doubt that the work belongs essentially to you of the younger generation. We are now getting old and will soon be gathered to our fathers. You have therefore to shoulder the burden. How you can help in achieving the great object, you have yourselves shown in your address by your appreciative preference to non-violence and to Khan Saheb's work. I do not know if your reference was deliberate and if you knew the full implication of what you were saying. I do hope you knew what you were saying and that you fully weighed your words. If you have, then I should like to take you a step further.

After explaining the circumstances which had delayed his visiting the Frontier, Mahatma Gandhi said that when it was first known that he was to visit the Frontier people said that this man (Mahatma Gandhi) was going to make the people cowards. If non-violence means that, you should despise it.[3]

An Urdu newspaper has said that my mission in the Frontier Province is the emasculation of the Pathans, whereas Khan

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–III". However, this has been collated with the report published in *The Hindustan Times.*

[2] This and the preceding paragraphs are from *The Hindustan Times.*

[3] This paragraph is from *The Hindustan Times.*

CWMG - LXVII

Saheb has invited me here in order that the Pathans might hear the message of non-violence from my own lips and in order that I might see the Khudai Khidmatgars at close quarters and find out to what extent non-violence has permeated them.[1] That means that the Khan Saheb at any rate has no such fear as has been expressed by that Urdu paper. For he knows that true non-violence is mightier than the mightiest violence. If therefore you really know the essential nature of non-violence and appreciate Khan Saheb's work, you will have to pledge yourselves to non-violence, and that in spite of the fact that violence is so much in the air and we are talking day in and day out of military manoeuvres and aerial action, armaments and naval strength. You have to realize that the power of unarmed non-violence is any day far superior to that of armed force. With me acceptance of non-violence was instinctive, it was part of my training and home influence in childhood. I have been preaching the creed of non-violence for 50 years.[2] Its superior strength I came to realize in South Africa where I had to pit it against organized violence and racial prejudice. I practised it in South Africa, where everybody, like the Pathans, is armed and the Government has introduced conscription.[3] The people said how a handful of Indians could fight the African Government with that weapon. I returned from South Africa with a clear conviction of the superiority of the method of non-violence to that of violence. In India also, we have used it for gaining our rights and we have achieved some measure of success.[4]

If the method of violence takes plenty of training, the method of non-violence takes even more training, and that training is much more difficult than the training for violence. The first essential of that training is a living faith in God. He who has a living faith in God will not do evil deeds with the name of God on his lips. He will not rely on the sword but will rely solely on God. Lakhs of Muslims commit sins in the name of God and lakhs of Hindus who say "Rama" do likewise.[5] A genuine believer in God need not have a stick in his hand. One who repeats God's name and recites the *kalmah* may not be

[1] *The Hindustan Times* adds here: "There is no other reason. There are other small things, but they could not have brought me here. If you really understand non-violence, you will have to be non-violent throughout."

[2] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.

[3] This and the following sentence are from *The Hindustan Times*.

[4] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.

[5] This and the following four sentences are from *The Hindustan Times*.

Allah's devotee. He alone is a man of God who sees God in every soul. Such a man would not be prepared to kill another. But you may say that a coward may also pass off as a believer in God saying he does not use the sword. Cowardice is no sign of belief in God. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it knowing that every man is the image of God.

Islam, it is said, believes in the brotherhood of man. But you will permit me to point out that it is not the brotherhood of Mussalmans only but it is universal brotherhood, and that brings me to the second essential of the training for non-violence. We must not believe in non-violence as a policy, but as an article of faith.[1] The Allah of Islam is the same as the God of Christians and the Ishwara of Hindus. Even as there are numerous names of God in Hinduism there are as many names of God in Islam. The names do not indicate individuality but attributes, and little man has tried in his humble way to describe the mighty God by giving Him attributes, though He is above all attributes, Indescribable, Inconceivable, Immeasurable. Living faith in this God means acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind. It also means equal respect for all religions. If Islam is dear to you, Hinduism is dear to me and Christianity is dear to the Christians. It would be the height of intolerance —and intolerance is a species of violence—to believe that your religion is superior to other religions and that you would be justified in wanting others to change over to your faith.

The third essential is the acceptance of truth and purity, for one claiming to have an active faith in God cannot but be pure and truthful.

Now let me tell you that your appreciation of Khan Saheb's services and of non-violence carries all these implications if the appreciation is genuine.

If you want to preach non-violence in India and the world at large, you must accept my advice in the matter based on long experience. If you forsake non-violence, you will have to forsake Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He cannot go a step without your assistance. God also helps through people by moving their hearts. I have travelled throughout the world and seen that people do not realize and appreciate the full implications of the non-violence creed. We have to defend India's wealth with non-violence. Millions of our people will have to fully realize the

[1] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.

CWMG - LXVII

AT LAHORE RAILWAY STATION ON WAY TO FRONTIER PROVINCE

implications of this creed. Non-violence is meant for all irrespective of faith.[1]

As votaries of non-violence we will forget violence. If Islam is dear to you and Hinduism is dear to me, sheer logic will force you to the conclusion that we must have equal respect for each other's religion.

Those who claim to lead have to live up to all the implications and express them in their daily life. Now, you will not be the rank and file, but you will be leaders of your people. As generals of non-violence you need special training than ordinary people, who can at best be soldiers.[2] Your non-violence will not be of the lunatic or the coward. It will be stronger than of one with the sword. If you can live up to the ideal, you may be sure that no one will have any excuse for saying that non-violence is going to emasculate you. Yours will be the non-violence of the bravest.

Harijan, 14-5-1938, and *The Hindustan Times*, 5-5-1938

85. DISCUSSION WITH CONGRESS SOCIALISTS[3]

PESHAWAR,
May 4, 1938

Mahatma Gandhi replied that the Socialists believing in the Congress creed could not be excluded from the Congress on account of their socialistic ideas. Gandhiji is reported to have pointed out that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose were Socialists. So long as the Socialists accepted the Congress creed and carried out the Congress programme he could not see there was any objection to their being admitted into the Congress organization. This, however, was his interpretation of the existing Congress practice. Whether different courses were warranted under particular local conditions in the Frontier Province, he was unable to say.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1938

[1] This and the following paragraph are from *The Hindustan Times*.

[2] This and the following two sentences are from *The Hindustan Times*.

[3] A deputation of the local Congress Socialists, consisting of 11 persons, drew Gandhiji's attention to a Press report that the Frontier Congress leaders intended to exclude Congress Socialists from the Congress in view of the special circumstances obtaining in the Frontier.

CWMG LXVII

86. SPEECH AT EDWARD'S MISSION COLLEGE, PESHAWAR[1]

May 5, 1938

Replying to the address in Hindustani, Mahatma Gandhi said that his heart rebelled against speaking in English for the sake of a few Englishmen in the audience. He took strong exception to addresses being presented in English when he could well read Urdu and, if he felt any difficulty anywhere, he could consult Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Continuing, Gandhiji said:[2]

Your address is one paean of praise of me. Well, I have never found it easy to appropriate such praise, but let me tell you that there was no time in my life when I was less able to appropriate such praise than I am today. For a curious sense of despondency has possessed me and I cannot yet get over it. Well, I came here not to make a speech, and I was told that I need not give more than five minutes. But a sentence in your address[3] compels me to devote a few minutes more than I had anticipated. The sentence about non-violent passive resistance at once took my memory back to Germiston in South Africa in 1907[4]. A meeting of European friends was convened to hear me speak on passive resistance, as the movement was then known. The Chairman of the meeting there expressed practically the same statement as you have made in the address, viz., that passive resistance was a weapon of the weak. The reference jarred on me and I immediately corrected the speaker. It is curious, if not also surprising, that you should have made the same mistake after all these years of satyagraha in India. We may be weak and oppressed, but non-violence is not a weapon of the weak.[5] It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest. Non-violence has greater

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–III". This version has been collated with the report published in *The Hindustan Times*.

[2] This paragraph is from *The Hindustan Times*.

[3] Which read: "Born in a land where ahimsa was preached thousands of years ago it was left to you, Sir, to enunciate in your own remarkable way the doctrine of non-violent passive resistance as the most irresistible weapon in the hands of the weak and the oppressed."

[4] This should be '1909'; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 243-4.

[5] *The Hindustan Times* reports here: "Non-violence is not a weapon of the weak because, when a weak man uses it, love does not come into the picture."

power than Hitler's or Mussolini's force.[1] Violence may well be the weapon of the weak and the oppressed. Being strangers to non-violence nothing else is open to them. It is, however, true that passive resistance has been regarded as a weapon of the weak. That was why the name 'satyagraha' was coined in South Africa to distinguish the movement there from passive resistance.

Passive resistance is a negative thing, and has nothing to do with the active principle of Love. Satyagraha proceeds on the active principle of Love which says, 'Love those that despitefully use you. It is easy for you to love your friends. But I say unto you, love your enemies.'[2] If satyagraha was a weapon of the weak, I should be deceiving Khan Saheb, for no Pathan has yet confessed his weakness. It was Khan Saheb who told me that he never felt so strong and brave as when he, out of a free will, renounced the lathi and the rifle. If it was not the Supreme weapon of the brave, I should certainly have hesitated to place it before a brave community like the Pathans. It is with that weapon that Khan Saheb can bid fair to befriend and convert the brave Afridis and the other tribesmen. You know the Afridi does not fear death.[3] I have to make him braver, not a weakling. Otherwise Khan Saheb will despise me.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of correcting you. For the moment you realize it, you will enlist yourself as workers in the cause for which Khan Saheb and I are working. That it is difficult to carry conviction I agree. I find it difficult in spite of my conscious practice of it for the last 50 years. But it presupposes purity of the highest type. Infinite patience is required—even the patience of emptying the ocean with a blade of grass. If we want complete independence for India, it can be through non-violence alone.[4]

Harijan, 14-5-1938, and *The Hindustan Times*, 6-5-1938

[1] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.
[2] *St. Luke*, 6. 28
[3] This and the following two sentences are from *The Hindustan Times*.
[4] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.

87. SPEECH AT CHARSADDA[1]

May 6, 1938[2]

I really wanted to make the acquaintance of those of whom I had heard so much. I wanted to see with my own eyes how the Khudai Khidmatgars live, move and work. The Khan Saheb was also keen that I must see all these and testify to what extent they had assimilated non-violence. That examination I am afraid cannot be carried on during this brief tour. But let me tell you that my desire to live in your midst has increased. Tonight I am thankful that I have been able even to come to Utmanzai and Charsadda and to see you all. Khan Saheb and Dr. Khan Saheb I had seen much of even in Wardha, but I wanted to see *you* and make *your* acquaintance. A great responsibility rests on your and Khan Saheb's shoulders. You have deliberately chosen a name that carries mighty implications. You might have called yourselves Servants of the people, or of the Pathans, or of Islam; but you chose instead the name Khudai Khidmatgars—Servants of God, i. e., Servants of humanity which includes, Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians [of the] Punjab, Gujarat and other parts of India, and also other parts of the world. This very ambitious title implies the acceptance of non-violence. How can a man in the name of God serve humanity by means of the sword? It can be only done by means of a force that God has given us and which is superior to any other force that we can think of. If you do not understand this, you may be sure that the world will laugh at the Khan Saheb and me as vain hypocrites. Whilst therefore I am delighted at the sight of the Khudai Khidmatgars, I am also seized with a kind of fright. Many people have warned me against you, but that warning does not matter if you are true to your creed. Remember that you outnumber volunteers in the whole of India, and that you are more disciplined than volunteers in other parts of India. But unless the discipline is rooted in non-violence the discipline might prove a source of infinite mischief. I have rarely in my tours

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–IV". The meeting was held at 10 o'clock at night and was attended by over ten thousand people.

[2] From *The Hindu*

seen more orderly and quieter meetings. I congratulate you and express my gratefulness for all the affection you have showered on me. I shall conclude with the prayer that the Frontier Pathans may make not only India free, but teach the world, through an India made non-violently free, the priceless lesson of non-violence.[1]

Harijan, 21-5-1938, and *The Hindu*, 7-5-1938

88. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

MARDAN,
May 7, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Sushila has been keeping you informed about me. I have not therefore worried to write to you. It has been an anxious time here.

Your analysis is good. Of course the experience was due to my "weakness, lack of faith".[2]

Let us all hope that I shall come out of the well of despair stronger and purer. There is as yet no sign of the end of the crisis. Darkness is still there. There is still an unaccountable dissatisfaction with myself. Moodiness is wholly unnatural to me. It creeps over me now and again. I suppress it by constant work. But the body does not respond to it as readily as I want it to. But I have not lost faith. There are signs that I shall get out of the slough. I may be deceived. I have patience. I do not fret over the delay. If it is to be a new birth, a regeneration all round, it must be preceded by adequate travail.

You are not to worry over my present condition. The sexual sense is the hardest to overcome in my case. It has been an incessant struggle. It is for me a miracle how I have survived it. The one I am engaged in may be, ought to be, the final struggle.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3860. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7016

[1] Gandhiji's speech was translated into Push to by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Mirabehn", pp. 60-1.

CWMG - LXVII

89. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

May 7, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

What is it in the new orientation of the Gandhi Seva Sangh that has disturbed you? I must own that I am responsible for it. I should like you to tell me unhesitatingly what has disturbed you. If I have erred, you know that I shall retrace my steps as soon as I discover the error.

As to the general deterioration, I agree with you, though we may differ as to the weak spots.

More when we meet.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

90. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

MARDAN,
May 7, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You must have got my reply. I think it would be best to use Gokuldas's[1] money for purchasing books.

I hope Chakraiyya will not lose the weight which he has gained.

It is sad that Vijaya is not improving. If she has not come there, write to her to come and see me in Bombay. I am also writing to her. Please inquire about the letter which got lost.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10746

[1] Gokuldas Khimji of Mandvi, Kutch

CWMG - LXVII

91. SPEECH AT MARDAN[1]

May 7, 1938[2]

If what you have told me is a solemn promise, and if you can keep it, you may be sure that we will win not only the freedom of India but something more. When we can be ready to sacrifice any number of men in the cause of non-violence, we can easily bid fair to be spared the ghastly spectre of war that is now threatening Europe. We talk of doing everything in the name of God, we call ourselves Khudai Khidmatgars, we profess to have given up the sword, and yet if we have not put the sword and the dagger out of our hearts, we are sure to be disgraced and the name 'Khudai Khidmatgar' will be a term of reproach.

I have not yet recovered from the shock of the story[3] I heard this afternoon. The Sikhs from Mayar told me of the tragedy that happened there in broad daylight. So far as I know the victims had done nothing to provoke the ire of the assassins. The assassins did the deed in broad daylight and bolted away without anyone trying to apprehend them. It is worth pondering over how such a thing could happen when we are all talking of non-violence. There were in the village Khudai Khidmatgars and others believing in the creed of non-violence. It was their duty to catch the culprits. It is their duty to prevent the recurrence of the deed. It is also your duty to befriend the bereaved and to assure the fear-stricken of your sympathy and succour. So long as things of this kind continue to happen in our midst, our non-violence must be in doubt.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–IV"

[2] From *The Hindu*, 9-5-1938

[3] At Mayar, a village about three kilometres from Mardan, three Sikhs —a boy of 11, an old man of 80 and a young man of 25 — were murdered by three Pathans.

92. SPEECH AT KALUKHAN[1]

May 7, 1938[2]

Your address is made up of two parts—one devoted to my praise and the other to non-violence. The first part may be ignored for I am sure that that is going to do good to nobody. In fact I am quite sure that if someone offered to sing my praises for twenty-four hours, he would get tired and I should fall fast asleep. What God may have enabled me to do is but a repayment of debt, and he who repays a debt deserves no praise. In fact if he fails to do so, he may be liable to prosecution.

What interests me more is what you have said about non-violence. Let me tell you that I should not have been able to sum up better the characteristics of a non-violent man. But let me tell you what you have not said in your address, and that is the implications of non-violence. You must have heard of the riots[3] in Allahabad and Lucknow. These would be impossible if there was really non-violence amongst us. There are thousands of members on the Congress register. If they were really non-violent, these riots would not have occurred. But we not only failed to prevent them, but even sought the aid of the military and the police to quell them. Some of our Congressmen argued with me that our non-violence was limited to our dealings with the Englishmen. Then I say that that non-violence was not the weapon of the strong, but of the weak. Active non-violence of the brave puts to flight thieves, dacoits, murderers, and prepares an army of volunteers ready to sacrifice themselves in quelling riots, in extinguishing fires and feuds, and so on. You have said that non-violence automatically solves unemployment. You are right, for it rules out exploitation. The non-violent man automatically becomes a servant of God. He should be ready to render account to God of every minute of his time. May you all be true servants of God and true practisers of non-violence.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–IV"
[2] From *The Hindu*, 9-5-1938
[3] During March 1938

93. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

PESHAWAR,
May 8, 1938

I hope you got my letter[1] in reply to yours on my bitter experience. My search still continues. It gives me joy. I rejoice in the pain that sometimes accompanies the labour. God who has never forsaken me is not going to do so now. I am therefore indifferent what comes out of the search. But you must continue to warn me so long as you think that I go astray in action.

Your brother-in-law's letter is very fine. Evidently your sister was a very superior woman—a rare type. I can understand your grief over such a loss. But such losses are a test of our faith. Nothing but a fixed faith that death for the good is a translation to a better state, and for the evil a beneficent escape, can reconcile us to the mystery of death.

Love.

BAPU

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

94. SPEECH AT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, PESHAWAR[2]

May 8, 1938

In all your three addresses[3] you have told me that you made a triumphant and unique demonstration of non-violence during the C. D. campaign, but I have to find out whether you have assimilated non-violence with all its implications. The principal purpose of my visit was to find out whether all that I had heard from the Khan Saheb about the Khudai Khidmatgars was true, and I am very sorry that I could not give all the time that was needed in order to find out the truth. One conviction I am carrying back with me, viz., the wonderful and affectionate allegiance of the people to the Khan Saheb as their general. Not only the Khudai Khidmatgars but I noticed wherever I went that every

[1] Dated May 3, 1938; *vide* pp. 60-1.
[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–IV".
[3] Presented by Municipal and District Boards of Peshawar

man, woman and child knew him and loved him. They greeted him most familiarly. His touch seemed to soothe them. And Khan Saheb was most gentle to whoever approached him. The obedience of the Khudai Khidmatgars was unquestioned. All this has filled me with boundless joy.

A general merits such obedience. Khan Saheb has it by right of love unlike the ordinary general who exacts obedience through fear. The question now is what use will Khan Saheb make of the tremendous power of which he finds himself in possession? I cannot answer the question now. Nor can the Khan Saheb. Hence it is that, if God wills it, I should like to revisit this wonderful Province about October, make a prolonged stay and study in detail the working of non-violence.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

95. INTERVIEW TO A PROFESSOR[1]

PESHAWAR,
[Before *May 9, 1938*][2]

A professor of Islamia College came with a question that was troubling him and is troubling many of the present generation—belief in God. What was the basis of his belief if Gandhiji had it, as he knew he had it? What was his experience?

[GANDHIJI:] It can never be a matter for argument. If you would have me convince others by argument I am floored. But I can tell you this that I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. Then I can also testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God and I am dead. You may call this a superstition, but I confess it is a superstition that I hug, even as I used to hug the name of Rama in my childhood when there was any cause of danger or alarm. That was what an old nurse had taught me.[3]

But you think that superstition was necessary for you?

Yes, necessary to sustain me.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–III"
[2] Gandhiji left Peshawar in the morning on May 9.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 31.

CWMG - LXVII

That is all right. May I now ask if you had anything like a prophetic vision?

I do not know what you call a vision and what you will call prophetic. But let me give you an experience in my life. When I announced[1] my fast of 21 days in jail I had not reasoned about it. On retiring to bed the previous night I had no notion that I was going to announce the next morning a fast of 21 days. But in the middle of the night a Voice woke me up and said: 'Go through a fast.' 'How many?' I asked. '21 days,' was the answer. Now let me tell you that my mind was unprepared for it, disinclined for it. But the thing came to me as clearly as anything could be. Let me tell you one thing more and I have done. Whatever striking things I have done in life I have not done prompted by reason but prompted by the instinct, I would say God. Take the Dandi Salt March of 1930. I had not the ghost of a suspicion how the breach of Salt Law would work itself out. Pandit Motilalji and other friends were fretting and did not know what I would do; and I could tell them nothing, as I myself knew nothing about it. But like a flash it came, and as you know it was enough to shake the country from one end to the other. One last thing. Until the last day I knew nothing about announcing the 6th of April 1919 as a day of fasting and prayer. But I dreamt about it—there was no Voice or Vision as in 1930—and I felt it was just the thing to do. In the morning I shared it with C. R. and announced it to the country, you know with what a wonderfully spontaneous response.[2]

Harijan, 14-5-1938

96. INTERVIEW TO A PROFESSOR[3]

PESHAWAR,
[Before *May 9, 1938*][4]

[PROFESSOR:] How is it that many of the English Pacifists are talking of defence and elaborate plans of defence? . . . May it not be possible to carry pacifism too far? Supposing Abyssinia had simply non-resisted and said to Italy, 'Do your worst', would the Italians have been ashamed and desisted from their design? Lansbury said they would.

[1] On April 30, 1933; *vide* Vol. LV, pp. 74-5.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 183-8.
[3] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Frontier Notes–III". The Professor has not been identified in the source.
[4] Gandhiji left Peshawar on the morning of May 9.

[GANDHIJI:] I shall take up the Abyssinian question first. I can answer it only in terms of active resistant non-violence. Now non-violence is the activest force on earth, and it is my conviction that it never fails. But if the Abyssinians had adopted the attitude of non-violence of the strong, i. e, the non-violence which breaks to pieces but never bends, Mussolini would have had no interest in Abyssinia. Thus if they had simply said: 'You are welcome to reduce us to dust or ashes but you will not find one Abyssinian ready to co-operate with you', what would Mussolini have done? He did not want a desert. Mussolini wanted submission and not defiance, and if he had met with the quiet, dignified and non-violent defiance that I have described, he would certainly have been obliged to retire. Of course it is open to anyone to say that human nature has not been known to rise to such heights. But if we have made unexpected progress in physical sciences, why may we do less in the science of the soul?

Now about the English Pacifists. I know there are some great and sincere men amongst them, but they are thinking in terms of pacifism as distinguished from unadulterated non-violence. I am essentially a non-violent man, and I believe in war bereft of every trace of violence. An essentially non-violent man does not calculate the consequences. The English Pacifists you are talking of calculate, and when they speak of pacifism they do so with the mental reservation that when pacifism fails, arms might be used. With them not non-violence but arms are the ultimate sanction, as was the case with Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points[1]. No, someone has to arise in England with the living faith to say that England, whatever happens, shall not use arms. They are a nation fully armed, and if they having the power deliberately refuse to use arms, theirs will be the first example of Christianity in active practice on a mass scale. That will be a real miracle.

Harijan, 14-5-1938

[1] Outlined by him in a speech before the U. S. Congress on January 8, 1918, they became the basis of the armistice between Germany and the Allies and the subsequent peace treaty signed at Versailles.

CWMG - LXVII

97. A TELEGRAM[1]

[On or before *May 9, 1938*][2]

TELL BOTH FAST HAS NO MORAL BASIS. IF PEOPLE FASTED AGAINST WRONGS, FANCIED OR REAL, AND THERE WAS ANY YIELDING ON ACCOUNT OF THE FAST, SOCIETY WOULD BE DISRUPTED.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

98. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

PESHAWAR,
May 9, 1938

NANAVATI
MAGANWADI
WARDHA

YOU CAN START WEAVING SHED. AM WELL. LEAVING TODAY. ARRIVING BOMBAY ELEVENTH.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10748

99. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

NEW DELHI,
May 10, 1938

The Associated Press sought the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi regarding the terms of the settlement arrived at between the Mysore Government and the Mysore Congress over the flag trouble,[3] announced by Sardar

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". This was in reply to a telegram from Salem that A. Manikkam, an "orthodox Congressman", was on a fast unto death and his pregnant wife had started a sympathetic fast.

[2] According to Mahadev Desai the telegram from Salem was received during the Frontier tour. Gandhiji left the Frontier Province on May 9.

[3] The terms of the settlement were: (1) Recognition of Mysore Congress; (2) declaration by the Mysore Government that it is open to the Reforms Committee to discuss and recommend responsible Government for

CWMG - LXVII

Vallabhbhai Patel, when he arrived here this morning by the Frontier Mail on his way to Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi said that he fully concurred with the terms of the settlement as he thought that it was the proper decision in the circumstances. When he was told that some Socialists objected to Sardar Patel's decision to allow the State flag to be hoisted by the side of the Congress flag, Mahatma Gandhi said that their objection was nevertheless not without reason; because they wanted to abolish the States, which was only possible by armed revolution to which creed he did not subscribe.

When questioned as to what should be the attitude of the general public towards the Congress flag and the Red (Socialist) flag in the case of the Congress sponsoring the labour cause in a strike, Gandhiji thought that with him the only flag that counted was the Congress flag. A labour union which had faith in the Congress should, in all circumstances, work under the Congress flag. If there were many flags, he feared that a clash was bound to occur.

Regarding the release of the Delhi political prisoners, Mahatma Gandhi said that the question of then release was before him. He would do his utmost to secure it, but at the moment he could not say as to when he would take up the matter.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-5-1938

100. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 11, 1938

CHI. LILA,

I very much wanted to write to you, but how could I get the time? I have your letter telling me about your entering your 31st year. Little by little you are sure to achieve steadiness. You have certainly made progress. But you have still a long way to go. You will acquire steadiness by observing rules in all matters. I have left Pyarelal and Sushila in Delhi. They will return

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Mysore State; (3) four Congressmen who resigned from the Reforms Committee to be renominated with three additional Congressmen to be selected by the State Congress; (4) the satyagraha to be called off by the State Congress; (5) general amnesty to political prisoners and withdrawal of all repressive orders; and (6) the flag dispute to be settled on the lines suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely, that the Congress flag should be flown along with the State flag on all ceremonial occasions. But at purely party functions of the Congress only the National flag is to be flown.

in a few days. A. S. joined us at Delhi. Kanti and Saraswati joined us at Agra. Ba will remain in Delhi for the present.

I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9371. Also C.W. 6646. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

101. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BOMBAY,
May 12, 1938

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
SIKAR

HOPE YOUR APPEAL TO SIKAR PEOPLE WILL BE LISTENED. YOU SHOULD STAY THERE TILL REQUIRED.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 196

102. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

BOMBAY,
May 12, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
GUEST HOUSE
BANGALORE

ARRIVED SAFE. FRONTIER VISIT NECESSARY USEFUL. HOPE YOU KEEPING WELL. AM BOMBAY TILL SEVENTEENTH AT LEAST. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3861. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7017

103. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 12, 1938

Your letter is most helpful. I would have called it perfect if there had not been the usual exaltation. But I have no time to dissect your letter. Your own experience settles me. I must change my manners. There will be considerable response to your

CWMG - LXVII

suggestions. I have been daily taxing myself about my course of action. I am not yet certain what shape the change will take.

About Lilavati I can't recall anything of what you say. But once I felt that I had put my arm around her neck. I asked her in the morning. She said she had no knowledge of any touch. Nevertheless from that day I asked her to sleep at a proper distance. Give me more details about the incident you relate.

You will continue to make whatever suggestions may occur to you. I must not interrupt the experiment, but there is room for revision. My problem is: "Had the awful experience of the 14th April anything to do with the contacts or has it any other meaning?"

Love (in great haste).

BAPU

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

104. NOTE TO D. B. KALELKAR[1]

[Before *May 14, 1938*][2]

My silence should not in any case stand between us. I have nothing to say about Nanavati. I only wanted to know all that might be said about him. I have organized myself in such a way that his or anyone else's going will not inconvenience me. It is not necessary for Nanavati to stay here whenever I am here. When he serves you I consider it as service to me. Nanavati is staying here to know what village life is and to find out what part he can play in it. He is mainly useful as a musician and when everyone leaves Segaon he would stay on and die here. It is quite difficult to explain the usefulness of such a man. But it is enough if, even while staying with you, he remembers that he has to pass his life in Segaon. In this way he can retain his self-respect and keep his word too. So I think it is his dharma to go from here so long as you need him. But if deep down in his heart he has lost interest in Segaon, he should unhesitatingly take his mind off Segaon. His aim in life would then be to follow in your footsteps and take up Hindi. This is the proper age for him to fix his aim. I have very little use for him when I am in Segaon because for the most part Kanu takes up the responsibility for music. At present his main job in Segaon is to propagate weaving and to think of and experiment on village

[1] The note was subsequently sent to Nanavati.

[2] The postmark bears the date May 14, 1938.

CWMG - LXVII

sanitation. These two tasks are very important. The result may not be visible today but eventually it will grow into a big tree. This aspect may however be ignored for the present. It is good I am observing silence, so that you can ponder over this note. Yet if you want to discuss something I am prepared to talk. Today's silence leaves room for such violations.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10786

105. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 14, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You shall certainly know about my agony. You may ask Mirabehn.

This is how you and Kanchan should live. You should not meet alone, nor touch each other. If either of you is aroused in the presence of the other, and if you are keen on observing *brahmacharya* at present, you should stay away from each other. Don't suppress passion forcibly. If you desire from the depths of your heart to observe *brahmacharya*, you will certainly be able to overcome your passion. If you are inspired to observe *brahmacharya* merely because it is good, it will not be enough. You may be certain that it can be observed only if you are convinced that without it you cannot shape your life aright.

The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8576

106. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

JUHU,
May 14, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I had hoped to see you in Bombay. Now that is over. You must build up your health. You should live on buttermilk, milk, rice if you can digest it, and juicy fruits like *mosambis*. You need no medicine.

Mirabehn will write about my health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7080. Also C.W. 4572. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

107. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

JUHU, BOMBAY,
May 14, 1938

CHI. SHARDA,

Do come to Bombay. I am at Juhu. If you let me know, somebody will go to the station to receive you. I shall most probably leave here on the 17th or the 18th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9995. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

108. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

BOMBAY,
May 15, 1938

DEAR KHWAJA SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 11th instant received yesterday. I showed it today to Subhas Babu. I must confess that it does not satisfy my expectations. At the same time, I fully recognize the labours given to the question by the Government. I can also appreciate their extreme caution. I am not, therefore, going to come to any hasty decision. But before I can examine the implications of the policy adumbrated in your letter, I should like to know the number of prisoners that will still remain to be dealt with after the operation of the first three clauses. And before I can come to any conclusion, it will be absolutely necessary for me to know how the prisoners will respond to the propositions laid down by the Government.

I can well understand from your standpoint that such a procedure may not be countenanced. But I am bound by a moral promise given to the prisoners and in pursuance thereof, if the whole programme is to work smoothly, it is necessary for me to know their mind. It would be a breach of promise on my part if

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

I submitted without demur to anything less than almost immediate and unconditional discharge.

I am sure you will not ask me for this purpose to travel to Calcutta. I would, therefore, ask you kindly to grant permission either to Subhas Babu or to Sarat Babu to see the prisoners as my deputies.

Of course, your request for secrecy will be strictly respected.

Subhas Babu has not seen this letter. He is engaged in the Working Committee meeting away from where I am staying, but if he was here, I am sure he would share the views expressed herein.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1938; also C.W. 9922

109. LETTER TO VIJAYA GANDHI

May 15, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your beautiful birthday letter. I pardon you for not writing any letter till now. Last year you learnt the *Gita* by heart. What will you do this year? Does Purushottam pass your pronunciation? Finally, of course, it will have to be passed by me. He might even show partiality towards you. After all, isn't he your teacher? But when do you ever cross my way so that I may test you?

All of us are just near the sea and so have a very pleasant breeze.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

110. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

May 15, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

If you wish, I would take you and the children, and Manu also, to Delhi. You may stay there as long as you like.

BAPU

CWMG - LXVII

[PS.]

God has given enough to Surendra. And you have an independent hoard of your own. Moreover, boarding will be free.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1570. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

111. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

JUHU,
May 16, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have all your letters from Bangalore. Of course, there is the other side. But there is no rest for Mirza except through responsible government. I shall go through the papers carefully.

I am keeping good health. Pyarelal and Sushila are in New Delhi—19 Raja Bazar Square. Write to them. I am sending them today three letters from Mira with instructions to forward them to you after perusal. You will destroy them. Robbed of Mira's hysteria, they are sound. I am contemplating some changes. I have not yet decided upon anything. You will make what suggestions you may like. The despondency is there but the inner peace is coming.

Talks with J.[1] are still going on. S.[2] is very patient. He is a good listener. He may succeed where others might have failed. I would like him to succeed.

No hasty resolution will be taken about Mysore.

Your visit to Mysore was after all a good thing. You have gained a rich experience.

Ba is in Delhi. Amtul Salam is with me. And she is looking after me.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

Expect to leave for Wardha on 17th or 18th. So write to Wardha.

From the original: C.W. 3862. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7018

[1] M. A. Jinnah
[2] Subhas Chandra Bose

112. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

VISHRAM VATIKA,
JUHU (P.O. SANTACRUZ),
BOMBAY,
May 16, 1938

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have gone through the salty note. If you mean that I should take notice of the flagrant breach, I shall do so. If you mean anything more, please be clear. Are we breaking up by the sheer weight of our own folly or worse? You must give yourself a moment's leisure and think out where we are drifting to. Don't say you have no time. I want to go away tomorrow or as early as I can consistently with the business here.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2069

113. A LETTER[1]

Monday [*May 16, 1938*][2]

The violence that I see running through speeches and writings, the corruption and selfishness among Congressmen, and the petty bickerings fill one with dismay. In the midst of this, we who know must be unyielding and apply the golden rule of non-co-operation.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". The addressee has not been identified in the source.

[2] Monday prior to May 21 fell on May 16.

CWMG - LXVII

114. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

JUHU,
May 16, 1938

BA,

How could I expect any letter from you? There was no need for you to write when you were with Jamnalalji. I am all right. Kanti and Saraswati are here. Most probably they will go to Matunga. We shall be leaving for Wardha on 17th or 18th. It would be better if you went straight to Wardha. Devdas may perhaps go to Madras and take Lakshmi with him. He may have some relief from heat, too. If he should go to Dehra Dun, I feel that it would not be proper for him to stay there for more than a day or two. Pyarelal and Sushila are there in Delhi. Both of them or Pyarelal alone may perhaps accompany you. However, consult Devdas and do what you like. Manilal and Sushila also are here, and so is Rajagopalachari. He will go back to Madras in two or three days. Kanam must be fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 28

115. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

BOMBAY,
May 18, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA W

HEALTH PASSABLE. CAN'T LEAVE BEFORE TWENTIETH. DEJECTION DIMINISHING.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3863. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7019

CWMG - LXVII

116. RESOLUTION ON MYSORE SETTLEMENT[1]

[*May 18, 1938*][2]

The Working Committee has read the popular and official versions of the recent firing that took place near Vidhuraswatham in Mysore on an unarmed crowd. The Committee deplores the fact that the State authorities felt called upon to resort to firing. On seeing that the Mysore Government has appointed a tribunal to inquire into the causes that led to the firing, the Working Committee refrains from expressing any opinion on the tragedy. But the Working Committee thinks that H. H. the Maharaja should establish responsible government in his State so that the responsibility for law and order including firing, whenever it is deemed necessary, will be shouldered by a government answerable to the people. The Working Committee sends its condolences to the members of the bereaved families and expresses its sympathy with those who suffered injuries.

The Committee approves of the settlement[3] effected by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani as between the Mysore State and the Mysore State Congress. The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that in furtherance of the settlement the Mysore Government have issued a communique,[4] and congratulates H. H. the Maharaja and his advisers on the prompt

[1] & [2] According to *The Bombay Chronicle*, 19-5-1938, the resolution drafted by Gandhiji was discussed by the Working Committee on May 18 and passed the following day.

[3] *Vide* footnote 3, pp. 77-8.

[4] The communique of the Mysore Government dated May 17, stated that:

(i) The Government would recognize the Mysore State Congress provided it co-operated with the Government in the task of constitutional reforms and carried on its activities in a peaceful and constitutional manner.

(ii) The Government would add three new members selected by the Mysore State Congress on the committee on constitutional reforms.

(iii) On all ceremonial occasions the Mysore flag and the flag of Indian National Congress would be hoisted.

(iv) The Mysore State Congress would withdraw the civil disobedience and no-tax campaigns.

(v) All the political prisoners would be released and the prohibitory orders withdrawn.

manner in which they are carrying out the settlement. The Working Committee hopes that the settlement will be strictly carried out also by the Mysore State Congress.

On the question of hoisting the national flag the Working Committee hopes that care will be taken not to do anything that may imply any disrespect to the State flag by the State Congress or the national flag by the State authorities.[1] The final status of the national flag will depend not upon the ability to exercise compulsion but upon the correct conduct of Congressmen and the progressive record of service that the Congress establishes in the country. It should further be borne in mind that the national flag is the symbol of non-violence and national unity to be brought about by means strictly truthful and non-violent. It should further be borne in mind that though there is a growing party among Congressmen who seeks the total abolition of States as a relic of the Middle Ages, the policy of the Congress as a whole has hitherto been and remains one of friendliness to the States in the hope that they will recognize the signs of the times and establish responsible government within their borders and otherwise extend and guard the liberty of the people under their jurisdiction.

Harijan, 21-5-1938

117. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[2]

BOMBAY,
May 20, 1938

Sardar Prithvi Singh, who has been just taken in custody by the Collector of Bombay Suburban District, is a life-sentence prisoner in connection with what is known as the first Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1915. He served part of the sentence in the Andamans, and when as a result of public agitation that criminal settlement was closed, Sardar Prithvi Singh was transferred to Madras and then to Rajahmundry. There, having grown tired of jail life, he made two attempts to abscond. He succeeded in

[1] *The Hindu*, 20-5-1938, carried the following report: "Mahatma Gandhi has instructed the Mysore State Congressmen to hoist first the Mysore State flag, that is, give precedence to the Mysore flag on all ceremonial occasions when they hoist the national flag, as a mark of their loyalty to the Ruler and in order to avoid any conflict."

[2] This was published under the title "A Fellow-Pilgrim".

the second attempt in 1922, and has ever since succeeded in eluding the police. He is a self-made man. He is a leading revolutionary and for some time has been revising his views on armed revolution, and ultimately decided in consultation with his friends to surrender himself to me and be guided by me. After having had a full conversation with him, I decided to take charge of him, and told him that according to my view of life there could be no secrecy and voluntary surrender to authorities was in itself a service to the country. He recognized the force of my opinion. He came to me on the morning of the 18th, and I wrote to the District Magistrate on the 19th, informing him that Sardar Prithvi Singh had surrendered himself to me, and that I was about to put myself in communication with the Government of India with a view to securing his discharge, and that if the District Magistrate could not legally allow Sardar Prithvi Singh to remain with me, he was at liberty to take him into custody. The District Magistrate wrote to me to say that he had no authority to leave him free. He himself accompanied by the Superintendent of Police arrested him today at 1 p.m. at our residence at Juhu.[1]

I have been given to understand that he will be treated as an A-class prisoner. I had asked Sardar Prithvi Singh to write an account of his career. It is a thrilling romance. So far as I can see, he has not been guilty of anything of which he need be ashamed. He developed revolutionary ideas in Canada where he had migrated in his youth. He was witness to the illegal and shameful turning away of the *Coma Gata Maru* from the Canadian shore, and he and a band of Indian settlers in Canada decided to return to India and lead a revolution. After absconding he has evidently made himself useful to the nation in various ways. He is a very powerfully built Rajput. Five months of hunger-strike in the Andamans and injuries received, whether in scuffles with the police or in escaping from custody, have left no visible trace of weakness on his body. He became a first-class gymnastics teacher and studied the science of physical culture and the art of massage, and gave training in physical culture in many schools.

To seek the relief of the political prisoners has come to me in the later years of my life as a God-sent mission. To strive

[1] Mahadev Desai in his "Weekly Letter", published in *Harijan*, 28-5-1938, commented: "Gandhiji was visibly moved as the Magistrate and the Police Superintendent bore him away, and after dictating the statement for the Press, said: 'It is people like these who can be true satyagrahis.' "

for the early discharge of Sardar Prithvi Singh is the latest addition to this mission. He tells me that he is endeavouring to examine the method of non-violence for the deliverance of the country. He says that many of his past revolutionary companions are thinking along these lines. He has no other aim in life but the freedom of India. I was so much taken up by the sincerity with which he talked to me that I had no difficulty in taking his word at its face value, and I should love to have men like him as fellow-pilgrims in the pilgrimage to the temple of freedom.

Harijan, 28-5-1938

118. INTERVIEW TO JAMES A. MILLS[1]

JUHU,
[*May 20, 1938*][2]

I hope to live to see India united and independent. When that day comes I hope to carry out the long-cherished wish of visiting America.

The Hindu, 23-5-1938

119. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEGAON (WARDHA),
May 21, 1938

MY DEAR C. R.,

I had two hours and a half with friend Jinnah yesterday. The talk was cordial but not hopeful, yet not without hope. I must not enter into the details of the conversation, but he complained bitterly of Hindi having been imposed in particular areas of Madras in primary schools. What is exactly the position? Are Mussalman boys affected? Please send me as early a reply as possible and one that I could publicly use.

I had a long chat with Jawaharlal about the Communist Party. I think we understand each other better than before on this particular question. He says [in] the Communist Party's programme, there is no violence, there is no secrecy. Why should

[1] & [2] Special correspondent of the Associated Press of America, interviewed Gandhiji in Juhu just before his departure for Wardha on May 20.

CWMG - LXVII

it [be] banned therefore as such? If any communist or party resorts to violence openly or secretly or incites to violence they must be dealt with not because of allegiance to a particular party, but because of violence. Thus the author of the writing that you showed me can clearly be dealt with under law, not because there is a ban on the Communist [Party] but because the writing itself has a criminal taint. Have you anything against this argument? If the ban is lifted, what will happen?

I hope you have received the official reply from Subhas. It enables you to deal with your correspondent.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2070

120. LETTER TO DR. N. B. KHARE

SEGAON *via* WARDHA,
May 21, 1938

DEAR DR. KHARE[1],

Though you are in trouble[2] I know you will not neglect the accompanying important newspaper article. As it professes to be authoritative it demands a reply. Will you kindly inquire and send a detailed reply in respect of each count in the indictment? How I wish Government will guide the forthcoming deliberations.[3] It requires bravery of a high type to insist upon cleaning one's own house and putting it in order.

May I expect an early reply to the indictments? At the time of sending it, please return the newspaper.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Newspaper separately posted.

Gandhi-Khare Papers, file No. 107, p. 1. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] Then Premier of the Central Provinces

[2] In the Central Provinces serious differences had arisen among the Ministers and three Ministers had resigned.

[3] The reference is to the meeting of the C. P. Congress Assembly Party scheduled to be held at Pachmarhi on May 24, called by the Parliamentary Committee "to compose the differences that had arisen among the Ministers and investigate certain charges that had been brought to the notice of the Working Committee".

CWMG-LXVII

121. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
May 22, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

A letter addressed to me at Calcutta in which you wrote about a young graduate, went from place to place and was received only yesterday. Your letter written on the train was duly received and was easily readable. And now has come yours of 19th.

I feel better and rested after reaching Segaon. I want mental rest. The mind has been overworked. I can take that rest only here, so I find from experience.

The heat is no doubt trying. But I feel the joy of being a co-sharer with the other inmates. I propose presently to take daily silence for a few hours.

My weight was found to be 106 yesterday—not much of a loss for retaining the health I was able to keep.

Yes, the Mysore communique[1] was distinctly good. You must have liked the W. C. resolution[2]. It was good you went to Mysore.

I shall gladly revise what you may send.

What do you say to my exploit about Prithvi Singh?

I must send you a copy of what happened between Jinnah and me. He is a very tough customer. If the other members of the League are of the same type a settlement is an impossibility. But there is a way out for a unilateral undertaking. Settlements cannot be unilateral. I do not know that a unilateral undertaking will not be in the prevailing atmosphere a better mode of handling the situation. But every attempt must be made to arrive at a mutual understanding.

I have not yet written to the Mirza. I shall do so in a day or two. As for myself you are right. You and others can help me only through prayer. I feel that the cloud is lifting. What is happening to make me feel easy, I do not know. And why should I worry? God's ways are mysterious.

[1] &[2] *Vide* "Resolution on Mysore Settlement", pp. 87-8.

CWMG - LXVII

I had an hour's good chat with Jawaharlal on 19th. Your diagnosis is correct. The European visit will do him good. Of course he is at heart religious, though he denounces religion. He reads the *Gita*. He sports a Buddha head in his bedroom. Whatever he does and wherever he is, it is well with him.

Did I ever tell you that I did not deliver your letter to Jinnah? I did not like it. It should have made no mention of me but should have confined itself to the question itself. But it does not matter.

How are you doing? What about the eczema? And the throat?

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3629. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6438

122. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

SEGAON,
May 23, 1938

I have your wire. I await letter. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3864. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7020

123. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

May 23, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

There is a wire from Gosibehn. She has lost her mother. I have sent a wire. You may send a wire or write a letter.

I hope Rajendra Babu is cheerful. Please let me know the temperature if anybody is coming this way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2991

[1] This is in the form of a postscript to Mirabehn's letter to the addressee.

CWMG LXVII

124. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 23, 1938

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I could reach your letter only today. May you live long and grow in your devotion to duty day by day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4727. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

125. NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[*1.30 p.m. Monday, May 23, 1938*][1]

You have not to say anything. There is no need to take Jajuji. You have to go and sit there[2]. You should join in when you can contribute something. Otherwise remain silent. I have no doubt that it is your duty to go there. If the corruption cannot be removed you will have to leave the Provincial Committee[3].

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2992

[1] Supplied by the addressee in *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, p. 196

[2] At the meeting of the C. P. Congress Assembly Party which was to be held at Pachmarhi on May 24; *vide* footnote 3, p. 91.

[3] Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee, of which the addressee was President

CWMG - LXVII

126. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
May 24, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

So, learn a lesson now, that wherever we are we must not eat food that does not agree with us. When will you build up your health and be your old self again? If you prefer Amritlal to look after you, then keep him and send A. S. back. Anyhow, get well quickly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7084. Also C.W. 4576. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

127. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 26, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

How very business-like and prompt you are! I am so glad you were able to go into the Gurgaon D. C. C.'s affairs. I hope your advice will be accepted by both parties, as it should be.

Today I have your letter about my notes of my talks with Jinnah.[1] I think my second talk with him was inevitable. I hope it won't do any harm. If you have time I would like you to give me a line about Jal after you have seen him. How I wish you will give yourself rest during your European tour and not rush as you have been doing here all the time.

Love.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 279

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 56.

CWMG-LXVII

128. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 26, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I learnt about your fever. Don't be disheartened. Everything will be all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7081. Also C.W. 4573. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

129. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 26, 1938

DEAR DAUGHTER,[1]

I am well. Sharda is looking after me well. Now you have to keep Vijaya there. Her temperature should come down. I expect you have made proper arrangements for your food.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 399

130. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

MAGANWADI, WARDHA,
May 27, 1938

DEAR KHWAJA SAHEB,

I thank you for your exhaustive reply of the 24th instant.[2] Evidently my position has been misunderstood. I do not wish to suggest that my judgment or that of the Congress is to be

[1] This is in Urdu.

[2] The addressee in his letter had said that Gandhiji's suggestion that the proposals for release of political prisoners and detenus should first be discussed with the convicts would promote misunderstanding both among the prisoners and the public.

CWMG - LXVII

made subservient to the opinion of the convicts, but before I could come to a final judgment, it would be necessary for me in the interest of the common cause itself to sound the prisoners' mind. If I had not, subject to confirmation after an examination of details, come to the preliminary conclusion that the solution suggested by the Bengal Government might be worthy of acceptance, I could not have thought of any interview with the prisoners. My idea is, after deeper examination of the solution, to convince the prisoners of the desirability of its acceptance. Before, therefore, I can finally accept the solution suggested, I hold it to be necessary to take the prisoners into confidence. I hope that you will agree with this opinion, for the sake, as I have already said, of the common purpose, viz., to ensure peace so far as this ticklish question of prisoners' release is concerned.

I take it that the question of detenus has been satisfactorily settled. I would appreciate a line as to how the matter stands.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1938; also C.W. 9925

131. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 27, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

Kanti, Kanu and I wrote to you around the 15th. How are we to blame if you didn't get the letters?

Please continue to write to me. I am all right. A meeting is going on here just now. Kanti and Saraswati left for Trivandrum yesterday. Ba arrived from Delhi yesterday. The rest, after I hear from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3514

CWMG - LXVII

132. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
May 27, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

What reply did you give Vinoba? Where did you catch the illness? But what has happened has happened. Now get well soon and return here. We shall forget the past.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7082. Also C.W. 4574. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

133. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

[About *May 27, 1938*][1]

DEAR SUBHAS BABU,

This is Shri Dayal Singh. He says he is in search of national service. I have told him I have . . .[2]

From a copy: C.W. 4575. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

134. FOREWORD TO "BASIC NATIONAL EDUCATION"

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 28, 1938

The fact that the first one thousand copies of this pamphlet have been sold out shows that what Dr. Zakir Husain and his committee have called Basic National Education is exciting fair interest in India and outside. A more correct though much less attractive description would be Rural National Education through village handicrafts. 'Rural' excludes the so-called higher or English education. 'National' at present connotes truth

[1] This is written on the reverse of the preceding item.
[2] The letter is incomplete.

CWMG - LXVII

and non-violence. And 'through village handicrafts' means that the framers of the scheme expect the teachers to educate village children in their villages so as to draw out all their faculties through some selected village handicrafts in an atmosphere free from superimposed restrictions and interference. Thus considered, the scheme is a revolution in the education of village children. It is in no sense an importation from the West. If the reader bears this fact in mind he will be better able to follow the scheme to the preparation of which some of the best educationists have given their undivided attention.

M. K. GANDHI

Basic National Education

135. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 28, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

Today I am sending A. S. You must carefully follow all the instructions of the doctor. It is your duty to get back your health quickly. I have written today to Naranbhai and Manubhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7085. Also C.W. 4577. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

136. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 28, 1938

CHI. A. S.,

I am comfortable. Vijaya has to stay there as long as the doctor does not allow her to move. If this is more than six days, I shall call you back.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

There is no reply from Jinnah.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 659

CWMG - LXXVII

137. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[After *May 28, 1938*][1]

CHI. A.S.,

I have your letter. You had better not damage your health. Bring Vijaya only when the doctor permits. You may come over if someone can stay there for a few hours. Vijaya should be given butter-milk only if she feels hungry. Bhansali-bhai can travel by car. So when Ba comes here, you may put him in the car or bring him in the car.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 631

138. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 29, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I hope you are better today. I intend to replace A. S. tomorrow. I am thinking of sending Lilavati. If you have any suggestion to make, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7086. Also C.W. 4578. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

139. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

SEGAON,
May 29, 1938

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. You don't mention how many years you have completed. How can I say, therefore, how old you have

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

grown? I got your gift. Today I am wearing the *kuchchha*[1] made from your khadi. There is still room for improvement in your handwriting, though, of course, you have tried to write with greater care.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9424

140. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 29, 1938

DEAR DAUGHTER,[2]

The question of sending Lilavati arises only if Vijaya has to stay there long. If she is released tomorrow, nothing need be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 400

141. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 30, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I shall make no change in your time-table now. Talk less.

I shall release you from Sharda's tuition. I shall protect you. You have given me good warning.

Your food charges may well be met here. What you spend on books is too much. It would be good if you received books from home. Are you not satisfied with whatever books we have? Mahadev also has many books. You can look at them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4292

[1] An article of underwear
[2] This is in Urdu.

CWMG - LXVII

142. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON[1]

WARDHA,
[*May 31, 1938*][2]

AGATHA HARRISON
2400 BATTERSEA
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE RD., S. W. 1

BASELESS.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1501

143. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 31, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I read your letter. Despatch my letter. I understand what you say. I have not failed to understand. Let me follow my own way for the present. I made my attitude clear only when I made up my mind. "One who has had the good fortune to see Rama has won all the three worlds." I see in this the boundless compassion of the Lord.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11596

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable which read: "Is rumour you contemplate visit here shortly correct? Cable."

[2] On the addressee's cable Amrit Kaur has noted: "Sent Tuesday, May 31, 1938, 7.30."

CWMG - LXVII

144. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 1, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your questions are very pertinent. Our duty, as I understand it, is not to spend public funds and not to refuse the money which our relatives are willing to give us. However, if they give unwillingly and because they cannot help it, that money should be refused. You can judge for yourself in the present situation. If you consider it your duty not to take anything from there, then your expenses on food, dress, some little postage, etc., should be met from here. Now about books. If it is a matter of a rupee or two, I do not find any harm in taking that money from here. It would be desirable to consult me on such occasions.

I hope everything is clear now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4293; also S.G. 63

145. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 2, 1938

DEAR SYED MAHMUD,

You are a long time coming. If you come now, I won't be able to provide for you even the comforts you would need for your health. You must now let the rainy season pass.

Hope your drive against illiteracy is making rapid progress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Syed Mahmud Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also G.N. 5111

CWMG - LXVII

146. LETTER TO E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 2, 1938

DEAR RAGHAVENDRA RAO,

I must thank you for your frank letter.[1] As you must have seen, such[2] of your objections as have force have been anticipated by the Working Committee. But it seems to me that you are judging a big institution by the shortcomings of individual members. The Congress has to be judged by its capacity of resistance to the foreign exploitation of the country. In that test I hope that even the present ministry won't be found wanting. I invite you to return to the Congress fold and fight impurity wherever you see it with all your might.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, pp. 131-2

147. TO ASHRAM INMATES[4]

[*June 2, 1938*][5]

. . . yesterday it became clear to me as day that it had been wrong on my part to forbid my co-workers to avail themselves, during my lifetime, of the freedom I had given myself. I cannot understand how I could have put up with it all these years. I feel my action was impelled by vanity and jealousy. If my experiment was dangerous, I should not have undertaken it. And if it was worth trying, I should have encouraged my co-workers to undertake it on my conditions. My experiment was a violation of the established norms of *brahmacharya*. Such a right can be enjoyed only by a saint like

[1] *Vide* "A Criticism", pp. 123-5.
[2] The source has "so much".
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to E. Raghavendra Rao", p. 112.
[4] This was quoted by Balkrishna Bhave in his letter to Gandhiji dated 5-9-1944 as part of a confidential circular that had been addressed to Ashram inmates by Gandhiji in 1938.
[5] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", pp. 132-3.

Shukadevji who can remain pure in thought, word and deed at all times of day. Having thus deliberated, I arrived at the decision yesterday.

I feel that my experiments were responsible for the bitter experiences of Dahyabhai and others at Sabarmati. Who can say for how many more such moral lapses my conduct has not been responsible?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 811. Courtesy: Balkrishna Bhave

148. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

June 3, 1938

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. You will understand everything by and by. Have patience for the present.

Don't run away from there in haste. Stay on till Durga has completely recovered. Here Kanchan is looking after everything quite well. The bread she makes is also quite good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9372. Also C.W. 6647. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

149. LETTER TO VIPIN D. PATEL[1]

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 3, 1938

CHI. BABA,

I got your letter only today. How old will you be on your next birthday? Why did you forget to write that? And shouldn't one who asks for blessings give something in return? What will you give? What new thing will you do in the new year?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 162

[1] Grandson of Vallabhbhai Patel

150. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEGAON,
June 4, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

That my ideal is Shukadevji does not mean that I should like to have a face like his, to sleep, sit and eat like him and go to the Himalayas as he did. It only means that I should like to cultivate *brahmacharya* like his. And if you say that this can't be the ideal of one who wishes to live and serve in this world or that it cannot be attained by such a one, then *brahmacharya* like Shukadevji's is of little value. A perfect *brahmachari* should remain unaffected by passion in any circumstances. If you say that nobody has ever been, and nobody will ever be, able to cultivate such freedom from passion, then it means that we should abandon the struggle to cultivate *brahmacharya*. If this is correct, then it follows that one can never cultivate perfect ahimsa.

I am alarmed, or was, by my experience[1] because I was at a loss to know what to do. Now that I know, the reason for alarm has disappeared. Saying that I know does not mean, either, that physical contact with women was one of the causes or the only cause of my painful experience. But this has become clear to me as day that I should not have done what I was not prepared to tolerate in others. Now that I have given up the practice I shall discover whether it was physical contact with women that was obstructing my progress or whether there was some other cause. Hence, for fully assessing the result of the experiment of refraining from physical contact with women, I must avoid such contact completely, for the present at any rate. There is no question here of more or less contact.

I hope you will understand everything from this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8574. Also C.W. 7028. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal T. Nanavati", p. 58.

151. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

Unrevised

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 5, 1938

CHI. MANILAL,

You will be leaving on Wednesday. You came but I feel as if you had not come at all. We had long enough conversations but I can't say that we talked at leisure. But, then where do I have such a thing as leisure? Whatever decision you take, do it calmly. If you can keep [*Indian*] *Opinion* going, do so. But remember the meaning of keeping it going, which I explained to you. I would not consider it being kept going if it is done through advertisements. This does not mean that you should now stop accepting advertisements. But it would be pitiable for the journal to be kept going on advertisements. Advertisements should be used for increasing the profits or for reducing the subscription rate. In the case of pice-newspapers a pice would not help to meet even the cost of the newsprint. But because they get advertisements they are able to reach lakhs of readers by charging a nominal price. If we accept the policy of taking in advertisements we can justify it only in this way. The royal road for you, therefore, is that you should divide the total expenditure by the number of prospective subscribers and fix that figure as the subscription rate from the very beginning. If you don't get subscribers at that rate, then you should conclude that *I. O.* should be closed down. The rest you know. If you want to earn, settle down there. I won't consider that objectionable. If you wish to return to India, you should be content with whatever you get and decide to devote yourself to public service. Please treat all this as no more than my advice and do what you yourself wish.

Have an amicable talk with Kallenbach.

Don't carry with you any worries about Sushila and the children. Vijayalakshmi and Nanabhai are there to look after them. They will stay in Akola as long as they wish and then come here. You should also know that what the children will acquire in India in the ordinary course from the surrounding atmosphere they cannot acquire in a foreign country, despite all our efforts. You need not, therefore, worry about the children's

education either. Sushila should come to Segaon early, because most probably I shall be in the Frontier Province in October. And I can't say how long I shall be there. My health is all right. Pyarelal and Sushila are still in Delhi. Maybe they will come after a few days. Don't be lazy in writing letters.

If my message[1] has not been sent already, it will be enclosed with this. Please give it to Ramdas. The enclosed letter[2] is for Ramdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4871

152. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

June 5, 1938

CHI. PREMA,

How silly you are! What a long letter you write when you should have just said: 'I want five rupees every month; please send the amount.'[3] Now say how you want me to make the remittance? Shall I send it by money order or in any other way I like? Shall I send the sum every month or every three or four months together?

I have no time to write more. I have torn up your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10394. Also C.W. 6833. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] *Vide* "Message to Indians in South Africa", p. 109.
[2] This is not traceable.
[3] The addressee wanted this amount to meet her personal expenses.

CWMG - LXVII

153. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[*June 6, 1938*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I forgot yesterday to enclose a letter for Kanam. Here it is. I am sending the message[2] also. I had almost forgotten about it.

Don't worry about me. You are bound to feel the pain of separation, but you should bear it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4874

154. MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEGAON,
June 6, 1938

I can give only one message to the Indians in South Africa. We shall never be able to preserve our self-respect in South Africa without self-sacrifice. There can be no such distinctions as Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Madrasis, Gujaratis or Punjabis.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4872

155. TO SEGAON WORKERS

June 6, 1938

The manager should copy out whatever I write herein and read it out to the others. This note-book should always be kept in front of me.

* * *

I have been asked if there are any rules here about anything. There are. For when winding up Sabarmati Ashram

[1] & [2] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXXVII

I had said that we would from then on be a mobile Ashram and carry with us wherever we went Ashram life and Ashram rules. Prayers, etc., thus stay as before as also the hour of rising. We may certainly introduce changes, excepting in principles, according as circumstances may warrant, as has been done here. We deliberately employ Harijan servants, because we want to serve the Harijans. But though we employ them as servants we have to treat them as our brothers.

* * * *

Therefore we must do even menial work that we can do ourselves. If we cannot do some particular work ourselves we may have it done by others. Only work that even others cannot do may we ask Harijans to do.

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

156. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 8, 1938

MY DEAR ATULANAND,

I have not been able to overtake your letter of 20th May earlier. Yours of 22nd April I saw only today. The reason for this delay you know.

About the year-book, you have to do what Subhas Babu suggests. I may not, and must not take the lead. I can't issue invitations. The thing has got to be taken up by the Congress. What I said was that an accurate year-book would supply a felt want. It is not the work of any single individual, but you can make yourself responsible for it as editor if the Congress would entrust the work to you.

I am glad that you have dropped the idea of the monthly journal.

I hope your daughter is fully restored.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 1479. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

CWMG - LXVII

157. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 9, 1938

DEAR KHWAJA SAHEB,

I am grateful for your letter of the lst inst. If you will please refer again to my letter of 27th ultimo, you will find that the sentence referring to deeper conviction has been wholly misunderstood. You will see that it does not bear the meaning you have put upon it. It is clear from the context that if, after deeper examination of the solution suggested by the Government,[1] I should find it acceptable, I would like to convince the prisoners of the desirability of their acceptance. For deeper examination I must have more material, which is lacking and which I am seeking from you and other sources. If, before I or Sarat Babu or Subhas Babu went to the prisoners, we all three came to the conclusion that the Government's was a sound offer, I for one should stand by it, even if I failed to get the prisoners' acquiescence, unless they could convince me of the error of my judgment. I must however inform you that my deeper study is shaking my belief in the workability of the solution offered by the Government. Naturally I must weigh every solution in the scales I have set up for my guidance, and on the basis of which I submitted my propositions to you before leaving Calcutta. I do not mind through what formula or through what machinery the object of securing the release of every prisoner inside of one year or thereabouts is attained.

With reference to the detenus and the State prisoners I remember the paragraph you refer to in your letter of 17th April. I did not raise any objection to it, although I felt it to be a new introduction, because I had hoped that an early solution of the prisoners' question would be reached. I venture to remind you that in the very beginning of the conversations it was agreed that the detenus and the prisoners who were incarcerated without trial were to be separately considered from the convicted prisoners. In my opinion it would be a grave injustice if the

[1] For the scheme proposed by the Government for the release of political prisoners, *vide* Appendix II.

discharge of the detenus and State prisoners is to be made contingent upon an agreed solution of the question affecting convicted prisoners.

May I also remind you that the policy about detenus has been already made public by you? It would be a thousand pities, therefore, if the release of detenus and State prisoners were delayed or indefinitely postponed because of the possible breakdown of the negotiations for the release of convicted prisoners.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9927

158. LETTER TO E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 10, 1938

DEAR RAGHAVENDRA RAO,

I have your letter of 6th inst. Mahadev has already asked you to send a copy of your first letter.[1] I want to work at it without in any way disclosing your name.[2] All I wish to say at this stage is that you should send facts and figures to support your conclusions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, p. 130

159. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 10, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Women may well be there, but I must nevertheless have a man by me. Whether I want support or not is not the question. I am trying to do without it but how can I say when I may have to have it?

I shall see about the massage. Sushilabehn knows every nerve and tissue of the body. That is why even she does not dare

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to E. Raghavendra Rao", p. 104.
[2] *Vide* "A Criticism", pp. 123-5.

CWMG - LXVII

to give it up too soon. You should learn how to massage by practising it on Kanu.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4294; also S.G. 64

160. TALKS ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION[1]

[Before *June 11, 1938*]

I had long been impressed with the necessity for a new departure as I knew the failure modern education had been through the numerous students who came to see me on my return from South Africa. So I started with the introduction of training in handicrafts in the Ashram school. In fact an extra emphasis was placed on manual training, with the result that the children soon got tired of the manual training and thought that they had been deprived of literary training. There they were wrong, for even the little that they gained was more than children ordinarily get in the orthodox schools. But that set me thinking, and I came to the conclusion that not vocation *cum* literary training, but literary training through vocational training was the thing. Then vocational training would cease to be a drudgery and literary training would have a new content and new usefulness. The acceptance of office by the Congress prompted me to place the thought before the nation, and I am glad that it was welcomed in many quarters.

English we decided to taboo, because we knew that most of the time of the children was taken up with memorizing English words and phrases, and even then they could not put in their own language what they had learnt, and could not properly follow what the teacher taught them. On the other hand they forgot their own language by sheer neglect. Education through vocational training seemed to be the only way to avoid both these evils.

I should make a start on the first day with finding out the calibre of the boys—whether they know any reading and writing, any geography, and then start with trying to add to their equipment through the introduction of the *takli*.

Now you might well ask me why I picked up the *takli* out of the many other existing handicrafts. Because *takli* was one of the first crafts that we found out and which has subsisted through

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Education through Vocation—A Synthesis". Desai does not say when or where the talks were delivered.

CWMG - LXVII

the ages. In the earliest ages all our cloth used to be made of *takli* yarn. The spinning-wheel came later, and [as] the finest counts could not be produced on the spinning-wheel, one had to go back to the *takli*. In devising the *takli* man's inventive genius reached a height that had not been reached before. The cunning of the fingers was put to the best possible use. But as the *takli* was confined to the artisans who were never educated, it fell into disuse. If we want to revive it today in all its glory, if we are to revive and reconstruct the village life, we must begin the education of children with the *takli*. My next lesson would therefore be to teach the boys the place the *takli* used to occupy in our daily life. Next I would take them into a little history and teach them how it declined. Then would follow a brief course in Indian history, starting from the East India Company, or even earlier from the Muslim period, giving them a detailed account of the exploitation that was the stock in trade of the East India Company, how by a systematic process our main handicraft was strangled and ultimately killed. Next would follow a brief course in mechanics—construction of the *takli*. It must have originally consisted of a small ball of clay or even wet flour dried on to a bamboo splinter running through its centre. This has still survived in some parts of Bihar and Bengal. Then a brick disc took the place of the clay ball and then in our times iron or steel and brass have taken the place of the brick disc and a steel wire the place of the splinter. Even here one might expatiate with profit on the size of the disc and the wire, why it is of a particular size and why not more or less. Next would follow a few lectures on cotton, its habitat, its varieties, the countries and the provinces of India where it is at present grown and so on. Again some knowledge about its cultivation, the soil best suited for it, and so on. That would make us launch into a little agriculture.

You will see that this takes a fund of assimilated knowledge on the part of the teacher before he can impart it to his pupils. The whole of elementary arithmetic can be taught through the counting of yards of spinning, finding out the count of yarn, making up of hanks, getting it ready for the weaver, the number of cross-threads in the warp to be put in for particular textures of cloth and so on. Every process from the growing of cotton to the manufacture of the finished product—cotton picking, ginning, carding, spinning, sizing, weaving—all would have their mechanics and history and mathematics correlated to them.

The principal idea is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is

taught to the children. You have to draw out all that is in the child through teaching all the processes of the handicraft, and all your lessons in history, geography, arithmetic will be related to the craft.

If such education is given, the direct result will be that it will be self-supporting. But the test of success is not its self-supporting character, but that the whole man has been drawn out through the teaching of the handicraft in a scientific manner. In fact I would reject a teacher who would promise to make it self-supporting under any circumstances. The self-supporting part will be the logical corollary of the fact that the pupil has learnt the use of every one of his faculties. If a boy who works at a handicraft for three hours a day will surely earn his keep, how much more a boy who adds to the work a development of his mind and soul!

Harijan, 11-6-1938

161. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 11, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I saw your letter[1] addressed to Mahadev. I can understand your pain. I hope the step I have taken will help to lighten your pain to some extent. I have drafted a statement[2] in English for newspapers, but I have not as yet published it. Your suggestion is certainly worth thinking over. My temperament inclined me to another course. I experience greater peace when I make such things public. The fear mentioned in your letter is based on practical considerations. I don't feel that I have lost the strength to stick to a step which I may have decided to take deliberately and as a matter of dharma. However, I won't publish the statement in a hurry. Even though I am putting it off, for non-Gujarati readers there must be a statement in English similar to the one in Gujarati.

[1] Not traceable. It had referred to the adverse comments by some of the Ashram inmates on Gandhiji's practice of resting his hands on shoulders of girls during his walks and his decision to give up the practice.

[2] Gandhiji had written an article on his decision for *Harijan* but it was never published as some of the Ashram inmates did not approve of making Gandhiji's decision a public affair.

I got the news yesterday through Gordhandas about Savitri[1] having given birth to a son. I am writing a few lines on a post-card to Lakshmanprasad[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2993

162. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

SEGAON,
June 11, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

Your letter is extremely good. It is pure. Your doubts are pertinent, even your fear is relevant and your caution is quite welcome.

