THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXVIII

(1938-1939)

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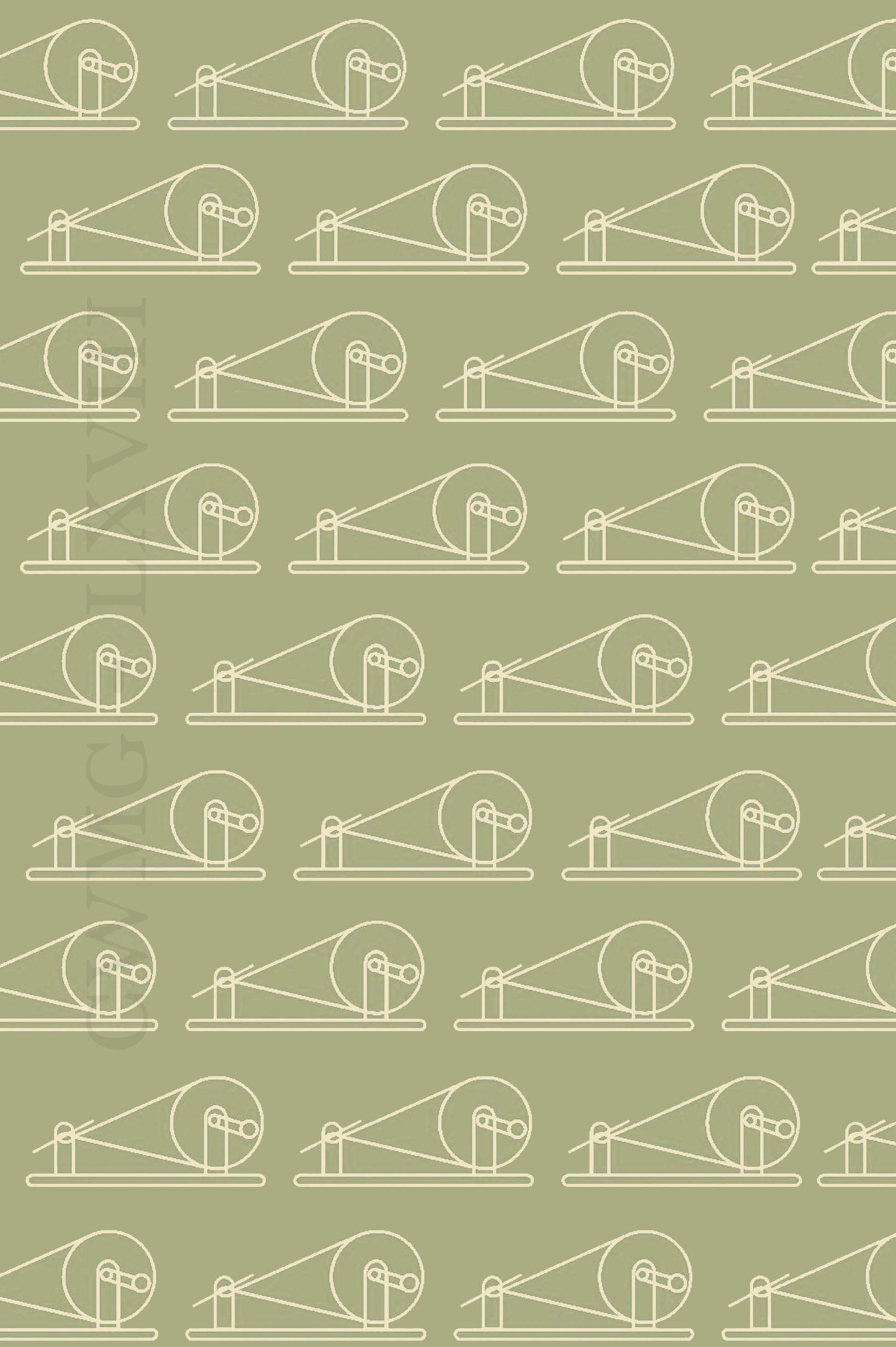
THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

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PREFACE

The opening of the present volume (October 15, 1938 to February 28, 1939) finds Gandhiji in the North-West Frontier Province, where he had gone on October 6 and stayed on till November 9 as a guest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Gandhiji found the sojourn restful, for the climate of the place was excellent and "the peace beyond description" (p. 22). He travelled extensively, meeting the Khudai Khidmatgars and talking to them as well as to the local population. To the Hindus, who were exposed to the frequent raids of Waziri tribesmen from across the border, he conceded the right of self-defence. "You must develop a sense of co-operation. In no case should you be guilty of cowardice," he said, "I do not want to see a single coward in India." But he offered the non-violent approach, the active practice of unilateral love, as the better alternative. "You are a community of traders. Don't leave out of your traffic that noblest and most precious merchandise, viz, love. Give to the tribesmen all the love that you are capable of, and you will have theirs in return" (p. 57). Though the Congress Ministry led by Dr. Khan Saheb had little control over the police and none over the military, he had hopes of evolving a plan under which the Khudai Khidmatgars could influence even the tribesmen with the "sweet fragrance" of their non-violence and might provide a permanent solution of the Frontier question.

In the talks to the Khudai Khidmatgars the emphasis was on non-violence and service. "A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history. It has happened before and it may again happen if the non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgars is unalloyed gold, not mere glittering tinsel" (p. 81). To be truly servants of God the Khudai Khidmatgars must accept non-violence as a living faith, for "We become godlike to the extent we realize non-violence . . . . Non-violence is like radium in its action. Even a tiny grain of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society" (p. 29). How were the Khudai Khidmatgars to serve God? By serving His creation, said Gandhiji. "To relieve the distress of the unemployed by providing them work, to tend the sick, to wean people from their insanitary habits, to educate them in cleanliness and healthy

living should be the job of a Khudai Khidmatgar'' (p. 43). ''For God took and needed no personal service. He served His creatures without demanding any service for Himself in return. . . . Therefore servants of God were to be known by the service they rendered to His creatures'' (p. 117).

But while Gandhiji exhorted the Red Shirts and the people to cultivate the strength that came from non-violence and meet the menace of the raids, he squarely blamed the policy pursued by the British for the raids continuing. He said: ''Continuation of the raids is in my opinion a proof of British failure in this part of India. Their Frontier policy has cost the country crores of rupees and thousands of lives have been sacrificed . . . life and property are not secure in most parts of the province'' (pp. 55-6).

The volume witnesses also an intensification of the struggle of the States' people for responsible government. Attributing this awakening to the time spirit rather than the influence of the Congress, Gandhiji invited the Princes and their advisers to recognize the people's demand as legitimate and added: ''There is no halfway house between total extinction of the States and the Princes making their people responsible for the administration of their States and themselves becoming trustees for the people, taking an earned commission for their labours . . . And if the Princes believe that the good of the people is also their good, they would gratefully seek and accept the Congress assistance'' (pp. 151-3). He further reminded the ruling chiefs that ''if they are straight and if they have their people really at their back, they have nothing to fear from the Residents. Indeed they should realize that the Paramount Power resides not in Simla, not in Whitehall, but in their people'' (p. 275).

The upsurge was particularly active in Travancore, Rajkot, Jaipur, Hyderabad and certain states of Orissa. The Rulers everywhere, instead of welcoming this mass awakening amongst their people and making them participants in the ordering of the States' affairs, sought to crush it and, what is more, were encouraged in their ways by the Paramount Power. Thus, following the assassination of a British Political Agent, Ranpur, a small Orissa State, became, as Gandhiji noted, ''a howling wilderness''. He added: ''The people, both innocent and guilty, are in hiding. They have deserted their homes in order to escape repression. . . . The technique of frightfulness is no doubt being applied and the whole of India has to be helpless witness to it'' (pp. 301-2).

In State after State—Limbdi, Rajkot, Dhenkanal—it was the same story of ''fiendish cruelty exercised by the State myrmidons

under the shadow of the police supplied by the Paramount Power'' (p. 152). There was, on occasion, even firing by police, resulting in many deaths. No less than 26,000 out of a population of 75,000 had to leave Talcher and take shelter in British Orissa.

In Rajkot, where the movement for responsible government was guided by Vallabhbhai Patel, a settlement was arrived at with the Thakore Saheb, which the latter did not respect. Imprisonments and harassment of the detenus in jail and ''organized goondaism by Regency Police'' (p. 366) continued. Kasturba felt impelled to join the satyagraha. She could not be ''unconcerned in a struggle in which so many reliable co-workers are involved,'' wrote Gandhiji. ''Satyagraha is a struggle in which the oldest and the weakest in body may take part, if they have stout hearts'' (p. 387). There was no abatement of the repression and Gandhiji found it necessary himself to pay a visit to Rajkot ''as a messenger of peace'', and the volume ends with Gandhiji hoping, vainly as he was soon to find out, ''that there will be an honourable settlement'' (p. 466).

In Travancore the repression was systematic and ruthless. There were large-scale arrests, indiscriminate firing, confiscation of property and gagging of newspapers. Gandhiji advised the State Congress leaders to concentrate on the demand for responsible government, thus inviting from the Christians the charge that he was partial to the Hindu Dewan. Gandhiji said: ''My conscience is quite clear . . . I have been against the mixing up of the struggle for responsible government with the charges against the Dewan . . . if they insisted on responsible government, there was no meaning in proceeding with the charges. It would divide the country's attention . . . '' (p. 288). The satyagraha in the state remained suspended, under Gandhiji's advice, during the period of this volume. In Jaipur the Praja Mandal was banned. Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy: ''Can a State suppress free speech, meetings and the like and expect the Paramount Power to help it in doing so, if the afflicted people carry on a non-violent agitation for the natural freedom to which every human being in a decent society is entitled?'' (p. 331).

While suppression of the popular movement was the general rule, instances were not lacking of enlightened Princes here and there going half way to meet the legitimate aspirations of their people. In Ramdurg, Jamkhandi, Miraj and Aundh, people secured liberal concessions from their Princes and in such cases Gandhi impressed upon the States People's organizations to be restrained in their demands. Commenting on the literacy

qualification for the franchise (proposed in the Aundh constitution) Gandhiji argued that the vote should be regarded as a privilege and should therefore carry some qualification and that this condition for the franchise would help the spread of literacy (p. 292). When there were reports that the Ramdurg Praja Sangh wanted to "terrorize the Ruler into making further concessions" (p. 455) Gandhiji did not approve. He said: "It may be that the claim is intrinsically sound. But they cannot enforce it by rowdyism and threats . . . The representative Congressmen in Karnatak have to stand by the Ramdurg Chief and see that the settlement is honoured by the people even though in battling with them they should lose their lives" (p. 456).

The period was also marked by a further sharpening of the conflict in the industrial as well as agrarian spheres. There were strikes and lock-outs and kisan marches and demonstrations were becoming a common feature, frequently with Congressmen leading them. There was violence in the air. Gandhiji noted: "Bihar ministers live in perpetual dread of kisan risings and kisan marches. Only two days ago I had a wire from Khandesh of a contemplated march to the Collector's bungalow by kisans headed by a well-known Congress worker" (p. 321). Gandhiji saw in this the sign of internal decay and warned: "Out of the present condition of the Congress I see nothing but anarchy and red ruin in front of the country. Shall we face the harsh truth at Tripuri?" (p. 321)

Things however did not go quite as Gandhiji had hoped and, with the election of Subhas Bose as president, the Congress leadership passed into the hands of sections that did not wholly "approve of the principles and policy" for which Gandhiji stood. Gandhiji "rejoiced" in the defeat and called upon the "minority" to give themselves up to the real work of the Congress which was the constructive programme with khadi as its centre. Jawaharlal Nehru had called khadi "the livery of freedom" and Gandhiji said: "To wear khadi is to me to wear freedom. . . . Freedom is never dear at any price. It is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living?" Khadi alone provided "dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year . . . if millions live in compulsory idleness, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically" (p. 174). Again he said, "To those who are hungry and unemployed, God can dare reveal Himself only as work and wages and the assurance of food" (p. 447). The constructive programme was an instrument of permanent value, whereas civil

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disobedience was limited in scope and "required suspension as the occasion demanded" (p. 200). Constructive work was "the permanent arm" of the Swaraj Movement; civil disobedience was remedial and therefore in its nature temporary. Suspension of civil disobedience doubled the importance of the constructive programme (pp. 243-4).

He assured some Christian missionaries that there was nothing passive about his non-violence which was, in fact, "the activest force in the world" (p. 202). Again he told Lord Lothian: "Constitutional or democratic government is a distant dream so long as non-violence is not recognized as a living force, an inviolable creed, not a mere policy" (p. 390).

Gandhiji also continued to voice his concern at Japan's depredations in China and Hitlerite Germany's persecution of the Jews. But his sympathy and admiration for the Jews did not "blind" him to the requirements of justice. He said: "The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. . . . Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood? . . . Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs . . . it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews . . ." (p. 137). From the chosen race, whose gifts he extolled, he expected nothing less than exemplary non-violence (pp. 137-41).

To meet Nazi tyranny, too, he advised the Jews to resort to non-violence. "I am convinced," he said, "That if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope" (p. 140). Non-violent people would know no fear and would neither submit nor cringe to the dictator nor bear any grudge against him; they would only pity him (p. 252). To critics who argued that such non-violence was attainable only by very few highly developed individuals his answer was: "Given proper training and proper generalship non-violence can be practised by masses of mankind" (p. 192). He similarly advised the Chinese that while they should resist aggression they should not hate the Japanese but love them. He said: "It is not enough to love them by remembering their virtues" (p. 269). Gandhiji was convinced that the world's problems could be solved only through love and non-violence—which was "the law of our life—individual, social, political, national

and international'' (p. 390). He realized that just then violence everywhere had the upper hand but he was undaunted, his faith being ''brightest in the midst of impenetrable darkness'' (p. 391).

Gandhiji was certain the world would take to the way of non-violence only when India developed this quality, but his own impurity, in his humility he thought, was probably the chief stumbling-block in the way of that hope being fulfilled. He wrote in a letter: ''My word has lost its power as it appears to me. . . . However I push on in faith. I must detach myself from the results of my thought, word or deed. I am not going to judge myself and condemn me to inactivity because I cannot get rid of the impurity in spite of incessant effort'' (p. 49). His great yearning was ''to reach the condition of Shukadevji'' (p. 250). His way of getting rid of impurity was the way of silence and prayer to which he gave himself up more and more. He told a Christian missionary: ''Nowadays I go into silence at prayer time every evening and break it for visitors at 2 o'clock. . . . It has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me'' (p. 173).

He also clarified his ideas on the subject of machine production. Asked if he was against large-scale production he said: ''I never said that. The belief is one of the many superstitions about me. . . . What I am against is large-scale production of things villagers can produce without difficulty'' (p. 258). Similarly ''the proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products'' (p. 259).

About prayer: ''Prayer is an intense longing to have communion with our Maker. It is an effort not of the intellect but of the heart'' (p. 100). Gandhiji's estimate of his own spiritual status was truly modest. In a letter to an admirer (p. 40), he said, ''I am an aspirant while they (Ramana Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo) are known to be, and perhaps are, realized souls.'' In fact he claimed that when God guides one, one should not, need not, indeed cannot, think (p. 461). On this account of the thought-free state, Ramana Maharshi's comment (p. 489) concludes with the assertion, ''Gandhiji's *Satya* is only the Self''. His belief in the manifestation of God in deed rather than in thought, word, vision or a person, comes out clearly in the conversation with Dr. Mott (p. 171). After describing the creative experience at Maritzburg railway station, Gandhiji declared, ''I have seen and believe that God never appears to you in person, but in action which can only account for your deliverance in your darkest hour.''

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NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1. NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *October 15, 1938*]

Translate this[1] for *Harijan*. Good work is being done in this village and it deserves to be noticed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11661

2. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS–I

[On or before *October 15, 1938*][2]

Gandhiji told them that though it sounded to him as an overbold statement for them to make, still, as was his wont, he would take them at their word.[3] He explained to them in detail what his conception of the nature and implications of non-violence was. It was comparatively easy to maintain a passive sort of non-violence, when the opponent was powerful and fully armed. But would they remain non-violent in their dealings amongst themselves and with their own countrymen, when there was no extraneous force to restrain or check them? Again, was theirs the non-violence of the strong or that of the weak? If theirs was the non-violence of the strong, they should feel the stronger for their renunciation of the sword. But if that was not the case with them, it was better for them to resume their weapons which they had of their own free will discarded. For it was much better for them to be brave soldiers in arms than to be disarmed and emasculated. He remarked:

A charge has been levelled against me and Badshah Khan that we are rendering India and Islam a disservice by presenting the gospel of non-violence to the brave and warlike people of the Frontier. They say that I have come here to sap your strength. The Frontier Province, they say, is the bastion of Islam in India, the Pathans are past masters in the use of the sword and the

[1] This was a letter addressed to Mahadev Desai from Pipodara. It gave a report of the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in that village from 21-9-1938 to 2-10-1938, which included a round-the-clock spinning programme. For Gandhiji's comments, *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", pp. 5-6.

[2] Gandhiji addressed the last batch of Khudai Khidmatgars of Peshawar on October 15.

[3] The Khudai Khidmatgars had said that even if Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave up non-violence, they would never do so.

rifle and mine is an attempt to emasculate them by making them renounce their arms and thus undermine the citadel of the strength and security of Islam. I wholly repudiate the charge. My faith is that by adopting the doctrine of non-violence in its entirety you will be rendering a lasting service to India and to Islam which, just now, it seems to me, is in danger. If you have understood the power of non-violence, you ought to feel the stronger for having put away your arms. Yours will be the spiritual strength with which you can not only protect Islam but even other religions. But if you have not understood the secret of this strength, if as a result of renouncing arms you feel weaker instead of stronger than before, it would be better for you to give up the profession of non-violence. I cannot bear to see a single Pathan turn weak or cowardly under my influence. Rather than that I would that you returned to your arms with a vengeance.

Today the Sikhs say that if they give up the *kirpan* they give up everything. They seem to have made the *kirpan* into their religion. By discarding it, they think, they will become weak and cowardly. I tell them, that is an idle fear and I am here to tell you the same. I have read the Koran with as much care and reverence as I have read the *Gita*. I have read other important books on Islam too. I claim to have as much regard in my heart for Islam and other religions as for my own, and I dare say with all the emphasis that I can command that although the sword has been wielded in the history of Islam and that too in the name of religion, Islam was not founded by the sword nor was its spread due to it. Similarly in Christianity the sword has been freely used. But the spread of Christianity was not due to its use. On the contrary, the use of the sword has only tarnished its fair name. Millions in Europe swear by Christianity. But contrary to the teachings of Jesus, they are engaged in a fratricidal orgy of bloodshed and murder, which is a negation of true Christianity. If you can assimilate what I have been telling you, your influence will travel far and beyond your borders and you will show the way to Europe.

Today a force of 17,000 British soldiers is able to rule over us because they have behind them the power of the British Government. If Khudai Khidmatgars really felt within themselves the upsurge of soul force as a sequel to their renouncing arms, not even 17,000 would be needed to win India her freedom, because they should have the strength of God behind them. As against it if a million of them professed non-violence while there was violence lurking in their hearts, they would count as

nothing. You should renounce the sword because you have realized that it is the symbol not of your strength but of your weakness, because it does not make for true bravery. But if you put away your sword outwardly but there is the sword in your hearts, you shall have begun the wrong way and your renunciation will be devoid of any merit. It may even prove dangerous.

What is the meaning of eradicating violence from the heart?

He next asked and proceeded to explain that it meant not merely the ability to control one's anger but its complete eradication from the heart.

If a dacoit inspires anger or fear in my heart, it means that I have not yet purged myself of violence. To realize non-violence means to feel within you its strength, otherwise known as soul force, in short, to know God. A person who has known God will be incapable of feeling or harbouring anger or fear within him, no matter how overpowering the cause for it may be.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 57-9

3. *TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS–II*

[On or before *October 15, 1938*][1]

A Khudai Khidmatgar, Gandhiji told them at one place, had first to be a man of God, i. e., a servant of humanity. It would demand of him purity in deed, word and thought and ceaseless, honest industry, since purity of mind and idleness are incompatible. They should, therefore, learn some handicraft which they could practise in their homes. This should preferably be ginning, spinning and weaving as these alone could be offered to millions and in their own homes.

A person who renounces the sword dare not remain idle for a single minute. An idle man's brain, as the popular proverb says, is the devil's workshop. Idleness corrodes the soul and intellect both. A person who has renounced violence will take the name of God with every breath and do his work all the twenty-four hours. There will be no room for an idle thought.

Moreover, every Khudai Khidmatgar must have an independent means of livelihood. Today many of you have land, but your land can be taken away from you, not your craft or your manual skill. It is true that God provides to His servant his daily bread but only if he performs bread labour. If you work

[1] Gandhiji met the last batch of Khudai Khidmatgars of Peshawar on October 15.

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not, neither shall you eat, is nature's law and should be yours too. You have adopted red shirts as your uniform. I had hoped you would have adopted khadi too which is the livery of freedom. But I see that very few among you wear khadi. The reason perhaps is that you have to provide your own uniform and khadi is dearer. That would not be so if you spin for yourself.

They should further, he told them, learn Hindustani, as that would enable them to cultivate and enlarge their minds and bring them in touch with the wider world. It was up to them also to learn the rudiments of the science of sanitation and first-aid, and last but not least, they should cultivate an attitude of equal respect and reverence towards all religions.

It is not the wearing of the red shirt that makes a Khudai Khidmatgar, nor standing in serried ranks but to feel within you the strength of God which is the opposite of the strength of arms. You have yet only arrived at the portal of non-violence. Still you have been able to achieve so much. How much greater your achievement will be when you have fully entered its holy edifice! But as I have said before, all that requires previous preparation and training. At present you lack both.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 60-1

4. *TALK WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN*

[On or before *October 15, 1938*][1]

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN: There are some Pathans in the villages here who persecute Khudai Khidmatgars beyond endurance. They beat them, seize their lands and so on. What are we to do against them?

GANDHIJI: We have to meet their high-handedness with patience and forbearance. We have to meet their atrocities in the same way as we used to meet the Britishers', not answer violence by violence, nor abuse by abuse, nor harbour anger in our hearts. If we do that it is sure to melt their hearts. If it fails, we shall non-co-operate. If they seize our lands, we shall refuse to provide them the labour even though we may have to starve. We shall brave their wrath but refuse to submit or go against our conscience.

[1] The talk took place at Utmanzai where Gandhiji spent a few days at Khan Saheb's country-house before proceeding on a tour of Mardan and Nowshera on October 15.

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A. K. Would it be permissible for us to lodge a complaint against them before the police and get them punished?