The vow[3] of 1935 was worded in English, I had not seen the Gujarati or the Hindi translation. The purport of the original English is that I renounce the practice of placing my hands on the shoulders of women. I did not feel then that there was anything wrong about it, nor do I now. I gave up the practice only for the sake of public good. My heart never took it to mean that I would never place my hand on the shoulder of any girl whatsoever. I have no recollection of the particular girl with whom the practice was resumed in Segaon. But I do recollect that I fully remembered my vow of 1935 when I placed my hand on her shoulder. Possibly I could not resist her request, or maybe I needed her support. I cannot of course say that the support became necessary because of my weak state for had that been the case I could have had the support of some man so as to keep the vow inviolate. But my vow never had such a wide meaning, at least for me. From the very beginning I have regarded Sushilabehn in the same way as Ba, as an exception. My tender feelings are to account for that too. I would like to give up physical contact even with these two if it were possible, but I have no desire to do so at the cost of the deep hurt which I would be causing them while my heart feels no sin in the contact of these two. I took the decision only after much discussion with the girls here, after some laughter and some

[1] Addressee's daughter-in-law
[2] Savitri's father. The letter is not traceable.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXI, "A Renunciation", pp. 436-7.

cajoling. I have caused Ba much pain. I still occasionally do, but I have no courage nor any desire to inflict any further pain on her. Sushila has observed *brahmacharya* since childhood but her observance does not include the exclusion of innocent contact with men. Pyarelal too is a *brahmachari* and one of the reasons for his joining me is that I do not advocate total avoidance of innocent contact between the two sexes and I have had a certain measure of success in this. Once I intended to give up all personal services from Sushila but within twelve hours my soft-heartedness had put an end to the intention. I could not bear the tears of Sushila and the fainting away of Prabhavati. I did not even want to. It is these brothers and sisters that my decision has affected most and that is why I summoned them by wire. I want their sincere co-operation in my present task. Sushila has been present in the bathroom while I have bathed in the nude and in her absence Ba or Prabhavati or Lilavati have attended on me. But I see nothing wrong in it. It was necessary for someone to be there. I could call a male co-worker, too. Pyarelal has been in attendance occasionally but I have never felt any embarrassment in being seen naked by a woman. Still it would have to be a woman whose relations with me cannot come under any kind of suspicion.

Now for its implementation. As soon as I put my decision into practice the discussions arose. During the first round of discussions I started acting upon the decision the very next day though the step was to be taken only after 3-4 days. The discussions are inevitable as long as my mastery over the passions is incomplete, perhaps they are even necessary. Complete realization can be expressed best only through silence. Speech can never fully express thought. Ignorance denotes disorganization of thought which is why it needs the vehicle of speech. Thus you may take it for certain that the very necessity of any explanations and persuasions on my part proves my imperfection or proneness to passions. My claim is and has ever been very small. I am striving incessantly to have full control over my thoughts, i.e., to remain unaffected in every circumstance. I am quite vigilant but the outcome lies with God which fact relieves me of worry. Do write to me if some point has still not been covered or a new doubt arises.

I return your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1904

163. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

[About *June 11, 1938*][2]

Your argument is welcome. I haven't the time for long argument with you.

S.[3] is out of the picture. She must be an exception being a doctor. But your objection is sound in that even one woman vitiates the experiment. I am struggling to exclude Ba, too. S. has put herself out. She wouldn't have what others can't. Therefore she is training a male nurse.

You are again right in saying that even a woman's proximity, speech, look, letter, etc., may work the evil as her touch might. But I had to think of myself. If I scented danger then I must put out my eyes, rather than have the animal in me be aroused.

You miss the crucial point. It is not the woman who is to blame. I am the culprit. I must attain the required purity. This experiment is but a way to be tried.

The article has not gone to the press. It may never go though the prohibition is in force. You will put yourself wholly in the wrong if you avoid me because of my decision. If you were here I would convince you of the necessity of the decision, in spite of your finding flaws.

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

[1] She had written to Gandhiji regarding his decision to give up touching women.

[2] There is a reference in the text to the article not having gone to the press. There is a similar reference in the "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", pp. 115-6, where Gandhiji says: "I won't publish the statement in a hurry." This letter therefore could have been written about June 11.

[3] Dr. Sushila Nayyar

CWMG - LXVII

164. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEGAON,
June 12, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. It is a great crime to feel unhappy over a step which one may have taken as a matter of dharma. Therefore, forget the pain of separation. It is your duty to stay in Akola and mine to keep you there as long as your presence there is necessary for service. But if there is no such need, then stay in Akola long enough to satisfy Father and Mother and then come away here. Take care of your health, as also of the children's. If you have no special reason for being in Bombay, you may spend so much the more time in Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SUSHILABEHN GANDHI
C/O MASHRUWALA
TOPIWALA BUILDING

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4875

165. FOR SEGAON WORKERS

June 12, 1938

I hope, if I keep well, to join in the *takli-yajna* daily.

This *yajna* is not obligatory for anyone but I think it essential for all inmates of the institution. *Takli-yajna* is a social and public *yajna* and the charkha has no place in it. *Takli* teaches us silent service. The millions can perform the *yajna* only through *takli*. The noise of the spinning-wheel is a distraction in the *takli-yajna*. So those who understand its worth may ply the *takli* exclusively.

The room we sit in is not arranged properly. Quite a few things there are superfluous. They should be removed after due examination. The case lying near my seat is quite out of place. Everything can be accommodated on the box. Our possessions

CWMG - LXVII

should be the very minimum. We should remember that non-possession is one of the eleven vows.

BAPU

From the Hindi: C.W. 4674

166. LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH

MAGANWADI,
WARDHA, C.P.,
June 13, 1938

DEAR PRITHVISINGH,

I was delighted to have your letter and am happy to learn that you are quite comfortable there.

You have rightly asked me how a prisoner wishing to observe truth and non-violence should behave in prison. Your present behaviour is quite commendable, but let me put down here a few principles:

(1) A votary of truth and non-violence may have nothing secret.

(2) He will observe all the jail regulations cheerfully.

(3) He may invite the attention of the authorities to such rules as may appear to him to be improper or hard.

(4) He has a right, and it may be even his duty, to disobey such rules as may offend his self-respect. But it is his duty first to make a representation to the authorities in respect of these rules, and he may disobey them holding himself ready to suffer the consequences only after he has failed to obtain redress.

(5) Such a prisoner will never regard himself in any way superior to the rest, and will never agitate to secure facilities which are denied to others.

(6) Such a prisoner will regard the prison as a temple of freedom, and will therefore work for the development of his mind and his soul by serious study and thinking. He will not waste a single minute.

(7) Such a prisoner will regard all jail labour as his own work and will perform it with the same devotion. He will seize every opportunity to learn a new calling.

(8) Such a prisoner will always think of God, will never give himself up to despair, and will cheerfully put up with all hardships and sufferings.

What more can I say? I know you will fill in the details.

CWMG - LXVII

I am in correspondence with the authorities regarding your release. The result is in God's hands.

Do write whenever you can. I do get news about you from Shantilal and Jamnadas. Your father has been informed. I shall let you know when I have his reply.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

167. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH[1]

June 15, 1938

SURE PUBLICATION IS UNAUTHORIZED. BUT YOU MAY PUBLISH OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

GANDHI

Hindustan Times, 16-6-1938

168. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 16, 1938

BHAI JETHALAL,

Parnerkar explained to me all about your dairy activities. But what he told me about ghee, etc., was not at all encouraging. But his information was nine months old. What is the present position? He also told me that the dairy would need a capital of seven thousand rupees for running it efficiently. From where are we to get that? And even if it were found, one cannot be sure about any very big result being produced. You must, therefore, learn the art of being self-supporting with whatever is available. What are the activities at present?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9865. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of June 14 saying: "Publication correspondence Jawaharlal and myself is breach of confidence. Seems leakage is from Congress circles. I must release fully now your correspondence along with the rest. Hope you agree."

CWMG - XXVII

169. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 17, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have never liked the idea of our women seeking foreign aid in their fight for freedom. Hence I do not want the League[1] to inquire into the position or condition of India's women. This kind of propaganda turns their attention from themselves. Their fight is not even against India's men. It is and must [be] among and against themselves. I have never relished the fight put up for women at the Round Table Conference. Such being my radical views you can understand my indifference to what the League does or does not do. But if I have to examine their viewpoint, I refuse to read colour prejudice where there are other cogent reasons to justify a particular course of action. I wonder if this is plain to you. You may not agree just yet, though you will in the end. For I am quite sure of my ground. The women in S. A. rose at a bound by their own action. And have [not] they, the village women, done likewise even here?

I had a long chat with Asha Lata about Parkinson's note. I think she has grasped my point.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3865. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7021

170. DISCUSSION WITH KALIDAS NAG[2]

[Before *June 18, 1938*]

KALIDAS NAG: Wherever I have been . . . non-violence is the question of questions. But it is just a question or a matter of doubt. . . . But . . . has not Buddhism been responsible for widespread emasculation? And whatever may be the potency of non-violence, is it not impossible as a weapon of defence?

[1] Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". Kalidas Nag had visited many foreign countries on cultural missions. This time he was going to Australia. On his way to Calcutta to board a ship, he stopped at Wardha to meet Gandhiji.

CWMG - LXVII

GANDHIJI: Do you want me to answer these questions or did you reply to them?

K. N. I have been replying to them after my own historical fashion, but I want you to answer them, for yours will be authentic answers. . . .

G. Well, the answer is being given in India in actual practice. It is no use citing the example of China and Japan. India is the only place where if an answer must come can come. Experience here is quite encouraging. Intellectually of course even many people in the West have come to recognize the futility of violence and begun to ask if non-violence may not after all be worth a trial. Dr. Stanley Jones has sent me a copy of his recent article, "Gandhian Solution of the Chinese Trouble"—and he has seriously discussed various forms of non-co-operation that may be successfully adopted. There was time when Dr. Jones had not much belief in non-co-operation, but he now seriously suggests it as a non-violent solution, and has pressed me to go to Europe to preach peace. But so long as my mission in India remains unfulfilled, my visit to the West on a peace mission must be a vain effort. Whilst it is true that non-violence has made much headway in India, it is not of much value to an outsider and a critic at that.

K. N. What you say, Mahatmaji, is quite correct, viz., that the answer is being given, and if it is really given on such a scale as the size of our country it will be most effective. For their acceptance—even intellectual—of non-violence and non-co-operation is in a spirit of condescension.

G. It is impossible that a thing essentially of the soul can ever be imparted through the intellect. It is just like trying to impart faith in God through the intellect. It cannot be as it is essentially a matter of the heart. Faith can be turned into knowledge by experience, and it can come only through the heart and not the intellect. The intellect, if anything, acts as a barrier in matters of faith.

Harijan, 18-6-1938

171. A CRITICISM

A C. P. correspondent sends me a bitter letter criticizing the C.P. Ministry.[1] I condense it below toning down the bitterest part:

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. Raghavendra Rao", p. 104.

I have been wanting to write to you for some time but did not do so advisedly. I do so now as one interested in the good government of my province which, I take it, is also your adopted home for the rest of your life. We were led to believe that government by the representatives of the Congress would be so good as to escape calumny and be able to rule for all time merely by reason and by moral influence. But the main purpose of the Congress Ministry appears to us to be

(a) to worship your idol in public and break it in secret;

(b) to worship the symbols of Imperialism in secret and denounce them in public;

(c) to play the malefactor towards their opponents whom they cannot conquer by truthful and legitimate methods;

(d) to carry on a brisk traffic in legislation and public offices.

The government of a people cannot be run, as the Congress Ministers in the C. P. seem to imagine, by the common argument of promised boons and by corrupting the electorate with hope. During the past ten months your Ministers have left no stone unturned to shake the moral foundation of good government of this province. The Ministry and its component parts are honey-combed with intrigues and corruption. To sum up my conclusion, which I wish to convey to you, is that the Congress Party might have been deemed capable of governing had they never assumed power and responsibility. Next to assumption of power is the responsibility of relinquishing it. It is strange that your soul should not revolt against such a predatory Ministry for the creation of which the moral responsibility is entirely yours.

The Working Committee referred all the complaints against the Ministry to the Parliamentary Board which carried on an enquiry on the spot. Its report[1] is public property. The Congress is a wholly democratic organization with the widest possible franchise. The Working Committee is its mouthpiece and has to work within the limits prescribed for it by the Congress Constitution.

[1] The Parliamentary Board which held a joint meeting with the C. P. Congress Legislature Party and the three Provincial Congress Committee presidents from the C. P. examined the various charges against the C. P. Ministry, including some of corruption. In a statement Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad declared that while the Committee found no evidence to substantiate the charges of corruption it found certain complaints "not without justification". For instance, raising from Rs. 15,000 to 1 lakh the limit of the Debt Conciliation Act and appointing undeserving persons to professorships in the University. They were glad to note among those concerned "a readiness to admit mistakes and make amends" and hoped that "under promise of prompt rectification all public criticism will cease."

CWMG - LXVII

It was open to the C. P. Congress representatives to demand resignation from the Ministers, but they did not. On the contrary they wanted the present Ministers to compose their difference and carry on the Government. The Parliamentary Board could not disregard the wishes of the representatives. It had no power to do so. But it did all it could to rid the Ministry of whatever shortcomings they had discovered. The Ministers, it must be admitted, offered no opposition to whatever the Board wanted to do. It now remains to be seen how the new arrangement works.

The point, however, that I wish to make is that the Working Committee does not hush up any evil that is found in the Congress organization. It is not afraid to impose discipline which is readily obeyed in most cases.

I wholly endorse the correspondent's proposition that the Congress can only rule "by reason and moral influence". He and critics like him may rest assured that the Congress will die a natural and deserved death if and when it substitutes reason and moral influence by goondaism.

One more point. The Congress is composed of ordinary mortals. They share the virtues and vices of the nation which they seek to represent. But after all is said and done, it will not be denied that it is the oldest political organization in the country, it is the most representative, it has drawn to itself the best talent in the country, it has the highest amount of sacrifice to its credit. Above all it is the one organization that has offered the greatest resistance to foreign rule and exploitation. Whilst all honest criticism is to be welcomed, I would like to remind the correspondent and other critics that it is open to them to join the Congress and criticize it from within and to try to rid it of all the removable limitations they may discover in it.

Harijan, 18-6-1938

172. QUALIFICATIONS OF A PEACE BRIGADE

Some time ago I suggested[1] the formation of a Peace Brigade whose members would risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially communal. The idea was that this Brigade should substitute the police and even the military. This reads ambitious. The achievement may prove impossible. Yet, if the Congress is to succeed in its non-violent struggle, it must develop the power

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, "Our Failure", pp. 405-7.

CWMG - LXVII

to deal peacefully with such situations. Communal riots are engineered by politically minded men. Many of those who take part in them are under the influence of the latter. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of Congressmen to devise a method or methods of avoiding ugly communal situations by peaceful means. I say this irrespective of whether there is or there is not a communal pact. It cannot be that any party seeks to force a pact by violent means. Even if such a pact were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For behind such a pact there will be no common understanding. What is more, even after a pact is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

Let us therefore see what qualifications a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade should possess.

(1) He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it he won't have the courage to die without anger, without fear and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God. The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents or goondas. This contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of man when the brute in him gets the mastery over him.

(2) This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu, he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must therefore possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

(3) Generally speaking this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

(4) The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

(5) This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen circle, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations, he does not descend upon the members of a riotous assembly as an utter stranger liable to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

(6) Needless to say, a peace-bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

(7) Generally there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known, the Peace Brigade will not wait till the conflagration breaks out but will try to handle the situation in anticipation.

(8) Whilst, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some whole-time workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. These can be had only if volunteers are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their circle and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

(9) There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated Brigade so that in course of time they will be recognized without the slightest difficulty.

These are but general suggestions. Each centre can work out its own constitution on the basis here suggested.

Lest false hopes may be raised, I must warn workers against entertaining the hope that I can play any active part in the formation of Peace Brigades. I have not the health, energy or time for it. I find it hard enough to cope with the tasks I dare not shirk. I can only guide and make suggestions through correspondence or these columns. Therefore let those who appreciate the idea and feel they have the ability, take the initiative themselves. I know that the proposed Brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behind it is quite capable of being worked out in practice.

Harijan, 18-6-1938

173. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 18, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending my two articles today. The one in Hindi should not be published. Publishing it may possibly harm Raja. What I have written below the Government note is enough for the present. Make a suggestion to Raja privately.

I am glad that you are training Babla. He should be fully satisfied. Please see that while he becomes proficient in English he does not forget Gujarati, Hindi or Sanskrit. Moreover, he

should not feel that all that is worth knowing is in English and that everything else is trash.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11597

174. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *June 20, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I hope you will be able to calm yourself now. Send a wire to Kanti as per enclosed draft. His ship is in mid-sea. "A thought for today" in today's *Times* deserves to be engraved in our hearts by us all. I have been reading the *Dhammapada*. It also is a book which can be of great help. The letters and articles are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Details about blood-pressure will be given by Sushila. For Kanti: "Do come. Love. Bapu." I got your mail just now. I will now look into it. No note from you! Well, let it be so. I forgot about the blood-pressure. Today 164/102. Yesterday also it was the same. In between it had risen to 176/106.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11600

175. LETTER TO KOTWAL

SEGAON,
June 20, 1938

BHAI KOTWAL,

I don't seem to have got your precious letter. You should not remain unconcerned where Harijans are excluded. I feel that you can throw open the temple for Harijans if others co-operate with you. Somebody who knows the local law would be able to express a definite opinion.

[1] This was obviously written before "Letter to Prabhavati", 20-6-1938, in which Gandhiji says "Kanti is expected to come with Saraswati in a day or two."

CWMG - LXVII

You may come after the rains are over.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3602

176. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 20, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I have not been able to write to you myself lately. But what is the use of writing? Do you ever stay at one place for any length of time? You do not seem to have got the letters that I wrote to you at Sewan. And then you complain that I don't write to you. Now tell me what I should do? At what address should I write so that you may get the letters without delay?

You worry too much. But the *Gita* says that one should never worry. One should endure everything. One may try to remedy things wherever possible but one may not worry if one's efforts fail. I can guide you further if you write frankly.

Sushila is here. She has been giving me her services. I have dictated to her one letter. Amtul Salaam also is here and of course Pyarelal too.

I am all right. My diet is practically the same as it was. I take walks as usual and also work well enough.

Harijanbandhu is sent to you regularly.

Do you get the food you need?

When may I expect you here? Kanti is expected to come with Saraswati in a day or two.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3515

CWMG - LXVII

177. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

SEGAON,
June 20, 1938

BHAI FULCHAND,

I got the letters of both of you. I have written to that gentleman. I will send the name if he permits. If he does not, why should we make any inquiry? There can be no inquiry about anything which is not supported by definite evidence. I hope you are completely restored.

Blessings from
BAPU

FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH
KELAVANI MANDAL
WADHWAN CITY, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9200. Also C.W. 2853. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

178. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[After *June 20, 1938*][1]

CHI. PRABHA,

You are unnecessarily suffering. My statement will not be published as drafted. And why should you be unhappy even if anything is published? You need not go anywhere for solitude. Your solitude is with me. Come as soon as you can. I don't like your worrying. Continue to write to me regularly. Don't be remiss about it. Come out with all your suffering and lighten your heart. Kanti has left Saraswati here. She cannot stay without Kanti now. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3310

[1] From the reference to Saraswati's arrival. Gandhiji wrote to the addressee on June 20 : "Kanti is expected to come with Saraswati in a day or two."

CWMG - LXVII

179. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[After *June 20, 1938*][1]

CHI. PRABHA,

What an angry letter! Your anger is the result of your suffering. That you are not educated means that I didn't educate you. Isn't that so? I don't repent of that. It is possible that you may not be useful there. I have not trained you for the work there. I have trained you for public service. I have trained you for work with me. There is no work here for which you are not fit. You can live in the midst of all types of people. I wouldn't hesitate to send you anywhere. I have no fear that you might do something wrong. You have got the strength now even to mount the gallows with a smile on your face. What more would you like to be? If you wish to learn English, you may do that whenever you like. I can certainly teach you. Do come in September if you can. I cannot bear to see you unhappy. You have no cause for unhappiness at all. It is your duty to stay there for the present and serve Jayaprakash in whatever way you can. When you have no work with Father and when Jayaprakash can let you come, you will certainly come away, your place finally is here. Work is waiting for you here. What more do you wish? Why do you unnecessarily make yourself unhappy?

I am well. The blood-pressure is under control. Just now I am experimenting with a diet of milk, dates and lemons. I take mangoes when available. I seem to feel better with this. It is only the third day today.

Saraswati is here. Kanti is in Bangalore. Sushila and Pyarelal are still here. Kallenbach's sister-in-law has come. The place is crowded. There is hardly room even to stand. A *takli-yajna* is going on daily and I join in it. I feel very happy doing so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3311

[1] From the reference to Saraswati's presence in Segaon, this letter seems to have been written about the same time as the preceding one.

180. DISCUSSION WITH DELEGATES FROM CONGRESS PROVINCES[1]

WARDHA,
June 21, 1938

To questions from the Frontier delegate regarding the non-violence with special reference to foreign aggression, Mahatma Gandhi said that violence means a vicious circle of conquest and defeat. True freedom is only possible through non-violence and religion lives by non-violence.

Mahatma Gandhi further said that agriculture is not a craft dependent on social and political condition. Craft training is essential for Indian villages. A compact and a small area without previous schools and with national work as the background, is necessary for introducing the Wardha scheme which is primarily rural, and for urban areas the same principle with the necessary modifications.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-6-1938

181. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 22, 1938

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Replies tend to get delayed.

The reasons which you have mentioned also may be responsible for the scene on the 14th.[2] But a great experiment can be carried out only by enlisting the support of those who are most likely to respond, and only thus can one discover truth. I can now clearly see that it was a fundamental error on my part to have deliberately excluded other co-workers from my experiment. I should have tried to get a class of workers who would be able to carry on the experiment in accordance with conditions laid down by me. My taking it upon myself, instead of finding such a class of workers, was the result of abysmal ignorance and certainly of conceit, too. In consequence, while I would not tolerate

[1] They had come for a fortnight's training as Educational Officers, under the Wardha Scheme of Education.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal T. Nanavati", p. 58.

CWMG - LXVII

even the most trivial departure from the conditions by my co-workers, I myself committed the most serious blunders. This was the limit of intolerance. The small-mindedness implied in this attitude fills me with disgust for myself; but on the other hand the generosity displayed by all of you co-workers delights me with its sweet fragrance. This, in brief, is the truth.

The new experiment[1] started on the 2nd. But it is only the beginning as yet. The ship has set sail and is slowly leaving port. It is not easy for one who has been used to sailing in one kind of weather continuously for 40 years to try to sail in weather of another kind. Hence the slowness of speed.

I am not in a position to advise you much in regard to Gijubhai. But I should certainly like you to consider one point. Gijubhai is a devoted follower of the Montessori system. I know its basic principle. We do not even make an attempt to follow it here. Narandas and you have understood the principles of the Wardha scheme and are convinced of the soundness of the scheme. Probably Gijubhai will not be able to co-operate with you. For, as far as I know him, he will not be able to co-operate unreservedly in implementing the Wardha scheme.

Show this letter to Narandas. You may write to me or come here whenever you wish.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5544. Also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 267-8

182. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 23, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

My idea of boycott is that it can be a perfectly non-violent measure. When it is that, it becomes a duty. Hence boycott of Japanese goods does become a duty for those who consider Japan to be wholly in the wrong. And when it becomes a duty, it takes no account of consequences. And duty has to be performed whether one has company or not. Have you seen Stanley Jones's thesis on the subject?

[1] Of not having any contact with grown-up girls. Gandhiji had decided not to take the support of girls during his walks.

[2] These two sentences are from the printed source.

CWMG - LXVII

No more today.
Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3630. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6439

183. DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS[1]

[Before *June 25, 1938*]

Gandhiji explained to them how almost since the beginning of his public life in South Africa he had been closely associated with labour. When he settled down to practise at the bar in South Africa he decided to give the whole of his spare time to work for the Indian settlers there, and the first man who came to him for assistance was an indentured labourer. This case at once put him in touch with labour. The labourers brought to him their troubles with their employers and also their personal and domestic worries, and that gave him a glimpse into their lives as nothing else could have done. Non-violence was the first thing he placed before them, and non-violence was the only thing that they had been pledged to observe when, at a critical stage in the satyagraha campaign, nearly 60,000 labourers downed their tools and faced imprisonment. They went through untold hardships, suffering, starvation, and some even died, but they adhered to non-violence until the end. Their condition was particularly difficult and in a sense worse than the workers' here. They were not free, but indentured, and they had to fight not only for justice from their employers but for the abolition of the opprobrious £ 3 tax which threatened them with extinction. But non-violence helped them to pull through. His work in Champaran and Ahmedabad was recent history. Regarding Champaran he said that the condition of the peasants there was almost the same as the indentured labourers', and that they had failed in their agitation for nearly half a century for there was no cohesive power of non-violence to hold them together. There had been several riots and their condition had grown worse every year. But the first taste of non-violence breathed new life into them, and at the end of a remarkably brief struggle they were emancipated.

Without that necessary discipline in non-violence, they would have internecine strife and would never be ready to develop the strength that is needed to enable them to realize the power that they possess. Organization, technical skill and everything else would follow the acceptance of the fundamental principle of non-

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Notes". A group of university graduates after undergoing training in the organization of labour had come to see Gandhiji.

CWMG-LXVII

violence. Class collaboration would also follow as a matter of course. They are strong in numbers and yet they feel so dependent, so very much at the mercy of their employers. That is because they do not know their own inherent strength. Otherwise what is there to prevent them from pooling their own resources and dictating terms as employers do now. The thing that they have to realize is that labour is as much capital as metal. That realization can come only through acceptance of non-violence.

But after that realization has come and they have come to their own, non-violence does not become superfluous. If they were to bid good-bye to it, they would be as bad as capitalists and turn exploiters themselves. The realization of their strength combined with adherence to non-violence would enable them to co-operate with capital and turn it to proper use. Then they will not regard it as a conflicting interest, they will not regard the mill and the machinery as belonging to the exploiting agents and grinding them down, but as their own instruments of production, and will therefore protect them as well as they would their own property. They will not steal time and turn out less work, but will put in the most they can. In fact, capital and labour will be mutual trustees and both will be trustees of consumers. The trusteeship theory is not unilateral and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee. It is, as I have shown, a perfectly mutual affair, and each believes that his own interest is best safeguarded by safeguarding the interest of the other. 'May you propitiate the gods and may the gods propitiate you, and may you reach the highest good by this mutual propitiation,' says the *Bhagavad Gita*. There is no separate species called gods in the universe, but all who have the power of production and will work for the community using that power are gods—labourers no less than the capitalists.

Harijan, 25-6-1938

184. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[Before *June 25, 1938*][1]

CHI. KAKA,

I want that book about marriage rites. Send two or three copies. I hope to marry Vijaya to Manubhai shortly. Nanabhai will most probably attend and he himself will perform the rites.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 138.

But he says he would like to perform the rites according to your booklet. I therefore think it necessary to send a copy to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7686

185. TELEGRAM TO KANTILAL GANDHI

WARDHAGANJ,
June 25, 1938

KANTI GANDHI
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
BANGALORE

SARASWATI DISCONSOLATE. WANTS YOUR PRESENCE. SAYS CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT YOU. SUGGEST YOUR SENDING WIRE ASKING HER CARRY OUT PROMISE BUT DO WHAT YOU THINK BEST.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 7336. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

186. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Unrevised

SEGAON,
June 25, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I am not regular nowadays about your letters. For I have not asked Mira to give a regular letter or p.c. But you shall have it if you want it.

There is no neglect on the part of the postal department about the letters. The thing is that I am writing this at night. It will be posted tomorrow but will bear the date the day after. I hate post-dating letters.

I have been forgetting always to tell you that the exception in favour of S. was dropped, she had to nurse me because of her skill. This is no favour but necessity which is protected in my note yet unpublished.

I have not yet been able to come to a final decision about the publication. My own inclination is to publish it. I have not yet given it final shape. I am in no hurry.

Yes, I read Sastri's address. I want to deal with it if I get the time.

CWMG - LXVII

Subhas is in Wardha. He is looking a picture of health. All he needed was work of the type he loves. He has got it and he is happy.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3866. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7022

187. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 25, 1938

DEAR KHWAJA SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 18th June,[1] as also for the letters from prisoners, dated 21st and 26th May respectively. I wish the prisoners' letters could have been sent to me earlier. I am enclosing replies[2] to them, which I hope will be sent to them without delay.

With regard to the prisoners, I had the benefit of a fairly long chat with Subhas Babu. On his return he hopes to be able to see you, and then, if necessary, ask for permission to see the prisoners. As, very properly, his acceptance and that of Sarat Babu is regarded necessary, it is as well that further negotiations are conducted by one of them. Moreover this arrangement saves me another journey to Bengal. I am sorry to inform you that my health has again become very uncertain owing to the heavy strain of work I have been recently undertaking.

Before the proposed scheme can be accepted by us three it is necessary that even following out the method of the Government scheme, the result should approximate to what I have submitted in my letter of 13th April last. If I accepted anything less I would be guilty of a breach of faith with the prisoners to whom I gave an absolute assurance, often repeated, that, subject to their subscribing to non-violence, I should strain every nerve to secure early discharge for every one of them. I could, therefore, not be party to any scheme which does not imply such discharge of all prisoners. The method adopted for achieving the end would then cause no difficulty.

[1] In this the addressee had said that the Bengal Government were not standing still in the matter of the detenus and that they would gladly grant facilities for convincing the prisoners of the desirability of accepting the decision come to regarding their cases.

[2] These are not traceable.

I hope that when Subhas Babu meets you, it will be possible to reach a satisfactory solution. If, at any time, you desire my presence, and if it is likely to facilitate matters, you will please not hesitate to drop me a line and, health permitting, I would gladly visit Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE HON'BLE KHWAJA SIR NAZIMUDDIN
7 HUNGERFORD STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy: C.W. 9929

188. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 25, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Please see Kanti's letter. Send the accompanying wire[1] to Ramachandran. Hope the wire[2] to Kanti was despatched yesterday.

Last night I took serpina. At 3.30 a. m. the blood-pressure was 190/112. Just now it must be less. Nothing need be done because of this. I shall have to reduce the work. Send the accompanying wire to Hanna[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Did you give Kaka the letter regarding marriage rites? Now at 6.30 a. m. it is 180/102.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11599

[1] This is not traceable.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Kantilal Gandhi", p. 136.
[3] Niece of Kallenbach. The telegram to her is not traceable.

189. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After *June 26, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

If sleep overcomes you let it. This time we need not worry about the editorial. Hanna will finish it in a little while. I do understand why you feel sleepy. Your mind is a little lighter. You certainly did well in not coming. There is no need for you at all to force yourself. I am returning the cheque.

Should I look for some assistant? It will be enough if you manage Lilavati. Here she is absolutely idling away her time and feels unhappy all the time—for having had to leave the kitchen. She will be somewhat happy if she goes there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11638

190. TELEGRAM TO KANTILAL GANDHI

WARDHAGANJ,
June 27, 1938

KANTI GANDHI
HARIJANSEWAK SANGH
BANGALORE

YOUR LETTER. SARASWATI WANTS YOU TAKE LEAVE. BE FIRM. TELL HER SHE MUST FULFIL PROMISE STAY SEGAON. YOU CANNOT LEAVE BANGALORE. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 7335. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] From the reference to Hanna who arrived on June 26

CWMG LXVII

191. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 27, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Again pencil hand. I am on my back with the earth bandage on the abdomen.

If you do not see the *Reformer*[1], look up the current number. You will find Hansa's article. Do you know anything of that movement?

We have a newcomer in Kallenbach's niece. She is an extraordinarily good woman. But our climate may floor her. She came in only yesterday.

The weather just now is cool.

My b. p. shoots up and goes down. Does not interfere with work.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3867. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7023

192. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

June 27, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I read your letter, as also the article. If the article pertains to the work of *Talimi Sangh*, the sentence about Hindi should be omitted. But if it pertains to the work for the spread of Hindi, it cannot be omitted. The distinction is clear enough. More when we meet.

Who is Madan Mohan? He has given his address care of you. The reply[2] to him is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7687

[1] *The Indian Social Reformer*
[2] This is not traceable.

CWMG - LXVII

193. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
June 29, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

It is not your fault, either. Nor is it Amtul Salaam's. I had no other intention except that of changing Amtul Salaam if it was necessary for you to remain there for more than six days. You ought not to indulge in conjectures about my intentions. You may come only if the doctor gives full permission. Lilavati can be sent without any inconvenience.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 4579. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

194. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

Silence Day [After *June 29, 1938*][1]

CHI. VIJAYA,

You must be all right. Manilalbhai will bring you here in the evening, if the doctor permits, that is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7109. Also C.W. 4601. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

195. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
June 30, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You won't mind the missing of a day now and again.

My statement is still hanging fire. It is still to be mended. I am having extraordinary opinions on it.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

Did I tell you Kallenbach's niece had come here? She is very weak in body. She is most anxious to help. I wish you would see her. If she does not remain well, I shall have to pack her off.

Shanta has gone back.

Balkrishna is not bad.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3868. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7024

196. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

June 30, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I have done all that you wished and more. I have arranged for her coaching in Hindi, music, etc. I ask her to sit with me. I permit her to eat everything. I have permitted her to cook her food with chillies, even offered to get it cooked for her. I have asked Vasumati and Sharda to keep her company. I give her a good deal of my time too. But she wants you. How can I give that?

You are safe because you can see your errors sooner or later. Being at my wit's end I have already sent a wire to Ramachandran. I have asked him or Govindan to come over. There has been no reply so far. It was your duty to let me know what happened there.

Now my advice. If you wish to save yourself and Saraswati you will have to be hard-hearted. You should plainly tell Saraswati that you will neither leave Bangalore nor permit her to come over there; that she will have to stay either at Segaon or at Trivandrum. She will submit to you. But she knows your weakness. She is, of course, a child but you, too, have proved to be a child. I had thought that you were mature and had ability to guide Saraswati. But my judgment has proved to be wrong. You seem to have become completely infatuated. If you find it impossible to overcome the infatuation, then there is no other way for you except to get married. But I would consider it an outrage for you to marry at present. I would not give my consent to it. But you do not need my consent. I would regard it as your duty to do that without which you cannot live. If I cannot give my consent to it because I don't like it, you should not feel unhappy.

CWMG - LXVII

Give up the idea of going to Nagpur. Complete the course there.

Permit Amtul Salaam to talk. It would be easy for me if you did so. You should trust me. I will not let Amtul Salaam violate propriety.

I will tell you an interesting thing that happened yesterday. In the morning Saraswati came and asked me to send you a wire stating: "I will be brave," etc. I asked her to write down the telegram. She, therefore, brought the enclosed. I told her that it being Sunday I would send it today. She was pleased. Before two hours had passed she brought another telegram, also enclosed. It was of course not sent. This is the position. Everything depends on you. I wish to give you all possible help. But all that should be within the limits of dharma. Be mature and steady of mind. At present you should live purely a student's life. Your life will be ruined if you yield to attachment.

May God show you the right path. I will not be in a hurry to send Saraswati to Trivandrum.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7337. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

197. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 30, 1938

CHI. LAKSHMI,

When I do not write to you how can I expect you to write? Please write to Saraswati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2027

CWMG - LXVII

198. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 30, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

I also have had a letter from Manilal. By all means stay there as long as you wish. Please remember that the law of life is that we should be governed by dharma rather than by our own desires. Most often desire and duty, *preyas* and *shreyas*, are opposed to each other. On such occasions we should follow *shreyas*. This, of course, need not be applied to your wish to stay there. It is all the same to me where you stay. I should like you to stay wherever you would be more cheerful and keep good health. From the point of view of service, perhaps it may even be your duty to stay there for some more time.

Sita also may stay there. What arrangement have you made for her education? Does Arun harass you much? Is there any improvement in your health ? Why don't you write to Vasumati? If you do not write even though you get time to write, how can you hope to be excused?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4876

199. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN AND SISTERS

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 1, 1938

I thought I had never been one of the domestic circle and had never even tried to be one. There has been an invisible spiritual bond between us derived from the common loyalty to Dadabhai. I have regarded you as more than his descendants by blood. You have believed in him and his mission. His life was an inspiration to me when I was yet a boy. I came under his influence before I had known any other Indian leader. That influence has persisted. Soon after I returned to India Perin entered my life and it was more than a joy to me to find Dadabhai's granddaughter sharing my ideals. This contact grew.

And it has become such that I instinctively feel and share the sorrows that overtake you when I come to know of them. I never came near enough to Jalbhai to know him so well as you four sisters. But I knew his great worth from many sources. I knew above all his quiet services. I realize therefore what a shock his death must be to you all. This is to supplement my wire. May the knowledge that I am a silent sharer in your grief lighten it somewhat.

With love to you all,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

200. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON,
July 1, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I did not like your wire. How can we stand between Saraswati and her parents? How can we insist that she should never visit them at all? But now your wire has no meaning. The latest position is this. I had a talk with her about a great many things. I joked with her and I even assumed a stern tone, but Saraswati did not give up her obstinacy. Firmly she told me: "Get me married." I said: "I will never agree to that. I cannot attend such a marriage nor can I give my blessings. I do not approve of a girl of your age marrying. I am a reformer and therefore cannot give my consent to a thing which I don't approve of. Moreover, I have every fear that Kanti's studies will suffer as a result of the marriage, and that is another reason why I cannot give my consent. But if your parents agree and Kanti also is willing, then I will not stand in your way and in that case you will not need my blessings." Saraswati was pleased and said at once: "Then I am ready to go to Trivandrum. You can arrange for that." I then asked: "Shouldn't we first ascertain your parents' and Kanti's views?" So she asked me to write immediately. This conversation took place yesterday during my walk. There was no question of writing a letter then. In the morning I got your wire. I showed it to her and asked her how she could go to Trivandrum now and also how the marriage could take place. But she said: "Kantibhai is definitely ready for marriage. My parents also will not object. You should write a

CWMG LXXVII

letter and after getting his consent send me to Trivandrum." When during our talk yesterday I agreed not to oppose the marriage to the extent of preventing it, she agreed even to study during the time she had to stay here. She has started learning English from Mr. Kallenbach's niece. Today she must have started even the Hindi lessons. This is the position.

The idea of Nagpur is absolutely useless. Mahadev has already written to you about that. I also have already given you my opinion. I had given my consent only with the hope that your relationship would be an ideal one. At the moment, I do not see any sign of that hope being realized. I said to Saraswati: "Kanti wants that you should be treated as Kanam." She vehemently protested: "I am not Kanam. I know my interests. I will not stay here without Kantibhai. Please call him for fifteen days." I cannot make Saraswati obey my orders as you think. I ought not to do that either. The key is solely in your hands. My advice is that you should let Saraswati go to Trivandrum, should flatly refuse to marry just now and should not go to Trivandrum yourself. You should sacrifice everything else for the sake of your studies. You should write all this to Saraswati very frankly. You ought not to leave your studies and come here. But this is, of course, my opinion. If it does not appeal to you and if you are ready to marry, you may by all means do so. You need not bother if I do not think that it will be for your good. Who can foresee the future? My fear may be unjustified and my reasoning may be wrong. You know best what is good for you. You should, therefore, decide as you think best without taking into consideration my opinion and inform me accordingly. In the mean time, I will do whatever may be necessary to humour Saraswati. Yesterday I spared four hours for that girl. Vasumati is devoting a good deal of her time to her, but she frankly confesses: "The task is beyond me. How would a girl who does not listen to you listen to me?" Over and above this Kanu also gives some time to her. Lilavati, Sharda, etc., try their level best to make friends with her. But she is not easy to make friends with. It seems she feels somewhat at home with Vasumati, though. I still think that Amtul Salaam might be able to influence her.

Now do as God prompts you and write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7338. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

CWMG - DVD

201. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEGAON,
July 1, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I got your letter. I have already read through twice the letter to Maulana Saheb. I do not reject it but may have to redraft it completely. Hence the delay. I will redraft it as early as I can.

I understood Ramdevji's letter. If you come some day, you can persuade Mirabehn yourself. My persuading her will mean ordering her, which will not be right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7685

202. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 1, 1938

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter was excellent, because it was so frank. There was no reason at all for you to apologize for it. I fully remember the discussion at the Sabarmati Ashram. But my impression is the opposite of yours. I think also that the subject was discussed on two separate occasions. I have a faint impression that at the end of the discussion on the first occasion some decision was arrived at regarding my practice of walking with my hand on a girl's shoulder. Kaka was not present at that discussion. When he came to know about it, he raised the subject again, for he approved of the principle behind my practice. At the end of the second discussion, my memory is that I had decided to maintain the *status quo*. Be that as it may, the main point is that I do not think I have failed to do what I had promised to do.

As regards the Wardha decision, you will see if you read *Harijan*[1] that the girls, while going in procession from Maganwadi

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXI, "A Renunciation", pp. 436-7.

CWMG-LXVII

to Mahilashram and from Mahilashram to Maganwadi, used to call at my hut and take me out with them. I walked with my hands on their shoulders by turns. This was observed by some people and became the subject of comment. I myself raised the matter for discussion and published the decision at which I finally arrived. It was not in my mind at all that I would never place my hands even on the shoulders of girls who live with me, for after writing that article I continued to use Manu and other girls as my walking-sticks. But that procession stopped, and the practice has not been revived and will not be revived. The reason for stopping it had nothing to do with my vow of *brahmacharya*. The only consideration was the good of society. In this instance, too, there is no question of my having failed to do what I had declared I would do. If I had made such a declaration and then failed to abide by it, knowing full well that I was doing so, I would be pained and feel humiliated in my own eyes. It would give me no pleasure to know that I had weakened in my determination to keep a vow. Yes, there may be self-deception sometimes; as, for instance, when I decided to drink goat's milk because my vow forbade me to use cow's or buffalo's milk, or when I compromised by counting several vegetables as one item in observing the vow of not consuming more than five items at any one meal. This is a painful memory for me. Even so, I have convinced myself that I have not violated the letter of my pledges and exercise the utmost strictness in observing a vow. I have no comment to make about Thakkar Bapa having been pained. You had no reply to give to the criticism of that *muni* of Kutch, for you had before you two instances of what you regard to be violation of pledges; you should, therefore, bear that criticism without resentment. Your only reply can be: 'Even we, who live with him, are puzzled by some of his actions. But we think we have lost nothing by our association with him, and so we cling to him. I will ask him about the comparison which you have made.' If you gave this reply, it was correct. If you kept quiet, that also was right. In any case, you can always give this reply: 'He has always touched girls with a pure feeling and never with a gross purpose. But a doubt having occurred whether, unknown to him, there might not be an impure feeling in his heart, he has temporarily given up the practice to end that doubt.'

Personally, I cannot compare the *muni's* conduct with mine. According to me, there is a serious error in it. If, however, his

own conscience feels nothing wrong in his practice, he should continue it no matter what I do. This is so deep a matter that blind imitation of one another is likely to land one into serious error. Everybody, therefore, should cultivate a vigilant conscience and be guided by it, with God as witness.

I am trying to issue a statement explaining my position. I wish to satisfy as many co-workers as I can. Let us see if I succeed.

You do not seem to have understood the meaning of the remark "the ship is still in port"[1]. It only means that, though the experiment is going on, while discussion about it is still continuing it cannot be said that it is being carried on in thought, speech and action. I can observe its effects only if I go on with it silently. Just now, therefore, it is being followed only in action. As for thought and speech, we joke about the matter daily. This is enough for today.

I can say nothing about the Frontier Province just now. I shall see about it afterwards.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5547

203. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 2, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

A new phase in my search has commenced. I do not know where it will end. The statement, if it is issued at all, will have no relation to the one you have seen. But you must be patient. I can say nothing yet. All I can say is that something is coming over me. Nothing alarming. Only the step I have taken is not drastic enough. In what way I shall have to shape it I do not know. God will guide me.

You seem to have had smooth sailing with your Board. I am anxiously awaiting your letter.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3869. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7025

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", pp. 132-3.

204. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

July 2, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

Saraswati has just showed me your letter. One moment you are angry and the next moment you are pleased. How can anybody, therefore, feel happy when you are pleased or unhappy when you are angry?

Have I ever considered your attachment to Saraswati wrong? I felt unhappy because I did not see what I had expected of you. But what does it matter? It would be best that you appear to me exactly as you are.

Saraswati has been jubilant since the day before yesterday, for she has concluded from your letter that she will be marrying you in a few days. She was afraid that I would oppose the marriage. She was in high spirits the whole of yesterday. She showed me your today's letter to her. I feel afraid now that there will be some hitch again. I strain myself on her account. I give her as much time as I can and do my best to cheer her. But I see that whenever her mind gets fixed upon something it is impossible to do that.

Otherwise I very much like her innocence, her simplicity and her childlike nature. I will look after her as long as she stays here. I will watch what effect your letter has on her. She has not yet talked to me. I did ask her of course.

You are right when you say that wherever my conclusions are based on incomplete information, they are faulty. They must be so. It may be called a virtue in a votary of truth, for his conclusions ought to be strictly based on the facts in his possession. He should not be led astray by any consideration of self-interest and should preserve an objective attitude. I should be happy if my condition is such as you have described it. That is what it should be.

I have received a letter from Nagpur saying that yesterday was the last day for filling the posts. There were only nine posts for one of which you were a candidate, and there were sixty applications for those nine. What would you have done in such a crowd?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7339. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

205. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

July 2, 1938

CHI. KANAIYA,

I hurt you in the morning, didn't I? But did you realize or not that there was love behind my anger? I could not bear even that mistake on your part which I knew you would make. It is a good sign. I want to see you perfect. If you have patience, you will certainly become so.

Are you not Narandas's son? Emulate his patience and faith. You should never yield to despair.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

206. TESTIMONIAL TO LALJI PARMAR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 2, 1938

Shri Lalji Parmar was under training in the music department of the Gujarat Vidyapith and he has acquired enough proficiency to enable him to teach a bit. Only his teachers can give a definite opinion regarding his progress. I have seen the testimonials given by the former music teacher and the head of the Gujarat Vidyapith. Shri Lalji Parmar is a Harijan and it would be good if the Bombay Government could grant him some aid.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3289

207. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July [*4,*][1] *1938*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

The car was expected here today at 6 to take Balkrishna[2] to the hospital. If it has not left and if you can send it, please

[1] From *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*
[2] Balkrishna Bhave, who was suffering from tuberculosis

CWMG - LXVII

do. A note is going to the hospital too. The car will be required only if there is still time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2994

208. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 4, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Nobody has yet come from there. Kaka is here and I am sending with him whatever is ready. An article by me and a note[1] on Sushila's findings concerning sugar are getting ready and will be sent by and by.

The conversation of the day before yesterday has greatly benefited me. It suggested some ideas to me, but there is no time to write about them here. We may discuss them tomorrow. I may have to visit Wardha at three o'clock. Tandonji and others are arriving. Inquire before coming here. A letter[2] for Kanti is also enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11601

209. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

July 4, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

You must have received my letter of yesterday. You are very cruel indeed, and also childish. You may write as rude letters as you can but they will not make me angry. But why do you get so angry? You are wise and are capable of self-sacrifice, but it pains me to know that you are eaten up by anger. The knowledge that you are harming yourself does wring my heart. I feel afraid of you. It does not do you credit that I should weigh my words when writing to you.

[1] Presumably "Bad Teeth and Refined Carbohydrates", published in *Harijan*, 30-7-1938

[2] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXVII

Your letter to Saraswati was bad. She has been terribly upset. Here is her letter to me. Why pit an army against a goat? It was you who ensnared her. What is the meaning, then, of your growling at her now if she cannot live without you? She is your helpmate, your partner in dharma, and not your slave or your property. It is not proper that you should first make a doll of her and then treat her as your property. Do not dismiss all this in a fit of anger. Remember that I am a man of experience.

I am afraid there is no way out except marriage. After the marriage you may do what you like. Do not worry if I do not give my consent to the marriage. It should be enough for you that I do not oppose it. It would of course be best if you two could bear separation and be content with writing to each other from time to time and meeting occasionally. But that seems impossible so far as Saraswati is concerned. Think over what you should do after the marriage. Discuss the matter with me. My feeling is that you will have to give up study afterwards. But I shall be happy if my fear is proved wrong and both of you study together, as Saraswati says you will. You may now think calmly and do what you please. Meanwhile I am tending Saraswati like a flower.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I had finished this letter before I sent you the wire[1], but kept it back on getting your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7340. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] The telegram is not traceable.

CWMG - LXVII

210. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 4, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

What a heavy mail today! You must have received the material sent earlier with Kaka. I hope you have sent the wire to Kanti. My stars seem to be unfavourable. But if one knows how to offer up misfortunes also to the Lord, even unfavourable stars become favourable. I have yet to learn that. Two articles are enclosed. Giri's letter is there. Kanaiyo is going there for it. About the rest in the next letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11602

211. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

SEGAON,
July 6, 1938

QUESTION: What is the place of religious instruction in the Wardha Scheme of Education?

ANSWER: We have left out the teaching of religions from the Wardha Scheme of Education, because we are afraid that religions as they are taught and practised today lead to conflict rather than unity. But on the other hand, I hold that the truths that are common to all religions can and should be taught to all children. These truths cannot be taught through words or through books. The children can learn these truths only through the daily life of the teacher. If the teacher himself lives up to the tenets of truth and justice, then alone can the children learn that truth and justice are the basis of all religions.

When Mahatmaji was asked whether it was possible to teach children between the ages of seven and fourteen equal respect for all religions he said:

[1] The questions were asked by Educational Officers from Congress provinces who had come for a fortnight's training under the Wardha Scheme and who met Gandhiji twice during the training. *Vide* also "Discussion with Delegates from Congress Provinces", p. 132.

CWMG - LXVII

Yes, I think so. The truth that all religions are the same in essentials, that we must love and respect others' faiths as we respect our own, is a very simple truth, and can easily be understood and practised by children of seven. But, of course, the first essential is that the teacher must have this faith himself.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-7-1938

212. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
July 8, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

What a question? Of course you pass through Wardha on your way to B[1]. That means you may be here when the W. C. meets. And here you will find yourself in a crowded room. But that you don't mind.

How you manage to lose your voice from time to time! You must go to a place where you can't be pestered. Is it not Segaon[?] And now I can build for you also to your design!

J.'s[2] letter to S.[3] you have now, I hope. The talks have stopped of course. The reply has to go from W. C.

Yes, Jawaharlal is having a grand time. He is raising India in the estimation of the West.

It is perhaps as well that you will be the only member of your Peace Brigade. This work does not need thousands. True immolation of a few will do the trick.

You are wrong. I began work among women when I was not even thirty years old. There is not a woman in S. A. who does not know me. But my work was among the poorest. The intellectuals I could not draw. My appeals have always been from heart to hearts. I have felt like fish out of water in the company of intellectuals. Hence you are wrong in laying down the sweeping proposition you have. You can't blame me for not having organized the intellectuals among women. I have not the gift. And then my method of organizing is out of the ordinary, not necessarily superior. All I mean is that I have nothing to show on paper. But just as I never fear coldness on the part of

[1] Bangalore
[2] Jinnah's
[3] Subhas Chandra Bose

CWMG - DVD

the poor when I approach them, I never fear it when I approach poor women. There is invisible bond between them and me. And why do you miss the agony I am passing through? Is it not for womankind? I am wringing my soul for adequate purity, to enable me [to] render greater service to them and through them to the whole of humanity. Ahimsa, which is my sheet-anchor, demands all this.

I expect your next letter to tell me you are well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3631. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6440

213. LETTER TO RAMNIK

July 8, 1938

CHI. RAMNIK,

I get from time to time news of your illness from your father. I understand that you are not recovering. To get well, to fall ill or to remain ill, all this is not in our hands. But it is in our power to preserve equanimity in all circumstances, not to forget God and not to lose the joy within. I hope you are preserving all this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8762. Also C.W. 1055. Courtesy: Champabehn Mehta

214. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 8, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

One point in *brahmacharya* is this that the vital fluid should not be wasted. It is supposed that it is not wasted when it moves upward. This is not correct. A man giving way to anger mis-spends it or rather destroys it, thus rendering it unfruitful. To that extent *brahmacharya* has been damaged. Similarly a man wastes his vital fluid when he indulges in intercourse for the sake of

CWMG-LXVII

pleasure, as it is unproductive. When a man has no desire for sensual pleasure and both the man and the woman desire a child and come together for that purpose, then alone is vital fluid completely fruitful. Such a couple are truly *brahmacharis*. But such a couple might be only one among crores. Apart from the one single occasion of copulation they live like brother and sister and refrain from any sensual indulgence in thought, speech, contact or any other way. Their intercourse for the purpose of procreation alone can in no way come under the category of gratification of the senses. This ought to clear your doubt.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1905

215. THE STATES

Events seem to have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution of non-intervention in the affairs of the States. The constitution, however unjust, arbitrary and illogical it may be, is such that, legally and politically, every State, small or big, is an independent entity in its relation to the other States and that part of India which is called British in contradistinction from the States. The similarity common to all is that they are under the iron grip of British Rule. But geographically and ethnically the people of the States and the other parts of India are one and indivisible. We, the thirty-three crores of men and women, are blood relations who cannot be parted by any constitutional or military device. This natural relationship is working itself without let or hindrance because of the recognition of the constitutional fact while it lasts. That is the way of satyagraha or the way of non-resistance to evil. It is the aseptic method in which the physician allows the poison to work itself out by setting in motion all the natural forces and letting them have full play.

By its resolution of non-interference the Congress put the States people on their mettle, in other words set in motion the natural forces, i. e., the powers latent in the people themselves. In the few recent instances it has been found that the people having discovered their strength they used it without any aid from outside and won full victory. The result also was that the assistance of Congressmen was invoked by the States' authorities in order to settle the differences between themselves and their people. No doubt this method like every other known to mankind has its

limitations. The Congress cannot dictate unreasonable terms. The people must have a real grievance and they must approach it with pure hands. For the tool of satyagraha is ahimsa, i. e., self-suffering without inflicting suffering on the opponent for the vindication of a cause which must be absolutely just.

If only the people of the States can realize the full meaning and potency of satyagraha, i. e., of non-violence, they will win their relative freedom before India as a whole comes to its own. And they will have to before India has Independence. Thus they can have full liberty of non-violent speech, writing and action without having to deal with cumbersome British machinery. They can secure with comparative ease a more equitable, even if not an equal, distribution of the wealth produced in the States. They can, without much effort, regulate the privy purse of their Princes and can have cheap and pure justice guaranteed. They can deal with the problem of poverty and village reconstruction with infinitely greater ease than in unwieldy and bureaucracy-ridden British India. They can have real national education for the wanting.

This will be their swaraj — no doubt far short of the Independence that the Congress wants. But if the people of the majority of the major States attain their full height, the day of Independence will be hastened in a manner no one has dreamt of. Let not the reformers in the States therefore be unduly impatient; let them not forget their limitations and above all the conditions of success, viz., strictest observance of truth and non-violence. They must be ready to face bullets without flinching but also without lifting their little finger in so-called self-defence. A satyagrahi abjures the right of self-defence. Let it also be remembered that a satyagrahi's minimum is also his maximum.

Harijan, 9-7-1938

216. HIGHER EDUCATION

The Rt. Hon. Shri Srinivasa Sastri has criticized, as he had a perfect right to do, the views I timidly and very briefly expressed some time ago on higher education. I entertain a very high regard for him as man, patriot and scholar. It is therefore always painful to me when I find myself disagreeing with him. And yet duty compels me to re-express my views on higher education more fully than before, so that the reader may make out for himself the difference between his views and mine.

CWMG-LXVII

I admit my limitations. I have no university education worth the name. My high school career was never above the average. I was thankful if I could pass my examinations. Distinction in the school was beyond my aspiration. Nevertheless I do hold very strong views on education in general, including what is called higher education. And I owe it to the country that my views should be clearly known and taken for what they may be worth. I must shed the timidity that has led almost to self-suppression. I must not fear ridicule, and even loss of popularity or prestige. If I hide my belief, I shall never correct errors of judgment. I am always eager to discover them and more than eager to correct them.

Let me now state my conclusions held for a number of years and enforced wherever I had opportunity of enforcing them:

(1) I am not opposed to education even of the highest type attainable in the world.

(2) The State must pay for it wherever it has definite use for it.

(3) I am opposed to all higher education being paid for from the general revenue.

(4) It is my firm conviction that the vast amount of the so-called education in arts, given in our colleges, is sheer waste and has resulted in unemployment among the educated classes. What is more, it has destroyed the health, both mental and physical, of the boys and girls who have the misfortune to go through the grind in our colleges.

(5) The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imparted in India has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. We are too near our own times to judge the enormity of the damage done. And we who have received such education have both to be victims and judges—an almost impossible feat.

I must now give my reason for the conclusions set forth above. This I can best do, perhaps, by giving a chapter from my own experience.

Up to the age of 12 all the knowledge I gained was through Gujarati, my mother tongue. I knew then something of arithmetic, history and geography. Then I entered a high school. For the first three years the mother tongue was still the medium. But the schoolmaster's business was to drive English into the pupil's head. Therefore more than half of our time was given to learning English and mastering its arbitrary spelling and pronunciation. It was a painful discovery to have to learn a language that

CWMG - LXVII

was not pronounced as it was written. It was a strange experience to have to learn the spelling by heart. But that is by the way, and irrelevant to my argument. However, for the first three years, it was comparatively plain sailing.

The pillory began with the fourth year. Everything had to be learnt through English—geometry, algebra, chemistry, astronomy, history, geography. The tyranny of English was so great that even Sanskrit or Persian had to be learnt through English, not through the mother tongue. If any boy spoke in the class in Gujarati which he understood, he was punished. It did not matter to the teacher if a boy spoke bad English which he could neither pronounce correctly nor understand fully. Why should the teacher worry? His own English was by no means without blemish. It could not be otherwise. English was as much a foreign language to him as to his pupils. The result was chaos. We the boys had to learn many things by heart, though we could not understand them fully and often not at all. My head used to reel as the teacher was struggling to make his exposition on geometry understood by us. I could make neither head nor tail of geometry till we reached the 13th theorem of the first book of Euclid. And let me confess to the reader that in spite of all my love for the mother tongue I do not to this day know the Gujarati equivalents of the technical terms of geometry, algebra and the like. I know now that what I took four years to learn of arithmetic, geometry, algebra, chemistry and astronomy I should have learnt easily in one year if I had not to learn them through English but Gujarati. My grasp of the subjects would have been easier and clearer. My Gujarati vocabulary would have been richer. I would have made use of such knowledge in my own home. This English medium created an impassable barrier between me and the members of my family, who had not gone through English schools. My father knew nothing of what I was doing. I could not, even if I had wished it, interest my father in what I was learning. For though he had ample intelligence, he knew not a word of English. I was fast becoming a stranger in my own home. I certainly became a superior person. Even my dress began to undergo imperceptible changes. What happened to me was not an uncommon experience. It was common to the majority.

The first three years in the high school made little addition to my stock of general knowledge. They were a preparation for fitting the boys for teaching them everything through English. High schools were schools for cultural conquest by the English.

The knowledge gained by the three hundred boys of my high school became a circumscribed possession. It was not for transmission to the masses.

A word about literature. We had to learn several books of English prose and English poetry. No doubt all this was nice. But that knowledge has been of no use to me in serving or bringing me in touch with the masses. I am unable to say that if I had not learnt what I did of English prose and poetry, I should have missed a rare treasure. If I had, instead, passed those precious seven years in mastering Gujarati and had learnt mathematics, sciences, and Sanskrit and other subjects through Gujarati, I could easily have shared the knowledge so gained with my neighbours. I would have enriched Gujarati, and who can say that I would not have, with my habit of application and my inordinate love for the country and the mother tongue, made a richer and greater contribution to the service of the masses?

I must not be understood to decry English or its noble literature. The columns of *Harijan* are sufficient evidence of my love of English. But the nobility of its literature cannot avail the Indian nation any more than the temperate climate or the scenery of England can avail her. India has to flourish in her own climate and scenery and her own literature, even though all the three may be inferior to the English climate, scenery and literature. We and our children must build on our own heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own. We can never grow on foreign victuals. I want the nation to have the treasures contained in that language, and for that matter the other languages of the world, through its own vernaculars. I do not need to learn Bengali in order to know the beauties of Rabindranath's matchless productions. I get them through good translations. Gujarati boys and girls do not need to learn Russian to appreciate Tolstoy's short stories. They learn them through good translations. It is the boast of Englishmen that the best of the world's literary output is in the hands of that nation in simple English inside of a week of its publication. Why need I learn English to get at the best of what Shakespeare and Milton thought and wrote?

It would be good economy to set apart a class of students whose business would be to learn the best of what is to be learnt in the different languages of the world and give the translation in the vernaculars. Our masters chose the wrong way for us, and habit has made the wrong appear as right.

I find daily proof of the increasing and continuing wrong being done to the millions by our false de-Indianizing education.

Those graduates who are my valued associates themselves flounder when they have to give expression to their innermost thoughts. They are strangers in their own homes. Their vocabulary in the mother tongue is so limited that they cannot always finish their speech without having recourse to English words and even sentences. Nor can they exist without English books. They often write to one another in English. I cite the case of my companions to show how deep the evil has gone. For we have made a conscious effort to mend ourselves.

It has been argued that the wastage that occurs in our colleges need not worry us if, out of the collegians, one Jagadish Bose can be produced by them. I should freely subscribe to the argument if the wastage was unavoidable. I hope I have shown that it was and is even now avoidable. Moreover, the creation of a Bose does not help the argument. For Bose was not a product of the present education. He rose in spite of the terrible handicaps under which he had to labour. And his knowledge became almost intransmissible to the masses. We seem to have come to think that no one can hope to be like a Bose unless he knows English. I cannot conceive a grosser superstition than this. No Japanese feels so helpless as we seem to do.

Nothing but a heroic remedy can deal with the deep-seated evil which I have endeavoured to describe. The Congress Ministers can, if they will, mitigate it if they cannot remove it.

Universities must be made self-supporting. The State should simply educate those whose services it would need. For all other branches of learning it should encourage private effort. The medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating.

In order to enhance the status and the market value of the provincial languages, I would have the language of the law courts to be the language of the province where the court is situated. The proceedings of the Provincial Legislatures must be in the language, or even the languages of the province where a province has more than one language within its borders. I suggest to the legislators that they could, by enough application, inside of a month, understand the languages of their provinces. There is nothing to prevent a Tamilian from easily learning the simple grammar and a few hundred words of Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese, all allied to Tamil. At the centre Hindustani must rule supreme.

CWMG - LXVII

In my opinion this is not a question to be decided by academicians. They cannot decide through what language the boys and girls of a place are to be educated. That question is already decided for them in every free country. Nor can they decide the subjects to be taught. That depends upon the wants of the country to which they belong. Theirs is the privilege of enforcing the nation's will in the best manner possible. When this country becomes really free the question of medium will be settled only one way. The academicians will frame the syllabus and prepare text-books accordingly. And the products of the education of a free India will answer the requirements of the country as today they answer those of the foreign ruler. So long as we the educated classes play with this question, I very much fear we shall not produce the free and healthy India of our dream. We have to grow by strenuous effort out of our bondage, whether it is educational, economical, social or political. The effort itself is three-fourths of the battle.

Thus I claim that I am not an enemy of higher education. But I am an enemy of higher education as it is given in this country. Under my scheme there will be more and better libraries, more and better laboratories, more and better research institutes. Under it we should have an army of chemists, engineers and other experts who will be real servants of the nation and answer the varied and growing requirements of a people who are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and wants. And all these experts will speak not a foreign language but the language of the people. The knowledge gained by them will be the common property of the people. There will be truly original work instead of mere imitation. And the cost will be evenly and justly distributed.

Harijan, 9-7-1938

217. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 9, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your pamphlet[1]. The *Rentia Baras* day is or should be the time for drawing up an annual balance-sheet of the progress

[1] Issued on the 69th birth anniversary of Gandhiji; *vide* "Note to Narandas Gandhi", p. 165.

of khadi work and thinking out ways and means of speeding it up. I see that your resolutions are increasing in number every year. But in comparison to what we have to achieve, even this increased number of resolutions are nothing. According to the saying, 'drop by drop fills the lake', we should content ourselves with doing the best we are capable of. Let all participants in this *yajna* remember that we should not rest satisfied till the daily income of all workers including the spinners reaches eight annas for a day of eight hours. And in order to achieve that we should be proficient in all aspects of the charkha science. In that way we shall be able to improve the quality of the khadi without raising the prices very much. If we master that science, we can prove that khadi, though apparently costly, is actually bound to be cheap.

I hope to be able to send someone for the *Rentia Baras* day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8544. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

218. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEGAON,
July 9, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I will read the Hindi book. It is not going to be easy. The whole policy will have to be reconsidered. If even one false step is taken, then there is serious danger of the whole structure which is being built falling to pieces. If you come on Tuesday we will think over it. Come in the afternoon if the time suits you. Write to me and let me know, when you get the time, what you thought after your talk with Tandonji. That will help me and also help you to clarify your thoughts.

Ponder carefully over what I have written[1] on education.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7684

[1] *Vide* pp. 158-63.

CWMG - LXVII

219. NOTE TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[About *July 9, 1938*][1]

It will be very good indeed if this is implemented.[2] Make some arrangement to ascertain whether everybody who makes the resolve keeps it.

[PS.]

I have already replied to your other points.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8551. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

220. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 10, 1938

CHI. LILA,

Do you expect a note from me every day? You should not be over-impatient to come here. You may come here whenever you get an opportunity in the normal course. I would also like your coming here, but you should not come at the cost of your work or health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9373. Also C. W. 6648. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

221. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Unrevised

SEGAON,
July 11, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I write this just as I got your letter and before destroying it. You must not allow your imagination to destroy your sanity.

[1] The note is written on the pamphlet mentioned in "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 163-4.

[2] The pamphlet carried an appeal by Narandas Gandhi to all the workers to take a vow of spinning 160 rounds of yarn a day, thus spinning 70,000 a year.

CWMG - LXVII

I have taken no drastic step. I shifted to Pyarelal's hole for giving Hanna the privacy she needed. She is wholly unaccustomed to our ways. I have now come back and you will occupy your usual corner. Sharda is my constant attendant. Amtul Salaam sleeps by my side, fans me and covers me when I need more covering. She feeds me. Lilavati is helping Mahadev, Shanta having gone back to England. You must not be quite so idiotic as you seem to have become over my travail. It is there. But my faith in my original conception is not shattered. Only I must learn how to realize it. Bad dreams must be avoided. There must be no repetition of 14th April.

Hanna has been sent by Kallenbach to gain experience and to know me personally as she has known me through him for years. She is most lovable but I fear she is too delicate to be able to stay here long.

I shall expect you on 23rd, the day of the meeting of the W.C. It is quite cool just now but the road is fearfully muddy. You will feel a little crowded. But that you won't mind.

You are criminally wasting your body. There is no occasion for all the neglect of which you are guilty. Some people deem it a merit to neglect their bodies. I wish you would have your name removed from the register of these illustrious criminals.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

You inquire about my health. I assure you that it is in good order and condition. Hakumatrai was here yesterday. You can ask him. It is true I have lost weight. But that is of no consequence in blood-pressure cases. I must not attempt to regain it in this weather. If I keep well otherwise, the weight will be regained, at any rate most of it.

T.

From the original: C.W. 3870. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7026

CWMG - LXVII

222. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 11, 1938

CHI. LILA,

What a letter from you! What is the point of your staying on there in such a condition? If you do not like to remain there, come over here. I do not want to keep you there against your wishes. If I have killed your individuality, what good has your staying with me done you? I did not at all like your letter. Why do you not understand that you are free to do what you like?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9374. Also C.W. 6649. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

223. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 11, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Have you read Lilavati's letter? If you have not, you will know about it from my reply. Kanti it seems could give you fairly good work. Read carefully what I have written today. I feel like writing about something else too, but I will restrain myself. Mirabehn is down with malaria.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending that draft for Jawaharlal. I have kept with me a copy each of the articles.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11603

CWMG - LXVII

224. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 12, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

For today I am sending Kanu. He will stay at least till Kanti leaves. And if you wish to detain him for tomorrow also he will stay on. I do not know whether you get Lilabhai's help or not. The burden should not be on you. I see that Deka is worth being trained. I have decided to observe silence as long as my heart-searching goes on. Of course if I grant an interview to anybody I will speak. The moment he leaves, I will stop speaking. I do not know how long I should keep this up. It will be all right if you do not come here in the present atmosphere. Do not strain yourself to come. Come only if you can do so easily.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am enclosing the papers.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11604

225. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 13, 1938

CHI. LILA,

I got your letter. You have not at all forfeited your right to come to me. You may certainly come whenever you are free. I will be perfectly content if you can preserve peace of mind there. Ultimately of course you will have to come here. Build up your health there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9589. Also C.W. 6561. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

226. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 13, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I send you herewith a letter from Agatha. Reply to it. Send Agatha's letter to Ghanshyamdas. It would be better to help her come here. Write about the fare, etc. Agatha may also write whatever she wishes.

Do not forget to bring *jamun* or, if they are not available, their stones.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11605

227. A MESSAGE TO "THE ARYAN PATH"

SEGAON,
[*July 14, 1938*]

I welcome your advertising the principles in defence of which *Hind Swaraj* was written.[1] The English edition is a translation of the original which was in Gujarati. I might change the language here and there if I had to rewrite the booklet. But after the

[1] A special issue of *The Aryan Path* exclusively devoted to *Hind Swaraj*, then being planned, came out in September. The contributors included such eminent Western thinkers as Frederick Soddy, G.D.H. Cole, C. Delisle Burns, John Middleton Murry, Hugh I'Anson Fausset, Gerald Heard and Irene Rathbone. Though none of them found themselves wholly in agreement with the thesis advanced in *Hind Swaraj* they all nevertheless saw the great importance of the work. Frederick Soddy, for instance, though disagreeing with Gandhiji, suggested that "anyone who wishes to change the world would do well to study" the book. To G. D. H. Cole Gandhiji's case against the West looked "infinitely stronger" than it did in 1908, when "the ephemeral civilization of the West looked stable under Western eyes". C. Delisle Burns saw the highest merit of *Hind Swaraj* "in its emphasis upon moral issues and opposition to the pursuit of private wealth and power". John Middleton Murry considered *Hind Swaraj* a "great book", "one of the spiritual classics of the world", and compared Gandhiji's vision of real swaraj to the Christian vision of the Kingdom of Heaven. Gerald Heard thought *Hind Swaraj* was superior to Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Karl Marx's *Das Capital*, for it did not mark the end of an age but the beginning of a new order. Irene Rathbone found the book "enormously powerful",

stormy thirty years through which I have since passed, I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it. Let the reader bear in mind that it is a faithful record of conversations I had with workers, one of whom was an avowed anarchist. He should also know that it stopped the rot that was about to set in among some Indians in South Africa. The reader may balance against this the opinion of a dear friend, who, alas, is no more, that it was the production of a fool.[1]

M. K. GANDHI

The Aryan Path, September 1938, Vol. IX, No. 9, p. 423

228. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEGAON,
July 14, 1938

CHI. PREMA,

You have not asked for a reply to your letter,[2] but I felt like writing at least a postcard. Though I do not write to you, I naturally think of you on innumerable occasions. May you go on making steady progress. The rest from *Harijan*, and from Mahadev.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10395. Also C.W. 6834. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

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the language of which forced her "by its tremendous honesty to search my own honesty". She thought the work was "simple and logical, economical, condensed, poetic". Hugh Fausset summed up *Hind Swaraj* as a book whose purpose was "to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West". He had enough trust in the indestructible vitality of the human spirit to be sure that it would not allow itself to be lastingly mechanized. The machine was exposing ruthlessly the consequences that must happen to men and nations who had lost their integrity. *Hind Swaraj* was an attempt at restoring man to his true estate, and was, for this reason, "one of the best modern handbooks of that real revolution which must happen in us all, if we are to fulfil the creative purpose of life".

[1] Mahadev Desai in a preface to *Hind Swaraj* published by the Navajivan Trust wrote: "When Gokhale saw the translation, on his visit to South Africa in 1912, he thought it so crude and hastily conceived that he prophesied that Gandhiji would himself destroy the book after spending a year in India" (p. 14).

[2] The addressee had written to Gandhiji on her birthday for his blessings and had also asked some questions which she said Mahadev Desai could answer if Gandhiji was busy.

229. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[*July 15, 1938*][1]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

What a sad and wretched letter, yours of 11th. I am enjoying myself and you are sorrowing for nothing. When you come here, you will laugh at your own folly. My misery is superficial if there is any yet left. My peace cannot be permanently taken away by anything or anybody. You simply do not know me if you think that my experiences have undone me. If there is real attempt at purification, it must strengthen me and make me more joyful. But how can I help you if you must allow your imagination to run riot?

You have to apologize about women. I could not organize intellectual women as such.[2] I have not organized intellectual men as such. But this thing does not lend itself to argument. I simply cannot subscribe to the charge that there has been any neglect on my part about organizing women. It may be that I have not had the qualifications for doing better. But that would [be] no charge against me. However I do not mind your complaint. I rather like it. It shows that there are things in which we look at things differently. And why not? True affection does not demand identity of outlook. But I do not even on this point despair of convincing you that I could not have done better than I have. My passion for *brahmacharya* has that meaning. I must be wholly pure if I have true love for womankind.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

I believe apricots did arrive—all rotten. Apples have come. I shall certainly eat them. You must be well quickly.

From the original: C.W. 3632. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6441

[1] According to the addressee the postmark on the envelope bears the date 16-7-1938.

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 155-6.

230. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Herewith some letters. I do not know if you brought liquid paraffin for Mirabehn yesterday. If you did not bring it, then please remember to bring it. If you do not come, send it with the person who comes. I hope you have asked Vyas about *jamun* stones and written to Bombay to discontinue sending fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11606

231. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

July 15, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I am returning Rajaji's letter. He is filled with great despair from all sides. But his sense of humour saves him.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

A letter from Rajkumari is enclosed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10900

232. SPEAKERS AND POLITICS

Some controversy has raged round the propriety of the Speakers of the various Provincial Assemblies taking an active part in politics. There has been the Speaker's ruling and a full debate and a resolution in the U.P. Assembly to the effect that the Speaker can consistently with the due discharge of the obligations of office take an active part in politics. Shri Sambamurti was with me for a few days and exhaustively discussed the question with me. He read to me copious extracts from authoritative treatises dealing with the Speakers' duties in the Parliaments of the world. And there has appeared an article in *Harijan* by Shri Satyamurti. I

CWMG - LXVII

had a long discussion on the question with Shri Purushottamdas Tandon during his recent visit to Wardha.

After all these discussions and study of the subject I seem to hold a view perhaps different from those I have heard and read. Mine is derived from my conception of the acceptance of office by Congressmen. When I advised the Working Committee to authorize acceptance of office, the idea was that whilst the letter of the Government of India Act should not be transgressed, its interpretation should be stretched to the farthest limit so as to widen the liberty of the people and to strengthen the Congress. The Act was not to be worked in the manner conceived by its authors, but while it lasted should be fully used for the advancement of the Congress goal and therefore in a manner least expected by its authors. Such being my conception of office acceptance, British and foreign precedents are of little use to me. Moreover, in the nature of things, they can help us but little for the simple reason that unlike ours the constitutions of the world's Parliaments are not imposed on the respective peoples but are their own creation.

A Congressman who is a member of an Assembly, no matter what office he occupies there, is subject to the discipline of the Congress and has to carry out its instructions from time to time. Therefore, so long as the Government of India Act does not in so many words prohibit it, the Congress may, if it thinks it necessary, require Speakers in the Congress Provinces to take an active part in the politics of the country.

But the Congress, as far as I know, has not considered the question. In my opinion Congressmen who are members of Assemblies, whether as mere members or Ministers or Speakers, have in every act of theirs to bear in mind the fact that they have, in virtue of the Congress constitution, to conform to truth and non-violence. Thus the conduct of a Congressman in an Assembly would have to be that of strictest honesty and courtesy in dealing with his opponents. He will not resort to shady politics, will not hit below the belt, will never take a mean advantage of his adversary. The greater his position in the Assembly, the greater is his responsibility in these matters. A member in the Assembly no doubt represents his constituency and his party but he also represents the whole of his province. A Minister no doubt advances his own party but never at the expense of the nation as a whole. Indeed he advances the Congress only so far as he advances the nation. For he knows that if he has no sword to give battle to the foreign ruler, he has it not to give battle to his adversary inside the nation itself. And since the Assembly is the

place where all communities meet together willy-nilly, it is the place where by winning over his opponents he expects to forge sanctions which can be made irresistible. All the problems that affect the body politic including communal unity can be solved if the Assembly is regarded not merely in terms of the Government of India Act but as an instrument to be used for solving questions which representatives of different communities composing the nation can be expected to solve if they had unrestricted powers. And the Government of India Act does not prevent the use of the Assemblies for solving the many problems which are outside its scope but which are necessary for national progress.

Looked at from the point of view here suggested, the Speaker's position assumes very high importance, greater than that of the Prime Minister. For he has to discharge the functions of a judge while he occupies the chair. He has to give impartial and just rulings. He has to enforce decorum and laws of courtesy between members. He has to be calm in the midst of storms. He has opportunities of winning over opponents which no other member of the House can possibly have.

Now if a Speaker outside the House ceases to be impartial and indulges in party polemics, he cannot possibly carry the weight he would if he observed impartiality and calmness everywhere. I claim that if a Speaker cultivates the habit of uniform impartiality outside his own very limited sphere, he will enhance the Congress prestige. He can, if he realizes the unique opportunity his office gives him, pave the way for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle as also many others. Thus in my opinion the Speaker, if he has to be that not only inside but outside the House, must be a first-class Congressman. As a man too he has to have a character without reproach. He must be able, fearless, naturally just, and above all truthful and non-violent in thought, word and deed. Then he may stand on any platform he likes.

Harijan, 16-7-1938

233. SOME OBJECTIONS

A Muslim correspondent writes:

> During the last four months opinions have been appearing in the Urdu Press regarding the Wardha scheme. As usual nobody seems to have read the report carefully or to have thought out the subject of basic education. The objections centre round three points:

CWMG - IXVII

(a) that religious instruction has been completely ignored;
(b) that boys and girls are to be taught together; and
(c) that a respect for all religions is to be inculcated.

These objections have been culled from the Urdu Press.

Religious instruction in the sense of denominational religion has been deliberately omitted. Unless there is a State religion it is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide religious instruction as it would mean providing for every denomination. Such instruction is best given at home. The State should allow enough time for every child to receive such instruction at home or otherwise. It is also conceivable that the State should provide facilities for private tuition by those denominations which may wish to instruct their children at school provided that such instruction is paid for by such denominations.

As for co-education, the Zakir Husain Committee has not made it compulsory. Where there is a demand for a separate school for girls, the State will have to make provision. The question of co-education has been left open. It will regulate itself according to the time-spirit. So far as I am aware the members of the Committee were not all of one mind. Personally I have an open mind. I think that there are just as valid reasons for as against co-education. And I would not oppose the experiment wherever it is made.

As to the necessity of teaching equal regard for all religions, I personally hold strong views. Till we reach that happy state, I see no prospect of real unity among all the different communities. I regard it as fatal to the growth of a friendly spirit among the children belonging to the different faiths if they are taught either that their religion is superior to every other or that it is the only true religion. If that exclusive spirit is to pervade the nation, the necessary corollary would be that there should be separate schools for every denomination with freedom to each to decry every other, or that the mention of religion must be entirely prohibited. The result of such a policy is too dreadful to contemplate. Fundamental principles of ethics are common to all religions. These should certainly be taught to the children and that should be regarded as adequate religious instruction so far as the schools under the Wardha scheme are concerned.

Harijan, 16-7-1938

234. A FALLACY

An A.I.S.A. agent asks what he is to say to his co-workers who have formed a union and presented him with terms. I regard the formation of such unions a fallacy. The workers have evidently missed the scope and the message of the A.I.S.A. It is a philanthropic organization formed by the Congress and has been given an autonomous charter for the specific purpose of developing the central village industry of hand-spinning and all it implies. Those who are engaged in this voluntary organization not only derive no pecuniary advantage from it but are expected, if they can, to give their labour free of any hire. And since in this the poorest country in the world many persons cannot do so, a large number are paid an emolument only enough to sustain them. Whilst every attempt is made to make them comfortable, they are not regarded as employees in the ordinary sense. There are no profits shared by anyone. If there are shareholders or proprietors, they are the spinners, weavers and the like. Even the consumers are not beneficiaries. They are expected to wear khadi not because it is cheaper or better to look at than mill cloth, but because it gives employment to the largest number of half-starved half-employed persons, mostly women. The whole of the takings go to these dumb artisans after deducting the salaries and other expenses incurred in running this vast philanthropic organization.

If, therefore, any body of workers form unions as against the Association, they are against the artisans. What they take has to come out of the pockets of the artisans or the consumers. It would be manifestly absurd to tax the consumers in the interest of the workers. Will they, the workers, not realize that the agents are themselves as much workers as they themselves? In several cases the agents are purely honorary. It is of course a different thing where an agent is found to be going beyond his sphere of duty and acting as if he was the lord and master of, instead of being co-worker with, the men working with and under him. In such a case the workers have their remedy through the central office but surely not through unions after the orthodox style. In the one case they are a necessity, in the other they are not only superfluous, but they are, as I have said above, a fallacy and, if

persisted in on a wide scale, they may kill the Association of which they are part creators and trustees.

Harijan, 16-7-1938

235. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
July 17, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This will be my last.

Your advice can't be accepted. You do not know the facts. You have exaggerated everything. I believe I am slowly finding my way. I have imposed silence on myself without limit of time, to be broken at will. I do break it to see people to whom I must give appointments or to those here who may be ill or when I must speak to express my wants. This answers my purpose well. It enables me to conserve my energy and go through my work. Do not be alarmed. I shall break it to speak to you. I am quite sure that your sadness will leave you as soon as you reach Segaon. Of course you are coming here 23rd evening, if weather permits your coming.

There is nothing the matter with me. The B. P. keeps fairly steady. I take my walks regularly.

The rest from Sharda.

Vijaya went to her home yesterday. Balkrishna went to Varoda today.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3871. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7027

236. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 17, 1938

CHI. LILA,

You will have tried the remedies I suggested. Constipation must be cured.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11607

CWMG - LXVII

237. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 17, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

The article about khadi with my revisions is enclosed. I am sending other material also. Your notes are of course there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11607

238. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 18, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Sheriff[1] spent nearly an hour and a half with me yesterday. He showed me during our talk the correspondence he has had with you. He wanted to know why you had not replied whether or not you had written to Sir Manmath[2] regarding him. I told him that you would never write to Sir Manmath. All the same I promised to find out from you. Please let me know now.

I have drafted the reply to be sent to Jinnah. You will read it when you come.

About the rest, Mahadev writes to you from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 221

[1] Minister for Law and Justice in the Congress Ministry of Central Provinces. He had recommended to the Governor the release, on ground of mercy, of certain persons convicted of rape of a thirteen-year-old Harijan girl. The Working Committee had decided that he should resign from the Ministry.

[2] Manmathnath Mukherjee, a retired judge of the Calcutta High Court, who had been entrusted, on Gandhiji's advice, with an inquiry into Sheriff's case. His verdict was against Sheriff.

CWMG-LXVII

239. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
July 18, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

You must have reached there safely. I hope the journey was comfortable. Ba's verandah looks deserted without you. Sushila seems to have lost her occupation. Remember that crying is prohibited. I am awaiting your letter. Sushila and Arun arrived yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN
C/O NARANBHAI VALLABHBHAI
VAROD, *via* BARDOLI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7088. Also C.W. 4580. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

240. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 18, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. You are silly. Who told you that only the educated have intelligence? What is education? Do they not send you *Harijan*, etc., at Siwan? Today, of course, I am sending the copies from here. If you are eager to study, there is still time. You have not yet become old. Come here from Malabar if you can. Probably I shall be here then. Kanti has gone to Bangalore and Saraswati to Trivandrum.

You can find solitude, or whatever you call it, only here. Siwan, Patna, etc., may be all right for service, but during the rest of the time you should stay only here. I will cure you of your despondency. Do not ruin your health completely. I must hear from you once a week at least.

Manilal's Sushila came yesterday. Vijaya has gone to Bardoli with her father. There is thus rise and fall in the tide.

Balkoba went away yesterday to live in the hut at Varoda. Anasuya gave birth to a son three days ago.

I am all right. I continue to take milk and fruit—mangoes, if available, otherwise prunes and *mosambis*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3516

241. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 18, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you write about light is correct. But some inconveniences have to be endured. Often they are remedied by themselves while we put up with them. It is not proper that I should interfere in such matters. You yourself should find a way out patiently and with love. Don't you think this is the right thing?

I have written a letter to Nana after my talk with Kanchan.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8572. Also C.W. 7030. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

242. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 18, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your question is relevant when considering *brahmacharya*. Whether procreation by itself is right or not is a separate issue. We can even question whether it is right for a *brahmachari* to engage in any activity at all. But the problem before us is to determine when *brahmacharya* is violated. I hold that no violation of *brahmacharya* occurs when a man does anything while remaining free of passion and attachment. The vital fluid is power and its proper use does not impair *brahmacharya*; this is the assumption underlying my interpretation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4295; also S.G. 65

CWMG - LXVII

243. LETTER TO SARASWATI

July 18, 1938

CHI. SARU,

Your letter is very good. Continue thus to say what is in your heart. Remain cheerful. We should live as God wills. A few years will soon pass and then pangs of separation will be forgotten. You will in any case meet Kanti through the letters. This separation is only for the good of you two. You can come to me when you have become stabilized. Sending you away only gave me pain. I had built such high hopes. I was to teach you everything and listen to your singing but God willed otherwise.

What harm can there be in Sharda's reading your letters? Your letters are so innocent. But I shall withhold them from her unless you give your permission. Sharda is a serious-minded girl. She is not the one to blabber unnecessarily.

Your health must be better. Sushila Gandhi has arrived with Arun. Sita is at Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6167. Also. C.W. 3440. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

244. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 19, 1938

MY DEAR AGATHA,

Here is a letter received by Dr. Shaukatullah Shah from H.E.'s office about Harold Ansari. Poor Shaukatullah has not yet built up any practice worth the name. He has sent all the money he could scrape together. And now he has nothing. He and Zohra, Dr. Ansari's daughter, were with me for two days. Shaukatullah had drafted a reply which I advised him not to send. Now I would like you or Polak to find out and tell me what this Education Department is and what is its function. Does it help students in distress? I am anxious to find the money here. But

this is a difficult case. In any case Harold's studies must not suffer. If therefore the Department can make an advance, they should do so in the hope of recovering it from the heirs or Harold himself when he begins to earn. If you know Harold and his mother, do please get in touch with them and guide me. I am writing to Harold too. I have never met the boy. Of course I knew nothing of Dr. Ansari's domestic affairs.

I am sending you the papers Dr. S. has left with me. Please return after use.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

245. LETTER TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 19, 1938

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

Zohra and Shaukat were with me for two days. They left yesterday. It was distressing to learn from them that they were unable to discharge the obligations left by Dr. Ansari. His boy Harold has to finish his education. Harold's mother has to be supported. This means £35 per month for 3 years at the end of which Harold should finish his education. Dr. Ansari has left petty debts amounting to Rs. 12,000. I know the intimate friendship that existed between you and the late Dr. Ansari. I know too that you sent some help after Dr. Ansari's death.

But as Zohra and Shaukat were talking to me I could not help thinking of you and asking you to come to the rescue if it is at all possible for you to do so. I hardly need add anything by way of pleading this cause. For I know that you had known Dr. Ansari before I had the privilege of knowing him.

I hope you are keeping excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXVII

246. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 19, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You do not seem to have got the mail sent from here in the morning by the time you sent the mail from there. It contained four letters and a list of medicines for Sushila.

You did right in not coming. When there is no work, you can skip the day.

The Danish engineer has captivated my heart. One does not come across many such frank faces.

I am sending with this some other letters. "Skill overhead"[1] is all right. As we reduce "overhead charges", we increase "overhead skill". But if "skill overhead" does not seem correct English, you may change it suitably after understanding the meaning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11608

247. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 19, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I hope you reached there safely and are not worrying. It was very good indeed that you came. There was a long and fine letter from Saraswati. I knew only this time that she could write. She seems to feel quite at home with me. She feels the separation from you a good deal but is trying to bear it. Sushila and Arun have arrived. Do you not write to Prabhavati? Do write. She is in Patna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7341. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Duty of Khadi-weavers", pp. 198-200, where Gandhiji has used this expression.

CWMG - LXVII

248. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

July 19, 1938

CHI. MANILAL,

I got your letters. So far I have not been able to write to you. It is now three days since Sushila and Arun arrived here. Arun is all the time asking to be taken to Akola. We hope he will calm down by and by.

I understand your anguish. Do what you think is proper. Consider calmly all the pros and cons and do what you feel it is best to do.

Do not worry about things here. It is good that Ramdas has come and stayed here for a few days.

My health, one may say, is quite good. Ba also is fine. Segaon is rather crowded just now. It is difficult to manage in the rainy season. There is not sufficient room for sleeping. But God helps us to manage somehow.

Hanna is unfit for this place. She has a very delicate constitution. She is not able to put up with any discomfort. She cannot digest the food either. She will leave on the third.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4877

249. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON,
July 19, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have sent something[1] for *Harijanbandhu* as per your suggestion. It is a good beginning.

If the atmosphere there is congenial, it would be good to visit the Harijan colony and take up the welfare work. But this should be done only if persons other than those already engaged in the spinning *yajna* volunteer. All the activities are likely to

[1] *Vide* "Notes", p. 202.

CWMG - LXVII

fail if only one group tries to conduct them. Do not therefore take up anything unless it is supported by your own experience. I have merely suggested it for the sake of variety. Otherwise, the real object of celebrating *Rentia Baras* is to concentrate on the charkha alone during this period.[1]

About Purushottam[2], I will write in my letter to Jamna[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8545. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

250. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SEGAON,
July 19, 1938

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

If you had not asked the questions which you did,[4] I would have been really pained and you would have committed an offence.

I am in correspondence with Rajaji on the subject of popularizing Hindi. I also have not understood his policy. It would not be proper to rush to the Press before understanding his point of view.

Ministers may certainly be criticized in public, but the criticism should be balanced and well informed. No opinion should be formed on the basis of Press reports and, before criticizing, one should seek clarification from the Minister one wishes to criticize.

The shortcomings which you point out in the behaviour of satyagrahis really exist. Read the article[5] which I have written for the next issue of *Harijan* about the causes of such shortcomings.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5545

[1] The programme chalked out by the addressee on the occasion of 69th birthday of Gandhiji called for 69 days' spinning.
[2] Addressee's son
[3] Addressee's wife
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", pp. 147-9.
[5] *Vide* pp. 194-8.

CWMG - LXVII

251. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 19, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

These two friends belong to the Quilon Bank[1]. They wish to tell you their story and also want your advice.[2] Give them some time. It is a sad story.

They want to see Sir Purushottamdas also. I have given them a note.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 222

252. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 19, 1938

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

What is this news item about a Congress platoon of 10,000 to be formed in Farrukhabad ? If an armed platoon is envisaged, is it compatible with the Congress creed of non-violence ?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 10132. Courtesy: Kashi Vidyapith, Varanasi

[1] One of the larger banks of Travancore
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 187.

CWMG - LXVII

253. TO SEGAON WORKERS

July 19, 1938

A painful incident occurred today. A boy was grazing cows near our field. Balwantsinha tried to dissuade him and on his refusal gave him a push. This is a matter of shame for us. I have told the villagers that if Balwantsinha does this kind of thing again he shall leave Segaon. We must understand that we are servants not masters and we can live here only through the kindness of the villagers. We have no right at all to swear at or touch anyone.

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 4674

254. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

9 p.m., July 19, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Give the two friends from Travancore the accompanying two letters, one[1] is addressed to Vallabhbhai and the other[2] to Sir Purushottamdas.

The friend from Denmark seemed to me to be an excellent man. I have already written you this, but his face is still before my eyes and so you find me mentioning it again.

Some other letters also are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
Urgent

If two commodes can be spared from Maganwadi, send them here and also the two thin mattresses belonging to Nimu.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11609

[1] *Vide* p. 186.
[2] Not traceable

CWMG - LXVII

255. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

July 20, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

There is only one solution. You must swallow the bitter pill of yesterday[1] and keep up the effort to overcome your anger. Nothing is too much for the sake of *goseva*. No one can be angry by himself. Anger can be mastered only where it is generated. Do you not agree? We are servants. How can a servant raise his hand against the master?

I know Ganpatrai.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am returning your letter.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1907

256. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEGAON,
July 21, 1938

CHI. DEVDAS,

A letter was published in *The Hindustan Times* about Shuaib which he has sent to me. He has also sent me a copy of his letter to you. That letter should not have been published without being shown to Shuaib. I have written to him that you must not have seen it at all. As far as possible, such letters should not be published without being shown to you. You must have now published, without giving Shuaib's name, the facts sent by him. If you have not, do so now. You must have asked "Fair play" why he sent such a report. If he sticks to his report, you may then write to Shuaib and inform him accordingly.

We are after all in the midst of a raging fire.[2] You will see in the next issue of *Harijan* what I have been able to write ultimately.[3] I have completely changed the approach.

[1] *Vide* "To Segaon Workers", p. 187.
[2] Presumably the reference is to the ministerial crisis in C.P.
[3] *Vide* "Functions of the Working Committee", 6-8-1938.

These days I am generally observing silence. I speak only when absolutely necessary. The practice suits me very well.

Sushila and Arun are here. Kallenbach's niece also is here. Rajkumari is coming here the day after tomorrow for three days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 20004

257. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

July 21, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

You must have received my postcard. I got your letter. It was very good indeed that you did not get angry with Ramachandran. If we go deep into the matter we will find nothing over which to get angry with other people. And, therefore, how can anyone ever have the right to get angry? Is not anger described as a mild form of madness in English? And as the *Gita* says, its root is *kama*. I will keep on writing to Saraswati.

It will be very good if you concentrate on your studies.

All of us are well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope you read *Harijan*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7342. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

258. WHAT IS SARVODAYA?[1]

SEGAON,
July 21, 1938

Sarvodaya is impossible without satyagraha. The word satyagraha should be understood here in its etymological sense. There can be no insistence on truth where there is no non-violence. Hence the attainment of sarvodaya depends upon the

[1] Gandhiji sent this message for the first issue of *Sarvodaya* published by D. B. Kalelkar and Dada Dharmadhikari.

CWMG - LXVII

attainment of non-violence. The attainment of non-violence in its turn depends upon *tapascharya*. *Tapascharya*, again, should be pure. Ceaseless effort, discretion, etc., should form part of it. Pure *tapascharya* leads to pure knowledge. Experience shows that although people talk of non-violence, many are mentally so lazy that they do not even take the trouble of familiarizing themselves with the facts. Take an example. India is a poor country. We wish to do away with poverty. But how many people have made a study of how this poverty came about, what its implications are, how it can be removed, etc.? A devotee of non-violence should be full of such knowledge.

It is the duty of *Sarvodaya* to create such means and not to enter into controversies. Editors of *Sarvodaya* should forget Gandhism. There is no such thing as Gandhism. I have not put anything new before India; I have only presented an ancient thing in a new way. I have tried to utilize it in a new field. Hence my ideas cannot be appropriately called Gandhism. We shall adopt truth wherever we find it, praise it wherever we see it, and pursue it. In other words, in every sentence of *Sarvodaya*, we should catch a glimpse of non-violence and knowledge.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7680

259. NOTE TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEGAON,
July 21, 1938

Herewith the list of rules with my letter on the subject and an article[1] for *Sarvodaya*.

You forgot here that article for *Harijan*. It is also sent herewith.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10909

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

260. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

July 21, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

You must have got my postcard. Amritlal is sending the name of the medicine. Try to regain the lost weight. It is raining hard here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7089. Also C.W. 4581. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

261. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEGAON,
July 21, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I re-read your letter with care. I think that my answer should have sufficed. The only answer to the question as to when the desire for procreation may be regarded justified is when a couple desires offspring without desiring sexual pleasure. This was believed so in the case of Dasharatha. The whole process has been given the character of dharma.

What you write about the mastery over sexual passion is correct.

My interpretation of "हत्वापि स इमाँल्लोकान्"[1] is that he who is wholly free from attachment will not kill at all. Thus the expression may be regarded as an exaggeration. My walking up to Wardha may not be called dharma but it is not *adharma* either. The same is true of the utterance on procreation.

Now this answers all your doubts. If not, put them to me in the form of questions and I shall answer.

One suggestion. My pronouncements should not be taken as authority. They are not all revelations. Some are empirical, some rational. Such utterances have the same status as every

[1] "Even though he slay all these worlds"—*Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII. 17; *vide* Vol. XXXII, p. 339.

CWMG - LXVII

other utterance which means that any saying of mine which is not acceptable to your heart or mind may be totally rejected. There will be no need to compile my opinions if you act thus. Does anyone need to compile quotations to realize that the earth is round?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4296. Also S.G. 66

262. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 22, 1938

CHI. LILA,

If you think that by not writing to me you save my time, you are making a mistake. I would be satisfied if you wrote once in a while. If it is necessary for you to take tea for the bowels to move, you may take just enough for that purpose as medicine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9590. Also C.W. 6562. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

263. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 22, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter only today and am replying immediately. A letter for Jayaprakash is enclosed. If you want to resort to satyagraha, you must not do so without consulting me. And in any case you must not worry. Do not ruin your health. One's duty is but to try. Worries weaken us in our effort.

Navin has come today.

I am keeping good health. My diet these days consists of two pounds of milk, *mosambis*, as many as I can eat—at present I eat about ten or eleven daily—and garlic water with jaggery thrice a day. I feel better with this diet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3517

CWMG - LXVII

264. LETTER TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 22, 1938

BHAI JAYAPRAKASH,

Prabha writes in great distress that you totally neglect your health. The decision to go to Malabar also seems to be cracking up. After all even for your own work preservation of health is necessary. I would request you to go for the sake of Prabha's peace if not for any other reason. Her health too is not good. But she will automatically improve when you get well.

I hope you will follow my advice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3518

265. LETTER TO R.

July 22, 1938

BHAI R.[1],

Balkrishna conveyed to me your message. I find your case similar to that of a man living in the midst of fire yet pleading to be protected from fire. I think you should satisfy your sexual desire through G.[2] This is the way of the world. Those who want to be free of passion cannot do so by merely wishing it. The wish must be accompanied by incessant effort. This is beyond you. This is what I feel. If your heart indicates another way and you can master your sexual impulses I for one shall be extremely happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 212

[1]&[2] The names have been omitted.

CWMG - LXVII

266. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

8 p.m., July 22, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I forgot to give today three of the accompanying letters. I did not look into the pad.

I hope you remember that Rajkumari is coming tomorrow, the 23rd. She is arriving by the Grand Trunk Express. Come after making arrangements for receiving her at the station. If it is raining, she should be detained there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11610

267. HOW NON-VIOLENCE WORKS

A Congress leader said to me the other day in the course of our conversation, "How is it that in quality the Congress is not what it used to be in 1920-25? It has deteriorated. Ninety per cent of the members are not carrying out the Congress discipline. Can you not do something to mend this state of things?"

The question is apposite and timely. I can't shirk responsibility by saying I am no longer in the Congress. I have gone out of it for the purpose of serving it better. I know that I still influence the Congress policy. As the author of the Congress constitution of 1920 I must hold myself responsible for such deterioration as is avoidable.

The Congress started with an initial handicap in 1920. Very few believed in truth and non-violence as a creed. Most members accepted them as a policy. It was inevitable. I had hoped that many would accept them as their creed after they had watched the working of the Congress under the new policy. Only some did, not many. In the beginning stages, the change that came over the foremost leaders was profound. Readers will recall the letters from the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das reproduced in *Young India*. They had experienced a new joy and a new hope in a life of self-denial, simplicity and

self-sacrifice. The Ali Brothers had almost become fakirs. As we toured from place to place, I watched with delight the change that was coming over the Brothers. What was true of these four leaders was true of many others whom I can name. The enthusiasm of the leaders had infected the rank and file.

But this phenomenal change was due to the spell of 'swaraj in one year'. The conditions I had attached to the fulfilment of the formula were forgotten. Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid even went so far as to suggest that, as the general of the satyagraha army, which the Congress had then become and still is (if only Congressmen realize the meaning of satyagraha), I should have made sure that the conditions were such that they would be fulfilled. Perhaps he was right. Only I had no such prevision in me. The use of non-violence on a mass scale and for political purposes was even for myself an experiment. I could not therefore dogmatize. My conditions were meant to be a measure of popular response. They might or might not be fulfilled. Mistakes, miscalculations were always possible. Be that as it may, when the fight for swaraj became prolonged and Khilafat ceased to be a live issue, enthusiasm began to wane, confidence in non-violence even as a policy began to be shaken, and untruth crept in. People who had no faith in the twin virtues or the khadi clause stole in, and many even openly defied the Congress constitution.

The evil has continued to grow. The Working Committee has been making some attempt to purge the Congress of the evil but has not been able to put its foot down and risk the loss of numbers on the Congress register. I myself believe in quality rather than quantity.

But there is no such thing as compulsion in the scheme of non-violence. Reliance has to be placed upon ability to reach the intellect and the heart—the latter rather than the former.

It follows that there must be power in the word of a satyagraha general—not the power that the possession of limitless arms gives, but the power that purity of life, strict vigilance, and ceaseless application produce. This is impossible without the observance of *brahmacharya*. It must be as full as it is humanly possible. *Brahmacharya* here does not mean mere physical self-control. It means much more. It means complete control over all the senses. Thus an impure thought is a breach of *brahmacharya*; so is anger. All power comes from the preservation and sublimation of the vitality that is responsible for creation of life. If the vitality is husbanded instead of being dissipated, it is transmuted

into creative energy of the highest order. This vitality is continuously and even unconsciously dissipated by evil, or even rambling, disorderly, unwanted thoughts. And since thought is the root of all speech and action, the quality of the latter corresponds to that of the former. Hence perfectly controlled thought is itself power of the highest potency and can become self-acting. That seems to me to be the meaning of the silent prayer of the heart. If man is after the image of God, he has but to will a thing in the limited sphere allotted to him and it becomes. Such power is impossible in one who dissipates his energy in any way whatsoever, even as steam kept in a leaky pipe yields no power. The sexual act divorced from the deliberate purpose of generation is a typical and gross form of dissipation and has therefore been specially and rightly chosen for condemnation. But in one who has to organize vast masses of mankind for non-violent action the full control described by me has to be attempted and virtually achieved.

This control is unattainable save by the grace of God. There is a verse in the second chapter of *Gita* which freely rendered means: "Sense effects remain in abeyance whilst one is fasting or whilst the particular sense is starved, but the hankering does not cease except when one sees God face to face."[1] This control is not mechanical or temporary. Once attained it is never lost. In that state vital energy is stored up without any chance of escaping by the innumerable outlets.

It has been said that such *brahmacharya*, if it is at all attainable, can be so only by cave-dwellers. A *brahmachari*, it is said, should never see, much less touch a woman. Doubtless a *brahmachari* may not think of, speak of, see or touch a woman lustfully. But the prohibition one finds in books on *brahmacharya* is mentioned without the important adverb. The reason for the omission seems to be that man is no impartial judge in such matters, and therefore cannot say when he is or is not affected by such contacts. Cupid's visitations are often unperceivable. Difficult though therefore *brahmacharya* is of observance when one freely mixes with the world, it is not of much value if it is attainable only by retirement from the world.

Anyway, I have practised *brahmacharya* for over thirty years with considerable success though living in the midst of activities. After the decision to lead the life of a *brahmachari* there was little change in my outward practice, except with my wife. In the

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 59

CWMG - LXVII

course of my work among the Indians in South Africa, I mixed freely with women. There was hardly an Indian woman in the Transvaal and Natal whom I did not know. They were so many sisters and daughters to me. My *brahmacharya* was not derived from books. I evolved my own rules for my guidance and that of those who, at my invitation, had joined me in the experiment. If I have not followed the prescribed restrictions, much less have I accepted the description found even in religious literature of woman as the source of all evil and temptation. Owing as I do all the good there may be in me to my mother, I have looked upon woman never as an object for satisfaction of sexual desire but always with the veneration due to my own mother. Man is the tempter and aggressor. It is not woman whose touch defiles man but he is often himself too impure to touch her. But recently a doubt has seized me as to the nature of the limitation that a *brahmachari* or *brahmacharini* should put upon himself or herself regarding contacts with the opposite sex. I have set limitations which do not satisfy me. What they should be I do not know. I am experimenting. I have never claimed to have been a perfect *brahmachari* of my definition. I have not acquired that control over my thoughts that I need for my researches in non-violence. If my non-violence is to be contagious and infectious, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts. There is perhaps a flaw somewhere which accounts for the apparent failure of leadership adverted to in the opening sentence of this writing.

My faith in non-violence remains as strong as ever. I am quite sure that not only should it answer all our requirements in our country, but that it should, if properly applied, prevent the bloodshed that is going on outside India and is threatening to overwhelm the Western world.

My aspiration is limited. God has not given me the power to guide the world on the path of non-violence. But I have imagined that he has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills. The progress already made is great. But much more remains to be done. And yet I seem to have lost the power to evoke the needed response from Congressmen in general. It is a bad carpenter who quarrels with his tools. It is a bad general who blames his men for faulty workmanship. I know I am not a bad general. I have wisdom enough to know my limitations. God will give me strength enough to declare my bankruptcy if such is to be my lot. He will perhaps take me away when I am no longer wanted for the work which I have been permitted to do for nearly half

a century. But I do entertain the hope that there is yet work for me to do, that the darkness that seems to have enveloped me will disappear, and that, whether with another battle more brilliant than the Dandi March or without, India will come to her own demonstrably through non-violent means. I am praying for the light that will dispel the darkness. Let those who have a living faith in non-violence join me in the prayer.

Harijan, 23-7-1938

268. DUTY OF KHADI-WEARERS

I have before me several letters, some protesting against the constant rise in the price of khadi, and some piteously appealing to me to show the way to poor middle-class people for buying dear khadi.

The A.I.S.A. exists only for the betterment of the khadi producers, the majority of whom are poor women spinners. I hold that the Association cannot be satisfied till every woman who puts in an honest hour in spinning gets one anna per hour. We are on the point of reaching half an anna per hour, and if the consumers and the Congress Governments do their duty, the Association expects to give the anna per hour much earlier than most people expect.

This must mean some rise in the price of khadi, but not a proportionate rise. City people should know that ceaseless effort is being made to evoke greater skill among the artisans so that the whole of the increase in the wages may not fall upon khadi. Overhead charges are also being constantly reduced. Skill overhead increases with experience. But sixteen times increase in the wages of spinners cannot all be brought about merely by increased efficiency. Therefore some rise in the price of khadi is inevitable with the increase in the wages. This is being unequally distributed among the different varieties so that the heaviest rise will take place in the khadi that is purchased by the monied classes. Everything that can be done to ease the burden on poor buyers is being done and will be done by the Association.

But khadi-wearers should know that the economics of khadi are different from the ordinary economics which are based on competition in which patriotism, sentiment and humanity play little or no part. Khadi economics are based on patriotism sentiment and humanity.

Before the new policy of the Association was laid down, its aim was to cheapen khadi, mostly in disregard of the wages of the spinners, the most helpless artisans perhaps in the world. This continued for nearly a decade. It was a mistaken policy, but the mistake was unconscious and based on faulty reasoning. I must take the largest share of the blame for the mistake. Khadi-wearers had the sole benefit of the mistake. Is it right for them to complain when the mistake is being repaired and the spinners are gradually being paid what is their due?

The Association has expected hearty co-operation from the khadi-wearers and I am glad to be able to say that on the whole the increase in the price of khadi has not been resented by them. Many consider it a privilege that they are partners in the tardy justice that is being done to the dumb sisters whose need is infinitely greater than that of the wearers of khadi.

I know that there are many middle-class persons who find it difficult to make the two ends meet, and for them every additional anna becomes a problem. And they will not spin. They have my sympathy. But they cannot have it both ways. If they will not spin, they should cut down their requirements or reduce other expenses. In this climate we do not need the clothes we use. Where there is a will there is a way.

A correspondent suggests that khadi is mainly supported by the poor middle class, and contends that if the prices are not brought down to the level at which they can buy it, it will not survive me. If that is the condition on which alone khadi can live, it deserves to predecease me. Happily there is a fallacy behind the argument. The question of cheapness mainly affects the city-dwellers. If all of them, rich and poor, took to khadi, they could hardly use more than ten per cent of the possible production of khadi. The rest has to be used by the producers themselves who are villagers. The question of price does not affect them materially, if at all. It is true that khadi has not penetrated the villages to the extent expected. During the transition period, therefore, it has to depend upon the patriotic spirit of city-dwellers both rich and poor. Those who believe in the message of khadi will not consider any price too dear for khadi. It is the only real insurance against famine and unemployment. Even if India were to be industrialized overnight, much of the unemployment would remain. In this country the problem is to find work for a whole nation which has one-fourth of her time without occupation. If pestilence, poverty and bloodshed are to be avoided, there is no remedy but khadi and other

village industries. Those who believe in this mission of khadi and who believe also in a living wage being paid to the spinners, will not grudge the increase that has to be made in the price of khadi. They may rely upon the Association moving with the utmost caution. The past two years' experience warrants the hope that the public welcome the increase in the wages that the spinners are receiving.

Harijan, 23-7-1938

269. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 23, 1938

MY DEAR AMRIT,

Pray don't come tonight. The weather is awful. Wet, wet, wet everywhere. Tomorrow you will come anyhow, unless of course you are ill and it is raining hard as it is now. Your corner is of course reserved.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3633. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6442

270. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 23, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You were wise not to come. It is wet all around. Khan Saheb wants to come for the night. It would be better for him not to. He may come tomorrow if it is dry or after the Working Committee meeting. Even the cot meant for him is not here. Rajkumari also should not come tonight. I think it is impossible to bring the car. It is certainly risky. She may come tomorrow during day-time. The letters are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I completely forgot to send this letter. Fortunately for me, I am able to send it now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11611

CWMG - LXVII

271. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

July 23, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Since Vasumati has asked for time, you should tell her that you cannot spare more time. Give her fifteen minutes. Explain to her that she can get much in fifteen minutes if she works with concentration.

Do not worry if you cannot at present give help in preparing *bhaji*. Those who feel hurt by people's criticism become old prematurely. Such persons violate *brahmacharya* according to my definition of it and those who do so become old.

We should feel unhappy about our own shortcomings. When others impute faults to us we should laugh it away. If they are inclined to listen we can explain to them. It is our duty to explain to those who have formed a wrong opinion about us. We should treat others as if they were our kith and kin.

By all means take Sunday off. On that day you may help in preparing *bhaji*. Cultivate a sense of humour.

There were four or five mistakes in Dahyalal's *Gita* recitation yesterday. Observe all such mistakes and correct them. His recitation has certainly improved, but there is scope for further improvement.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10749

272. LETTER TO SARASWATI

July 23, 1938

CHI. CRAZY SURU,

What a letter? You must have had my postcard and the letter[1] as also the telegram[2] I sent. How can I comfort you? Even if I call you back here you will have no peace in Kanti's

[1] *Vide* p. 181.
[2] This is not traceable.

absence. I wanted to keep you with me. You are deluding yourself to no purpose. Do not harass Kanti. Let him pursue his studies. There you have your father, mother, grandfather and uncle with you. What more do you want? You will have no rest here even for a day. You will daily exhort me either to send for Kantibhai or to send you to him. What shall I do then? Think well and give up this madness and folly. Do write to me daily if you want to. I never wrote to your uncle: "Save me from Saraswati." Why should I wish to be saved from you? Are you not my beloved daughter? I hope you can read my hand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6168. Also C.W. 3441. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

273. TO THE KATHIAWAR HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH[1]

While sending the foregoing[2] Shri Narandas writes[3]:

Shri Narandas also suggests that one half of the amount collected may be donated to Harijan service work, one-fourth to khadi work and one-fourth to the National School. The suggestion has my approval. A total of Rs. 17,000 has already been donated to Harijan service in this manner. The quantity of yarn spun and the amount of money collected have kept on increasing from year to year. If that happens this year, too, all the three causes will receive increased aid. There is, therefore, no doubt that if the men and women engaged in Harijan and khadi service do their work conscientiously, a substantial sum of money will be collected and greater interest will be created in spinning.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 24-7-1938

[1] This was published under "Notes".

[2] Not translated here. It was an appeal to khadi workers in Saurashtra for their co-operation in the spinning programme of 69 days to celebrate the 69th birthday of Gandhiji on *Bhadrapad Vad* 12, according to the Vikram calendar.

[3] Not translated here. Narandas had stated in the letter that the spinning programme had been inaugurated in the National School on July 15 with prayers and flag-salutation.

CWMG - LXVII

274. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 24, 1938

MY DEAR AMRIT,

I don't know whether it is your misfortune or mine. I wrote yesterday a note to you and by my stupidity it was left out. I have been waiting for you all the morning. If you come after 2 p.m. I shall have taken the weekly silence. I see Jivraj[1] is coming with you. I suppose he does not want to hear my voice. He wants to see my face and take the b.p. I hope you are quite fit. How nice if you could walk.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3634. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6443

275. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 24, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

What weather! I will keep myself ready tomorrow, at 2.45 p.m. I have sent a note to Subhas Babu saying that I am prepared to be present at the bungalow at that time. I would prefer that. I would not like so many dragging themselves here.

The cart is just leaving here. In the last resort Rajkumari may come in that cart. If she is not well, she need not. And if I have to go there tomorrow, she may as well stay there. Here it is wet all around. Navin[2] has drawn a life-like portrait of Ba. Why need Jivraj go in such weather! His health is more delicate than mine. Do not write too much. I do not like your keeping late hours. I am writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not understand why Rajagopalachari was to come. Vallabhbhai, therefore, may telegraph to him whatever he thinks

[1] Dr. Jivraj Mehta
[2] Son of Vrajlal Gandhi

CWMG LXVII

proper. There is nothing special for which I should like to give him trouble. Ask Vallabhbhai to reply to me regarding Sheriff.[1] Let me also have his opinion about the will[2]. I hope he is dealing firmly with the C. P. affair. Take out enough from the fruit baskets for your use there.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11612

276. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 24, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You must have got the two letters sent with the doctor.

Write to Narahari and tell him that Parnerkar cannot be spared. Apart from the moral consideration, he is busy at present in the farming and the co-operative dairy experiments. If he wants, he may have the man sent by Trivedi. You may send the thing to Jugatram over your signature[3]. Write to Krishnan and ask him to keep me informed. The Trivandrum affair was well settled. I did have fears about Khare. The cart must have reached by now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11613

277. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
July 24, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your postcard. I might put up with your not improving here, but I cannot tolerate your not doing so there. Here I will have the satisfaction of giving you intelligent treatment. I do not have any faith in the treatment given to you there. Therefore, take every step after due deliberation. Living entirely on butter-milk is perfectly all right. I might be satisfied if you gave me the details of the vaid's treatment.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", p. 178.
[2] Vithalbhai Patel's will in favour of Subhas Chandra Bose
[3] The source is obscure here.

CWMG - LXVII

The blood-pressure is at my normal level. It remains at about 172/102. I take milk up to $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. and 9 *mosambis*. Sometimes the number goes up to eleven. For the last two days I have been having peaches brought by Khan Saheb. He and Rajkumari have come here. They have not met yet because of the rains.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7090. Also C.W. 4582. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

278. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 24, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Desire for progeny has a place as service has. Some go to the length of prescribing that the seekers of *mukti* should refrain from any activity whatsoever. But we have not accepted this as our creed. The appointed work must be done without attachment. If a man in full mastery over passion desires offspring he may procreate. We cannot be arbitrary in our judgment.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4297. Also S.G. 67

279. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEGAON,
July 24, 1938

CHI. SHARMA,

Mahadev does keep writing to you. I can write very little these days. I have to take care of the body. Doing a lot of work in a short time necessitates giving up a great deal of work. There was no special occasion for my writing too. You have had the permission to go to Satis Babu.[1] I hope everything is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi in *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, facing p. 271

[1] The addressee was to go to Satis Chandra Das Gupta to learn about cheap remedies for villagers.

280. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

July 24, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

Water accumulates in a puddle in the southern verandah of Jamnalalji's cottage. Earth or sand should be spread there to form a slope as has been done in my verandah and there should be a gunny screen to keep off water.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1906

281. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 25, 1938

CRAZY DAUGHTER,

You created a fine scene today! You conclusively proved that we do not understand each other. I had said I would have *roti* today as also the vegetable though prepared separately. And you threw away the *roti*? In what I said there was no suggestion of not taking the *roti* and vegetable served by you. Such anger! And for what crime! You will gain nothing by being so angry with poor me. It is as well that I am observing silence. Now tell me what I should do? Shall I fast? Or give up all service from you? What is a girl of such a temper not capable of? Why do you not leave me if I am so unworthy? Maybe it is best for you to leave me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 403

CWMG-LXVII

282. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

SEGAON,
July 27, 1938

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I have your letter. I shall watch your progress. Hope your mother is on the road to recovery. You left a good book with me.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1539

283. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

July 27, 1938

CHI. VALJI,

I saw your handwriting after a long time. Mahadev is trying to get that book. There is no truth in what the Bombay doctor says. Countless people protect their teeth with the *babul* twigs. Yes, there is one thing. Those who go on brushing the gums with a twig and that too without chewing it into a soft brush do cause their gums to recede. But this has no connection with the *babul* juice. The juice has the quality of strengthening the gums. Pyorrhoea is not caused by external infection but results from internal decay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope the children are well.

SHRI VALJI DESAI
GONDAL
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7479. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

284. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
July 27, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. Balkoba has gone to Varoda. He is fine.

Get rid of your fever. Try to find out what medicine the vaid is giving you. It is no doubt an advantage to you that the milk there is thin. It means that there is less fat in it.

Khan Saheb has arrived in Wardha. When the work of the [Working] Committee is over, he will come to Segaon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7091. Also C.W. 4583. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

285. LETTER TO SARASWATI

SEGAON,
July 27, 1938

CRAZY DAUGHTER SURU,

There has been no letter from you for some three or four days. Write daily until you are well. Remember God and recite the following *bhajan*:

दोऊ अक्षर सब कुल तारे वारी जाउँ उस नाम के।
तुलसीदास प्रभु राम दयाघन और देव सब दाम के।।[1]

and repeat Ramanama.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 3442. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] "I dedicate myself to that name, the two letters of which bring salvation to all. The Lord Rama of Tulsidas is like a cloud showering mercy, while all other gods need gratification."

CWMG - LXVII

286. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 28, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I am returning Saraswati's letters. She writes to me also in the same strain. I feel that you two should get married and after marriage, as you suggest, stay separately in Bangalore and observe self-control till your studies are over. But I see positive harm in keeping Saraswati in Bangalore without marriage. After you get married, Saraswati perhaps may not insist on staying with you and may come to me or go to Trivandrum. I am prepared to write to Ramachandran on hearing from you. I have discussed the matter with Navin. If Ramachandran put those questions, it is a painful thing.

If you have given up milk and ghee, you have certainly not done right. It would be *duragraha*. Resume normal food immediately. If necessary send me a wire.

Saraswati regularly writes to me, and so do I to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7343. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

287. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 29, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter and wire. This is just to tell you all is well here. Too busy to say more. I am in the midst of friends and work.

Hanna still on glucose and oranges.

Love there to the Tyabjis and for yourself.

Yours,
ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3872. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7028

288. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 29, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Though the fullest *brahmacharya* is unattainable whilst one is in the flesh a very near approach is perfectly possible in my opinion. The way to it is yet unexplored. So far as I am concerned I am exploring it in the hope of finding it. What progress I have made makes me hopeful.

The sphere of limitations simply means the limits nature has put upon us as fractions of the Divine. A fraction is not the whole.

If a person has as full control as is possible for a human, his willing affects his surroundings. I have personal experience of that in several instances. It may be argued that correspondence between the willing and the alleged response were mere coincidences. For such doubters I have no reply.

I hope this answers all your questions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI C. A. TULPULE
TILAK ROAD
POONA CITY

From a copy: C.W. 2898. Courtesy: C.A. Tulpule

289. A CLARIFICATION

An ex-professor writes a long letter on my article on higher education[1] from which I take the following relevant extracts:

> There is need for further clarification of your views on higher education as they have appeared in the *Harijan* of the 9th inst. I agree with many of your views—especially those regarding the enormity of the damage caused by the foreign medium. I also feel that what passes as higher education today contains much brass mistaken

[1] *Vide* pp. 158-63.

CWMG - IXVII

for gold. I speak from experience as I was a teacher in the line of the so-called 'higher education' till very recently. It is your third conclusion about general revenue and claims of higher education and its corollary, viz., that universities should be self-supporting, that has left me unconvinced. I believe that every country to be a progressive country must have sufficient facilities for the pursuit of all branches of knowledge — not merely chemistry, medicine and engineering, but every kind of knowledge—literature, philosophy, history, sociology, both abstract and applied. All higher pursuits require many facilities which cannot be had without State support. A country depending only on voluntary effort for such pursuits is sure to fall behind and suffer. It can never hope to be free and be able to maintain that freedom. The State must be jealously watchful over the position of higher education in all fields. Voluntary effort must be there and we must have our Nuffields and Rockefellers[1]. But the State cannot and must not be allowed to remain a silent spectator. It must actively come forward to organize, help and direct. I wish you to clarify this aspect of the question.

You say at the end of your article: "Under my scheme there will be more and better libraries." I do not find the 'scheme' you speak of in your article, nor am I able to make out how 'more and better libraries and laboratories' will come into being thereunder. I am of opinion that such libraries and laboratories must be maintained and so long as donors and voluntary agencies are not coming forward in sufficient numbers, the State cannot divest itself of this responsibility.

My article is clear enough if the expression "definite use" mentioned in it is given its extensive meaning. I have not pictured a poverty-stricken India containing ignorant millions. I have pictured to myself an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a third-class or even a first-class copy of the dying civilization of the West. If my dream is fulfilled, and every one of the seven lacs of villages becomes a well-living republic in which there are no illiterates, in which no one is idle for want of work, in which everyone is usefully occupied and has nourishing food, well-ventilated dwellings and sufficient khadi for covering the body, and in which all the villagers know and observe the laws of hygiene and sanitation, such a State must have varied and increasing needs, which it must supply unless it would stagnate. I can therefore well imagine the State financing all the education my correspondent

[1] Viscount Nuffield established the Nuffield Foundation for medical, scientific and social research and John D. Rockefeller similarly endowed many charitable corporations for the advancement of learning.

mentions and much more that I could add. And if the State has such requirements, surely it will have corresponding libraries.

What, however, according to my view the State will not have is an army of B.A.s and M.A.s with their brains sapped with too much cramming and minds almost paralysed by the impossible attempt to speak and write English like Englishmen. The majority of these have no work, no employment. And when they have the latter, it is usually clerkships at which most of the knowledge gained during their twelve years of high school and college is of no use whatsoever to them.

University training becomes self-supporting when it is utilized by the State. It is criminal to pay for a training which benefits neither the nation nor the individual. In my opinion there is no such thing as individual benefit which cannot be proved to be also national benefit. And since most of my critics seem to be agreed that the existing higher education, and for that matter both primary and secondary, are not connected with realities, it cannot be of benefit to the State. When it is directly based on realities and is wholly given through the mother tongue, I shall perhaps have nothing to say against it. To be based on realities is to be based on national, i.e., State, requirements. And the State will pay for it. Even when that happy time comes, we shall find that many institutions will be conducted by voluntary contributions. They may or may not benefit the State. Much of what passes for education today in India belongs to that category and would therefore not be paid for from the general revenue, if I had the way.

But the agreement of my critics on the two main points, medium and the realities, cannot lull me to rest. They have criticized and tolerated all these many years the existing system. Now that the opportunity for reform has come, Congressmen ought to become impatient. If the medium is changed at once and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find text-books and teachers coming into being to supply the want. And if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been party to the tragic waste of the nation's time and energy in trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that provincial languages are introduced at once in Government offices and courts, if the Provincial Governments have the power or the influence over the courts. If we believe in the necessity of the reform, we can achieve it in no time.

Harijan, 30-7-1938

CWMG-LXVII

290. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[*July 30, 1938*]

With regard to the recent ministerial crisis in C.P., it has been suggested that Dr. Khare was asked to sign a prepared draft containing humiliating admissions. I have no hesitation in saying that this suggestion is baseless. Dr. Khare, accompanied by several members of the Working Committee, came to Segaon on July 25, and after discussion he prepared a statement to be issued to the Press.[1] I made corrections and additions to it, but after reading my corrections and additions he changed his mind and said that he would consult his friends and then decide whether to issue it or not. In my opinion there was nothing humiliating in it, if only because it contained nothing but facts. I hardly think Dr. Khare will dispute this. The best thing, however, is for the public to have the statement itself before it. I invite Dr. Khare to publish a facsimile of it. I have kept no copy of his own with my amendments. He took it with him to Nagpur.

Harijan, 6-8-1938

291. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 30, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Herewith a letter to Dr. Khare. Send with it a copy of my statement[2]. I hope you have gone through it closely. Send a copy to me also.

I hope Lilavati is feeling better. She must be wearing the glasses.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11615

[1] For the text of the statement and Gandhiji's corrections, *vide* Appendix III.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

292. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 30, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You have told somebody here that you wish to come and stay here. If you wish to come, everything is of course ready. But if you are not coming, I should like to keep Kishorelal here for some time. But this does not mean that you should drop the idea of coming. I will ask Kishorelal only if you are not coming. I wish you to visit Ramana Maharshi as early as possible.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2995

293. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 31, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is for the sake of telling you all well again. Khan Saheb is leaving tomorrow. Hanna the day after. Probably Kishorelal will come to stay here for a few days on Tuesday.

Your apples are still being eaten.

Jivraj brought a new thermos yesterday. That is the result of entrusting you with a mission—quite a paying thing!

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3873. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7029

[1] The addressee called on Ramana Maharshi on August 19, 1938.

CWMG - LXVII

294. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 31, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I had got word, before you brought it, that David would be coming at 3.

I am replying to Dr. Khare. Send the letter[1] today. What a pitiable condition!

Two other letters also are enclosed.

What *The Hindu* says about the Governor is strange. I wish to write even more strongly than that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11616

295. LETTER TO SARASWATI

SEGAON,
July 31, 1938

CHI. CRAZY SURU,

I have your letter. I hope that you have calmed down now. Kanti's letters too keep coming and they cause me anxiety. Why do you despair? Even as regards food you have to build up your health on a regular diet.

Manu has arrived. Sushila has stayed on for two or three days at the Mahila Ashram with Tari. It has stopped raining these days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6169. Also C.W. 3443. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] Not traceable

CWMG - LXVII

296. INSTRUCTIONS ON PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA[1]

August 1, 1938

Segaon has cholera. Therefore nothing should be taken by anybody from Segaon. Those who have got cholera may be isolated where they are, unless they could be conveniently shifted elsewhere. No one should be allowed near them except those who have been entrusted with nursing. The latter should be bare-bodied or have special clothes which should be put away when they come into contact with the outside world. They should wash themselves in permanganated water (rose coloured) every time they come in contact with others. All should drink only boiled water and have simple food, rather underfeed than overfeed. Those who have no scruples may be inoculated.

Send me report through Mahadev. He starts from Maganwadi at about 12.30 p.m. Did Kaka drink *nira*? It should be stopped for the time being.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-9-1938

297. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 1, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have written a rather long article. The typing has not begun yet. It can therefore go only tomorrow. If possible I will send it tonight.

Dhiru is coming tomorrow. Navin will go there today. I have still to read the mail sent by you. I do not know when I shall be able to write about picketing. I am sending Nayakum's

[1] According to the source D.B. Kalelkar, Narhar Athavale, Pandurang Bhurke, Gajanan Dabke, Murlidhar Sabnis and Shripad Joshi had drunk of unfermented palm juice, *nira*, on July 30 and on July 31 developed symptoms which the Civil Surgeon of Wardha diagnosed as those of cholera. On August 1 Aryanayakum reported the matter to Gandhiji who wrote out these instructions. Athavale, Bhurke and Dabke later succumbed to the disease.

CWMG - LXVII

article. You will see that I have divided it into two parts. I will have no objection if they are combined.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11618

298. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*August 1, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Bablo also would require something. Please, therefore, have this. I suppose someone will give the ticket, etc., to Hanna when she goes there. She is to be sent off tomorrow.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11558

299. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

August 1, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I am in a very great hurry. It is good that you sent the names of the medicines. Observe the rule about writing on a fixed day in the week.

Hanna is leaving tomorrow. Khan Saheb has left. Kishorebhai and Manu are coming tomorrow. And so the number will remain the same.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7092. Also C.W. 4584. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

[1] *Vide* the following letter in which Gandhiji writes: "Hanna is leaving tomorrow."

CWMG - LXVII

300. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After *August 1, 1938*]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Cholera has broken out in Karanji. Help has been sent, but let this man take a note to C. S. He will bring from there medicines, the doctor, etc., whatever is available. Send the post. When will the oranges start coming?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11557

301. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 2, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

Kanu has frightened me. He says you flatly refuse to take medicine. This is not right. Sushila and Amritlal are going there. Having heard that Mahodaya needs help, I am sending Sushila. Take whatever medicine she gives, either oral or for external application. I have told her that she must give no medicine containing non-vegetarian or alcoholic ingredients.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10902

302. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 3, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I have deliberately hardened my heart and am not coming there to you. You need not reply to this letter. Get well soon. Do send for me whenever you consider my presence necessary.

CWMG - LXVII

My *vandemataram* to Bhai Daftari.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10903

303. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 3, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

Pandurang and Dabke have gone where all of us will go sooner or later. I kept back this fact from you. But why keep it a secret? It is necessary that you should not let the news affect you. Is not our study of the *Gita* tested in digesting such news calmly?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10904

304. TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, BURMA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

[On or before *August 5, 1938*][1]

YOUR WIRE[2]. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT INFLUENCE I CAN HAVE ON BURMESE FRIENDS. THE RIOTS[3] ARE MOST DEPLORABLE WHATEVER THE CAUSE. THEY SHOW THAT WE BOTH HAVE NOT PASSED THE BARBAROUS STAGE. HOW I WISH THE HEADS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES COULD DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF AVOIDING A REPETITION OF SUCH TRAGEDIES.

The Hindu, 5-8-1938

[1] The news item reporting this is dated August 5.

[2] This read: "Happily with the services of Indian and Burmese elders peace is being restored. The Burma Congress Committee believes that a suitable public statement by you will go a great way in removing the misunderstanding, if any, and restoring the original cordial relations and amity between Indians and Burmans."

[3] Between Buddhists and Muslims which broke out on July 26. *Vide* also "Recent Riots in Burma", 20-8-1938.

CWMG - LXVII

305. LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH

August 5, 1938

MY DEAR SHAUKAT,

Since this was written I have your letter. I think we need not worry for the moment. Miss Harrison must have overtaken the immediate need. I am making my effort. Haven't heard from Bhopal.[1]

You must set Zohra right.

Love to you both.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

306. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON,
August 5, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

Mahadev has replied to your letters. I am writing this with the greatest difficulty. I have been thinking a great deal about you. From Saraswati's latest letter which I have received, it seems that she is calm. Ramachandran also writes to say that she is regaining poise. If so, it is very good indeed. I think it is best that Saraswati should stay at Trivandrum at present. All the same I will be ready for all contingencies. You should stop worrying. Whatever is to happen will happen. Keep me informed. Give up your anger towards Ramachandran. Do not distrust him. Your respect for him should not diminish.

Kakasaheb is down with cholera. Chances are he will survive. Chimanlal has been sent to the hospital for an operation for piles. Two very dear co-workers of Kaka died of cholera. Nana Athavale[2] is also down with it. Such is the position. Manu has come. She is very happy. Write sometimes to Ba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7345. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Nawab of Bhopal", p. 182.

[2] Narhar Lakshman Athavale, a worker of the Mahila Ashram

CWMG - LXVII

307. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

SEGAON,
August 5, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Chimanlal has been sent to hospital for an operation for piles. Please send someone to find out if he requires anything. If you yourself can visit him, do so.

Kaka is all right I hope. Tell him that I have sent a telegram[1] to Bal three days back.

Look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10752

308. LETTER TO SARASWATI

August 5, 1938

CHI. SARU,

If I am not to call you crazy shall I call you wise? Have you really grown wise? Why would Kanti be uneasy if that were true? Kanti's letters reveal that you are only crazy. Tell me now what I am to believe. Give me all the details: what your diet is, how many hours you sleep, what you study and whether you play the *vina*. Do you go to school or study at home? Do you keep cheerful?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Manu has arrived. Kakasaheb has had cholera but I hope he will survive.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6170. Also C.W. 3444. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] Not traceable

CWMG - LXVII

309. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

August 5/6, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I am writing this with great difficulty. As Kakasaheb is down with cholera, Amritlal is at Wardha nursing him. Chimanlal has been sent to the hospital for an operation of piles. Most probably Kishorelal will come tomorrow. Two very devoted young co-workers of Kaka fell victims to cholera and have left this world. Nana of Mahila Ashram has also fallen a prey. I have frequently to go to Wardha. Such is the position. I hope you are improving. Cholera has spread a little in Segaon too.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI VIJAYABEHN
AT NARANBHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S HOUSE
VARAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7093. Also C.W. 4585. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

310. FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

Press cuttings on the ministerial crisis in C. P.[1] make most instructive reading. That the resolution of the Working Committee condemning the action of a veteran leader like Dr. Khare

[1] The crisis in the C.P. Ministry had begun soon after the assumption of office by the ministry headed by N. B. Khare. First a minister had made recommendation direct to the Governor concerning the release of certain convicts (*see* footnote 1, p. 178) and later there were differences among ministers leading to tension. In April the Congress Parliamentary Committee managed at a meeting at Pachmarhi to resolve these differences and achieve a settlement. But Khare did not keep the terms of the settlement and continued to function without consulting the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Committee. In order to get rid of certain ministers he submitted his resignation to the Governor and asked the ministers concerned to resign. When they refused to oblige, the Governor dismissed them and later invited Khare to form a new ministry.

would come in for some severe criticism was a foregone conclusion.[1] But I was not prepared for the ignorance betrayed by the critics on the functions of the Working Committee.

Dr. Khare was not only guilty of gross indiscipline in flouting the warnings of the Parliamentary Board, but he betrayed incompetence as a leader by allowing himself to be fooled by the Governor, or not knowing that by his precipitate action he was compromising the Congress. He heightened the measure of indiscipline by refusing the advice of the Working Committee to make a frank confession of his guilt and withdraw from leadership. The Working Committee would have been guilty of gross neglect of duty if it had failed to condemn Dr. Khare's action and adjudge his incompetence. I write these lines in sorrow. It was no pleasure to me to advise the Working Committee to pass the resolution it did. Dr. Khare is a friend. He has run to my aid as a physician when quick medical assistance was needed. He has often come to me for advice and guidance and has expressed himself to be in need of my blessings. I banked on this friendship when, on the 25th ultimo, I appealed to him bravely to stand down and work as a camp-follower. He himself seemed to be willing but he was badly advised, and not only declined to accept the Working Committee's advice but sent a letter instead, questioning the propriety of the whole of the action of the Working Committee in connection with his ill-advised and hasty resignation of office and equally hasty formation of a new Cabinet. I hope that on mature reflection he would have seen the error of his conduct and taken the action of the Working Committee in a sportsmanlike spirit. There is no moral turpitude involved in his action. He is a good fighter. He is free with his purse in helping friends. These are qualities of which anyone may be proud. But these qualities need not make the possessor a good Prime Minister or administrator. I would urge him as a friend to work for the time being as a camp-follower and give the Congress the benefit of the admitted qualities I have recited.

If Dr. Khare was impatient of his recalcitrant colleagues he should have rushed, not to the Governor, but to the Working Committee and tendered his resignation. If he felt aggrieved by its decision, he could have gone to the A.I.C.C. But in no case could any Minister take internal quarrels to the Governor and seek relief through him without the previous consent of the

[1] The Working Committee condemning the action of Khare held him to be "unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization". For the text of the resolution, *vide* Appendix IV.

Working Committee. If the Congress machinery is slow-moving, it can be made to move faster. If the men at the helm are self-seekers or worthless, the A.I.C.C. is there to remove them. Dr. Khare erred grievously in ignoring or, what is worse, not knowing this simple remedy and rushing to the Governor on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee to end his agony.

It is suggested that the men who succeed him are self-seekers and incapable, and can make no approach to Dr. Khare in character. If they are as they have been portrayed by their critics, they are bound to fail in the discharge of the onerous responsibility they have undertaken. But here again the Working Committee has to work within the limits prescribed for it. It cannot impose ministers on a province. After all they are elected members, and if the party that has the power to elect them chooses to do so, the Working Committee has no authority to interfere so long as they remain under discipline and are not known to be persons unworthy of public confidence. But the crisis should surely put the Ministers on their mettle. It is up to them to show by their conduct that the charges levelled against them are baseless, and that they are capable of discharging their trust ably and selflessly.

It speaks well for the impartiality of the Indian Press in that several journals found it necessary to condemn the action of the Working Committee in pronouncing the opinion it did on the part H. E. the Governor of C. P. played during the unfortunate crisis. I am not in the habit of hastily judging opponents. The criticism of the resolution has left me unconvinced of any injustice done to the Governor by it. In estimating his action, time is of the essence. In accepting the resignations of Dr. Khare and his two colleagues, in demanding resignations from the other three Ministers, in expecting an immediate answer, in summarily rejecting their explanation and dismissing them, and for this purpose keeping himself, his staff and the poor Ministers awake almost the whole night, the Governor betrayed a haste which I can only call indecent. Nothing would have been lost if instead of accepting Dr. Khare's resignation there and then, he had awaited the meeting of the Working Committee which was to meet two days after the strange drama. In dealing with a similar crisis the Bengal Governor acted differently from the C.P. Governor.

Of course, the Governor's action conformed to the letter of the law, but it killed the spirit of the tacit compact between the British Government and the Congress. Let the critics of the Working Committee's action read the Viceroy's carefully prepared

declaration which, among other declarations, induced the Working Committee to try the office experiment, and ask themselves whether the Governor was not bound to take official notice of what was going on between the Working Committee and Dr. Khare and his colleagues. These indisputable facts lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the Governor, in his eagerness to discredit the Congress, kept a vigil and brought about a situation which he knew was to be uncomfortable for the Congress. The unwritten compact between the British Government and the Congress is a gentleman's agreement in which both are expected to play the game.

The resolution therefore gives English administrators more credit than evidently the critics would give. Englishmen are sportsmen. They have ample sense of humour. They can hit hard and take a beating also in good grace. I have no doubt that the Governor will take the Congress resolution in good part.

But whether he does so or not, the Working Committee was bound to express what it felt about the Governor's action. It wishes to avoid a fight if it can; it will take it up if it must. If the fight is to be avoided, the Governors must recognize the Congress as the one national organization that is bound some day or other to replace the British Government. The U.P., the Bihar and the Orissa Governors waited for the Congress lead when a crisis faced them. No doubt, in the three cases, it was obviously to their interest to do so. Is it to be said that in C.P. it was obviously to the British interest to precipitate the crisis in order to discomfit the Congress? The Working Committee resolution is a friendly warning to the British Government that if they wish to avoid an open rupture with the Congress, the powers that be should not allow a repetition of what happened at Nagpur on the night of the 20th July.