G. A true Khudai Khidmatgar won't go to a law-court. Fighting in a law-court is just like physical fighting. Only, you use force by proxy. To get the police to punish the aggressor is only a form of revenge which a Khudai Khidmatgar must abjure. Let me illustrate my meaning by a personal instance. At Sevagram some Harijans came to me and told me that unless I could get a Harijan included in the C. P. Congress Ministry, they would offer 'satyagraha' by staging a hunger-strike.[1] I knew it was all the doing of a mischief-maker. The Police Superintendent wanted to post some police force as he was afraid that the hooligans might do some mischief. But I said 'no' to him and told the Harijans that they need not sit outside in the sun; they could occupy any room they liked in the ashram. I offered to feed them too if they wanted. They chose my wife's bathroom. I let them occupy it. We looked after their needs and when one of them fell ill, we nursed him. The result was that they became our friends.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 61-2

5. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

UTMANZAI,
October 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

It seems from the translation of this letter[2] that many details have been omitted, and the report, therefore, does not read well. Did 18 persons besides the children take part? That is, in all 22 + 18? How many Muslims among them? Was there only one spinning-wheel kept working non-stop? What was the count of the yarn spun? Is Somabhai a teacher or a worker? If there are Muslim children in the school, how many? What is the population of Pipodara? What was the highest speed? And the highest count? What is the average strength? If you wish to send this letter itself, you may do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The tour starts from today, and so the wonderful peace I have been enjoying will end. I hope nevertheless that my health

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 289-90 and 292.
[2] *Vide* "Note to Mahadev Desai", p. 1.

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will continue to be as fine as it has been. The first stage of the programme is enclosed. The next has also been chalked out. We are here up to 8th November at any rate.

Khan Saheb has only one thing to occupy him: how to give me complete rest and how to feed the others.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PPS.]

Tell Rajkumari that I am not writing to her today.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11662

6. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your letters. Although Dr. Benes is practically banished,[1] your letter should go to him even if it has not. If he imbibes the spirit, exile need not matter.

Here we have superb weather. There you have abnormal rains. So had Bombay. I suppose the crops are destroyed.

I am sorry I can't leave this Province before 9th November. You will see the programme in the Press. It remains to be seen how I keep my health during the tour.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6409. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 1000

7. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Jivraj writes to say that you should not climb uphill. You also say that it does not produce a good effect. There are rickshaws there. One can use them in illness. You may get into a

[1] Following occupation of Sudetenland by Nazi Germany, Eduard Benes was forced, on October 5, to resign as President and leave the country. *Vide* also Vol. LXVII, p. 406.

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rickshaw wherever there is a climb. In this way you can go to a new place every day for a walk. I see nothing wrong in this. This is the only way of deriving full benefit from your stay in Simla. Shummy seems to be advising exactly the opposite in regard to Durga. If so, my advice should be disregarded. If I were present there, I would of course wrestle with Shummy.

You know that when there are letters for others along with letters addressed to me, I do not read them. This is my nature. There were two letters by you to Sushila in reply to the same letter. I read them. I can give for this no excuse other than curiosity. From your previous letter, I have forgotten everything except the drawing of the moon. Yesterday's letter I regard as important. I do not know what Sushila wrote to you regarding physical passion, but for me it has become a question of my veracity. You have told her that my last statement[1] should reassure them all. This pricked me. We cannot be complacent regarding physical passion in anybody's case, but, as for myself, I should say that had I, at the time of my last statement, been having such experiences as I am having now, I would most certainly have not issued it. I cannot say, either, whether I would have stopped my experiment. Hence neither you nor anybody else can remain complacent regarding me. I see no need as yet to withdraw the last statement or issue a revised one. This does not mean that any of you should start worrying. For the present, I will not go further than this. I found the time to write this much as being necessary in the interest of truth. You will naturally be curious to know more. But restrain your curiosity.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Rajkumari about physical passion so that I need not write to her separately.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11663

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 362-3.

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8. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

BA,

You are causing me a good deal of worry this time. I keep swinging between my concern for you and my sense of dharma. The mind prompts me to run down to you. Dharma tells me to remain where I am and finish the work here. If you get well soon now, my worry may end.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 29

9. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I got your two letters together.

Pay up Rs. 25 to Soptekar. I have already written to you about teaching Vatsala. Chakraiya had written to me about the book. I have replied to him and asked him to tell you. Do what you think proper. How is the newly-arrived friend[1] faring?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10776

[1] Rajbhushan

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10. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL[1]

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

What a girl you are! No letter from you at all? I see from Amritlal's letter that you have not rallied. I wrote to you and asked you to go to Maroli. When I return to Segaon you will come back there whatever the condition of your health. But do not spoil it yourself. Do as I have advised you in my letter. If there is any difficulty in going to Maroli, let me know. I must hear from you regularly. Address your letters to Peshawar. Ba has fallen ill in Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN
C/O SHRI RAMBHAI HIRABHAI PATEL
SAURASHTRA SOCIETY
ELLIS BRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7100. Also C.W. 4592. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

11. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

PESHAWAR,
October 15, 1938

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. It is bound to take more than a month. We are scheduled to be here till the 9th. I can understand your anxiety. My heart is there, but the work here is so heavy that I should not be impatient. Be patient, whatever the future may be. You want to do service whether you marry or not. And for that you wish to acquire more knowledge. I know that you would bear even blows from me, because they

[1] The letter, addressed to Ahmedabad, was redirected to Dakshinamurti in Saurashtra.

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would have been inspired only by love. I do not wish to keep you away from my eyes even for a moment. But I am helpless.

You are right about Munnalal. He will leave. It seems it is in his interest to leave.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10022. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

12. LETTER TO H. P. RANGANATH AIYENGAR

PESHAWAR,
October 16, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Mirabai has sent me both your letters. I am sorry I won't be able to avail myself of your assistance, for which however I must thank you.

I think you should remain where you are and do such service as comes your way. Shri Mahadev Desai is better.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI H. P. RANGANATH AIYENGAR
B.A., LL.B.
930 NAIDOO STREET
CHICKNAGALUR P. O.
MYSORE STATE

From a photostat: G.N. 1335

13. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

PESHAWAR,
October 16, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I had two letters awaiting me on our return to Peshawar. I see the right hand must rest a little. It is having more work than it can comfortably manage.

My health still remains ideal. What it will be during the tour I do not know. The silence will help me.

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Joshi's letter is quite typical of him.

Tell Mahadev I got a wire yesterday saying Shukla[1] is dead. He was one of my oldest friends, i. e., of English student days. He was practising in Rajkot.

They are still having rains in Segaon. Here it is perfectly dry.

Kanti's letters herewith for Mahadev. They are interesting. You should ask Mahadev to give you a summary of what he has to say.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3640. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6449

14. SPEECH AT NOWSHERA[2]

October 16, 1938

I accept *in toto* your assurance that you have fully understood the principle of non-violence and that you will hold on to it always. I congratulate you on it, and I further say that if you can put the whole of that doctrine into practice, you will make history. You claim to have one lakh Khudai Khidmatgars on your register which exceeds the total number of Congress volunteers as it stands today. You are all pledged to selfless service. You get no monetary allowance. You have even to provide your own uniforms. You are a homogeneous and disciplined body. Khan Saheb's word is law to you. You have proved your capacity to receive blows without retaliation. But this is only the first step in your probation, not the last. To gain India's freedom, the capacity for suffering must go hand in hand with the capacity for ceaseless labour. A soldier for freedom must incessantly work for the benefit of all. The resemblance between you and the ordinary soldier begins and ends with the cut of the uniform and perhaps their nomenclatures which you have adopted. But unlike them the basis of all your activity is not violence but non-violence. Therefore, your training, your preoccupations, your mode of working, even your thoughts and

[1] Presumably Dalpatram Shukla; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 41 and 44.

[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–II". The Khudai Khidmatgars of the place presented a written address to Gandhiji and assured him that their faith in non-violence was absolute and unqualified and they would never go back upon it.

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aspirations must necessarily be different from theirs. A soldier in arms is trained to kill. Even his dreams are about killing. He dreams of fighting, of winning fame and advancement on the battlefield by the prowess of his arms. He has reduced killing to an art. A satyagrahi, a Khudai Khidmatgar, on the other hand, would always long for opportunity for silent service. All his time would be given to labour of love. If he dreams, it will not be about killing but about laying down his life to serve others. He has reduced dying innocently and for his fellowmen to an art.

But what shall be the training that will fit you out for this sort of work? It must be training in various branches of constructive work.

With one lakh Khudai Khidmatgars trained in the science of constructive non-violence, he told them, trans-border raids should become a thing of the past.

You should consider it a matter of utter shame if a single theft or dacoity takes place in your midst. Even the thieves and trans-border raiders are human beings. They commit crime not for the love of the thing itself but because they are driven to it largely by necessity and want. They know no other. The only method of dealing with them that has been adopted so far has been that of employing force. They are given no quarter and they give none. Dr. Khan Saheb feels helpless against them because the Government has no other way of dealing with them. But you can make a non-violent approach to the problem, and I am sure you will succeed where the Government has failed. You can teach them to live honestly like yourselves by providing them cottage occupations. You can go in their midst, serve them in their homes and explain to them things in a loving and sympathetic manner, and you won't find them altogether unamenable to the argument of love. There are two ways open to you today, the way of brute force, that has already been tried and found wanting, and the way of peace. You seem to have made your final choice. May you prove equal to it.

Harijan, 29-10-1938

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15. SPEECH AT HOTI MARDAN[1]

October 16, 1938

Gandhiji explained to them that non-violence could not, like the curate's egg, be accepted or rejected in parts, it had value only when it was practised in its entirety.

When the sun rises the whole world is filled with its warmth, so that even the blind man feels its presence. Even so when one lakh of Khudai Khidmatgars are fully permeated with the spirit of non-violence, it will proclaim itself and everybody will feel its life-giving breath.

I know it is difficult; it is no joke for a Pathan to take an affront lying down. I have known Pathans since my South African days. I had the privilege of coming into close and intimate contact with them. Some of them were my clients. They treated me as their friend, philosopher and guide, in whom they could confide freely. They would even come and confess to me their secret crimes. They were a rough and ready lot. Past masters in the art of wielding the lathi, inflammable, first to take part in riots, they held life cheap, and would have killed a human being with no more thought than they would a sheep or a hen. That such men should have, at the bidding of one man, laid down their arms and accepted non-violence as the superior weapon sounds almost like a fairy tale. If the one lakh of Khudai Khidmatgars became truly non-violent in letter and in spirit and shed their violent past completely as a snake does its outworn skin, it would be nothing short of a miracle. That is why in spite of the assurance of your faith in non-violence that you have given me, I am forced to be cautious and preface my remarks with an 'if'. My diffidence is only a measure of the difficulty of the task. But nothing is too difficult for the brave and I know the Pathans are brave.

The crucial test by which I shall judge you is this: Have you befriended and won the confidence of each and all in your

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal Nayyar's report "At Mardan". In reply to his usual question to the Khudai Khidmatgars whether they would remain non-violent in all circumstances, one of them replied that they could put up with every kind of provocation except the abuse of their revered leaders.

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locality? Do the people regard you with love or with fear? So long as a single individual is afraid of you, you are no true Khudai Khidmatgar. A Khudai Khidmatgar will be gentle in his speech and manner, the light of purity will shine forth from his eyes, so that even a stranger, a woman or even a child would instinctively feel that here was a friend, a man of God, who could be trusted. A Khudai Khidmatgar will command the co-operation of all sections of the community, not the sort of obedience that a Mussolini or a Hitler can command through his unlimited power of coercion, but the willing and spontaneous obedience which is yielded to love alone. This power can be acquired only through ceaseless, loving service, and waiting upon God. When I find that under your influence people are gradually giving up their dirty and insanitary habits, the drunkard is being weaned from drink and the criminal from crime and the Khudai Khidmatgars are welcomed everywhere by the people as their natural protectors and friends in need, I shall know that, at last, we have got in our midst a body of men who have really assimilated the spirit of non-violence and the hour of India's deliverance is close at hand.

Harijan, 5-11-1938

16. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

MARDAN,
October 17, 1938

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

I have your letter. I do not know what I shall be able to do[1].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA SHAMLAL, M. L. A.
7 BEGUM ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat: G.N. 1285

[1] Regarding the Punjab prisoners; *vide* Vol. LXVI, p. 382.

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17. LETTER TO SIKANDAR HAYAT KHAN

AS AT PESHAWAR,
October 17, 1938

DEAR SIR SIKANDAR,

I have just received a piteous letter from prisoner Inderpaul's wife who tells me her husband, who has already served 8 years, is suffering from paralysis. May I plead for his release?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR SIKANDAR HAYAT KHAN
PRIME MINISTER
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

18. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AS AT PESHAWAR,
October 17, 1938

DEAR BROTHER,

I got your letter from Mahadev only yesterday. How I wish I could respond as you wish! Do you know that I sent Rajkumari specially to intercede[1]. But she could make no headway. Sir C. P. won't have any outsider to intervene. I implored him to invite you to inquire into the whole affair.[2] There was no response. Shamelessly I have again wired to him to allow me to send a representative. Indeed I would go myself if he tolerated me. But he won't listen to reason. Pardon me. That is how I look at his conduct of this business. Nothing has shaken my conviction that the movement is sound and so far as the leaders are concerned, non-violent. Now tell me what I should do. I hope you are keeping fit.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8820

[1] With the Travancore authorities; *vide* Vol. LXVII, "Letter to C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer", p. 253.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 311-2.

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19. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

MARDAN,
October 17, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

Did Kamala resent your guidance in any matter? On what grounds can khadi work or National School get a share of the Palitana or Porbandar money? Explain this to me.

Write about the movement that is going on there.

What has Purushottam[1] finally decided?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8552. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

20. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

October 17, 1938

CHI. LILA,

I got your letter. I wish you not to be in a hurry to go to Segaon. Increase your weight there. Come when I return there.

My health is fine. Don't expect more at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9376. Also C.W. 6651. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] Addressee's son

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21. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

PESHAWAR,[1]
October 17, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got all your three letters. I can see no flaw in your arguments. They are well set out, too. I am sure it is not your view that, in case there is war, we should come to no compromise with the British. Moreover, our refusal to take part in the war on any terms would in itself be a harassment to them. We can, however, adopt no other course, that is, if the Congress listens to me.

But I do not think it desirable that you should divert your mind even to this from your study. You will continue to reflect on the matter of course, and you will come to definite conclusions. But I think it desirable that you should not waste your time in explaining your views to others.

Your health causes me worry. You may be certain that there will be no harm at all if for the sake of your health you take one more year. Health, once lost, will not return. You have built up your body with exercise. Your constitution itself is strong. Let it not be undermined. Come to Segaon. Stay there for some time and build up your body there if you can with good food and rest. Listen to me in this matter and do not be negligent. Do not be over-confident and assume that you will somehow be able to improve your health afterwards.

I have written to Saraswati's grandfather.[2] I have written to Prabha too. If she comes I will look after her. Do not be overeager about nursing. After she is trained up, we shall see about other things. I hope that if she stays with me, her intellect will improve and develop. You will admit that that has happened to others who have stayed in the Ashram. It is true that the information they gather in their minds is little, for the curriculum is not planned with that end in view. But the intellects of those boys and girls who have stayed there work well enough in the subjects selected by them.

[1] As in the source. However, Gandhiji was not in Peshawar on this date.
[2] This letter is not traceable.

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Write to me if this seems unconvincing to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
We shall be here up to November 9 at any rate.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7350. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

22. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

MARDAN,
October 17, 1938

I have two letters from schoolmasters, besides others from laymen, complaining of students' rowdyism in Travancore. The Principal of C. M. S. College, Kottayam, says that the students blocked the passage of those who wanted to attend the classes. They twice turned away girls who did not listen to them. They rushed at the classes and made noises, making classes impossible.

This violent participation by students in a struggle which its authors claim to be absolutely non-violent, makes progress difficult, if not impossible. So far as I know, the leaders of the movement do not want the students, even if they wish to participate, to depart in any way from the non-violent way. Obstruction, rowdyism and the like are naked violence. I am credited with influence over students. If I have any, I would ask them to observe non-violence in thought, word and deed. If, however, the forces of violence cannot be controlled by those who are in charge of the movement, it may be a question for them whether in the interest of the movement itself it is not wise to suspend civil disobedience.

I must not presume to lay down the law from this distance, but I do feel from the evidence before me that the leaders would incur grave risk if they allowed students to think that their violence would help the movement or that it is secretly liked by the leaders.

Harijan, 22-10-1938

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23. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SWABI,
October 17, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is merely for love's sake. During the tour I must conserve time and energy.

You will give me your reaction to the 2nd article[1] on the European situation.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3641. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6450

24. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

SWABI,
October 17, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am writing this at night in Swabi. Last night we slept in Mardan. I have been having long talks these days with the office-bearers of the Khudai Khidmatgars. Except for this, I observe silence all the time. Do resist the temptation to write for *Harijan*. But send me your comments on it for my information. If there are mistakes in proof-reading draw Chandrashanker's attention. Pyarelal will send you a copy of the letter. I have written to Sastri.[2] Give the enclosed letter to Rajkumari.

Lila has become impatient to go to Segaon. Restrain her. She should go there after I return. Let her improve her health while in Rajkot.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11664

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 413-5.
[2] *Vide* p. 15.

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25. SPEECH AT SWABI[1]

[*October 17, 1938*][2]

Gandhiji's speech here was a passionate appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars to turn the searchlight inwards. They had proved their mettle by marching to jail in their hundreds and thousands. But that was not enough, he told them. Mere filling of the jails would not bring India freedom.

Even thieves and criminals go to prison, but their prison-going has no merit. It is the suffering of the pure and innocent that tells. It is only when the authorities are compelled to put into prison the purest and the most innocent citizens that a change of heart is forced upon them. A satyagrahi goes to prison, not to embarrass the authorities but to convert them by demonstrating to them his innocence. You should realize that unless you have developed the moral fitness to go to prison which the law of satyagraha demands, your jail-going will be useless and will bring you nothing but disappointment in the end. A votary of non-violence must have the capacity to put up with the indignities and hardships of prison life not only without retaliation or anger but with pity in his heart for the perpetrators of those hardships and indignities. I would, therefore, today ask you to examine yourselves in the light of my remarks, and if you find that you cannot or do not want to go the full length, to drop your badge of non-violence and request Khan Saheb to release you from your pledge. That will be a species of heroism. But if you have full faith in the creed of non-violence as I have described it, then know it from me that God will arm you with the required strength in your hour of trial.

Harijan, 5-11-1938

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal Nayyar's report "At Mardan"
[2] Gandhiji was at Swabi on this date.

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26. LETTER TO ROY KUMAR SING

October 18, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

All the points raised by you have surely been dealt with in my articles. Of course, I would have England and France to give up arms, if they have the courage. And of course, I maintain that the law of the lower animal world is not the law of human beings. Brute nature has been known to yield to love.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. ROY KUMAR SING
ZAMINDAR
NATHNAGAR P. O.
DT. BHAGALPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

27. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 18, 1938

BA,

I see from Ramdas's and Devdas's letters that you may now be said to be free from danger. When Sushila came to know that I was worried on your account, she asked me to let her go. I replied: "What is the use of sending you? There are many nursing Ba. I wish to be present by her bedside for my own peace of mind and Ba also would wish it. But I ought to harden my heart and obey the dharma of staying on here." But God seems to have been kind. Lakshmi and the children will be fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 30

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28. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

UTMANZAI,
October 18, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

The accompanying is for your information. What can it mean? It has produced no effect on me. What was there in the letter to Prema?

I hope you are all right. Your health must have been completely restored. Bal is with you. Isn't he? I had got his postcard.

The climate here is excellent. The peace is beyond description. One will not get such peace anywhere else.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7683

29. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

ON TOUR,
October 18, 1938

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I am in a position to answer your letter only today. I could not read the book but entrusted the work to Nanavati. I read it[1]. I accept its evidence. It is not necessary to uphold the language of Nanavati's criticism, since I am talking only of Swamiji's writings. Nanavati has quoted Swamiji's words to prove that the book, which constricts Hinduism, is disappointing. In my opinion, this debate should not be continued. Whatever the merits of the book, it cannot denigrate Swamiji, for who can forget the work that he has done? Swamiji's fame is beyond the confines of the book. I think I have served the Arya Samaj by making these two statements. Even after saying all this, if doubts persist, you may write to me for clarifications.

[1] Presumably a note prepared by Nanavati

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It will be better if you write direct to Nanavati. He will keep me informed of whatever he writes. I trust him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 828

30. HINDUSTANI, HINDI AND URDU

It is a great pity that bitter controversy has taken place and still continues regarding the Hindi-Urdu question. So far as the Congress is concerned Hindustani is its recognized official language designed as an all-India language for interprovincial contact. It is not to supplant but to supplement the provincial languages. The recent resolution of the Working Committee should set all doubt at rest. If the Congressmen who have to do all-India work will only take the trouble of learning Hindustani in both the scripts, we shall have taken many strides in the direction of our common language goal. The real competition is not between Hindi and Urdu but between Hindustani and English. It is a tough fight. I am certainly watching it with grave concern.

Hindi-Urdu controversy has no bottom. Hindustani of the Congress conception has yet to be crystallized into shape. It will not be so long as Congress proceedings are not conducted exclusively in Hindustani. The Congress will have to prescribe the dictionaries for use by Congressmen and a department will have to supply new words outside the dictionaries. It is great work, it is work worth doing, if we are really to have a living, growing all-India speech. The department will have to determine which of the existing literature shall be considered as Hindustani, books, magazines, weeklies, dailies, whether written in Urdu script or Devanagari. It is serious work needing a vast amount of plodding if it is to achieve success.

For the purpose of crystallizing Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu may be regarded as feeders. A Congressman must therefore wish well to both and keep in touch with both so far as he can.

This Hindustani will have many synonyms to supply the varied requirements of a growing nation rich in provincial languages. Hindustani spoken to Bengali or Southern audiences will naturally have a large stock of words of Sanskrit origin. The same speech delivered in the Punjab will have a large admixture of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Similar will be the case with audiences composed predominantly of Muslims who cannot

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understand many words of Sanskrit origin. All-India speakers will have therefore to command a Hindustani vocabulary which will enable them to feel at home with audiences drawn from all parts of India. Pandit Malaviyaji's name comes uppermost in this connection. I have known him handle Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking audiences with equal case. I have never found him in want of the correct word. The same is true of Babu Bhagwandas who uses synonymous words in the same speech, and he sees to it that it does not lose in grace. Among the Muslims at the time of writing I can think of only Maulana Mahomed Ali whose vocabulary was varied enough to suit both audiences. His knowledge of Gujarati acquired in Baroda service stood him in good stead.