Let us understand the functions of the Congress. For internal growth and administration, it is as good a democratic organization as any to be found in the world. But this democratic organization has been brought into being to fight the greatest imperialist power living. For this external work, therefore, it has to be likened to an army. As such it ceases to be democratic. The central authority possesses plenary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it. Provincial organizations and Provincial Parliamentary Boards are subject to the central authority.

It has been suggested that, whilst my thesis holds good when there is active war in the shape of civil resistance going on, it

cannot whilst the latter remains under suspension. But suspension of civil disobedience does not mean suspension of war. The latter can only end when India has a Constitution of her own making. Till then the Congress must be in the nature of an army. Democratic Britain has set up an ingenious system in India which, when you look at it in its nakedness, is nothing but a highly organized efficient military control. It is not less so under the present Government of India Act. The Ministers are mere puppets so far as the real control is concerned. The collectors and the police, who 'sir' them today, may at a mere command from the Governors, their real masters, unseat the Ministers, arrest them and put them in lock-up. Hence it is that I have suggested that the Congress has entered upon office not to work the Act in the manner expected by the framers but in a manner so as to hasten the day of substituting it by a genuine Act of India's own coining.

Therefore the Congress conceived as a fighting machine has to centralize control and guide every department and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expect unquestioned obedience. The fight cannot be fought on any other terms.

They say this is fascism pure and simple. But they forget that fascism is the naked sword. Under it Dr. Khare should lose his head. The Congress is the very antithesis of fascism, because it is based on non-violence pure and undefiled. Its sanctions are all moral. Its authority is not derived from the control of panoplied black-shirts. Under the Congress regime Dr. Khare can remain the hero of Nagpur, and the students and citizens of Nagpur, and for that matter other places, may execrate me or/and the Working Committee without a hair of the demonstrators' heads being touched so long as they remain non-violent. That is the glory and strength of the Congress—not its weakness. Its authority is derived from that non-violent attitude. It is the only purely non-violent political organization of importance, to my knowledge, throughout the world. And let it continue to be the boast of the Congress that it can command the willing and hearty obedience from its followers, even veterans like Dr. Khare, so long as they choose to belong to it.

Harijan, 6-8-1938

CWMG-LXVII

311. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEGAON,
August 6, 1938

BHAI MANGALDAS,

I got your letter too late to be able to send you my blessings on the 3rd. You did not give either your son's or his bride's name. The marriage celebration must have passed off without any trouble. Please convey my blessings to both. May both of them devote themselves to service and may God grant them long lives.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4680. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

312. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 6, 1938

I understand. I shall not keep you away from serving me. Do sleep when you feel sleepy. It will be good if you give up trying to get up at night. I shall wake you up if I feel the need. You must fix the quantity of your food. More on hearing the details regarding the piles.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4298. Also S.G. 68

CWMG - LXVII

313. TO SEGAON WORKERS

August 6, 1938

We should bear in mind the following:

1. Spittle is also excretion. Therefore we must never clean the utensils where we spit or wash our soiled hands.

2. We should not use water direct from the tap as it wastes water and not many people can use the tap at the same time. Therefore everyone must collect the water he needs in a *lota*.

3. No one should brush his teeth at the place meant for washing hands and mouth. The teeth must be brushed at a separate place and the mouth rinsed with water from a *lota*. Brushing of the teeth too should be done near a hedge or where people do not happen to walk.

4. We should never spit or blow the nose on the paths.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 4674

314. LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR

[Before *August 7, 1938*][1]

I would urge you not to enforce your threat.[2] It would be an abuse of satyagraha.[3] You cannot impose a Harijan on the Ministry. You can agitate in a peaceful manner for the inclusion of a Harijan in the cabinet, if you are satisfied that among the members of the C. P. Assembly there is a competent Harijan prepared to accept the Congress discipline, enjoying the confidence of the Harijan members and able to shoulder Ministerial responsibility. I am sure you will not insist that in every case and irrespective of merit a Harijan must have a place in the C. P. Ministry.

The Hindustan Times, 8-8-1938

[1] The news item from which this has been extracted is dated August 7.

[2] This sentence is from a report in *The Hindu*, 8-8-1938.

[3] The addressee, a Harijan member of the C. P. Congress Committee, had threatened to start a satyagraha if a Harijan was not included in the C. P. Cabinet.

CWMG - LXVII

315. *HARIJANS AND HINDU HOTELS*

The strike of the Hindu hotel owners does credit neither to them, nor to Ahmedabad, nor does it afford protection to Hinduism. These hotel owners could close down their hotels if others did not go to their hotels because of the presence of Harijans there. But resorting to strike is tantamount to preventing the Congress Government from doing justice.

The question arises whether the Hindus on strike are on the side of the Congress or opposed to it. Are they enemies of Hinduism or are they its well-wishers? If they consider themselves supporters of the Congress, they should lovingly feed Harijans despite having to put up with difficulties. If, while doing so, other Hindus stop coming to their restaurants, they should put up with this. If all Hindu restaurant-owners practise this dharma, other Hindus would either be forced to take advantage of those very restaurants or wholly give up eating in such restaurants. In the latter eventuality the restaurant-owners should look for a new source of livelihood. They should on no account forsake their dharma.

If they are Congressmen—and they should be—they should regard untouchability as *adharma* and, if that is so, it is evident that by resorting to strike they are practising *adharma*.

This strike indicates that the ordinary mass of Hindus share the opinion of the restaurant-owners. If that is so they are opposed to the Congress. But that cannot be so, because Ahmedabad has always sided with the Congress. How can they not be convinced that the practice of untouchability cannot survive in this age? Akha Bhagat has taught us that untouchability is a superfluous appendage and the cutting off of such a limb is beneficial.

Moreover, today, we find Hindus everywhere eating in all sorts of places. Their religion does not come in their way there. They frequent Irani restaurants. They freely visit English hotels. There is no prejudice against Harijans in those places.

If Harijans put on the caste mark on their foreheads, wear beads and go to restaurants without proclaiming their caste, who can prevent them? How can one find out about their caste? There is no doubt that many Harijans go to restaurants in this way. Is the strike then merely for the crime which the Government

has committed in issuing the order to enforce its own law? If those who regard untouchability as their dharma actually wish to put it into practice, they should stop going to restaurants, taking foreign medicines; they should refrain from eating sweets whether foreign or Indian, as there is every possibility of Harijans having had a hand in their making. Foreign medicines are not made by Hindus and who knows how many Harijans may not have touched them before they reach the consumer? Today there are many vaids who do not practise untouchability. Is not their medicine polluted? And the less said about sweets the better. All this is worth considering. And those who do so will certainly come to the conclusion that those who practise untouchability should give up many other things. And, as that is not possible, they should realize the difficulty involved in it and tolerate the presence of Harijans in restaurants.

The path of those who regard untouchability as being opposed to dharma is simple. If no restaurant-owner opens the doors of his restaurant to them these people should start restaurants in whatever way it is possible and lovingly feed those visiting them. If anyone feels that Harijans are dirty, that their clothes are unclean, rules of cleanliness applicable to all can be enforced with regard to restaurants. Absence of cleanliness is not a monopoly of Harijans alone.

A few words about the duties of the Government. So long as public opinion is in favour of the Congress, the dharma of the latter is clear. On no account will it tolerate untouchability. It will sink or swim with Harijans. Even if the Congress can rule over the entire world by doing injustice to Harijans, it should regard it as dirt. Abolition of untouchability is an indispensable part of Congress policy. If no one starts a restaurant which would be open to all, either the municipality or the Government should run such places as required at its own expense. If such a restaurant does not find enough customers it could be closed down. But not a single Hindu restaurant should be allowed to function which does not permit the entry of Harijans.

Now a few words to the Harijans. Just as Congressmen and sanatanist Hindus have to practise their dharma, so have the Harijans. These men and women have to see to it that they do not lose the game which is almost theirs. I have before me letters written by some proven Harijan workers. In these they have mentioned that at some places either in order to show their enthusiasm or to show their gratitude towards the Government, or for some other reason, Harijans, in large numbers, had surrounded

restaurants and attempted to enter them. They were not even properly dressed. Those who do so render no service to Harijans but rather do them harm. They misuse laws laid down by the Government. Some rights are such that they cannot be utilized fully as soon as they are given. Some time must elapse before they are fully enjoyed and we should patiently put up with it. This right to enter restaurants is of this nature. Not a single Harijan must visit them to assert a right. Any Harijan who is really hungry and is passing by a restaurant, who has the money and is clad in clean clothes, should certainly go to the restaurant. He should suffer any insult which he encounters while doing so, he should inform the Harijan Sevak Sangh of this without taking any offence and the latter will certainly take steps to ensure that he is not insulted again. And, finally, if steps outside of the law prove to be futile, he will resort to legal help. The statement made by Shri Muldas in this connection is very useful. Harijan men and women will see it published in the current issue and I hope that they will put it into practice.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 7-8-1938

316. LETTER TO DIRECTOR, THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY

SEGAON,
August 7, 1938

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of 28th ultimo and a copy of *The Story of the World in Pictures*.

I do not consider myself in any way qualified to pronounce an opinion on ventures like yours. I would therefore ask you to excuse me for my inability to comply with your request.

Yours faithfully,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXVII

317. LETTER TO PERINBEHN CAPTAIN

SEGAON,
August 7, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter was welcome. If you knew of my relations with Parsi women, you would not feel the distrust that you do. I cannot even dream of having ill will for Nariman.[1] I was responsible for bringing him into the Working Committee. But my conscience still tells me that whatever happened as a result of the inquiry conducted to probe into the mistakes committed by him was perfectly right.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11562

318. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

August 7, 1938

CHI. VALJI,

I have kept back both your articles. The one about Shankaracharya seems unnecessary. The argument does not sound convincing. The other about the *Manusmriti* is rather imaginative. It makes pleasant reading but it does not help much in understanding the meaning of the *Smritis*. What would you suggest?

How is Dudhibehn? How is the children's education going on? How is their health? And yours? Here Kaka and a few others have had cholera. Two workers have passed away.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7480. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] K. F. Nariman had accused Sardar Patel of using his influence to get B. G. Kher elected as the leader of the Congress Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly in March, 1937. The matter was referred to a tribunal consisting of Gandhiji and Bahadurji. Their judgment went in favour of Sardar Patel. Nariman and his followers then accused Gandhiji of favouritism.

CWMG - LXVII

319. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 7, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I was told that Vijaya's letter was sent to you yesterday. Even though the doctor has given permission, let Kaka start eating gradually. Do not give him plum-water. Its effect is not good. Nothing can equal *mosambi* juice. Let him take semi-liquid porridge of sago, and that also only if he feels hungry. He may take a mixture of five *tolas* milk, five *tolas* water and one spoonful of sago. It is advisable to go slow. I hear that Dharmadhikari had been sent for. In any case he had been given permission. If that is so, I must apologize to him.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10754

320. LETTER TO NANA DHARMADHIKARI

August 7, 1938

BHAI NANA,

I thought that you had left without permission and that is why I was angry. I see now that you had been called away. No doubt I thus did you an injustice, though unintentionally. I make amends for it now by acknowledging my mistake through this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4754

[1] *Vide* the following item.

321. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON,
August 7, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I do not like your being ill. I should like Jayaprakash to come here after his work in Malabar is over. In the beginning of October I shall have to go to the Frontier Province. Here Kaka, Nana and some other workers have had cholera. Two very fine young workers have succumbed. Kaka barely survived. Cholera is raging all around. It is raging in Segaon, too. Sushila has been working hard. Manu is here. Navin and Dhiru also are here. I am arranging to send *Harijan-bandhu* and *Harijan*.

Mirabehn, Ba and the rest are well. I am also keeping well. I take milk and eat *khakhra*, vegetables and fruit.

Rajkumari is coming on the 9th. She is in Poona. Kanti is in Bangalore. I am observing voluntary silence and it is going on. I speak only when necessary.

Rajendra Babu is going to the south in two or three days to see a sadhu, a *maharshi*.[1] You know him by name because you were to go to his ashram while returning from Travancore. His name is Ramana Maharshi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3519

322. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 7, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I got your letter. I was much relieved. I am sending milk from here. Sushila, Pyarelal and I think that it would be better if you refrained from taking milk today. Fruit and lime juice will

[1] Rajendra Prasad visited Sri Ramana Maharshi's Asramam from August 14 to August 18. He then requested the Maharshi for a message for Gandhiji. The Maharshi said: "*Adhyatma shakti* is working within him and leading him on. That is enough, what more is necessary?" (*Talks*, under 18-8-1938)

CWMG - LXVII

be enough. Do not worry about the weakness, but there should be no injury to the piles. For their quick shrinking it is better to avoid food.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10582

323. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 7, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I think that the women alone will not be able to cope with the vegetables. Two of them are guests. And the sick Ba should be left out of account. Mirabehn also is not there. You should, therefore, put the responsibility on a man. For the present let it be Navin. He should carry on with whatever help he may get from the women.

A bucket for everybody is too much. Everybody must have a *lota* of course. A lantern for everybody is also a luxury. We should always think of what the poor do and try as far as possible to live as they do.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8571. Also C.W. 7069. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

324. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

August 7, 1938

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I shall want the motor-car tomorrow, Monday, at 12 o'clock, if it is not raining. Balkrishna is to be taken to Nagpur.

It was my fault that the car was kept here the whole day yesterday. I was sorry Kishorelal did not turn up yesterday. My heart cried and memory failed. What am I to do?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9123

CWMG - LXVII

325. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 7, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

If you cannot find Jayantiprasad's address there, please return the letter here. It is all right that you did not come. The story about . . .[1] has got a wide publicity from there. How did it happen? Please make an inquiry. From what Santok writes, what has happened is serious. This refusal has shocked me a good deal indeed. Such incidents test me fairly severely. 'In a man brooding on objects of the senses attachment to them springs up.'[2] I am cancelling the note about Sarvat. I do not wish to give him publicity in that way. I am returning the rest to you, believing that you will prefer to get it typed by Babla. If that is not so, return it early in the morning so that I may get it typed here.

There has been one more case of cholera here. Sushila, Kanu and Soptekar were therefore busy in the village from 6.30 to 11.30 in the morning. Eighty persons were inoculated. The man was on death-bed. Maybe he will survive.

For today I am sending milk for Chimanlal from here. Most probably I will do that every day.

There are many letters to be posted. Check the addresses on them. There is no need to despatch them urgently. Sushila and Balkrishna will leave tomorrow by the 1 o'clock train. I have already written to Radhakrishna Bajaj about the car. However, please inquire about it. If it is raining, then of course we will not let them go. Kishorelal has come. He does have some fever. Yesterday he had an attack of asthma too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not have the courage to write about Manahar. If you have and if you wish to ask, you may. I am afraid there will be a negative reply from that quarter also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11621

[1] The omission as in the source
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 62

326. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 7, 1938

Dharma says that you should not accept any money from your uncle. Whatever book I may sanction may be purchased with the public funds.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4299

327. TELEGRAM TO S. K. PATIL

August 8, 1938

S. K. PATIL
BOMBAY

WITH REFERENCE YOUR LETTER SORRY HAVING CAUSED WORRY CONFUSION PLEASE IGNORE ADVICE CONTAINED MY AND DO TELEGRAM WHATEVER YOU THINK BEST IN CONGRESS INTEREST.[1]

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

328. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 8, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

It will be better to keep Kaka hungry rather than overfeed him. Do consult the doctor, though of course not about food—that you may ask me.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10755

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter regarding the suspension of the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Girgaon District Congress Committee.

CWMG - LXVII

329. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 8, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I hope you are better. Go slow about food.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10583

330. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 9, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending whatever is ready. Hope you are well. Do not be too eager to come.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11643

331. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 9, 1938

CHI. MANILAL,

I got your letter. The practicability of Mr. Kallenbach's suggestion will depend on my ability to send teachers from here. But that is nil. It is difficult to get teachers who would satisfy me. Even if I come across such a teacher, he would have to be paid a salary which we cannot afford. Thus whatever arrangement you think of making will have to be made locally. My opinion, therefore, is that the plan of a school will not work.

So I have to think only about *I.O.*[1] If the people there give a clear guarantee to make good the loss, not oral but such as will satisfy the bankers, then it is your duty to keep it going.

[1] *Indian Opinion*

CWMG - LXVII

If Rustomjee Trust offers some help, there is no harm in accepting it. But I would like only direct help from the people.

If the *I.O.* can be kept going, Sushila must return there. I think that essential for helping you as also for her and your peace of mind. Sushila's presence by your side will by itself be a source of comfort, such as you cannot have from anything else.

I feel that if Sushila goes there, Arun should accompany her and Sita should stay here. Both of you should learn to bear such separation. I am considering here only the welfare of the children.

In case Sushila goes there, you should treat Phœnix as your home and stay there. You should overcome your desire of coming over here too often. It is, of course, a different thing if you get an unsought opportunity of coming.

You should overcome the desire to see your elders. If separation from one's people is one's dharma, one must cheerfully abide by that dharma.

Today this is enough. The other news Sushila may give if she wishes and knows how to.

If Ramdas can be tempted to stay there, then there is nothing better than that. In that case the children of both of you should also be trained to look after the work there.

About Hanna also, whatever Sushila may write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4878

332. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 9, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I read your letter to Sharda. Do not take all the freedom about food that the doctors may give. Eat only as much as the body demands. If you do that you will be able to return early and there will be no complication.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10584

CWMG - LXVII

333. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 10, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

How wholly confidential? But you did right. Herewith is a telegram for Ramachandran. Sell the eggs to Bharatan and Nayakum. If they do not want them, send them to the hospital.

I went and saw Nana last night. While on the way, I got a note from him and so went on foot with Sushila. His condition at the time was good. The present report is not bad. From there I returned in the car.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11622

334. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 10, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

There is no change in Pyarelal's condition. At the moment there seems to be no danger. Kaka will regain strength slowly. Do not be impatient.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kaur and Krishna, Jamnalal and Ramana Maharshi, Ba.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10763

CWMG - LXVII

335. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

August 10, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter and *rakhi*. I am writing this letter with the *rakhi* tied round the wrist. Congratulations on the improvement in your health. Kaka and Nana are fairly well. The danger seems to have passed. I am doing well. The diet is practically the same. Girdhari and his wife (recently married) have come here for today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Rajkumari arrived on Tuesday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7094. Also C.W. 4586. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

336. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 10, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

You are right in taking less milk. I have nothing else to say.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10585

CWMG - LXVII

337. LETTER TO UMABAI L. ATHAVALE

SEGAON,
August 11, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

I hope you are not brooding over Nana's[1] death. I am impressed by your courage. After seeing you, I am able to understand Nana's spirit of sacrifice and self-control better. Nana's body has perished, but his spirit will remain in the Mahila Ashram and will be a source of inspiration to the sisters.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Bapuki Virat Vatsalata, p. 75

338. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 11, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Post the accompanying to Jairamdas at Hyderabad. Send the following telegram today, if possible:

"Jairamdas
Prem Bhavan
H'bad. (Deccan)
Girdharijidas had reported your health. You must leave Sindh. G. D. will suggest Nainital. Love.
Bapu."[2]

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11623

[1] Narhar L. Athavale, her son
[2] This is in English.

CWMG - LXVII

339. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

August 11, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

If Premji is well enough he should be ready to leave today. I shall write to Jhaverbhai about the piles, he will arrange about the operation.

Consult Munnalal about Bankelal, I have already done so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1908

340. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 12, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. You should not be impatient. I am trying to help you according to my lights. I hope you will not spoil things by your impatience. Do not give up your faith in Ramachandran and others. If you slight him, my efforts will be wasted. I have had a letter from Saraswati about her having got dysentery and I have therefore wired to Ramachandran. I am not at all negligent in this matter.

What a silly thing to say? Why you didn't get cholera! If you accept my diagnosis you will make rapid progress. Nana Athavale passed away yesterday.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7346. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Umabai L. Athavale", p. 242.

CWMG - LXVII

341. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 12, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You may certainly call a meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay if you wish. Delhi will not suit. If you think my presence will be necessary, call the meeting in Bombay. The best place, of course, will be Wardha. If you agree, consult Jamnalal by wire. From the point of view of facilities Bombay will probably be better. You need not consult my convenience. It will be better if the notice of the meeting is issued early. Do what you think best. On second thoughts, I am inclined in favour of Bombay. Allahabad also may be considered. We never hold meetings there. But this is only a suggestion for your consideration.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 223

342. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 12, 1938

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Go through this and give me your opinion. I do not wish to use the money received from you on such matters without your approval. And it might not even be possible to divert such a large amount considering the expenditures I am incurring these days. Anyway, I want your free opinion about it. Dr. Shaukat has nothing at present. Begum Ansari owns some rural property over which Dr. Ansari's brother has staked a claim. Nobody wants to help Harold except Shaukat and Dr. Ansari's daughter Zohra. Ansari of course was always giving him money. I am not very clear what it would be best to do. You should write to me unreservedly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7994. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

CWMG - LXVII

343. LETTER TO SARASWATI

SEGAON,
August 12, 1938

CHI. SURU,

You are nothing but crazy. What a letter you write! You are calm one day and agitated for the next several days. If you continue thus it will ruin your life as well as Kanti's. Everything can be accomplished by patience only. If you give up patience you will ruin everything. So, if you will but listen to me, you will compose yourself and get well. How can even I be of any help to you in your agitated state? I do want you to see Kanti soon but not by straying from the path of dharma, not by straying from propriety. Now, what would you like to do? Get well quickly. Get rid of the dysentery. Your letter this time has caused me considerable pain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6171. Also C.W. 3445. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

344. IS VIOLENCE CREEPING IN?

Mahadev has passed on to me information containing complaints about violence being done by Congressmen. One complaint is that, in the name of peaceful picketing, picketers are resorting to methods bordering on violence, such as making a living wall beyond which no one can pass without being hurt or hurting those who make the wall. As the author of peaceful picketing I cannot recall a single instance in which I had encouraged such picketing. A friend has quoted Dharasana against me. I had suggested the occupation of salt works. But that is wholly inapplicable to the case under consideration. In Dharasana the objective was the salt works of which possession had to be taken and maintained as against the Government. The action could hardly be called picketing. But to prevent workers from going to their work by standing in front of them is pure violence and must

be given up. The owners of mills or other factories would be fully justified in invoking the assistance of the police and a Congress Government would be bound to provide it if the Congressmen concerned would not desist.

Another instance brought to my notice is that of a body of Congressmen having taken possession of the offices of a Congress Committee recognized by the Provincial Congress Committee. This is surely unpardonable unruliness.

The third instance is that of breaking up meetings by shouting and otherwise creating disturbances.

The fourth is that of reviling capitalists as a class and inciting people to loot them.

All these are clear instances of violence and indiscipline. I am told that such unruliness is on the increase. I have before me a letter which bitterly complains that whereas capitalists used to get justice during the old regime, now under the Congress regime they not only get no justice but are even insulted and humiliated.

There can be no doubt that the British system favours capitalism. The Congress, which aims at securing full justice for the famishing millions, cannot favour capitalism. But the Congress, so long as it retains non-violence as its basic policy, cannot resort to usurpation, much less allow any class of persons to be insulted or humiliated in any way whatsoever or allow any Congressman or a body of Congressmen to take the law into their own hands.

Nor can the Congress tolerate violent picketing or speeches inciting to violence.

If violence is not checked in time, the Congress will go to pieces purely from internal decay. It is up to the heads of provincial and subordinate committees to root out the evil without the least delay. If on the other hand Congressmen in general are tired of non-violence, the sooner the first article of the constitution is revised the better it will be for all concerned and the country. Let it not be said of the great organization that it used truth and non-violence as a cloak to cover untruth and violence.

Harijan, 13-8-1938

CWMG-LXVII

345. TWISTING OR INTERPRETING?[1]

A friend writes a long letter with reference to my article on 'Speakers and Politics'.[2] What is discussed in the letter can be put thus in the form of a question:

> When you say that the language of the Government of India Act should be stretched to the farthest limit, so as to give the greatest strength to the movement for Independence, do you imply that the Speaker should, or can, knowingly twist any section of the Act so as to give it the desired meaning?

I should be surprised if such an implication could be extracted from my article. It will amount to encouraging untruth. A Speaker who knowingly gives an interpretation contrary to the plain meaning of a text, renders himself unfit for the high office and discredits the Congress cause. He must, at all cost, preserve the Congress credit for honesty and integrity. What, however, I have meant is that where a section is manifestly capable of two meanings or more, he is bound to give that which favours the national cause. And when a section bears only one meaning which is manifestly restrictive of the people's liberty, he must unhesitatingly give that meaning. I have no doubt that such impartiality on the part of a Speaker will enhance his reputation and to that extent increase the moral prestige of the Congress. Having discarded violence, the strength of the Congress depends wholly upon the moral fibre and fearlessness of individual Congressmen.

Harijan, 13-8-1938

346. LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 13, 1938

MY DEAR SHAUKAT,

Here is another instalment from Miss Harrison. I have got no news from Bhopal. I do not know what should be done now. I am trying. But that takes time. Is anything possible

[1] This was published under "Notes".
[2] *Vide* pp. 172-4.

about the village? Even if I get something, I do not know that I can get £ 900 for which the guarantee is required.

How is Zohra doing?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

At the time of replying please return the enclosures.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

347. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 13, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending these letters. Agatha's letter which should have gone with Ghanshyamdas's has been left out. I am now getting a copy made. Pyarelal has 100.6° temperature and feels quite weak. We can do nothing but wait and see what happens. You may come at your usual time. Treatment is going on.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Get a copy of Perinbehn's letter made there and bring it along.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11624

348. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 13, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

Once you are on your feet, we shall discuss about the change in your diet. I may say even now that your argument is not correct. If Amritlal shares everybody's food, he will not remain fit for your service. But we shall argue about it later on.

I will have a talk with Amritlal about ghee. Pyarelal's fever has gone up to 104.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10905

CWMG - LXVII

349. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 13, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Hope Kaka passed the night comfortably. Here Pyarelal is laid up with typhoid.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10757

350. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 14, 1938

BHAI JIVANJI,

What kind of an article do you expect from me? Should you not leave me out of it? You should give me a reward if I can carry out even your other assignments.

I understand about the *Autobiography*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9946. Also C.W. 6921. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

351. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 14, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I saw your post just now. If worrying about me gives you peace of mind, by all means do so. This incident itself is such as will not allow me any peace of mind. I get a good deal of it, of course, through silence. I can see how shallow my non-attachment is. As for Pyarelal, after doing the best we can about his treatment, why need I worry about him?

CWMG - LXVII

I will go through your thing. Pyarelal has started with 101.2. He keeps cheerful. He had good sleep. He is still sleeping. Outwardly at any rate he remains peaceful. He does not resist me in anything. Let us see what happens.

Send a wire to Mridu as under:

"Can come between seventeenth nineteenth. Hope Madan better. Love to all. Bapu."

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11625

352. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 14, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

The ghee is the same that we had. Ba says that if you heat it again, it will be all right.

We need not worry about Kaka getting loose motions. He will improve only gradually. Pyarelal seems better. At the moment of writing, i.e., at 8.45, the mercury shows 103.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Has not the loom been installed yet?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10758

353. DISCUSSION WITH HENGCHIH TAO[1]

[Before *August 15, 1938*][2]

GANDHIJI: I am exceedingly sorry to receive you when I am in distress. I may not break my silence even to speak to you. But of course you will say whatever you want to. You may speak, I may not.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Notes". Since Gandhiji was observing silence his part of the discussion was conducted in writing.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 253, from which it would appear that Gandhiji had met Tao before that date.

Prof. Tao explained that he was a member of the People's Council of Action of all China. This was a body of 140 or 150 drawn from all parties in China, under which the whole of China was united to meet Japanese aggression. . . . All parties . . . were united in fighting the common danger, under one supreme military command of Chiang Kai-shek. . . . Tao was happy that a Medical Mission from India was sailing to China as a token of India's sympathy, and he asked Gandhiji if he had any suggestions to offer in order to fight the war to a successful conclusion.

G. I do not know that I can throw any light on the problem at the present moment. My method is so radical that it is wholly inapplicable to your struggle. You cannot all of a sudden change the course of the struggle. A nation in arms cannot all at once give up arms and accept non-violence as its weapon.

Prof. Tao saw the difficulty and explained that the Chinese had not even time to think, the aggression was so sudden and so unprovoked. But he would like to discuss problems of national reconstructions. He had given up University work in order to take up peasants' education and he was deeply interested in the Wardha Education Scheme. "What exactly is the core of the Scheme?" he asked.

G. The central fact is some village craft through which the whole of the man or the woman in the child can be drawn out.

"But there was the difficulty of teachers," said Prof. Tao, and Gandhiji laughed. "We had the same difficulty. Would you have trained teachers to learn a craft or craftsmen to learn the art of teaching?" asked Prof. Tao.

G. The average educated man can be expected easily to master a craft. Our craftsmen will require much longer time to acquire the necessary general instruction than an educated man, say like you, can require to learn, say, carpentry.

"But," said Prof. Tao, "our educated man is after fat jobs and money. How can he be interested in this?"

G. If the scheme is sound and appeals to the educated mind, it must prove attractive in itself and thus wean the educated youth from the lure of gold. It must fail, if it does not evoke sufficient patriotism from the educated youth. There is one advantage with us. Those who have received instruction through the Indian languages cannot enter colleges. It is just possible that they will find the scheme attractive.

Prof. Tao was deeply interested in our present political struggle. How were we going to acquire power at the centre?

G. If we are true to our salt in the seven provinces, the accession of strength that will come to us will put us on the way to power at the centre.

T. But the power is being felt everywhere, and the Congress prestige has risen. Has it not?

G. The Congress prestige has risen. The people have become conscious of their power and strength. The Government also recognize this. My fear is that this power may throw us off our balance.

Prof. Tao reverted to the question of mass education. He made an attempt to describe the Chinese system of "relay" teachers whereby each man or woman who had learnt something had to pass it on to the next one he or she came across. Even the child, the "little" teacher, had to share his or her learning with his illiterate parents, and the Chinese through this system were liquidating illiteracy and ignorance on a mass scale.

G. I have no doubt that it can. I would like you to write for me a short note on how the "relay" teachers and the "little" teachers are taught, how they teach and with what result.

Prof. Tao said he would gladly comply.

Prof. Tao would not go without a message from Gandhiji for the people of China. He explained that even a non-violent message would be welcome. . . . They were engaged in a war of self-defence, but in other respects they were observing non-violence. . . . On May 20 Chinese planes had flown over Japanese towns, and they might easily have spread death and destruction among the people of Japan in retaliation for the bombing of so many Chinese ports by Japan. But instead of raining bombs they rained handbills and leaflets showing the wrong of the war. . . .

G. But the self-inflicted restraint won't last when the real stress comes. The temptation will be irresistible. I shall not be surprised. It is inevitable. There is no love in war. We have got to come to the conclusion that either there is to be complete non-violence or undiluted violence. Is not this enough message?

Prof. Tao wondered if some day the Chinese might expect to have Gandhiji in their midst.

G. I almost came to your country when those who had invited me had to stop me from going owing to the disturbances that had taken place. I do want to see peace reigning in your land during my lifetime. Nothing will please me better than to visit your great country some day.

Harijan, 27-8-1938

CWMG-LXVII

354. LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

[*August 15, 1938*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

In order better to guide R. and through him the State Congress and if at all possible to avoid friction between the State and the people, I am sending Shri Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to study the situation and to offer friendly assistance. She expects to leave here tomorrow and to proceed to Trivandrum after a day's stay in Madras. The Rajkumari will not address public meetings or do any public propaganda. I hope you will make full use of her services.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 4217. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7853

355. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Pyarelal's fever has risen to 104. It is futile to hope for it to come down soon. But one good sign is that, though today is Monday, he took *mosambi* and lime juice. He appears cheerful. Sushila devotes all her time to nursing him. Pyarelal would not accept service from anybody except her. There is also the cholera work for her in the village. May God protect both!

I am sending one article. I have now finished another, on Burma.[2] The fingers refuse to work any longer now.

You yourself may write to Sarup. Send her what you can. Send a wire to Mathuradas as follows:

"Your arrangement sound. Misgivings justified but inclusion seems inevitable. Bapu."[3]

Bring the Australian friend. Since I gave so much time to Tao, why not to this gentleman?

[1] In the text Gandhiji says about Amrit Kaur: "She expects to leave here tomorrow." Amrit Kaur left on August 16.

[2] *Vide* "Recent Riots in Burma", 20-8-1938.

[3] This is in English.

The Burma article cannot be sent before tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11626

356. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 15, 1938,

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You did very well in going to Rajkot. So long as your star is in the ascendent, such occasions are bound to arise. Chudgar[1] is following a wrong path. Let him do what he likes. If the subjects of the State have some salt in them, they would not try to fly in the air but fight on peacefully without looking for outside help. If they do so they cannot but win. And if the Congress does not abandon principles, it will become strong even in the States.

You were bound to fall ill. You are a sardar[2] of others, but seem to be a slave of yourself. A true sardar is one who commands himself. If you regulate your time and draw up rules for doing all your work, you will live long. Do not dismiss this suggestion, saying, 'Here is a pan laughing at a pot.' Mahadev also is paying for his carelessness.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 223-4

[1] Popatlal Lavjibhai Chudgar, a barrister of Saurashtra
[2] Leader

CWMG - LXVII

357. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

[On or before *August 16, 1938*][1]

There are two things I want you to do:

(1) To go to Travancore to set the quarrel right;

(2) To visit Kathiawar for the birthday celebrations which begin on 23rd September.

You can well tackle both. But if you don't feel like going, you shall not.

From the original: C.W. 4219. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7855

358. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 16, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I hope Kaka is able to walk about a little. Pyarelal is better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10759

359. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

August 16, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. Are you now planning to go to Ahmedabad and improve your health there? What more will you have there? It is a different thing, of course, if you wish to consult a doctor. But let that be. My only desire is that wherever you go you should get well. What a fine body you had and now it is so shattered. Hereafter write to me at Delhi. Address the letters: Harijan Nivas, Kingsway, Delhi. I shall be there for eight days

[1] In the source the addressee has dated the note "Segaon, August 1938". She was in Segaon till August 16.

CWMG - LXVII

at least. Ba will accompany me. Amritlal came here the day before yesterday. Nanabhai had also come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7095. Also C.W. 4587. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

360. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 16, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Send the milk early. Rajkumari is going to Travancore today. Pyarelal may be said to be better. But the fever is still there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10587

361. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
August 17, 1938

RAJKUMARI
CARE AMMU SWAMINATHAN
MADRAS, CHETPUT

PYARELAL NOT BAD. I HAVE GAINED ONE POUND. HOPE YOU WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3875. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7031

CWMG - LXVII

362. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
August 17, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

It was difficult to part with you in the state you were.

At the time of writing Pyarelal is not quite what he was yesterday. He had a restless night. But deep down in me there is the faith that he will pull through.

Shuaib Qureshi came the same time you went, by the same train.

You left your glasses and some papers which I enclose herewith. Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I am keeping the glasses with me.

I hope you will keep well there. Do not overstrain yourself. Have no anxiety about the mission.

I am well. The diet and silence continue. The silence gives me the peace I need. More food I cannot do justice to at present.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3874. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7030

363. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

August 17, 1938

BHAI MUNSHI,

In your difficulties Girish's[1] fever is a great calamity indeed. It is difficult to understand so many relapses. As an antidote, I am sending the whole *bhajan* from which I had sent one line to Lilavati. To me that *bhajan* has given great comfort.

My opinion about the 'Rifle Club' is this: seek the opinion of the Working Committee about this matter. I think we cannot refuse the request outright. Licences may be given to all those who submit to rules and regulations. The Congress Government

[1] Addressee's son

CWMG - LXVII

will not bear the expenses. Its policy will remain non-violent.

I will be ready to write in *Harijan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7640. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

364. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 17, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I take it that you are daily writing to Bal. I was careless about writing to him regularly. Tell Kaka not to start thinking about the future from now. We shall think about everything after he has completely recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal is not quite well today. However, there is no cause for worry.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10760

365. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 17, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have learnt everything about the operation from Sushila. After the remaining complaint is completely cured, there should be no difficulty in building up the body. I hope you get milk regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal is not quite well today. There is no cause for worry, though.

Tell Shankaran that I got his note. He wants a change. Ask him about his food, etc. Ask him to write to me again.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10588

CWMG - LXVII

366. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 18, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

It was really good news about Kaka. I hope the progress will continue. Pyarelal's ship is in mid-sea. The temperature is lower than in your case. It had risen up to 105 yesterday. One reason may be that he has a strong constitution.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

There is no letter from Vijaya. I have written to her.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10761

367. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
August 18, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are quite lazy in writing letters. That will not do. Have you not promised to write every third day? One must keep one's promise even unto death.

Pyarelal's typhoid still persists. In Segaon the cholera is raging. We can do nothing but wait and see. I am observing complete silence these days. That is the only way in which I can preserve my peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7096. Also C.W. 4588. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

CWMG - LXVII

368. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 18, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I am glad the operation is successfully over. I understood about Shankaran. How long will you have to remain there? Pyarelal's fever will go only when it has run its course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10589

369. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 18, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Today if the rain stops, otherwise tomorrow under any circumstances. You yourself should go to see Gajanan . . .[1] having fallen ill . . . If he does not feel comfortable there, he may stay at the Harijan Ashram. Let him not . . . endanger his health . . . Ask him and find out if he wants anything. A co-worker of his has got cholera. Who is he? Where does he come from?

Here all . . . carefully . . .

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8570

370. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[About *August 18, 1938*][2]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have been thinking about Khare. Do give up the idea of writing the article. About Pyarelal, I will let God guide me.

[1] The letter is illegible at many places.

[2] About this day Pyarelal's condition was critical. In "Letter to Amritlal T. Nanavati", p. 259, Gandhiji wrote, "Pyarelal's ship is in mid-sea."

CWMG - LXVII

Herewith is a bottle containing Balkrishna's[1] sputum. If the bottle can be returned, he wants it back. We shall pay no attention to his fever just now. Let them send any medicine they think proper.

You need not worry about me. I have been forewarned. So there will be no trouble. Ultimately God's will must prevail. Read the letter addressed to Shanta and give it to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If Shantikumar can pay the money, let him do so. Let him not do so against his will at all.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11536

371. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 19, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I understand what you write about Maharashtra. We should stay where God ordains. How can we make any distinction between Maharashtra and Gujarat? However, you will not come to Segaon in an unnatural way. You will see your path clear before you if it becomes necessary for you to come.

Just now there is no need for you to come. There is enough work for you there. You have to attend to a hundred things there. What would you do here? What part would you play in the quarrels here? What service can you render to Pyarelal? What service can he ask of you? He does not accept much service from anyone except Sushila. He lets the others take turns by his side and shift the cot. But it is Sushila who does the real nursing. They are a wonderful pair, the brother and sister. I have not seen their like anywhere.

I understand about Lilavati. Her good lies there. Suffer her, therefore, and train her.

Tell Radhakishan that neither he nor anyone else need make any preparations about Sunday. As we refrain from opposing them, they will calm down.[2] It would be better if the Inspector-

[1] Balkrishna Bhave was suffering from tuberculosis at this time.

[2] The reference is to the Harijan satyagrahis who wanted a Harijan to be included in the C. P. Ministry; *vide* "Discussion with Harijan Satyagrahis", 27-8-1938 and "Letter to Mahadev Desai", After 27-8-1938.

CWMG - LXVII

General of Police also does not come. What will he do even if he comes?

Shuaib will pass the night there, as it might rain in the morning. His luggage has gone to the station. If you need anything send for it. I have thought it better to lodge Shuaib with you. That is the only correct course for us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11627

372. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

August [*19*][1], *1938*

CHI. MANILAL,

I have only sent you my opinion[2]. If you get 200 subscribers who would pay £25 each or 100 who would pay £50 each, and if you get an assurance regarding the *I. O.* expenses and do not have to go about for collections, you ought to stay on there. You should increase your efficiency. If you become steady there, Sushila and Arun may go there and Sita may stay here. She seems to be progressing very well in her study at Akola. If Sushila goes there, you will of course get help and also peace of mind. I do feel that, when Sushila is living near me, I am observing silence and so cannot train her or get her trained as I should like to do. Moreover, as I take my meals by myself, I cannot watch what she and Arun eat. If I were in better shape, Sushila's swollen body and Arun's weak one also would certainly have improved. But what can we do? She can receive from me only as much as her fate permits. She can be said to have been freed from my clutches. It is no easy thing to get caught in my clutches. Well, God's will prevails in all things.

Just now Pyarelal is confined to bed. There have been three bad deaths. Now Pyarelal is in mid-sea. He is being nursed carefully, of course. I hope he will survive.

What you write about Ramdas is correct.

I have already told you that no school can be run in Phœnix.

[1] The date in the source reads "29", though perhaps Gandhiji intended to write "19".

[2] *Vide* pp. 238-9.

CWMG-LXVII

Hanna must be an old face there now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4880

373. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 19, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Relieve Salekar so that he can go to fetch the medicine. Entrust his work to Rajbhushan. If there is any difficulty about this, let me know.

BAPU

[PS.]

Gunvant should not take it. Let him discuss with me. I did not read one of the letters. The telegram in reply to this is given just now so that it can be sent early tomorrow. You need not put yourself to inconvenience to come here in the morning. If you can come conveniently, you may. Perhaps that may be enough. This was one . . .[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8569. Also C.W. 7034. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

374. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 19, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

The mistake regarding plums should not be repeated. Nana Dharmadhikari should go only after the work for which he had come is over. He need not stay on because of Kaka. If the latter wants him, however, by all means let him stay. In fact what I said was just off hand, so there was no question of your being guided by it.

I will tie the *rakhi*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10762

[1] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXVII

375. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

[After *August 19, 1938*][1]

CHI. NANAVATI,

Send detailed report about Kakasaheb. If there is a letter from Vijaya send that too. Ba has become more impatient than I. I had already told Mahadev that the Punjab tour was cancelled because of my illness. If the message has not been conveyed, please do it. If necessary send a wire tomorrow or write a letter. If Dharmadhikari has not returned admonish him and send him off. A public worker cannot leave his duty to visit his dear ones. He should know that there will be enough men to look after Kakasaheb.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10753

376. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

[After *August 19, 1938*][3]

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have given instructions for sending you ghee. Add a few drops of ginger juice to Kaka's drink. If calomel does not suit him, one ounce of castor oil can be given every half hour. But ask Mahodaya about this. Have you not started giving glucose yet?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I tied the *rakhi*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10764

[1] From the reference to Nana Dharmadhikari in the preceding item.

[2] The letter was signed by Kanu Gandhi, under instructions from Gandhiji.

[3] From the reference to *rakhi* in the letter of August 19 to the addressee.

CWMG - LXVII

377. HOW TO SAVE HANDLOOM WEAVERS

The statement that the handloom industry has defied mill competition is only partially true. There are not today half as many handloom weavers as there were, say, twenty-five years ago. There was a time when, as the spinning-wheel spun the whole of the yarn required by the nation, the handloom wove all the cloth required. When the mills were established the spinning-wheel all but died out for the very simple reason that it gave a paltry return and was never a whole-time occupation. But the loom offered stubborn resistance, for the reason, among others, that it was a full-time occupation by itself and paid the weaver enough to eke out a living. When the spinning mill came, the weaver fell back upon it for his hanks of yarn. He even welcomed the change because he could get more evenly spun and stronger yarn. Little did he know that he was to become perfectly helpless if the mills for any reason could not supply him with yarn. Unlike the village spinner the mill-owner dictated the price of his yarn. By and by the weaver who wove simple patternless khadi could not withstand the mill competition and he died. And for the past few years the weaver of fancy cloth has felt the pressure from weaving mills. Public taste is slowly but surely changing. If the mills cannot exactly copy the patterns woven by the village weaver, they can, as they do, produce new patterns and by efficient advertising attract customers. Therefore several thousand Orissa weavers are idle for want of custom. A similar cry came to me the other day from Ahmednagar, a strong weaving centre. My advice to them all was that if these weaving families would but introduce carding and spinning in their homes, they could be wholly independent of mill yarn and enlist the never-failing assistance of the A. I. S. A. It might be that the weavers might not earn as much as before because of part of their time being given to spinning. But now, under the revised policy of the A. I. S. A. which aims at giving one anna per hour to the spinner and is actually giving one and half pice per hour, the weaver would hardly feel the reduction in his income. And in any case a reduced wage is surely better than starvation.

Let it be borne in mind that the weaver, in introducing

spinning and carding in his family, has to go in for very little outlay. The wheel he already has. It will no doubt require some improvement. He has to invest in a carding-bow costing a few annas.

I understand that the Orissa Government is banishing mill yarn from their jails and restricting their cloth purchases to khadi. They deserve congratulations for conforming to the constructive programme of the Congress. Let the workers in charge of the organization remember the prescription herein suggested, and they will find that production of the yarn required will be the easiest by educating the weavers to take up spinning. They will also by this method probably find that khadi can be, comparatively speaking, more cheaply produced than if they were to wait till they trained raw villagers to become efficient spinners. No doubt they will have to introduce spinning in all the villages. For that is the goal of the A. I. S. A. But they may not neglect the handloom weavers till the high purpose is accomplished.

Harijan, 20-8-1938

378. RECENT RIOTS IN BURMA

A telegram says:

> Burma riots deserve more attention than you paid. Whatever Government information, no peace till tenth, when I left Rangoon by aeroplane. Indians frightfully perturbed. They adopted your non-violence, suffered terribly. Effective steps urgently solicited.

The step that I took immediately on receipt of a wire from Rangoon was the only effective step I could then take.[1] I was not then even in possession of facts. Now there is before me a narrative of the cause of the Burmese fury. It appears that a Burman wrote a tract in disparagement of Islam some time ago. A Burman Buddhist who had become a convert to Islam wrote a counter-tract attacking the original and also attacking Buddhism. No Indian had a hand in the writing of the counter-tract. It did not attract notice at once, but the Burmese Press fiercely criticized it and inflamed the Burmese mind. The result was the savagery which took many precious, innocent lives and destroyed property worth, it is said, millions. Nor was it confined to Rangoon; it spread throughout Burma wherever there were Indian settlers.

If, as my correspondent says, "Indians adopted your (i. e., my) non-violence," I can only say they suffered less than they would have otherwise done. Non-violence has no limits. If a

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to President, Burma Congress Committee", p. 219.

CWMG - LXVII

particular dose does not seem to answer, more should be administered. It is a never-failing remedy.

But why call it 'my' non-violence? Probably the wire is a gentle rebuke to me, so much as to say that my remedy failed. The pertinent question is whether they believed in non-violence as a sure remedy against violence, or was it undertaken because there was no help for it? I, however, need not wait for a reply. If one is to believe the papers, there was not complete non-violence practised by the Indians. I have, however, no difficulty in believing that a considerable number observed non-violence whether from belief or necessity.

The question for consideration, however, is: 'what of the future?' There will no doubt be some kind of an inquiry. There may be some compensation paid to the losers. There would be some punishment meted out to the offenders who are not likely to be the prime movers but their dupes. I must confess that I am uninterested in these proceedings. There will be no insurance against future outbreaks.

Indians in Burma should realize that they are at the mercy of the inhabitants of Burma. They have no Government in India that can really afford them protection. We know what is happening in the other parts of the world; nor is it to be wondered at. England will never go to war with any nation or country because it has insulted or wronged Indian settlers in that country. It may, it will, make representations, sincere of course; it will lodge energetic protests even. But there her help will end. And in a case like the Burmese riots, the relief that the Government of India can afford will be next to nothing. What does it do when riots take place in India itself? It can do very little after they are over. The utmost it can do is to take measures to quell riots when they take place. What have even Congress Governments been able to do after the riots that have recently taken place in some Congress Provinces? They do not admit of relief being granted to the sufferers except in rare cases. What is possible in Burma I do not know.

I am concerned with attainment of permanent peace in so far as permanence is possible in this very impermanent life. When once religious animosity is roused, it has a knack of repeating itself with periodic regularity, if radical measures are not adopted by the communities concerned. One such measure is cultivation of mutual respect for the several religions professed by the parties. If the Buddhists of Burma have little regard for Islam and the Muslims for Buddhism, the seeds of dissension are

there. They will take little watering to sprout into the savagery such as we saw the other day. I would, therefore, suggest a mutual understanding of these great religions.

My fear is that at the bottom of the riots there is an anti-Indian feeling, due, perhaps, to economic causes. For though Muslims seem to have suffered most, Hindus too seem to have come in for a fair share of the Burman fury. Therefore, Indian settlers must see to it that their dealings with the Burmans are fair and above board. It is said that everything is fair in trade, and that no turpitude attaches to a trader taking advantage of his customer's ignorance and demanding from him even an unconscionable price for his goods. That kind of dealings will surely acerbate feelings. Wherever we have gone, even before the British rulers took possession of our country, we have depended solely on the goodwill of those among whom we have lived and with whom we have traded. Such is the history of our relations with Zanzibar, Aden, Java, etc.

Times have however changed. The people all over the world have become conscious of their rights. Whereas formerly foreign settlers in other lands did questionable things with impunity, they cannot do so now. Honesty has never been so much proved to be the best policy as it is now for those who do not or cannot back their dishonesty with gunpowder and poison gas. If India is to escape that training and is to adopt, as a free nation, peace as her motto in every walk of life and in every country where her children go, they will have to practise strictest honesty in their human dealings.

To the Burmese friends one word. When I was in Burma some years ago, Burmese priests were good enough to invite me to their conference and honour me with their address under the shadow of the mighty Pagoda. They were good enough, as Buddhists, to claim me as one of them. It therefore hurt me when I read of the mob fury which knew no distinction of sex or age and wreaked vengeance on persons who could never have had anything to do with the offending pamphlet. I have the greatest veneration for the Buddha. He is one of the greatest preachers of peace. The gospel of the Buddha is gospel of love. It passes comprehension how representatives of that faith could give themselves up to savagery, and that on an apparently flimsy pretext. The pity of it is that, if the newspaper reports were true, even priests, the repositories of the Buddha's gospel, were to be seen among the mob, not stilling its fury, but actually taking part in loot, arson and murder. Would that the wise

men among them would do a little heart-searching and take steps to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy which all right thinking persons must deplore!

Harijan, 20-8-1938

379. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
August 20, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
STATE GUEST HOUSE, TRIVANDRUM

YOUR WIRE. PATIENT BETTER. SELF WELL. PRAYING SUCCESS YOUR MISSION. ANXIOUS SARASWATI'S CONDITION. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3876. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7032

380. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 20, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

There must be a wire awaiting me at Maganwadi. I heard yesterday that you were to be State Guest. I do hope my letter[1] went through all right (or alright?).

Pyarelal is decidedly better today. The temperature is only 101 against 103 at this time yesterday (8 a.m). If he is restored it would be a great and good thing.

I have no doubt that you will be able to fix up everything nicely. I had a visit yesterday from the President of the T[ravancore] National Congress. Of course I was silent. He is an able man. He spoke with sweet reasonableness.

I hope you will keep well and drive to the Cape if you have time. Would like you to drop in at Tiruvannamalai for a day to see the Maharshi[2] on your return. My b.p. was 160/100 this morning.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3635. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6444

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. P. Ramaswami Iyer", p. 253.

[2] Ramana Maharshi. In *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, the addressee says: "But both Mahadev Desai and I refused to see him as we said our hearts were Gandhiji's and Gandhiji did not appreciate the argument."

381. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*August 20, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have asked the man to go there directly. Sushila says that no ice is required. And moreover he feels better today. Pyarelal said in the morning that probably the mercury would not rise tomorrow. Today he has started with 101. He also slept well in the latter part of the night.

Send this telegram[2]:

I understand about Maharashtra. Lilavati should not have minded not being permitted to come yesterday. If there is no special work today, do not come. From the letters sent herewith get a copy made of Limaye's letter. That has not been done here.[3]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11631

382. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

August 20, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

You have made a mountain out of a molehill. I only described my sorrow in the letter to Manilal. As long as I cannot make you sit down by my side for your meals, I would not suggest any change in your diet. The same is true about Arun. Moreover, as I do not speak I cannot joke with you either. I can suggest much even while joking.

I am not dissatisfied with you. Do I not believe you to be wise ?

When did I ever say that women were unfit for service? Yes, I have declared myself unworthy. That unworthiness may perhaps be overcome. As you are ready to serve, you have earned the merit of having actually served.

[1] From reference to Pyarelal's temperature, which came down to 101° on this date; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] For the text, which is in English, *vide* "Telegram to Amrit Kaur", p. 269.

[3] The letter is unsigned.

It is not easy to please Ba. Have I not told you this? But she is simple-hearted. We should, therefore, not mind what she says.

I do wish indeed that you should increase your reading and learn to write Gujarati articles for *Indian Opinion*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4879

383. LETTER TO PARVATIDEVI GHORPADE[1]

August 20, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

I learnt about you from Bhai Kaujalgi's letter to Gandhi Seva Sangh and also read the account of the concessions that you have given to the people of your State. I compliment you on your generosity. It is worthy of you. May God make you more generous still and grant you long life.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7454

384. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 20, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I got your message. I have been writing as much as I can. I remember your suggestion. If God wills it, I will write before the incense burns out. But who permitted you to resume work? If you exert your mind and body so soon, the weakness will be prolonged. Pyarelal is better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10906

[1] Dowager queen of Mudhol State

CWMG - LXVII

385. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 20, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Most probably the Nagpur students will come. If Mahadevi wants to come, let her come.

But what will she do?

I of course continue to observe silence. Who knows what I shall think it right to do when the students arrive?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10765

386. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 20, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I understand about you. See that Shankaran does not fall ill. There is no change in Pyarelal's condition.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10590

387. LETTER TO DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

SEGAON,
August 21, 1938

DEAR PATTABHI,

Please make a searching inquiry into this complaint[1] and let me know the result. I do not want to publish the letter before knowing your verdict.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Some persons had been reported to have incited people to occupy land by force.

CWMG - LXVII

388. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

August 21, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

As I start this letter, here is Sushila ready for massage. So I will be brief. You seem to be progressing very well. See also that the discharge of pus from the gums stops.

Pyarelal's fever persists, but he is improving. There is no danger so far. His mother came yesterday evening. I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chimanlal will be discharged [from the hospital] tomorrow or the day after.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7097. Also C.W. 4589. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

389. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 21, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Balwantsinha says that Bankelal does very little work. Please inquire. Ask the village . . .[1] about him. Get a full report. Make a thorough inquiry.

Who looks after Kuwadu?

Install the loom in the new building. Nayakum has kept the bag ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What did you do about Dahyalal yesterday?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8568. Also C.W. 7036. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] A word is illegible here.

CWMG - LXVII

390. REPLY TO NAGPUR DEPUTATIONISTS[1]

August 21, 1938

I realize your regard and support for Dr. Khare, I also have great love for Dr. Khare, but we who are fighting the independence battle have to forget family relations while doing our duty. After introspection I found that no wrong or injustice had been done to Dr. Khare. You have no material for comparison. I myself framed the Congress constitution in 1920 wherein the All-India Congress is the final appellate authority which everybody can approach. The Working Committee or leaders referred to, if found guilty, deserve punishment.

I advise you to prepare your case in favour of Dr. Khare to be placed before the A. I. C. C. I have said whatever I wanted to. I cannot address a public meeting at seventy. I have no desire to prove Dr. Khare's guilt, nor do I wish you to lessen your love for Dr. Khare. Time alone will tell and Dr. Khare will admit his mistake. I have patience. If I realize that I did injustice in this case unknowingly, I will apologize.

I do not wish to win independence through hooliganism which will destroy the Congress if it enters that body. Everybody has the right to criticize provided the criticism is fair, decent and truthful. No ban was imposed on Dr. Khare for contesting the election of the leadership of the C. P. Assembly Party nor did Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose threaten any member while exercising his right to vote, nor did I deprive Dr. Khare of his right to contest the election.

The Working Committee's resolution against Dr. Khare was recommendatory, not mandatory. The charge of favouritism against the C. P. Ministry was inquired into, and the wrongs redressed, while the charge of bribery and corruption was not proved. The Working Committee can correct its mistake if it has committed any. If the members of the Working Committee had the right to attend the party meeting none could remove

[1] A deputation of over 150 students and others led by V. A. Khare had come from Nagpur to see Gandhiji. They expressed support for Dr. N. B. Khare and demanded withdrawal of the Working Committee's resolution concerning him. Since Gandhiji was observing silence he wrote out this reply.

CWMG - LXVII

them. It could convene the meeting at Wardha. That resolution was drafted after consulting constitutionalists and lawyers who committed no mistake in framing it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-8-1938

391. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 22, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending as much as is ready. I did not understand about the hotel. I went through all the articles yesterday and sent them to you. Only the article about Nagpur is left with me now. It does not contain your translations. I must have with me my replies. However, I will see at night. There is no time now during the day. I shall have to make several additions and omissions. If the article on the hotel is with you, you may insert your additions in it.

Sushila must have sent the articles about khadi. I had also given her your letter to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11628

392. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 22, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Your work must be flourishing. Pyarelal passed the night well. His mother has come. That has lessened my worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10766

CWMG - LXVII

393. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 22, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Probably you will be discharged today. Pyarelal passed the night fairly well. The rest from newspapers or . . .[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10591

394. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 23, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Why need we reply to the *Sentinel's* canard[2]? What a canard! I feel that falsehoods which no one is likely to believe should be ignored. If you feel otherwise, however, we may reply.

I will not, I cannot, send the report about the tourists with Prabhu Dayal. It will require time. I will, therefore, get it typed here.

Pyarelal passed the night fairly well.

Please send the ice.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chimanlal is being discharged today. So if you are coming by car, bring him with you, or if anybody is coming from the bungalow he may come with him. In the last resort, he may come by tonga. If a tonga suits you better, you may hire one. But in any case the carriage will have to be arranged by you.

Telegram for Rajkumari:[3]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11629

[1] A word or two are illegible here.

[2] The reference is to a canard spread by the Delhi correspondent of the *Daily Express* that Gandhiji was about to take *kayakalpa* or rejuvenation treatment. This was published by other newspapers also.

[3] For the text of the telegram, *vide* p. 278.

CWMG-LXVII

395. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

[*August 23, 1938*][1]

CHI. AMRITLAL,

There is no cause for worry about Kaka. We shall have to proceed carefully. Ask Dr. Mahodaya if it would not be better to give two grains of calomel every half an hour eight times. Go on giving him glucose, as much as he can digest. Give him small quantities of *mosambi* juice. There are toxins in the body and they will remain for some time. If he commits no mistake in eating, all will be well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10767

396. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 23, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have entrusted to Mahadev the task of writing to you or sending anything to you. I assume that you will be ready to start as soon as you get the call. If there is any change in the programme inform Mahadev.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10592

[1] The date is as supplied by addressee.

CWMG - LXVII

397. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
August 24, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
GUEST HOUSE
TRIVANDRUM

GOD WILL SOLVE DIFFICULTIES. PATIENT PROGRESSING.

BAPU

From the original C.W. 3878. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7033

398. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 24, 1938

MY DEAR AMRIT,

Just time to send you love. All well.

BAPU

[PS.]

You see how considerate I have been. Say thank you.

From the original: C.W. 3877. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7034

399. LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 24, 1938

MY DEAR PRITHVISINGH,

I write to you in English so that you may get this earlier.

I had your letters. I am glad you are having good treatment and that you have mental peace. I know that non-violence in thought is the most difficult of attainment. And yet without the co-operation of thought, non-violence in word and action does not become an all-pervading irresistible force that it undoubtedly is. Such non-violence comes only through God's grace. And that grace descends only on those who make a

CWMG - LXVII

ceaseless effort—much greater surely than what we make to attain material ends.

I am pursuing my work. Much depends upon the external atmosphere.

You will continue to write regularly to me.

A letter is being sent to your people. I have already told you they met me and I was pleased they came.

Pyarelal is suffering from typhoid. But he is on the mend.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5630. Also C.W. 2941. Courtesy: Prithvisingh

400. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYYA

August 24, 1938

You may depend upon my doing all I can in behalf of your project[1].

SIR M. VISVESVARAYYA
BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

401. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 24, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Fresh ginger is needed for Pyarelal. I have of course made inquiries in Varoda. Rajaram will see about it. But if he is not able to procure it, please see to it yourself.

Ice and vegetable soup have been discontinued for the present. He will take whey.

If you have not written for grape-fruit along with pomegranates, do so now. Through God's grace my silence is continuing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11632

[1] Of setting up an automobile factory in India

CWMG - LXVII

402. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

SEGAON,
August 25, 1938

MY DEAR GANESAN[1],

You are mad. Can't you be at peace with yourself? I am glad you withdrew your letter[2].

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI S. GANESAN
8 PYCROFT ROAD
TRIPLICANE
MADRAS

From a copy: C.W. 4347. Courtesy: D. C. Jha. Also G.N. 6614

403. A MESSAGE[3]

August 25, 1938

There will be no peace without non-violence in the hearts of many. There will be no non-violence without prayer, and prayer is vain without correspondent work.

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

[1] Editor, *Swatantra Sangu*, Madras

[2] This seems to have expressed the anguish of workers at some of the provisions of the Temple-entry Bill then under consideration.

[3] This was sent to Muriel Lester for "Prayer for Peace in the World".

CWMG - LXVII

404. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[*August 25, 1938*][1]

CHI. KARA,

I am sending the article after revising it. The changes are self-explanatory. Did not Subnis drink *nira*? Have you regained sufficient strength now to come?

Pyarelal is progressing. Fever is going down. He has started taking whey from yesterday.

Why do you make yourself unhappy because you are a Maharashtrian? Atonement has to be made by all. It is better that the poison that is inside comes out. If we do not increase it by opposing it, it will spend itself.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You did not see Amritlal, did you?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10911

405. TELEGRAM TO SATIN SEN

August 26, 1938

HELPLESS. SELF WORKING UNDER HANDICAP. SUFFERERS SHOULD CLUB TOGETHER AND FIND HONEST LABOUR.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] There is reference in the letter to Pyarelal having started taking whey "from yesterday". In "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 279, Gandhiji mentions Pyarelal being given whey. This letter would thus appear to have been written on August 25.

CWMG - LXVII

406. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 26, 1938

SHRI KUMARAPPA,

Please tell Bharatan I was pleased[1] to read his good article in the *Aryan Path*.

From a photostat: G.N. 10135

407. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 26, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Your presumption about ice is correct. It will not be needed now. Therefore do not be too sure of Rajaram's coming there. It has started raining now. Is it but God's wrath or is He weeping at our sins?

Telegram to Ramachandran:

"Under circumstances you should act as you think proper without mentioning me. God be with you. Bapu."[2]

To Rajkumari:

"No sorrow over your so-called failure. Self well. Pyarelal rapidly progressing. Love. Bapu."[3]

If you have sent a wire in the morning in reply to hers, then do not bother about this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11633

[1] This word is not very clear in the source.
[2&3] The telegrams are in English.

CWMG - LXVII

408. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEGAON,
August 26, 1938

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

What you write is quite proper. I only wanted to have your reaction. All money needed for the boy[1] will be provided by Bhopal[2]. The matter was weighing very heavily on my heart.

Yes, anarchy in the Congress seems to be on the increase. I am doing and will continue to do my utmost to check it, but the results rest with God. Anyway, the outcome can be nothing but good if our efforts are pure.

The news about Viyogi Hari has made me very happy. The weather here is very bad these days.

You should come and stay for a while in Segaon when it gets better. Jamnalalji's cottage is quite good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7995. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

409. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Night, August 26, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

We have to send money to Nimu. She has sent a reminder. Pyarelal's fever has practically gone. There is no other complaint.

Do not force yourself to come. The work should not accumulate but you should not strain yourself to finish it either. I constantly feel that we are going to have to bear a very heavy burden. I have been working rather hard. I cannot say how long I shall be able to continue in this manner.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Harold Ansari; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", p. 244.
[2] The Nawab of Bhopal; *vide* "Letter to Nawab of Bhopal", p. 182.

[PS.]

We forgot about the *Ramayana*. The enclosed was sent by Ramdas.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11634

410. MY SO-CALLED INCONSISTENCIES

During my student days improperly so called (for they properly began after the period of examinations and are not yet over for me) I learnt a saying of Emerson's which I never forgot. "Foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," said the sage. I cannot be a little mind, for foolish consistency has never been my hobgoblin. My critics are shocked over my recent remarks on picketing. They think that in describing as a species of violence the formation of a living wall of pickets in order to prevent the entry of persons into picketed places, I have contradicted my sayings and doings during the civil disobedience campaign. If such is really the case, my recent writing must be held as cancelling my comparatively remote sayings and doings. Though my body is deteriorating through age, no such law of deterioration, I hope, operates against wisdom which I trust is not only not deteriorating but even growing. Whether it is or not, my mind is clear on the opinion I have given on picketing. If it does not appeal to Congressmen, they may reject it, and if they do, they will violate the laws of peaceful picketing. But there is no discrepancy between my past practice and the present statement. When civil disobedience was first organized by me in South Africa, my companions discussed with me the question of picketing. The registration office had to be picketed in Johannesburg, and the suggestion made was that we should form there a living wall of pickets. I at once rejected the idea as violent. And pickets were posted in marked positions in a big public square so that no one could elude the eagle eyes of the pickets and yet everyone could go to the registration office, if he liked, without touching anyone. Reliance was put upon the force of public opprobrium which would be evoked by the publication of the names of 'black legs'. This method was copied by me here when liquor shops were to be picketed. The work was specially entrusted to the women as better representatives of non-violence than men. Thus there was no question of the formation of a living wall. Many unauthorized things were no doubt done during those days as they are now. But I cannot

recall a single instance in which I countenanced the kind of picketing condemned by the article that has come in for sharp criticism. And is there really any difficulty about regarding a living wall of pickets as naked violence? What is the difference between force used against a man wanting to do a particular thing, and force exercised by interposing yourself between him and the deed? When, during the non-co-operation days, the students in Benares blocked the passage to the University gates I had to send a peremptory message and, if my recollection serves me right, I strongly condemned their action in the columns of *Young India*. Of course I have no argument against those who hold different views from mine regarding violence and non-violence.

The other inconsistency imputed to me has reference to my advice to factory-owners to invoke the assistance of the police to defend themselves against what I have described as violent picketing. Having condemned the Ministries for calling in the aid of the police and even the military for suppressing riots, how could I advise employers of labour to ask for, and Ministers to supply, police assistance, ask my critics.

This is what I wrote[1] in *Harijan* about the Ministerial action in U.P.:

> It has been suggested that when we have our independence riots and the like will not occur. This seems to me to be an empty hope, if in the course of the struggle for freedom we do not understand and use the technique of non-violent action in every conceivable circumstance. To the extent that the Congress Ministers have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent, in my opinion, we must admit our failure. That the Ministers could not have done otherwise is unfortunately only too true. I should like every Congressman, I should like the Working Committee, to ask themselves why we have failed, if they think with me that we have.

Surely here there is no condemnation of the Ministers' action. I have deplored the necessity for it as I would deplore such necessity in the matter of picketing. But till the Congress has developed a peaceful method of dealing with violent crimes, its Ministers must use the police and, I fear, even the military, if they are to undertake the administration of the affairs of the country in the present stage of its career. But it will bode ill for them and the country if they do not devise methods of dispensing with the use both of the police and the military or at least of visibly reducing their use to such an extent that he who runs

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, p. 407.

may notice the reduction. There certainly is a way. I have ventured to give a faint indication of it. But it may be that the Congress organization is not really fitted for the great task. Without a living faith in non-violence, neither the military nor the police can be supplanted.

Cries come in from many quarters of growing insubordination, indiscipline and even open violence among Congressmen. I hope that the charge is untrue of the majority of Congressmen.

Harijan, 27-8-1938

411. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

August 27, 1938

I am developing ideas about dealing with the growing violence and untruth. The two go hand in hand.

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

412. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

August 27, 1938

You should have no worry while you are building your body. In this we may well copy Englishmen. Out of office they forget the office cares and every day come fresh to work. If they get ill, they know that they must rest and trust that without them the nation's business will go on as usual. This is true *Gita* living. It is the soundest economy.

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

413. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

August 27, 1938

CHI. VALJI,

I read your third article and am returning all the three. The idea of composing a new *Smriti* is a tempting one, but I am not qualified. If I assume that I am qualified, I would require the leisure that is possible in jail. Outside I have no choice.

CWMG - LXVII

I have to take up the work that comes to me and do it as best as I can. There is some freedom of choice in jail. If you wish to contribute in the composition of a new *Smriti*, you will have to go deep into the thing. There are many interpolations in the *Smritis*. Some portions, though not interpolations, deserve to be rejected. Even in the Vedas everything contained is not eternal truth. The Vedas are a mixture of poetry, history and eternal verities. We should try to pick out the last. We should formulate rules of interpretation. And after that, we may place before the people our interpretations right from the Vedas to the Puranas, as the substance of Hinduism. You have got the necessary ability for this, but have I? This task is beyond the ability of a single person. For this we should have a group from among ourselves. You will now get some faint idea about how my mind is working. I do know what is dharma, but I do not know how to put it as the Vedas do. I am not sufficiently well-versed in the Shastras. And the most important thing is that I am not completely free from attachment. I aspire to be so in this life. But I will not feel sorry if I fail. I am using all the strength God has given me to destroy attachment, etc. It is not impossible for me to attain to that state, but I do not know whether I have that much time left to me. Please, therefore, do not give me anything raw just now. Your language is attractive, but I will not yield even to that attraction and accept all that you send just now. Please improve your health if you can.