Independently of the Congress, Hindi and Urdu will continue to flourish. Hindi will be mostly confined to Hindus and Urdu to Muslims. As a matter of fact, comparatively speaking, there are very few Muslims who know Hindi well enough to be called scholars, though, I expect, in Hindi-speaking parts, to Muslims born there, Hindi is the mother tongue. There are thousands of Hindus whose mother tongue is Urdu and there are hundreds who can be aptly described as Urdu scholars. Pandit Motilalji was one such. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru is another. Illustrations can be easily multiplied. There is therefore no reason for any quarrel or unhealthy competition between the two sisters. Healthy competition there always must be.

From all accounts I have received it seems that, under the able guidance of Moulvi Saheb Abdul Haq, the Osmania University is rendering great service to the cause of Urdu. The University has a big Urdu lexicon. Scientific treatises have been and are being prepared in Urdu. And as the teaching is being honestly imparted through Urdu in that University, it must grow. And if, owing to unreasoning prejudice today, all Hindi-speaking Hindus do not profit by the literature that is growing there, it is their fault. But the prejudice has to die. For, the present disunion between the communities is, like all diseases, only temporary. For good or for ill, the two communities are wedded to India, they are neighbours, sons of the soil. They are destined to die here as they are born here. Nature will force them to live in peace if they do not come together voluntarily.

And as with the Hindus so with the Muslims. It is the latter's loss, if they will not take advantage of the fruits of the humbler labours of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha. It is a pity they have not taken note with

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pride and pleasure of the big (for the Sammelan) step taken by it in defining Hindi as the language spoken in the north by Hindus and Mussalmans and written in Urdu or Devanagari script. Thus, so far as the definition is concerned, it answers the Congress definition of Hindustani.

I know that there are some who dream that there shall be only Urdu or only Hindi. I think it will always remain a dream and it is an unholy dream. Islam has its own peculiar culture, so has Hinduism its own. India of the future will be a perfect and happy blend of both. When that blessed day comes, their common speech will be Hindustani. But Urdu will still flourish with a predominance of Arabic and Persian words, and Hindi will still flourish with its abundant Sanskrit vocabulary. The language of Tulsidas and Surdas cannot die, even as the language in which Shibli wrote cannot die. But the best of both will be quite at home with Hindustani speech.

UTMANZAI, October 19, 1938

Harijan, 29-10-1938

31. FOREWORD TO "DADABHAI NAOROJI"

UTMANZAI,
October 19, 1938

It was on 4th September, 1888, that I sailed from Bombay with three letters of introduction, the most precious being for the G. O. M. of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. The letter was given by a Maharashtrian doctor, a friend of the family. The worthy doctor told me the G. O. M. did not know him personally, in fact he had never even had the *darshan* of the G. O. M. "But," said the doctor, "what does it matter? Everyone knows him and adores him as India's great son and champion. He has exiled himself for us. I claim to know him by his service of India. You will see that my letter will serve you just as well as if I had known him personally. The fact is, you need no introduction to him. Your being an Indian is sufficient introduction. But you are a youngster, untravelled and timid. This letter will give you courage enough to go to the G.O.M. and all will be smooth sailing for you." And so it was. When I reached London, I soon found that Indian students had free access to the G.O.M. at all hours of the day. Indeed he was in the place of father to every one of them, no matter to which province or religion they belonged.

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He was there to advise and guide them in their difficulties. I have always been a hero-worshipper. And so Dadabhai became real Dada[1] to me. The relationship took the deepest root in South Africa. For, he was my constant adviser and inspiration. Hardly a week passed without a letter from me to him describing the condition of Indians in South Africa. And I well remember that whenever there was a reply to be expected, it came without fail in his own handwriting, in his inimitably simple style. I never received a typed letter from him. And during my visits to England from South Africa I found that he had for office a garret perhaps 8 feet by 6 feet. There was hardly room in it for another chair. His desk, his chair and the pile of papers filled the room. I saw that he wrote his letters in copying ink and press-copied them himself.

I have not read Shri Masani's sketch. But if he has at all done justice to the life so noble and yet so simple, his work needs no introduction from me or anybody else. May it be an inspiration to the reader even as Dadabhai living was to me.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4875

32. LETTER TO RUSTOM MASANI

UTMANZAI,
October 19, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is the promised foreword[2]. I hope it is quite in time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I am just now reading during spare moments your *The Religion of the Good Life*, a copy of which you kindly sent me.

I see you want my photo. You will be surprised to learn that I keep none myself.

M. K. G.

Incidents of Gandhiji's Life, p. 170

[1] Grandfather
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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33. DISCUSSION WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

[*October 19/20, 1938*][1]

An important stage in Gandhiji's Frontier mission was reached when in his quiet retreat at Utmanzai he devoted two days to confabulate and compare notes with Badshah Khan after his tour of the Khudai Khidmatgars in Peshawar and Mardan districts. He asked Badshah Khan:

What is your impression? How do the Khudai Khidmatgars stand with regard to non-violence?

[A. G. K.] My impression, Mahatmaji, is that as they themselves admitted before us, the other day, they are raw recruits and fall far short of the standard. There is violence in their hearts which they have not been able altogether to cast out. They have their defects of temper. But there is no doubt as to their sincerity. Given a chance they can be hammered into shape and I think the attempt is worth while. . . . If we could assimilate and put into practice the whole of the doctrine of non-violence as you have explained it to us, how much stronger and better off we should be. . . .

Gandhiji suggested to Badshah Khan that if non-violence was to receive a fair trial, the Khudai Khidmatgars must be prepared to go through a rigorous course of training in constructive non-violence which he had in mind for them.

[A. G. K.] My idea, Mahatmaji, is to make Utmanzai into a model village. The spinning and weaving centre will serve as a sort of permanent exhibition for the education of the villagers. At the home for Khudai Khidmatgars we shall set before us the self-sufficiency ideal. We shall wear only the clothes that we ourselves produced, eat only such fruits and vegetables as we raise there and have a small dairy to provide us with milk. We shall deny ourselves what we cannot ourselves produce.

[G.] Good. May I further suggest that the Khudai Khidmatgars should take their due share in the building of the huts too that are to house them?

[A. G. K.] That is our idea.

To train the first batch of workers, Gandhiji suggested that some Khudai Khidmatgars whom Badshah Khan might select might be sent

[1] From Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–IV" published in *Harijan*, 12-11-1938

to Wardha, where, besides becoming adepts in the science of khadi, they would also get a grounding in first aid and hygiene, sanitation and village uplift work and in Hindustani. They would also be initiated there into the Wardha Scheme of education so that on their return they would be able to take up the work of mass education. Gandhiji then said:

But your work will not make headway unless you take the lead and yourself become an adept in all these things.

Lastly, your work will come to nought unless you enforce the rule of punctuality in your retreat. There must be a fixed routine and fixed hours for rising and going to bed, for taking meals and for work and rest, and they must be rigorously enforced. I attach the greatest importance to punctuality; it is a corollary to non-violence.

They next proceeded to discuss the *modus operandi* by which the Khudai Khidmatgars, when they had become sure of their non-violence, would fulfil their mission of coping with the trans-border raids. Badshah Khan was of the opinion that the task was rendered infinitely difficult by the presence of the police and the military who were not fully under popular control and whose presence there brought in all the evils of double rule. "Either the authorities should whole-heartedly co-operate with us or they should withdraw the police and the military from one district to begin with, and we shall then undertake to maintain the peace of that district through our Khudai Khidmatgars." But Gandhiji held a different view. He remarked:

I frankly confess that I do not expect the authorities whole-heartedly to co-operate with us. They would distrust our ability, if not our motive. It is too much to expect them to withdraw the police on trust. Non-violence is a universal principle and its operation is not limited by a hostile environment. Indeed its efficacy can be tested only when it acts in the midst of and in spite of opposition. Our non-violence would be a hollow thing and nothing worth if it depended for its success on the goodwill of the authorities. If we can establish full control over the people, we shall render the police and the military innocuous.

And he described to Badshah Khan how during the Bombay riots on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit, the police and the military found their job gone because the Congress immediately regained control and peace was restored.

[A. G. K.] But the difficulty is that the raiders are mostly bad characters, who have absconded from British India. We cannot make contact with them because the authorities won't permit us or our workers to go into the tribal territory.

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[G.] They must, and I tell you they will when we are fully ready. But for that we shall need to have a body of Khudai Khidmatgars who are really and truly servants of God, with whom non-violence is a living faith. Non-violence is an active principle of the highest order. It is soul force or the power of the godhead within us. Imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that Essence—he would not be able to bear its full blaze—but even an infinitesimal fraction of it, when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. The sun in the heavens fills the whole universe with its life-giving warmth. But if one went too near it, it would consume him to ashes. Even so is it with godhead. We become godlike to the extent we realize non-violence; but we can never become wholly God. Non-violence is like radium in its action. An infinitesimal quantity of it imbedded in a malignant growth, acts continuously, silently, and ceaselessly till it has transformed the whole mass of the diseased tissue into a healthy one. Similarly, even a tiny grain of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society.

It is self-acting. The soul persists even after death, its existence does not depend on the physical body. Similarly, non-violence or soul force too, does not need physical aids for its propagation or effect. It acts independently of them. It transcends time and space.

It follows, therefore, that if non-violence becomes successfully established in one place, its influence will spread everywhere. So long as a single dacoity takes place in Utmanzai, I will say that our non-violence is not genuine.

The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what holds good in respect of yourself holds good equally in respect of the whole universe. All mankind in essence are alike. What is, therefore, possible for me is possible for everybody. Pursuing further this line of reasoning, I came to the conclusion that if I could find a non-violent solution of the various problems that arise in one particular village, the lesson learnt from it would enable me to tackle in a non-violent manner all similar problems in India.

And so I decided to settle down in Sevagram. My sojourn in Sevagram has been an education for me. My experience with the Harijans has provided me with what I regard as an ideal solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, which does away with all pacts. So if you can set things right in Utmanzai your whole problem would be solved. Even our relations with the

English will be transformed and purified if we can show to them that we really do not stand in need of the protection for which their police and the army are ostensibly kept.

But Badshah Khan had a doubt. In every village there is an element of self-seekers and exploiters who are ready to go to any length in order to serve their selfish ends. Would it not be better, Khan Saheb asked, to ignore them altogether or should an attempt be made to cultivate them too.

[G.] We may ultimately have to leave some of them out, but we may not regard anybody as irreclaimable. We should try to understand the psychology of the evil-doer. He is very often victim of his circumstances. By patience and sympathy, we shall be able to win over at least some of them to the side of justice. Moreover, we should not forget that even evil is sustained through the co-operation, either willing or forced, of good. Truth alone is self-sustained. In the last resort we can curb power of the evil-doers to do mischief by withdrawing all co-operation from them and completely isolating them.

This in essence is the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. It follows, therefore, that it must have its roots in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while non-co-operating with him, we must make him feel that in us he has a friend and we should try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service whenever possible. In fact it is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. That was my experience in South Africa with General Smuts. He started by being my bitterest opponent and critic. Today he is my warmest friend. For eight years we were ranged on opposite sides. But during the Second Round Table Conference it was he who stood by me and, in public as well as in private, gave me his full support. This is only one instance out of many that I can quote.

Times change and systems decay. But it is my faith that in the result, it is only non-violence and things that are based on non-violence that will endure. Nineteen hundred years ago Christianity was born. The ministry of Jesus lasted only for three brief years. His teaching was misunderstood even during his own time, and today's Christianity is a denial of his central teaching—"Love your enemy". But what are nineteen hundred years for the spread of the central doctrine of a man's teaching ?

Six centuries rolled by and Islam appeared on the scene. Many Mussalmans will not even allow me to say that Islam, as the word implies, is unadulterated peace. My reading of the Koran has convinced me that the basis of Islam is not violence. But here again thirteen hundred years are but a speck in the cycle of Time. I am convinced that both these great faiths will live only to the extent that their followers imbibe the central teaching of non-violence. But it is not a thing to be grasped through mere intellect, it must sink into our hearts.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 71-8

34. NOTES

Mr. and Esquire *v.* Shri, Moulvi, Maulana, Janab and the Like

Some friends told me on my putting 'Shri' before 'Jinnah' instead of 'Mr.' in my statement made before I visited him in Bombay that it must have offended him. I demurred and said that if he was offended he would have given me a gentle hint, I would have apologized and used an adjective he liked best. The readers will remember, in the heyday of non-co-operation the terms 'Mr.' and 'Esq.' were dropped by Congressmen and the nationalist Press, and 'Shri' was the title largely used for all irrespective of religion. Though the practice has largely fallen into desuetude, I have never given it up. But for our bad habit, I was going to say slavish mentality, we would never have used 'Mr.' and 'Esquire' before or after Indian names. In Europe an Englishman never addresses foreigners as 'Mr.' or 'Esquire' but uses the adjectives current in the respective countries. Thus Hitler is never called 'Mr.', he is 'Herr' Hitler. Similarly Mussolini is neither 'Mr.' nor 'Herr', he is 'Signor'. Why we should have dropped our own nomenclature I do not know. But a moment's detachment from the prevailing habit should show us that the use of 'Mr.' and 'Esquire' before or after Indian names sounds ludicrous.

I must, however, admit that the use of 'Shri' before Muslim names, in these days of mutual suspicion, may not please Muslim friends. I have discussed the matter with some Muslim friends. They told me the word 'Moulvi' was the usual adjective. 'Janab' I have heard often in the South. Anyway I can say that in using 'Shri' for Muslim Indian names, I have had no idea except

the friendliest. When anybody calls me 'Mr.' the use of the word jars on me. The happiest Hindu usage is 'ji' at the end of the name. 'Saheb' is synonymous with 'ji'. I remember I always used to address the late Hakim Ajmalkhan as Hakimji. Some Muslim friend told me that Hakim 'Saheb' would be preferred by Muslims. I had not known before of any such preference. But since the correction, except for inadvertent use of 'ji', I always addressed the deceased patriot as Hakim Saheb. I could not address him as 'Mr.' Ajmalkhan even if somebody deposited five salted canes on the naked back. It seems that we become 'Misters' and 'Esquires' after we receive English education!!! Will readers learned in this kind of lore help me and persons like me by giving the uncontaminated usages in vogue in India?

UTMANZAI, October 20, 1938

Harijan, 29-10-1938

35. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 20, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

My post is going abegging. Hence for four days I am without any news from you. I know it is well with Mahadev and yet one wants the written letter. Ba, whose health has caused me anxiety this time, is out of danger. Perhaps Mahadev too gets the news independently.

At this end it is all well. I am having good chats with the Khudai Khidmatgars. The more correct description would be to say that I have been giving them discourses which Khan Saheb translates with rare zeal. He puts his whole soul into the thing. Silence has become second nature with me.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

Utmanzai which we leave tomorrow not to return during this tour.

From the original: C.W. 3642. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6451

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36. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

October 20, 1938

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

We get no time to talk.[1] My prescription is good for you, for me and for the country. You would get the freedom you seek. Your capital is neither silver nor gold, nor intellect; your capital is your infinite love. You can trade it here to your heart's content. I shall not be able to find for you a better field of service. You may accept it if you like.

I got the impression from S.'s[2] letter that she had given up the thought of F.[3] If she wants to marry him you should caution her fully. You should also tell F. that it would not be a proper thing for him to take on a married woman.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2460

37. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

PESHAWAR,
October 20, 1938

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. Write about your experiences in Calcutta. Satis Babu has grown weak. Do something for him if you can. Or have you lost touch with nature cure? I am only joking. I shall be here till November 9. Then Segaon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, facing p. 272

[1] The addressee was with Gandhiji at Utmanzai.
[2] & [3] The names have been omitted.

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38. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

KOHAT,
October 21, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have replied to your telegram. Even if you go to Travancore as a private citizen, you will succeed. Meet the prisoners. There is a good deal of falsehood in the air. I have received heaps of telegrams from the Congress[1] totally denying the charge of violence by it. But there are other telegrams, too, which say that there has undoubtedly been violence. The truth can be ascertained only if somebody goes there personally. You know the attitude I have adopted. The people should withdraw the allegations against C. P. or make them the main issue. If they adopt the latter course, then there is no need for satyagraha. It is for the local workers to make the choice. If C. P. offers to invite a judge from outside to try the cases, the people should accept the challenge. If they refuse to do that, the fight will lose its moral basis. You must have seen my last advice. If violence is going on for whatever reason, civil disobedience must be suspended unconditionally. Let those imprisoned remain in jails. Excepting civil disobedience, the rest of the programme may continue. You may, however, decide what you think best after a personal visit. See Ramachandran first and then the prisoners.

Read the accompanying wire from Balkrishna[2] of Kanpur. I have wired back saying I knew nothing of the matter. The Parliamentary Board, I assume, must have agreed to intervene on the Minister's advice. Even if that is not the case, the Provincial Committee is free to handle the affair as it likes. I suppose all this is not out of your mind.

I hope your health is all right. I am keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Why should you resign from the Gandhi Seva Sangh? Jamnalalji is practically an invalid at present. Even if he resigns,

[1] Travancore State Congress
[2] Balkrishna Sharma, a leading Congress worker of Kanpur

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however, won't he continue to give his services? Nothing is going to improve by your resigning.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 226-7

39. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

October 21, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

It is 12.45 a. m. I do not have a pen. But since this is a good opportunity I am writing in pencil on mill-made paper. I am late in replying to you. I am helpless. The doctor won't allow me to work at night. Today, for some reason, I am not able to sleep. That is how I can write to you. I hope you will not find my handwriting difficult to decipher. Or maybe I shall ask Kanu to copy it out in ink.

Give me time till the end of this tour. Do not mind if this season is wasted. What do the poor do? There is nothing improper in what you say. I am certainly not angry but I am not amused either. I respect your language because you speak or write just what comes to your mind. Maybe I am in the dark. It is more probable because I know nothing of these matters. I have caught hold of one thing. Both of you love the cow. You are more industrious. You have greater love for the cow. Parnerkar has more scientific knowledge. In this situation, I thought I should do something which would allow scope for both. I shall then know who is right. This may entail some loss and I shall suffer it.

However, I approve of your suggestion. I should not involve myself in these complications but should appoint an arbitrator who should listen to both sides and give a decision. His verdict should be accepted. Could Chimanlal, Nanavati or Mirabehn serve the purpose? I am inclined to suggest Kishorelal, but why should I put him to this strain? I do not mind troubling Radhakisan. If Parnerkar approves of these names, the matter can be decided soon. You need not wait till I return. You may mention this to Parnerkar. I think I have now answered all your points. Be patient.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1911

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40. THE CONFISCATED LANDS

It would be wrong on my part if I allowed it to be said that the Bill to provide for the restoration of lands forfeited during the Civil Disobedience Movement just passed by the Bombay Legislature, miscalled expropriatory law, would not have been passed if I had my will. I must make the confession that I had some hand in the Ministers' bringing in the Bill. Indeed I felt that any other course would be less than correct. Any parley with those who had bought the lands would be either coercion on behalf of the Government or blackmail by the so-called owners. If it was right to restore the lands to the true owners, it should be done by law. If the Government had not the power under the Government of India Act even to pass such an innocent and necessary relief measure, it was worse than the critics had described it to be. I hold that the Bombay Bill is more than just. The clause providing for compensation to the so-called owners to the extent of their outlay plus interest makes it more than just. The provable facts about these lands are that they were bought in collusion with the authorities. Indeed it was difficult for them to find purchasers. The lands were sold to terrorize the people. It was part of the repressive policy, and they were sold in some cases for a song. When the Government that resorted to such terrorism gave place to those who were its victims, surely they must be credited with magnanimity when, instead of confiscating the lands purchased collusively and in the teeth of strong and overwhelming popular opposition, they offered compensation.

Had the fight between the Government and the people been violent instead of non-violent, the victorious party coming into power would certainly have restored without compensation all property to the legal possessors forcibly taken away from the rightful owners. Surely, the situation could not be altered because the fight was non-violent and there was a semblance of legal procedure about the transfers. The public should know that the lands were first confiscated by the then Government and when the confiscation did not seem to break the spirit of the fighters, the unworthy means of selling the lands was resorted to. But they seemed to be terrified of their own enormity and they desisted from selling further lands. I would far rather draw the curtain

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over the painful past. I have raised it just to let the reader know that the Bombay Government have not been guilty of injustice.

KOHAT, October 22, 1938

Harijan, 29-10-1938

41. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

KOHAT,
October 22, 1938

BIRLA
ROYAL EXCHANGE
CALCUTTA

KOHAT UP TO MONDAY. POSTING PROGRAMME. FINISH NINTH NOVEMBER.

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7799. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

42. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

KOHAT,
October 22, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I got all the five letters yesterday at Peshawar during the 4 hours' halt.

Tyrants would not be tyrants if they did anything but injustice. But thank God for this tyrant you acquit him of conscious injustice. Mahadev says you felt like fainting the other day. Why? And why do you persist in working even when you faint? Or do you want it to be said of you after your death (may it be after many many years) that you were so conscientious that you worked away even though you fainted? In my language it would be called folly. You must not faint. There is no medicine for Shummy save love, more and yet more *ad infinitum*. I must not say more if I am to keep my appointments. Your Kohat letter has come.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3643. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6452

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43. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 22, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

We arrived in Peshawar yesterday at 8.30 and started out again at four. Five days' mail had accumulated in Peshawar. I got all your letters only yesterday.

Why did you feel that your letters might be a burden to me? It is not at all so. The fact is that whenever there is no letter from you, I feel very uneasy. And if the letter is short, I get angry and wonder what could keep you so busy that you had to be content with only two lines.

About Bablo, Rajkumari writes to say that he should be given full scope for mental development. I also believe that this should be done, either through the current method, i.e., through the high school, etc., or the other method, of coaching at home. The development through home coaching will be in one direction, and through the college, etc., it will be in another direction. Think over this with Rajkumari. If you can think of anything different from what is being done at present, we may do it. Bablo also may suggest.

I have already written to Lilavati. The only purpose behind asking you also to write to her was that she might hear the same opinion from all sides. She has given me no notice that she will not stay with you now. Nor do I feel so. All the same, we will not keep her there forcibly. But since at present your plans are uncertain why need we think about the matter?

Pothan has been writing to me about Travancore. Generally a man's obituary is written after his death. In your case, this is done before your death. So why should you concern yourself now what will be written after your death? Later on a new and revised edition of your biography will be brought out. If not Pothan, somebody else like him will write a revised obituary.