Is the politics there unbearable?

Pyarelal is free from danger.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

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

414. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 27, 1938

CHI. DEVDAS,

I could not spare the time to reply to you. I also have formed the same impression about Khan Saheb that you say you have. However, he is so suspicious that one cannot know when he might do what. But being a man of God, he remains unharmed by mistakes and perhaps he may live his whole life in this way and remain blameless. He suffers from mental lethargy and so does not know what to do in particular circumstances. And, moreover, he is simple-hearted. He would believe everything that a man whom he has come to trust told him, would not believe anything said by anyone against whom he is prejudiced, and get angry with those that did. Even so, he is a saintly person, and so one does not mind his faults.

Pyarelal has pulled through this time. Showing him what you have written would have an adverse effect. He is not fit enough just now to bear your jokes and it would not do showing him the letter after it has been edited! If his temperature is not normal today, it will be so in a day or two. He follows my advice on most things. He gives me no trouble, and so you need not worry. My silence has benefited me so much that if and when I have to give it up, I shall find it hard to do so. Most certainly there is anger in me. The silence eats it all up. After all, how much anger can I give vent to by writing?

We are going through a period of wet adversity. Water is dripping everywhere. You will see evidence of it in this also. I fully realize now the meaning of living in a village.

I am enclosing Ramdas's letter.

Ramachandran is likely to be arrested in a day or two. Rajkumari will return from Travancore tomorrow. Poor woman, she did her very best. But after all we can only try, is not that so ? We have left, and should leave, credit or discredit to God. If we do not act thus, we would come to grief. I may not give you any more time now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2011. Also the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

415. DISCUSSION WITH HARIJAN SATYAGRAHIS[1]

[*August 27, 1938*][2]

Harijan friends . . . calling themselves 'satyagrahis' marched to Segaon on Saturday last and demanded justice from Gandhiji. Gandhiji was of course silent, but he received them and asked them in writing if they would be content with written replies. They said they would. He asked them to explain the purpose of their visit.

"We gave you notice," their spokesman said, "that unless you could have a Harijan appointed as a Cabinet Minister we should go to Segaon and do satyagraha there. You asked us to desist. We did so and wrote to you to say so. But after that, having heard nothing from you we decided to fulfil our promise."

GANDHIJI: But what do you want, and what do you mean by satyagraha?

HARIJANS: We want a Harijan to be in the Cabinet and a seat reserved in the Cabinet for a Harijan as there is one reserved for a Mussalman.

G. But that is not in my power.

H. It is. You were prepared to lay down your life for the Harijans at Yeravda and your fast led to the Yeravda Pact. You can do everything for the Harijans.

G. I am doing all that is in my power. But let that be. What do you mean by satyagraha?

H. We will remain here without food until another party from Nagpur comes to relieve us.

G. You are welcome to do so. You want me to provide you with room. Well we are cramped for space, but you tell us where you will sit, and we will vacate the place for you.

H. We will be fasting, and five or six people will have to stay with us to attend to our needs whilst we are fasting.

G. I am not concerned with that. You select the place and we vacate it for you.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Notes"

[2] Desai says the Harijans met Gandhiji on "Saturday last". This would be August 27.

One of the Ashram inmates went out with them to show them over the place. He returned to say that they wanted a room adjoining a hut reserved for women and also the verandah in front of it.

G. Explain to them that that room is reserved for women and they might select some other place.

He did so, but came and reported that they would have no other place.

G. Vacate it then. Let not Ba be perturbed. She can come and occupy my room, and I will go there or in the house outside which is built for Aryanayakum.

Harijan, 3-9-1938

416. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After *August 27, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Herewith both your articles.

You must have received one bundle of letters sent with Rajaram.

Herewith also I am sending a few letters which are ready. Rajkumari has reached safely. The 'satyagrahis' are quite well. They do not give any trouble.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11617

417. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 28, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I sent a note with Mahadev only yesterday about the medicine to be taken. Let us see what effect it has. Strength will return only by degrees.

Let C. S.'s statement be published. It will be enough for the present if your Marathi article appears in Hindi. Then we shall see. What a mountain is being made out of a molehill !

[1] From the reference to satyagrahis; *vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXVII

It would help if you have the legs and the body massaged. About the glucose injections, hot-water fomentation is the best remedy. However, you may try a mud-pack once. The rule for a patient is that he should not endure anything silently. That does not show his courage but betrays his ignorance. The doctor should know where you are having the pain. When he asks you to endure it, you should of course do so. Do not mind your having taken my time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7682

418. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 28, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

Bhogilal Parekh has specially sent some apples. I am sending six out of them for you. Pyarelal is well.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10907

419. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 28, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

What an argument! Anyone going from Maganwadi asks neither Bharatan nor Zaverbhai. This does not show lack of co-operation. It is a question of procedure. What kind of co-operation would it be if a man on his way here visited Jamnalal, Kishorelal, Rajendra Babu, Jajuji and others and also Harijan Ashram, Aryanayakum, Mahila Ashram and Balkrishna and asked if they had any work! The rule is that a man should not go anywhere without reason. So I myself stopped sending a note to you. I have not considered it my dharma to send you all the news about this place. Is it clear now?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Vijaya does not seem to be writing everything to me.

BAPU

CWMG - LXVII

[PPS.]

I learnt only yesterday about Pyarelal's niece. Pyarelal is quite well.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10768

420. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 28, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

There is no question of ordering anybody. You alone understand Kaka's needs. You also know about the conditions here. So you alone can say best where you can be more useful or where you will have more satisfaction. Kaka himself is not able to decide because it is not as if he could not do without you. I cannot say because I do not have all the data. You alone can have that, so the burden naturally falls on you. I will approve of whatever decision you come to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10769

421. MESSAGE TO HARIJAN SATYAGRAHIS

August 28, 1938

BROTHERS,

I am pained to see the troubles that you are taking because I do not know what useful purpose your troubles are going to serve. I consider that your vow is born of lack of knowledge. Whatever that may be, your fast cannot effect a change in my views. We should not coerce anyone by resorting to fasts. I therefore appeal to you that you should give up the fast and then resort to any other kind of agitation.

At the same time I [do not] consider that agitation of any kind is necessary because it is the duty of every Congress Ministry to include a Harijan in the Cabinet if a capable Harijan is forthcoming.

The Bombay Chronicle, 31-8-1938

CWMG - LXVII

422. TELEGRAM TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

WARDHAGANJ,
August 29, 1938

BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA
KATRA KHUSALRAI, DELHI

NO CAUSE SORROW.[1] GOD BLESS HER SOUL. LOVE.
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2466

423. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 30, 1938

MY DEAR PROFULLA,

I am glad you are having an exhibition for khadi and allied village industries and hope that it will be a glorious success as well from the point of view of numbers who attend as of sales.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

I am out of stock for palm-gur and need it badly for Pyarelal who is just convalescent. Please send the maximum quantity carried at the minimum cost per railway parcel or postal, whichever is cheaper.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had lost his mother on August 26.

CWMG - LXVII

424. LETTER TO LALI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 30, 1938

MY DEAR LALI,

It is good that you have trust in my judgment. But I must not abuse that trust. So instead of using it, I left it to you to decide where you would be happy. Now you will prove the wisdom of your choice by becoming a worthy lad both in character and cleverness.

You will give me at least a monthly detailed report of your progress.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

425. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

August 30, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I trust Lilavati did not suffer much. Ba was asking bitterly why I let her go.

Send a telegram to Jawahar:

"Wire Indu's health. Love all. Bapu."[1]

It has become a problem how to cope with the work. I wished to write for *Harijan* but found it impossible to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have read Kishorelal's article. Let it be published as it is.

BAPU

[PPS.]

Did you send the money to Nimu?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11635

[1] This is in English.

CWMG - LXVII

426. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 30, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was born in 1887 A. D. She is the only daughter of the late Raja Sir Harnam Singh. The late Raja Saheb was the uncle of the Maharaja of Kapurthala. The Rajkumari was educated in England for eight years. She has been taking a prominent part in the women's movement since 1928. At present she is President of the All-India Women's Conference. Her way of living is exceedingly simple. She has been wearing khadi for years. She is a member of the Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association and takes great interest in both these activities. This information should suffice for you.

Tell Chhaganlal that if he wants to arrange a tour of Kathiawar for her for a few days, he may do so. It is not absolutely obligatory to arrange the tour. It may be dropped if the atmosphere at present is not favourable. I have prepared her for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The Rajkumari is a Christian by birth, and a Hindu by conduct. She cannot be taken to a temple.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8546. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

CWMG - LXVII

427. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON,
August 30, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Who can help one who makes herself unhappy without cause? Joy and sorrow are mental creations. I experience this every moment. If Jayaprakash does not go to Malabar at all, will it mean that you will not be permitted to come? When he goes to Malabar he may take you from here, or he may go directly there and you may leave this place at the same time and join him there. My visit to the Frontier Province may perhaps start around the 20th September. In that case you will remain here. I shall have to be back from there around October 20.

Pyarelal has no fever now, but feels weak. The danger is over. My silence is for an indefinite period. God alone knows when it will be over. But you are not concerned with that. You will be able to talk to your heart's content, and I will reply to you by writing. But the truth is that you do not need to talk. It is enough for you to stay with me to have peace of mind. I need not worry about you then. Please, therefore, come if you can. I will see about your studying.

I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 3520

428. LETTER TO S. GURCHARAN SINGH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 31, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

I am glad you are free. Your threat pains me and it is unworthy. Why should discharged political prisoners think that they have a right to expect the nation to support them and pay the expenses of the education of their relatives? Sacrifice

CWMG - LXVII

loses all value when it demands its price with compound interest. And how should your threatened hunger-strike make wrong right ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

S. GURCHARAN SINGH
OVERSEER
EX-POLITICAL PRISONER

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

429. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

August 31, 1938

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

Ramdas Gulati saw the museum for the spinning models. His engineer eyes saw defects in the building. I asked him to reduce them to writing. Here is his report[1]. You should study it and if the defects pointed out are really defects you should find who is responsible and, where possible, they should be remedied. How much progress in Hindi?

Love.

BAPU

Encl. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 3595

430. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 31, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Owing to my limited energy, I have been obliged to repress my desire to write to you.

I await your reply to my wire about Indu.[2]

I note your warning about federation. I discount the news, i. e., if it is more than a rumour. They won't call it without first securing Congress consent. This they can't get.

[1] Not traceable
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 294.

CWMG - LXVII

Then about the Jews. I feel entirely like you. I boycott foreign goods, not foreign ability. And I feel keenly for the persecuted Jews. As a concrete proposal I suggest your collecting the names of the most deserving ones and making it plain to them that they must be prepared to throw in their lot with us and accept our standard of living. The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 286

431. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON,
August 31, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

Please find enclosed a cheque from Gokaldas. Send him a receipt from there. I have not written to him from here. I hope Jamna is calm.

What is the news about Harakhchand?

Manju has not replied to my letter. Can't Purushottam satisfy her love of music?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You have been covering years well. Cover many more and continue to serve.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8547. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

CWMG - LXVII

432. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 31, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I am sorry about the ghee. I did not know at all. There is a sort of chaos here. And moreover there was no note from you. As soon as I came to know, I arranged for it. Now you must have got it. Gajanan brought Kaka's letter only this morning, so there has been no delay in sending ghee. A reply to Prabhu is enclosed. It may go only if Kaka approves.

I got the *hundi* for Rs. 69. There seems to be a famine of ghee just now. Because of an epidemic among the cattle, the supply of milk has been reduced somewhat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10770

433. LETTER TO RAJKUMAR SINHA

[On or before *September 1, 1938*][1]

DEAR RAJKUMAR,

I have your second letter today. For my health I am working under enormous strain. Therefore delay in writing to [you] and other friends must not be interpreted as negligence on my part of the main work which has brought you and other friends in touch with me. Let this suffice for you that there can be no peace for me till every prisoner is accounted for.

Your soldier-like bearing and promptness when you came to me captivated me. I hope to enlist you as a true soldier of peace. But that later.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RAJKUMAR SINHA
CAWNPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 2-9-1938

[1] The *Hindu* report carrying this item is dated September 1, 1938.

CWMG - LXVII

434. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY

September 1, 1938

UNDERSTAND GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING CASE OF B. K. DUTT[1] POLITICAL PRISONER LODGED BIHAR PROVINCE AILING SERIOUSLY. HAVE PRESSING LETTERS ABOUT HIM. REQUEST HIS EXCELLENCY'S INTERVENTION EARLY RELIEF IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

435. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

September 1, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

Tell me who is the better person—Surendra or Manilal? Manu is never tired of praising Surendra. Have you seen any shortcomings in Manilal? Does he curb you in any way? So much for jest.

I certainly like it that Sita is coming over but will it not affect her studies? From my point of view, children do learn here but what they learn is of a different kind altogether. The two cannot be combined.

Do you and Manu mind my silence? I certainly feel like speaking for your sake, but silence is very important for my peace of mind and my work. Both of you, therefore, should willingly put up with it. Even though I do not speak, don't you both play with me? Show this to Manu and both of you give me your willing permission.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4881

[1] Batukeshwar Dutt, a close associate of Bhagat Singh

CWMG - LXVII

436. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 2, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Let Maulana Saheb come today at 2 o'clock. I will leave the *takli yajna* or finish it earlier according as I feel inclined at the time. When you come, bring some good vegetables for Mother[1] if available. Durga or Lila may go to the market.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11639

437. LETTER TO HARISHANKAR PANDYA[2]

[On or before *September 3, 1938*][3]

The Sardar is not going to foment trouble. He has been President of the Rajakiya Parishad. He has been honoured as a guest in several States. He owes a duty to his co-workers of the Parishad. He goes merely as a guide. It is strange that you should regard his coming as outside interference. I expect you to take advantage of his presence to produce harmony if the agitation is confined to a minority. You may depend upon the Sardar. Knowing as I do so many of the workers, I am unable to regard them as ill-meaning agitators. Please share this with Bhayats, Lohana Samaj and the Muslim Council, who have wired to me. I hope wiser counsels will prevail.

The Hindu, 3-9-1938

[1] Pyarelal's mother

[2] The addressee, as well as some others, had sent telegrams requesting Gandhiji to dissuade Vallabhbhai Patel from going to Rajkot in connection with the Kisan agitation there as the situation did not call for outside interference.

[3] The news item reporting this is dated September 3.

438. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

September 3, 1938

I have been in close touch with the prime movers affected by the tragedy which is now being enacted in Travancore, and I had hoped that I should be able to avoid having to make any public statement. After a study of the available evidence and interviews with representative men from Travancore, I have come to the conclusion that the Travancore Government are resorting to repressive methods, far in excess of the requirements, if there are any.

The Travancore Government contend that the Travancore State Congress activities are disloyal and subversive. I have studied the documents alleged to contain evidence in support of such a charge and have failed to find anything of that nature. On the contrary, I have seen emphatic repudiation by the State Congress of the charge unless constitutional agitation for responsible government is to be called subversive.

I have, however, read the memorial of the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress, making the most serious charges unsupported by any evidence against the able Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. They should never have been made, even if the memorialists had evidence in support. Such evidence is irrelevant to the case for responsible government. It would have its place in a memorial for the removal of the Dewan. There is no doubt that these charges have harmed the memorialists and therefore the State Congress, though they cannot weaken the case for responsible government.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the case for responsible government will be strengthened by the frightfulness being committed by the Government of Travancore if only the people will not be demoralized and will continue to adhere to non-violence. If reports about violence by students are true, I appeal to the students to desist and allow the movement to develop non-violently.

Leaders who have been locked up should make amends by withdrawing the charges against the Dewan.

I had the honour of meeting the young Maharaja and the Maharani. I have had the privilege of knowing Sir C. P. Ramaswami

CWMG - LXVII

Aiyar for many years. I appeal to them to retrace their steps and allow the State Congress to function so long as its activities remain peaceful. Surely the common law of the State is enough to cope with individuals using violent language or resorting to actual violence. But at this hour of the day, to expect the people to submit to the suppression of free speech or of demands, however advanced these may be, is to invite trouble.

In my humble opinion, the prevention of Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya from entering the State was a first-class tactical blunder. It passes comprehension how Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, himself a foreigner, prohibited the entry of a distinguished Indian lady on the grounds, according to him, of her being an outsider. She was amenable to the State law if she had committed any breach thereof. I thought it was only reserved for the English administrators to treat Indians going from one province to another as foreigners. It ill becomes the Indian Princes and their advisers to follow the pernicious practice of the English administrators—a practice of which many Englishmen are heartily ashamed. The Government may, by the terrible repression they have resorted to, succeed in killing the movement for the time being, but it will never die and will leave a bitter memory behind. I hope that wiser counsels will yet prevail and the State Congress will be permitted to function properly.

Harijan, 10-9-1938

439. CHOICE BEFORE CONGRESSMEN

Since the publication of my article[1] on violence said to be creeping into the Congress ranks, evidence is coming in to corroborate the complaints made by my correspondents. Violence at Congress elections, they say, is on the increase. It looks as if Congressmen are not able to digest the power that has come to the Congress. Everyone wants to have a share in the spoils of office. And so there is an unhealthy competition to capture committees.

This is not the way to win swaraj, nor is it the way to work the office programme. The holding of any office in the Congress Government must be in the spirit of service without

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, pp. 405-7.

CWMG - LXVII

the slightest expectation of personal gain. If A is satisfied in ordinary life with getting Rs. 25 per month, he has no right to expect Rs. 250 on becoming a minister or obtaining any other office under the Government. And there are many Congressmen who are taking only Rs. 25 per month in voluntary organizations and who are well able to shoulder ministerial responsibility. Bengal and Maharashtra are teeming with able men who have dedicated themselves to public service on a mere pittance and who are well able to give a good account of themselves no matter where they are put. But they are not to be tempted to leave the fields they have chosen, and it would be wrong to drag them out of their invaluable self-chosen obscurity. It is true all the world over, and more true perhaps of this country, that as a rule the best and the wisest men will not become ministers or accept positions under Governments. But I have digressed.

We may not always get the best and the wisest men and women to run Congress Governments, but swaraj will become a distant dream if the ministers and other Congressmen holding offices are not selfless, able and incorruptible. We are not likely to have such men if Congress committees become job-hunting arenas in which the most violent would win.

How to preserve the purity of the organization is the question. Anyone who subscribes to the credal article of the Congress and pays 4 annas can demand registration as a member. Many sign the Congress pledge without believing in the necessity for observing truth and non-violence as conditions of attainment of swaraj. Let no one cavil at my use of the expressions 'truthful and non-violent' as synonymous with 'legitimate and peaceful'. From the very commencement of the Congress constitution I have used those adjectives without challenge. The word 'non-violence' was first introduced by me in the resolution on non-co-operation carried in Calcutta by the Congress. Can anything be untruthful and yet be legitimate, violent and yet be peaceful? Be that as it may, I claim that those who commit a breach of these two primary conditions, no matter by what adjectives they are known, can have no place in the Congress organization so long as it is governed by the present constitution.

Similarly those who do not use khadi as habitual wear have no place in any Congress committee. This condition should apply also to those who do not carry out vital resolutions of the Congress, A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee. My prescription would be that those who commit a breach of any of these conditions should automatically cease to belong to the Congress. It

may be urged that the remedy is too drastic. It is, if it is regarded as a punishment. If it is the automatic result of a particular act or omission of a person, it is no punishment. I know that thrusting my finger into a furnace will surely burn it and still I thrust it; my suffering is no punishment, it is the natural consequence of my action. Punishment depends upon the will of the judge. Natural consequences are independent of any person's will.

It will be urged that under these conditions the Congress will cease to be a democratic organization, it will become a close corporation.

I hold a wholly contrary view.

Democracy of the West is, in my opinion, only so called. It has germs in it, certainly, of the true type. But it can only come when all violence is eschewed and malpractices disappear. The two go hand in hand. Indeed malpractice is a species of violence. If India is to evolve the true type, there would be no compromise with violence or untruth. Ten million men and women on the Congress register with violence and untruth in their breasts would not evolve real democracy or bring swaraj. But I can conceive the possibility of ten thousand Congressmen and women who are cent per cent true, and free from having to carry the burden of innumerable doubtful companions, bringing swaraj.

Let us reflect upon the past a little. Over fifty years ago a handful of men and women took it into their heads to meet together and represent and speak in the name of the dumb millions. Time has proved the validity of their claim. Since then the prestige of the Congress has risen not in proportion to its numbers, not in proportion to the display of intellect on the platform or in committee rooms, but it has risen in proportion to the ability of Congressmen to suffer and sacrifice themselves for the nation. No one will deny that when in 1920 the Congress definitely became a democratic, duly elected body having a large number of voters on its rolls, it found itself possessed of new power only because it deliberately adopted truth and non-violence as its means of reaching its goal. And even at the present day, the Congress has quite an insignificant number of men and women on its register compared to the tremendous power it wields. The reason to my mind is that it shows a measure of sacrifice, cohesion and discipline unequalled by any other organization in India. But as an experienced servant and general I make bold to say that we shall have to show a much higher measure of these qualities if

CWMG - LXXVII

we are to win independence before many years are out. It is my deliberate conviction based on closest observation that we can secure all we want, within much less time than perhaps any one of us imagines, simply by showing high efficiency and equally high honesty in every one of the Congress activities.

It would ill become us as truly brave men and women to wish ill to the British in order to gain our end. In non-violent warfare wishing ill to the enemy is not permissible. A non-violent person relies upon his own strength and refuses to trade upon his opponents' weakness.

With all the earnestness I can command I, therefore, plead with every Congressman who believes in his pledge to make his choice: either to apply the purge I have suggested, or, if that is not feasible because of the Congress being already overmanned by those who have lost faith in its creed and its constructive programme on which depends its real strength, to secede from it for its own sake and prove his living faith in the creed and programme by practising the former and prosecuting the latter as if he had never seceded from the Congress of his ideal. If one or the other thing is not done, I see grave danger of the Congress collapsing by the weight of its own weaknesses.

It has given me no pleasure to pen these lines. But having felt the urge, I would have been untrue to the Congress if I had not uttered the warning. It is the voice of silence. For the reader should know I took silence over a fortnight ago for an indefinite period. It has given me peace I cannot describe, and it enables me to commune with Nature.

Harijan, 3-9-1938

440. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 3, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I wrote these yesterday. Today, I have been awake from 1.30. Since my mind has been possessed of the H. M. matter I have been writing about it. Please remember that you are not to come today before three. See that both the telegrams are sent without any mistake. It should not be necessary to tell you this, but I mention it considering the burden on you. The word 'mistake' should be interpreted in two senses—one, that the copy should be identical with the original and, two, if you

CWMG-LXVII

think I have made any mistake, correct it. If there is any doubt, ask me. If you wish to wait till you have shown it to V. you may do so. The urgency is about Travancore.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11620

441. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEGAON,
September 3, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I did not even remember anything about Bombay. You may now do what you think proper.

Has Amritlal decided anything? I like what you say about the *Smriti*. If you can work with the others and select extracts, do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10908

442. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 3, 1938

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

My spirit was always with you. It is sad that you were not by Mother's bed-side at the moment of her death. But do we regard death as death? It is a great transformation. The body is constantly changing. When the self which had associated with it has deserted it, why lament over it? You can come here when you want. I shall shortly go to Delhi. Hence if you want to save the expense you may. The weather here is also not too good.

Blessings to all brothers from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2465

CWMG - LXVII

443. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 4, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

How long will you live on medicines? Which kingdom do you aspire to win? Go slow. Do only as much as you can. Take care of your health, otherwise you will be guilty of violence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 224

444. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 4, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

About the first letter, I can only say that I never suspected the palate[1].

About the other, I can say that I allow the massage if I need it, otherwise I stop it in a few minutes. Why should I let Amtussalaam come when I do not need her services? I did not know that she woke you up every night. But you will have to sleep near me when Amtussalaam leaves me and when Lilavati will not be there. Then you will see how I box your ears. You must apologize to Munnalal. Beware of constipation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4301

[1] The Gujarati original has *swada*, which means relish of the palate.

CWMG - LXVII

445. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[*September 5, 1938*][1]

I have read Dr. Khare's own defence. The only part that directly concerns me I owe it to the public to answer. It is painful for me to have to contradict Dr. Khare.

He came to Segaon voluntarily. He came as a friend. There was no protest on his part when he came. It was not without full argument that he felt convinced of the charges I brought against him. When he realized the force of my argument, he said he placed himself unreservedly in my hands. I told him that as he had admittedly lost his balance, if he felt like consulting his friends whom I had named, he should do so. There was no desperate hurry. He said he was quite capable of deciding for himself and that there was no need to consult other friends. Then I said he should better write out himself what he had admitted. He suggested that I should draft a statement, as he was no draftsman. I said nevertheless that I wanted his language. If I felt it did not cover sufficiently what he had admitted, I would revise it or add to it.

After some hesitation he took pen and paper and drew up the draft. I then took it up and made the corrections and additions.[2] He read them twice or thrice and said he could never admit betrayal of trust and that in any case he would not make any statement there and then but would accept my suggestion that he should consult his friends. Three o'clock the following day was the time limit fixed for the receipt of his answer. I have consulted the President, Maulana Saheb and Sardar Patel, who are here, and they confirm my version.

Harijan, 10-9-1938

[1] From *The Hindustan Times*

[2] For Khare's draft statement and Gandhiji's corrections, *vide* Appendix III.

446. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 5, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Herewith a telegram for Devdas. We will not take anything in *Harijan* in that way. Your labour, however, has not been wasted.

I will get your note typed here. My article is almost ready. If it is ready earlier, or even otherwise, I will send it complete from here. Somebody will come.

Your letter was welcome. It is brave of you to write directly to me. I have torn up the letter after reading it. It is a strange story! I will write when you come. There is nothing to worry about. The thing is so ridiculous. Do we have the time just now for such things? Do your duty without thinking about my blood-pressure. It would have been altogether wrong if you had not written the letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11640

447. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

September 5, 1938

BHAI RADHAKISANJI,

Bhai Chakrayya needs some handloom goods. You may give him whatever you can. How are Anasuya and the child? I have almost forgotten them both.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9124

CWMG - LXVII

448. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 6, 1938

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

The date of the W. C. is now finally fixed. It meets at Delhi on 20th. I reach there on 20th. I hope you will attend. This means that I can go to the Frontier Province immediately after the Delhi meeting. You will now advise me please.

Will you also tell me whether you want me to take Amtul Salaam with me or not?

I hope you are doing well. Are you reading *Harijan* regularly? You should if you are not.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

449. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

September 6, 1938

I have read the Travancore Dewan's statement with the attention it deserves. I fear I cannot take shelter under ignorance of the Press messages published from time to time on the tragedy that is being continued in Travancore.[1] Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's defence reads like an edition of the reports that used to be issued on behalf of the British Government during the civil disobedience campaign. Not even the massacre of Jallianwalla was justified exactly as the Travancore shootings are now being justified. Was not General Dyer's action subsequently condemned? So is it likely to be in this case.

I ask Sir C. P. Ramaswami to copy Sir Mirza Ismail and appoint an outsider of unimpeachable integrity to enquire into the whole affair. Let him declare a general amnesty and allow free expression of opinion. Instead of importing the military

[1] The Dewan in his statement had said, "Mahatma Gandhi is thoroughly unaware of the facts . . ."

and a Special Officer to carry on repression, I invite the Travancore Government to request someone like the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, if Congressmen are anathema, to go to Travancore and help them to re-establish peace there without further military action.

Harijan, 10-9-1938

450. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

September 6, 1938

This is no rebuke to you. You have done all this with the best of motives for the love of me. But without a knowledge of the manner of doing things, all our love may miscarry. Love waits, prays and is infinitely patient. You have been impatient to do good. If you have understood this you will dance with joy that you have in me a knowing friend whose love knows no bounds.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4218. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7854

451. LETTER TO HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI

September 6, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

I got your loving gift. I have heard that women are in the habit of concealing their age. Have you justified this belief by concealing yours? Be that as it may, live a full hundred years.

If you want my compliments for spinning a hundred rounds more, you have them. But where is the room for compliments when one is doing one's duty?

You may come whenever you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
KHAR
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 9795

[1] The first three sheets of the letter are not traceable.

CWMG - LXVII

452. LETTER TO LORD BRABOURNE

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 7, 1938

DEAR LORD BRABOURNE[1],

I am touched by your prompt and sympathetic reply to my wire about political prisoner B. K. Dutt. I thank you for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

453. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 7, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You may begin in the morning with juice of fruits—either *mosambi* or grapes. Increase the quantity of milk by 8 oz. Take less rice. Eat more wheat instead. You do drink enough water. Stop walking too much, but do continue pacing about for two hours slowly and at uniform speed. The hour for retiring at night must be strictly observed. Do not worry if any work is left unfinished. A few things can be got done here. More in the next letter. Do not put yourself to any inconvenience for coming today.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11641

[1] Governor of Bengal, then acting as Viceroy. He had acknowledged Gandhiji's telegram of 1-9-1938 and said he had agreed to the prisoner's release on grounds of ill-health subject to certain conditions.

CWMG - LXVII

454. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

September 7, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I do not remember the letter in which you had asked questions. When it is necessary to reply to your letters or act on them, I do not hesitate even to send a telegram. Saraswati has been writing to me and saying that she is perfectly peaceful. You should write to me about the unhappy circumstances in her family. If I can do something, I may try.

What Rajkumari writes about my health is not correct. I consider my health fine.

I would be satisfied if yours was as good as mine, barring the blood-pressure.

There is no time for more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7347. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

455. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

September 7, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

Who wants to get married, you or I? If you can wait, why need I be in a hurry? And as long as you are ill how can I give you away?

But please know that the treatment there is mere quackery. So, if you wish, come over here. But not in my absence. Go to Manjubehn. Let her examine you and suggest whatever remedy she likes. It would be better if you did not go to Maroli just now. I will not have your illness being prolonged there. I would bear it even if you were to die here because I would be sure then that scientific treatment had been given. Try Manjubehn first. Naranbhai will not now stand in your way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7098. Also C.W. 4590. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

456. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 7, 1938

I have written to Vijaya. Manjula may examine her. She may go to Maroli if it is necessary. Let her not try quack remedies.

How is it that you too get fever? What is it due to?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10771

457. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

September 7, 1938

CHI. JETHALAL,

I got your fine letter yesterday. I finished reading it just now at 6.30 in the morning. I have now given it to Parnerkar to read.

If you are persuading the people to make ghee in their own homes, you should also show them the correct method of making it. I do not understand how you guard against adulteration.

Your second letter is based on hasty reasoning. But that does not matter. Experience will correct the errors of reasoning. Instead of judging the world, we should judge ourselves and do what we can. Bearing in mind that He who controls us all is perfect, we should be content with whatever we are able to do. Have faith that in the measure in which you are able to improve your village, other villages also will improve, and concentrate on that task. You do maintain accounts for everything, starting with cattle feed. Don't you? How much milk does a cow give? How much butter and ghee?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9866. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

458. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

September 7, 1938

MY DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I do not know what I should say; you repeat the same question which I have answered again and again. Bhansalibhai writes to me; but does he complain? Whatever I say reaches his head and heart. Whatever I say to you does not satisfy you—I cannot discuss your food. If I ask you to strain less, you will exert more. If I ask you to sleep, you will not listen. Even if you try to sleep, your heart will protest that it is not correct advice. How can I know what was said to the Maulana? Tell me, how can I make you understand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 728

459. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

[*September 7, 1938*][1]

DEAR HARIBHAU,

Ba and Bapuji have received your letters of the 2nd. Bapuji says that Ba is now no longer fit for such work and therefore should be spared.

We shall certainly meet in Delhi.

Yours,
MAHADEV

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

[1] From the postmark

CWMG - LXVII

460. A LETTER

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 8, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

I was unable to speak to Subhas Babu yesterday. But I have written to him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11649

461. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEGAON,
September 8, 1938

MY DEAR AGATHA,

My capacity for work is very limited and work is daily mounting. Hence the delay in writing to you. But there has been not a moment's delay in action on this side. The whole sum is guaranteed. I gave Shuaib your address and he definitely promised to give the whole thing proper form and write to you. He was to send you or Harold £100 on a/c. I am now taking action.[1]

The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXVII

462. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

September 8, 1938

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

No news from you! Have you sent £100? The matter admits of no delay.

What about your mission?

My right hand needs rest. This is with the left hand.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

463. LETTER TO SHAUKATULLA SHAH

September 8, 1938

MY DEAR SHAUKAT,

This is with the left hand as the right needs rest. Mahadev has been telling me everything. Poor Zohra!

I hope you are getting full assistance from Dr. Bidhan.

I have your warning about the guarantee for Harold. The idea is that the Bank should be put in funds and that £100 should be sent at once.

I am sure Ammijan is at perfect peace with herself.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXVII

464. LETTER TO POTHAN JOSEPH

September 8, 1938

MY DEAR POTHAN,

I am on my back just now for the abdominal bandage. Hence the pencil hand.

I shall read your article.

You may fail ten times out of ten, and you will come to me as often as a penitent. What my word may have done for a moment it may also do permanently. There is nothing in me. But God may speak to you through me.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

465. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 8, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

There is falsehood, that is madness, in every line of Sheralekar's letter. Why reply to him?

You may come whenever you wish. Three o'clock will be the best time. How did Amritlal get indigestion?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10909

466. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 8, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

The first decision you need to arrive at is whether you can dedicate your whole life to Segaon. The co-workers are what they are. I gave you those letters so that you might examine

CWMG - LXVII

your heart. You yourself have engaged Govind, Dasharath, etc. It is your duty to live and work with them. You should spin and weave with them. You have to make yourself an expert in the science of khadi. This was your pledge from the very beginning and I have cherished that hope. You should ponder over Kanu's hint in this regard.

Do you reflect over all you read? I doubt it.

What does sitting with me mean? By all means sit if you have free time. The days are over when I could give you personal attention. I would be satisfied if I could cope with the work I have. But I feel that the body is bound to become weaker day by day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8591. Also C.W. 7031. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

467. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

September 8, 1938

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

I agree with everything that you have said. The Congress has merely given a new name to the language. It has not made any other difference. No honest person would reject a word because of its Hindu or Muslim origin. What can we say of others? And it has become fashionable these days to oppose anything done by the Congress or Congressmen. Do you want to know my views on the subject or something else? Because I have spoken and written at length on this subject.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 10133. Courtesy: Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi

CWMG - LXVII

468. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[About *September 8, 1938*][1]

CHI. KAKA,

We cannot be sure about Sheralekar.

You did well in leaving the dentures there. There is so much humbug in the so-called Shastras that revised editions should be brought out. But who will do it?

Pyarelal can now move about.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10910

469. MESSAGE TO "THE NATIONAL HERALD"

[On or before *September 9, 1938*][2]

I hope the paper will always represent truth and non-violence.

The Hindu, 9-9-1938

470. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

September 9, 1938

DEAR DAUGHTER[3],

The account of the work is good. Engross yourself wholly in these activities. Think about nothing while thus occupied. If you do not have the courage to go to the Frontier Province, you need not go. Overcome your sorrow. What do you eat?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 410

[1] There is a reference to Sheralekar's letter in "Letter to D. B. Kalelkar", p. 319.

[2] The first issue of *The National Herald* appeared on September 9.

[3] The superscription is in Urdu.

471. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 9, 1938

CHI. MANILAL,

You must have got the cable I sent as desired by you. I assume that you will do nothing in haste. I feel that you cannot close the *I.O.*, and it will be best if it is not closed. But if there is no other way, let it be closed.

You will read about the other things from Sushila's letter.

My health can be considered excellent. The fluctuation in blood-pressure is no cause for alarm. My silence is continuing and that is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4882

472. LETTER TO RATILAL

September 9, 1938

BHAI RATILAL,

I was glad to read the news in your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7177

473. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 9, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The tongue does not readily utter '*tu*'[1] addressing the boys and '*tum*'[2] addressing the girls. It is something of a family tradition.

[1] Thou
[2] You

CWMG - LXVII

Make any change you think necessary in your diet but never for the sake of taste. Instead, enjoy whatever you have to eat.

It would be better not to accept anything even from your uncle. Do not discriminate between big and small books. It would be appropriate to give up collecting even books. Be content with the books available here.

As you are not coming with me you have to draw your contentment from within yourself. Wherever I may be my home is here, is it not? This ought to suffice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4303; also S.G. 69

474. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 9, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Yes, you have to go to Balkoba. You may also do enthusiastically any other work entrusted to you.

The card is enclosed.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4302

475. CONGRESSMEN BEWARE!

I have been inundated with letters and wires complaining of what the senders have regarded as the Madras Premier's terrible misdeeds. I pick out two which have been the subject of adverse comment in many quarters in India. They are his policy about Hindustani and his employment of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for abating the picketing nuisance.

My correspondents evidently think that I am the keeper of the Premier's conscience and that I have but to send instructions and they will be obeyed. They know my relations with Rajagopalachari. But I am not the keeper of anybody's conscience, much less of Rajaji's. Let the reader share the secret with me that nobody among those who regard the Congress acceptance of truth and non-violence as the rule of their lives fights me as strenuously as he does. But he has one essential virtue of a soldier. I became my own general of satyagraha and my first recruit in

CWMG - LXVII

1906. When I announced my generalship in 1918 in India, Rajaji was among those who enlisted themselves at the very commencement. It was under his roof that the inspiration of the hartal of 6th April came to me. From that day to this his loyalty to his general has been beyond reproach or compare. And if as general I asked him to give up his premiership he would do so without demur. He may not even agree with my judgment. But in battle he knows that a private has no judgment but his general's.

But in spite of the exemplary loyalty that Rajaji gives me in common with many others, I will not issue the instructions my correspondents demand. Let the complainants know that we rarely correspond with each other. I know he has no time and he knows I have equally little for such correspondence. The law of satyagraha forbids such action. If he has to resign, he will do so in the constitutional manner. And there will be no fuss, no complaint. What is more to the point, I have boundless faith in his wisdom, his uprightness, and his unsurpassed ability as a parliamentarian among Congressmen at least. He has to his credit no mean achievements. And those who think that he is wallowing in the constitution gutter are vastly mistaken. We have in our ranks no abler fighter in satyagraha. I see nothing wrong in a satyagrahi winning victories without bluster, without wrangling but by conversion, by carrying conviction. The world will perhaps never know what Congress Premiers have been doing by forcing conviction upon Governors. Rajaji has been in the forefront among these. The greater the peaceful penetration, the greater the virtue of satyagraha. There is little room for tamasha in a fight for truth with truth and nothing but truth.

It hurts me, therefore, when Congressmen decry him and think that he is so enamoured of office that he is afraid to do the right thing. All Congress Ministers naturally come in for trenchant criticism from those who dislike Congress politics. Whatever is sound in such criticism must be accepted with gratefulness. There is criticism that springs from party motives. Even that has to be borne. But when Congressmen take up the same cry, it becomes embarrassing. They have their remedy. They can complain to their Provincial Committees, and failing redress they can go to the Working Committee and finally to the A. I. C. C. Surely there is no room for criticism if all these remedies fail. But my greatest complaint against these critics is that they are too hasty or too lazy to acquaint themselves with facts. There is no

CWMG-LXVII

sin greater than ignorance. I see daily verification of this great saying.

My first advice then is that my numerous correspondents and those who think like them should first study facts as Rajaji and his Cabinet see them. If then they are not satisfied, they should move for redress in the manner indicated by me.

I can give no direct help. There are limitations to the use of my influence with Congressmen. My retirement does mean non-interference with individual Congressmen in the discharge of their daily duty and even with the Working Committee except when it seeks my help or advice. Thus when Dr. Khare came to me for guidance, I twice refused, saying that he should approach the Parliamentary Sub-committee. Shri Shukla and Mishra were in urgent need. But to them also I had to say the same thing as I said to Dr. Khare. If I do not observe these broad limitations, my retirement becomes meaningless. Indeed I do not follow the day-to-day doings of Congressmen nowadays, whereas when I was in the Working Committee nothing escaped me and I used to scan everything and give guidance in detail in so far as my health permitted. But now I do not even study all the resolutions of the Working Committee.

Let me now say a word about the two main grievances against Rajaji.

There is nothing wrong in making a knowledge of Hindustani compulsory, if we are sincere in our declarations that Hindustani is or is to be the *Rashtrabhasha* or the common medium of expression. Latin was and probably still is compulsory in English schools. The study did not interfere with the study of English. On the contrary English was enriched by a knowledge of the noble language. The cry of "mother tongue in danger" is either ignorant or hypocritical. And where it is sincere it speaks little for the patriotism of those who will grudge our children an hour per day for Hindustani. We must break through the provincial crust if we are to reach the core of all-India nationalism. Is India one country and one nation or many countries and many nations? Those who believe that it is one country must lend Rajaji their unstinted support. If he has not the people behind him, he will lose his job. But it is strange, if the people are not behind him, that he has his great majority with him. But what if he had not the majority behind him? He must give up office but not his deepest conviction. His majority is worth nothing if it does not represent the Congress will. The Congress is wedded not to a majority; it is wedded to all that which will

make this nation great and independent in the least possible time.

And the picketing? It is insufferable that youngsters or even grown-up people should assail homes and offices and howl unmentionable imprecations against those who are shouldering their burden amid the greatest difficulty. Until we have found the correct remedy in terms of satyagraha the Ministers must be permitted to deal with such offences in the manner they consider best. If they are not, the freedom that is possible under Congress Raj will soon degenerate into goondaism, pure and undefiled. That is the way not to salvation but it is the easiest road to perdition. And the Minister who is worth his salt will resolutely refuse to be a cause of the country's perdition.

Lastly, the Criminal Law Amendment Act. We may not make a fetish of Congress resolutions. The Congress has objection not to the name but to the contents of an Act going under that name, and then, too, not to every word or section of the Act. I have never studied it but I see from Rajaji's public declarations that it contains a few sections which suit the new situation that the Congress is facing. If such is the case, Rajaji will be foolish if he does not make use of them. But he will be equally foolish, if not something worse, if he does not summarily repeal the obnoxious clauses of the Act without delay. It is a monster created by the fertile brain of the repressor of the country's liberty. It was used as such against satyagrahis. The sooner, therefore, those clauses go the better for Rajaji and the country. But let Congressmen beware of hanging their trusted servants before they are tried and found wanting.

Harijan, 10-9-1938

476. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 10, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Poor Sushila was ready at 5 o'clock, but I did not let her go. I am sending her just now. If you are not feeling well, you may detain her. You ought not to have let the thought enter your mind at all that you were down with a serious illness. Now take complete rest. I for one would put you on fruit juice and try water and earth treatment. But Sushila and other doctors

CWMG-LXVII

know best. I am after all a sinking ship. Who would choose to sail in such a ship?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11644

477. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

September 10, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

My opinion is clear. If we are unable to maintain cows we must admit defeat and close down the dairy. I kept the cows because of your presence here. Now you and Parnerkar must find a way. We should give up anything that you both do not endorse. We should not have two departments.

Yes, you have also to consider if the calves, etc., can be housed at a different place.

I do not enlarge the establishment. Quite a few are only temporary inhabitants and none of them will stay on after my death. So we need have no worry on that account.

I want a detailed budget of the medicines and other things required. In everything we have to bear in mind that all our activities are conducted with public funds.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1909

478. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEGAON,
September 10, 1938

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have been regularly getting the fruit sent by you. I did not write to you because of lack of time. Is Ratna the final examination or will there still be something left?

What happened about the *Ramayana*[1]?

I shall spend the whole of October out of Segaon. Do come and spend a few days with me some time.

[1] She had been working on a Tamil version of Tulsidas's *Ramayana*.

CWMG - LXVII

Do you receive letters from Kamala?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

479. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 11, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

It is just now striking 9. Sushila has not returned and so I feel a little worried about your health. For the present let the post come unopened. You need not carry any load. I am thinking about future arrangements for *Harijan*. I am not at all worried. The Great Editor[1] will do whatever is necessary.

I am having hearty talks with Mother. She is a flawless jewel.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11645

480. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 12, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have not been able to touch the mail at all today. After it has been passed on to me, is not your responsibility over? I will do what I can and be content. Go through today's articles. I have not revised the one about violence. I have omitted from your Notes the one about the Frontier Province. I will now see your today's editorial. I have already discussed that subject from another point of view. I am attending to the other things also. And the many responsibilities here, too, take a good deal of my time. If you are fully restored it will be great good news indeed for me. In any case you and I have had a warning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11646

[1] God

CWMG - LXVII

481. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

[After *September 12, 1938*]

You do sometimes talk as if you were a child without knowledge of the world.

A common malady does not yield to heroic treatment. Concubinage is a common malady. Only when women learn self-respect will concubinage go. In this both are equally guilty.

Congress can take up Hindu legislation up to a point.

Unless you have some hard-working and learned women tackling the problem there will be no solid legislation. I can guide a woman or women who have industry, ability and also faith in my instinct. When it is optional, where is the harm? If a husband becomes a leper or contracts that vile disease due to his unfaithfulness, why should the poor wife be condemned to live with him? You must not raise fine objections. I think infectious disease also should allow a woman. Why do you put an undue strain on either?

From the original: C.W. 4222. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7858

482. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After *September 12, 1938*][2]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am dictating this letter. Enclosed are the letters for despatch. I am sending two articles for *Harijan.* You must have sent that advertisement about Gandhi Jayanti to *Harijan Sevak.*

Take complete rest. I will not have the courage to take you to Delhi in your present state of weakness. In all there are eighteen postcards and envelopes. Do you want the manuscript of Maithilisharan's poem?

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Written on a used envelope with the postmark bearing the date "12-9-1938"

[2] According to *Gandhi—1913–1948*, Gandhiji in order to give rest to his hands began dictating letters by pointing to letters on a board about this date.

[PS.]

I have dictated this with the help of that board. I shall be ready to carry on with signs even if both my hands get disabled.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11647

483. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 13, 1938

DEAR KHWAJA SAHEB,

I am thankful for your letter[1] of the 8th instant regarding the political convicts. Much as I should like, if only for the trouble you have taken in the matter, to fall in with your proposal, it would be a breach of faith on my part to do so. For, as you know, I am bound by a solemn promise made to these friends when, at my instance, they suspended their hunger-strike. Consistently with that promise I have to make every reasonable attempt to secure their early release. This I cannot do if I identify myself with your proposal.

I cannot agree with you that if you fixed a time-limit it would be inconsistent with the reference of the very thing to a tribunal. Surely there is nothing inconsistent with such reference to say that you expect the tribunal to regulate the dates of discharge within a particular period. Under the terms of your reference the judges need never discharge a single prisoner if, in their opinion, the enormity of their crime did not merit any consideration. However theoretical my objection may appear, it is impossible for me to run risks.

Perhaps the Bengal Government and their advisers have missed one big factor in the consideration of the question of release. These prisoners have no sense of guilt. The crimes, however bad in themselves, were not committed for personal gain. The prisoners, having changed their views on violence, feel their detention an intolerable hardship. They are fretting for public service. The public estimate also in this matter is of a different character

[1] In this the addressee had referred to interviews he had given to Subhas Chandra Bose and said that the latter refused to support the Government's plan about political prisoners unless a time-limit was set for the release of all the prisoners. He had asked Gandhiji whether he accepted the Government scheme, and, if he did not, sought his consent to making public the correspondence on the subject.

from that of the Government. But since yours is admittedly a Government responsible to the people, you are bound to give considerable weight to public opinion which, so far as one can judge, emphatically demands their release.

Though you have, and I admit properly, ruled out the idea of exploiting my influence with the prisoners and the public for the preservation of public peace, I urge that there is nothing inherently wrong in using it if there is a reasonable chance of its telling on the side of public peace. But I may not labour this point.

For the considerations mentioned by me in this letter and in my previous letters and during the talks between ourselves and between your good self now and Subhas Babu who, in this matter, was acting as my representative, I must regretfully withhold co-operation from the Government in the projected scheme. But that does not in any way mean that I should obstruct you in your endeavour to accelerate the process of discharge. My action will largely depend upon the pace with which the discharges take place. My measuring rod will always be my letter of the 13th April, 1938.

I trust that in the interest of the common cause the facilities for correspondence and interviews with prisoners which you have hitherto afforded me will be continued.

I can have no objection to the correspondence that has taken place between us being published. I entertain the hope that this very important question will be kept by all concerned above party politics. I venture also to hope that the Press and the public will write or do nothing that may give a violent turn to the agitation that may become necessary to procure the prompt discharge of the prisoners.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KHWAJA SAHEB SIR NAZIMUDDIN
BENGAL SECRETARIAT
CALCUTTA

From a copy: C.W. 9933

CWMG LXVII

484. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

September 13, 1938

DEAR SUBHAS,

I hope the statement will be soon published.

I suppose it will be issued in pamphlet form. Of course the poison is there but as the agitation is wholly false it is bound to die out. Maharashtra can never be lost for the Congress province and I would feel unmoved if in doing right all the provinces were lost. The thing needful is that the present ministry acts on the square. You will give me your reaction to my letter[1] to Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin.

Yours,
BAPU

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

485. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 13, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter is quite like you.[2] It is not easy for the Congress to make a statement offhand. Whatever has to happen will happen as a result of negotiations between parties. Let this be made clear that there is no real difference between Jawaharlal and me. Our language often differs but we arrive at the same conclusion. The present British policy seems to be to do nothing through negotiation. There is something to be said for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

FRIEND CARL HEATH

From a photostat: G.N. 1031. Also Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee in his letter had expressed his concern at the impasse on the Federal question and suggested a common statement being made by Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and other known leaders on the question so as to make an impression on British public opinion.

CWMG - LXVII

486. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 13, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

This is the result of overworking. You must now stop working altogether and take complete rest. You will perhaps get more peace of mind if you come over here. If you do not come, keep Sushila there.

I am not at all worried.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11650

487. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 13, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I completely forgot. Let those C. I. D. men come. I believe they have been coming for the last three nights. Whatever is ordained as Natesan's fate will happen tomorrow.

I think you should send wires to the doctors that they should not take any trouble. I also believe that Calomel has done you good. I cannot cope with the mail, but, unlike you, I will not be overeager to finish the work by keeping awake the whole night. You may go on sending the mail without any qualms.

Gibbon may come for a few minutes if he wishes. I am signing the cheque and sending it to you.

Send a telegram to Sir Nazimuddin:

"Thanks letter. Reply posted. Gandhi." Send a telegram to Subhas also:

"Reply Government posted. Sending you copy. Bapu." The rest tomorrow.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11648

488. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON,
September 13, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got Chhaganlal's letters. A good many letters are lying unanswered. I get no time and Mahadev gets attacks of giddiness. He has the same illness that I had. Tell Chhaganlal that I shall have no objection to starting a khadi society provided Shankerlal approves of it. The financial arrangement may be as you have suggested.

My message is as follows:

"Congratulations to all those who participated in this charkha *yajna*. Let us hope that hand-spinning will spread so widely that everybody will be wearing khadi."

I understand about Purushottam. If even men like him cannot subsist on what they get, whom can we expect to cling to spinning, Harijan work, etc.? In saying this I am not blaming Purushottam. The prevailing wind may drive a man along, even against his will.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8548. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

489. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 13, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

You seem to be progressing very well indeed. Read my letter to Manjula and give it to her. What is the difficulty about the music teacher?

Convey my humble *pranams* to Gokibehn and tell her that she is often in the thoughts of us all. How is she keeping? How is Kumi doing? Has Gijubhai's Mandir started? How many

CWMG - LXVII

children are enrolled in it? Does it have any connection with your school?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal is down with typhoid. Cholera too is fairly widespread here.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8549. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

490. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 13, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

With regard to your previous letter, since you had said you would be coming over I kept silent. The views that you have expressed are correct. As long as you do not hear the inner voice, you should come to no decision. You should, however, try very hard to come to a definite decision.

I am not weak-minded in regard to my resolutions. My reputation is just the opposite of that. But when I myself have a doubt, a resolution made in the past cannot be regarded irrevocable. Whatever I did here was in the nature of an experiment and there are bound to be changes in an experiment. I had no misgiving about my behaviour because it was the result of fifty years of disciplined habit. I therefore felt that I should make no distinction between Mataji[1] and Parnerkar's mother. I have observed that my physical touch has some special effect on men and women. Mataji had been deeply pained on my account. I could remove her pain by putting my hand on her. I had not been able to go to see Parnerkar's mother, but that is not because I did not care for her. As the treatment was being carried out under my supervision, I expressed my love for her by putting my hand on her and made her feel at once that I had not been indifferent to her.

Is there danger of my being pierced with Cupid's arrows in my letting myself be massaged naked, or in a thousand naked women bathing by my side when I am blind? I do feel afraid of myself in letting the pure-minded Sushilabehn massage me. But if I am lying blind-folded and those two are bathing, I would

[1] Pyarelal's mother

feel no fear at all. By all means let those who are as minutely scrupulous as I am make themselves perfectly blind and permit some Rambha[1] to bathe near them. But anybody who lets himself be massaged is sure to be maligned. If he is sure of himself, however, let him by all means copy my example. I think I have replied to all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8565. Also C.W. 7040. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

491. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 13, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Explain fully to Kashinath the contents of the enclosed. If he does not have a copy of the Gram Panchayat Act, ask him to get one from the Government. After he has got it, we shall advise whether a court should be constituted.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8567. Also C.W. 7039. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

492. NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR[2]

September 13, 1938

We can hope to see that scene only as a result of the pure *tapashcharya* of thousands of us.

I found the recitation from the *Gita* very pleasing.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2794-1

[1] Celestial courtesan

[2] The addressee had asked: "When shall we see the first seven Congress Premiers doing their work in the glorious tradition of the Congress, i. e., the people commending their work?"

CWMG - LXVII

493. LETTER TO THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

September 14, 1938

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I have your kind message through Shuaib. I understand.

I am sure you will see to prompt arrangements being made for Harold Ansari. He is in dire need. And he won't gain admission to the Hospital if the fees are not guaranteed.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, p. 125

494. LETTER TO M. C. RAJAH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 14, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

I must apologize for the delay in replying to your letter.[1] I have been overwhelmed with work. Now I have your wire.

I wish you would trust C. R. to do his best. He should be allowed to do the thing in his own way. If you cannot trust, naturally you will take the course which commends itself to you. All I know is that Harijans have no better friend than him. Go to him, reason with him and if you cannot persuade him, bear with him. That is my advice.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

M. C. Rajah Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In his letter dated August 25 the addressee had complained to Gandhiji that Rajagopalachari had opposed the Temple Entry Bill moved by him although he had himself drafted it and said that Harijans were exercised over this question "and contemplating repudiation of the Poona Pact".

495. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 14, 1938

DEAR MAHADEV,

Shall we say you have a mania for work? That is why I had to write severely. We should admire the British in this respect. Don't you know that if you were to be disabled, I would be a bird without wings? If you become bed-ridden, I would have to wind up three-fourths of my activities. Although I had not apprehended that you would fall ill, I had made up my mind as to what activities to curtail in case you were bed-ridden and had thus lightened my mind. But would not curtailing work in this manner be like a stab in my heart? So I wrote to you to take complete rest and recover fully soon. Follow me in the matter of hip-bath as much as you do in drinking milk. Surely taking hip-bath is not my sole prerogative.

Sushila did not give Jivaraj's letter to Shivdas. Now it is being sent with Shuaib.

I sent the letter for Rishikesh directly with Radhakisan. Thus I do save your labour. The note about the letter was sent by an oversight.

I wanted to send the telegram to Raja yesterday, but forgot about it. Here it is:

"Tortures inconsistent with your rich humour. You must not be grieved over anything. Love. Bapu."[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11651

[1] This is in English.

CWMG - LXVII

496. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

September 14, 1938

MY DAUGHTER,

I do not like your way of working. It is difficult even to suggest a cure for you. Where was the necessity of your waking up at 3 o'clock? You should have rest. You should give up the charkha and take such treatment as Sushila prescribes. It would be good if you went to Bombay. There can be no question of your going to Delhi if Khan Saheb sends a refusal. Even otherwise you cannot possibly go to the Frontier afflicted with piles.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 409

497. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[After *September 14, 1938*][1]

If you have faith in me, it does not become you to be obstinate. Khan Saheb was only joking. However, you will not be able to stay in the Frontier Province alone. I therefore advise you to go to Bombay; improve your health there and come back here fully restored when I return. You cannot always accompany me on my tours. Can one obey orders and be obstinate at the same time?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 679

[1] This was obviously written after "Letter to Amtussalaam", 14-9-1938. By that date, the addressee had not heard from Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

498. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 15, 1938

DEAR ATULANAND,

I see no inconsistency between my letters[1] to you. Your note read like giving stone when bread was wanted. I have in mind the growing distrust and bitterness which no writing can possibly remove. I have told you you have to be your own missionary. I have written as I have felt. Please be patient with me and go your way.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 1480. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

499. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You must have duly received all the material sent yesterday. Prabhu Dayal's report for today is good.

Manu had high fever yesterday. Today she is better. The ups and downs thus continue. I am sending as many letters as are ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11653

[1] For earlier letters to the addressee, *vide* Vol. LXV, pp. 330-1, Vol. LXVI, pp. 86 and 125 and Vol. LXVII, p. 110.

CWMG - LXVII

500. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

September 15, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

If you write frankly instead of being vague, you would have your desire fulfilled earlier. If I have to go to the Frontier Province, I shall not be able to call over Saraswati. All the same, I am going to try from today. You should go on supplying me with the necessary material.

You must have received my previous letter. It is good that you are devoting yourself to study, but it is foolish to do so by reducing exercise and food. You may become a first-class doctor but will you consider yourself rewarded if the very next day of your being recognized as such you were to leave the world? Degrees, etc., are but a means; they are certainly not the end. And if you become a sort of permanent invalid, what service would you be able to render to me?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7348. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

501. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 15, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have not received the programme from Chhaganlal. Will anyone take charge of Rajkumari at Viramgam? She will be travelling second class. She will be accompanied by her attendant. R. K. eats very simple food. Nobody should press delicacies on her. It will be enough if she is provided with a commode and facility for bathing in private.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8550. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

502. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

September 15, 1938

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS,

Do come to Segaon towards the end of October. Most probably I shall have returned from the Frontier Province by that time.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

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

503. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

September 15, 1938

CHI. LAKSHMI,

I cannot say who will be accompanying me but these names are certain: Mahadev, Kanu, Pyarelal, Sushila, Ba and Kanam. As regards my special requirements, goat's milk, for one thing, will be there. Are all these arrangements to be your responsibility? I shall remain there for a week at least. Ba and Kanam will be staying longer. Maybe Ramdas too will accompany us. He will be reaching Bombay on the 17th instant.

Manu had fever but she is all right now. If Sushila, Sita and others are ready to come I shall bring them.

I shall try to send a wire finally. Mahadev is slightly unwell. So Chandrashanker too may be with us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2010

CWMG - LXVII

504. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have sent the mail in the morning so today I was not in a hurry to send this. Important letters must be despatched. I understand about work. There is no objection to your working in moderation. Are you following Sushila's instructions on walking about on the terrace twice a day?

I have learnt a new thing from Durga: that the remedy for scorpion-sting is a *bhajan*. What kind of scorpion would it be that permits one to sing a *bhajan*? And what a singer she must be who can sing a *bhajan* despite the pain of a scorpion-sting?

I did not ask Shuaib to post Jivaraj's letter. He was to give it to you so that you could send it after affixing the late fee stamp. When two persons do a job which should be done by one, it is bound to be spoiled. I am making this criticism in order that you may have the benefit of our experience here.

I remember to have sent you yesterday a telegram for Parameshwaran. But the memory of a man of 69 cannot be very trustworthy. On the back of one telegram a reply was written. The remaining were in a letter. Please do inquire.

I understood from Sushila that what I had written in my letter to Jivaraj was what you desired.

Behnji was not the cause of my circular. It was Mirabehn. That day she had lectured Pyarelal and Sushila. Though warned she had misunderstood Amtul Salaam. There was a violent quarrel. I, therefore, thought that if I did not clarify things the poison would spread and so I sent round the circular. I see that most of the people here, poor fellows, know nothing. So my conclusion is that Mira was the sole cause of the ill-feeling which has been generated. That is part of her nature. What can we do about it? I will show you the circular as also the replies received. You need not worry about this matter. Despite such shocks, the blood-pressure seems to be behaving normally.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The following for Parameshwaran:

"Your coming unnecessary. BAPU."

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11652

505. TELEGRAM TO HUMAYUN KABIR

[On or after *September 15, 1938*][1]

PROFESSOR HUMAYUN KABIR
36 AHIRIKUPUR ROAD
CALCUTTA

GLADLY MEET YOU 24TH AFTERNOON. PLEASE REMEMBER I AM OBSERVING SILENCE BUT THAT DOES NOT MATTER. I CAN WRITE ANSWERS.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

506. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[*September 16, 1938*][2]

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I like your idea. It should be given some practical shape. The building meant for Nayakum will have to be vacated. Vacate it whenever he asks for it. If you can accommodate yourself in the spinning-shed which we are putting up, do so. The best course is as follows. You should find some plot for yourself from the surrounding land and the three of you together should build a cottage and try to live in it. I am very much afraid that you may fall ill. It is not without some thinking that I have given you the freedom in regard to food.

The third woman is Amtul Salaam. As you asked for the name I give it. I will have to assure myself further about her. If necessary, I will make a change.

[1] The addressee's telegram is dated 15-9-1938.

[2] In a note the addressee says that he received the letter on this date immediately after it was written.

CWMG - LXVII

Nobody can come up to her in devotion.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have given these two as examples . . .[1] selected. . .[2] they are . . .[3] Even to A. S. also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8373. Also C.W. 7041. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

507. CABLE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHAGANJ,
September 16, 1938

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
INDIA LEAGUE
165 STRAND, LONDON

JUST RECEIVED NOTE. ALREADY WROTE[4] HEATH THOUGH OUR LANGUAGE DIFFERENT WE MEAN SAME THING NO DOUBT MY MIND. WRITING. LOVE.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

508. LETTER TO B. K. DUTTA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 16, 1938

DEAR DUTTA,

I was delighted to hear from you. I hope you will quickly build up your shattered body[5].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI B. K. DUTTA
C/O SHRI RAJKUMAR SINHA
THE MALL, CAWNPORE

From a photostat: G.N. 9281

[1],[2]&[3] Illegible in the source

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Carl Heath", p. 332.

[5] The addressee, a political prisoner, was released from a Bihar jail on ground of ill-health; *vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to the Viceroy", p. 300 and "Letter to Lord Brabourne", p. 313.

CWMG - LXVII

509. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

September 16, 1938

MY DEAR C. R.,

You must have got my wire.[1] Why should anything torture you? So long as you can easily wear the thorny crown, you may wear it. But if those who have thrust it on you are jealous of your wearing it, it would be good riddance for you. Anyway your philosophy must not desert you. Was your letter a sign only of momentary weariness?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2071

510. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 16, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Has the complaint on the reverse been investigated into and found to be without substance? If you have not written to the Maulana to that effect, please do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11654

511. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 16, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Whenever necessary, you must not hesitate to write to me or speak to me. Hesitation may even be *adharma*.

Ba is accompanying me. And even if I do not go to the Frontier Province, Ba will stay in Delhi for one month. You

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 338.

CWMG - LXVII

may, therefore, occupy Ba's room. Carry on the classes there. If you have any effects, you may put them in her bathroom.

I am thinking of taking over J.'s House. Let us see what happens. All my plans are indefinite. I can decide something if I know what my place in the Frontier Province is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10772

512. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

September 16, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I assume that you have reached Malabar and that Jayaprakash's treatment has started. Prithuraj, Shamjibhai, etc., are there. See them.

Ba, I and others will reach Delhi on the 20th. We shall be there for about eight days. Thereafter I will go to the Frontier Province. Ba will remain in Delhi. Ramdas will land in Bombay tomorrow.

I am all right. Manu had fever but she is well now. Pyarelal has fully recovered. I hope to return by the end of October.

Do not be remiss in writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3521

513. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

[On or after *September 16, 1938*][1]

I cannot take the credit of deciding without consultation. I had told Sushila to have a talk with you. She informed me that you were prepared to devote your whole time there after I left.

Amtul Salaam was so ill yesterday that she had to be served. I claim that I can massage better than any of you, including Sushila.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 on the following page.

I gave a massage to Amtul Salaam for a few hours yesterday. If you too fall ill as a result of your foolhardiness I may have to give you a massage too, but it is hardly a very desirable thing. Amtul Salaam has many virtues but she is obstinate in an equal measure.

BAPU

[PS.]

There is very little to learn in this book. I am doing what little it recommends. *Chhilta* water.[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4304

514. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

[On or after *September 16, 1938*][2]

All this can be said only after my death. Let us see where God takes me.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4567

515. THE STATES AND RESPONSIBILITY

The partial success of the people of Mysore, instead of liberalizing the other States, seems, so far as one can conclude from known facts, to have stiffened them against the movement for internal responsible government. I have called the Mysore success only partial for nothing has yet been gained in substance by the people. The Maharaja and his cultured Dewan have recognized the State Congress, they have instituted an impartial inquiry into the recent tragic happenings and appointed a Reforms Committee with ample powers. With patience and reasonableness on the part of the Mysore State Congress and with real goodwill and understanding on the part of the Mysore Government, we may see a large measure of, if not full, responsibility in the government of Mysore.

But the psychological effect of the Mysore events has been exceedingly great. The people of the States have begun to see

[1] The significance of this is not clear.

[2] Gandhiji had scribbled this on a letter dated September 16 from the addressee who had touchingly described Amtussalaam's joy when Gandhiji gave her a massage.

a new vision of liberty. What seemed to them to be a distant goal now appears to be an event to be realized almost in no time. I believe that if the awakening among the people is genuine and widespread no repression can possibly stay their inevitable march to their cherished goal.

I have said enough of the Travancore frightfulness. I can call it by no other name. Here is an extract from a letter from a Travancorean whose testimony I have never had occasion to doubt. He says:

> A careful study of the Dewan's statement shows that he is trying to cloud the issue and mislead outsiders who are not aware of the sequence of events that he narrates. Excepting the threats of 'civil war' alleged by the Dewan, all the other events or occurrences happened subsequent to the promulgation of the Proclamation and the declaration of the State Congress as an illegal body. How post-war occurrences justify the war itself, it is difficult to understand.
>
> As regards the violence which we all deplore, the stone-throwing and the burning of buses are attributed to rowdies set up by the police according to one version; but without a thorough inquiry, which is impossible under the present circumstances, it is difficult to say what is the truth. Anyhow, do you not think that it is rather surprising that though all these occurrences took place in clear daylight and at meetings at which large numbers of police and military forces were present, it was not possible to prevent any of them or arrest a single one of the offenders? The explanation of the supporters of the State Congress is that the police dare not arrest any as they and their hirelings commit these atrocities. I cannot say how far the explanation can be accepted. A volunteer who was subjected to a severe lathi charge at the Quilon meeting says in an interview to the *Hindu* correspondent (published in *The Hindu* of 4th Sept.) that he saw with his own eyes some policemen throwing stones. Such allegations are generally made by the State Congress members. Meetings are being held and speeches made in all parts of the country but the arrests are very few. The present policy seems to be to disperse meetings by force. This leads to firing and death of innocent persons. After the Quilon meeting there was firing again at Puthupally, a village about five miles away from Kottayam. One or two died and some were wounded. The actual number is not yet known. All the provisions of the new Regulation are being openly disobeyed by the people. But the Government are not able to bring the offenders to book as there is only one jail in the State and that is already full. If the Government desire to arrest and punish all the offenders, then they will have to build more jails as the number willing to court arrest and imprisonment is very large already and is increasing day after day.

And I am inundated with telegrams describing the fearful repression going on in several parts of Travancore. I do not ask that this testimony should be believed as against the State communiques. But I do suggest that there are, as usual, two sides to the question and that there is a strong case for an impartial inquiry.

But whether there is an inquiry or not, the duty of the Travancore State Congress is clear—on the one hand to see that there is no violence of any sort done by them or their sympathizers, and on the other to go on with their programme of direct action till the Travancore Government relent or the last member is accounted for.

I should like here to state one limitation of ahimsa. If a wrongdoer banks upon the ahimsa of his victim and goes on heaping wrong upon wrong till every one of the victims is crushed, a cry from the surrounding atmosphere rises and the force of public opinion or the like overtakes the wrongdoer. But no satyagrahi should think that he has never to suffer unto death. His victory lies in the defiance by his unconquerable spirit of death and loss of property. The wrongdoer's certain defeat lies in his utter failure to bend or break the spirit of his victim.

If the States persist in their obstinacy and hug their ignorance of the awakening that has taken place throughout India, they are courting certain destruction. I claim to be a friend of the States. Their service has been an heirloom in my family for the past three generations, if not longer. I am no blind worshipper of antiquity. But I am not ashamed of the heirloom. All the States may not live. The biggest ones can live only if they will recognize their limitations, become servants of their people, trustees of their welfare and depend for their existence not on arms, whether their own or British, but solely on the goodwill of their people. Frightfulness will feed the fire of violence that one feels smouldering everywhere. If the States are badly advised and they rely upon organized violence for resisting the just demands of their people, ahimsa, so far generated in the country as a means of redressing social injustice, will not protect them. If it had grown into a Himalayan oak, it would have passed any test however severe. But, sad to confess, it has not gone deep enough into the Indian soil.