I may not write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11665

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44. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

KOHAT,
October 22, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I have already written you two letters. In one I sent a note to Shamjibhai for Rs. 300.[1] You must have received it. You should respect Jayaprakash's wishes. Go with him if you are required to do so. Even in that case, however, bring Saraswati with you. Leave her at the nearest station. I will arrange for somebody to escort her from there. This means, of course, that you will have to go to Trivandrum. There is no time for more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3523

45. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KOHAT[2]

October 22, 1938

I have given over one hour today to acquaint myself with your difficulties and woes. But I confess to you that I am no longer fit to tackle such matters. While, on the one hand, old age is slowly creeping over me, on the other my responsibilities are becoming more and more multifarious and there is danger that if I have too many irons in the fire, I may not be able to do justice to the more important of my responsibilities. And among these, the responsibility that I have undertaken in respect of the Khudai Khidmatgars is the more important, and if I can carry it out to my satisfaction, in collaboration with Khan Saheb, I will feel that my closing years have not been wasted.

[1] The letter to Shyamji Sunderdas however mentions Rs. 200; *vide* Vol. LXVII, p. 427.

[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–III". At the meeting addresses were presented to Gandhiji by the District Congress Committee on behalf of the citizens of Kohat. The meeting was attended by about 5,000 people.

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People laugh at me and at the idea of Khudai Khidmatgars becoming full-fledged non-violent soldiers of swaraj. But their mockery does not affect me. Non-violence is a quality not of the body but of the soul. Once its central meaning sinks into your being, all the rest by itself follows. Human nature in the Khudai Khidmatgars is not different from mine. And I am sure that if I can practise non-violence to some extent, they, and for the matter of that anyone else, can. I, therefore, invite you to pray with me to the Almighty that He may make real my dream about the Khudai Khidmatgars.

Harijan, 5-11-1938

46. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

KOHAT,
[*October 22/23, 1938*][1]

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

I feel on reading your letter that this time at any rate you have to stay in Delhi. All the tasks suggested are a must for you.

I shall write to the Meerut people.

You may do whatever seems proper regarding S. Shall I write to F. ?

I certainly gave you permission to live with me but take it that this desire is born of attachment. It would not do simply to assert that Ramana Maharshi and Aurobindo are one-sided while I am all-sided. One who is one-sided but understands his mission and pursues it has merit. One who claims to be all-sided but is only experimenting has even less worth than broken almond shells. Only God knows where I stand. I am an aspirant while they are known to be, and perhaps are, realized souls. Anyway their followers attribute to them full self-realization.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2459

[1] Gandhiji was in Kohat on these dates.

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47. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

KOHAT,
[*October 22/23, 1938*][1]

In the course of his talk before the Khudai Khidmatgar officers at Kohat, he impressed upon them the tremendous nature of the step which they had taken. He had often said before that if the Pathan, famed in the world for the prowess of his arms, really took to non-violence, renouncing arms, it would be a red-letter day in the history of India and the world.

For good or for ill, the Pathan today has come to be regarded as a bogey man by the average person in India. In Gujarat and Kathiawar children turn pale at the very mention of the Pathan. At Sabarmati Ashram, we try to inculcate fearlessness among the children. But I am ashamed to confess that in spite of all our efforts we have not succeeded in making them eradicate the fear of the Pathan from their hearts. I have not been able to impress upon our ashram girls that they have no need to fear a Pathan. They try to make a show of bravery. But it is only a make-believe. During a communal disturbance they dare not stir out of their homes if there is a report of even a casual Pathan being about. They are afraid they would be kidnapped.

I tell them that even if they are kidnapped they must not be frightened. They should appeal to the kidnapper's sense of honour to behave chivalrously towards one who should be as a sister to him. If in spite of their entreaties he persists in his evil intentions (since all must die some day), they can put an end to their life by biting the tongue but not submit. They answer, 'What you say is right. But it is all new to us. We have not the confidence that at the proper time we shall be able to do what you tell us.' If such is the case with the Ashram girls, what must it be with others? When, therefore, I hear that a body of Khidmatgars has arisen among the Pathans, who have completely renounced violence, I do not know whether to believe it or not.

[1] Gandhiji was in Kohat on these two days. However, according to the source this talk took place before "Talk to Khudai Khidmatgars", pp. 44-7.

What are the implications of renouncing violence and what is the mark of a person who has renounced violence?

One did not become a Khudai Khidmatgar by adopting that name or by putting on the Khudai Khidmatgar's uniform, he told them. It needed systematic training in non-violence. In Europe where they had glorified killing into a noble profession, they spent millions on perfecting the science of destruction. Their best scientists were pressed into its service. Even their educational system was centred on it. They spent stupendous sums too on luxuries and means of physical comforts, which formed a part of their ideal. By contrast, the mark of a man of God or a Khudai Khidmatgar should be purity, industry and unremitting hard labour in the service of God's creation.

In the course of serving your fellow creatures you will get a measure of the progress you have made in non-violence and of the power that is in non-violence. Armed with this power, a single person can stand against the whole world. That is not possible with the sword.

Hitherto, non-violence had been synonymous with civil breach of laws and taking the penalty for the same non-violently. But he wished to tell them that, although civil disobedience was included in the programme of non-violence, its essence as he had pointed out at Swabi, was the moral right or fitness which it presupposed in the civil resister and which accrued to one who trained himself in the practice of non-violence.[1] In the satyagraha fight 'civil disobedience is the end, not the beginning. It is the last step, not the first.' People used to have a craven fear of the Government. As a remedy, he had prescribed satyagraha or civil disobedience. It was a sharp medicine.

Unless a physician, who administers powerful drugs, knows exactly when to stop, he loses his patient. That is why I promptly called off civil disobedience, confining it to myself alone when the situation demanded it.[2] It was just in time. So I would like you, for the time being, to forget civil disobedience.

He next proceeded to explain that service of God could only be performed through service of His creatures. He had made it his habit to try to see always the hand of God in everything even at the risk of being considered superstitious. Thus he saw the hand of God in the name that Badshah Khan had given them. Badshah Khan had not called them *satyagrahis* but servants of God.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Swabi", p. 20.

[2] In April 1934 Gandhiji had advised all Congressmen to suspend civil disobedience for swaraj as distinguished from civil disobedience for specific grievances; *vide* Vol. LVII, pp. 348-50.

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But how to serve God since He is incorporate and needs no personal service? We can serve Him by serving His creation. There is an Urdu verse which says: 'Man can never be God but in essence he is not different from Divinity.' Let us make our village our universe. We shall then serve God by serving our village. To relieve the distress of the unemployed by providing them work, to tend the sick, to wean people from their insanitary habits, to educate them in cleanliness and healthy living should be the job of a Khudai Khidmatgar. And since whatever he does is in God's service, his service will be performed with far more diligence and care than that of paid workers.

He ended by giving a few practical hints as to how to cultivate non-violent strength.

A Khudai Khidmatgar will keep a strict account of every minute of his time which he will regard as God's trust. To waste a single moment of one's time in idleness or frivolity is a sin against God. It is on a par with stealing. If there is even a tiny little bit of land available, he will occupy himself with growing something on it—food or vegetables for the destitute and needy. If he should feel inclined to sit idle and do nothing because his parents have enough money to enable him to purchase food and vegetables from the bazaar, he will argue to himself that by drawing upon the bazaar supplies, he deprives the poor of the same and steals what belongs to God. Before he purchases or uses anything, a Khudai Khidmatgar will ask himself whether there is not somebody else whose need may be greater than his. Supposing somebody places a sumptuous dish before him and a starving person appears on the scene, he will think of the latter's need first, feed him and then alone partake of the dish.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 83-6

48. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 23, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

As the ink in Sushila's pen is exhausted, I am writing with a pencil to save time. This was given to me by Brijkrishna. I am sending the accompanying letter only for your information. I have written to Agatha and asked her to come here directly.

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My return may be delayed and it does not seem proper that she should keep wandering from place to place. Here some of the sights are so charming that I cannot help thinking about you. The climate of course is excellent. I will not write to Rajkumari today.

There is a heap of letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11667

49. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

HUNGOO,
[*October 23, 1938*][1]

Gandhiji referred to an address of welcome that had been presented to him at Nasarat Khel on the way, at the foundation laying ceremony of the Khudai Khidmatgars' office. In it there was a reference to "our last struggle". He remarked:

Let me tell you that civil disobedience may come and go, but our non-violent struggle for freedom goes on and will continue till Independence is attained. Only the form has changed.

I know that to 90 per cent Indians, non-violence means that and nothing else.[2] It is good so far. There is bravery in it. But you and particularly the Khudai Khidmatgar officers must clearly understand that this is not the whole of non-violence. If you have really understood the meaning of non-violence, it should be clear to you that non-violence is not a principle or a virtue to be brought into play on a particular occasion or to be practised with reference to a particular party or section. It has to become a part and parcel of our being. Anger should disappear from our hearts altogether, otherwise what is the difference between ourselves and our oppressors? Anger may lead one person to issue an order to open fire, another to use abusive language, a third one to use the *lathi*. At root it is all

[1] According to Pyarelal's report in the Frontier Province–III published in *Harijan*, 5-11-1938, Gandhiji visited Hungoo on October 23, 1938.

[2] The address had mentioned that the Khudai Khidmatgars had not been and would never be cowed down by repression.

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the same. It is only when you have become incapable of feeling or harbouring anger in your hearts that you can claim to have shed violence or can expect to remain non-violent to the end.

He then proceeded to explain the difference between civil disobedience and satyagraha.

Our civil disobedience or non-co-operation, by its very nature, was not meant to be practised for all time. But the fight which we are today putting up through our constructive non-violence has a validity for all time; it is the real thing. Supposing the Government were to cease to arrest civil resisters, our jail-going would then stop but that would not mean that our fight is over. A civil resister does not go to jail to embarrass the jail authorities by indulging in the breach of jail rules. Of course, there can be civil disobedience in jail too. But there are definite rules for it. The point is that the civil resister's fight does not end with his imprisonment. Once we are inside the prison we become civilly dead so far as the outside world is concerned. But inside the prison our fight to convert the hearts of the Government's bond slaves, i. e., the jail officials, just begins. It gives us a chance of demonstrating to them that we are not like thieves or dacoits, that we wish them no ill, nor do we want to destroy the opponent but want only to make him our friend, not by servilely obeying all orders, just or unjust—that is not the way to win true friendship—but by showing them that there is no evil in us, that we sincerely wish them well and in our hearts pray that God's goodness may be upon them. My fight continued even when I was lodged behind prison bars. I have been several times in prison and every time I have left only friends behind in the jail officials and others with whom I have come in contact.

It is a speciality of non-violence that its action never stops. That cannot be said of the sword or the bullet. The bullet can destroy the enemy; non-violence converts the enemy into a friend and thus enables the civil resister to assimilate to himself the latter's strength.

By their civil disobedience struggle, he continued, they had demonstrated to the world their determination no longer to be ruled by the British. But they had now to give proof of valour of another and higher type. During the Khilafat days tall, hefty Pathan soldiers used to come and meet the Ali Brothers and himself secretly. They used to tremble at the thought of their visit being discovered by their superior officers and resulting in their

dismissal from service. In spite of their tall stature and physical strength they used to cower and become servile when confronted by a person physically stronger than they.

I want strength which will enable me to submit to none but God, my sole Lord and Master. It is only when I can do that, that I can claim to have realized non-violence.

He then proceeded to expatiate on another speciality of non-violence, viz., one need not go to a school or a *pir* or a guru to learn its use. Its virtue lay in its simplicity. If they realized that it was the most active principle that worked all the twenty-four hours without rest or remission, they would look for opportunities for its application in their homes, in the streets, in relation to their foes no less than friends. They could begin to practise it in their homes from that very day. He had disciplined himself sufficiently never to feel angry with the enemy, but he confessed that he sometimes lost temper with friends. Such discipline in non-violence as he had, he told them, he had at home from his wife. And with that he unfolded in poignant detail, a chapter of his domestic life. He used to be a tyrant at home, he said. His tyranny was the tyranny of love.

I used to let loose my anger upon her. But she bore it all meekly and uncomplainingly. I had a notion that it was her duty to obey me, her lord and master, in everything. But her unresisting meekness opened my eyes and slowly it began to dawn upon me that I had no such prescriptive right over her. If I wanted her obedience, I had first to persuade her by patient argument. She thus became my teacher in non-violence. And I dare say, I have not had a more loyal and faithful comrade in life. I literally used to make life a hell for her. Every other day I would change my residence, prescribe what dress she was to wear. She had been brought up in an orthodox family where untouchability was observed. Muslims and untouchables used to frequent our house. I made her serve them all regardless of her innate reluctance. But she never said 'no'. She was not educated in the usual sense of the term and was simple and unsophisticated. Her guileless simplicity conquered me completely.

You have all wives, mothers and sisters at home. You can take the lesson of non-violence from them. You must, besides, take the vow of truth, ask yourselves how dear truth is to you and how far you observe it in thought, word and deed. A person who is not truthful is far away from non-violence. Untruth itself is violence.

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Referring to the month of Ramzan that had just set in, he told them how it could be used to make a start in non-violence.

We seem to think that the observance of Ramzan begins and ends with abstention from food and drink. We think nothing of losing temper over trifles or indulging in abuse during the sacred month of Ramzan. If there is the slightest delay in serving the repast at the time of the breaking of the fast, the poor wife is hauled over live coals. I do not call it observing the Ramzan, but its travesty. If you really want to cultivate non-violence, you should take a pledge that come what may, you will not give way to anger or order about members of your household or lord it over them. You can thus utilize trifling little occasions in everyday life to cultivate non-violence in your own person and teach it to your children.

He took another instance. Suppose somebody hit their child with a stone. Usually the Pathan tells his child not to return home to whine but to answer back with a bigger stone. But a votary of non-violence, said Gandhiji, would tell his child not to meet a stone by a stone but by embracing the boy who threw the stone and making friends with him.

The same formula, i. e., to banish anger completely from the heart and to make everybody into one's friend, is indeed enough to win India her independence. It is the surest and the quickest way, too, and it is my claim that for winning Independence for the poor masses of India, it is the only way.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 87-91

50. THE NATIONAL FLAG

Here is a letter from a correspondent:

> It has become a far too common occurrence and therefore deserving of notice at your hands to set up the national tri-coloured flag in such a manner as to indicate rivalry with or predominance over the religious flags and other symbols exhibited on occasions of religious worship and festivities. While we all desire that the national flag should be a symbol of unity and determination to achieve uninterrupted progress in all directions, we should be undoing this very purpose by trying to make rivalry between the national flag and other flags and symbols connected with religion which should predominate on occasions of religious ceremony. The enthusiasm of some of our workers leads them to error in this respect and in fact to develop an opposition in some quarters to the national flag which did not exist before.

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Sometimes, again, private interests and factions seek to make use of the national feeling in respect of the flag and exploit it for their own purposes by mixing up a quarrel with the national flag and confusing the issues in regard to incidents.

It seems as if ever so many of the movements for which you were responsible are liable to be misconstrued and misdirected, unless you are always ready to re-explain, re-interpret and prevent misdirection. I particularly fear the consequences of doing anything to create a rivalry between the national flag and the religious symbols of either Hindus or Mussalmans or of others. The tendency of setting up the national flag on temple cars and temple towers offends my sense of the universality of religion and the incongruity of trying to nationalize God.

As the author of the idea of a national flag and its make up which in essence the present flag represents, I have felt grieved how the flag has been often abused and how it has even been used to cover violence. The flag has been designed to represent non-violence expressed through real communal unity and non-violent labour which the lowliest and highest can easily undertake with the certain prospect of making substantial and yet imperceptible addition to the wealth of the country. But today it must be confessed that from that standpoint it is merely a piece of tricolour cloth not always khadi and is not proud of [*sic*] and a living emblem of communal unity and equalizing labour in which all participate. The spinning-wheel does hum in thousands of village huts. But compared to what should be, the result is poor.

Moreover the national flag, if it is a symbol of non-violence must also mean humility. If I had my way I would not exhibit it at any meeting which is not a purely Congress meeting if a single person objects to it. The dignity of the flag cannot be lowered by yielding even to a single objector at a non-Congress meeting. Its dignity will be lowered when it is hauled down for fear of the power we want to oust. The dignity will be still more lowered when we exhibit it at meetings or on Congress offices though we have no living faith in communal unity and the spinning-wheel with all its implications. Since the flag is not a religious symbol and represents and reconciles all religions, in religious processions, or temples or religious gatherings it has no place. Everything has its value when it is in its place. It has none when it is out of its place. Bullion and banknotes have no value whatsoever in the desert of Sahara.

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Indeed in the present state of tension, I would not hoist it on Government buildings or municipal offices unless it is accepted not merely by an overwhelming vote but unanimously. I have no hesitation in saying that even one vote cast against it, maybe mischievously, should have its weight, if the flag is a symbol of non-violence and humility.

My correspondent has evidently more faith in the power of my pen than I have. I write not because I believe that my word would carry weight where it is intended to carry. But I may not reject the correspondent's appeal. His argument and facts I accept. I may not restrain myself simply because of the fear that my word may miscarry. Anyway, it does me good to redeclare my faith in the flag with all the implications I have mentioned.

BANNU, October 24, 1938

Harijan, 5-11-1938

51. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

BANNU,
October 24, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You must do with the pencil hand and on mill-made paper —the pencil does not move well on the glazed hand-made.

Your two letters were awaiting me when we reached Bannu. 'A Woman's Letter'[1] I may use for *Harijan*. Your Kathiawar thing[2] will go in this week with the last paragraph or two cut out.

It is not likely that my articles on the European situation will bear fruit immediately. But they will, if India develops non-violence. There are grave doubts about its possibility. My own impurity is probably the chief stumbling-block. My word has lost its power as it appears to me. It should, according to my views of purity. However, I push on in faith. I must detach myself from the results of my thought, word or deed. I am not going to judge myself and condemn me to inactivity because I cannot get rid of the impurity in spite of incessant effort. Now

[1] *Vide* "Woman's Special Mission", pp. 51-3.
[2] *Vide* "Kathiawar Notes", 4-11-1938.

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perhaps you will understand my disbelief in my power to reach the woman's heart. But this is a long story. So much has come in spontaneously. You won't worry because I do not worry at all. I do not brood over my impurity. I see the snake is there. I know his fangs worse than a krait's. I am therefore on my guard. The best test of no worry is my uniformly steady b. p.

I wish you would show this to Mahadev. When I began the letter I did not know that it would be a serious business. It is good in a way. I have simply given you a few lines for love's sake.

Love.

TYRANT
OTHERWISE WARRIOR
ACCORDING TO THE
LATEST HONOURS' LIST

From the original: C.W. 3644. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6453

52. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

BANNU,
October 24, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

At the moment I have no pen and so I am writing with a pencil. Rather than write nothing, is it not better to write with a pencil and use even mill-made paper?

I got both your letters on arrival here today. What you write about Kanti's letter is correct. If I can, I will make use of it. I shall see. Rajkumari was to be shown that portion only, that is, the substance, so that she might be pleased to know that Kanti's ideas were developing well.

What you say about her—Rajkumari's—virtues is correct. Such contacts serve to make us humble and increase our spirit of service. From this point of view, such occasions arising without our seeking should be welcomed. When I have completed the tour, we shall think about what you should do. We shall be leaving here on November 10 at the latest. It may even be sooner. Even that Lilavati will consider too late. I do feel, therefore, that if you like the place there, and Rajkumari is ready to stay and have you as her guest, you should stay on. Simla is really at its best in November-December. I do not believe it

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possible that you can start working by November 10. This rest will not be wasted. You are paying a long-accumulated debt and so, if not to Simla, you must go somewhere else for rest. You may consult Rajkumari about Jullundur.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11668

53. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

BANNU,
October 24, 1938

CHI. SHARDA,

I have received your letter. But I have no time today to write you a long reply. Now the days you have to count are becoming fewer and fewer, aren't they?

I shall have to come and make some changes in your diet. I cannot do it from here. Do you have to nurse Bhansalibhai any time? Do you go for your walks alone? Does Shakaribehn[1] go out?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10001. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

54. WOMAN'S SPECIAL MISSION

THE EDITOR, *Harijan*
Sir,

I have read your articles on the recent European crisis with great joy. It was only natural that you should speak to Europe now. How could you restrain yourself when humanity was on the very verge of destruction?

Will the world listen? That is the question.

There is no doubt—judging from letters from friends in England—that people there went through absolute agony during that ghastly week. I am sure the same applies to the whole world. The mere

[1] Addressee's mother

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thought of war—modern warfare—with its devilish ingenuity and consequent pitiless butchery and bestiality—definitely made people think as they had never thought before. "The sigh of relief that was breathed and the gratitude to God that went up from every heart when the news came through that war had been averted are something that I can never forget as long as I live," writes an English friend. And yet is it just the fear of unspeakable suffering, the dread of losing one's nearest and dearest, of seeing one's country humiliated, that cause one to detest war? Are we glad war has been averted even at the humiliation of another nation? Would we have felt differently if the sacrifice of honour had been demanded of us? Do we hate war because we realize it is the wrong way to settle disputes or is our hatred of it part and parcel of our fear? These are questions that must be answered in the right way if war is really to vanish from the earth.

The crisis over, however, what do we see? A more strenuous race than before for armaments, a more comprehensive and intensive organization than ever of all the resources available—of men, women, money, skill and talent—in the event of war! No avowed declaration that "War shall not be" from anywhere! Is this not a recognition that war —however averted today—is still hanging over our heads as the proverbial sword of Damocles?

To me, as a woman, it is painful to realize that my sex has not contributed to world peace the quota that should be ours by instinct and prerogative to contribute. It pains me to read and hear of women's auxiliary corps being organized, of women being commandeered and volunteering to take their full share in the actual field as well as behind the lines. And yet, when war comes, it is the women's hearts that are wrung in agony—it is their souls that are scarred beyond repair. It is all so inexplicable. Why is it that we have not chosen the better part through all the ages? Why have we, without murmur, bowed the knee to hideous, soulless, brute force? It is a sad commentary on our spiritual development. We have failed to understand our high calling. I am quite convinced that if women could only have a heart understanding of the power and glory of non-violence all would be well with the world.

Why cannot you inspire and organize us, women of India? Why will you not concentrate on having us as your "sword arm"? How often have I longed for you to undertake an all-India tour just for this purpose? I believe that you would have a wonderful response, for the heart of Indian womanhood is sound and no women, perhaps in the world, have finer traditions of sacrifice and self-effacement behind them as we. Perhaps if you would make something of us we may, in

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however humble a manner, be able to show the way of peace to a sorrowing and stricken world. Who knows?

22-10-1938 A WOMAN

I publish this letter not without hesitation. The correspondent's faith in my ability to stir the woman heart flatters me. But I am humble enough to recognize my limitations. It seems to me that the days of my touring are over. Whatever I can do by writing I must continue. But my faith is increasing in the efficacy of silent prayer. It is by itself an art—perhaps the highest art requiring the most refined diligence. I do believe that it is woman's mission to exhibit ahimsa at its highest and best. But why should it be a man to move the woman heart? If the appeal is addressed exclusively to me not as man but as the (supposed to be) best exponent of ahimsa to be practised on a mass scale, I have no urge in me to go about preaching the doctrine to the women of India. I can assure my correspondent that there is no want of will in me that deters me from responding to her appeal. My feeling is that if men of the Congress can retain their faith in ahimsa and prosecute the non-violence programme faithfully and fully, the women would be automatically converted. And it may be that there shall arise one among them who will be able to go much farther than I can ever hope to do. For woman is more fitted than man to make explorations and take bolder action in ahimsa. For the courage of self-sacrifice woman is any day superior to man as I believe man is to woman for the courage of the brute.

BANNU, October 25, 1938

Harijan, 5-11-1938

55. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

BANNU,
October 25, 1938

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I had your affectionate wire. But this I write not to give you thanks which I have done through the Press, but to tell you how heavy the burden of the debt owing by the P. Sangh to the A. I. S. A. lies on me. For I am chiefly responsible for the transaction. Such was my faith in your business-likeness and of course integrity. Both of us are public institutions and I suggest to you

that on that account our mutual dealing should be much more correct than those among private businessmen. Do please see to the debt being discharged.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

But address Wardha.

From a photostat: G.N. 11050

56. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

BANNU,
October 25, 1938

BA,

I put off writing to you as you have now recovered. As we are touring at present, I hardly get time even to write a postcard. But you ought to write or send a message. Everything is going well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2215

57. LETTER TO VIDYA A. HINGORANI

BANNU,
October 25, 1938

CHI. VIDYA,

I have a letter from you after a long time. I am glad. Whenever you want you can come to Mahila Ashram after taking Jamnalalji's permission. The rules are a bit changed now. I will reach Wardha probably on November 12. I had seen Anand's letter to Mahadev. As far as possible I avoid writing letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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58. SPEECH AT BANNU[1]

October 25, 1938

Perhaps you know that for over two months I have been observing complete silence. I have benefited by it, and I believe it has benefited the country too. The silence was originally taken in answer to an acute mental distress, but subsequently I decided to prolong it indefinitely on its own merits. It has served me as a wall of protection and enabled me to cope with my work better than before. When I came to this province, I had resolved to relax my silence only for the purpose of having talks with the Khudai Khidmatgars, but I had to yield to Khan Saheb's pressure.

Your addresses have eulogized me and thanked me for having come here. I do not think I deserve any praise or thanks. I know that I can do very little to satisfy your expectations. My visit to the Frontier Province is purely to meet the Khudai Khidmatgars and know for myself their understanding of non-violence. Visit to your town is a by-product.

I gave many hours today seeing deputations and studying papers presented to me. The recent raid of Bannu and the happenings during the raid have touched me deeply. This province is peculiarly placed, and is different from the other provinces inasmuch as on one side it is surrounded by a number of border tribes containing men whose profession is raiding. So far as I have been able to know they are not actuated by communal considerations. The raiders' motive seems to be satisfaction of primary needs. That the Hindus are more often their victims is probably due to the fact that they generally possess more money. The kidnappings too appear to have the same motive.

Continuation of the raids is in my opinion a proof of British failure in this part of India. Their Frontier policy has cost the country crores of rupees and thousands of lives have been sacrificed. The brave tribesmen still remain unsubdued. If all

[1] At the meeting, which was largely attended, addresses of welcome to Gandhiji were presented by the Bannu District Congress Committee and the Seva Samiti, Chandni Chowk. The report of the speech was also published in *The Hindustan Times* and *The Bombay Chronicle*.

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the accounts I have heard today are substantially correct, and I believe they are, life and property are not secure in most parts of the province.

A number of people whose relations or dear ones have either been killed or kidnapped and held to ransom by the raiders, saw me today. As I listened to the harrowing tales of distress my heart went out to them in sympathy. But I must confess to you that with all the will in the world, I possess no magic spell by which I could restore them to their families. Nor should you expect much from the Government or the Congress ministry. No Government can afford, and the present British Government lacks even the will, to mobilize its military resources every time one of its subjects is kidnapped, unless the person kidnapped happens to belong to the ruling race.

After studying all the facts I have gained the impression that the situation in respect of border raids has grown worse since the inauguration of Congress Government. The Congress Ministers have no effective control over the police, none over the military. The Congress ministry in this province has less than the others. I therefore feel that unless Dr. Khan Saheb can cope with the question of the raids it might be better for him to tender his resignation. There is danger of the Congress losing all prestige in this province if the raids continue to increase. Apart from my opinion, you have to say for yourselves whether in spite of the handicaps I have mentioned, you would rather have the Congress ministry or some other. After all, the Prime Minister is your servant. He holds office under the triple sufferance of his electorate, the Provincial Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

Some of those who met me today asked me if they could seek safety by migrating from the Frontier Province. I have told them that migration is a perfectly legitimate course to adopt when there is no other way of living with safety and honour. A complaint has further been brought to me that the Muslim populations in the affected places no longer give help against the raiders which they used to formerly, before certain sections of Frontier Crime Regulation Act were repealed, and that has encouraged the raiders. While that may be true, let me warn you that if you depend for your protection on the armed assistance of others you must be prepared sooner or later to accept the domination of these defenders. Of course you are entitled to learn the art of defending yourselves with arms. You must develop a sense of co-operation. In no case should you be guilty of

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cowardice. Self-defence is everybody's birthright. I do not want to see a single coward in India.

The fourth alternative is that of non-violent approach which I am here before you to suggest. It is the surest and infallible method of self-defence. If I had my way, I would go and mix with tribes, and argue it out with them and I am sure they would not be impervious to the argument of love and reason. But I know today that door is shut to me. The Government won't permit me to enter the tribal territory.

The tribesman cannot be the bogey man that he is represented to be. He is a human just like you and me and capable of responding to the human touch which has hitherto been conspicuous by its absence in dealing with him. A number of Waziris came and saw me today at noon. I did not find that their nature was essentially different from human nature elsewhere.

Man's nature is not essentially evil. Brute nature has been known to yield to the influence of love. You must never despair of human nature. You are a community of traders. Do not leave out of your traffic that noblest and most precious of merchandise, viz., love. Give to the tribesmen all the love that you are capable of, and you will have theirs in return.

To seek safety by offering blackmail or ransom to the raiders would be a direct invitation to them to repeat their depredations and will be demoralizing alike to the giver and the tribesmen. Instead of offering them money, the rational course would be to raise them above penury by teaching them industry and thereby removing the principal motive that leads them into the raiding habit.

I am having talks with Khudai Khidmatgars in this connection and evolving a plan in collaboration with Khan Saheb. If the plan bears fruit, and the Khudai Khidmatgars truly become what their name signifies, the influence of their example like the sweet fragrance of the rose will spread to the tribes and might provide a permanent solution of the Frontier question.

Harijan, 5-11-1938

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59. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

BANNU,
[On or before *October 26, 1938*][1]

Gandhiji explained the difference between non-violence of the strong and non-violence of the weak and the difference between constructive work, taken up as a philanthropic activity or as a political expedient, and constructive work linked to non-violence, when it becomes an emancipative force with tremendous potency. He recalled how the movement of non-violence was launched in India. Millions at that time felt that they would not be able to fight the British Government with the sword as the latter was infinitely better armed. He told them that even if they went forth to fight, sword in hand, they had to be ready to face death. If the sword broke in their hand, death would be a certainty. Why should not they then learn the art of dying without killing and pit against the enemy the strength of their spirit? The Government might imprison them or confiscate their property or even kill them. What did it matter? The argument went home. But in their heart of hearts, said Gandhiji, many had the feeling that if only they had sufficient armed strength they would resort to fighting. They accepted non-violence because there was nothing else. In other words, there was violence in the heart. Only it was given up in action. It was non-violence of the weak, not of the brave. Even so it had made them stronger. He was there to tell them that it was a big mistake to regard non-violence as a weapon of the weak or to adopt it as such. If the Khudai Khidmatgars fell into that mistake, it would be a tragedy.

If you give up the sword at Badshah Khan's word, but retain it in your hearts, your non-violence will be a short-lived thing—not even a nine days' wonder. After a few years you will want to revert to it but, maybe, you will then find that you have got out of the habit and are lost to both the ideals. Nothing will, in that event, remain to you but vain regret. What I want of you is a unique thing, i. e., that you will disdain to use the sword although you have got the capacity and there is no doubt as to victory. Even if the opponent is armed with a broken sword, you will oppose your neck to it. And this, not with anger or retaliation in your hearts but only love. If you have really understood non-violence in this sense, you will

[1] Gandhiji left Bannu on October 26.

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never want to use the sword because you will have got something infinitely superior in its place.

You will ask, 'How will all this have any effect on the British Government?' My reply is that by uniting all the people of India in a common bond of love through our selfless service, we can transform the atmosphere in the country so that the Britisher will not be able to resist it. You will say that the Britisher is impervious to love. My thirty years' unbroken experience is to the contrary. Today 17,000 Englishmen can rule over three hundred millions of Indians because we are under a spell of fear. If we learn to love one another, if the gulf between Hindu and Muslim, caste and outcaste, and rich and poor, is obliterated, a handful of English would not dare to continue their rule over us.

Just as there are laws of armed warfare, there are laws of non-violent warfare too. They have not been fully discovered. Under violence you punish the evil-doer, in non-violence you pity him, and regard him as a patient to be cured by your love.

What must you do then to drive out the British by the non-violent method? If you want to adopt the method of violence, you have to learn to drill and to become adept in the use of arms. In Europe and America even women and children are given that training. Similarly those who have adopted the weapon of non-violence have to put themselves through a vigorous discipline in non-violence.

And with that he came to the constructive programme and its place in the scheme of non-violence as a dynamic force. He had placed the programme of non-violence before the country in 1920, he explained. It was divided into two parts, non-co-operation and constructive programme. The latter included establishment of communal unity, abolition of untouchability, prohibition, complete eradication of the drink and drug evil and propagation of khadi, hand-spinning, hand-weaving and other cottage industries. But all these things had to be taken up not as a political expediency but as an integral part of the programme of non-violence. This last made all the difference. For instance, Hindu-Muslim unity regarded as an expedient was one thing and quite another when adopted as an integral part of non-violence.

The former, by its very nature, cannot be lasting. It will be discarded as soon as the political exigency that suggested it is over. It may even be a stratagem or a ruse. When it is taken up as a part of the programme of non-violence it will have

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nothing but love at its root and will be sealed with one's heart's blood.

In the same way the charkha or the spinning-wheel had to be linked to non-violence.

Today there are millions of unemployed destitute in India. One way to deal with them is to allow them to die off so that, as in South Africa, there might be more per capita land for the survivors. That would be the way of violence. The other way, the way of non-violence, is based on the principle of 'even unto this last'. It requires us to have equal regard for the least of God's creation. A votary of this path will deny to himself what cannot be shared with the least. That applies even to those who labour with their hands—the relatively better off among the labouring class must seek to align themselves with the less fortunate.

It was this line of thinking, said Gandhiji, which had led to the discovery of the charkha on his part.

I had not even seen a charkha when I first advocated its use. In fact I called it a handloom in *Hind Swaraj*, not knowing a spinning-wheel from a handloom. I had before my mind's eye the poor, landless labourer without employment or means of subsistence, crushed under the weight of poverty. How could I save him—that was my problem. Even now while I am sitting with you in these comfortable surroundings, my heart is with the poor and the oppressed in their humble cottages. I would feel more at home in their midst. If I allowed myself to succumb to the love of ease and comfort, it would be my undoing as a votary of ahimsa. What is it then that can provide a living link between me and the poor? The answer is the charkha. No matter what one's occupation or rank in life is, the charkha, taken with all that it signifies, will provide the golden bridge to unite him to the poor. For instance, if I am a doctor, while I draw the sacrificial thread it will make me think how I can assuage the suffering of the destitute instead of the royalty in rich palaces with the prospect of fat fees. The charkha is not my invention. It was there before. My discovery consisted in linking it to the programme of non-violence and independence. God whispered into my ear: 'If you want to work through non-violence, you have to proceed with small things, not big.' If we had worked the fourfold constructive programme in its completeness during the last twenty years as I had envisaged it, we should have been our masters today. No foreign power would have dared to cast its evil eye upon us. No enemy from outside

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would have dared to come and do us harm if there had been none within. Even if one had come we would have assimilated him to ourselves and he would not have been able to exploit us.

It is this type of non-violence that I want you to attain. I expect you to be twenty-four-carat gold, nothing less. Of course, you can deceive me. If you do that, I shall blame myself only. But if you are sincere, you have to prove by your action that nobody need be afraid of a Red Shirt or know fear while there is a Red Shirt alive.

A Pilgrimage for Peace, pp. 97-101

60. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 26, 1938

I tender my congratulations to His Highness, Her Highness and the Dewan for the general amnesty granted to civil disobedience prisoners in Travancore on the Maharaja's birthday. It is to be hoped that in order to make the amnesty fruitful and peace permanent it will be followed up by the appointment of a committee of inquiry into past events and another into the nature of responsible government to be granted under the aegis of the Maharaja.

There remain still allegations against the Dewan. I would repeat my suggestion for withdrawal. Withdrawal need not mean disbelief in their truth by the authorities. They should withdraw in the higher interest. The case for responsible government must not be mixed up with the allegations which pale into insignificance compared to the question of the transference of power into the hands of the people.

Harijan, 29-10-1938

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61. SPEECH AT LAKKI[1]

October 26, 1938

I am here to tell you, with fifty years' experience of non-violence at my back, that it is an infinitely superior power as compared to brute force. An armed soldier relies on his weapons for his strength. Take away from him his weapons—his gun or his sword, and he generally becomes helpless. But a person who has truly realized the principle of non-violence has the God-given strength for his weapon and the world has not known anything that can match it. Man may, in a moment of unawareness forget God, but He keeps watch over him and protects him always. If the Khudai Khidmatgars have understood this secret, if they have realized that non-violence is the greatest power on earth, well and good; otherwise it would be better for Khan Saheb to restore to them their weapons which they have discarded at his instance. They will then be at least brave after the manner of the world that has today made the worship of brute force its cult. But if they discard their old weapons and at the same time remain strangers to the power of non-violence, it would be a tragedy for which I for one am not and, so far as I know, Khan Saheb too is not prepared.

Harijan, 19-11-1938

62. A DENIAL

With reference to my note headed 'Seven Complaints'[2] Shri Brijlal Biyani writes:

> In the issue of *Harijan* dated 15th October there is something which concerns me in your article headed 'Seven Complaints'. The complaint is that I was taken in procession with music past a mosque during Jumma Prayers.
>
> Such a complaint was made directly to me and I issued a statement on October 12, a copy of which I am herewith enclosing.
>
> The procession passed the mosque when the prayers were over. Kazi Saheb Saiyad Mohammad Ali who led the prayers agrees that the

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–V"
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 410-1.

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prayers were over and that he was in some shop while the procession passed.

In his Press statement I notice the following very relevant sentence:

> I am one of those who religiously believe in tolerance and respect for all religions and who believe in Hindu-Muslim unity for the attainment of swaraj in India.

LAKKI, MARWAT, October 27, 1938

Harijan, 5-11-1938

63. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

LAKKI, MARWAT,
October 27, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

One letter I posted today to catch the local post. This is for tomorrow and to send you letter from Junagadh. After you have seen it, please send it to Narandas—have sent a sweet letter in Gujarati to the Dewan[1]. You will of course write.

This I am writing in the midst of the Khudai Khidmatgars to whom I shall presently speak. They are coming in.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

I am sending the cheque to N.[2]

From the original: C.W. 3886. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7042

64. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS[3]

LAKKI,
[*October 27, 1938*][4]

The principles on which a non-violent organization is based are different from and the reverse of what obtains in a violent organization. For instance, in the orthodox army, there is a

[1] Dewan of Junagadh; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", p. 67.
[2] Narandas
[3] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–V"
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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clear distinction made between an officer and a private. The latter is subordinate and inferior to the former. In a non-violent army the general is just the chief servant—first among equals. He claims no privilege over or superiority to the rank and file. You have fondly given the title 'Badshah Khan' to Khan Saheb. But if in his heart of hearts he actually began to believe that he could behave like an ordinary general, it would spell his downfall and bring his power to an end. He is Badshah in the sense only that he is the truest and foremost Khudai Khidmatgar and excels all other Khudai Khidmatgars in the quality and quantity of service.

The second difference between a military organization and a peace organization is that in the former the rank and file have no part in the choice of their general and other officers. These are imposed upon them and enjoy unrestricted power over them. In a non-violent army, the general and the officers are elected or are as if elected when their authority is moral and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

So much for internal relations between the general of a non-violent army and his soldiers. Coming to their relations with the outside world, the same sort of difference is visible between these two kinds of organizations. Just now we had to deal with an enormous crowd that had gathered outside this room. You tried to disperse it by persuasion and loving argument, not by using force and, when in the end we failed in our attempt, we withdrew and sought relief from it by getting behind closed doors in this room. Military discipline knows nothing of moral pressure.

Let me proceed a step further. The people who are crowding outside here are all our friends though they are not Khudai Khidmatgars. They are eager to listen to what we may tell them. Even their indiscipline is a manifestation of their love. But there may be others besides them elsewhere who may not be well disposed towards us, who may even be hostile to us. In armed organizations, the only recognized way of dealing with such persons is to drive them out. Here, to consider the opponent, or, for the matter of that, anybody, even in thought, as your enemy would, in the parlance of non-violence or love, be called a sin. Far from seeking revenge, a votary of non-violence would pray to God that He might bring about a change of heart of his opponent, and if that does not happen he would be prepared to bear any injury that his opponent might inflict upon him, not in a spirit of cowardice or helplessness, but bravely with

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a smile upon his face. I believe implicitly in the ancient saying that "non-violence real and complete will melt the stoniest hearts."

He illustrated his remarks by describing how Mir Alam Khan, his Pathan assailant in South Africa, had ultimately repented and become friendly.[1]

This could not have happened if I had retaliated. My action can be fitly described as a process of conversion. Unless you have felt within you this urge to convert your enemy by your love, you had better retrace your steps; this business of non-violence is not for you.

'What about thieves, dacoits and spoilers of defenceless women?' you will ask. Must a Khudai Khidmatgar maintain his non-violence in regard to them too? My reply is, most decidedly 'Yes'. Punishment is God's, Who alone is the infallible Judge. It does not belong to man "with judgment weak". Renunciation of violence must not mean apathy or helplessness in the face of wrongdoing. If our non-violence is genuine and rooted in love, it ought to provide a more effective remedy against wrongdoing than the use of brute force. I certainly expect you to trace out the dacoits, show them the error of their ways and, in so doing, brave even death.

Harijan, 19-11-1938

65. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

TOURING,
October 27, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your letters I think. Sushila has discussed with me your proposal about avoiding typhoid. She says there is no difference between Nayakum's well and ours. She says the only safety lies in using only boiled water not merely for drinking but also for washing pots from which we eat and drink and uncooked fruits which [we] handle and eat. She thinks we ought to be able to ensure a proper supply of fool-proof boiled water. But when we meet we shall discuss all the suggestions you have made. Williams did send all the plans. But I came to the conclusion that it was beyond us. In my opinion we must revert to my original plan. We must use buckets and turn night-soil into manure in some distant spot. Even so where we

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIX, p. 165.

have water rising to the surface there is no absolute safety. I am writing this in the midst of a meeting. So no more.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6410. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10005

66. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 27, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter yesterday as we were leaving Bannu. Why do you think that you are away from me? How do you know that you are not coming nearer? A wall separates two guests in a hotel. Who can say whether you are separated from me only by the thickness of nine to twelve inches of a wall or by a distance of miles and miles? And are there not people who feel near enough even though they may be separated by a distance of miles? This much is certain, however, that you will be so well restored through rest that you will get energy for more work. A still greater benefit will be that your life will become regular in every particular. Observe the hours of food and rest with as religious a strictness as you do the hours of prayers. Is not eating also for the sake of *yajna* only? In any case, it should be so. If you forget one *yajna*, you forget all. As long as you like being there, you must stay on. My returning to Wardha must not concern you in any way just now. The solitude and comfort and good company that you are enjoying there, you will not be able to enjoy elsewhere. So stay there or at Jullundur. If Rajkumari feels that you are overstaying or if she has to go away somewhere else and therefore you cannot stay there, it will be a different matter. My blood-pressure yesterday evening was 136/84. Whose is better—yours or mine?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The name of the place where we are today is Gathari or something like that. At 1 we start for Dera Ismail Khan.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11669

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67. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON TOUR,
October 27, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

The enclosed cheque for Rs. 750 is from the Junagadh Durbar. It was received on the occasion of the anniversary celebration. You may spend the money in the manner we have decided. He will give Rs. 750 more for the local Harijan committee. I have sent a letter[1] to this effect to Rajkumari. She will forward the cheque to you. You need not send any acknowledgment. But write to me of course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8553. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

68. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

DERA ISMAIL KHAN,
October 27, 1938

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have gone through your note on the murder, etc., in Gunda. It has produced no effect on me. It is not enough to assert that the murder was not the result of a private feud. Did Savji take part in politics? Had he attracted anybody's attention? Has there been a regular practice in Rajkot of beating up people in this manner? You should get—there should be—some evidence showing that the State authorities had some connection direct or indirect with the murder. You cannot jump to a conclusion on the basis of mere suspicion. The people will believe anything you say, but you should try and get evidence which would compel even opponents to believe the charge. Mere inference will not help. It also does not seem right to say that none of the culprits can be traced. And even if that is

[1] *Vide* p. 63.

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true, it does not warrant the conclusion that the State authorities had a hand in the murder. If, despite all efforts, the culprits cannot be traced, an inquiry should be held into the circumstances of the murder and the results should be placed before the public. Your beginning is almost hair-raising, but as one proceeds further one feels that this must be one of those incidents which are all too frequent in the world. But all this is only for your benefit. As for the world, it will go on as it has always done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5546

69. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

DERA ISMAIL KHAN,
October 27, 1938

BHAI MASANI,

I was pained to read your reply to my article. You seem to say that socialists believe in khadi, in prohibition and in non-violence and that the Committee has no evidence of speeches inciting to violence having been made. I have talked not with one socialist but with many of them. I have read their writings and their speeches. They have not . . .[1] non-violence, have ridiculed khadi and said that prohibition is only a waste of money. As for the evidence of the use of force, I get it almost daily. This being the case, how can I change my opinion?

I have sent to Father the foreword[2] to *Dadabhai Naoroji.*

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4130. Also C.W. 4888. Courtesy: M. R. Masani

[1] Not clear in the source
[2] *Vide* pp. 25-6.