The Hyderabad communiques have therefore come upon me as a painful surprise. Sir Akbar is a great educationist. He is a philosopher. It was a pleasure to read his recent convocation address to the Dacca University. It is passing strange

that he should have lent himself to the reactionary declarations which condemn an organization even before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion? What can communalism mean in, say, Kashmir or the Frontier where the population is predominantly of one faith? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least numerically a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field. When a person belonging to an insignificant minority mounts to power he does so not as a representative of his group but by sheer merit. The State Congress in Hyderabad can never be communal in the sense in which the word is understood in India. An institution in the Frontier Province need not be dubbed communal merely because it has no Hindu member. Of course an organization may be frankly communal in outlook. But the Hyderabad communiques make a subtle distinction and aver that there is presence in the State Congress of persons predominantly communal in outlook. What is more, the State Congress has come out with a statement totally repudiating the suggestion of communalism.

And then comes even the erstwhile progressive Rajkot. Only the other day it had a representative Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and it had complete liberty of speech under its late lamented ruler. One may hope that after the recent display (so far as I can see, wholly uncalled for) of force, the political organization of Rajkot will be not only permitted to function undisturbed but that its demands will be met in a spirit of justice.

Whatever happens in the three States named or in any other, let the people of the States recognize that their salvation depends wholly on their own strength whose generation in turn depends upon an exhibition in action of complete non-violence and truth. They must realize that it is utterly impossible openly to organize along violent lines large masses of mankind deprived of arms and almost from time immemorial brought up as a non-military nation.

Harijan, 17-9-1938

516. *ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE*

A man reaps as he sows. Having written on violence, I am getting evidence from all parts of India supporting my statement. The saddest case to come under my observation is that of a Congress Committee having incited the ryots of a zemindari simply to take possession of the lands of that zemindari. This act of spoliation was preceded by speeches of Congressmen reeking with violence. I sent the papers to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya for investigation. He confirms generally the complaints made by my correspondent. I am hoping that the District Committee or the Provincial Committee will be able to right the wrong. Failing that, of course, Rajaji's Government has to give redress. In saying this I do not wish to suggest that the land does not belong to the worker on it. I endorse the socialist theory of possession. But no socialist that I know has defended the usurpation practised in Andhra. If all the land in India is ever to belong to or be possessed by the worker alone, it would be either by a bloody revolution or by equitable legislation. It must be clear to every sane man that the act of confiscation will never last. Had it not been for the Congress Government, the spoliation could never have taken place. The Congress Government will dig its grave if it fails to restore the land to the legal possessor. I may add in parenthesis that the dispossessed zemindar is reputed to be a docile man with pro-Congress tendencies.

The other piece of evidence is choice cuttings from the U. P., C. P. and Bombay Press. The singularity of the U. P. cuttings is that they contain incitement to violence in poems and prose. A lady writer waxes eloquent over the misdeeds of the zemindars and the wrongs of the kisans. She draws a terrible contrast between the opulence of the haves and the penury of the have-nots. Having prepared the ground she invites the kisans to a feast of blood and thunder. "Take any weapon you get hold of, strike and strike hard. Don't be cowards. It is all yours and you must seize it by your powerful arms." This is a mild rendering, all too brief, of the red original. Had not the lady's name stared me in the face as writer, I would not have thought a daughter of India to be capable of incitement to such merciless violence. I must confess that even if I screwed myself up

properly I could not fill the three columns that she has done with invective. If no one has had his head turned by the writing, it is certainly not her fault. Fortunately the millions to whom it is addressed cannot read.

The C. P. and Bombay cuttings contain unthinkable falsehoods. There is no restraint on the pen. No language is foul enough to blacken the character of persons. Some of the things said are patent inventions. The writings easily come under the law of libel. But what can libel proceedings do? They invite libel proceedings. These advertise the papers. Defence would be an additional opportunity for invention. There are veiled incitements too. And even without incitement, why should not youths reading the portraiture of persons in blackest colours take it into their heads to go and kill the 'lepers' described in the columns? To many, their newspapers are their Bible. They believe in them. And some of these papers are supposed to represent the Congress policy. The evil is on the increase during the Congress regime. It is well that what was inside is now coming out. But this is not civil liberty; it is criminal licence. Swaraj will not come by way of falsehoods and violence. And we shall do a double wrong if we do all these things in the name of truth and non-violence. I adhere to the advice I have tendered to the Congress and Congressmen.

Harijan, 17-9-1938

517. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 17, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

The enclosed is for Durga.[1] I have not the wish nor the courage to do anything that will make her unhappy. Has Brijkrishna's postcard been answered? If not, it should be done on Monday. Please tell Babla. You have to tell him how many people and "Yes" about the laying of the foundation. You should be able to sleep. Do not let your mind be oppressed by thoughts of work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the following item.

518. LETTER TO DURGA DESAI

September 17, 1938

CHI. DURGA,

Though there is not the slightest cause for worry, still Mahadev's health will require watching. He cannot of course resume work right away. Jivaraj says you would not like Mahadev to go to Delhi. Is that your wish? If your mother and son want to accompany me to Delhi I am willing to take you along. If my health permits me to go to the Frontier Province, you can stay on in Delhi for the time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

519. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

September 17, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

Where did you learn all this cunning? There are criticisms on three heads and still you say it was only for my information. What a way of putting things! But you have the right to write whatever you like. Chimanlal had asked me whether or not to give you the figure. The expenses here are certainly on a royal scale. I could not preserve my health without that. The experiments in ghee, etc., also mean some expense. So the expenses here are not a standard for anybody to follow. If anyone were to tell me that friends give me money and I squander it I would listen and laugh. No doubt there is scope for improvement but it can be effected only if I get a wise manager like you. But you are not going to stay here for ever. The figure was not given you so that you might pay the amount. You may pay only according to your capacity. I have already told you that I will not mind even if you do not pay. It would be better, however, to pay as long as you can afford.

It would be more accurate if you described me as lazy. Would you consider Chimanlal, Munnalal, Nanavati, Balwantsinha,

CWMG - LXVII

Parnerkar, Kanu, Sharda and Shakaribehn lazy? The others are only staying there. Bhansalibhai certainly cannot be considered lazy. Krishnachandra is ill but otherwise he is a saintly person. Shankaran has to be trained up. I make do with whatever work Anand does. Even so, because of my incapacity I put up with some laxity. I have only mentioned the names that occurred to me. You may explain to me in greater detail giving particular names.

You did not reply to me. There is no question of your forcing anything on me. In spite of my being not free from passion, do you and Manudi desire that I should let myself be ministered to by and should touch women? This question is an important one. Manudi will not understand it but you can. All of you can say: 'So long as Bapu is not free from passion, let him be served only by Sushila and Ba.' Or you can say: 'When he puts the burden on us, we do wish that he would let us touch him. What effect can his passion have on us?' Either stand can be justified. The first is safer from all points of view. In fine, the experiment which I had commenced with a particular aim can be said to have ended, and I invite the views of you all regarding any new step I may take. I do not want to act in haste. I will do only what I can with objective detachment. I believe you to be wise. You are thoughtful. In such matters you can guide me as a woman. Please, therefore, give me your independent opinion.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: G.N. 4883. Also C.W. 7042. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

520. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

September 17, 1938

CHI. MANUDI,

Consider yourself fortunate that you have arrived when I am observing silence. That silence is for the whole country. You have the benefit of being a witness to it. The silence is not an expression of diminished love. Love does not care for words uttered by the tongue.

I will certainly write to you when you go to Bombay. You should write, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1572. Courtesy: Surendra B. Mashruwala

521. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 17, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Teach Sharda music to her fill. If others also ask for help in learning to recite the *Gita* or music, help them without any hesitation.

Do take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10773

522. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

September 17, 1938

CHI. JETHALAL,

I got your postcard, etc. I got Lakshmidas's letter today, which I am sending. I have been collecting literature which can be helpful to you and sending it. You may leave out of it whatever is not useful. It is not necessary to reply to me. Where is the need for replying to what I send to you for you to think over?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9867. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

523. NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR

September 17, 1938

If you could prolong your stay here by a few more days you could correct Sharda's recitation of the *Gita*.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2794-2

CWMG LXVII

524. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *September 18, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Sushila says that if you can go to Bombay today, you should. I think that will mean unnecessary rushing about. If they[2] are coming here, they may examine you here. The main thing is rest. If you go, you should stay on in Bombay and then join me at Delhi. If you decide to go, you must leave tomorrow. It will be better if you do not carry the burden of *Harijan* with you. Don't worry about what will happen for two weeks.

Now you will willy-nilly have to . . .

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11630

525. TO THE READERS

[*September 18, 1938*][3]

The readers of *Harijan* will share my sorrow that Mahadev Desai has become very ill. Drs. Gilder and Jivaraj Mehta, who with their usual kindness came specially to examine him, have come to the conclusion that he must take prolonged rest. He has had the same warnings that I had. The doctors think that prolonged overwork has brought about the illness which, if neglected, may bring about paralysis of all activity. Let the numerous friends of Mahadev not be alarmed over the news of his illness. There is nothing to be alarmed about. Only nature has issued a stern warning which he and I may not disregard except at our cost. I include myself as an object of warning, for if I do not insist on Mahadev's taking rest, he is quite capable of cheerfully taking his last breath with the pen in his hand. If I am wise and true, he will take the needed rest. Therefore, for the time being, the readers must miss the familiar and copious writings over the initials M. D.

[1] *Vide* the following item, where Gandhiji mentions Drs. Jivaraj Mehta and Gilder having examined Mahadev Desai and advised him complete rest.

[2] Drs. Gilder and Jivaraj Mehta

[3] The Sunday preceding September 24

CWMG - LXVII

I am writing this note during the small hours of Sunday morning, having got up at 1.30 a.m. for finishing *Harijan* work. But I dare not repeat such liberty without the danger of a sudden collapse. I have only limited physical energy left in me. It has therefore to be sparingly used.

The third person who can do *Harijan* work is Pyarelal. He has been *hors de combat* for some time and just now he is convalescing after the recent attack of enteric fever.

Harijan is not a newspaper, it is a 'views'-paper, representing those of one man. Even Mahadev and Pyarelal may not write anything independently whilst I am alive. I am myself daily growing in the knowledge of satyagraha. I have no text-book to consult in time of need, not even the *Gita* which I have called my dictionary. Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. It may be that what I claim to be a science may prove to be no science at all and may well prove to be the musings and doings of a fool, if not a madman. It may be that what is true in satyagraha is as ancient as the hills. But it has not yet been acknowledged to be of any value in the solution of world problems or rather the one supreme problem of war. It may be that what is claimed to be new in it will be proved to be really of no value in terms of that supreme problem. It may be that what are claimed to be victories of satyagraha, i. e., ahimsa, were in reality victories not of truth and non-violence but of fear of violence.

These possibilities have always been in front of me. I am helpless. All I present to the nation for adoption is an answer to prayer or, which is the same thing, constantly waiting on God. Such being the case, whilst I am alive *Harijan* can only be continued so long as I am able to write or Mahadev or Pyarelal can interpret me from week to week.

The readers need not think that there are not others who can take the place of these two workers. There are. But they are all engaged in the respective tasks allotted to them and it would be wrong to remove them from their spheres of work. Satyagraha will not stop for want of *Harijan*, but it will for want of workers to carry on the mighty constructive programme.

Therefore, whilst Mahadev's illness lasts, the readers will overlook the gaps they will notice in the editing of *Harijan*. This illness induces a reflection. I have often expressed the opinion among friends that in the matter of capacity for detachment Englishmen are far in advance of us. No matter how important national affairs may be, they will keep their meal hours and

hours of recreation. They are not unnerved in the face of dangers or impending calamity. This may be called working in the spirit of the *Gita*. Among the political workers in India there are very few who come up to the Englishmen's standard.

This English detachment is worthy of emulation. That it is used for the exploitation of the so-called uncivilized or semi-civilized races of the earth is another matter. It would be a distinct gain to the national cause if the leaders and workers strictly keep their hours. No man is expected to do more than he really can. If at the end of the day there is surplus work left or he cannot get through it without missing a meal or encroaching upon the hours of sleep or recreation, there is mismanagement somewhere. I have no doubt that if we cultivate the habit of punctuality and acting according to programme, the index of national efficiency will go up, our advance towards our goal will be rapid and the workers will be healthier and longer-lived.

In conclusion, the readers and correspondents will extend their indulgence if they find, as they will more than heretofore, that they are not served in time or at all. The correspondence is increasing, the work to do is also on the increase. The capacity for coping with both is diminishing. God's will be done.

Harijan, 24-9-1938

526. NOTE TO RAGHUNATH GANESH PANDIT SHELOLIKAR

September 18, 1938

The fight was directed against the very party before which I had taken the vow.

This did not violate the vow and my fast was aimed at Hindu society, not the English. I believe that had the Award not been changed the Harijans would have become a separate community, which was the object of the Award.

If the work I am doing is in consonance with dharma and for the furtherance of dharma, it should be pursued even at the risk of public disapprobation.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2795

527. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *September 19, 1938*][1]

There is no limit to your obstinacy. If I do not take you after having agreed to it, would it not be because it cannot be helped? I know you will not be able to put up with life in the Frontier Province. Therefore it is no use taking you there. If your health continues to be as bad as it is now I shall have to look after you rather than you looking after Mahadev. I continue to take service from you only to avoid a quarrel. I know your body can no longer give service. If you had had yourself massaged for three nights running you would have become stronger and you would have been in good humour, but that was not to be.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 701

528. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *September 19, 1938*]

What a letter you have written! I have included you in my entourage but you may stay back if you want to. I sent your name to Khan Saheb also against my wish. Do you wish to go as a favour to me or because you cannot bear to stay back?

There was no other thought in my mind about what happened at night.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 675

529. NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *September 19, 1938*]

You are only proving what was said to Maulana Saheb. Why do you pester me now? If you wish to come along you have my permission but if you do not I shall not compel you. Please

[1] This and the following two notes to the addressee, all undated, have been placed according to the order in which they occur in *Bapuke Patra–8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Naam*. They were evidently written before Gandhiji left Segaon to visit the N. W. F. P. on September 19.

CWMG - LXVII

stop harassing me. You are turning to nought all my cajolings. I have not said anything and still you are quarrelling with me. I cannot understand such behaviour. Now stop writing and do whatever you want to do.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 726

530. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

[Before *Monday, September 19, 1938*][1]

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Whatever physical service or some such thing is being rendered [to Balkrishna] should continue. Sleeping near [him] should also continue as I have said.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4327

531. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[On or before *September 19, 1938*][2]

MY DEAR AGATHA,

At last I have a copy of your personal letter. It is exhaustive. Of course you will come when you are ready. I am writing to G.[3] about your passage. You must not be angry with your friends about their writing to me. But I am at ease now that I have your assurance that you will always let me know your wants no matter whether I can supply them or not.

You are having an anxious time there. Nothing but good can come out of these contacts. I look forward to your account of the happenings.

Here the federation discussion does not worry me. The question of the release of political prisoners[4] does. I have not yet made an impression upon the powers that be that their release cannot but make for peace. Their declaration of non-violence needs to be taken at its face value. I can certainly work upon it

[1] The letter bears the addressee's note: "Monday morning, September 19", presumably, the date of receipt.

[2] The letter seems to have been written before Agatha Harrison left England in October 1938 and since Gandhiji had left Segaon on September 19, 1938, this letter is likely to have been written on or before that date.

[3] Presumably G. D. Birla

[4] Of Bengal

CWMG - LXVII

and hold the declarants to their promise. But the authorities are timid. However, I am patiently working at it and have not lost hope that they will be released before it is too late. I am well, considering the strain I am going through.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7829. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

532. A NOTE[1]

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI,
September 19, 1938

I stopped on the night of Saturday (17-9-38) the experiment involving physical contact with women that I had been carrying on. I had been thinking of it for some time but I was not able before that date to come to a decision. That night, however, I had an experience that made me decide to discontinue it. While the experiment went on I had a certain freedom. But it has never been my luck to enjoy this kind of freedom. Now my responsibility increases.

During the experiment I had the opportunity to do a great deal of thinking. I also had some new experiences. I will write about them if I get the time. Writing, however, is not so necessary. It may provide little guidance to others.

I cannot say that I have become more *nirvikara*[2] as a result of this experiment. Some friends had feared that it might result in adding to the *vikara*[3] since my mind would be perpetually occupied with the thing. Nothing of the sort has happened. It is not my habit to continue to brood over a decision I have taken. The decision works of itself. It is not a burden on the mind—it should not be.

The stopping of the experiment does not mean that things will go on the way they did before. I cannot say that I shall remove myself somewhere.

This, however, I can say that I will not deliberately renounce the service of the few sisters in the Ashram, sisters who are so close to me. I shall take from them the service I require. I had never renounced such physical contact with them as I considered necessary for taking service from them. My practice of

[1] This was sent as an enclosure to "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 8-10-1938.
[2] Free from passion
[3] Passion

CWMG - LXVII

resting my hands on their shoulders will continue as before. The restriction that I had been observing during the period of the experiment will be slackened. What I wrote about it in *Harijan* stands as it should. No time limit had been set as regards this practice.

I must add that in giving up this experiment I felt no joy. I gave it up out of a sense of dharma. I have however been able to discover that the harmless physical contact with women which was habitual with me over many years has not done any harm to my practice of *brahmacharya*. The imperfection of *brahmacharya* in me has some other cause. But, as is my nature, when a doubt arose in my mind regarding this it became necessary to make the experiment.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7868

533. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
September 20, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
RASHTRIYASHALA
RAJKOT

ALL REACHED WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3879. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7036

534. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
September 20, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Better a pencil letter than none.

I have sent you a wire. Mahadev took the journey well. Poor Shraddha was bad. The train reached Wardha 4 hours late.

I hope you are having a good and useful time there. You will insist on keeping well.

No more for the day.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3880. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7036

535. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

September 20, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

All reached well 4 hours late. Mahadev took the journey quite well. Poor Shraddha was bad.

This is a furnace. Not a breath of air.

I hope you are getting the post all right.

Can't say more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6402. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9997

536. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

September 20, 1938

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter as also the book sent by you. But before I could even begin it, Kaka carried it away. I do hope to glance through it when he returns it.

I expect to return from the Frontier Province by the end of October. Raosaheb and you may come then.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10396. Also C.W. 6835. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

537. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

September 20, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

Write to me daily. Be careful about food. If there is any trouble let me know. You will have started getting the menses. If not, sitting in warm water will certainly bring them on.

Pyarelal's room is sufficiently bright. You should strip yourself there, plaster your body with mud and walk about for a

CWMG - LXVII

while. Then when the mud is dry take a bath in the opposite room. This will regularize the menses.

I have detained Dadasaheb only for your sake. Recite the *Gita* properly. Learn music from Nanavati and English from Bhansalibhai.

Keep the kitchen, etc., very clean.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9996. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

538. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

September 20, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

You must have heard the story about the true mother and the false claimant. The false claimant agreed to having the baby cut up in two with one portion each being given to the two claimants. But the true mother told the judge that if that was the only way out she would withdraw her claim and let the other woman have the baby. It would at least be alive then. Now, let us see who proves to be the true *go-sevak*. Both of you may be such or both may turn out to be worthless or one true and one false. The problem thus poses three questions for me. Never say die.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1910

539. NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[After *September 20, 1938*][1]

My mind does not work as regards the ashram. If its existence is needed it may be put on its feet by begging for donations locally. But you should give up the whole idea until you have acquired self-confidence for doing something here on

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Delhi, where this and the following three notes were evidently written, on September 20. They have been assigned G.N. numbers in reverse order, a procedure followed with regard to all the photostats of the year.

CWMG - LXVII

your own. I have already agreed to your living with me and we shall further see in Segaon what you can do. As regards Hardhyan Singh's house I am writing to Shaukat.

Here is the draft of your will:

"I hereby bequeath to my surviving brothers all my share in the paternal estate."[1]

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2464

540. NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[After *September 20, 1938*]

I have to think about your going to the Frontier Province. I do not wish to do anything that may seem improper. Anyway you should be prepared.

You have given up the thought of restricting your field of service here, I hope.

You may adopt what attitude you please toward Satyavati. There can be no harm done when the heart is pure.

I would like your separating from your brothers though they may continue to give you Rs. 100 per month as long as they can.

There is no difficulty from my side to your living with me. We shall see how far you can preserve your health in Segaon.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2463

541. NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[After *September 20, 1938*]

But there are many such things. How can I check them? Even in cases where I do try to check things, do I succeed? You are to go only if you wish to, not otherwise.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2462

[1] This is in English.

CWMG - LXVII

542. NOTE TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[After *September 20, 1938*]

It is not a question of inconvenience. I do not know who are going with me. I have said be prepared. Ba said she wanted to go. I said yes to her. Amtul Salaam has taken herself for granted. If there is overcrowding I shall leave you behind. I do not wish to place too heavy a burden on Khan Saheb. Probably I shall know for certain by this evening.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2461

543. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *September 21, 1938*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

The time for *takli yajna* is drawing near as I am writing this. I have read *Shivasankalpa*. I liked it, too. I will try to read it again. Dreams are unusual for me. But for the last six or seven days, I have had numerous dreams and all concerning you. Last night, there was a break. Let me describe the last one also. You said your legs ached at night and poor Durga and Babla could not go on massaging them all the time. You therefore asked me to send Kanu at least for the nights, so that he might massage them properly. I said our understanding was that if walking twice was too much for your strength, you should walk only once and that overexerting yourself for walking would not be desirable. At this point, "I wake up and see that the world does not exist."[2] When will these fancies about you stop? Where should I send you? How? If I am not free from passion, will your going away improve my condition?

There is no hysteria in all this constant thinking about you.

Sushila has not got the medicine. Herewith a copy from the *Reformer* for Khan Saheb. . . .[3]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 11636

[1] This was written before *Rentia Baras* which fell on September 21, 1938.

[2] Gandhiji is quoting a line from Narasinha Mehta.

[3] The letter is incomplete.

544. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 22, 1938

CHI. MARY,

I am glad you were none the worse for the experience. Find out exactly what you are expected to do as Commissioner and then certainly accept if it appears worth while. Your letter to Amtul Salaam is excellent. I have handed it to her.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Here up to 29th.

From a photostat: G.N. 6071. Also C.W. 3401. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

545. DRAFT OF RESOLUTION FOR A. I. C. C.[1]

[Before *September 23, 1938*]

Inasmuch as people including a few Congressmen have been found in the name of civil liberty to advocate murder, arson, looting, and class war by violent means, and several newspapers are carrying on a campaign of falsehood and violence calculated to incite the readers to violence and to lead to communal conflicts, the Congress warns the public that civil liberty does not cover acts of or incitement to violence or promulgation of palpable falsehoods. In spite, therefore, of the Congress policy on civil liberty remaining unchanged the Congress will, consistently with its tradition, support measures that may be undertaken by the Congress Governments for the defence of life and property.

Harijan, 1-10-1938

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. LXVIII, "Discussion with Communists", Before 11-11-1938. The resolution was passed by the Working Committee, which met in Delhi from September 23 to September 25 and later, on September 26, by the A. I. C. C. when a group of people walked out. *Vide* also "That Unfortunate Walk-out", 5-10-1938.

CWMG - LXVII

546. TELEGRAM TO TRIVANDRUM LAW COLLEGE UNION[1]

[On or before *September 23, 1938*][2]

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY IS HEAVY. ARE YOU NON-VIOLENT IN MIND, WORD AND DEED? IF YOU ARE, SUFFER TO THE UTMOST AND LIBERTY IS YOURS.

The Hindu, 24-9-1938

547. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

September 23, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. Do certainly take tub-baths. It is good indeed that you have left off medicines. That you are not able to sleep is too much. Give up everything except water for a day, and see what happens. The cause of insomnia can be nothing but indigestion.

CHI. VIJAYABEHN
C/O RAMBHAI HIRABHAI PATEL
SAURASHTRA SOCIETY NO. 25
ELLIS BRIDGE
AHMEDABAD, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7099. Also C.W. 4591. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

548. SPEECH AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

[*September 23, 1938*][3]

Mahatma Gandhi began by thanking the members for expressing their views on the questionnaire that he had written out in the last two days. He was sure that the members would have read his articles during the last two months in the *Harijan* on the increase of violence in the Congress organizations. He had thought over the subject very carefully.

[1] This was in reply to the Trivandrum Law College Union's message regarding the situation in Travancore.

[2] The news item carrying the report is dated September 23.

[3] From *The Bombay Chronicle* and *Gandhijiki Dilli Diary*, Part II

CWMG - LXXII

First, said Mahatmaji, he had noticed that several Congressmen, who had joined the Congress and signed the pledge without understanding or believing in the necessity for observing truth and non-violence as essential steps to achieve swaraj, had committed breaches of these two conditions. He had recently noted many Congressmen writing leaflets or making speeches in the name of civil liberty, inciting others to violence. Such speeches and writings, which were retarding the progress of the Congress towards its goal, should be stopped. The Working Committee could do it by defining civil liberty in a resolution. Any incitement to violence in the name of civil liberty should be treated as a breach of Congress discipline and as such severely dealt with by the disqualification of the guilty members from holding offices or posts of responsibility in the Congress. It was open to the Working Committee to accept his suggestion, but he would emphasize the strict enforcement of discipline in the ranks. He would go even to the length of expelling those who committed breaches of discipline from the Congress.

Gandhiji continued that there should be no compromise with violence or untruth. The Congress today was actually manned by those who had lost faith in the creed of non-violence and the constructive programme of khaddar, [removal of] untouchability, prohibition and Hindu-Muslim unity. The real strength of the Congress depended on these twins, non-violence and constructive programme. When certain power was captured by Congressmen, there was an unhealthy competition to divide the spoils, which indicated that Congressmen were not able to digest power. This unseemly rush to capture committees by violence and corrupt methods would make swaraj a distant dream. This was not the way to win swaraj; this was not the way to work the office-acceptance programme. The ministries had been accepted by the Congress in a spirit of service. It was, therefore, necessary to apply the purge, as otherwise the Congress would collapse under its own weakness. Incitement to violence should be checked. Otherwise it would soon degenerate into undignified goondaism.

So far as Congress organizations were concerned, Mahatma Gandhi suggested that only those who had been in the Congress registers for five years should be eligible to hold offices or posts of responsibility in the Congress. He is reported to have added that the yarn franchise which was abandoned in 1926 should be restored. All office-bearers in Congress organizations should annually contribute 5,000 yards of hand-spun yarn to the Congress. He would make yarn franchise a compulsory clause. He knew that it was found unworkable in 1926 by many Congressmen but he would not care for the volume of Congress membership. He would not mind a fall in membership of the Congress. Ten thousand true and non-violent Congressmen could bring swaraj and work wonders rather than ten million Congressmen on the rolls committing violence.

It had been argued, said Mahatma Gandhi, that Congress would cease to be a democratic organization and would be reduced to a closed corporation. Democracy, he said, would not live in the atmosphere of untruth and violence. It would flourish only if truth and non-violence existed. Congressmen should develop a higher degree of non-violence. The Provincial Ministers should soon develop peaceful methods of dealing with violence. The Peace Brigade was one of such methods. Until a correct remedy was found, the Ministers would be permitted to deal with offences in the manner they considered best, but they could not depend on the military to quell riots for long. If they were unable to establish peace by non-violent methods in the near future, they should resign their offices. The idea of the military was opposed to the Congress creed of non-violence and should be supplanted by stages.

When asked how non-violence could check foreign aggression, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have replied that if India had one crore of non-violent volunteers, he was confident that no nation could conquer India. If they failed in their attempt to prevent aggression, then the fault was theirs, not in the philosophy of non-violence but in their methods of practising it. Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that non-violence, if properly applied, could not only solve India's problems but also the world's.

Gandhiji concluded that these were his views. The members could ponder over them and tell him whether they could accept and work them. If they were not in agreement with his views, they were at liberty to reject them.

The Hindu, 24-9-1938

549. CORRUPTION IN THE CONGRESS

It is difficult to cope with the correspondence that I am having from several places about violence, untruth and corruption in the Congress. Whilst I must continue to publish typical correspondence about the weaknesses of Congressmen, I must issue a warning against hasty deduction being drawn that all is ill with the Congress. I know it is not. But it is true that violence, untruth and corruption have made inroads enough to warrant drastic measures in order to prevent decay overtaking the great organization.

Here are extracts from two typical letters:

> (1) Perhaps you are aware how the enrolment of bogus Congress members is going on unimpeded everywhere, and how rich and unscrupulous persons are controlling the affairs of the Congress organization, keeping skilfully the genuine and devoted workers out of their way Some are paying the membership subscription of annas 4 for others under their control out of their own pockets, and some are going a step forward and are not paying a single pie to the Congress committees

and instead making the primary committees under their clutches prepare false accounts of their apparent collections and thereby evading the supervising eye of the sub-divisional as well as district committees.

Primary committees having less than 25 members are not required, under the rules framed by it, to pay anything to higher committees out of the membership fee. The result is that a good many paper committees are being set up with less than 25 members to deprive the sub-divisional and district committees of their quota of the membership subscription as also to secure a larger proportion of representation in these Committees.

(2) It is my duty to bring to your notice the open and scandalous corruption in enrolling Congress members. The Congress authorities here, especially the Executives, know this state of things well, but it is difficult to know why the necessary steps are not being taken. If steps are not taken, things will go from bad to worse and the whole Congress institution will be disgraced and the hold on people will be lost.

(i) Every party is trying to capture the Congress office—whether Primary, Sub-divisional, District or Provincial. And for this purpose bogus members are being enrolled by practically every group.

(ii) There are a good many names of persons on the Congress rolls, but on scrutiny it can be easily found out that there are no such persons in existence at all. During election time the same group of persons is mobilized at elections of primary Congress committees of different wards.

(iii) The members are enrolled sometimes without their own signatures on application forms and in most cases without taking payment of the annual subscription of four annas.

(iv) The question arises how the account of collection of subscription by the primary, sub-divisional and district Congress committees is maintained. In almost all cases where a group is in possession of the office and necessarily the office account, collection of the annual subscription for all the bogus members is shown to the credit side, and at the same time nearly the whole amount is shown to the debit side on the different heads of expenses, such as travelling expense, meeting expense, allowance expense, etc. Really they do not collect the subscription and maintain a false account.

I do not know how all these corruptions can be stopped. There will be, I hope, changes of rules at the next A. I. C. C. meeting at Delhi. Some steps should be immediately taken to stop the corruption. Identification of Congress members, signatures of the members on the application forms, actual realization of subscription from the members and true accounts should be enforced.

These statements have been made by responsible parties. The letters are meant for publication. But I have purposely sup-

CWMG - LXVII

pressed the names of my correspondents as also of the province in which the corruption is said to exist.

It is to be hoped that the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. will deal with this as well as the other serious questions that will come up for discussion and decision. It would be a tragedy if the session of the A. I. C. C. were to be frittered away in orations or mutual wranglings.

Harijan, 24-9-1938

550. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
September 24, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Narandas is a worker, not a writer. Therefore the description of things has to come from you and no one else. Chh.[1] does write but he won't have the time to give me details. And they are all afraid to burden me with descriptions.

Well, if your suggestion had been received by me it would have helped me. However I accept your apology. Only don't do it again.

The weather for me is ideal. The blood-pressure is ideal, almost always 160-164/100-104.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3881. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7037

551. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DELHI,
September 24, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

Here it is all dry, there all wet. This prolongation of wet weather is a ruinous thing. And yet we may not grumble. It is all God's doing. Only we don't know Him. To grumble is also a विषय[2]. It won't abate till we know Him face to face.

Both Mahadev and I are keeping ideal health. No strain is put upon me. My silence has done the trick.

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi
[2] Gratification of sense

You need not worry about the wires. I hope to enclose with this a note to the P. M.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6403. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9998

552. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

September 24, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. If you write 'Personal' no one will read your letter. Do write whatever you have in mind. Are you going on with the *Gita* and music? You have not said anything about your health. Give me full details.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9997. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

553. INTERVIEW TO F. S. YOUNG[1]

September 24, 1938

I[2] first of all related the whole position to Gandhiji and then asked Young to say what he had to say. He then at great length stated the whole position and asked Gandhiji's help. The first two paragraphs are in reply to that.

(1) All I can say is that somehow or other the authorities should be made to see that in Seth Jamnalalji and Pandit Hiralal they have men who are true as steel and who believe in non-violence as their creed.

(2) Surely it will be unwise to imprison them instead of holding them as willing hostages for peace. To ban the Praja Mandal is to invite trouble where there is none today.

In reply to the first two paragraphs, Young said that there was no question of imprisoning anyone. That position had not yet arrived and he hoped that it would never arrive. To this Gandhiji replied in the third paragraph.

[1] D. B. Kalelkar explains: "By the efforts of Shri G. D. Birla a meeting was brought about between Gandhiji and Mr. Young, I. G. P., Jaipur State, to talk about the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal. Gandhiji gave his answers in writing. Later Shri G. D. Birla prepared a note explaining Gandhiji's answers. . . ."

[2] G. D. Birla

CWMG - LXVII

(3) You will reach that stage in a moment, if you have an organization which is working [un]constitutionally and with which they are identified. I do not think they can surrender the right to agitate for responsible government. The authorities may or may not grant it. But they should not ban an activity which is in its nature peaceful. You may take all precautions to ensure peace.

In reply to this, Young pointed out the activities of the Mandal in enlisting Congress members. He said the Council had a suspicion that the Praja Mandal was only another name for the Congress and after having seen the disturbances in Travancore and Mysore, they were rather afraid of Congress creating trouble in Jaipur. Could not the Praja Mandal keep itself separate from the Congress? The fourth paragraph is in reply to that.

(4) You can't prevent natural affinities. People are drawn towards the Congress. You seek its assistance in order to promote peace as Sir Mirza did wisely and as Sir Akbar is already doing and Sir C. P. will do presently.

In reply to this, Young said, "But what if they start trouble? If their constitution is something different, then there should be no difficulty in recognizing it but with this constitution, if they start trouble, peace might be disturbed." The penultimate and the last paragraph are in reply to this.

(5) You can ask them to meet you a long way as to how they should shape their activity. You stifle opinion if you say they may not even ask for responsible government. You should shed the fear of the Congress.

(6) What I have suggested is this. Don't interfere with their objective but regulate the speed with which they move. You may, for instance, regulate the demonstrative part of their programme. You will control their language. But to ask them to change their objective is like asking a man to change his religion.

In the end, Mr. Young profusely thanked Gandhiji and made a request for taking the notes with him as a sort of souvenir to which Gandhiji agreed subject to his being provided with a copy of the same. The last three lines are in reply to my question whether Sir Akbar had already written for help and whether C. P. also had applied for help.

I would like you to give me a copy of the notes.

I have Sir Akbar's letter asking for help.

More than a hope. He has wired to Pattabhi asking him to meet him. (This is about C. P.)

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 382-3

554. SPEECH AT THE FOUNDATION-LAYING OF PRAYER HALL

September 25, 1938

I am sorry I am not able to speak on this occasion. For many years now it has been my view that following a death the rich indulge in a lot of expenditure which serves neither utility nor dharma. I therefore welcome the present occasion. Janakidevi[1] was a godly woman. She passed away a short while ago. The family she left behind is large and well known. Her sons together thought of doing some work of Harijan service in her memory. So they resolved with the concurrence of the directors of this institution[2] to build a prayer hall. I have been entrusted with the pleasant task of laying the foundation of this prayer hall. I lay the foundation-stone in the presence of you all and hope that the prayer hall will be of benefit to the pupils of the institution. I also hope that others also will similarly honour the memory of their dear departed by undertaking work of Harijan service.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2508

555. DRAFT OF RESOLUTION FOR A. I. C. C.[3]

[On or before *September 26, 1938*]

The A. I. C. C. notes with sorrow and dismay the repression that has been going on in Travancore for some days. The evidence that has come to the Congress office, if it is to be believed, goes to show that the movement led by the State Congress in Travancore is strictly constitutional and for a constitutional purpose, viz., attainment of responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. The repudiation published on

[1] Mother of Brijkrishna Chandiwala

[2] Harijan Nivas. Brijkrishna Chandiwala in his book, *Gandhijiki Dilli Diary*, Part II, writes that a suggestion to build a prayer hall in Harijan Nivas had come from Viyogi Hari.

[3] Published in *Harijan* under the title "Indian States". This was drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Note to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 378.

behalf of the State is categorically contradicted by the spokesmen of the State Congress.

In the circumstances the A. I. C. C. recommends to the Travancore Government for adoption the following policy, viz., assurance on the one hand that the State Congress is free to carry on the movement for responsible government in a constitutional manner; appointment of a committee containing, among others, representatives of the State Congress to explore the possibility of granting responsible government, and an inquiry conducted by a jurist outside the State of unimpeachable impartiality into the recent happenings including the charges made by the State of provocations justifying the State measures including firing on unarmed people resulting in deaths and injuries, and an amnesty to the prisoners.

The A. I. C. C. regrets that the Hyderabad State has issued ordinances which appear to give to the State power altogether in excess of requirements.

The A. I. C. C. has also received complaints of severe repression in the States like Dhenkanal, Talchar and Kashmir. In all these cases the people of the States have appealed to the Congress for advice, guidance and help.

The A. I. C. C. can but reiterate its policy of non-interference, and, consistently with the resources, to help the people in every way open to the Congress. The policy of non-interference is an admission of the limitations of the Congress. The Congress policy has been one of friendliness to the States. In spite of the declarations of some Congressmen to the contrary, the corporate policy of the Congress, so long as it holds by truth and non-violence, must be one of continuous attempt to convert the Princes to the view that their true welfare consists in a voluntary surrender of power to the people so as to bring them in a line with the people of the so-called British India, consistently with the existence of the constitutional heads of the respective States.

Harijan, 1-10-1938

556. NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

HARIJAN NIVAS,
[DELHI,]
September 26, 1938

The resolution I have drafted regarding the Princely States has assumed importance. Have a look at it and if you do not like it do not forward it. I have suggested a committee in it. Withhold it also if you do not like the names. Show it to Vallabhbhai.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3074

557. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 27, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You do not seem to have started the music lessons for Sharda. Do not wait for her to request you. It is intolerable that Chakraiya should go on losing weight. Think over this. I have kept the question of his pay pending. Please have a talk with him and decide.

Vijaya's health does not seem to have improved. You must be keeping up your health.

Let me know the arrangements for work there. And about sanitary work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10774

558. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

DELHI,
September 27, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. It is good that at last [Jayaprakash] has gone there. Please keep me informed about the treatment. Give me details about the diet there. I hope the handwriting will not

CWMG - LXVII

get smudgy. Write to me about the estimated expense there, so that I may arrange for the amount to be sent. I should like you to bring Saraswati along with you when you return from there. I will write to her. I am leaving this place for the Frontier Province on the 30th. Address your letters: c/o Dr. Khan Saheb, Peshawar. I am all right. Amtul Salaam, Mahadev, Pyarelal, Sushila are with me. Mahadev is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3522

559. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

September 27, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

If what Chi. Sharda writes is true, it is a serious matter. You must not tolerate such lawlessness. You can ask those who do no work to leave. The remedy is simple. Tell such persons: "Go to Wardha for the present and return when Bapu returns. I must carry on with the work entrusted to me by Bapu. In this I realize that I cannot get on with you." You are at liberty to do this, and it is also your duty to do it. That will lighten your heart. Do not force yourself to do anything. Do not break your health and make suffering which is easy to endure more difficult to endure.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will be ready to accommodate all those whom you send here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10593

CWMG - LXVII

560. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

DELHI,
September 27, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

What a letter you have written! Carry on for a month somehow. I have got to go to the Frontier Province. There seems to be an exaggeration in your statement that nobody is doing any work. Go into the matter and let me know. Krishnachandra may not be doing the work. What about Shankaran and Amritlal? There should not have been any insistence about the spinning-wheel. How long can the spinning-wheel last if it is taken up because of insistence? Consider everything properly and then write to me. I have destroyed your letters after reading.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be leaving for the Frontier on the 30th. Shankaran must be provided with a torch if he needs one. If you feel the need you may cover yourself with a blanket during your menses. I do not think it is necessary.

From Gujarati: C.W. 9998. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

561. LETTER TO SARASWATI

DELHI,
September 27, 1938

CHI. SARU,

If you are willing to come to me, you may show this letter to Paparamma and your grandfather and take their permission. You can come with Prabhavati who is in Malabar. Meet your uncle and your father if you wish to and secure their approval. You are not able to study there. So it would be better if you came over. Of course there is the condition that you will remain calm here. If you cannot, your coming here will be futile.

Blessings from
BAPU

CWMG - LXVII

[PS.]

Ba is with me. I shall leave for the N. W. F. P. on the 30th. Ba will stay on here. You should continue to write to Wardha.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6172. Also C.W. 3446. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

562. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

NEW DELHI,
September 29, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
STATE GUEST
AMRELI

YOUR WIRE. AM EXTRAORDINARILY WELL. NOT PROCEEDING FRONTIER TOMORROW. MAHADEV WELL. SUSHILA DOWN WITH FEVER. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3882. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7038

563. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 29, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You have been as usual good in writing to me. I am glad you have been able to make all those acquaintances. I am waiting for detailed account.

Mahadev is steadily getting better. I am in first-class health. Am going through a lot of work. Sushila is down with fever. She is better today.

As the W. C. is sitting continuously, I am held up here. And may be here when you arrive.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3636. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6445

CWMG - LXVII

564. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

September 29, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I am wiring today to say the post should be directed here. The W. C. is sitting continuously and therefore I may not leave for the Frontier.

I am keeping wonderfully well. The b. p. has never been so steady and low as now.

The nights are superb here just now. I hope you are keeping perfect health. If you have any remarks to offer about management there, you will do so.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6404. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9999

565. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

September 29, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I have torn your letter into pieces. I have written to Saraswati and Prabha. I have called Saraswati to Wardha. I do not feel inclined to put her with Saundaram. If she wishes to learn nursing, she can do so afterwards. It is for her good that she should stay with me, whatever the circumstances. I agree with you that anybody who lives with me may soon become lazy. But you will not find many such instances. However that may be, as you have left the problem to me, I have called her to Wardha.

Do not spoil your health. Mahadev is better.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7349. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

CWMG - LXVII

566. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

September 29, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. You did quite well in deciding to stay on. Ramdas has gone to Dehra Dun. Mahadev and I are well. I have been detained here longer than I had expected. I may perhaps start on the 2nd.

Sita and Arun must be fine.

Schlesin writes: "Entrust Phœnix to Pragji." Does it appeal to you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4885

567. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

DELHI,
September 29, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You did well in giving up jaggery. Do not worry about the weakness. The *chhilta* water will bring back strength.

You shall certainly continue to serve me. Do not expect letters from me. I hope Balkrishna is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4305

CWMG - LXVII

568. FOREWORD TO "PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS"

[*September 1938*][1]

Shri Natesan has gone to the wrong man for a foreword to his collection of *Prayers, Praises and Psalms*. For I am no Sanskrit scholar. I have not read much of the translations or the originals. Nevertheless the collection presented in this volume does enable even one like me to know how our ancestors prayed to the One Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph. May this collection help the reader to dispel his unbelief or strengthen his belief.

M. K. GANDHI

Prayers, Praises and Psalms

569. FEDERATION

A well-known correspondent tells me that in London the common talk is that Gandhi counts for everything and it does not matter what the Congress or Congressmen may say or do. The critics embellish the statement by saying that there is a wide difference of opinion between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and myself, and that while he will not touch Federation with a pair of tongs, I am prepared to submit to it if some trifles are conceded. I have paraphrased in my own words a longish letter[2] giving details which I may not share with the readers at least at the present juncture.

Evidently my critics know more of me than I seem to know myself. For instance I know how little I count among Congressmen; the critics know how much I count among them. Whatever influence I still possess among Congressmen is solely due to my constant appeal to reason and never to authority. But if I had the influence the critics attribute to me, I make bold to say that India would have gained her independence long ago and

[1] The first edition of the book came out in September 1938.

[2] The reference presumably is to a letter from Carl Heath; *vide* "Letter to Carl Heath", p. 332.

there would be no repression that is going on unchecked in some of the States. I know the art of winning independence and stopping the frightfulness of which one reads in the papers. If I had my way with the Congressmen, there would be no corruption, no untruth and no violence amongst them. If I had my way with them, they would all be enthusiastic khaddarites and there would be no surplus khadi in the A. I. S. A. bhandars.

But I am going astray. I had intended to write about Federation. In the first place, in all my talks, which have been very few, I have made it clear that I represent nobody and that I have not even aired my views to any Congressman. I have also made it clear that what the Congress says and does is of consequence, whatever I may say is of no value unless it represents the Congress view. As a matter of fact, too, I have said that the Congress will never have Federation forced upon it, and that there was no hope of peace in India till there was independence in virtue of a constitution framed by a duly convened Constituent Assembly. I have also made it clear that so far as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I are concerned, though we may talk in different language, we are one in most things that matter to India. On the question of Federation there never has been any difference of opinion between us. And I have made a rule for myself that so far as the Congress is concerned, if there is an unbridgeable gulf between him and me his view should prevail. And this for the very good reason that I am not in the Congress and he is in the centre of it, and very much in touch with everything relating to the Congress.

Harijan, 1-10-1938

570. NON-INTERVENTION

Congress non-intervention in the affairs of the States was conceived in 1920 and has been more or less its policy since that time in spite of many onslaughts made on it. But I see that it has become the fashion in the States to quote against the Congress and Congressmen the self-imposed restraint even when there is any attempt to criticize or offer advice or help. It is therefore necessary to examine the implications of non-intervention. It was never regarded as a principle. It was a limitation imposed on itself by the Congress for its own sake and that of the people of the States. The Congress had no sanction behind its resolutions regarding the States. Its advice might be ignored,

its intervention resented and the people of the States might be harassed without gaining anything. There was certainly a friendly motive behind that policy. It was a wise recognition of the limited capacity of the Congress for doing good. The restraint exercised by the Congress in this and many other ways has given it a prestige and power which it would be unwise for it not to use. Any hesitation in this respect would be like that of the foolish steward who would not use the talents which were placed at his disposal. Up to a point the States are beginning to recognize the power of the Congress be it ever so reluctantly. It is becoming sufficiently clear that the people of the States are looking to the Congress for guidance and help. I think that it is the duty of the Congress to give them the guidance and help wherever it can. I wish I could convince every Congressman that the prestige and power of the Congress are in exact proportion to its inner purity, its sense of exact justice and its all-round goodwill. If the people of the States feel safe in entrusting their welfare to the Congress, the Princes should feel equally safe in trusting the Congress. All the prestige built up by patient effort of years will certainly be undermined if the warnings uttered by me to the Congressmen go unheeded.

Even at the risk of tiresome repetition let me say to the people of the States that they must not set much store by the Congress help. It is not enough that they are truthful and non-violent. It is necessary also for them to know their own capacity for suffering. Liberty is a dame exacting a heavy price from her wooers. And unless there are many who are prepared to pay the price, the few enthusiasts that are to be found everywhere would do well to conserve their energy. They will do well to undertake constructive service of the people without having an ambitious political programme. The ability to gain political ends will surely come from constructive service. Wisdom and patience will give them a power which in time will become irresistible.

Harijan, 1-10-1938

CWMG - LXVII

571. DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR JAMNALAL BAJAJ[1]

[*October 1, 1938*][2]

I have seen many rumours regarding my resignation from the Working Committee. It is perfectly true that I have sent in my resignation. It has no connection whatever with any differences with the Working Committee. My reason is purely personal. Indeed I have sent in resignations from several positions of responsibility retaining only those which I dare not give up without injuring the institutions with which I am connected.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 393; also G.N. 3075

572. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 3, 1938

Correspondents have been writing and wiring to me about the events in Travancore[3]. Shri Changanacheri K. Parameswaran Pillai has been specially to see me and acquaint me with the situation. He has erred in giving his version of my talk with him. Whilst the situation remains delicate, every word has to be weighed before it is uttered. Shri Pillai was clear that mob violence in the shape of stone-throwing had occurred. He, however, made it perfectly clear that the State Congress people had no part in it and that it was contrary to their wish. I have wires denying mob violence and definitely saying that violence was instigated by *agents provocateurs*. I am unable to decide between the two opposite versions. But I can say this that satyagraha demands extraordinary caution, even to the extent of suspension of civil disobedience, if the resisters have not full control over forces of violence.

[1] The draft is in Gandhiji's hand in the G.N. source.

[2] According to an entry in the diary kept by Jamnalal Bajaj and published under the title *Bapu-Smaran*. Gandhiji rewrote Jamnalal's resignation on October 1, 1938.

[3] Where the demand of the State Congress for responsible government had been met with shootings and imprisonments on a large scale with the State Congress itself having been declared a subversive organization; *vide* pp. 311-2 and 348-51.

What exactly should be done I cannot advise from this distance. The responsibility for right decision must be shouldered by local leaders. In coming to their decision they will remember that any the slightest deviation from truth and non-violence, whether in themselves or by connivance in others, is bound to affect the movement adversely.

As to the charges against the Dewan, I telegraphed[1] the imprisoned leaders who were responsible for making them. This is their reply:

> Your kind telegram advising withdrawal of the State Congress memorandum. We consulted T. M. Verghese and others. The Working Committee feels satisfied that the Dewan's continuance in office is detrimental to the people's interests. The withdrawal of the memorandum may unmeritedly discredit the State Congress and cause an irretrievable setback to the movement. Pray for support and guidance.

I appreciate the spirit behind the reply. The leaders would be lowered in my estimation if, for the sake of purchasing their liberty, they withdrew the charges. But if the conviction has gone home that in a demand for responsible government such charges could have only a subordinate place, if any at all, and if they saw with me that persistence in them, especially without the ability to prove them, can but seriously harm the movement, it is their clear duty to withdraw the charges and thus free the movement of the initial blunder and handicap. There is no discredit greater than the refusal to acknowledge errors.

I have wires alleging tortures by the authorities. It is hard to believe them. I hope they are baseless, and if isolated cases have happened, I should hope that the Travancore Government will prevent any future recurrence.

I observe that the movement promises to be protracted if only because of violence, whether spontaneous though unconnected with the Congress, or engineered as alleged. I can only entertain the hope that the authorities will relent and magnanimously allow the movement to run its course without the ban which I consider to be wholly unnecessary. A movement in itself wholly noble, which claims cultured men and women as willing and enthusiastic sufferers, should be fostered. It can never be crushed.

Harijan, 8-10-1938

[1] This telegram is not traceable.

CWMG-LXVII

573. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
October 3, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
PALITANA

BOTH MAHADEV SELF QUITE WELL. LEAVING TOMORROW. MAHADEV REMAINING DELHI. LOVE. LILAVATI ALSO.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3883. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7039

574. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

NEW DELHI,
October 3, 1938

MIRA
MAGANWADI
WARDHA

LEAVING TOMORROW. POST UTMANZAI.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6405. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10000

575. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

October 3, 1938

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Shaukat is writing to you about Harold[1]. The best method is what I have pointed out. Authorize Agatha Harrison to draw according to needs. All I am anxious about is that Harold should not suffer for want of funds.

You will have seen what I was able to do about the League. In view of the Sind meeting they thought postponement was impossible.

Love.

BAPU

[1] Harold Ansari; *vide* letters to Nawab of Bhopal, pp. 182 and 337.

CWMG - LXVII

[PS.]

I leave for the Frontier Province tomorrow.

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, p. 126

576. NOTE TO P. SREEDHARAN NAIR[1]

DELHI,
October 3, 1938

In Segaon there is nothing to learn. It is labour for those who will labour. Otherwise it is idleness. You can take the Village Industries course in Wardha. For God you have to search within and find Him in His numberless works. There is no faculty there.

From a copy: C.W. 9941. Courtesy: P. Sreedharan Nair

577. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I write this while I am eating. I got your Amreli letter today. I am not satisfied with the way you seem to have treated your body.

Mahadev is staying behind. You will do what you like with him.

I have not kept so well as I am now for years. Sushila is weak but without fever. A. S.[2] is coming. Ba is not well. She stays behind. I am taking Brijkrishna with me. Address me Peshawar.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3884. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7040

[1] The addressee had asked Gandhiji where he could find God and whether his staying at Segaon would be any help. It being Gandhiji's silence day, he wrote out this answer.

[2] Amtussalaam

CWMG - LXVII

578. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

It is good you are interesting yourself in Balkoba's health. It is well you are taking quinine. The letters to be posted to Utmanzai till further instructions. Though Mahadev is staying here, his letters too must be sent to my address.

I am keeping extra well. It is a wonder to me. Nothing seems to worry me, though there are enough things to worry about. The weather has become extra hot. Quite unusual for Delhi at this time of the year.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6406. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10001

579. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Just now I can only send you the letter you want me to write. If you approve, please forward. You will see my article in *Harijan* in which there is reference to Spain[1] also.

I hope Indu is rapidly progressing and Sarup[2] is having the full benefit of the change.

What a peace at the cost of honour![3]

I wish I had time to write at length.

[1] *Vide* "Logical Consequences", pp. 413-5.

[2] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

[3] The reference is to the Munich Pact signed on September 30, 1938. Chamberlain, describing the Munich Pact, had called it "peace with honour". Under the terms of this pact, Czechoslovakia was forced to cede to Germany all those districts of Bohemia and Moravia which had a 50 per cent German-speaking population; *vide* also "If I were a Czech", pp. 404-6.

CWMG - LXVII

Mahadev is staying behind for rest. I leave for the Frontier Province.

Love to you three.

BAPU

From Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

580. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SEGAON, WARDHA,[1]
October 4, 1938

MY DEAR GLADYS,

It is with difficulty I can cope with the correspondence. I hope you have profited by the treatment there.

Peace has been preserved but at the cost of honour.

Muriel should soon be in India. Mahadev is decidedly on the mend.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6194

581. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

CHI. VALJI,

My work is increasing so much that unless I do it myself it will remain undone. Mahadev's share has been taken over by Pyarelal for the present. You can never be a burden to me. But what can I entrust you with after taking you away from what you are doing just now? If you can get some inspiration from what I am writing in *Harijan* and take up something, you are welcome to try. You will be really tested after my death. Dudhibehn and the children must be fine. I am leaving for Peshawar today. Mahadev will stay here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI
GONDAL, KATHIAWAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7482. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] Permanent address

CWMG - LXVII

582. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

You must have got one letter I wrote you. This is the second. We are today leaving for the Frontier Province. Mahadev stays behind, as also Ba. Pyarelal, Sushila, Amtul Salaam, Kanaiyo and Brijkrishna will accompany me.

Manilal's statement is correct. I do remember having sent the Diwali message. I may be mistaken though. But now there is hardly any time for a message to be sent. If there is, here is the message.

"When a Holi is raging on all sides, how can we celebrate Diwali? Wherever we look, we see hatred and bitterness. If, therefore, anybody wants to celebrate Diwali, he should try to lessen the hatred and bitterness and, having purified himself, plunge into the swaraj *yajna*."

How is Sita[1]? And Arun[2]? Sita was going to write to me. What happened?

Ba has been slightly ill. She is feeling better today.

How is Manudi[3] ? Is she still there ?

Ramdas came yesterday from Dehra Dun.

Nanabhai[4] must be well. Did Shanti benefit by the fast?

Write to me and address the letters to Peshawar.

Blessings from
BAPU also BA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4886

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Addressee's son
[3] Manubehn Mashruwala, Gandhiji's granddaughter
[4] Addressee's father

583. LETTER TO MATHURIBEHN KHARE

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

CHI. MATHURI[1],

I got your letter.

Do finish your course there and become well-versed in what you study.

You must be keeping fine health. We are leaving for the Frontier Province today. Mahadevbhai and Ba will stay on here. Mahadev is now all right.

Address Peshawar.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MATHURI KHARE
SEVA SADAN
790 SADASHIV, POONA CITY

From Gujarati: C.W. 272. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

584. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

DELHI,
October 4, 1938

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. If your heart is no longer there, by all means leave. Following that way, you will some day find peace of mind. "No well-doer, O loved one, meets with a sad end."[2]

You may go either to Ramana Swami at Tiruvannamalai or again to Aurobindo Ashram. Jankiprasad did find peace.

Have a talk with Kanchan. In short, do whatever will bring you peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8566. Also C.W. 7044. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Daughter of Narayan Moreshwar Khare
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, VI. 40

CWMG - LXVII

585. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

October 4, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

I have been receiving your letters regularly. Sushilabehn says that you need not worry about the irregular monthly periods. It can happen sometimes. Take more milk and cream if possible. How much do you take? What else do you take? Remain calm. We are leaving today.

What is going on about your music? Now you will recite the *Gita* properly, won't you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9999. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

586. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 4, 1938

I should have given my opinion on the Bengal Government's communique[1] on the question of the release of the political convicts earlier. But pressure of work made it physically impossible for me to do so. Though the Bengal Government have not seen their way to accede to my proposal contained in my letter[2] of 13th April last, I gratefully recognize that from their own standpoint they have endeavoured to make an approach to the letter of 13th April.

But having paid this tribute to the Bengal Government I must say that their rejection of my proposal is a severe disappointment to me. For I claim that my proposal was made after considering and weighing the Bengal Government's difficulties. The decision seems to me to be due to their failure to recognize three factors.

However reprehensible the crimes committed by the prisoners were, there can be no doubt that the crimes were not a result

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] *Vide* pp. 19-21.

CWMG - LXVII

of personal or selfish motive, the motive behind them was purely political.

Whatever the limitations of the Government of India Act, it has transferred power to a parliament responsible to the people and elected under a fairly wide franchise. Apart, therefore, from the declarations of non-violence made by the prisoners, the transfer of power to a popularly elected legislature takes the ground from under the feet of the advocates of terrorism.

Inasmuch as the Congress has chosen to enter the legislatures and even to accept ministerial responsibility, Congressmen are bound to examine the possibilities of the machinery to respond to the popular will. In this particular instance, as we have seen in what may be described as Congress provinces, the Provincial Governments have been able to release political prisoners. What has been possible in these provinces is possible in Bengal, if the popular will is sufficiently expressed.

The third factor is the Bengal Government's reference to the existence of the two well-known parties connected with terrorist methods. The reference seems to suggest that these parties function for their original purpose. I know, and I had given the Khwaja Saheb the required assurance, that the organizations no longer functioned in the old way. Comrades belonging to groups do not change names of their groups or loyalties because the methods which the labels originally stood for have become obsolete. I would, however, advise amalgamation and the use of another name for the combination, if they must preserve their separate status.

Not only have the Bengal Government failed to take any or adequate notice of these three factors, they have failed to give due weight to the positive assurances of non-violence given by the prisoners, which those who have been discharged seem to have carried out faithfully.

I therefore renew my appeal to the Bengal Government to respond to my proposal of 13th April, and release all the prisoners by 13th April, 1939. I do not mind what procedure they wish to adopt. They can have the committee announced by them and through it regulate the dates of discharge of the prisoners. One thing, so far as I am concerned, is undoubtedly common cause if there is to be a complete clearance, viz., that the atmosphere of non-violence is retained and that those who are discharged carry out the self-imposed obligation about non-violence.

I would appeal to the Press and the public to restrain themselves in their criticism of the action of the Bengal Government in the matter and not embarrass them by bitter criticism.

CWMG - LXVII

It must be said to the credit of the Bengal Government that they have certainly not treated it as a party question. Though the release is an integral part of the Congress programme only, it has more or less become an all parties' question. And I have no doubt that the quickest method of securing early release is never to allow the question to become a party question.

I would appeal to the prisoners not to be disturbed by the Bengal Government's communique. Having been myself a prisoner over half a dozen times under varying circumstances, I know how apart from the hardships of jail life, the uncertainty of his fate gnaws into a prisoner's whole being especially when he is fretting to go out and serve. But I would ask them to treat 13th April or thereabouts as still the last date of their discharge. It is contrary to my nature to import 'thereabouts' in fixing time-tables, but the prisoner friends should extend to me the concession due to old age and its physical limitations. I can give this assurance that 'thereabouts' does not mean years. It can only refer to months. They will please remember that they will hamper the effort of those who are trying to secure their release by resort to hunger-strike. I have given them myself as a hostage. So long as there is life in me, I hope by God's grace to stand by my promise not to relax the effort to secure their discharge. There is no rest for me till every one of the prisoners is discharged. They nobly responded to my call for an assurance of non-violence. I will keep my faith.

Some of my correspondents seem to think that I can work wonders. Let me say as a devotee of truth that I have no such gift. All the power I may have comes from God. But He does not work directly. He works through his numberless agencies. In this case it is the Congress. All the prestige that I have is derived from that of the Congress. The latter derives it from its creed. If Congressmen deny the creed of truth and non-violence, the Congress loses prestige. I assure them that my virtues, real or so called, will not count for anything, if I did not represent the Congress mind.

Friends of prisoners outside Bengal and sometimes the prisoners themselves write to me complaining that I confine my attention only to the Bengal prisoners. In a way this is true. I am bound to them by a written contract. But in another way it is not true. I do interest myself in their discharge also. But the full success depends largely upon what happens in Bengal. Let them, however, know that my efforts for their release continue, even apart from the Bengal prisoners.

Harijan, 8-10-1938

587. LETTER TO M. C. RAJAH

ON THE WAY TO PESHAWAR,
October 5, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

I am working under great difficulty. Even this I am writing on the train taking me [to] Peshawar.

Of course you will publish the correspondence between us whenever you think it necessary.

Your latest letter shows that you are on the wrong track. I am not partial to Rajaji. But I know that he is as firm on untouchability as I am myself. I must therefore trust his judgment as to how to do the thing. From this distance I can't judge his action.

Do you not see that the whole of the movement is one of conversion of the *sanatani* heart? You cannot force the pace except to the extent that reformers immolate themselves. This process is going on vigorously.

This temple-entry question is a mighty religious reform. I would like you to apply your religious mind to it if you will give your whole-hearted support to Rajaji and make his move a thorough success.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

M. C. Rajah Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

588. LETTER TO PRITHVISINGH

AS AT UTMANZAI,
October 5, 1938

DEAR PRITHVISINGH,

I am on the train taking me to the Frontier Province. I am likely to be there for a month. During that time I must try to send one of my party to meet you. I would like you therefore to keep the nearest visiting day free of other visitors. You will let me know at Peshawar the day on which the visit may take place.

CWMG-LXVII

I am not worrying about changing your class from A to B. I am therefore glad that you are not worrying yourself.

I must get hold of the new type of wool-spinning charkha.

Mahadev having become ill, has stayed away in Delhi. Pyarelal is with me and is well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 563. Also C.W. 2942. Courtesy: Prithvisingh

589. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

October 5, 1938

CHI. RUKHI,

I was happy to see your handwriting after a long time. Shanta has been to see me. She told Ba that you get fainting fits and do not keep good health. Is this true?

I am writing this on a train bound for Peshawar. Perhaps I may spend one month in that part. Mahadev needs rest, so Durga and he have stayed back at Delhi. Ba also is there. With me are Pyarelal, Kanu, Doctor Sushila, Amtul Salaam and Brijkrishna. You can write to me at Peshawar.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. RUKMINI DEVI BAZAJ
TATHERI BAZAAR
BENARES CITY

From Gujarati: C.W. 9793. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

590. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

October 5, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I am writing this in the train. You did well in writing a personal letter to Maulana. Even if all the seeds that we sow do not sprout, they help those that do.

Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha has no right to change its object. If it exercises that right, its spiritual connection with the central institution must also end. In my opinion, such a change is not necessary either. I have paid no attention to what has been happening.

CWMG - LXVII

It is also not correct that I have been gradually leaving off the use of the word 'Hindi'. The Congress cannot use any other word. But I do not believe that a Congressman working in another institution cannot do so.

I will think about writing when I get the resolutions of the conference. Amritlal is attending to weaving, teaching, music and sanitation. It remains to be seen whether he can fit into Nayakum's mould. Will this suffice for now? Write at Utmanzai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7975

591. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 5, 1938

CHI. ANAND,

Got your letter only today. I am writing this on a moving train. Now [I think] there is no need of a preface. And why so much burden on me? How can I bear it?

I am glad to know that both are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

592. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

ON WAY TO PESHAWAR,
October 5, 1938

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

What a nice letter you have written to me! I am writing this in a moving train. The Prince may certainly come in November.[1] For some days now I shall be in the Frontier Province.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 4779. Courtesy: S. D. Satavlekar

[1] The Prince of Aundh visited Gandhiji at Segaon on 29-11-1938 and 1-12-1938.

CWMG - LXVII

593. THAT UNFORTUNATE WALK-OUT

The walk-out at the last A. I. C. C. meeting of the opponents of the Civil Liberties Resolution[1] was an unfortunate and hasty act. What was their protest against? I understand the President went out of his way to let them make as many and as long speeches as they liked. Therefore the protest was against the majority refusing to accept amendments which cut at the root of the resolution which was regarded as vital to the existence of the Congress in its present form.

The walk-out has served one good purpose. It has brought out in clear light the fact that the Congress is not today the homogeneous body it used to be. It has members and parties who have no faith in its creed or its constructive programme, specially khadi and prohibition.

In these circumstances the Congress must cease to be a compact fighting organization engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the most experienced and organized corporation in the world. It has been since 1920 like an army in action having one will, one policy, one aim and exact discipline. All this must go if the protesters can have their own way. In the first place there can be no amendment of or protest against accepted policies. But even if such is permissible, there should be perfect and willing obedience after the rejection of amendments and protests. Opposition in the Congress is not to be compared to the opposition, say, in the Central Assembly. There the opposition has little in common with the Government. In the Congress there can only be those who willingly and whole-heartedly subscribe to its creed. Those who do not want independence cannot become its members nor can those who do not believe in truth and non-violence, khadi or communal unity or total abolition of untouchability among Hindus or total prohibition of drink and intoxicating drugs.

It is up to those who do not believe in the fundamental policy of the Congress seriously to consider whether they would not serve the Congress and the country better by remaining outside the Congress and converting the people to their view of conducting the campaign rather than by remaining within and obstructing those who do not see eye to eye with them and yet are

[1] *Vide* "Draft of Resolution for A. I. C. C.", p. 368.

in the unfortunate position of having the majority on their side. It is equally the duty of the majority to consider how best to deal with those who will resort to obstructive tactics. My opinion based on experience is that if, after a friendly discussion with the obstructionists (if the use of that word is permissible to describe them), it is found that they believe it to be their duty to continue obstruction, it would conduce to the good of the country to hand over the reins to the minority and themselves follow the existing Congress programme without using the Congress name. All this can succeed beyond expectations if it is done without huff, without malice, without bitterness, and merely to meet a situation that is becoming impossible.

If chaos is to be prevented, proper measures must be taken in time.

PESHAWAR, October 5, 1938

Harijan, 15-10-1938

594. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

October 5, 1938

If absence of letters means neglect, then I have neglected you. The fact is these days you are ever before me. You see I have come out of my shell and begun to speak to Europe. It is a peace without honour.

SJT. C. F. ANDREWS
BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXVII

595. LETTER TO LALA GIRDHARILAL

October 5, 1938

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

You are needlessly suspicious. There is no change in me or my form.

I still advise you to resign. It is surely wrong to refuse when your colleagues want you to. They can't take the work from you that they want.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. LALA GIRDHARILAL
C/O SJT. A. HOON, BAR-AT-LAW
55 CANTONMENT
CAWNPORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

596. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

PESHAWAR,
October 5, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Everybody here asks 'Where is Mahadev'? Chhajjuram wants me to send a wire and call you here and promises to keep you at his place in perfect peace. The climate is fine. I do feel like asking you to come over. But I will not act in haste. I am certainly attracted by the idea of Simla. The matter will be decided one way or the other tomorrow. I will daily look forward to your letters. We are at Peshawar for three days at least. After that, the programme is uncertain. We had no trouble at all during the journey. At Lahore there was a crowd but I was behind a line of army men. I did not like that at all. My blood-pressure now seems to have become quite steady. In the train and here it had been 160/98. I wrote a heap of letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

CWMG - LXVII

[PS.]

Preparations for our bath are still going on.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11655

597. IF I WERE A CZECH

If I have called the arrangement with Herr Hitler "peace without honour", it was not to cast any reflection on British or French statesmen. I have no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain could not think of anything better. He knew his nation's limitations. He wanted to avoid war, if it could be avoided at all. Short of going to war, he pulled his full weight in favour of the Czechs. That it could not save honour was no fault of his. It would be so every time there is a struggle with Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini.

It cannot be otherwise. Democracy dreads to spill blood. The philosophy for which the two dictators stand calls it cowardice to shrink from carnage. They exhaust the resources of poetic art in order to glorify organized murder. There is no humbug about their word or deed. They are ever ready for war. There is nobody in Germany or Italy to cross their path. Their word is law.

It is different with Mr. Chamberlain or M. Daladier[1]. They have their Parliaments and Chambers to please. They have parties to confer with. They cannot maintain themselves on a perpetual war footing if their language is to have a democratic accent about it.

Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. England, France and America have to make their choice. That is the challenge of the two dictators.

Russia is out of the picture just now. Russia has a dictator who dreams of peace and thinks he will wade to it through a sea of blood. No one can say what Russian dictatorship will mean to the world.

It was necessary to give this introduction to what I want to say to the Czechs and through them to all those nationalities which are called 'small' or 'weak'. I want to speak to the Czechs because their plight moved me to the point of physical and mental distress and I felt that it would be cowardice on my part

[1] Edouard Daladier, then Prime Minister of France

not to share with them the thoughts that were welling up within me. It is clear that the small nations must either come or be ready to come under the protection of the dictators or be a constant menace to the peace of Europe. In spite of all the goodwill in the world England and France cannot save them. Their intervention can only mean bloodshed and destruction such as has never been seen before. If I were a Czech, therefore, I would free these two nations from the obligation to defend my country. And yet I must live. I would not be a vassal to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence or perish. To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure bravado. Not so, if in defying the might of one who would deprive me of my independence I refuse to obey his will and perish unarmed in the attempt. In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, i. e., my honour.