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70. MONSTROUS IF TRUE

A correspondent writes:

> Here in Nasik there is a Police Training School. Police officers are made in this school. They are expected to have their meals in a common mess and they are obliged to partake of fleshmeat and wines. Let alone meat-eating, how far is it consistent with the prohibition policy of the Government to train its police officers in wine-drinking? These officers may well be required to take part in the prohibition drive. Perhaps you do not even know that meat-eating and wine-drinking is compulsory in this school.

I must confess my ignorance of the compulsion. It is only the assurance with which my correspondent writes that has induced me to publish the letter. If the information is true, it is surely monstrous that meat-eating and wine-drinking should be considered a necessary part of a police officer's training. This rule excludes vegetarians and non-drinkers from training as police officers. The rule is a grave injustice in a country in which tens of thousands are vegetarians by religion. I can only hope that the information is incorrect and that if it is true, the glaring wrong will be redressed without delay.

DERA ISMAIL KHAN, October 28, 1938

Harijan, 5-11-1938

71. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DERA,
October 28, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is merely to tell you this is a lazy day for me in one way and a very busy day in another way.

Did you ever receive my letter in which I asked you to send me some khadi sheets? Whether you did and forgot to send, or whether you never got it, pray do not send any now, as Chandrashanker has sent four pads. They will see me through.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3645. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6454

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72. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

October 28, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

Yesterday's letter was written in a village. This is from Dera where we are for full three days. I got your draft letter to E.[1] here. It is also good but for the last paragraph. The last para shows mental fatigue. You will see it is disconnected and wholly unnecessary. It will be insulting for England well armed to honour a little nation for her throwing away arms. If Czechs could do the thing, the nations of the earth including Germany will be awe-struck.

You must attend to your eyes at once. You have the right helper in Kri[shna]chandra.

I have no recollection of having authorized tube well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6411. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10006

73. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DERA,
October 28, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending the accompanying letter, which you may like to read. Don't worry about it after reading it. I have even sent a brief note[2] on the Nasik School. They have spared me today and tomorrow for *Harijan* work. With Khan Saheb in command, no one is permitted to come and disturb me. And moreover I am observing silence. Hence I am in an ideal place here, just as you are there. We tour in a lorry. It con-

[1] Presumably Emil Hacha, who had succeeded Benes as President of Czechoslovakia, on November 30, after the latter had resigned on October 5 and left the country

[2] *Vide* "Monstrous If True", p. 69.

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tains a bed for me. Khan Saheb does not crowd the lorry with too many people. Tell Rajkumari whatever of this you think may interest her.

Tell Bablo to write sometimes to me even under a false pretext. What does he think regarding himself ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11670

74. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

DERA ISMAIL KHAN,
October 28, 1938

CHI. MANI,

You have been forced to write to me after many years. The letter is full of news indeed. Continue to write in the same way. Assuming the report about the Nasik Police School to be true, I have written a note on it. Also talk to Kher[1] or Munshi[2] if you happen to meet them.

If the officials there do not work sincerely for enforcing prohibition, the Ministers should protest to the Governor in strong language. But they must be convinced that the officials do not have the heart in the work.

About lands, I had written even before I received Vallabhbhai's letter. Send me a report of the debate on the subject in the Assembly.

I have not said that no steps can be taken against pornographic literature. I did give my opinion. Of course, I am afraid that people have come to like obscene literature and it cannot, therefore, be easily stopped. It will stop only when learned men themselves are disgusted with such literature. I do believe that pornographic writings should be stopped by law if it can be done. But please remember that there is a great difference between forcing students to read such things and the publication of obscene writing in newspapers.

What is happening in Rajkot is wonderful. If the tempo is kept up, there is no doubt that the people will get what they want. Father has done the correct thing in regard to Travancore. There was no harm in his having called Ramachandran. Before

[1] B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay
[2] K. M. Munshi, Home Minister of Bombay

Father's letter arrived, however, I had already issued my statement[1]. I feel that it was necessary to issue one. Now there is no immediate need to go to Travancore.

The constant flow of mucus from the nose into the throat is not at all good. It must be stopped.

I understand about Baroda. Let me know what happens in Bhadran.

I hope to reach Wardha about the 15th. The tour here will be over by the 9th.

What is happening regarding Subhas Babu is not out of my mind. That is why I discussed it in the Working Committee. But Father was of the view that we should wait till Jawaharlal's arrival, so I kept silent. There is bound to be some difficulty this time in electing the President. Let Father think over the suggestion[2] I have made in *Harijan*. I am of the view that letting the present state of affairs continue will be harmful.

I have now replied to both your letters. Show this to Father when he has some free time.

I keep really excellent health. Father should visit this Province, in Maulana's company.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANIBEHN PATEL
PURUSHOTTAM BUILDING
OPP. OPERA HOUSE, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 119-21

75. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

October 28, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your three letters together—one addressed at Delhi, one from Segaon and the third directly.

It is very good indeed that you have gone there.[3] Congratulations on your health having improved. I feel now you are your normal self. So why should I worry?

[1] *Vide* p. 61.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, "That Unfortunate Walk-out", pp. 401-2.

[3] The addressee was at this time in Gram Dakshinamurti, a rural education centre near a village Ambla in Bhavnagar district of Saurashtra.

I am doing very well indeed. The climate suits me. The cold is such as I can bear. Mahadev is flourishing in Simla. You must be getting the news about the sickness at Segaon. How is Nanabhai? How are you getting on there? What work are you doing?

We shall arrive at Segaon about the 15th.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7101. Also C.W. 4593. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

76. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

October 28, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is good that you have started helping Mirabehn. She has her faults; but she is very devout and you will reap rich benefit from all your service. You will learn from her pure and practical lessons in *brahmacharya.*

I have already written to you about other matters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4307

77. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, DERA ISMAIL KHAN[1]

October 28, 1938

I thank you for the purse which you have presented but you should know that *Daridranarayana,* whose representative I claim to be, is not so easily satisfied. My business is with the crores of semi-starved masses, who need relief sorely. We have to tackle through khadi the question of a huge annual drain from India for cotton purchase. Through khadi the A. I. S. A. has already distributed over four crores of rupees as wages among the needy, poor, Hindu and Mussalman spinners and weavers. Then there is the question of Harijan uplift—an equally Herculean

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–V". A purse of Rs. 5,753 was presented to Gandhiji. He rebuked the people for such a meagre sum as Rs. 5,000 of the total amount was a single donation.

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task. Your donation ought to be commensurate with the magnitude of the task for which it is intended. Yours is not a poor city. The donors are mostly merchants. Surely, you could have done better.

Referring next to the Khudai Khidmatgars and to the strained relations between them and the local volunteers which he had noticed, he proceeded:

These differences are unfortunate. If, however, Khudai Khidmatgars live up to their creed as they have now understood it, the differences and quarrels will be things of the past. They are on their trial. If they come out victorious they will be instrumental in bringing about communal unity and establishing swaraj. I know, to banish anger altogether from one's breast is a difficult task. It cannot be achieved through pure, personal effort. It can be done only by God's grace. I ask you all to join me in the prayer that God might enable the Khudai Khidmatgars to conquer the last traces of anger and violence that might still be lurking in their breasts.

Harijan, 19-11-1938

78. THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT

When Dr. Hengchih Tao visited me some time ago I invited him to give me a note on the remarkable People's Education Movement going on in China. He has now sent the following instructive note[1] which cannot but be useful to us in India.

Harijan, 29-10-1938

79. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DERA,
October 29, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Though you both say you don't expect me to write daily, you do expect to hear from me!!

I say nothing about myself because I have never kept better. The weather, food and peace have combined to bring about the results. I have nobody to quarrel with except Amtussalaam. But my silence is an effective check on that too.

[1] Not reproduced here

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There was an interruption after I had written the foregoing lines. And when I write with the left hand, everything moves slow, the brain included. It is a good thing.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3646. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6455

80. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DERA,
October 29, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

The right hand needs some rest. The accompanying is for your information. If you wish, you may write a few lines to Dorothy.

Have you heard about Bhansali and Rajendra having had typhoid in Segaon? Does anyone in Segaon write to you directly? Bhansali is quite well now. Rajendra is still having fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11672

81. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

October 29, 1938

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I got your letter. You have my blessings, of course, for the New Year's Day and for the whole year.

I was certainly pained when I heard about your desire to give up public service. But I consoled myself with the thought that you would do nothing without thinking. What guidance can I give you? Don't do anything through false shame or under pressure from anybody. Do only as much as the strength of your heart permits. There is no sin at all in giving up public service and working for money. Doing service is not something that everybody can digest. If we eat anything that causes indigestion, it cannot but result in disease. It would be much better, instead, to eat only what one can digest.

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It is good indeed that for the present you are staying on. Maybe, by and by, your economic condition will cease to trouble you. Please remember that it is good to live in poverty. Poverty shapes a man's character. In plenty one does not know at all where one is going. Moreover, most of the world lives in poverty. We see very few living in plenty. I have never envied such people. Sometimes I pity them.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

82. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DERA,
October 30, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

It is nearing 8 p. m.—my time for walking out.

The last of three deputations has just left me.

What did I say about S.'s prescription for Durga?

You are right. If I gave up Segaon altogether, it would be unjust to Aryanayakum. But I am not giving up Segaon. If all goes well, part of the year I must spend there. Let us see. Heaven's Light my Guide.

I am well.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

Do you remember where you left Ku's book which I gave you for revision?

From the original: C.W. 3887. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7043

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83. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

DERA,
October 30, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

Your complaint is just. I have taken up too much on my shoulders. The more correct statement is I have been overwhelmed. And so what could stand by naturally got neglected. I now send you my draft[1] which I hope you will be able to decipher without difficulty. Before making it final please show it to Shankerlal and Jajujee. Your book I gave to R. K. in despair.[2] I have written to her.

How are you all doing ?

I expect to leave Peshawar on 10th.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10136

84. INTERPRETATION OF MEMBER'S PLEDGE

[*October 30, 1938*][3]

The pledge was purposely drawn as it is of a general character. It is a gentleman's pledge, each member being put upon his or her honour as to the interpretation of the expression 'the best part of my energy and talents to the furtherance of its object which is the all-round welfare of the villagers of India'.

Members are also pledged not only to work for the furtherance of the object but also 'to strive to live up to the ideals' and 'prefer the use of village manufactures to any other'.

Recommending members of the Board will therefore see to it that the candidate for membership has, in everything he does, the welfare of the villagers at heart. It follows that such a person will give to village work at least some time every day not

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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necessarily in villages but may be for villages. Thus a member living in a city, who on a particular day sells to or induces a person to buy village manufactures, has done some village work for that day.

The member recommending will also see to it that the candidate wherever possible uses articles of village manufacture, e. g., khadi in the place of mill-cloth, village earthen pots instead of factory-made china, reed-pen instead of steel-pen, hand-made paper instead of ordinary paper, wholesome *babul* or *neem* or such other tooth-brush instead of the very insanitary and injurious tooth-brush, leather goods made in villages out of village-flayed cattle instead [of] tanned hide, the ordinary village gur instead of factory sugar, hand-pounded whole rice instead of mill-polished rice, etc.

For Ku

The Board would draw the attention of agents, workers and the public to the importance of dead cattle hide as an article of trade and village manufacture. Workers are advised to study in their own areas the method of disposal of the dead cattle and its preparation from flaying to tanning and report to the Board their observations. Public are invited to prefer the use of only such leather goods as are prepared in the villages.

Things to Remember

Agent's appointment of Hardhyansingh, Delhi. Accurate description of the areas of work of members of Board and agents.

From a photostat: G.N. 10137 and 10138

85. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DERA,
October 30, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I think you will like to see the accompanying letter.

Today the tour started at 12 and we returned at 4. We visited a village called Kulachi. Tomorrow we are going to Tank.

Even now there is no cold in the air at all. We sleep in the open.

We leave for Segaon on the 10th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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[PS.]

Does Brijkrishna write to you regularly?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11673

86. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 31, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is just when we are ready to start.

What is the difference between radio news and the paper news? Both are equally unreliable. My health has suffered no set-back. I am inclined to think that I can flourish even in mid-winter. But I may be over-enthusiastic. The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

WARRIOR
ALIAS TYRANT
ALIAS ROBBER
WHAT NEXT?

From the original: C.W. 3647. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6456

87. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 31, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have told Brijkrishna to write to you every day. He alone knows how much love and interest he pours in what he writes.

I cannot give you quite definitely the date of our departure. We are trying to leave on the 9th from Kambalpur or Rawalpindi or Taxila. You should reach Delhi latest by the 10th. It will be better if you can reach on the 9th.

I will not let you stay in Wardha just now. I like the idea of a sea voyage, with Durga and Babla accompanying you, unless Durga likes and wants to stay at Bulsar. I should like you to make a trip as far as Singapore. You may even spend a few days in Singapore. You should resume work on January 20 at the earliest. If you wish to write anything in the mean while, you may do so. I have no fear at all of your time being wasted anywhere. And you will return to work a fitter man.

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I am allowing your notes to go as they are. Ask back the article about Massingham. It is very fine indeed. It is poetry, but it is not for *Harijan*. Moreover, though there is poetry in it, it contains nothing of value to learn from our point of view. Is there anything common between their villages and our villages? Even at the time when those villages were formed, the people there were armed pirates and freebooters. The villages were signs of this fact. Our villages are so many dung-hills. The king took interest in them only for the purpose of robbing them. The Vaishyas only gathered money. The Shudras and Atishudras slaved. Your article, therefore, can provide us no inspiration. Would it not be sheer ignorance for any superficial observer to see poetry in our villages? And if you take out extracts from the Vedas and place them beside extracts from modern English, we would have to hang our heads in shame. Elaborate this criticism of mine further and understand my point. If there is any error in my view, let me know. I read the article today at three in the morning. But you may send it to *Modern Review* or the *Hindustan Times* if you wish.

We have to march out immediately. I am writing this while eating. I am eating fruit with a fork.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11674

88. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, TANK[1]

October 31, 1938

They[2] feel that the existence of a microscopic Hindu minority in the midst of the predominantly Mussalman population in this area can be rendered possible only if the latter will be as true *hamsayas*—neighbours—to them and they have asked me to appeal to Khudai Khidmatgars to fulfil their natural role in respect of them. I entirely endorse their feeling and their appeal and I am convinced that it is within your power to set them at their ease if you will but fulfil the expectations you have raised in me. As I observed on a previous occasion, the Hindus, the Mussalmans and the Englishmen in this province are being

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–V"

[2] The Hindus, who had met Gandhiji in deputation and complained about the state of general insecurity in which they had to live

weighed in the balance. History will record its verdict about the Englishmen's deeds. But Hindus and Mussalmans can write their own history by being correct in their mutual dealings. For the Khudai Khidmatgars their course of action has been determined. They have to become a living wall of protection to their neighbours.

A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history. It has happened before and it may again happen if the non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgars is unalloyed gold, not mere glittering tinsel.

Harijan, 19-11-1938

89. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS[1]

TANK,
October 31, 1938

If in your heart of hearts there is the slightest inclination to regard your non-violence as a mere cloak or a stepping-stone to greater violence as suggested by this friend[2], nay, unless you are prepared to carry your non-violence to its ultimate logical conclusion and to pray for forgiveness even for a baby-killer and a child-murderer, you cannot sign your Khudai Khidmatgar's pledge of non-violence. To sign that pledge with mental reservations would only bring disgrace upon you, your organization and hurt him whom you delight to call the Pride of Afghans.

But what about the classical instance of the defenceless sister or mother who is threatened with molestation by an evil-minded ruffian, you will ask. Is the ruffian in question to be allowed to work his will? Would not the use of violence be permissible even in such a case? My reply is 'no'. You will entreat the ruffian. The odds are that in his intoxication he will not listen. But then you will interpose yourself between the intended victim and him. Very probably you will be killed but you will have done your duty. Ten to one, killing you unarmed and unresisting will assuage the assailant's passion and he will leave his victim unmolested. But it has been said to me that tyrants do not act as we want or expect them to. Finding you unresisting he may tie you to a post and make you watch his rape of the victim. If you have the will you will so exert yourself that you will

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–V"

[2] The reference is to a Pathan's question quoted by Gandhiji in his article "Khudai Khidmatgars and Badshah Khan"; *vide* pp. 115-9.

break yourself in the attempt or break the bonds. In either case, you will open the eyes of the wrongdoer. Your armed resistance could do no more, while if you were worsted, the position would likely be much worse than if you died unresisting. There is also the chance of the intended victim copying your calm courage and immolating herself rather than allowing herself to be dishonoured.

Harijan, 19-11-1938

90. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS[1]

October 31, 1938

It has touched me deeply and also humbled me to find that at a time when, owing to the Ramzan fast, not a kitchen fire was lit in the whole of this village of Mussalman homes, food had to be cooked for us in this place. I am past the stage when I could fast with you as I did in South Africa to teach the Mussalman boys who were under my care to keep the Ramzan fast. I had also to consider the feelings of Khan Saheb who has made my physical well-being his day-and-night concern and who would have felt embarrassed if I had fasted. I can only ask your pardon.

Harijan, 26-11-1938

91. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

November 1, 1938

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I hope you had a comfortable voyage.

On second thoughts I decided to stop you from coming here. During the last days of the tour I could have given you not a moment and Khan Saheb would not be available to you during that period. You will have seen all you could wish of Bombay during these few days.

More when we meet.

Love.

BAPU

Peshawar which we reach this evening.

From a photostat: G.N. 1505

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VI". Gandhiji gave the talk in a small village near Dera Ismail Khan.

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92. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS[1]

PANIALA,
[*November 1, 1938*][2]

I have now had the assurance from your own lips of what I had from Khan Saheb already. You have adopted non-violence not merely as a temporary expedient but as a creed for good. Therefore, mere renunciation of the sword, if there is sword in your heart, will not carry you far. Your renunciation of the sword cannot be said to be genuine unless it generates in your hearts a power the opposite of that of the sword and superior to it. Hitherto revenge or retaliation has been held amongst you as a sacred obligation. If you have a feud with anybody, that man becomes your enemy for all time and the feud is handed down from father to son. In non-violence even if somebody regards you as his enemy you may not so regard him in return, and of course there can be no question of revenge. Who could be more cruel or blood-thirsty than the late Gen. Dyer? Yet the Jallianwala Bagh Congress Inquiry Committee, on my advice, had refused to ask for his prosecution. I had no trace of ill will against him in my heart. I would have also liked to meet him personally and reach his heart, but that was to remain a mere aspiration.

At the end of his talk he was presented a poser by one of the Khudai Khidmatgars who had followed his address closely: "You expect us to protect the Hindus against the raiders and yet you tell us that we may not employ our weapons even against thieves and dacoits. How can the two go together?" Gandhiji replied:

The contradiction is only apparent. If you have really assimilated the non-violent spirit, you won't wait for the raiders to appear on the scene, but will seek them out in their own territory and prevent the raids from taking place. If even then a raid does take place, you will face the raiders and tell them that they can take away all your belongings but they shall touch the property of your Hindu neighbours only over your dead body.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VI"

[2] According to *Gandhi—1915–1948 : A Detailed Chronology*, Gandhiji was at Paniala on this date.

And if there are hundreds of Khudai Khidmatgars ready to protect the Hindu *hamsayas* with their lives, the raiders will certainly think better of butchering in cold blood all the innocent and inoffensive Khudai Khidmatgars who are non-violently pitched against them. You know the story of Abdul Quadir Jilani and his forty gold mohurs with which his mother had sent him to Baghdad. On the way the caravan was waylaid by robbers who proceeded to strip Abdul Quadir's companions of all their belongings. Thereupon Abdul Quadir, who so far happened to be untouched, shouted out to the raiders and offered them the forty gold mohurs which his mother had sewn into the lining of his tunic. The legend goes that the raiders were so struck by the simple naivete of the boy, as the saint then was, that they not only let him go untouched but returned to his companions all their belongings.

Harijan, 26-11-1938

93. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

November 2, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

All being well we reach there[1] on 11th including Mahadev. These illnesses have made me impatient to reach you.

Your second letter to Dr. B.[2] was quite good.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3612. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10007

94. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

AHMADBANDH,
November 2, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. The other mail must be waiting in Peshawar. We shall reach there at 5. We shall start from there not on the 6th but on the 5th, and instead of returning here, we shall

[1] Segaon
[2] Dr. Benes

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take a train on the 9th from some station on the way. So we are definitely reaching Delhi on the 10th. We don't intend to break journey at Delhi. We shall, therefore, reach Wardha on the 11th. The illnesses at Segaon have set me thinking. I feel that as long as the water there does not improve, the place should be abandoned and only as many people as are absolutely necessary should be retained and the rest asked to go. But why should I make you worry about it now?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
Bandh is a small village.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11675

95. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

November 2, 1938

BA,

Only nine days remain now, and God willing, we shall meet. We shall leave for Segaon the same day. I forgot to reply to one remark in your letter. You said that while leaving I did not even put my hand on your head. As the motor started I also felt that, but you were away from me. Do you require outward signs? Why do you believe that because I do not show my love by outward signs, it has dried up? I assure you that my love has increased and goes on increasing. Not that it was less before, but what was there is becoming purer day by day. I do not look upon you merely as a clay doll. What more need I say? If you also, like . . .[1] ask for outward signs, I will comply.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 30

[1] Omission as in the source

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96. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

November 2, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

As you are an expert in nursing the sick, you have got such opportunities without seeking them. So far your cases improve and bring you credit. May this be ever so.

It is desirable that Rajbhushan should go home. It is not proper that he should stay in Segaon at the cost of his health. But now I shall be returning there soon. I am counting the days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10777

97. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

November 2, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I feel worried because of the illnesses. I think you, Shakaribehn, Parnerkar and others should leave Segaon for the present. It is not right to risk your lives. But I hope to arrive there on the 11th. Meanwhile think over this. If I can make Segaon healthy, I would call all of you there. This is a new problem facing me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am not writing to Babudi today. I have no time at all.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10594

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98. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

November 2, 1938

BAPA,

I got your letter. It is desirable that the money sent to you from here should be spent in this region. I have not been able to study the matter carefully. You should tour this region. If you can bear the cold, then come this very month, otherwise in March next year. It is extremely cold here in December, January and February. It is said that there are eight lakhs of Harijans in this Province. I saw your sharp rejoinder to Ambedkar. But who can wake up a person pretending to sleep?

Who said that you were old? When you pass away, you will pass away in full youth. He is old whose mind is old. Ramdas, for instance, has become an old man in the prime of youth. He has no zest for anything at all.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1179

99. MESSAGE ON OPENING OF KHADI EXHIBITION, PESHAWAR[1]

[Before *November 3, 1938*][2]

Do not be misled by names. A piece of Japanese cloth cannot become swadeshi merely by being labelled 'Swadeshi'. Only an article that is wholly manufactured in India by the hands of millions of villagers and out of raw materials grown in India deserves the name of swadeshi.

Khadi alone, it will be seen, fully satisfies this test; all other cloth is a travesty of swadeshi. Just as there can be no dawn without the sun, so there can be no genuine swadeshi without khadi.

Judged by this test, Peshawar is left far behind in the race for swadeshi. There is only one khadi bhandar here and that too

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Peshawar Khadi Exhibition"

[2] The Khadi Exhibition was inaugurated on November 3 but the message was printed in advance and was circulated among the visitors.

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is being run at a loss. I hope that one result of this Exhibition will be to put the khadi bhandar on a firm footing, and to preclude the possibility of its having to close down.

Harijan, 10-12-1938

100. SPEECH AT OPENING OF KHADI EXHIBITION, PESHAWAR[1]

November 3, 1938

Dr. Gopichand has thanked the Ministers for the help that they are giving to khadi work. But I find that neither all the Ministers nor all of the Congress M. L. A.s here use khadi as habitual wear. Some wear it only in the Assembly. Some do not do even that. This is contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the Congress constitution. Even the Red Shirts have yet to become khadi-clad. . . . If they all take to khadi, the one lakh of them will in less than no time make the whole province khadi-clad. This province is rich in the resources for the manufactures of khadi but it comes last in respect of khadi work actually done.

I would like you all to visit the Exhibition in a spirit of inquiry and study. Khadi organization work, unlike textile mill industry, does not require lakhs of capital and highly specialized technical skill. Even a layman can take it up. I hope that this first Khadi Exhibition in the Frontier Province will be followed by many more in the near future.

Harijan, 10-12-1938

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Peshawar Khadi Exhibition". Among those present on the occasion were Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Saheb and a number of Congress M. L. A.s.

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101. KATHIAWAR NOTES

The following notes[1] were prepared for me by Shri Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on finishing her recent tour in Kathiawar for Harijan and khadi work. The notes are valuable not only for the workers in Kathiawar, but contain reflections which are of all-India importance. I hope that workers will profit by the experiences recorded by the Rajkumari. There is one suggestion she has made, which can be immediately given effect to, if what she says of the Princes is true, as I think it is. She has credited the Princes with the opinion that they have no belief in untouchability and that they will fling open all temples to Harijans, if their people desired it. Her suggestion, therefore, is that they need not wait for any expression of opinion on the part of their people but should build and open temples which are accessible to all. The Princes can make it a point of visiting only these temples to the exclusion of those whose gates are barred against Harijans. And if these temples are built and situated attractively and are well managed, they will be a powerful aid to the breaking down of untouchability. It is possible to extend the principle to all the institutions which, for fear of wounding orthodox susceptibility, they would not dare to open to Harijans. This is the line of least resistance. There is not much meaning in a pious declaration of disbelief in untouchability, if the princes cannot or will not take the cautious step suggested by the Rajkumari.

PESHAWAR, November 4, 1938

Harijan, 12-11-1938

[1] Not reproduced here. The notes dealt with the disabilities suffered by Harijans in the various States visited by the author, such as Rajkot, Vankaner, Morvi, Jamnagar, Porbandar, Dwarka, Junagadh, Bilkha, Dhani, Amreli, Lathi, Bhavnagar, Palitana and Wadhwan. The notes also said that khadi worth Rs. 1,000 was sold during the tour.

102. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

November 4, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You seem to be quite busy nursing Balkrishna. Mahodaya seems to have been a little negligent.

The cleaning of the village also seems to have made good progress. Write to Vijaya and tell her that I am hard pressed for time and so she should not complain about the absence of letters from me. I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10778

103. NOTES

AUNDH REFORMS

I congratulate both the Rajasaheb and the people of Aundh on the grant of responsible government. This small State has always been progressive. The ruler of Aundh has but anticipated the wants of his people and has even been in advance of them in social matters. The declaration of full responsibility was the natural result of the past acts of the ruler. I hope that the rights conferred by the proclamation will not in any way be whittled down in drawing up the constitution. I would suggest that the privy purse should on no account exceed rupees thirty-six thousand. There should be a definition of fundamental rights, i. e., equality of all in the eye of the law, abolition of untouchability and liberty of speech. The last para of the proclamation is appealing. It truly says that "self-government implies self-control and self-sacrifice", and adds: "in the new era that is coming to Aundh, and we hope to the whole of our country, the strong will serve the weak, the wealthy will serve the poor, the learned will serve the illiterate."

It is to be hoped that the noble example of Aundh will be copied by the other States and that its people will by their conduct prove themselves in every way worthy of the responsibility

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that is to devolve on them. The fact that in the heir to the gadi they have one who, from all accounts I have received, is a true servant of the people, must be a great help at the time of the inauguration of responsible government. The Western education received by him has not spoiled him. He is reported to be a votary of truth and ahimsa. He himself takes part in village uplift, does road cleaning himself in common with other volunteers and handles the spade and the basket with as much ease as they. He wields the pen. He takes pride in doing the scavenging work including the removal of night-soil.

Arya Samaj and Filthy Literature

Shri Dharma Dev Shastri of Kanya Gurukul, Dehra Dun, and then Acharya Dev Sharma Abhaya of Gurukul Kangri have written to me to say that my reference in my article "Filth in Literature"[1] to my daughter-in-law, who is studying in the Kanya Gurukul and who wrote to me about the filth she found in certain text-books prescribed for her examination, has been interpreted in some quarters to mean that the Arya Samaj authorities countenance such literature. Both the friends repudiate the suggestion in emphatic terms. Acharya Dev Sharma Abhaya tells me that the Gurukul authorities were so meticulous about the matter that even for the works of classical poets like Kalidas they insisted on expurgated editions being printed before they would allow their students to study even a celebrated classic like *Shakuntala*. What has, however, happened is that, of late, they have allowed their students to prepare for Sahitya Sammelan examinations which tolerates books containing unclean literature. I understand that the Gurukul authorities have brought the matter to the notice of the Sammelan management and asked them to withdraw the text-books which contain objectionable references. I hope that they will not rest satisfied till they have succeeded in their battle against unclean literature forming part of students' text-books.

To Correspondents

No matter what warnings I issued, my correspondence is daily growing. Even at the risk of a breakdown, I cannot cope with the whole of it. Nor can Pyarelal, even though he often burns midnight oil. Though Mahadev Desai is decidedly on the mend and is even being permitted to write what he feels impelled to and can write without an effort, he cannot be given any

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 407-8.

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correspondence to deal with. I must not put his health in jeopardy again. Even a well regulated life like his has limitations which must not be disregarded. It is therefore a question if he can ever again be burdened with correspondence which is not strictly connected with *Harijan*. Let the readers, please, recognize my difficulty. I have a file of papers unread. Some has been read and remains undisposed of. Thus there are long statements complaining against the Bihar Ministers, longer still from Malabar complaining against Rajagopalachari. I have cursorily glanced through them. I am wholly unable to deal with them. I may not even send them to the accused Ministers unless I am prepared to give the necessary time to them. I have neither the time nor the inclination. The Working Committee is the proper tribunal for such matters. If I began to handle such complaints it would be an unwarranted interference with the Ministers concerned and with the functions of the Working Committee.

But this solid reason for non-interference is irrelevant to this note. The decisive reason is my utter inability. Therefore, these and such correspondents will forgive me for not even sending them personal acknowledgments. Then, there are letters complaining against the fancied or real misdeeds of Congress Committees in various provinces. These correspondents attribute to me powers and influence I do not possess. But here again the physical inability is the peremptory cause for my silence. Then there is the unread correspondence. Heaven knows what is contained in it. There are, too, personal letters which I would gladly deal with if I could. I know I can give some help or comfort to these correspondents, if I can deal with their letters as I should like to. As it is, I must plead my inability to handle such correspondence. What energy I have left in me has to be reserved for the general causes which, I fancy, I can still serve. Therefore, correspondents who are awaiting answers will forgive me if they never receive any reply. Those who are in the habit of writing to me will help me much if they will restrict their correspondence only to such questions as may lend themselves to discussion or advice through the columns of *Harijan*. In other words *Harijan* should, as far as possible, be my only letter or message to those who seek to know my views on matters which interest them and which are also of importance to the public.

PESHAWAR, November 5, 1938

Harijan, 12-11-1938

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104. WHY NOT GREAT POWERS?

In the criticisms on my recent writings on the plight of Czechoslovakia,[1] I have observed one thing which demands an answer.

Some critics argue that if the non-violent remedy I have suggested for the Czechs is only for comparatively weak because small nations like them and not for the great powers like England or France or America, it cannot be of much value, if any.

Now if the critics will reread my article, they will see that I have refrained from suggesting it to these big powers because of their bigness, in other words, because of my timidity. But there was a more potent reason for my not addressing them. They were not in distress and therefore in no need of any remedy. To use a medical expression, they were not ailing as Czechoslovakia was. Their existence was not threatened as Czechoslovakia's was. Any appeal from me therefore to the great powers would have amounted to an empty and unwanted sermon.

By experience I have also found that people rarely become virtuous for virtue's sake. They become virtuous from necessity. Nor is there anything wrong in a man becoming good under pressure of circumstances. It would be no doubt better if he becomes good for its own sake.

The Czechs were given a choice either to surrender peacefully to Germany's might or to fight single-handed and risk almost certain destruction. It was at this moment that it became necessary for one like me to present an alternative which had proved its effectiveness under somewhat similar circumstances. My appeal to the Czechs was in my opinion as appropriate as it would have been inappropriate in the case of the great powers.

My critics might have, however, well asked why I had gone out of my self-prescribed orbit to speak to a Western nation when I could not show cent per cent success of non-violence on the Indian soil,—more especially now, when I had begun to entertain serious doubts as to whether Congressmen were really living up to their creed or policy of non-violence. Indeed I had in mind

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, "If I were a Czech", pp. 404-6 and "Logical Consequence", pp. 413-5.

the limitation and the present state of uncertainty about the Congress position. But my own faith in the non-violent remedy was as bright as ever when I wrote that article. And I felt that in the supreme hour of its trial it would be cowardly on my part not to suggest to the Czechs the non-violent remedy for acceptance. What may ultimately prove impossible of acceptance by crores of people, undisciplined and unused till but recently to corporate suffering, might be possible for a small, compact, disciplined nation inured to corporate suffering. I had no right to arrogate to myself any belief that India alone and no other nation was fit for non-violent action. I must confess that I have believed and still believe that India was the fittest nation to enforce non-violent action for regaining her freedom. In spite of signs to the contrary, I have the hope that the whole mass of people, who are more than the Congress, will respond only to non-violent action. They are the readiest of all the nations of the earth for such action. But when a case for immediate application of the remedy presented itself before me, I could not restrain myself from suggesting it to the Czechs for their acceptance.

It is however open to the great powers to take it up any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. If they or any of them could shed the fear of destruction, if they disarmed themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity. But then these great powers have to give up imperialistic ambitions and exploitation of the so-called uncivilized or semi-civilized nations of the earth and revise their mode of life. It means a complete revolution. Great nations can hardly be expected in the ordinary course to move spontaneously in a direction the reverse of the one they have followed, and according to their notion of value, from victory to victory. But miracles have happened before and may happen even in this very prosaic age. Who can dare limit God's power of undoing wrong? One thing is certain. If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent. It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be

practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

PESHAWAR, November 5, 1938

Harijan, 12-11-1938

105. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

PESHAWAR,
November 5, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

Evidently you had the call perhaps at the same hour that I felt you will have it. As far as my recollection goes, I wrote to you also that if you felt the urge I would let you go. Of course the idea originated not with me, but with Rajkumari; and I wrote to her suggesting that she should write to you directly. But in view of your letter, all this becomes past history. We will discuss ways and means when I am there which I hope will be on the 11th. I hope I shall find Agatha there on my arrival. If the final decision is for you to go, what I feel is that the sooner you can go the better, if you can stand the continental winter. I do not want you to risk your health. It may be that if you reconcile yourself to sterile eggs you might be able to stand the cold better, but of course you shall be the sole judge.

I am already moving with reference to the financial part of it. I have relaxed temporarily the silence rule. Hence I have been able to dictate this while munching grapes.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6413. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10008

106. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

PESHAWAR,
November 5, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Your decision to stay on is all right. I like it too and I certainly liked the idea about a sea voyage. I like Kallenbach's suggestion very much indeed. You may go and see the field of my battles. I should like you very much to see Phœnix, Tolstoy Farm, the house in which I used to stay in Durban, the Johannesburg office, etc. Manilal will dance with joy. But it might be

difficult to take Durga and Bablo as far as that. I should like Bablo to remain with me. And moreover, a visit to South Africa would mean at least four months. South Africa is not less big than India. Go and see the four Colonies. And you must not miss the Victoria Falls. When you go so far, you cannot return immediately. It is worth going there even if only for the sake of meeting Miss Schlesin. Kallenbach will perhaps have a time that he will remember for ever. The climate there is beyond praise. Think over it. If you feel inclined, I am certainly ready to send you.

If Mirabehn wishes to go, I am ready to let her go. Her going can do no harm at all. While she has to suppress herself with me, in the West she can work independently. There is no limit to her courage.

I completely forgot to write to you about Muirhead. If I had had some talk, I would certainly have written to you. But I think he did not have the courage to discuss anything with me. Or maybe his only aim was to see me. I gave him no encouragement at all. I had no desire to. What was there to talk about? If the corruption in the Congress can be got rid of, we can get swaraj today without any discussion with anybody. If it is not got rid of, swaraj is an impossibility. I will stop my pen now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11676

107. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BAR ASSOCIATION, PESHAWAR[1]

[*November 5, 1938*][2]

Gandhiji, in a witty little speech, while thanking them for the honour that they had done him, observed that he was hardly entitled to that privilege, in the first place because, as they all knew, he had been disbarred by his own Inn, and, secondly, because he had long forgotten his law. Of late he had more often been engaged in breaking laws than in expounding or interpreting them in the courts of the land. Still another and, perhaps, his most vital reason was his peculiar views about lawyers and doctors which he had

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VI"
[2] From *Gandhi—1915–1948*

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recorded in his booklet, *The Indian Home Rule*.[1] A true lawyer, he told them, was one who placed truth and service in the first place and the emoluments of the profession in the next place only. He did not know whether they had all adopted that ideal but if they pledged themselves to render service through their legal acumen in an altruistic spirit, he would be the first to pay them his homage.

Harijan, 26-11-1938

108. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 6, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Travelling practically for the whole day by a motor lorry, we arrived at Haripur in the evening.

What you write about Massingham is correct, but the way you applied it to conditions in India did not seem right to me. The article has no place in *Harijan*. Just as dazzling light in a small is room out of place, so is the case with your article. Massingham wrote a poem but we are doing things. Only accounts of active work being done have a place in it. But why go on arguing about this? When we meet, we shall discuss it if we have time and if it is necessary to do so. It happens only rarely when what you say does not convince me and what I say does not convince you. I should, therefore, certainly like to avoid arguing about this. I had thought of giving that article to you in Delhi. Now I will post it to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11677

[1] *Vide* Vol. X.

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109. TALK AT BIBHUTI[1]

November 6, 1938

The Khudai Khidmatgars is an organization with its headquarters at Utmanzai. Anyone who signs their pledge and can speak Pushtu can enrol himself as a Khudai Khidmatgar. The only condition is that he cannot simultaneously be on the register of any other organization. You are, therefore, absolutely free to enrol as Khudai Khidmatgars if you like and no special permission is needed for it.

The Khudai Khidmatgars have proved their undoubted capacity for organization. The presence of a picked body of Khudai Khidmatgars at a public meeting makes all the difference between order and disorder. The principle of non-violence requires that they should make the people do, through their power of love, all those things that the police does through the power of the *lathi* and the bullet. When the seed of love sprouts forth in our hearts our petty quarrels and mutual bickerings will become things of the past. Take today's incident of the calf that was accidentally overrun by our motor-bus.[2] Love should have prompted the chauffeur to stop the car immediately so that adequate arrangements might be made for the care and treatment of the injured animal. One of our party showed what seemed to me as unseemly haste in naming the so-called opponents as the deliberate authors of the accident. In non-violence, we must not be in a hurry to ascribe motives to the opponent or regard him with suspicion unless we have proof positive for it. When love fills the hearts of the Khudai we shall have independence. But independence will not come to Khidmatgars us till our love shines out in our littlest acts.

We must send someone to the place where the accident

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VI". The local Pushtu-speaking people had requested Gandhiji that they should be allowed to join the Khudai Khidmatgar movement although politically and geographically they belonged to the Punjab.

[2] While Gandhiji was being driven to Bibhuti, a calf had been knocked down and partly run over by Gandhiji's car. The local Congressmen put the blame on the opponents or the Government.

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occurred, to offer compensation to the owner of the animal and to take the calf for treatment to a vet.

Harijan, 26-11-1938

110. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, HARIPUR[1]

November 6, 1938

Scientists tell us that we are descended from the orang. That may be so, but it is not man's destiny to live and die a brute. In proportion as he cultivates non-violence and voluntary discipline, he is contradistinguished from brute nature and fulfils his destiny. One of the obligations that non-violence places upon us is to respect the rights even of the weakest, even a child's.[2]

. . . We must meet abuse by forbearance.[3] Human nature is so constituted that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or abuse, the person indulging in it will soon weary of it and stop. We should harbour no resentment against those who tried to create the disturbance which, without their meaning it, has taught us a valuable little lesson in forbearance. A satyagrahi always regards the 'enemy' as a potential friend. During half a century of experience of non-violence I have not come across a case of enmity persisting to the end in the face of absolute non-violence.

Harijan, 26-11-1938

111. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

HARIPUR,
November 7, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Did you notice the recrudescence of riots in Burma?[4] It is a sad thing. The secret of the monks taking a leading part in them we shall perhaps never know.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VI"

[2] The reference is to a "gentle complaint" from the head master of a local school that the local Congress authorities had not taken his permission for holding the meeting in the school.

[3] The reference is to the walk-out of a "socialist" delegation shouting unseemly slogans because they were not allowed to present an address to Gandhiji as the meeting had already commenced when they arrived.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, "Recent Riots in Burma", pp. 266-9.

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We visited the famous gurdwara in Hasan Abdal. You should if you have not. Whilst the building is majestic, the spirit of Nanak was absent.

There was nothing from you yesterday. I expect to have your letter at Abbottabad.

We take the train on 9th at Taxila.

Love.

WARRIOR

From the original: C.W. 3648. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6457

112. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH BHATIA

November 7, 1938

DEAR FRIEND,

You have been as good as your word.

Prayer is an intense longing to have communion with our Maker. It is an effort not of the intellect but of the heart. The communion may come soon or it may take years or even ages. It is enough if the effort is sincere and heart-felt.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI DEV PRAKASH BHATIA, B.A.,LL.B.
PESHAWAR CANTT.

From a photostat: G.N. 1538

113. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ABBOTTABAD,
November 7, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

This is the last I can write from this province. This is a beautiful place except for its associations. Tell Munnalal I shall discuss his letter when I meet [him]. No time today.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
SEGAON ASHRAM
SEGAON, WARDHA, C. P.

From the original: C.W. 6414. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10009

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114. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 7, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

This is a . . .[1] letter. If you have reached Delhi, it will follow you. With it is Mani's. Pyarelal's letter seems queer. Let us see what happens.

Don't decide too hastily to remain in Wardha. If nowhere else, go and stay in Bombay or Bulsar. If you can have the courage to go to South Africa, it will be best. But I would not insist. Follow your own inclination. If you cannot feel at ease anywhere outside Wardha, I won't oppose your plan. Let us not take any risk. What has happened to you is something similar to what had happened to me in Nipani,[2] confining me to bed for six months. Maybe, considering your age, you will not have to take that much rest.

I am sending Radhakrishna's letter also for you to read and then tear up. I have carefully preserved your article. After I know your wish, I shall send it or hand it over personally. How can we afford to lose it ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11678

115. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

ABBOTTABAD,
November 8, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got your telegram. About money I have already decided that we cannot put that burden on Ramachandran. It is my impression that even when she went I myself gave the money. But if it was not so, I shall see when she comes. It is your duty, however, to talk to Ramachandran as I have suggested. Not to tell him is to betray his trust and will not be to Paparamma's good.

[1] The source is illegible here.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 194-5.

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It is wise on your part that you resist at present the temptation of entering into a discussion. If convincing reasons occur to you and they are borne out by experience, then when your time comes your arguments will have greater force. It is enough for the present that you consider my path the right one and wish to follow it in your life, too. If you remain firm in this, it will be more than enough.

Don't let your health suffer in any way. Don't have the false confidence that you will be able to manage it afterwards. Whatever the disease, trivial or serious, it must be got rid of as soon as it makes its appearance.

The Frontier Province is worth visiting from the point of view of understanding human nature. There is also some beautiful scenery.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7351. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

116. TALK TO KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS[1]

MANSEHRA,
[*November 8, 1938*][2]

It has become the fashion these days to say that society cannot be organized or run on non-violent lines. I join issue on that point. In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. That in my opinion is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of family must be true of society which is but a larger family. It is man's imagination that divides the world into warring groups of enemies and friends. In the ultimate resort it is the power of love that acts even in the midst of the clash and sustains the world.

I am told that the Red Shirts here are Red Shirts only in name. I hope the allegation is baseless. I know that Khan Saheb is seriously disturbed at the infiltration of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement by undesirable and self-seeking elements.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VII"
[2] The date is from *Gandhi—1915–1948.*

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I share with him this feeling that mere accession of numbers, unless they are true exponents of the creed which they profess, will only weaken instead of adding strength to the movement.

The Red Shirt movement today has drawn attention of the whole of India and even outside. And yet what it has achieved is only a small fraction of what has to be achieved. I implicitly accept the assurance given by the Khudai Khidmatgars that they are anxious to understand and practise the doctrine of non-violence in full. There are tremendous heights lying before them still to be scaled. The programme of constructive non-violence that I have placed before them is self-acting when it is once started well. Its enforcement will be a sure test too of the earnestness and sincerity of the Khudai Khidmatgars.

Harijan, 3-12-1938

117. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MANSEHRA[1]

November 8, 1938

Gandhiji replying assured them that he set great store by what they had already achieved in the field of non-violence. But believing as he did in the old adage that from him who gives much more is expected, he warned them that he would not rest satisfied till they had fulfilled their mission of achieving through their non-violence not only their own freedom but the freedom of India. He had visited their province a second time to know them more intimately and to understand how non-violence worked in their midst and it was his intention to return to them a third time when he hoped once more to pick up the threads of various problems where he had left them.