This inglorious peace should be my opportunity. I must live down the humiliation and gain real independence.

But, says a comforter, 'Hitler knows no pity. Your spiritual effort will avail nothing before him.'

My answer is, 'You may be right. History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance. If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worth [preserving]. My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity. But as a believer in non-violence, I may not limit its possibilities. Hitherto he and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have.'

But says another comforter, 'What you say is all right for you. But how do you expect your people to respond to the novel call? They are trained to fight. In personal bravery they are second to none in the world. For you now to ask them to throw away their arms and be trained for non-violent resistance, seems to me to be a vain attempt.'

'You may be right. But I have a call I must answer. I must deliver my message to my people. This humiliation has sunk too deep in me to remain without an outlet. I, at least, must act up to the light that has dawned on me.'

This is how I should, I believe, act if I was a Czech. When I first launched out on satyagraha, I had no companion. We

were thirteen thousand men, women and children against a whole nation capable of crushing the existence out of us. I did not know who would listen to me. It all came as in a flash. All the 13,000 did not fight. Many fell back. But the honour of the nation was saved. New history was written by the South African Satyagraha.

A more apposite instance, perhaps, is that of Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the servant of God as he calls himself, the pride of Afghan as the Pathans delight to call him. He is sitting in front of me as I pen these lines. He has made several thousands of his people throw down their arms. He thinks he has imbibed the lesson of non-violence. He is not sure of his people. Elsewhere I reproduce the pledge that his soldiers of peace make. I have come to the Frontier Province, or rather he has brought me, to see with my own eyes what his men here are doing. I can say in advance and at once that these men know very little of non-violence. All the treasure they have on earth is their faith in their leader. I do not cite these soldiers of peace as at all a finished illustration. I cite them as an honest attempt being made by a soldier to convert fellow soldiers to the ways of peace. I can testify that it is an honest attempt, and whether in the end it succeeds or fails, it will have its lessons for satyagrahis of the future. My purpose will be fulfilled if I succeed in reaching these men's hearts and making them see that if their non-violence does not make them feel much braver than the possession of arms and the ability to use them they must give up their non-violence, which is another name for cowardice, and resume their arms which there is nothing but their own will to prevent them from taking back.

I present Dr. Benes[1] with a weapon not of the weak but of the brave. There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fulness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does.

PESHAWAR, October 6, 1938

Harijan, 15-10-1938

[1] Eduard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia

CWMG - LXVII

598. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

PESHAWAR,
October 6, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

We reached quite well. The pressure behaved well in the train also.

Better address letters Peshawar.

There is no cold here as yet. The nights are very good.

My silence continues giving me great peace and saving so much time and energy.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3637. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6446

599. FILTH IN LITERATURE

A Travancore headmaster of a high school writes:

> You know the political atmosphere of Travancore is very unhappy just at present. Even high school pupils are going on strike and picketing others. There is a feeling among pupils that you are in favour of 'students' strikes' and even 'pupils' strikes'. I would like to get a communication addressed to pupils in general about your opinion on the matter. It will clarify the situation.

I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions. I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics. Such ferment interferes with serious study and unfits students for solid work as future citizens. There is one thing, however, for which it is the duty of students and pupils to strike. I have received a letter from the Hon. Secretary, Youths' Welfare Association, Lahore, giving copious specimens of obscene and erotic passages from the text-books prescribed by various universities. They make sickening reading. Though they are from prescribed text-books, I would not soil these columns with a reproduction of the

CWMG LXXVII

extracts. I have never come across such filth in all the literature that I have read. The extracts are impartially given both [*sic*] from Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi poets. My attention was first drawn to such writings by the girls of Mahila Ashram, Wardha, and recently by my daughter-in-law[1] who is studying in the Kanya Gurukul at Dehra Dun. Though she is not illiterate, she had never come across such obscenity as she found in some of her text-books. She appealed to me for assistance. I have been moving the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan authorities. But big institutions move slowly. Monopolies grow up. Self-interest of authors and publishers prevents reform. The altar of literature claims incense. My daughter-in-law suggested, and I at once fell in with her suggestion, that she would risk failure at her examination and omit to learn the obscene or erotic passages. This is a mild strike on her part, but a quite good and wholly effective one for herself. But this is an occasion which not only justifies a strike on the part of students and pupils, it is in my opinion their duty to rise in revolt against such literature being forced on them.

It is one thing to defend the liberty to read what one likes. But it is a wholly different thing to force on young minds acquaintance with literature that cannot but excite their animal passions and an unhealthy curiosity about things which, in due course and to the extent necessary, they are bound to learn. The evil becomes accentuated when it comes in the guise of innocent literature bearing the *imprimatur* of great universities.

An orderly strike on the part of students is the quickest way of bringing about the much-needed reform. Such a strike would not be boisterous. It would simply consist in the students notifying boycott of examinations which require a study of objectionable literature. It is the duty of every pure-minded student to rebel against obscenity.

The Association asks me to appeal to the Congress Ministers to take such steps as may be possible to remove text-books or passages which are objectionable. I gladly make the appeal hereby not only to them but [to] the Education Ministers in all the provinces. Surely all are equally interested in the healthy growth of the student mind.

PESHAWAR, October 7, 1938

Harijan, 15-10-1938

[1] Nirmala Gandhi

CWMG - LXVII

600. UNCERTIFIED KHADI

Reports have come to me showing that even responsible Congressmen use khadi that is sold in uncertified bhandars. No khadi is guaranteed pure that is sold in uncertified stores of which unfortunately there is quite a number, and which has increased since the phenomenal rise given by the A. I. S. A. in the wages of spinners.

It is not often that workers get better wages without asking. And when that happens enough unscrupulous persons will be found who will exploit the poverty or ignorance of the workers, pay them the old low wages, and sell their manufactures at prices lower than those charged under the raised rate of wages. Then again, cloth is sold under the name of khadi which has its warp made of mill-spun yarn. Pure khadi is that khadi which is hand-woven out of hand-spun yarn and for which wages have been paid according to the A. I. S. A. scale. Such khadi can be had only at certified stores.

Unfortunately Congressmen, out of ignorance or because they do not believe in khadi, buy cheap cloth for make-believe at the uncertified stores and thus thwart the Congress policy about khadi and, to the extent of their purchase, defraud the spinners of the rise in the wages. Let the public realize that every rise in the price of khadi means at least that much more paid to the spinner. I use 'at least' advisedly. For the whole of the rise in wages is not charged to the buyers.

Those Congress leaders who open khadi stores without reference to the A. I. S. A. or without being asked by it, certainly harm their own institution, encourage fraud and violate the Congress policy; whereas it should be the duty and pride of every Congressman to help in every way the effort of the A. I. S. A. to better the lot of the most helpless of humanity.

PESHAWAR, October 7, 1938

Harijan, 15-10-1938

CWMG LXVII

601. SEVEN COMPLAINTS

A Muslim friend writes:

> You will be pained to hear that in my province the matters have gone from bad to worse. The Muslims are extremely agitated and invite your immediate attention. A Council of Action is formed and we desire to take a leaf from your own book of truth and non-violence.
>
> 1. The Government is persisting in the Vidya Mandir Scheme.
> 2. Mother tongue is defined as mother tongue of the area—which is divided into Hindi and Marathi—thus excluding Urdu.
> 3. Urdu schools used to be inspected by Urdu Inspectorate alone; the system is discontinued.
> 4. My amendment to include Urdu or Hindustani in the recognized languages of the Assembly is turned down.
> 5. My University Bill demanding representation for Muslims and Depressed Classes in the university is turned down.
> 6. Hon'ble Biyani held a conference in Chandur in Berar where his procession was taken with music past a mosque during Juma prayers and the flag was worshipped.
> 7. Your title as Mahatma is officially recognized by a Government circular, your birthday declared as a holiday, and consequently the Local Board in Amraoti has issued orders to take your image in a procession and to worship your image. Gandhiji, you may permit me to say, we are not idolatrous and we do not recognize you as Mahatma or our religious and political leader.

Whatever the nature of the complaints, if the correspondent and his followers pursue the path of truth and non-violence, all will be well, and it will be found at the end of the contemplated action that both the parties have come closer together and that the cobwebs of misunderstanding have all been removed.

As to the complaints, I must warn the correspondent and others who expect the impossible from me that while I am ever ready to use whatever influence I may possess for the promotion of good and goodwill, I have grave limitations. I could not live for two days if I shouldered the burden of investigating every complaint against every Congress Minister. For that purpose there is the Parliamentary Sub-Committee created by the Working Committee.

CWMG - LXVII

But I can say generally about the complaints as follows:

1. I see nothing wrong in the scheme as far as I know. I know that the name 'mandir' has been objected to by some Muslims. Shuklaji has made it plain that if Muslim boys or their parents object to attend the schools merely because they are called Vidya Mandirs, it would be open to them to attend schools which will bear an Arabic name. But surely this is a matter for adjustment. The word 'mandir' has no exclusive religious significance. When it has any qualifying adjective it simply means a house. Nor is such use rare.

2. I do not know what actually has been done. But the mother tongue of an area is surely the tongue which the inhabitants generally speak.

3. If Urdu inspectors have been discontinued because they know only Urdu, on the face of it, it seems to be wrong.

4. As to the amendment about the recognition of Urdu or Hindustani, I do not know the merits.

5. The same is true of the Bill.

6. If music was played before the mosque whilst the Juma prayers were being said, it was certainly wrong. But I will want very strong proof to support the allegation.

7. This is a complaint and an assertion. With both I am in hearty concurrence. It was wrong to give 'Mahatma' official recognition. I registered my protest as soon as it was brought to my notice. I would support any movement to drop altogether the use of the word 'Mahatma' before my name. My simple name sounds sweet without the adjective. The latter often stinks as when it is applied to promote violence or untruth, smoking or drinking or the sale of spurious khadi. To declare my birthday a holiday should be classified as a cognizable offence. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive spinning or some such national service. That day must be all work and no play. I cannot imagine any Local Board being so foolish as to issue orders to take my image in procession and worship it. I am hoping that my correspondent was wholly misinformed. I should imagine that the issue of such orders would be illegal. As to the assertion and repudiation, I tender my congratulations to my correspondent for them, for I have never aspired after leadership whether religious or political.

PESHAWAR, October 7, 1938

Harijan, 15-10-1938

602. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

PESHAWAR,
October 7, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. Yes, that is true. We must master adverse circumstances.

I have been enjoying great peace of mind here, Khan Saheb does not let anyone near me. The post is wandering behind me, and so I have been writing articles to my heart's content. I have started a dialogue with Europe. I will not mind if they decide that I am a fool and leave me alone. The title is "If I Were a Czech". Pyarelal also has written one article. In a way I am keeping all right. But passion and attachment have increased in strength and that pains me. I am hoping that they will lose their strength.

I hope you are taking Durga for a walk every day. You must regain enough strength for walking. At least meet Saraswati[1]. Let her try her remedies.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is . . .[2]

I do not understand at all why Rajkumari's letter has gone astray.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11656

603. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

PESHAWAR,
October 7, 1938

BA,

If you have not written and given news of Lakshmi's[3] health and yours, do it now. We arrived here in great comfort. The cold has not yet started. I am keeping up my silence. We are

[1] Saraswati Gadodia
[2] The rest of the sentence is illegible.
[3] Wife of Devdas Gandhi

CWMG-LXVII

in Peshawar just now. So dictate the letter at the Peshawar address. The heat there must have gone down. Nobody sees me. Khan Saheb does not permit anybody to come to me. Sushila is perfectly well. Ask Kanam to write. And send him for a walk every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, pp. 28-9

604. LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE

One must feel happy that the danger of war has been averted for the time being. Is the price paid likely to be too great? Is it likely that honour has been sold? Is it a triumph of organized violence? Has Herr Hitler discovered a new technique of organizing violence which enables him to gain his end without shedding blood? I do not profess to know European politics. But it does appear to me that small nationalities cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbours. They must become vassals.

Europe has sold her soul for the sake of a seven days' earthly existence. The peace Europe gained at Munich is a triumph of violence; it is also its defeat. If England and France were sure of victory, they would certainly have fulfilled their duty of saving Czechoslovakia or of dying with it. But they quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy. But what have Germany and Italy gained? Have they added anything to the moral wealth of mankind?

In penning these lines my concern is not with the great powers. Their height dazes me. Czechoslovakia has a lesson for me and us in India. The Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves deserted by their two powerful allies. And yet I have the hardihood to say that if they had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for the defence of national honour, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in. They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for a peace which was no peace; and to save their honour they would have died to a man without shedding the blood of the robber. I must refuse to think that such heroism, or call it restraint, is beyond

human nature. Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal. Though we have the human form, without the attainment of the virtue of non-violence we still share the qualities of our remote reputed ancestor, the orang-outang.

These are not idle words I am writing. Let the Czechs know that the Working Committee wrung itself with pain while their doom was being decided.[1] The pain was quite selfish in a way. But on that account it was the more real. For though numerically we are a big nation, in terms of Europe, i. e., in terms of organized scientific violence, we are smaller than Czechoslovakia. Our liberty is not merely threatened, we are fighting to regain it. The Czechs are fully armed; we are wholly unarmed. And so the Committee sat to deliberate what its duty was by the Czechs, what part the Congress was to play if the war cloud burst on us. Were we to bargain with England for our liberty and appear to befriend Czechoslovakia, or were we to live up to the creed of non-violence and say in the hour of trial for afflicted humanity that, consistently with our creed, we could not associate ourselves with war even though it might ostensibly be for the defence of Czechoslovakia whose very existence was threatened for no fault of hers, or for the only fault that she was too small to defend herself single-handed? The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England but would make its contribution to the world peace, to the defence of Czechoslovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by its action that the way to peace with honour did not lie through the mutual slaughter of the innocents, but that it lay only and truly through the practice of organized non-violence even unto death.

And this was but the logical and natural step the Working Committee could have taken, if it was to prove true to its creed. If

[1] The Congress Working Committee's resolution on Czechoslovakia read: "The Working Committee has been following with great interest the events as they have been developing in Europe. It views with great concern the unabashed attempt that is being made by Germany to deprive Czechoslovakia of its independence or reduce it to impotence.

"The Working Committee sends its profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom. Being themselves engaged in a war—non-violent but none the less grim and exacting—against the greatest Imperialist Power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of Czechoslovak freedom. The Committee hopes that the better part of humanity will still assert itself and save humanity from the impending catastrophe."

India could gain her freedom through non-violence, as Congressmen are to believe they can, she could also defend her freedom by the same means, and hence *a fortiori* could a smaller nation like Czechoslovakia.

I do not know what actually the Working Committee would have done if the war had come. But the war is only postponed. During the breathing time, I present the way of non-violence for acceptance by the Czechs. They do not yet know what is in store for them. They can lose nothing by trying the way of non-violence. The fate of Republican Spain is hanging in the balance. So is that of China. If in the end they all lose, they will do so not because their cause is not just, but because they are less skilled in the science of destruction or because they are undermanned. What would Republican Spain gain if it had Franco's resources, or China if she had Japan's skill in war, or the Czechs if they had the skill of Herr Hitler? I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, it is braver still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the usurper. If death is a certainty in either case, is it not nobler to die with the breast bared to the enemy without malice against him within?

Harijan, 8-10-1938

605. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

PESHAWAR,
October 8, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA

DELIGHTED MAHADEV WITH YOU. GOING UTMANZAI TOMORROW. WELL. HOPE YOU FIT. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3885. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7041

606. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

PESHAWAR,
October 8, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I am glad my wire went to you before your letter and wire came into my hands.

I offer no apology for not telling you anything about the closing of the experiment[1]. I had prepared you for it. And then I wrote a note[2] announcing the termination. There was no desire to keep it from you. A copy of the note herewith. Mahadev may not have it handy. He must read it to you, if you can't. It is Kanu's hand.

No apology either for suppressing Mahadev's letter. Mahadev had guessed (wrongly) that something which I forget had happened on the basis of your talk with him. As it had not, and as Mahadev had told me not to deliver it to you if his guess was wrong, I did the right thing. It would have been wrong on my part even to have mentioned the thing to you and taken your time [and] my time for nothing. Supposing somebody swears at you thinking that you had been painting your face every day, I would correct the person but would certainly not feel the call [*sic*] that that person had done you an unintentional wrong. Now you understand, I hope. I won't ask for your apology.

I have never enjoyed so much rest as Khan Saheb gives me. No visitors, no talks practically even on slips of paper. The result is I have been able without effort to write five articles for *Harijan.*

You will give me your reaction to the articles on the European situation.

Your estimate of N. N. Joshi is correct. He prevaricates without knowing that he is doing so. But he is a good worker.

This tour has taught me one lesson. I must not put such heavy burdens on you. What I had hoped would be a light thing evidently was a serious drain on your energy. I hope that you will soon regain your lost health such as it is.

I know that Mahadev & Co. will flourish under your grandmotherly care. I was anxious for M. to accept your invitation. And Shummy is there—first class for such occasions. I shall look forward to your daily bulletin.

We are flourishing. There is no cold yet. I have never been so fit as I have felt latterly. There is an interruption because the old devil in the shape of animal passion is at me. When he assails me, I do feel worried. But the thing will wear away. So you see the most relevant thing I do share with you. But you are not to disturb yourself over this. It worries without disturbing me or making me morose. I seek the presence of God.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3638. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6447

[1] Involving physical contact with women

[2] *Vide* pp. 362-3.

CWMG - LXVII

607. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 8, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

You are an old face in Simla now. Let Durga and Babla have long walks. Durga's pain also must disappear there. I wish all of you could take sun-bath there without any clothes on. Instead of reading too much, spin, roam about and play. Take as much milk and eat as much fruit there as you can. If Stokes can come, call him. You cannot afford to go to him. It will be child's play for him to come. I am all right. I make Sushila eat all her meals with me. She, therefore, eats well. She could hardly have eaten in such peace recently. She is keeping good health. Amtul Salaam also is well. But she can't bear even being described as well. I have written five articles without any exertion. Khan Saheb lets me have undisturbed peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11657

608. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

UTMANZAI,
October 9, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I have anticipated you all. For I have plunged into the European waters. You will give your reaction to the articles. For I have written another.

Sushila is with me and quite well. Amtul Salaam seems to be quite well. Mahadev was quite well but his brain is drained dry. He is in Simla now.

We have just arrived in Utmanzai.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6406. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10002

609. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

UTMANZAI,
October 9, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I read just now your letter written from Delhi. You must take the vow of silence. I have already written to you about that. Read less and talk less, too. Walk, play, sleep and spin. Have no qualms about sleeping. If you continue mud-packs there, too, they will certainly help you. Apply them only on the stomach. There you are not likely to need them on the head. I am sure that you are bound to benefit greatly by the climate there. I am sending with this Tara's letter addressed to you.

If you have not already informed the Post Office about redirecting here the letters addressed to you, write about it. Pyarelal's sword will keep hanging, but for the present he is absorbed in work.

We have just reached Utmanzai.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Both the brothers—Ghani and Lali—are here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10658

610. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

[*October 9, 1938*][1]

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I got your letter. If you can teach Vatsala, do so. I welcomed the request which Sharda made on her own. My occasional remarks about prejudices and my decision in the Vijaya affair may have had some effect. Teach her music diligently. I believe that whatever she is taught will shine out. It is good indeed that you are required to give some time to Balkoba.

I am addressing today's post to you. Give over everybody his or her letter.

[1] Gandhiji reached Utmanzai on October 9, 1938.

CWMG - LXVII

We arrived at Utmanzai today.

I have had no letter from Vijaya recently.

Sushila says that there is nothing to worry about in the report.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL NANAVATI
ASHRAM
SEGAON, NEAR WARDHA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10775

611. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

October 9, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

You have learnt well how to write business-like letters. Not even a word more than necessary. What a dull letter!

We have reached Utmanzai today. I am continuing my silence.

We are all fine here. Ba is suffering a lot in Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10002. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

612. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

UTMANZAI,
October 9, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your three letters. We have Lindlower's book; but if you still want to order a copy you may certainly do so. It does not matter whether or not you get the amount from home. I do not want to force you to do anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4306

CWMG - LXVII

613. LETTER TO STUART MORRIS[1]

PESHAWAR,
October 10, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter of 26th September.

I cannot understand why Pandit Nehru appeared to avoid you. It is unusual for him. I quite agree that you should establish as many contacts as you can with Indians who may visit England. At the same time it is well to realize that not every Indian believes in peace methods. As with you, so with us there are many schools of thought. But I am quite sure that the future is with those who believe in peace and peace methods. We have not half explored these methods and their immense possibilities.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

STUART MORRIS, ESQ.
LONDON W. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

614. TALK WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN[2]

[*October 10, 1938*][3]

The conviction is growing upon me that unless we develop the capacity to put a stop to these Frontier raids without the help of the police and the military, it is no use the Congress remaining in office in this Province, as in that case we are bound to be defeated in the end. A wise general does not wait till he is actually routed; he withdraws in time in an orderly manner from a position which he knows he would not be able to hold. For years it has been a pet dream of mine to be able to go among and mix with the trans-border tribes. I am certain that the only

[1] Of the Peace Pledge Union, a pacifist organization
[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–I"
[3] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXVII

way of bringing about a permanent settlement of the Frontier problem is through the way of peace and reason. If our Khudai Khidmatgar organization is what its name signifies and what it ought to be, I am sure we can achieve that feat today.

I am therefore anxious to find out exactly how far the Khudai Khidmatgars have understood and assimilated the spirit of non-violence, where they stand and what your and my future line of action should be.

In South Africa a small band of 13,000 satyagrahi countrymen of ours were able to hold their own against the might of the Union Government. General Smuts could not turn them out as he was able to the 50,000 Chinese who were driven out bag and baggage in less than six months and that without compensation. He would not have hesitated to crush us if we had strayed from the path of non-violence. What could not an army of one lakh Khudai Khidmatgars trained in the use of the non-violence method achieve?

Harijan, 22-10-1938

615. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

UTMANZAI,
October 10, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Simla must have suited you very well. You must have received my letters addressed at Delhi and Simla. I broke my long silence today for a quarter of an hour to talk with Khan Saheb. The problem has become very complicated.

My health has been all right till now. I have been making up for arrears of sleep. Sushila may be said to have regained her strength. She takes her meals with me and, therefore, follows some rule. Otherwise we are living in a royal style. There are no fixed hours for meals or anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending some letters with this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11659

CWMG - LXXVII

616. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

UTMANZAI,
October 10, 1938

Europe has a few things worthy of being adopted by us. Their calendar is one of these. Our almanacs are unpracticable. I am therefore inclined towards the adoption of the European calendar for purposes of house rent and other matters whenever possible.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 168

617. ADDRESS TO THE OFFICERS OF RED SHIRTS

[After *October 10, 1938*][1]

We are lucky in having a true, honest, godfearing man like Badshah Khan in our midst here. To his credit stands the miracle of making thousands of Pathans renounce their arms. No one can say what the future will reveal. Maybe that all Khudai Khidmatgars may not prove to be true servants of God as their name implies. But making due allowance for all that, still what has been achieved is nothing short of marvellous. What I shall expect of you is that even if someone subjects you to the most inhuman tortures, you will joyfully face the ordeal and make the supreme sacrifice with God's name on your lips and without a trace of fear or anger or thoughts of revenge in your hearts. That will be heroism of the highest type. To fight with the sword does call for bravery of a sort. But to die is braver far than to kill. He alone is truly brave, he alone is martyr in the true sense who dies without fear in his heart and without wishing hurt to his enemy, not the one who kills and dies. If our country, even in its present fallen state, can exhibit this type of bravery, what a beacon light will it be for Europe with all its discipline, science and organization! If Europe but realized that, heroic as it undoubtedly is for a handful of people to offer

[1] Though the date is not certain, according to the source Gandhiji met these officers after "Talk with Abdul Ghaffar Khan", pp. 420-1.

CWMG - LXVII

armed resistance in the face of superior numbers, it is far more heroic to stand up against overwhelming numbers without any arms at all, it would save itself and blaze a trail for the world.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 56-7

618. REPLY TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

[Before *October 11, 1938*][1]

Birthday greetings and blessings have been received from numerous friends in many parts of the world. I beg to thank all the senders for their good wishes.

Harijan, 15-10-1938

619. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

UTMANZAI,
October 11, 1938

CHI. LILA,

I got your letter. I do think about you, but I have cut down letters in order to be able to write for *Harijan*. But I see that I must write to you. Don't think that I do not understand your feelings. But you would not wish that I should do anything improper. I liked your accompanying Rajkumari. She wrote to me about it. Now that you have reached . . .[2] you may as well remain there till my return to Segaon. But if you are not needed there, return to Segaon. Your place is only there, only there. You will have understood the meaning of the two "onlys". Mahadev is quite well. But I have left him behind so as not to take any risk. He has gone to Simla. That was very good. I keep excellent health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is Kamala?

Write about the happenings there. The child and Damyanti must be fine.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9375. Also C.W. 6650. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle* reported the message on October 11.
[2] The letter is damaged here.

CWMG - LXVII

620. LETTER TO SARASWATI

October 11, 1938

CHI. SARU,

I got your letter. The enclosed letter is for Grandfather. Give it to him. I hope he will let you go. Have you received any letters from Prabha? Write to me regularly. It is already cold in the Frontier. You should also request Grandfather to permit you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6173. Also C.W. 3447. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

621. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

UTMANZAI,
October 11, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I would like you to accept the accompanying invitation. The event is far off yet.

Your Hindi is quite good.

Congratulations on speaking to Rameshwari in simple Hindi. It will be good if you can learn Gujarati from Mahadev and Babla can learn English from you.[1]

I am sorry about Shummy. I wonder if Mahadev can be of any help. My prayers are always with you and Shummy. Am I not a member of the family?

It is now bed-time—8.45. So good night.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

My B. P. went down to 140/84 today.

From the original: C.W. 4236. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7869

[1] This paragraph is in Hindi.

622. NOTES

MAHADEV DESAI

Readers will be glad to know that Mahadev Desai is steadily getting better. After continuous strain of years, he was entitled to rest. But he would not take it. I did not insist on it. Kind nature came to the rescue and enforced the rest he would not take voluntarily. Shri Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has taken him away to her home in Simla. Surrounded by fresh air and, what is more, the loving care of the Rajkumari, he is bound to flourish.

UTMANZAI, October 12, 1938

Harijan, 22-10-1938

623. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

October 12, 1938

CHI. KANAIYO,

You did not mention the date of your birthday. But have a cart-load of blessings. May your spirit of service and ability for service increase day by day.

Forget about Mahadevbhai. If I ask him, he will say something different altogether. But why go into all that? You have not wasted your years. You have gained much. Why feel unhappy that you did not gain more than you have done?

You can have from me whatever you desire. I had told you that you should always sit in my room. You couldn't do that and I didn't remind you. If you are beside me, you can take up the letters and see them. If they are not taken away from me immediately, it would be difficult to keep them safe.

But it is never too late. Do sit in my room. We shall see where. I do not want to hurt Mirabehn.

Aren't you gaining a lot from Pyarelal just now? Are these experiences worthless?

I understand about Rajkot. I shall see. If it is likely to

CWMG - LXXII

serve any purpose to throw you in, I shall do so. All that is white is not milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

624. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 12, 1938

BA,

You have made me feel seriously worried about you. I have never worried about your health as much as I did this time. I was relieved when I received Devdas's wire today. The cause of my worry was that I had left you unhappy. I meant well but you felt hurt. Afterwards you forgot the thing, but how can I forget it? And moreover you were ill. God seems to have been kind. Now try and get completely well. Lakshmi, Ramu[1] and Tara[2] must have recovered fully. Here the climate can be said to be excellent. The cold is so far bearable. I like it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 29

625. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

UTMANZAI,
October 12, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Regarding your health, you should tell Jayaprakash that the only treatment for you is to stay with me. Your staying with me depends on Jayaprakash's willingness and on his keeping good health. I should be very happy, however, if you shake off all worries and get well. Bring along Saraswati, if possible.

The problem about the expenses is a rather difficult one. Make use of the enclosed note.[3] Shyamjibhai may talk to the

[1] Son of Devdas Gandhi
[2] Daughter of Devdas Gandhi
[3] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXVII

vaidya if he can, otherwise pay his bill of Rs. 200. This is always the way with vaidyas. But if Jayaprakash gets well, we shall think the treatment cheap enough. The note I am sending will enable you to draw up to Rs. 300.

Ba has been quite ill. There was a wire today saying that she was better. Write to her at Delhi. Mahadev is with Rajkumari. Durga and Bablo are also there. Write to him.

I think I shall return to Segaon in November. I am keeping good health. The others also are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Address your letters to Peshawar. No other address is necessary.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3526

626. LETTER TO SHYAMJI SUNDERDAS

PESHAWAR,
October 12, 1938

BHAI SHYAMJI,

Prabhavati's husband, Jayaprakash, is taking treatment[1] from a vaidya. He says that his fee is Rs. 200. Find out if you know him, otherwise give Prabhavati a sum of up to Rs. 200. Let me know what you withdraw. I will try to have it sent from Wardha.

I hope Prithviraj and Vali are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10867. Courtesy: Shyamji Sunderdas

[1] Jayaprakash Narayan was taking treatment at Arya Vaidya Shala, Kottakkal.

CWMG - LXXVII

627. LETTER TO JUAN NEGRIN[1]

[Before *October 13, 1938*]

I have been told of the woes of your country and the bravery with which you are meeting the situation. It is needless to say that my whole heart goes out to you in sympathy. May true freedom be the outcome of your agony.[2]

The Hindu, 13-10-1938

628. HISSAR FAMINE AND KHADI

Dr. Gopichand writes:

> Though many parts of India are in the grip of famine, Hissar District is probably the worst. It is more a famine of fodder and water than of grain.
>
> Ten per cent of cattle have already died of hunger, another 10 per cent have been disposed of at nominal prices or even free. Seventy-five per cent of the rest are dying of hunger.
>
> During the famines of 1928-29 and 1932-33, which were much less severe, relief was arranged through spinning. The residents of the district realize that it was the best way. Even today the residents of the area where the A. I. S. A. is running a centre are somewhat better off than the others. Spinning is a method which gives permanent relief. The minimum wage basis has proved a great boon to spinners.
>
> Capital is necessary for running such centres, and more than capital what is necessary is that people should patronize the cloth and yarn produced in this area.

I can heartily support this appeal for greater support of khadi. Dr. Gopichand calls it patronage; I do not. Patronage would not do the good that is intended. Only if the people recognize the duty of using khadi and nothing but khadi, will khadi perform the functions that solely belong to it. One of them is permanent insurance against famine. In these days of

[1] Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, where a civil war was raging at the time

[2] The news report from Barcelona quoted by *The National Herald*, 17-11-1938, runs as follows: "I do not have to tell you that my whole heart is full of sympathy for you and I sincerely wish that complete liberty will mark the end of the trial through which you have been passing."

CWMG - LXVII

easy transport—not by any means an unmixed blessing—neither people nor cattle need die of want of grain or fodder. Famine nowadays is really of metal. When people live on the margin of starvation the slightest rise in prices upsets the balance, and for want of cash to buy dear grain or dear fodder they or their cattle or both have to die. They need not, if they have work found for them on the spot. Such work on anything like a universal scale is hand-spinning. But it cannot be given on a large scale unless there is a guaranteed demand for khadi. The Punjab has great resources. It has men with commercial ability and financial resources. It is to be hoped that they will give the help Dr. Gopichand pleads for.

The temptation to make an appeal for funds is great but I restrain myself. Famine is a chronic thing with us. It is the same thing, no matter which part of India has the visitation. When, therefore, the appeal from Assam came I turned to the Servants of India Society. The late Shri G. K. Devadhar had specialized in famine work as in several other things. He was resourceful enough to establish a permanent fund. Then there is the Marwari Relief Society which helps wherever there is distress caused by famine, flood, plagues or the like. So far as cattle are concerned there is the Humanitarian League of Bombay ready with its agency. I think that, in cases like the Hissar famine, institutions like the ones I have named should be appealed to. A time must come when there will be one national institution specially dealing with such calamities. But meanwhile it will be better to strengthen existing institutions and expect them with their special agencies to deal with appeals such as Assam, Gorakhpur or Hissar.

But even this is hardly enough to cope with the distress such as is described by Dr. Gopichand. The State's resources in men and money have to be used with swiftness, ability and earnestness. No voluntary agency can save thousands of cattle or men and women and children. Voluntary agencies can and should supplement State effort, but without the latter mere voluntary agency must fail to give adequate relief. At the same time, if the State effort is a mere eyewash, it may easily do harm by interfering with and thwarting voluntary effort. What is required is honest and wise co-operation between the two agencies.

UTMANZAI, October 13, 1938

Harijan, 22-10-1938

629. CONGRESS CORRUPTION

A U. P. correspondent writes:

I have carefully gone through your statement[1] in *Harijan* and read your recent speech[2] before the members of the Congress Working Committee regarding the corrupt practices among Congressmen and the committees.

I have myself on many occasions noticed such corrupt practices as mentioned in the letter published by you, namely, the enrolment of bogus members, paying from one's own pocket the enrolment fees of members, and even forging signatures. The pity is that such things are even done by responsible office-bearers of the Congress committees. In certain places such cases have come to the notice of the Provincial Committee officially, but these things were taken very lightly by the authorities. With the little experience I have of the Congress work in these provinces, I can say that this is true of many of the district and city committees.

My humble reading of the situation is that such things are generally practised by that section which wants to capture the committees and retain power in their hands. Further, these things have enormously increased with the coming of the parliamentary programme in the Congress. The decision of the Congress to capture the local boards and the provincial legislatures has attracted towards it a big group of men who are anxious to get into these bodies at any cost. It is this group which, failing to get the spontaneous support of the genuine Congressmen, brings mercenaries and bogus members, who but for personal attachment to the gentleman who enrols them have nothing in common with the Congress. Even among the old members of the Congress some have been taken in by the temptation of offices and power and they readily join hands with the new mercenaries. It is therefore that such corrupt practices and a grouping of parties without any fundamental difference in principles is seen just on the advent of elections.

I therefore humbly suggest that the parliamentary section of the Congress be kept away from the committees, and those who wish to enter the local boards or the legislatures should not be allowed to hold any offices in the committees, or the office-bearers of the committees should not be permitted to seek elections to any of these bodies. Such a

[1] *Vide* "Corruption in the Congress", pp. 371-3.
[2] *Vide* pp. 369-71.

CWMG - LXVII

provision in the Congress constitution may do away with the necessity of corrupt practices. It would further give more time to the members of the committees to do the constructive work of the Congress, which is at present being neglected on account of legislative work, and may enhance their prestige among the public as selfless workers.

The suggestion made by the correspondent has been made by several other Congressmen. It has much to commend itself. If members of legislatures and local boards are chosen from outside Congress office-bearers, there is less danger of manipulation. It would be necessary in such a case to reduce the membership of committees. The members should then be only those who would practically be full-time workers having no time or thought for any work or office outside their own committees. This is a change every Provincial Congress Committee can make without any change being required to be made in the Congress constitution.

Another suggestion, which ought to have occurred to me and the members of the Working Committee, was made to me by a business organizer. He said:

Why are you thinking of heroic measures? Why would you not advise the Working Committee to copy what business houses do who have numerous branches? There should be strict inspection and auditing of all Congress committee books, not merely books dealing with finance but books containing names of members, etc. All registers which do not contain complete identification and other particulars about members should be mercilessly rejected. And if the books are according to patterns, inspection and examination become easy. All the Working Committee has to see to is that there are enough auditors and inspectors who know their job and can be trusted to do it thoroughly and honestly. And if you pay the price, it should not be difficult to get capable men with common honesty.

I have expanded the argument that was advanced in the course of a conversation. The suggestion is absolutely sound and can be, like the previous one, enforced without any change in the constitution. All that is wanted is the will to clean the Congress Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with. "If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"

UTMANZAI, October 13, 1938

Harijan, 22-10-1938

630. NOTES

Medical Mission to China

Dr. Hengchih Tao, who saw me in Segaon a few months ago and the substance of whose interview[1] with me was given by Mahadev Desai in these columns, writes in the course of a letter from Hongkong as follows on Dr. Attal's Medical Mission to China:

> The Indian Medical Unit under the leadership of Dr. Attal arrived on the 14th September, and was greeted by hundreds of friends including the Red Cross officers, doctors, teachers, students, reporters. Madam Sun Yat-sen had also sent a delegate to tender her welcome. I myself had also the opportunity to be among the cheering crowd. I am confident that they will receive more massive welcome as they go into the interior. The arrival of the Medical Unit from India has given us a profound feeling that we are not left alone. These Angels of Mercy have in their hands not only cure for the wounded but also love to bind together the hearts of the two great nations.

Utmanzai, October 13, 1938

Harijan, 22-10-1938

631. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Utmanzai,
October 13, 1938

chi. mira,

Your draft letter to Dr. B.[2] is perfect. I can't alter a word. I have filled in the blank.

Ba is still ailing in Delhi though D.[3] says she is on the mend.

Mahadev is bound to benefit by his stay in Simla. More so he will be for want of work and being cut off from me.

[1] *Vide* pp. 250-2.

[2] Benes, President of Czechoslovakia. Mirabehn had written to him inviting him to Segaon; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 14-10-1938.

[3] Devdas

CWMG - LXVII

We may be on the move in a day or two.

I hope Balwantsinha is happy among his cows. What about the ailing calf ?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6408. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10003

632. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 13, 1938

BA,

I get news about you. Devdas is even complaining against you that, though you have become very weak, you frequently get up. Please don't do so. You should obey the doctor's instructions. Get well quickly so that all of us may be free from worry.

I keep excellent health. Khan Saheb lets me have plenty of rest. This also enables me to attend to my work properly. Sushila, too, has got well. You know about Amtul Salaam. She is drudging the whole day.

Keshu is betrothed to the daughter of Mathuradas's sister-in-law.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2214

633. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

PESHAWAR,
October 13, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I am having a happy time. Even you could not give me so much rest. The air is good. There is an abundance of fruit. At present Khan Saheb seems to be living only for looking after me.

Mahadev is perfectly all right. He has gone to Simla. It is good indeed that he has done so. But you are free to tempt him away.

. . .[1] The door is closed now so far as Jinnah is concerned. His letter also is in the same strain. Now we may state our own

[1] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXVII

point of view independently and leave the matter there. Think over what I have drafted. And let me have your comments on it. We should issue some such statement without delay.

Coltman's[1] opinion is excellent. The best course now is for the Executor to issue a summons and settle the matter. However, I am also sending Coltman's opinion to Subhas.

I hope you are keeping well.

C. P.[2] is a very difficult man to deal with. Ramachandran alone will not succeed. Those people are stubborn. If they let you visit the place, you should do so and settle the affair. C. P. will lose his reputation completely in this affair. I have been getting no end of letters on the subject. More Pyarelal will write.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 224-5

634. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

UTMANZAI,
October 13, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

Lately I have not had any letters from you. I would surely expect them even though I am extremely busy. How is your health? Is your mind at peace? It has started getting quite cold here at night. It has not had any adverse effect on me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10000. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

[1] An English barrister of Bombay. He was consulted in connection with the late Vithalbhai Patel's will.

[2] C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan of Travancore

CWMG - LXVII

635. A CORRECTION

With reference to my statement[1] published in *Harijan* of 8th October on Travancore Shri Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai writes saying that he never made any statement to the Press nor permitted anybody to make any on the interview he had with me. When he saw the line in my statement that he had erred in giving his version of the interview, he at once issued a full contradiction. Of course I accept his repudiation without the slightest hesitation. Indeed when correspondents protested I was pained that such a cautious and correct man like Shri K. P. Pillai could ever allow himself to be so imprudent as to publish anything about the interview without reference to me. I was inclined to refer to him before writing the line I did, but time was of the essence. I am therefore glad to make this correction and express my regret that I did an injustice, though quite unconsciously, to a faithful co-worker like Shri K. P. Pillai by attributing to him what he never said.

UTMANZAI, October 14, 1938

Harijan, 22-10-1938

636. WHAT ARE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS?

An esteemed correspondent, who has for years been following, as a student, the non-violent action of the Congress and who ultimately joined the Congress, expresses certain doubts with lucid argument. Whilst the argument is helpful to me it is unnecessary to reproduce it here. He lays down three basic assumptions and argues that India is hardly able to satisfy these assumptions under all circumstances. We may, he says, scrape through with the English because they are lovers of liberty, are few in number, and their democratic instinct, more or less developed, restrains them from lengths to which autocrats will go.

If non-violence has all these limitations, it is not of much value or it has as much value as any other remedy, including violence, may have. But I have presented it as a never-failing

[1] *Vide* pp. 387-8.

remedy against tyranny. Limitations it has, but they are all applicable to the user and therefore under his control.

The suggested basic assumptions are:

1. Complete unity of the people in their desire and demand for freedom;

2. Complete appreciation and assimilation of the doctrine in all its implications by the people as a whole, with consequent control over one's natural instincts for resort to violence either in revenge or as a measure of self-defence; and (this is the most important of all)

3. Implicit belief that the sight of suffering on the part of multitudes of people will melt the heart of the aggressor and induce him to desist from his course of violence.

For the application of the remedy of non-violence complete unity is not an indispensable condition. If it was, the remedy would possess no special virtue. For complete unity will bring freedom for the asking. Have I not said repeatedly in the columns of *Young India* and these columns that even a few true satyagrahis would suffice to bring us freedom? I have maintained that we would require a smaller army of satyagrahis than that of soldiers trained in modern warfare, and the cost will be insignificant compared to the fabulous sums devoted by nations to armaments.

Nor is the second assumption necessary. Satyagraha by the vast mass of mankind will be impossible if they had all to assimilate the doctrine in all its implications. I cannot claim to have assimilated all its implications nor do I claim even to know them all. A soldier of an army does not know the whole of the military science; so also does a satyagrahi not know the whole science of satyagraha. It is enough if he trusts his commander and honestly follows his instructions and is ready to suffer unto death without bearing malice against the so-called enemy.

The third assumption has to be satisfied. I should word it differently, but the result would be about the same.

My friend says there is no historical warrant for the third assumption. He cites Ashoka as a possible exception. For my purpose, however, Ashoka's instance is unnecessary. I admit that there is no historical instance to my knowledge. Hence it is that I have been obliged to claim uniqueness for the experiment. I have argued from the analogy of what we do in families or even clans. Humankind is one big family. And if the love expressed is intense enough, it must apply to all mankind. If individuals have succeeded even with savages, why should not a

group of individuals succeed with a group, say, of savages? If we can succeed with the English, surely it is merely an extension of faith to believe that we are likely to succeed with less cultured or less liberally-minded nations. I hold that if we succeed with the English with unadulterated non-violent effort, we must succeed with the others; which is the same thing as saying that if we achieve freedom with non-violence, we shall defend it also with the same weapon. If we have not achieved that faith, our non-violence is a mere expedient, it is alloy, not pure gold. In the first place we shall never achieve freedom with doubtful non-violence, and in the second, even if we do, we shall find ourselves wholly unprepared to defend the country against an aggressor. If we have doubt about the final efficacy of non-violence, it would be far better for the Congress to revise its policy and invite the nation to a training in arms. A mass organization like the Congress will be untrue to its charge if, not knowing its own mind, it misled the people into a false belief. It would be an act of cowardice. As I have said before, because we cease to pin our faith to non-violence, we do not necessarily become violent. We merely throw off the mask and be natural. It would be a perfectly dignified course to adopt. The lesson learnt during the past seventeen years will still not be thrown away.

Now I am in a position to state what, in my opinion, are basic assumptions underlying the doctrine of satyagraha:

1. There must be common honesty among satyagrahis.
2. They must render heart discipline to their commander. There should be no mental reservation.
3. They must be prepared to lose all, not merely their personal liberty, not merely their possessions, land, cash, etc., but also the liberty and possessions of their families, and they must be ready cheerfully to face bullets, bayonets, or even slow death by torture.
4. They must not be violent in thought, word or deed towards the 'enemy' or among themselves.

UTMANZAI, October 14, 1938
Harijan, 22-10-1938

637. "*NAYEE TALEEM*"

It is necessary to understand the newness of *Nayee Taleem*[1]. The new scheme of basic education will retain whatever was good in the old system. However, it will have newness in abundance. If there is something genuinely new in it, it should result in hope taking the place of despondency, food of poverty, work of unemployment, unity of dissensions and in our boys and girls learning along with reading and writing some craft, for only through the latter will they gain the knowledge of the alphabet.

M. K. GANDHI

UTMANZAI, October 14, 1938
[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 29-1-1939

638. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

UTMANZAI,
October 14, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Three letters in one day! That is a treat.

How do you know that I do not know that you put your whole soul into the thing you take up? But that is not enough. There must be wisdom behind the process. Supposing you put your whole soul into climbing the Himalayas. Will there be wisdom behind the effort? But idiocy and wisdom have never been known to go together. If you had wisdom, you would (have) told J.[2] thus far and no further. He would have benefited by your restraint and you would not have put your body in jeopardy. Here endeth today's lesson.

I did not know that you wanted me to return your notes on Kathiawar. The one about the different States I sent only yesterday to Joshi. It was so good and practical that I thought he

[1] Monthly journal of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The Wardha scheme of basic education is also known by this name.

[2] N. N. Joshi; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 415-6.

CWMG - LXVII

should have it. He is to share it with N.[1] and then pass it on to Bapa[2]. But now I shall ask him to return the original to you.

The one that was strictly personal I destroyed yesterday. I got a mental picture. It was brief and good. You told me nothing new but the confirmation was necessary. If it is to be their fate to die, nothing can save them.

The third note is with me. I am debating whether it is of all-India use to be published in *Harijan*. You don't want that returned, do you? In your tour did you find any outstanding personality? What is your estimate of Narandas?

Of course I am not worrying about Mahadev. That would [be] showing want of faith [in] your love and skill as a nurse. Invite him to play tennis. No joke. He will leave his skill there. But in those surroundings, that game may do him good.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3639. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6448

639. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

UTMANZAI,
October 14, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your two letters. Let Durga take warm hip-baths. She can take sun-bath there at any time. Parsi Rustomjee's thighs used to rub against each other. He could not move even a foot. If he wanted to go to the well from my cottage in Segaon, he would go in a rickshaw. In six weeks, he began to run with me. Walking ten miles became child's play to him. His coats became quite loose. Such was the reduction in his weight, and correspondingly his life expectation increased. I used to give him steam-bath and hip-bath daily. There is no reason at all why Durga's health should not improve as much as Rustomjee's did. Let her eat as many apples as she can. Vegetables are available there in plenty. Let her walk only four or five yards but she must keep up the practice. It is necessary that she should perspire. The heat in the basin should be increased gradually as her tolerance increases. She is bound to perspire then. If there is any

[1] Narandas Gandhi
[2] Thakkar Bapa

CWMG - LXXVII

arrangement for steam-bath, you may give her that. Hiccups, etc., will stop. The steam-bath must of course be followed by hip-bath.

I assume that you are progressing satisfactorily. Mirabehn writes to tell me you remain depressed. How is that? She has written a nice letter to Benes. She has invited him to Segaon. I have allowed that letter to go.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 111660

640. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

PESHAWAR,
October 14, 1938

CHI. VALJI,

I understand your reason for staying there. You are committing violence by writing articles in pencil. It is difficult to read them. How is the children's education progressing? We are fixed up here up to November 8 at any rate. So far the climate has been pleasant.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7483. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

CWMG - LXVII

ADDENDA

1. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

1 WOODBURN PARK,
CALCUTTA,
April 4, 1938

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have to thank you for your letter[1]. I have delayed writing for a day. I did not know what to say, nor do I know now. My movement is so uncertain. I am in the hands of the Bengal Government. I should come as early as I can before the 18th instant. May I simply send by wire to P. S. V. the day of my arrival in Delhi without giving therein the sender's name? I may be able to leave even in a day or two.

Now about secrecy, I am bound to tell some of my friends what I am doing. I am anticipating such permission. I shall of course see to it that nothing goes to the Press. The fewest possible persons will be told.

I assume too that you refer to secrecy before we meet. Isn't secrecy impossible after we have met?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

2. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 21, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Sardar Prithvi Singh is an old revolutionary who, belonging to a party that believed in armed revolution, was one of the odd hundred Indians, who being enraged over the treatment meted

[1] Dated March 31, in which the addressee had expressed a desire to meet Gandhiji once again and have a general talk with him, preferably before April 18, when the addressee was to leave Delhi on tour

CWMG - LXVII

out to the passengers of the *Kamagata Maru* who vainly sought legal landing on the Canadian shore, took their passage to India with the avowed purpose, I believe, of causing trouble. Sardar Prithvi Singh was tried and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. He was then tried in what is known as the first Lahore Conspiracy case of 1915 and was sentenced to transportation for life, and was sent to the Andamans. When the penal settlement was broken up, he, with many other prisoners was transferred to Madras and thence to Rajahmundry. On the way he absconded —this was in 1922—and successfully evaded capture. All these years of hiding he passed in studying the science of physical culture, and was responsible for training hundreds of youths. But this life gave him no satisfaction. He fell in the company of those who believe in the non-violent method. He seems to have developed faith in non-violence. On the 18th instant, he surrendered himself to me, and put himself under my guidance. I told him that I would love to keep him with me, watch him, and engage him in constructive national activity if the Government left him free. But I told him also that I could not keep him without informing the Government of what I was doing. On the 19th instant, therefore, I wrote to the Collector of the Suburban District in Bombay (for I was living in Juhu) telling him that if he had no authority to let Sardar Prithvi Singh remain with me, the Sardar was ready to be arrested. Yesterday the District Magistrate came to Juhu and arrested Sardar Prithvi Singh and lodged him in Thana Jail as an "A" class prisoner.[1]

I have given only the bare outline of Sardar Prithvi Singh's activities. I feel that persons like Sardar Prithvi Singh should be given an opportunity of leading a useful life, instead of being kept in custody, especially when some person like me, known to the Government, is willing to keep them, and hold himself responsible for their peaceful conduct. I wonder if my presentation makes any appeal to you. If it does I would urge you to make my way smooth, and restore Sardar Prithvi Singh to me. I may tell you that my having interested myself in the discharge of political prisoners has brought me in touch with many revolutionaries. I entertained high hopes of their conversion, especially if I received hearty co-operation from the authorities concerned.

I do not know exactly whom or which department, or which provincial government I should properly approach. But I felt

[1] *Vide* pp. 88-90.

CWMG - LXVII

that as we have come to know each other, and there is a friendly contact between us, I would approach you, the fountainhead.[1]

May I expect an early reply? I know how busy you are, but perhaps you realize the importance of the matter and will therefore forgive me for the trouble I am giving you.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

3. *LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 22, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

I am deeply grateful to you for your letter.[2] It has caused me no disappointment. On the contrary, where mutual confidence is established, one is enabled to correct one's impressions based upon one-sided evidence.

I know you are on the eve of your departure for England. But if it is no undue tax on your time, and if my request is legitimate, I would like to have the evidence against Sardar Prithvi Singh, so that I may correct myself and know the step I should take.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

4. *LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI*

August 26, 1938

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

You should be patient. You alone can rectify the failing you have pointed out. Be an ideal [teacher] and impress the boys with your love.

[1&2] In his letter of June 18, the Viceroy had said he was touched by the terms in which Gandhiji had pleaded Prithvi Singh's case, but that records revealed that Prithvi Singh had been guilty of crimes of exceptional violence, aggravated by deceit, and he could not properly ask the Governor to press his Ministers to release him.

CWMG LXVII

Khadi can prove cheaper only if you spin the yarn yourself. They will be acquiring learning of another kind through spinning, etc., and you should explain the economics of khadi through that activity.

I had even tried to prevent the police from going. But how could I compel them? The only thing I could do was not to put up with the thing and I did not. However, the newspapers have a way of saying all kinds of things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11687

5. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

September 14, 1938

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

Write whatever you want to after obtaining Nayakumji's opinion.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11686

6. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

UTMANZAI,
October 9, 1938

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

I have your letter. It is good that you are collecting all the facts. It is also good that you are not tempted to stay on there.

We have today arrived in Khan Saheb's village.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL
C/O PANDIT RAJARAM
PUCCA BAZAAR, BASTI (U. P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11671

CWMG - LXVII

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A TRAGEDY[1]

I proudly write in these columns about Gandhiji's health, discussing the causes of its breakdown, warning people, asking them to give him more rest. Ruthlessly I have turned out people wanting to see him, and have even interrupted talks and interviews, lest they should strain him over much and raise his blood-pressure. Fancy, therefore, my misery and my shame when I found one morning at Delang that what he considered a serious blunder on my part had raised his blood-pressure to the breaking point and might have brought about a catastrophe. Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday, 29th, 30th and 31st—which in that peaceful atmosphere of Orissa should have been the most blissful days—were the most miserable days I have ever had in my life. But they were, if anything, more miserable for Gandhiji, as I found from his heart-broken and heart-breaking utterance on the afternoon of the 30th. I thought I had made amends indeed at that morning's prayer by telling everyone present how I had been the cause of the terrible breakdown, but Gandhiji was not present when I spoke. But he knew that I had spoken about the incident, and so he devoted his speech to the incident. I bespeak the indulgence of the reader for inflicting on him this tale of personal woe. But I do it on public grounds, as he will find at the end of the story.

The circumstances were somewhat like these. My wife, who rarely attends the annual meetings of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, or for that matter any such meetings, came to Delang, especially, I was told, with a view to being able to go to Puri. And Gandhiji told me that I should make every arrangement for her going to Puri. Personally I disliked her having come for the sake of Puri, and had no heart to make any arrangements. I was once again asked if I had made the arrangements, and asked a third time. My wife to my surprise did not know that the Puri temple was not open to the Harijans. During Gandhiji's Harijan tour she was in jail. But that was no excuse for the ignorance. On the very first day in the course of his exhibition speech Gandhiji made it clear that the temple of the Lord of the World was not open to the Harijans, and so long as it remained so, the Lord was not, in his opinion, the Lord of the World, but the Lord of those who fed and feasted under His shelter. I had hoped that this speech would be a warning to all, including my wife, though I had a fear that she would go into the temple. I must also confess

[1] *Vide* pp. 7-8.

that I had a lurking suspicion that Gandhiji's repeated insistence on my making arrangements for her going to Puri sprang out of the depth of his ahimsa—the ahimsa that had made him serve liquor to Tommies in the Zulu Rebellion, and to serve meat to his friends at table in South Africa. I had also hoped that because she was going there with a number of other friends, including Gandhiji's second son Manilal, she would not go into the temple when the rest stood out. What I did not do was to din into her head that her going into the temple would break Gandhiji's heart. As I have said, I was stupid enough not to realize the possible reaction and had even fancied that in the boundless charity of his heart he had found room for forgiving a temple-goer like my wife. I must therefore confess that even if she had definitely told me before going that she had made up her mind to go into the temple, I should not have resisted her. I did not want to disturb her faith to that extent. She knew that I was against it, she also knew that I have a horror of these temples —temples which even when they are opened to the Harijans, would not be better unless they were purged of the unscrupulous *pandas*. But if she thought it would do her soul good to go into the temple, I did not in my heart of hearts feel like standing in the way. As for Kasturba Gandhi, I must say that I had assumed she would stand out and her presence would perhaps act as a check on my wife and others. But as it happened, my wife went in, another friend went in, and also went in Kasturba. Some members of the party stayed out, including my little son who put up a plucky fight with the *pandas*.

On Monday evening when they returned and Gandhiji knew the whole story, he was sad. He had a sleepless night. He called Kasturba and my wife and me to account. The explanation, part of which is contained in the argument above, failed to satisfy him. It even irritated him. He held that I was primarily to blame. He held that I should have explained to them the history of the movement, how Gandhiji had gone to Puri in 1934, how violence was organized there, how he had to undertake the Orissa pilgrimage on foot, how reformers were warned not to go to the temple until Harijans were admitted, and if my wife still did not listen, Gandhiji's assistance should have been sought, and if then too she insisted on going she should have been free to go. He held that I had not been watchful enough and that I had thus been unjust to him, my wife, myself and to the cause. And so he thus poured out his heart to the members of the Sangh:[1]

This pouring out of the agony of his heart was for me an added agony. He was so disconsolate. The next day he felt too weak to speak and went into silence for the whole day as a measure of precaution. What could I do in the circumstances? I was afraid lest I should make matters worse by entering into explanations and arguments. I felt like waiting until he had regained his normal pressure and strength. But the thought of my having

[1] For the full text of the speech, *vide* Vol. LXVI, pp. 451-4.

been the cause of the collapse tormented me. If I was guilty of a grievous error of judgment, how could I continue to serve him? How could I correctly represent and serve the Harijan cause ? What right had I to be his doorkeeper? I had the hell of a night, and in sheer desperation I wrote to him a note imploring him to put me away. This exasperated him all the more and made the cross heavier to bear. He would prefer death, he said, at the hands of one who loved, to life at the hands of one who did not love him! Instead of realizing my folly and repairing it by going to Puri with a band of satyagrahi pilgrims, he said, I had gone into hysterics over a well-meant rebuke! Instead of serving my wife, he said, I had in my blind love of her encouraged her superstition!

All this was too stunning for words. I felt that Gandhiji, who has performed several spiritual operations using the chloroform of love, had performed this one without that chloroform. In resentment I cried:

To live with the saints in heaven
Is a bliss and a glory,
But to live with a saint on earth
Is a different story.

May it not be that he had made a mountain of a molehill ?

But who am I to judge? As I write this I feel that I was perhaps too dense to probe into the workings of his highly sensitive mind. And after all he who had devoted half a century of vigilant endeavour to the pursuit of truth and ahimsa should be trusted to judge a situation better than I, ever liable to be swayed by passions and desires. What may appear to me to be trifles may be matters of life and death to him. I realized that however difficult life with him may appear sometimes, separation would be still more unbearable. He disclaims saintship. He claims to be no better than the smallest of us. I realized that I had grievously erred in associating even in thought those doleful lines with him. Whether he is a saint or a mere mortal, like all of us, I see that my cry for separation was a fit of frenzy. For when I look upon the note that I wrote to him, I feel I could not have gone five yards before returning as a penitent.

And after all is said and done, one thing stands out in bold relief—Gandhiji's uncompromising love of the Harijans and his anxiety to lay down his life for that cause. The poignant utterance became a call to greater dedication for the cause. The incident burnt into every one of those who attended the Sangh meeting this year the lesson that no one shall tamper with that most important item of the constructive programme and that everyone shall be wide awake. The week of retreat in sacred Orissa became more sacred with the cleansing effect of the electric shock that Gandhiji gave them, and the members went home with a message that they are not likely easily to forget.

M. D.

Harijan, 9-4-1938

CWMG - LXVII

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN[1]

May 11, 1938

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I write to acquaint you with the conclusions which have been reached by the Government of Bengal in the matter of the premature release of terrorist convicts. In formulating these proposals, Government have given the most careful consideration to the suggestions which you were good enough to put forward in your letter of April 12.

It is necessary to emphasize at the outset that the scheme which is embodied in the succeeding paragraph is to be regarded as a connected plan, the different parts of which form a single and indivisible whole. As such, it is communicated not only for securing your own acceptance, but also the acceptance of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as well as the leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly.

Government desire to commend the scheme to your most earnest consideration, because the declared acceptance by you, and by the Congress of Government's policy in this matter is a vital precedent condition to the adoption of the plan. In the absence of that acceptance Government will regard these proposals as null and void and will continue to discharge their responsibilities in this matter, according to the policy which has already been announced in the Legislature.

The scheme is as follows:

(1) To release forthwith terrorist convicts suffering from serious and continued illness.

(2) To release as soon as possible those convicts who have not been convicted of offences involving the actual commission of murder and serious violence, and have a comparatively short period of their sentences not in excess of 18 months still to serve.

(3) To place the cases of the remaining convicts before an Advisory Committee which will examine them on individual merits and make such recommendations in each case to Government as it thinks fit.

The decision as to the orders to be passed in each case, after consideration of the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, will rest with Government.

[1] *Vide* pp. 82-3.

(4) The Advisory Committee will be appointed by Government and will consist of 9 members as follows:

(i) The President, a retired judicial officer of high standing;
(ii) A member of the Coalition Party;
(iii) A member of the Legislative Assembly from the Congress Party;
(iv) A member of the Legislative Assembly from amongst the representatives of the Scheduled Castes;
(v) A member of the Legislative Assembly from the Liberal Party;
(vi) A member of the Legislative Council from the Congress Party;
(vii) A European member of the Legislature;
(viii) One other Muslim member; and
(ix) An official.

The names of the members constituting the Committee will be announced as early as possible.

As an integral part of the scheme it shall be agreed and accepted between the Government, yourself and the Congress as follows:

(1) That no attempt will be made hereafter by the Congress, or by any other body with the support, tacit or open, of the Congress to secure an advance upon these terms, and the matter shall cease to be a political issue;

(2) That you and the Congress will actively discourage all forms of agitation for the accelerated release of prisoners, all attacks in the Press on the policy of Government in the matter of terrorist prisoners, all demonstrations and receptions on the release of such prisoners or thereafter, and all statements, writings and speeches favourable to terrorists or terrorism;

(3) That you and the Congress will take every step possible to create and maintain public opinion against hunger-striking and will publicly condemn such a course if adopted.

In proposing these terms and conditions, the Government of Bengal have gone to the utmost limit which they consider to be compatible with the discharge of their responsibilities for the eradication of this canker of terrorism, which has for so long been a recurrent factor in the political life of the Province. They have done so in the hope of mobilizing public opinion and of contributing to the creation and maintenance of the atmosphere calculated to render a recrudescence of terrorism unlikely. Government earnestly desire the active association with themselves of all who genuinely wish for the ordered and non-violent political development of the country. Your own support I claim with the confidence of one who knows how much you have the same object at heart.

I should be glad, therefore, if you will be good enough to communicate your views on these proposals as early as possible, and I would suggest that it would be appropriate if you would communicate with Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly, Bengal, with a view to obtaining their acceptance. . . .

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1938

CWMG - LXVII

APPENDIX III

STATEMENT OF DR. N. B. KHARE[1]

July 25, 1938

I have already admitted an error of judgment committed by me in presenting my resignation to the Governor on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee. I admit that I have been guilty of indiscipline. I, as an old Congressman, should have known the value of discipline. I realize now[2] the enormity of the error, which has resulted in the dismissal of the Congress Ministers by the Governor under his constitutional powers under the Act[3].

I am sincerely sorry for what has happened on account of this loss of balance and I think that it is my duty to relinquish all positions of trust in the Congress, whose cause I have put in jeopardy by my action. I shall be content if I am permitted to serve as a camp-follower. I shall do everything in my power to retrieve the prestige which the Congress has lost through my action.

I hope that all Congressmen will rally round the Working Committee in its endeavour to form a united and stable ministry, for there are rumours of a split in the Province between Maharashtra and Mahakoshal. I hope that good counsels will prevail and we shall not think in terms of Maharashtra and Mahakoshal. I shall try my best to prevent any such split.

The Hindu, 3-9-1938

APPENDIX IV

WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON C. P. CRISIS[4]

After having heard the Parliamentary Sub-committee and given anxious consideration to the events that have happened since the agreement arrived at in Pachmarhi between the Ministers in the presence of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees concerned, and after having had several interviews with Dr. Khare, the Working Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion

[1] *Vide* pp. 213 and 309.
[2] "Now" was deleted by Gandhiji.
[3] "Under the Act" was deleted by Gandhiji.
[4] *Vide* pp. 222-6.

CWMG-LXVII

that by the series of acts committed by Dr. Khare, culminating in his resignation of his charge and demanding the resignation of his colleagues of their charge, Dr. Khare was guilty of grave errors of judgment, which have exposed the Congress in the C.P. to ridicule and brought down its prestige. He was also guilty of gross indiscipline in that he acted in spite of warnings against any precipitate action.

His resignation was the direct cause for the exercise, for the first time since office-acceptance by the Congress, by a Governor of his special powers, whereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed. The Working Committee note with satisfaction that these three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to the Congress by declining, without instructions from the Parliamentary Sub-committee, to tender their resignations which were demanded by the Governor.

Dr. Khare was further guilty of indiscipline in accepting the invitation of the Governor to form a new Ministry, and, contrary to the practice of which he was aware, in actually forming a new Ministry and taking the oath of allegiance without reference to the Parliamentary Sub-committee, and the Working Committee, specially when he knew that the meetings of these bodies were imminent.

By all these acts of his Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization. He should be so considered till, by his services as a Congressman, he has shown himself well balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that may be undertaken by him.

The Working Committee have also come to the reluctant conclusion that H. E. the Governor of the C. P. has shown, by the ugly haste with which he turned night into day and forced the crisis that has overtaken the province, that he was eager to weaken and discredit the Congress in so far as it lay in him to do so. The Working Committee hold that, knowing, as he must have, what was going on among members of the Cabinet and the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-committee, he ought not to have, with unseemly haste, accepted the resignation of the three Ministers and demanded the resignation of the other three, dismissed them on their refusal to resign, and immediately called upon Dr. Khare to form a new Ministry and sworn in the available members of the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of the Working Committee which was imminent.

Harijan, 30-7-1938

CWMG - LXVII

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CWMG-LXVII

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CWMG - LXVII

CHRONOLOGY

(April 1, 1938—October 14, 1938)

April 1, 1938: Gandhiji arrived in Calcutta.
Congress Working Committee met.

April 2: Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee meeting. Maharaja of Darbhanga and Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman*, called on Gandhiji.
Gandhiji had discussions with Khwaja Nazimuddin regarding release of detenus and political prisoners.

April 3: Issued Press statement on talk with Khwaja Nazimuddin.
Congress Working Committee meeting continued.

April 7: Gandhiji had discussion with Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, regarding release of political prisoners. Met Maulana Azad and Tusharkanti Ghosh, editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

April 8: Had talk with political prisoners of Presidency Jail.

April 9: Had discussions with Khwaja Nazimuddin.
Met political prisoners in Alipur Jail.

April 10: Met political prisoners in Alipur Jail. Visited Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur.
Called on Khwaja Nazimuddin to discuss release of political prisoners.

April 11: Met political prisoners in Dum Dum and Alipur Jails.

April 12: Called on Khwaja Nazimuddin.
Visited women political prisoners in Presidency Jail.
Sent message to Gurukul, Kangri.

April 13: Observed Jallianwala Bagh Day by fasting.
Issued Press statement about his negotiations with Government of Bengal regarding release of political prisoners and appealed for suspension of agitation while negotiations continued.
Had discussions with Bengal Congressmen.
Left Calcutta at night for Delhi.

April 14: Arrived in Delhi.

CWMG - LXVII

April 15: Had interview with Viceroy.
Left Delhi for Wardha.

April 16: Arrived in Wardha, Segaon.

April 17 to 20: At Segaon.

April 21: Spoke at Vidyamandir Training School, Wardha.

April 24: Addressed meeting of Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Wardha.

April 27: Left Segaon for Bombay.

April 28: Arrived in Bombay.
Had discussions with M. A. Jinnah.
M. A. Jinnah and Gandhiji issued joint statement.

April 29: Gandhiji issued Press statements on Mysore firing and on appointment of Dain as acting Governor of Orissa.
Had discussions with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Purushottamdas Thakurdas.
Left Bombay for Peshawar.

May 1: Reached Nowshera.
Arrived in Peshawar by car.

May 4: Had interview with Governor of N. W. F. P.
Addressed students of Islamia College.
Met local Congress socialists.

May 5: Visited Khyber Pass and Torkham.

May 6: Visited Kulashabeg, Saudzai, Shabkadar and Tangi.
Addressed meeting at Charsadda.
Arrived in Utmanzai.

May 7: Addressed public meetings at Mardan and Kalukhan.

May 8: Returned to Peshawar in morning.
Addressed Political Conference.

May 9: Left Peshawar for Bombay in morning.

May 11: Arrived in Bombay.

May 18: Met Sardar Prithvi Singh.
Had discussions with Congress leaders.

May 19: Wrote to District Magistrate, Bombay, that Sardar Prithvi Singh of Lahore Conspiracy Case had surrendered himself. Had discussions with Jawaharlal Nehru.

May 20: Called on M. A. Jinnah.
Sardar Prithvi Singh was arrested.
Gandhiji issued Press statement on Prithvi Singh's arrest.

CWMG - LXVII

Gave interview to James A. Mills of American Associated Press.
Left Bombay for Segaon.

May 21: Arrived in Segaon.

May 28: Wrote foreword to *Basic National Education.*

June 6: Sent message to Indians in South Africa.

June 12: Received Dr. N. B. Khare at Segaon.

June 18: Met Bhulabhai Desai.

June 21: Had discussions with trainees under Wardha Scheme of Education.

June 22-23: Had discussions with Congress leaders about Bengal political prisoners and Hindu-Muslim unity.

June 28-29: Had talks with Dr. N. B. Khare.

July 6: Talked to trainees under Wardha Scheme of Education.

July 25: Dr. N. B. Khare resigned. The Governor dismissed the other Ministers. Gandhiji had talks with Dr. N. B. Khare on C. P. ministerial crisis.

July 30: Issued statement to the Press regarding ministerial crisis in C. P.

July 31: Cholera broke out in Segaon.

August 18: Gandhiji took silence for indefinite period to recoup health.

August 21: Had talks with Nagpur Students' Deputation who had come to protest against Working Committee's resolution condemning Dr. N. B. Khare.

August 27: Had discussions with Harijan satyagrahis who were fasting to press their demand for inclusion of a Harijan in C. P. Cabinet.

August 29: Appealed to Harijan satyagrahis to give up fast.

September 5: Issued Press statement in reply to Dr. N. B. Khare's.

September 6: Issued Press statement demanding inquiry into police firings in Travancore.

September 19: Left Segaon for Delhi.

September 20: Arrived in Delhi.
Called on ailing Begum Ansari.

September 21-22: Discussed (in writing) with Congress Working Committee his scheme of "Non-violent Militia".

CWMG-LXVII

September 23: Spoke at Working Committee on necessity of observing truth and non-violence.

September 24: Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee. Gave interview to F. S. Young, Inspector-General of Police, Jaipur State.

September 25: Congress Working Committee passed resolution censuring Dr. N. B. Khare.

October 2: Congress Working Committee expelled Dr. N. B. Khare from Congress Party.

October 3: Gandhiji issued Press statement on Travancore situation.

October 4: Issued Press statement regarding release of political prisoners.
Left Delhi for N. W. F. P.

October 5: Arrived in Peshawar.

October 9: Arrived in Utmanzai.

October 14: Visited industrial school for Khudai Khidmatgars at Kaimatang.

CWMG - LXVII

Accumulating Evidence, 352-3
Address to the Officers of Red Shirts, 422-3
Answers to Questions, 154-5
Cable to: Harrison, Agatha, 102; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 345
(The) Choice, 9-12
Choice before Congressmen, 303-6
(A) Clarification, 210-2
Congress Corruption, 430-1
Congressmen Beware!, 323-6
(A) Correction, 435
Corruption in the Congress, 371-3
(A) Criticism, 123-5
Discussion with: Bengal Congressmen, 22-4; Congress Socialists, 65; Delegates from Congress Provinces, 132; Harijan Satyagrahis, 289-90; Nag, Kalidas, 122-3; Patel, Vallabhbhai, 54-5; Students, 134-5; Tao, Hengchih, 250-2
Draft of Resolution for A. I. C. C., 368, 376-7
Draft of Statement for Jamnalal Bajaj, 387
Duty of Khadi-wearers, 198-200
(A) Fallacy, 176-7
Federation, 384-5
Filth in Literature, 407-8
For Segaon Workers, 119-20
Foreword to: *Basic National Education*, 98-9; *The Persian Mystics*, 24; *Prayers, Praises and Psalms*, 384
Functions of the Working Committee, 222-6
Harijans and Hindu Hotels, 229-31
Higher Education, 158-63
Hissar Famine and Khadi, 428-9
How Non-violence Works, 194-8
How to Save Handloom Weavers, 265-6
If I Were a Czech, 404-6
Instructions on Precautions against Cholera, 216
Interview to: Associated Press, 9, 77-8; Mills, James A., 90; *Pratap*, 28-9; (The) Press, 15-6; (A) Professor, 74-5, 75-6; Thakur, P. R., 13; Young, F. S., 374-5
Is Violence Creeping in?, 245-6
(A) Letter, 85, 317
Letter to: Ambujammal, 327-8; Amrit Kaur, 2-3, 4-5, 7-8, 8, 21-2, 30, 69, 84, 92-3, 93, 118, 122, 133-4, 136-7, 140, 141-2, 149, 155-6, 165-6, 171, 177, 200, 203, 209, 214, 257, 269, 278, 363, 373, 381, 390, 407, 415-6, 424, 438-9, —fragment of, 312; Amtussalaam, 1, 96, 99, 100, 101, 206, 316, 321, 339; Andrews, C. F., 402; Annapurna, 100-1; Asar, Lilavati, 78-9, 105, 165, 167, 168, 177, 192, 423; Athavale, Umabai L., 242; Bajaj, Jamnalal, 40, 93, 115-6, 151-2, 214; Bajaj, Radhakrishna, 235, 310; Balwantsinha, 116-7, 156-7, 188, 206, 243, 327, 365; Barr, F. Mary, 368; Bazaj, Rukmini, 399; Birla, G. D., 31, 48-9, 244, 283; Bose, Subhas Chandra, 98, 332; Brabourne, Lord, 313; Buch, Anandi, 17; Captain, Gosibehn, 286,—and Sisters, 144-5; Captain, Perinbehn, 232; Chakrabarty, Atulanand, 110, 340;

Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 3, 6, 307; Desai, Durga, 354; Desai, Jivanji D., 249; Desai, Mahadev, 102, 127-8, 128, 138, 139, 152, 154, 167, 168, 169, 172, 178, 183, 187, 194, 200, 203-4, 204, 213, 215, 216-7, 217, 218, 236, 238, 240, 242, 248, 249-50, 253-4, 260-1, 261-2, 270, 275, 276, 279, 282, 283-4, 290, 294, 301, 306-7, 310, 313, 326-7, 328, 329-30, 333, 338, 340, 343-4, 346, 353, 367, 403-4, 412, 417, 418, 421, 439-40, —fragment of, 357; Desai, Valji G., 207, 232, 286-7, 392, 440; Dharmadhikari, Nana, 233; Director, The Times of India, Bombay, 231; Diwanji, Harshadabehn, 312; Dutta, B. K., 345; Gandhi, Devdas, 188-9, 288; Gandhi, Kantilal, 26-7, 142-3, 145-6, 150, 152-3, 183, 189, 209, 220, 243, 314, 341, 382; Gandhi, Kanu, 151, 425-6; Gandhi, Kasturba, 86, 412-3, 426, 433; Gandhi, Lakshmi, 143, 342; Gandhi, Manilal, 107-8, 109, 184, 238-9, 262-3, 322; Gandhi, Narandas, 25, 163-4, 184-5, 295, 298, 334, 334-5, 341; Gandhi, Purushottam, 33; Gandhi, Sushila, 83-4, 119, 144, 270-1, 300, 354-5, 383, 393; Gandhi, Vijaya, 83; Ganesan, S., 280; Ghorpade, Parvatidevi, 271; Ghosh, P. C., 293; Girdharilal, Lala, 403; Gurcharan Singh, S., 296-7; Harrison, Agatha, 181-2, 317, 361-2; Heath, Carl, 332; Hingorani, Anand T., 400; Iyer, C. P. Ramaswami, 253; Jairamdas Doulatram, 286; Jayaprakash Narayan, 193; Joseph, Pothan, 319; Joshi, Chhaganlal, 132-3, 147-9, 185; Kalelkar, Bal, 28; Kalelkar, D. B., 135-6, 140, 147, 164, 172, 218, 218-9, 219, 248, 271, 281, 290-1, 291, 307, 319, 321, 399-400; Kantak, Premabehn, 108, 170, 364; Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 311; Khandekar, H. J., 228; Khare, Mathuribehn, 394; Khare, (Dr.) N. B., 91; Kotwal, 128-9; Krishnachandra, 49, 61-2, 101, 103, 112-3, 180, 191-2, 205, 237, 308, 322-3, 323, 347-8, 361, 383, 419; Kumarappa, Bharatan, 297; Kumarappa, J. C., 32, 282; Lali, 294; Linlithgow, Lord, 441, 441-3, 443; Mahmud, (Dr.) Syed, 14, 103; Mashruwala, Manubehn S., 41-2, 355; Mathew, P. G., 207; Mathuradas Trikumji, 43, 422; Mehta, Ratilal, 25; Mirabehn, 5, 7, 60-1, 73, 79-80, 364, 373-4, 382, 391, 417, 432-3; Morarjee, Shantikumar N., 94; Morris, Stuart, 420; Munshi, K. M., 257-8; Nanavati, Amritlal T., 58, 70, 201, 221, 233, 237, 240, 249, 250, 255, 258, 259, 263, 264, 272, 275, 277, 291-2, 292, 299, 315, 346-7, 356, 378, 418-9; Nawab of Bhopal, 182, 337; Nazimuddin, Khwaja, 19-21, 33-4, 82-3, 96-7, 111-2, 137-8, 330-1; Negrin, Juan, 428; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 4, 47, 56, 70, 95, 297-8, 391-2; Owen, Gladys, 392; Pakvasa, Mangaldas, 51, 227; Pandya, Harishankar, 301; Patel, Vallabhbhai, 32, 41, 178, 186, 244, 254, 308, 433-4; Patel, Vijaya N., 12, 81, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 141, 179, 191, 204-5, 208, 217, 222, 241, 255-6, 259, 273, 314, 369; Patel, Vipin D., 105; Prabhavati, 17, 48, 97, 129, 130,

CWMG - LXVII

131, 179-80, 192, 234, 296, 347, 378-9, 426-7; President, Mysore State Congress, 43-5; Prithvisingh, 120-1,278-9,398-9; Purushottamdas Thakurdas, 342; Qureshi, Shuaib, 318, 389-90; R., 193; Raghavendra Rao, E., 104, 112; Rajagopalachari, C., 85, 90-1, 346; Rajah, M. C., 337, 398; Ramnik, 156; Ratilal, 322; Reynold, Reginald, 29; Sampat, Jethalal G., 121, 315, 356; Sampurnanand, 186, 320; Saraswati, 181, 201-2, 208, 215, 221, 245, 380-1, 424; Satavlekar, S. D., 400; Shah, Chimanlal N., 234-5, 238, 239, 241, 256, 258, 260, 272, 276, 277, 379; Shah, Fulchand K., 130; Shah, Munnalal G., 81, 106, 180, 235, 260, 263, 273, 319-20, 335-6, 336, 344-5, 394; Shah, Sharda C., 42, 59, 82, 364-5, 374, 380, 395, 419, 434; Shah, Shaukatulla, 220, 247-8, 318; Sharma, H. L., 205; Shyamji Sundardas, 427; Sinha, Rajkumar, 299; Sitaramayya, (Dr.) B. Pattabhi, 272; Tulpule, C. A., 210; Upadhyaya, Haribhau, 34, 316; Vidyarthi, Prabhu, Dayal, 443-4, 444; Visvesvarayya, M., 279

Logical Consequence, 413-5

Martial *v.* Moral, 39-40

(A) Message, 280

Message for Mysore, 49

(A) Message to: *The Aryan Path*, 169-70; Gurukul Kangri, 15; Harijan Satyagrahis, 292; Indians in South Africa, 109; Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal, 38; *The National Herald*, 321; People of Midnapur, 14

My So-called Inconsistencies, 284-6

Nayee Taleem, 438

Non-intervention, 385-6

(A) Note, 362-3

Note to: Amrit Kaur, 255, 329; Amtussalaam, 360, 360-1; Bajaj, Jamnalal, 94, 378; Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 365-6, 366, 367; Desai, Mahadev, 57; Gandhi, Narandas, 165; Kalelkar, D. B., 80-1, 190; Krishnachandra, 227, 348; Nair, P. Sreedharan, 390; Shelolikar, Pandit Raghunath Ganesh, 336, 356, 359

Notes, 425, 432

Qualifications of a Peace Brigade, 125-7

Recent Riots in Burma, 266-9

Reply to: Birthday Greetings, 423; Nagpur Deputationists, 274-5

Resolution on Mysore Settlement, 87-8

Seven Complaints, 410-1

Some Objections, 174-5

Speakers and Politics, 172-4

Speech at: Charsadda, 68-9; Congress Working Committee, 369-71; Edward's Mission College, Peshawar, 66-7; (The) Foundation-laying of Prayer Hall, 376; Hindustani Talimi Sangh, 46-7; Islamia College, Peshawar, 62-5; Kalukhan, 72; Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur, 13; Mardan, 71; Political Conference, Peshawar, 73-4; Vidyamandir Training School, Wardha, 34-6

Statement to the Press, 3-4, 18-9, 36-8, 50, 51-2, 53-4, 88-90, 213, 302-3, 309, 311-2, 387-8, 395-7

The States, 157-8

The States and Responsibility, 348-51

Talk: (with) Congressmen, 16; (with)

Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 420-1; (with) Prisoners, 15; (on) Vocational Education, 113-5
(A) Telegram, 77
Telegram to: Amrit Kaur, 1, 2, 16, 50, 57, 60, 79, 86, 256, 269, 278, 363, 381, 389, 415; Amtussalaam, 1; Bajaj, Jamnalal, 59, 79; Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 293; Gandhi, Kantilal, 136, 139; Jinnah, M. A., 12, 30, 31, 33, 121; Kabir, Humayun, 344; Mirabehn, 389; Nanavati, Amritlal T., 77; Patil, S. K., 237; President, Burma Congress Committee, 219; Private Secretary to the Viceroy, 300; Sen, Satin, 281; Trivandrum Law College Union, 369
Testimonial to Lalji Parmar, 151
That Unfortunate Walk-Out, 401-2
To Ashram Inmates, 104-5
To the Kathiawar Harijan Sevak Sangh, 202
To the Readers, 357-9
To Segaon Workers, 109-10, 187, 228
Twisting or Interpreting?, 247
Uncertified Khadi, 409
What Are Basic Assumptions?, 435-7
What Is Sarvodaya?, 189-90

CWMG - LXVII

ABYSSINIA; Italian invasion of, and non-violence, 76, —and the pacifists, 75
AHIMSA, *see* NON-VIOLENCE
AHMEDABAD; violence in, during anti-Rowlatt Act demonstration, 11
AIYAR, C. P. Ramaswami, 311; Travancore State Congress charges against, 302-3
AKHA BHAGAT, 229
ALI, Mohamed, 195
ALI, Shaukat, 195
ALIPORE JAIL; Gandhiji's talk with political prisoners in, 4
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, 266, 295, 385, 409, 428; and rise in prices of khadi, 199, 200; for the betterment of khadi producers, 198; forming unions against, 176
— — VILLAGE INDUSTRIES' ASSOCIATION, 49, 295
ALLAHABAD; riots in 43, 72
ALMANACS, *see* CALENDAR
AMBUJAMMAL, S., 327
AMRIT KAUR, 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 16, 21, 30, 50, 57, 60, 69, 79, 84, 86, 92, 93, 118, 122, 133, 136, 140, 141, 149, 155, 165, 171, 177, 189, 194, 200, 203, 205, 209, 214, 234, 240, 241, 253, 255 to 257, 276, 278, 282, 288, 290, 295, 312, 314, 329, 341, 363, 373, 381, 389, 390, 407, 412, 415, 423 to 425, 427, 438; her refusal to see Ramana Maharshi, 269*fn*
AMTUSSALAAM, 1, 17, 60, 79, 84, 95, 96, 99 to 101, 129, 141, 143, 146, 166, 206, 308, 311, 316, 321, 339, 343 to 345, 347, 348, 360, 367, 368, 379, 390, 393, 399, 417, 433
ANAND, 355
ANDREWS, C. F., 402
ANGER, 195, 288; and madness, 189
ANNAPURNA, 100
ANSARI, Abdullah, 24
ANSARI, Begum, 244
ANSARI, Harold, 181, 182, 244, 283, 317, 318, 337, 389
ANSARI, Dr. M. A., 181, 182, 244
ANSARI, Shaukat, 389
ANSARI, Zohra, 181, 182, 220, 244, 248, 318
ARYA VAIDYA SHALA, Kottakkal, 427
Aryan Path, 282
ARYANAYAKUM, E. W., 216, 240, 273, 290, 291, 344, 400
ASAR, Lilavati, 60, 78, 80, 100, 101, 105, 117, 139, 141, 146, 165 to 167, 177, 192, 213, 257, 261, 270, 294, 308, 389, 423
ASHA LATA, 122
ASHOKA; ahimsa of, 436
ASHRAM RULES, 110
ATHAVALE, Narahar Lakshman; contracts cholera, 220, 234, 241,— dies of it, 216*fn*, 222, 242, 243
ATHAVALE, Umabai L., 242
ATTACHMENT; to objects of senses, 236; work should be done without, 205

CWMG LXXVII

ATTAL, Dr., 432
AUROBINDO ASHRAM, Pondicherry, 394
Autobiography, see *My Experiments with Truth*
AWARD, *see* MACDONALD AWARD
AZAD, Abul Kalam, 4, 22*fn*, 30, 47, 56, 124*fn*, 147, 301, 309, 316, 346, 360, 399

BABLA/BABLO, *see* DESAI, Narayan
BADHEKA, Gijubhai, 334; and Wardha Scheme of Education, 133
BAHADURJI, D. N.; his enquiry into Nariman's accusation against Vallabhbhai Patel, 232*fn*
BAJAJ, Anasuya, 180, 310
BAJAJ, Jamnalal, 34, 40, 59, 79, 86, 93, 94, 115, 151, 206, 214, 240, 244, 283, 291, 374, 378, 387
BAJAJ, Radhakrishna, 235, 236, 310
BAJAJ, Savitri, 116
BALWANTSINHA, 116, 156, 187, 188, 206, 243, 273, 327, 354, 365, 433
BANKELAL, 243, 273
BANKER, Shankerlal, 334
BARR, F. Mary, 368
Basic National Education, 98
BAWAZEER, Abdul Kadir, 37
BAZAJ, Rukmini, 399
BENES, Eduard, 406, 432, 440
BENGAL; Governor of, acts differently from C. P. Governor, 224
Bhagavad Gita, 17, 83, 93, 129, 135, 189, 196, 201, 219, 286, 336, 356, 359, 365, 374, 395; a spiritual dictionary, 358
BHANSALI, J. P., 100, 316, 355, 365
BHARGAVA, Dr. Gopichand, 428, 429
BHAVE, Balkrishna, 7, 142, 151, 177, 180, 193, 208, 235, 236, 291, 323, 361, 383, 391, 418; his illness, 261
BHAVE, Vinoba, 98
BHOPAL; Nawab of, 182, 283, 337
BHURKE, Pandurang; death of, 216*fn*, 219
BIHAR; Governor's role in, 225
BIRLA, G. D., 31, 48, 169, 242, 244, 248, 283
BIYANI, 410
BOMBAY; violence in, during Prince of Wales's visit, 11
BOSE, Jagdish Chandra, 162
BOSE, Sarat Chandra, 83, 137
BOSE, Subhas Chandra, 14*fn*, 22*fn*, 47, 56, 65, 82 to 84, 91, 98, 110, 137, 138, 155, 203, 204*fn*, 274, 317, 331 to 333; and Vithalbhai Patel's will, 434; his meeting with political prisoners, 111
BOYCOTT; of foreign goods, 298; of Japanese goods, 133
BRABOURNE, Lord, 313
Brahmacharya, 61, 81, 106, 171, 180, 201, 210; and married life, 156-7; and physical contact with women, 363; as control over senses, 195-7; Gandhiji's experiments in, 104; "the nine-fold hedge" for protection of, 60; vow of, 148
BRIJMOHAN, 49
BUCH, Anandi, 17
BUCH, Puratan, 17
BUDDHA; gospel of, 268
BUDDHISM, 37, 122, 266
BURMA; plight of Indians in, 267; riots in, 266-9,—between Buddhists and Muslims, 219
— CONGRESS COMMITTEE; and amity between Indians and Burmese, 219
BURNS, C. Delisle, 169*fn*

CALENDAR; Gregorian and Indian, 422
(*Das*) *Capital*, 169*fn*
CAPTAIN, Gosibehn, 93, 144, 286
CAPTAIN, Perinbehn, 144, 232, 248
CENTRAL PROVINCES, 4*fn*; inclusion of Harijan as Minister in, 261*fn*, 289-90, 292; Ministerial crisis in, 91, 188, 213, 222-6,—and role of Governor, 224, 225, — and Vallabhbhai Patel, 204, — Congress Working Committee's decision regarding, 28; State Congress inquiry into charges of corruption against Ministry in, 124-5
CHAKRABARTY, Atulanand, 110, 340
CHAKRAIYYA, 70, 310, 378
CHAMBERLAIN, 404
CHANDIWALA, Brijkrishna, 3, 6, 293, 307, 353, 365 to 367, 390, 393, 399
CHANDIWALA, Janakidevi, 376
CHANDRASEKHARAYYA, Bhupal, 43, 49*fn*
CHANDRASEKHARAYYA, D., 43
CHARKHA, 339; science of, 164; *yajna* of, 334
CHATTOPADHYAYA, Kamaladevi; prevented from entering Travancore, 303
CHAURI CHAURA; violence in, 11
CHHAJJURAM, 403
CHIANG KAI-SHEK, 251
CHINA; Congress medical mission to, 25, 432; its war of self-defence, 252
CHOLERA; in Karanji, 218; in Segaon, 222, 234, 259; precautions against, 216
CHRISTIANITY, 37; and mystics, 24
CHRISTIANS, 68, 109; and other religions, 64
CHUDGAR, Popatlal, 254
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 311; and Congressmen, 284; not suspension of war, 226
— LIBERTIES RESOLUTION, 401
— LIBERTY, 353; and violence, 368, 370
— RESISTANCE, 225; and non-co-operation, 9, 10
CO-EDUCATION, 175
COLE, G. D. H., 169*fn*
COLTMAN; his opinion on Vithalbhai Patel's will, 434
Coma Gata Maru, 442; incident of, 89
COMMUNIST PARTY; question of banning, 90
CONGRESSMEN, 173, 197, 320, 325, 326, 352, 384; and civil disobedience, 284; and non-violence, 9, 10, 11, 12, 72; and office, 324; and picketing, 245; and public service, 304; and reform in education, 212; and release of political prisoners, 396-7; and uncertified khadi, 409; and untouchability, 229; and zemindari system, 22-3; asked to sacrifice themselves for nation, 305; corruption and violence among, 85, 246, 286, 368, 370, 371-3, 430-1; non-intervention in affairs of States by, 385-6; should be moral and fearless, 247
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, 38, 370, 401
CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 326; and picketing, 323
CZECHOSLOVAKIA; advised to adopt non-violence and satyagraha, 404-6, 413-5

DABKE, Gajanan; death of, 216*fn*, 219
DADASAHEB, 365

DAFTARI, 219
DAHYALAL, 201, 273
Daily Express; canard in, about Gandhiji's rejuvenation treatment, 276*fn*
DAIN, 41*fn*; on his appointment as acting Governor of Orissa, 51-2
DAKSHINA BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, 399
DALADIER, Edouard, 404
DAMYANTI, 423
DANDI SALT MARCH, 198; and the inner voice, 75
DAS, Bina, 21*fn*
DAS, C. R., 194
DAS GUPTA, Hemprabha Devi, 13*fn*
DAS GUPTA, Satis Chandra, 205
DASHARATHA, 320; and mastery over sexual passion, 191
DAVE, Jugatram, 204
DAVID, 215
DAYAL SINGH, 98
DEATH; a great transformation, 307
DEKA, 3, 168
DEMOCRACY; and non-violence, 371
DESAI, Dudhibehn, 232, 392
DESAI, Durga, 105, 301, 343, 353, 354, 367, 399, 412, 417, 427; Gandhiji's anguish on her entering Puri Temple, 5*fn*; hip-baths recommended to, 439
DESAI, Mahadev, 5, 6, 21, 30, 32, 41, 47, 57, 58, 101, 102, 112, 115, 127, 128, 138, 139, 146, 152, 154, 166, 169, 170, 172, 178, 183, 187, 194, 200, 203 to 205, 207, 213, 215 to 218, 220, 236, 238, 240, 242, 245, 248, 249, 253, 254, 260, 261, 264, 270, 275 to 277, 279, 282, 283, 290, 294, 298, 301, 306, 310, 313, 317, 318, 326, 328, 329, 333, 334, 338, 340, 342, 343, 346, 353, 354, 357, 358, 360, 363, 364, 367, 373, 379, 381 to 383, 389, 390 to 394, 399, 403, 412, 415 to 418, 421, 423, 424, 427, 432, 433, 439; his health, 425; his refusal to see Ramana Maharshi, 269*fn*
DESAI, Narayan, 127, 217, 236, 253, 367, 417, 424, 427
DESAI, Pragji, 383
DESAI, Valji G., 207, 232, 286, 392, 440
DETACHMENT; and Englishmen, 358, 359
DEVADHAR, G. K., 429
Dhammapada, 128
DHARASANA; to take possession of, salt works in, 245
DHARMA, 239, 287, 359, 376; in married life, 191
DHARMADHIKARI, Nana, 180, 233, 240, 263, 264
DIWANJI, Harshadabehn, 312
DUTT, B. K., 300, 313, 345

EAST INDIA COMPANY; and destruction of Indian handicrafts, 114
EDUCATION; for masses and Chinese system of 'relay' teachers, 252; higher, 158, 162, 210,—and medium of instruction, 160,—and States' assistance, 211,—and unemployment, 159,—and Wardha Scheme, 163,—in literature, 161,—mother tongue as medium of, 212; rural, 49; through handicrafts, 114-5,—non-violence, 36,—vocational training, 113
EDWARD'S MISSION COLLEGE, Peshawar, 66
EMERSON, Ralph Waldo, 284
ENGLISH; suitability of its literature for India, 161

ENGLISHMEN; and detachment, 358, 359; and non-violence, 437

FAUSSET, Hugh I' Anson, 169*fn*
FEDERATION; Attitude of Gandhiji and Nehru on, 384-5
FLAG SATYAGRAHA; in Mysore State, 43-5. *See* also MYSORE, NATIONAL FLAG
FRANCO, General Francisco, 415
FREEDOM, 54; through non-violence, 132; undesirability of foreign aid for, 122. *See* also INDEPENDENCE, SWARAJ
FRONTIER PROVINCE, *see* NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE

GADODIA, Saraswati, 412
GAJANAN, 260, 299
GANDHI, Arun, 144, 179, 181, 183, 184, 189, 239, 262, 270, 383, 393
GANDHI, Chhaganlal, 373
GANDHI, Devdas, 86, 188, 288, 310, 426, 432, 433
GANDHI, Dhiru, 216, 234
GANDHI, Jamna, 185, 298
GANDHI, Kanam, 86, 109, 146, 342, 430
GANDHI, Kantilal, 26, 41, 79, 86, 97, 128 to 131, 136, 138, 139, 142, 145, 146, 150, 152, 154, 167, 168, 179, 181, 183, 189, 201, 202, 209, 215, 220, 221, 234, 243, 245, 314, 341, 382
GANDHI, Kanu, 25, 80, 97, 113, 146, 154, 168, 218, 236, 264*fn*, 320, 342, 355, 367, 393, 399, 416, 425
GANDHI, Kasturba, 17, 34, 79, 84, 86, 97, 100, 116 to 118, 179, 184, 203, 220, 234, 235, 240, 250, 256, 264, 271, 290, 294, 316, 342, 346, 347, 355, 367, 381, 390, 393, 394, 399, 412, 419, 426, 432; Gandhiji's anguish on her entering Puri Temple, 2, 5*fn*
GANDHI, Keshu, 433
GANDHI, Kumi, 334
GANDHI, Lakshmi, 86, 143, 342, 412, 426
GANDHI, Manilal, 107, 109, 144, 179, 184, 238, 262, 270, 300, 322, 393
GANDHI, Manu, 148, 215, 217, 220, 234, 300, 340, 347
GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand; and taking personal service from women, 60-1, 80, 132-3; decides to avoid physical contact with women, 104-5, 106, 118, 133, 362-3; his inconsistencies, 284-6; his resignation from C.W.C., 387; his title Mahatma, 411; his 21-day fast in 1933, 75; recollects experience of Inner Voice, 75; renounces using girls for support, 115, 116, 117, 147-9
GANDHI, Narandas, 25, 133, 151, 165, 184, 202, 295, 398, 334, 341, 373, 439
GANDHI, Navin, 203, 209, 216, 234, 235
GANDHI, Nirmala, 187, 283, 294, 408
GANDHI, Purushottam, 33, 83, 185, 298, 334
GANDHI, Ramachandra, 426
GANDHI, Ramdas, 108, 184, 239, 262, 284, 288, 297, 342, 347, 383, 393
GANDHI, Santok, 236
GANDHI, Sita, 144, 181, 239, 262, 300, 342, 383, 393
GANDHI, Sushila, 83, 107, 108, 119, 144, 179, 181, 183, 184, 189, 215, 234, 236, 239, 262, 270, 300, 322, 354, 383, 393

GANDHI, Tara, 426
GANDHI, Vijaya, 83
GANDHI SEVA SANGH, 70, 271
GANDHISM, 190
GANESAN, S., 280
GANPATRAI, 188
GHANI, Abdul, 418
GHORPADE, Parvatidevi, 271
GHOSH, P. C., 293
GIBBON, 333
GILDER, Dr., 357
GIRDHARI, 242
GIRDHARIJIDAS, 242
GIRDHARILAL, 403
GIRI, 154
GOD, 61, 73, 75, 92, 117, 196, 197, 282, 283, 287, 288, 328, 373, 416, 422; belief in, 74; living faith in, 63; "the One Supreme Lord of the Universe", 384; search within to find, 390; true follower of, 64
GOKHALE, Gopalakrishna, 170*fn*
GOKIBEHN, 334
GOKULDAS KHIMJI, 70, 298
GOSEVA, 188
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935, 52, 174, 247, 396; and British military control in India, 226
GOVIND, 320
GOVINDAN, 142
GRAM PANCHAYAT ACT, 336
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, 151
GUNAVANT, 263
GUPTA, Maithilisharan, 329
GURCHARAN SINGH, S., 296
GURUKUL KANGRI; to work for truth and non-violence, 15

HABBACK, Sir John, 41*fn*
HAKUMATRAI, 166
HALIDE EDIB, 46
HANDLOOM WEAVERS; and competition with mill-cloth, 265
HANNA, 138, 139, 166, 184, 209, 214, 217, 239, 363
HARAKHCHAND, 298
HARDHYAN SINGH, 366
Harijan, 5, 147, 185, 188, 189, 190, 210, 234, 258, 285, 294, 310, 328, 329, 357, 363, 369, 391, 392, 416, 423, 430, 435, 439; a views-paper, 358
HARIJAN ASHRAM, 291
— SATYAGRAHIS, 289, 290; and inclusion of Harijan in C.P. Ministry, 20*fn*
Harijan Sevak, 329
Harijan Sevak Sangh, 49, 202, 231
Harijanbandhu, 129, 184, 234
HARIJANS, 359; and Rajagopalachari, 337; and sanatani Hindu, 230; entry of, into Hindu hotels, 229; Guru Chand Thakur's work for, 13; opening temples for, 128; service of, 202, 376
HARNAM SINGH, 295
HARRISON, Agatha, 102, 159, 181, 220, 247, 248, 317, 361, 389
HARTAL; of 6th April, 324
HEARD, Gerald, 169*fn*
HEATH, Carl, 332, 345
HIJLI JAIL; Gandhiji's talk with Regulation III prisoners in, 4
Hind Swaraj, 169
HINDI/HINDUSTANI; and Congress, 400; and Rajagopalachari, 323; as national language, 162, 325; imposition of, 90; popularizing, 185
— SAHITYA SAMMELAN, 408
(*The*) *Hindu*, 215
HINDU-MUSLIM TENSION, 11, 50
— — UNITY, 37, 370, 401; and Harijans' entry into hotels, 229-31;

and Hinduism, 37, 65; and Pathans, 62
HINDUISM; and Jains, 59; and mystics, 24; and Puranas, 287
HINDUS, 68, 109; and Harijans, 230; and Lord Rama, 63; and other religions, 64
(*The*) *Hindustan Times*, 188
HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH, 34*fn*; new education scheme of, 46-7
HINGORANI, Anand T., 400
HIP-BATH, 439-40
HIRALAL, 374
HISSAR; famine in, and khadi, 428-9
HITLER, Adolf, 36, 46, 67, 404, 405, 413, 415
HOWRAH JAIL; Gandhiji's talk with political prisoners in, 4
HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, Bombay, 429
HUMANITY; oneness of, 437
HYDARI, Akbar, 375

INDEPENDENCE; and non-violence, 67. *See* also FREEDOM, SWARAJ
INDIA; oneness of, 325; should be a well-living republic, 211
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 29, 37, 45, 48, 78, 104, 110, 173, 285, 320, 324, 375, 384, 414, 420; All-India Committee of, 312, 373,—final appellate authority, 274,—its resolution on repression in States, 375-7,—venue for the meeting of, 244,—walk out at, by opponents of Civil Liberties Resolutions, 401-2; and All-India Spinners' Association, 176; and appointment of civilian as acting Governor of Orissa, 52; and armed platoon, 186; and civil liberty, 368, 401-2; and constructive programme, 266, 306, 430-1; and Czechoslovakia, 414-5; and Harijans' entry into Hindu hotels, 229; and Hindi, 400; and implementation of Government of India Act, 226; and moral authority, 39; and Mysore State, 43, 87; and non-violence and truth, 10-2, 246, 286, 304, 323, 437; and release of political prisoners, 396-7,—of Bengal, 20; and removal of untouchability, 13, 230; and rifle club, 257; and Speakers in Provincial Assemblies, 247; and States, 88, 157, 254, 376-7, 385-6; and swaraj, 158; and textile trade with U. K., 31, 54; and Wardha scheme of education, 35; and yarn franchise, 370; and zemindari system, 22-3; breaches of discipline in, 194-5, 283, 369-70; corruption, violence and untruth in, 371-3; democratic organization, 225, 305; framing of constitution of, in 1920, 274; Gurgaon District Committee of, 237*fn*; Haripura resolution of, 44; Nagpur Provincial Committee of, 94; Parliamentary Board of,—and political crisis in C. P., 24, 124-5,—condemns action of Khare, 222, — decides that Sheriff should resign from C. P. Ministry, 178*fn*,—its limitations, 224, — resolution of, not to be blindly followed, 326; rise in prestige of, 252; Socialists in, 22, 65; violence at elections of, 303; Working Committee of, 92, 325, 369, 370, 373, 381, 382, 388, 430, 431,— Khare ignores warning of, 223,— rumours regarding Gandhiji's resignation from, 387
Indian Opinion, 107, 271, 322; financing of, 262; question of keeping it going, 238, 239

(*The*) *Indian Social Reformer*, 140
INDIGESTION; and insomnia, 369
INDO-BRITISH TRADE PACT, 31
INNER VOICE, 335; Gandhiji's experiences of, 75
INSOMNIA; and indigestion, 369
Ishopanishad, 26
ISLAM, 37, 65, 68; and mystics, 24; and other religions, 64
ISLAMIA COLLEGE, Islamabad, 62
ISMAIL, Mirza, 8, 43 to 45, 53, 54, 84, 92, 311, 375
IYER, C. P. Ramaswami, 253, 375, 388, 434; Travancore State Congress charges against, 302, 303

JAINISM; and Hinduism, 59
JAIPUR RAJYA PRAJA MANDAL CONFERENCE, 38, 59*fn*, 374, 375
JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM, 242, 286
JAJODIA, Gordhandas, 116
JAJU, Shrikrishnadas, 291
JALBHAI, 95, 145
JALLIANWALA BAGH; Travancore shootings compared to massacre of, 311
JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA, 46
JAMNADAS, 121
JANKIPRASAD, 394
JAYANTIPRASAD, 236
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, 2, 17, 131, 192, 193, 234, 296, 347, 378, 426, 427
JEWS, 298
JINNAH, M. A., 12, 21, 30, 31 to 33, 36, 37, 41, 43*fn*, 56, 84, 90, 92, 93, 95, 99, 155, 178; his correspondence with Jawaharlal Nehru, 121; talks with, 50*fn*, 433-4
JOGENDRA SINGH, 24
JONES, Dr. Stanley, 123, 133
JOSEPH, Pothan, 319
JOSHI, Chhaganlal, 132, 147, 185, 295, 334, 341
JOSHI, N. N., 416, 438
JOSHI, Shripad; got cholera by taking *nira*, 216*fn*
JUSTICE; and religion, 154

KABIR, Humayun, 344
KALELKAR, Balkrishna, 28, 221, 258
KALELKAR, D. B., 80, 135, 138, 140, 147, 152, 154, 164, 190, 219, 222, 232, 233, 237, 240, 248 to 250, 255, 258, 259, 263, 264, 271, 277, 281, 290 to 292, 299, 307, 319, 321, 364, 399; gets cholera, 216, 218, 220, 234,—recovers from, 221, 241
KALLENBACH, Hermann, 107, 131, 140, 142, 146, 166, 189, 238
KAMALA, 25, 328, 423
KANAIYO, *see* GANDHI, Kanu
KANARESE, 162
KANTAK, Premabehn, 108, 170, 364
KANYA GURUKUL, Dehra Dun, 408
KASHINATH, 336
KAUJALGI, 271
KHADI, 275, 320, 334, 370, 385, 401; and competition with mill-cloth, 265; and Congress, 304; and famine in Hissar, 428-9; and spinning, 444; exhibition for, and allied village industries, 293; in Congress constitution, 195; Orissa Government encouraging, 222; propagation of, 13; rise in prices of, 198-200; sale of, through uncertified bhandars, 409
— PRATISHTHAN, Sodepur, 13
— WORK; and *Rentia Baras Day*, 164
KHAN, Abdul Ghaffar, 40, 41, 47, 57, 62 to 64, 67, 68, 73, 74, 200, 205, 208, 214, 217, 288, 311, 339,

360, 367, 406, 412, 413, 416, 417, 420 to 422, 433
KHAN SAHEB, Dr., 47, 62, 68, 379
KHANDEKAR, H. J., 228
KHARE, Mathuribehn, 394
KHARE, (Dr.) N. B., 91, 204, 213, 215, 260, 309, 325; and Congress, 226; and Congress Parliamentary Board, 223; and Congress Working Committee, 222, 224, 225, 274; made to make humiliating admission, 213; Working Committee's action against, 274-5
KHARE, V. A., 274*fn*
KHER, B. G., 232*fn*
KHILAFAT, 195
KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS, 68, 73-4, 421, 422; and non-violence, 71. *See* also PATHANS
KISAN SABHAS; and Congress, 23-4
KOTWAL, 128
KRIPALANI, J. B., 87
KRISHNA, 49, 240
KRISHNACHANDRA, 49, 61, 101, 103, 112, 180, 191, 205, 227, 237, 308, 322, 323, 347, 348, 355, 361, 380, 383, 419
KRISHNAN, 204
KUMARAPPA, Bharatan, 240, 282, 291, 297
KUMARAPPA, J. C., 32, 282
KUWADU, 273

LAHORE CONSPIRACY CASE OF 1915; Prithvi Singh's connection with, 88
LAKSHMIDAS, 356
LALI, 294, 418
LALITJI, 17
LANCASHIRE DELEGATION; meets Gandhiji in connection with cloth trade with India, 54
LANGUAGES, regional; should be given their due place, 162-3
LANSBURY, 75
LESTER, Muriel, 392
LILA, 301
LILABHAI, 168
LIMAYE, 270
LINDLOWER, 419
LINLITHGOW, 21, 28, 30, 300; interview with, 441; requested to order discharge of Prithvi Singh, 442-3
LITERATURE; obscenity, in, 407-8
LOHANA SAMAJ, 301
LUCKNOW; riots in, 72

MACDONALD AWARD, 359
MADAN, 250
MADAN MOHAN, 140
MAHADEVI, 272
MAHILA ASHRAM, Wardha, 291, 408
MAHMUD, Syed, 14, 103
MAHODAYA, Dr., 218, 264, 277
MAJID, Khwaja Abdul, 195
MAJUMDAR, Ujjala, 21*fn*
MALAYALAM, 162
MANAHAR, 236
MANIKKAM, A., 77*fn*
MANILALBHAI, 141
MANJULA, 298, 314, 315, 334
MANNIN, Ethel, 29*fn*
Manusmriti, 232
MARWARI RELIEF SOCIETY, 429
MARX, Karl, 169*fn*
MASHRUWALA, Kishorelal, 214, 217, 222, 235, 236, 291, 294
MASHRUWALA, Manubehn S., 41, 83, 355, 393
MASHRUWALA, Nanabhai I., 107, 135, 256, 393
MASHRUWALA, Surendra, 42, 84, 300
MASHRUWALA, Tara, 215
MASHRUWALA, Vijayalakshmi, 107

CWMG - LXVII

MATHEW, P. G., 207
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI, 43, 253, 422, 433
MAYARE (MARDAN); murder of three Sikhs by Pathans at, 71
MEHTA, Hansa, 140
MEHTA, Jivraj, 203, 214, 338, 343, 354, 357
MEHTA, Maganlal P., 25
MEHTA, Ratilal, 25
MILLS, James A., 90
MILTON, John, 161
MIRABEHN, 5, 7, 60, 73, 79, 81, 84, 136, 147, 167, 172, 234, 235, 343, 364, 373, 382, 389, 391, 417, 425, 432, 440
MISHRA, D. P., 325
MISTRY, Jalbhai, 32
MOHAMMED, Prophet; on *purdah*, 14
MORARJEE, Shantikumar N., 94, 261
MORRIS, Stuart, 420
MUKHERJEE, Manmathnath; and Sheriff's case, 178
Mukti, 205
MULDAS, 231
MUNSHI, Girish, 257
MUNSHI, K. M., 257
MUNSHI, Lilavati, 40
MURRY, John Middleton, 169*fn*
MUSLIM(S), 46, 68, 109; and God, 63
— COUNCIL, 301
— LEAGUE, 34*fn*, 37, 92, 389
MUSSOLINI, Benito, 46, 67, 76, 404
My Experiments with Truth, 249
MYSORE; Maharaja of, 45, 54, — and responsible Government in, 87, 348; police firing on flag demonstrations in, 42, 45*fn*, 53-4, 87; settlement about national flag in, 77-8*fn*, 88, 92; violence in, 49*fn*, 349. *See* also FLAG SATYAGRAHA, NATIONAL FLAG
NAG, Kalidas, 122
NAGPUR DEPUTATIONISTS, 272
NAIR, P. Sreedharan, 390
NANAVATI, Amritlal T., 12, 58, 70, 77, 80, 95, 201, 218, 222, 233, 237, 240, 248 to 250, 255, 256, 258, 259, 263, 264, 272, 275, 277, 281, 291, 292, 299, 307, 315, 319, 346, 354, 356, 365, 378, 380, 400, 418
NAOROJI, Dadabhai, 144
NARIMAN, K. F. ;his accusations against Vallabhbhai Patel and Gandhiji regarding election of Congress Party leader in Bombay Legislative Assembly, 232
NATESAN, G. A., 333, 384
NATIONAL FLAG, 78; agitation against ban on hoisting of, in Mysore, 49*fn*, 53-4,—controversy regarding settlement of question of, 77-8, 88, 92. *See* also FLAG SATYAGRAHA
(*The*) *National Herald*, 321
NATIONAL SCHOOL, 202
NATURE; and silence, 306
NAVIN, 192
NAYAKUM, *see* ARYANAYAKUM, E.W.
Nayee Taleem, 438
NAYYAR, Pyarelal, 32, 78, 84, 86, 108, 117, 129, 166, 234, 240, 248 to 250, 253, 256, 261, 272, 287, 321, 335, 342, 343, 347, 358, 364, 379, 392, 393, 399, 412, 418, 425, 434; his illness, 257 to 260, 262, 270, 271, 273, 275, 276, 279, 281 to 283, 288, 291 to 293, 296
NAYYAR, Sushila, 7, 30, 60, 69, 78, 84, 86, 108, 112, 116 to 118, 128, 129, 136, 152, 179, 183, 218, 234, 240, 253, 258, 261, 269, 270, 273, 275, 326, 328, 333, 335, 338, 339, 342, 343, 347, 355, 357,

367, 379, 381, 390, 393, 395, 399, 413, 417, 419, 421, 433
NAZIMUDDIN, Khwaja, 3, 9, 15, 16, 18, 19, 33, 82, 96, 111, 137, 330 to 333, 396
NEGRIN, Juan, 428
NEHRU, Indira, 294, 297, 391
NEHRU, Jawaharlal, 4, 47, 56, 65, 70, 90, 95, 155, 167, 294, 297, 332, 345, 385, 391, 420; and Federation, 384-5
NEHRU, Motilal, 75, 194
NEHRU, Rameshwari, 424
NEWSPAPERS; and incitement to violence, 368; and yellow journalism, 353
NON-ATTACHMENT, 249
NON-CO-OPERATION, 85, 123, 304; and civil resistance, 9, 10
NON-POSSESSION; one of the eleven vows, 120
NON-RESISTANCE; to evil, 157
NON-VIOLENCE, 14, 15, 18, 22, 37, 45, 46, 68, 69, 74, 134, 266, 285, 302, 305, 358, 374, 396, 397, 401, 405, 410, 413 to 415, 421; and China, 251; and civil liberty, 353; and the C. D. campaign, 73; and Congress, 226, 246 252, 288, 323; and Congressmen, 9 to 12; and democracy, 371; and demonstration in Mysore, 54; and foreign aggression, 132; and formation of armed platoon in Congress, 186; and Khudai Khidmatgars, 71; and morality, 39; and pacifism, 76; and Pathans, 63, 406; and political prisoners, 361; and poor women, 156; and prayer, 280; and release of political prisoners, 137; and riots in Burma, 267; and swaraj, 370; and *tapascharya*, 190; and truth, 37, 189, 304, 321; article of faith, 64; as Congress creed, 194; Bengal political prisoners' acceptance of, as a means to freedom, 20; as connotation of, 99; constructive education through, 36; does not make people coward, 62; experiment in, 60; for political purposes, 195; in jails, 120; in thought, most difficult to attain, 278; a never-failing remedy, 266; of the brave, 65-7, 72; potency of, 122-3; useful for the entire world, 197-8; science of, 404; strict observance of, 158; swaraj through, 38
NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE, 108, 328, 339, 341, 354, 360, 364, 366; Gandhiji's visit to, 50, 59, 62, 296; expulsion of socialists from Congress in, 65*fn*
NUFFIELD, Viscount, 211
NUFFIELD FOUNDATION, 211*fn*

OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE, 370
ORISSA; appointment of civilian as Governor in, 41, 52; Governor's role in, 225
OWEN, Gladys, 392

PACIFISM; and non-violence, 76
PACIFISTS; English, their attitude toward Abyssinia question, 75, 76
PAKVASA, Mangaldas, 51, 227
PANCHOLI, Manubhai, 99, 135
PANDIT, Vasumati, 142, 144, 146, 201
PANDIT, Vijayalakshmi, 253, 391
PANDYA, Harishankar, 301
PAPARAMMA, 380

PAREKH, Bhogilal, 291
PARIKH, Narahari D., 204
PARKINSON, 122
PARMAR, Lalji, 151
PARNERKAR, Y. M., 121, 204, 315, 327, 335, 355
PASSIVE RESISTANCE; non-violent, 66-7
PATEL, Dahyabhai, 105
PATEL, Naranbhai, 99, 314
PATEL, Vallabhbhai, 32, 40, 41, 54, 55, 59, 77-8, 87, 124*fn*, 178, 186, 187, 203, 244, 254, 301, 308, 309, 378, 433; and C. P. ministerial crisis, 204; and election of Congress Party leader in Bombay Legislative Assembly, 232*fn*
PATEL, Vijaya N., 12, 58, 70, 81, 95, 96, 98 to 101, 135, 141, 177, 179, 191, 204, 208, 217, 222, 233, 241, 255, 259, 264, 273, 291, 314, 315, 369, 378, 418, 419
PATEL, Vipin D., 105
PATEL, Vithalbhai; his will in favour of Subhas Chandra Bose, 204
PATEL, Zaverbhai, 243, 291
PATHANS; and Hindu-Muslim unity, 62; and non-violence, 63, 67, 69, 406. *See* also KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS
PATIL, S. K., 237
PAUL, 8
PEACE BRIGADE, 155, 371; formation of, and Congress, 125; qualifications of a member of contemplated, 126
PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 420*fn*
PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF ACTION OF ALL CHINA, 251
PERMANENT SETTLEMENT, 23
(*The*) *Persian Mystics*, 24
PICKETING, 326; and Criminal Law Amendment Act, 323
PILLAI, Changanacheri K. Parameshwaran, 343, 387; his interview with Gandhiji, 435
PODDAR, Lakshmanprasad, 116
POLAK, 181
PRABHAVATI, 2, 8, 17, 48, 97, 117, 129 to 131, 179, 183, 192, 193, 234, 296, 347, 378, 380, 382, 424, 426, 427
PRABHU DAYAL, 276, 299, 340
Pratap, 28
PRAYER(S), 110; and non-violence, 280
Prayers, Praises and Psalms, 384
PREMJI, 243
PRESIDENCY JAIL; Gandhiji meets political prisoners in, 9
PRISONERS, Political; Bengal Government's communique on, of Bengal, 395-7,—question of release of, 4, 18, 21, 28, 33, 82-3, 89, 96-7, 137, 330, 361,—proposals for, 19, 20, 111-2, 313*fn*; Gandhiji's meeting with, 9, 15; question of release of, of Delhi, 78
PRITHURAJ, 347
PRITHVIRAJ, 427
PRITHVI SINGH, 89 to 90, 92, 120, 278, 398; his connection with Lahore Conspiracy case of 1915, 88; Viceroy requested to order discharge of, 442-3
PROHIBITION, 370, 401
PROJA PARTY, 16
PURANAS; and Hinduism, 287
PURDAH; and woman's chastity, 14
PURI TEMPLE; Gandhiji's anguish at Kasturba's entering, 2, —and Durga Desai's entering, 5*fn*
PURITY; essential for faith in God, 64
PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS, 186, 187, 342

QURESHI, Shuaib, 188, 257, 262, 317, 318, 337, 338, 343, 389

RADHAKRISHNAN, 261, 338
RAGHAVENDRA RAO, E., 104, 112
RAJAGOPALACHARI, C., 75, 85, 86, 90, 127, 172, 185, 203, 323 to 326, 338, 346, 352, 398; and Hindustani, 323; his love of Harijans, 337
RAJAH, M. C., 337, 398
RAJAKIYA PARISHAD, 301
RAJARAM, 279, 282, 290
RAJBHUSHAN, 263
RAJENDRA PRASAD, 93, 234, 291
RAMA, Lord, 63, 74, 102, 208; strength of the weak, 58
RAMACHANDRAN, B., 43
RAMACHANDRAN, G., 138, 142, 189, 209, 220, 240, 243, 282, 288, 434
RAMACHANDRAN, Saundaram, 382
RAMANA MAHARSHI, 214, 240, 269, 394; his message for Gandhiji, 234*fn*
RAMANAMA, 208
Ramayana, 284; Tamil version of, 327
RAMDEVJI, 147
RAMNIK, 156
RAOSAHEB, 364
RATHBONE, Irene, 169*fn*
RATILAL, 322
RATNA, 327
Reformer, 367
REFORMS COMMITTEE; for Mysore, 348
RELIGION(s); and non-violence, 132; and truth, 24, and justice, 154; necessity of teaching equal regard for all, 175; oneness of, 155
REYNOLDS, Reginald, 29
RIFLE CLUB; and Congress, 257
RISHIKESH, 338
ROCKEFELLER, John D., 211
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE; and women, 122
ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques, 169*fn*
ROWLATT ACT; demonstrations against, and satyagraha, 7*fn*, 10*fn*, 11*fn*
ROY, Dr. Bidhan Chandra, 318
RUSTOMJEE, Parsee, 439
RUSTOMJI TRUST, 239

SABARMATI ASHRAM, 109-10
SABNIS, Murlidhar; gets cholera, 216*fn*
SALEKAR, 263
SALT LAW; defiance of, in 1930, 75
SAMBAMURTI, 172
SAMPAT, Jethalal G., 121, 315, 356
SAMPURNANAND, 186, 320
SARABHAI, Mridula, 250
SARASWATI, 41, 42, 79, 86, 97, 129 to 131, 136, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 153, 179, 181, 183, 189, 201, 202, 208, 209, 215, 220, 221, 243, 245, 269, 314, 341, 379, 380, 382, 424, 426
SARUP, *see* PANDIT, Vijayalakshmi
Sarvodaya, 189*fn*, 190; and non-violence, 190; and satyagraha, 189
SASTRI, S. Srinivasan, 136, 158, 312
SATAVLEKAR, S. D., 400
SATYAGRAHA, 66-7, 195; and ahimsa, 436; and people's freedom, 158; and sarvodaya, 189; demands caution, 387; for including a Harijan in the C. P. Ministry, 228; in South Africa, 134, 405-6; law of, 324; observance of, to protest against Rowlatt Act, 7; science in the making, 358; way of, 157
SATYAGRAHIS, 289-90, 326
SATYAMURTI, 172
SATYAVATI, 366

SCHLESIN, Sonja, 383
SEGAON; cholera in, 222, 234, 259
SEN, Satin, 281
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, 429
SHAH, Chimanlal N., 220 to 222, 234, 236, 238, 239, 241, 256, 258, 260, 272, 273, 276, 277, 354, 379
SHAH, Fulchand K., 130
SHAH, Kanchan M., 81, 105, 180, 394
SHAH, Munnalal G., 81, 106, 180, 235, 243, 260, 263, 273, 308, 319, 335, 336, 344, 354, 394
SHAH, Shakaribehn C., 42, 59, 355
SHAH, Sharda C., 42, 59, 82, 96, 101, 142, 146, 166, 177, 181, 239, 355, 356, 364, 374, 378 to 380, 395, 418, 419, 434
SHAH, Dr. Shaukatullah, 181, 182, 220, 244, 247, 318, 366
SHAKESPEARE, William, 161
SHAMJIBHAI, 347
SHANKARACHARYA, 232
SHANKARAN, 258, 260, 272, 355, 380
SHANTA, 142, 166, 261, 399
SHANTI, 393
SHANTILAL, 121
SHASTRAS, 287
SHELOLIKAR, Raghunath Ganesh Pandit, 336, 356, 359
SHERALEKAR, 319, 321
SHERIFF; and C. P. Ministry crisis, 178; Congress Working Committee's decision regarding his resignation from C.P. Ministry, 204
Shivasankalpa, 367
SHIVDAS, 338
SHRADDHA, 363, 364
SHUKADEVJI, 105, 106
SHUKLA, Chandrashanker, 290, 342
SHUKLA, Ravishankar, 35, 325, 411
SHUMSHERE SINGH, Col., 5, 416, 424
SHYAMJI SUNDERDAS, 426, 427
SIDDHALINGAIYA, 45
SILENCE, 257; and Nature, 306
SINHA, Rajkumar, 299
SITARAMAYYA, Dr. B. Pattabhi, 272, 352, 375
Smritis, 232, 286, 287, 307
SMUTS, Jan Christiaan, 421
Social Contract, 169*fn*
SODDY, Frederick, 169*fn*
SOPTEKAR, 236
SOUTH AFRICA; Indians in, 109
SPEAKER(S), of Provincial Assemblies; and active politics, 172; and Congress, 247; and Government of India Act, 173
SPINNING, 165, 184, 202, 266, 428; and assistance of A.I.S.A., 264; and education, 114; and *Rentia Baras* days, 185,—programme on, 202*fn*; and *takli*, 119; by hand, 334, — developing the central village industry of, 176
— WHEEL, 265, 266, 380; and *takli*, 114, 119
STOKES, S. E., 417
The Story of the World in Pictures, 231
STUDENTS; and Gandhiji's experience with labourers, 134; strikes and party politics taboo for, 407
SUBBAROYAN, Mrs., 22
SUBNIS, 281
SUN YAT-SEN, 432
SWARAJ, 303; and Congress, 158; attainment of, and Congressmen, 304; fight for, 195; not possible through falsehood and violence, 305, 353; through non-violence, non-co-operation and civil resistance, 9, 10, 38; truth and non-violence essential for, 35, 36, 370. *See* also FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 161
Takli, 113; and spinning-wheel, 114, 119
TALIMI SANGH, 140
TAMIL, 162
TANDON, Purushottam Das, 152, 164, 173
TAO, Dr. Hengchih, 250 to 253, 432
TARA, 418
TARKABAGISH, Abdul Rashid, 16
TELUGU, 162
TEMPLE-ENTRY; a mighty religious reform, 398
— PROCLAMATION BILL, 280*fn*, 349
TEXT-BOOKS; obscenity in, 407-8
THAKKAR, A. V., 148
THAKUR, Guru Chand; worked for Harijans, 13
THAKUR, P. R.; advised to work for removal of untouchability, 13
(*The*) *Times*, 128
(*The*) *Times of India*, 231
TOLSTOY LEO, 161
TRAVANCORE; case for responsible government in, and State Congress, 302-3; Maharaja of, 376; repression in, 369*fn*,—A. I. C. C. resolution on, 376-7,—of movement for responsible government in, 387-8; shooting in, 311, 313; State's people's movement in, 435; students' participation in agitation in, 407
TRIVANDRUM LAW COLLEGE UNION, 369
TRIVEDI, 204
TRUTH, 15, 27, 397, 410; and achievement of swaraj, 370; and ahimsa, 37; and civil liberty, 353; and Congress, 305, 323; and freedom from passion, 58; and non-violence, 189, 304, 321; and religion, 24, 154; and Vedas, 287; as Congress creed, 194; connotation of, 98; essential for faith in God, 64; principles that guide the votary of, in jail, 120; strict observance of, 158; virtue in a votary of, 150
TULPULE, C. A., 210
TULSIDAS, 208
TYABJI, 209

UNEMPLOYMENT, 35
UNTOUCHABILITY, 370, 398, 401; abolition of, and Congress, 13, 230; and Congressmen, 229
UPADHYAYA, Haribhau, 34, 316
UTTAR PRADESH; role of Government of, 225
— — DACOITY, 22
— — RIOTS; communal, 9

VALI, 427
VATSALA, 418
VEDAS, 26; and truth, 287
VERGHESE, T. M., 388
VICEROY, *see* LINLITHGOW
VIDYA MANDIR SCHEME, 34*fn*
VIDYA MANDIR TRAINING SCHOOL, WARDHA, 34
VIDYARTHI, Prabhu Dayal, 444
Vikaras; whether to reject all, 61
VILLAGE(S); and craft training, 132; uplift of, 34-6
— HANDICRAFTS, 98, 99; revival of, 46
VIRAMGAM; violence in, during anti-Rowlatt Act demonstration, 11
VISVESVARAYYA, M., 279
VIYOGI HARI, 283
VYAS, 172

WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION, 34*fn*; and Gijubhai Badheka, 133; and

CWMG - LXVII

higher education, 163; and Urdu Press, 174-5; and villages, 132; Hengchih Tao's interest in, 251; part of Congress programme, 35; place of religious instruction in, 154
WILSON, Woodrow; his Fourteen Points —the basis of Versailles treaty, 76
WOMEN; and ahimsa, 156; organizing of, 171
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, 122
YERAVDA PACT, 289
YOUNG, F. S., 374, 375
Young India, 194, 285, 436
YOUTHS' WELFARE ASSOCIATION, Lahore, 407, 408

ZAKIR HUSAIN COMMITTEE, 98; and co-education, 175
ZEMINDARI SYSTEM; in Bengal and Congressmen, 22-3
ZOROASTRIANISM, 37

ERRATUM

PAGE	FOR	READ
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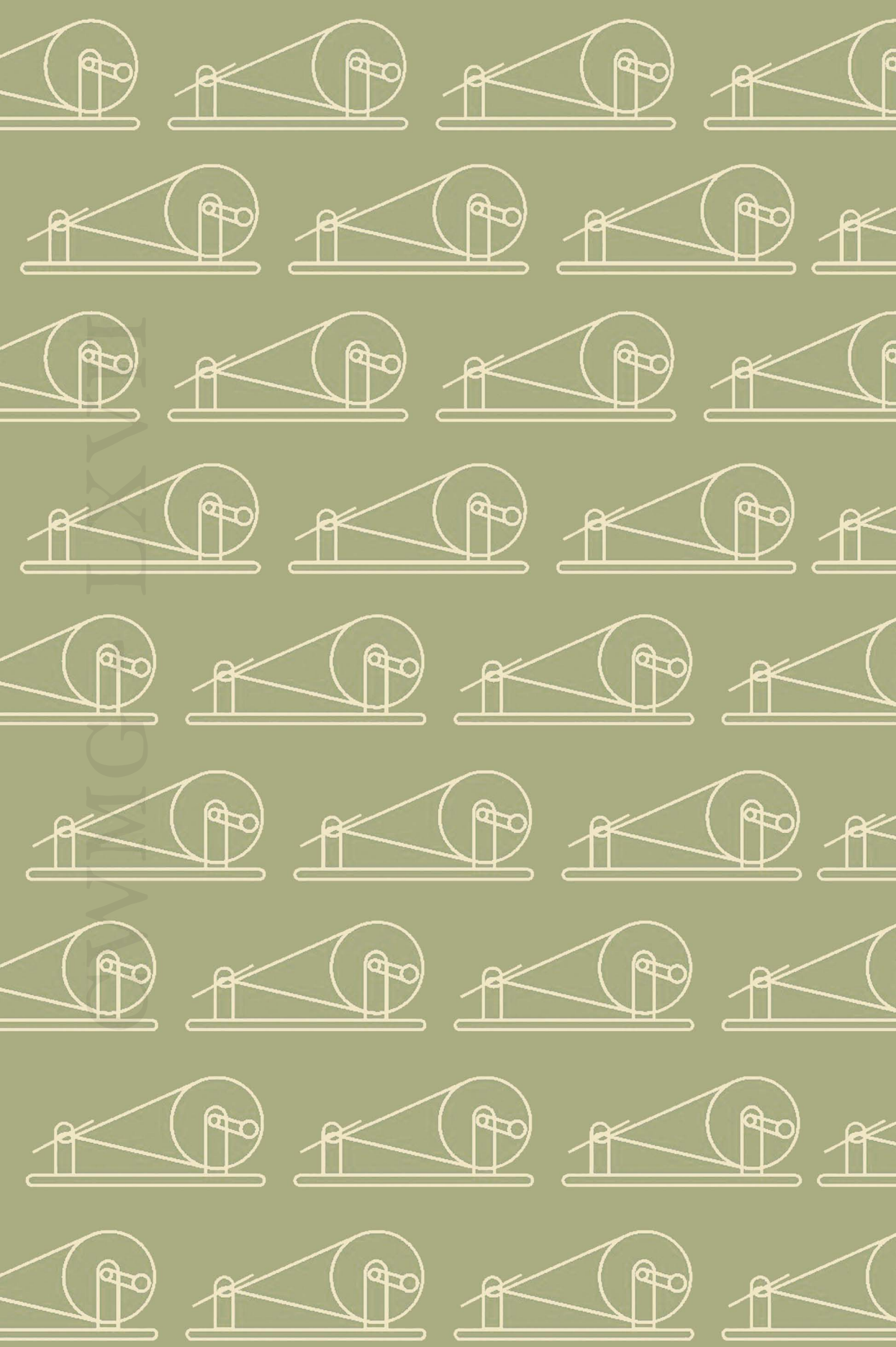
CWMG - LXVII



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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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Page No.	Location	Source Images	Finished Digital Searchable Images	Corrected as per - what
xxi	I-287, Page No.	290	209	Vol. 067 : 209
xxii	I-304, Page No.	319	219	Vol. 067 : 219
xxvii	I-505	LETTER	TELEGRAM	Vol. 067 : 344
3	FN-2	Premier	Home Minister	REF-P-E/C
31	FN-1 & 2, LL-4	whieh	which	TEXT
56	I-75, D/A	On	ON	TEXT
66	I-86, P-1, LL	cosnult	consult	TEXT
71	FN-3, L-2	of80	of 80	TEXT
81	I-105, D/A	*1 4 , 19 3 8* (SIZE)	*1 4 , 19 3 8*	SIZE
112	I-158, P-1, LL	conlcusions	conclusions	TEXT
148	P-1, L-6	arrived·	arrived.	TEXT
175	LP, LL-3	cetainly	certainly	TEXT
222	I-309, Salutation	VAJAYA	VIJAYA	Vol. 067 : 012, 081, 095, etc.
229	I-315, P-1, L-3	Hindusim	Hinduism	TEXT
232	I-317, P-1, L-4	him in to	him into	REF-OD
262	P-2, LL	cource	course	TEXT
272	FN-1	people	persons	REF-OD
275	P-1, SL	*Bomba v* (CUT)	*Bomba y*	TEXT
287	SL	Desa	Desai	TEXT
305	Forme No.	67-20 (SIZE)	67-20	SIZE

Page No.	Location	Source Images	Finished Digital Searchable Images	Corrected as per - what
311	I-449, D/A	*S pe tember*	*S ep tember*	TEXT
333	I-487, P-4, L-1	Nazimudin:	Nazimuddin:	Vol. 067 : 003, 009, 015, etc.
341	I-500, SL	G. W.	C. W.	Vol. 067 : 001, 002, 003, etc.
376	I-554, Title	*FO UD ATION*	*FO UND ATION*	TEXT
377	P-2, L-5	commitee	committee	TEXT
381	I-562, SL	Gourtesy	Courtesy	TEXT
387	FN-3, LL	311-2.	311-2	TEXT
433	I-632	*63 2*	*63 2.*	TEXT
438	I-637, P-1, L-1	*Na v ee* (CUT)	*Na y ee*	TEXT
456	SEP-6, L-2	policce	police	TEXT
468	RS, L-16	Hariian (CUT)	Harijan	TEXT
475	LS, LL-13	RATHOBONE	RATHBONE	Vol. 067 : 169
475	RS, L-1	ROCHEFELLER	ROCKEFELLER	TEXT
475	LS, L-20	Saundram	Saundaram	Vol. 067 : 382
477	LS, L-8	Hengchi	Hengchih	Vol. 067 : 250, 251, 432, etc.
477	RS, LL-6	Rawlatt	Rowlatt	Vol. 067 : 007, 010, 011, etc.
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- NOTE TO THE READER [2018] ..... (pp. 3-4 of 15)
- NOTES FOR INFORMATION AND RECORD ..... (pp. 5-7 of 15)
- AVAILABLE AS OF NOW ..... (pp. 8 of 15)
- TABLE OF STANDARD EDITIONS USED ..... (pp. 9-15 of 15)

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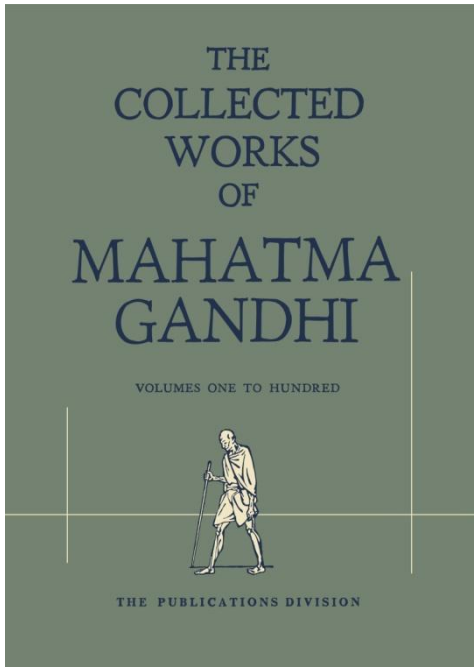

CWMG - LXVII

". . . But to cut out words or passages from a letter without reference to the writer may lead to dangerous interpretations or interpretations not intended by the writer. . . . My letters are all thought out and conceived as one piece. They contain mostly ethical matters. The removal of a word may change the meaning. I should not like my letters to be interfered with without my knowledge. . . . / I wish you could grant relief in this matter by no means trivial to me."

MKG, January 16, 1933; CWMG-Vol.-053-LIII-p.61.

.....

"It was after much thought that I declared a trust in connection with my writings. . . . I preserved fully the idea lying behind dislike for copyright, i.e., for personal gain for one's writings. The idea also was to prevent profiteering by publishers or distortion or misrepresentation, wilful or unintentional. . . ."

MKG, July 5, 1944**;** CWMG-Vol.-077-LXXVII-p.353.

.....

NOTE TO THE READER [2019]

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) is a monumental document of Gandhiji's words as he spoke and wrote, day after day, year after year, beginning with the year 1884 till his assassination on January 30, 1948. In this series his writings, scattered all over the world, have been collected and constructed with stringent academic discipline and with an ethical sense of loyalty.

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) (CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition, called so after Prof. K. Swaminathan, the chief architect of the original series, who had led uniquely qualified team of editors) had taken about 38 years in the making (1956-1994). They are a series of one hundred volumes, intricately connected across the series, as an integrated whole. The CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition volumes were published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India in the years 1956 to 1994. The exercise was directed by the CWMG Advisory Board of the Gandhi veterans closely connected with him. Some details in this respect can be viewed in volumes I, XC, XCVIII, XCIX, C, and the standard edition table.

The Electronic Master Copy as reproduced from the scanned images of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition (Volumes I to C – 1 to 100) (1956-1994) is in the form of refined (finished) electronic images, matched with the original-KS-edition, word by word, verified with the original source-documents where necessary. This will now form the basis for all future printing, as impressions of the images thereof.

The Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original architecture – volume structure, font structure, line structure, page structure – including its visual look – fully and loyally. The Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original editorial edifice and content entirely and loyally.

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The original manually prepared indexes – appearing at the end of each volume, and in the two volumes, of Subjects and of Persons – as appearing in the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition – give varied, numerous and logical profiles of Gandhiji's life and thought, action and engagements. Also, the Prefaces, as written for respective volumes when published, take us on an epic journey through his life and the nation in the making. Together, these navigators guide us far and wide and into the depths where computer technology may not lead us.

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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Execution of the task involved an intensely focused, organic, and stringently supervised effort over a period of more than five years. A lot of research, customization, and innovation have gone into the process. The research and trials had started in the years 2006-07; the real work had started in the years 2009-10.

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	{**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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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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*)

CWMG - LXVII

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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*)

CWMG - LXVII

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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)*

CWMG LXXII

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
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.

CWMG - LXVII