Harijan, 3-12-1938

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VII". The local citizens in their address had assured Gandhiji that the Pathans would in a short time constitute "the spear-head of India's non-violent fight for freedom".

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118. TALK TO MINORITIES' DEPUTATION[1]

ABBOTTABAD,
[*November 8, 1938*][2]

Gandhiji in reply told them that whilst he could support their demand that licences for keeping fire-arms should be freely issued on application, it would be too much to expect the Government to distribute fire-arms free amongst the entire border population. They could raise a fund for free distribution of fire-arms if they wanted, but he had his doubts whether free distribution of and training in the use of fire-arms would solve the question of trans-border insecurity. If the experience during the recent raid at Bannu was any guide, such a step would prove to be an expensive pedantry. During the Bannu raid, he was told, only one gun on the part of the citizens was in play although there was no lack of fire-arms in the city at the time of the raid and even that gun occasioned more casualties among the public than among the raiders. He, however, agreed with them with regard to what they had observed about the duty of the majority community. Khan Saheb was trying to prepare the Khudai Khidmatgars for discharging their duty of protecting citizens against raids.

Harijan, 3-12-1938

119. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ABBOTTABAD[3]

[*November 8, 1938*][4]

I thank you for the address that you have presented to me. You have in your address expressed your gratification at having in your midst 'the greatest man on earth'. I wondered as I listened to your address as to who that gentleman could be.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VII". The deputation among other things suggested to Gandhiji that in view of the growing menace to security, fire-arms and training in the use of them ought to be provided free to the minority population settled in the border to facilitate self-protection.

[2] From *Gandhi—1915–1948*

[3] Extracted from Pyarelal's report "In the Frontier Province–VIII". At the meeting several addresses and a consolidated sum of Rs. 1,125 on behalf of the whole district were presented to Gandhiji.

[4] From *The Hindustan Times*, 9-11-1938, and *The Hindu*, 9-11-1938

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Certainly it could not be I. I know too well my shortcomings. There is a celebrated story told about Solon the great law-giver of Athens. He was asked by Croesus, who was reputed to be the wealthiest man of his age, to name the happiest man on earth. Croesus had fondly hoped that Solon would name him. But Solon replied that he could say nothing as no one could be adjudged happy before his end. If Solon found it difficult to pronounce on a man's happiness during his lifetime, how much more difficult it must be to adjudge on a man's greatness? True greatness in the world is not found set upon a hill, for the vulgar crowd to see. On the contrary, my seventy years' experience has taught me that the truly great are often those of whom and of whose greatness the world knows nothing during their lifetime. God alone is judge of true greatness, because He knows men's hearts. . . .

Not only the inhabitants of Abbottabad but even the sun, the moon and the stars here were eager to have a glimpse of me! Am I to understand, my good friends, that your city has all to itself a set of sun, moon and stars which do not shine upon Wardha or Segaon? In Kathiawar we have a class of people known as Bhats or professional bards who make it their job to sing the praises of their chieftains for money. Well, I won't call you Bhats. Banter apart, I want you to realize the mistake of indulging in hyperbolic praises of your leaders. It neither helps them nor their work. I would like you once for all to forget this practice of presenting laudatory addresses. At three score and ten I for one have no desire to let what little time God has still left me be frittered away in vain theatricalities. If an address must be presented, I would like it to be descriptive of the defects and shortcomings of the recipient of the address so that he might be helped to turn the searchlight inward and weed them out.

Ever since my arrival in this province I have been trying to expound to the Khudai Khidmatgars the doctrine of non-violence in all its uncompromising completeness, abating not a jot, holding back nothing. I do not claim to have understood the meaning of non-violence in its entirety. What I have realized is only a small and an insignificant fraction of the great whole. It is not given to imperfect man to grasp the whole meaning of non-violence or to practise it in full. That is an attribute of God alone, the Supreme Ruler who suffers no second. But I have constantly and ceaselessly striven for over half a century to understand it and to translate it in my own life. The Khudai Khidmatgars

have no doubt set a most brilliant example in the practice of non-violence, to the extent to which they have understood it. It has earned them universal admiration. But they have now to move a step further. Their conception of non-violence has to be broadened and their practice of it, especially in its positive aspects, to be made fuller and more intense, if they are to come out successful in the final heat. Non-violence is not mere disarmament. Nor is it the weapon of the weak and the impotent. A child who has not the strength to wield the *lathi* does not practise non-violence. More powerful than all the armaments, non-violence is a unique force that has come into the world. He who has not learnt to feel it to be a weapon infinitely more potent than brute force has not understood its true nature. This non-violence cannot be "taught" through word of mouth. But it can be kindled in our heart through the grace of God, in answer to earnest prayer. It is stated that today there are one lakh of Khudai Khidmatgars who have adopted non-violence as their creed. But before them as early as 1920, Khan Saheb came to recognize in non-violence a weapon, the mightiest in the world, and his choice was made. Eighteen years of practice of non-violence have only strengthened his faith in it. He has seen how it has made his people fearless and strong. The prospect of losing a paltry job used to unnerve them. They feel different beings today. At three score and ten, my faith in non-violence today burns brighter than ever. People say to me, "Your programme of non-violence has been before the country now nearly for two decades, but where is the promised independence?" My reply is that although the creed of non-violence was professed by millions, it was practised by but a few and that, too, merely as a policy. But with all that the result that has been achieved is sufficiently striking to encourage me to carry on the experiment with the Khudai Khidmatgars and God willing it will succeed.

Harijan, 10-12-1938

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120. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

[Before *November 9, 1938*][1]

CHI. SARASWATI,

You must have received my letters and given my letter to Grandfather. I am awaiting your letter. I hope you are physically well and mentally calm. Is there any difficulty in deciphering my handwriting? I shall be here till November 9.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ba had been taken ill. She is in Delhi and is slightly better. Write to her at the Harijan Nivas, Kingsway.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 3427. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi. Also G.N. 6154

121. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

November 9, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

I know that you like to live in Akola. It is indeed your dharma to serve Nanabhai[2]. You are the best judge of how long you should stay there for that. If you are not urgently required there for that purpose, your duty is to go to Natal. The earlier you reach there, the better.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope Nanabhai is better. Write to me at Segaon.

I am writing this in a moving train.

SHRI SUSHILABEHN GANDHI
C/O SHRI NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA, BERAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4888

[1] Gandhiji left the Frontier Province on November 9, 1938.
[2] Nanabhai Mashruwala, the addressee's father

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122. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

November 9, 1938

CHI. MANILAL,

I owe you an apology. While on tour, I always leave you out. The work is heavy and my energy is relatively limited. I, therefore, content myself with the fewest possible letters. I realize, all the same, that 1 ought to write to you. I will try once again to be regular in writing or dictating letters to you. I have been feeling that I am not doing my dharma towards you fully. Though I may not be able to do anything in that direction, still even my letters to you have a value of their own.

I wrote long back to Sushila that her dharma was to be by your side. She has decided to stay on here for a month or so. I have again written today that if she is not required to stay there for nursing Nanabhai, she should immediately return.[1] I will do everything possible to send her.

If you find it necessary to sell any portion of Phœnix and if the trustees agree, you may sell it.

Schlesin's suggestion is certainly worth thinking over.

I am sending your letter to Chhaganlal but I do not think he will want to go. The person who would have benefited by going and staying there was Ramdas, but he does not feel so inclined. The best way is for you and Sushila to do the best you can and be content. It will certainly be good if Schlesin gives whatever help she can. I will have no objection if Pragji takes charge. You should be guided by your experience. Don't do anything which your experience does not suggest as advisable.

Ba has completely recovered now. So also has Mahadev. Today I am travelling in a train bound for Wardha. Ba will meet me in Delhi and join us there.

Dr. Sushila, Pyarelal and Amtul Salaam are with me. Kanaiya also is there. My health is excellent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4887

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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123. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

November 9, 1938

BHAI MASANI,

You must have seen that Dr. Khan Saheb has released a good many people. He wishes to release the remaining prisoners also but there are difficulties in the way. I have written to the local Secretary in this connection and asked him to send a copy of that letter to you. You must have received it.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4129

124. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

November 9, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. It would please me if you stayed there as long as you could. I am writing this letter in a train. I will reach Segaon on the 11th. Ba will join me at Delhi.

You have given good information.

Manubhai has done well in deciding to stay on there.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN
GRAM DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA, *via* SONGADH
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7102. Also C.W. 4594. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

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125. MESSAGE ON DEATH OF KEMAL ATATURK[1]

November 10, 1938

THIS DEATH IS A GREAT LOSS TO TURKEY. MAY THEY COME OUT SAFE THROUGH THE CRISIS.

The Hindu, 11-11-1938

126. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
November 10, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is Satis Babu's latest production.[2] He is making vast strides in this direction.

Your two letters came in today, the first without anything from M[3].

What could I say but from the heart about your pathetic appeal? If the message comes to me nothing on earth would deter me. I have told you, perhaps, I have not the requisite purity to penetrate the woman heart. There must be a distance between her and me so long as I have the विकार[4] snake in me. You can but pray. But the effort has to be mine. Therefore don't feel angry or sorrowful if I can't answer your expectations.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3649. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6458

[1] President of the Turkish Republic. He died on November 10, 1938.

[2] The reference seems to be to the paper on which Gandhiji was writing the letter.

[3] Mahadev Desai

[4] Carnal desires

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127. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 10, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I had got your letter at Taxila. I received one here also. An earlier letter of Rajkumari I got today, in which I did not see your handwriting. I understand about South Africa. We will now think about something else when you return. Don't mind if you sleep less now. It has taught us a lesson that even now you have to be very careful. What Gilder says is quite true. If it is necessary to stay on beyond the 19th, do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have no time for more.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11679

128. DISCUSSION WITH COMMUNISTS[1]

[Before *November 11, 1938*][2]

COMMUNISTS: We confess, we do not understand what it is exactly you stand for. We oppose you, not necessarily because we always differ from you but because we do not know your mind and so regard your actions with vague fear and distrust. Faith would become easier if we understand you. So we have come to you. Possibly you too might find that some of your opinions about us needed revision, if you knew us.

And by way of illustration, they cited the resolution on civil liberty[3] that had been adopted by the A. I. C. C. at Delhi and which had occasioned the much talked of walk-out on the part of a group of members.[4] They could not understand why the "High Command" should be so anxious to steamroll that resolution through the house in spite of strong protest.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A Sporting Offer". Gandhiji, Pyarelal says, made several additions in the writing to bring out his meaning clearly.

[2] From a reference in the text it is clear that Gandhiji was not at Segaon at the time of this discussion. He left Delhi for Segaon on the 11th.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, " Draft of Resolution for A. I. C. C.", p. 368.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, "That Unfortunate Walk-out", pp. 401-2.

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G. I must confess that I did not like the walk-out. Did it mean that you wanted the Congress to condone incitement to violence?

C. No, we have again and again made it clear that we do not want any condonation of violence or incitement to violence. What distresses us is this. Whereas there was enlargement of civil liberty on Congress taking office, since the Haripura Congress civil liberty has actually suffered curtailment under the Congress ministries. We are driven to feel that this cry about abuse of civil liberty has been raised merely as a convenient pretext to shield the Ministers, some of whom have been behaving exactly like the old bureaucrats.

G. I am more than glad that you have come to me, because you have come to the real culprit. I must confess that I am the sole author of that resolution. It is based upon unimpeachable evidence in my possession. But you should have known from my writings that they were meant to help Ministers to avoid action against those who have incited to violence and even actually committed it. Instead of Ministers taking action against them my purpose was to create public opinion against violent speeches, writings or acts. The resolution was a substitute for legal action. I want you to accept my assurance that I would not screen a single Minister who interferes with civil liberty or acts contrary to Congress resolutions. If you have Rajaji in mind, I am prepared to give you full satisfaction or ask him to resign.

C. We feel puzzled. You have said that coercive measures should be used to put down incitement to violence. Is it right to use Government violence to check the so-called incitement to violence by Congressmen?

G. The question is badly put. But my answer is there. There should be no Government violence. But if a man kills a little child and robs it of its ornaments and if I deprive him of the liberty to repeat the performance, I would not call my act violence. It would be violence if my act was meant to be a punishment.

I would like to make my position clearer still. You cannot have the cake and eat it. Assuming that there has been violence of speech, it has to be noticed by the Congress or the Congress Ministers. I have suggested the former course. The resolution was in pursuance of that course. Of course you may question the validity or sufficiency of proof in the possession of the Working Committee. In that case, you could have called for proofs and accepted the resolution subject to the production by the Working Committee of the proof in its possession. If you admit that

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violent speech or writing does not come under the protection of civil liberty, there should have been no walk-out. Surely he who runs may see that in the Congress provinces latitude of speech and writing is allowed such as has never before been enjoyed.

C. All the same, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the bias which the High Command has persistently shown against us. We have put ourselves under Congress discipline. We have joined the Congress because it is the only body that can raise a popular movement. If we misbehave, we may be put out and should lose caste with the people. As a people's party we must move with the people or go out. These Ministers, on the other hand, are seeking to set themselves above the people to make themselves immune to democratic influence. We are wedded to no dogma. Tell us what we can do together in immediate practice. Our motives may differ but practice will count.

G. You should also admit that neither the resolution[1] nor, I think, my article[2] makes mention of socialists or communists. Violence is no monopoly of any one party. I know Congressmen who are neither socialists nor communists but who are frankly devotees of the cult of violence. Contrariwise, I know socialists and communists who will not hurt a fly but who believe in the universal ownership of instruments of production. I rank myself as one among them. But here I am not thinking of myself but of others whom I have the good fortune to know.

What you have said, however, makes it clear to me that you do not put the same stress as I do on the means. But I understand your argument. Our minds are working at cross purposes. I want to occupy a corner in your hearts, if I can. But some of you have told me frankly that it is impossible, for they look at things from opposite poles. The utmost they can do is to tolerate me because they credit me with some capacity for sacrifice and influence over the masses. Now I make a sporting offer. One of you or all of you can come to me at Segaon when I return there, study me, see all my papers, look at the correspondence, ask me questions, and decide upon the course you would adopt in your dealings with me. There is no secrecy with me. My mission is to convert every single Indian to my view of the means of liberation. If only that happens, complete independence is ours for the having.

They next questioned Gandhiji as to the possibility of the Communist Party being legalized. "We do not *want* violence," they explained. "It is

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, p. 368.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 401-2.

true that we have not made non-violence our creed. We are not pledged to non-violence at all cost and for all time to come, but for the time being and in the immediate future we see no necessity for violence. Our method is thus, just now, the same as that of the Congress. We are forced at present to function as a secret organization because we are under ban. If the ban is removed, the necessity for secrecy should cease. For the rest we can only give the assurance that should we in the future find it necessary to drop non-violence, we shall make a clear and open declaration about it.

G. If you mean that you do not as a party believe in violence, then you should make that statement. All your literature that I have studied clearly says that there is no independence without resort to force. I know that there is a body of communists that is slowly veering round to non-violence. I would like you to make your position absolutely plain and above board. I have it from some of the literature that passes under the name of communist literature that secrecy, camouflage and the like are enjoined as necessary for the accomplishment of the communist end, especially as communism has to engage in an unequal battle against capitalism which has organized violence at its beck and call. I would, therefore, like you, if you can, to make it plain that you do not believe in these things I have mentioned.

The communist friends promised to send Gandhiji an authoritative statement setting forth the position of their party.

G. You may think over what I have said, keep yourself in touch with me, correct me when you think I go astray, and try to understand me. Do not distrust me. When you have doubts express them fearlessly. And I suggest that we leave the discussion at that. But I should be glad to think that we part with the determination to understand one another and but to meet again.

Harijan, 10-12-1938

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129. KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS AND BADSHAH KHAN

Whatever the Khudai Khidmatgars may be or may ultimately turn out to be, there can be no doubt about what their leader whom they delight to call Badshah Khan is. He is unquestionably a man of God. He believes in His living presence and knows that his movement will prosper only if God wills it. Having put his whole soul into his cause, he remains indifferent as to what happens. It is enough for him to realize that there is no deliverance for the Pathan except through out and out acceptance of non-violence. He does not take pride in the fact that the Pathan is a fine fighter. He appreciates his bravery but he thinks that he has been spoilt by overpraise. He does not want to see his Pathan as a goonda of society. He believes that the Pathan has been exploited and kept in ignorance. He wants the Pathan to become braver than he is and wants him to add true knowledge to his bravery. This he thinks can only be achieved through non-violence.

And as Khan Saheb believes in my non-violence, he wanted me to be as long as I could among the Khudai Khidmatgars. For me I needed no temptation to go to them. I was myself anxious to make their acquaintance. I wanted to reach their hearts. I do not know that I have done so now. Anyway I made the attempt.

But before I proceed to describe how I approached my task and what I did, I must say a word about Khan Saheb as my host. His one care throughout the tour was to make me as comfortable as the circumstances permitted. He spared no pains to make me proof against privation or discomfort. All my wants were anticipated by him. And there was no fuss about what he did. It was all perfectly natural for him. It was all from the heart. There is no humbug about him. He is an utter stranger to affectation. His attention is therefore never embarrassing, never obtrusive. And so when we parted at Taxila our eyes were wet. The parting was difficult. And we parted in the hope that we would meet again probably in March next. The Frontier Province must remain a place of frequent pilgrimage for me. For though the rest of India may fail to show true non-violence, there seems to be good ground for hoping that the Frontier Province

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will pass through the fiery ordeal. The reason is simple. Badshah Khan commands willing obedience from his adherents said to number more than one hundred thousand. They hang on his lips. He has but to say the word and it is carried out. Whether, in spite of all the veneration he commands, the Khudai Khidmatgars will pass the test in constructive non-violence remains to be seen.

Though Pyarelal has been giving a faithful record of the tour in the Frontier Province I must even at the risk of repetition in places give in my own way a resume of what has been done.

At the outset both Khan Saheb and I had come to the conclusion that instead of addressing the whole of the Khudai Khidmatgars at the various centres I should confine myself to the leaders. This would save my energy and be its wisest use. And so it proved to be. During the five weeks, we visited all the centres, and the talks lasted for one hour or more at each centre. I found Khan Saheb to be a very competent and faithful interpreter. And as he believed in what I said, he put into the translation all the force he could command. He is a born orator and speaks with dignity and effect.

At every meeting I repeated the warning that unless they felt that in non-violence they had come into possession of a force infinitely superior to the one they had and in the use of which they were adepts, they should have nothing to do with non-violence and resume the arms they possessed before. It must never be said of Khudai Khidmatgars that once so brave, they had become or been made cowards under Khan Saheb's influence. Their bravery consisted not in being good marksmen but in defying death and being ever ready to bare their breasts to the bullets. This bravery they had to keep intact and be ready to show whenever occasion demanded. And for the truly brave such occasions occurred often enough without seeking.

This non-violence was not a mere passive quality. It was the mightiest force God had endowed man with. Indeed, possession of non-violence distinguished man from the brute creation. It was inherent in every human being, but in most it lay dormant. Perhaps the word 'non-violence' was an inadequate rendering of ahimsa which itself was an incomplete connotation of all it was used for conveying. A better rendering would be love or goodwill. Violence was to be met by goodwill. And goodwill came into play only when there was ill will matched against it. To be good to the good is an exchange at par. A rupee against a rupee gives no index to its quality. It does when it is

matched against an anna. Similarly a man of goodwill is known only when he matches himself against one of ill will.

This non-violence or goodwill was to be exercised not only against Englishmen but it must have full play even among ourselves. Non-violence against Englishmen may be a virtue of necessity, and may easily be a cover for cowardice or simple weakness. It may be, as it often is, a mere expedience. Rut it could not be an expedience when we have an equal choice between violence and non-violence. Such instances occur in domestic relations, social and political relations among ourselves, not only between rival sects of the same faith but persons belonging to different faiths. We cannot be truly tolerant towards Englishmen if we are intolerant towards our neighbours and equals. Hence our goodwill, if we had it in any degree, would be tested almost every day. And if we actively exercised it, we would become habituated to its use in wider fields till at last it became second nature with us.

The very name Khan Saheb had adopted for them showed that they were to serve, not to injure, humanity. For God took and needed no personal service. He served His creatures without demanding any service for Himself in return. He was unique in this as in many other things. Therefore servants of God were to be known by the service they rendered to His creatures.

Hence the non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgars had to show itself in their daily actions. It could be so exhibited only if they were non-violent in thought, word and deed.

And even as a person who relied upon the use of force in his daily dealings would have to undergo a military training, so will a servant of God have to go through a definite training. This was provided for in the very foundation resolution of the special Congress of 1920. It was broadened from time to time. It was never toned down to my knowledge. The exercise of active goodwill was to be tested through communal unity, shedding of untouchability by Hindus, the home and hand-manufacture and use of khadi—a sure symbol of oneness with the millions—and prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. This fourfold programme was called a process of purification and a sure method of gaining organic freedom for the country. This programme was followed but half-heartedly by Congressmen and the country, thus betraying a lack of living faith in non-violence, or faith in the method devised for its daily practice, or both. But Khudai Khidmatgars were expected and believed to have a living faith in non-violence. Therefore they would be

expected to follow out the whole of the constructive self-purification programme of the Congress. I have added to it village sanitation, hygiene and simple medical relief in the villages. A Khudai Khidmatgar will be known by his works. He cannot be in a village without his making it cleaner and affording help to the villagers in their simple ailments. Hospitals and the like are toys of the rich and are available for the most part only to the city-dwellers. Efforts are no doubt being made to cover the land with dispensaries. But the cost is prohibitive. Whereas the Khudai Khidmatgars could, with a little but substantial training, easily give relief in the majority of cases of illnesses that occurred in the villages.

I told the leaders of the Khudai Khidmatgars that civil disobedience was the end of non-violence, by no means its beginning. Yet I started in this country at the wrong end in 1918. I was overwhelmed by necessity. The country had not come to harm only because I, claiming to be an expert in non-violent technique, knew when and how to retrace our steps. Suspension of civil disobedience at Patna was part of the technique. I have just as much faith in the constructive programme of 1920 as I had then. I could not lead a campaign of civil disobedience in terms of *purna* swaraj without due fulfilment of the programme. The right to civil disobedience accrues only to those who know and practise the duty of voluntary obedience to laws whether made by them or others. Obedience should come not from fear of the consequences of the breach but because it is the duty to obey with all our heart and not merely mechanically. Without the fulfilment of this preliminary condition, civil disobedience is civil only in name and never of the strong but of the weak. It is not charged with goodwill, i. e., non-violence. Khudai Khidmatgars had shown in unmistakable terms their bravery in suffering during the civil disobedience days as did many thousands in the other provinces. But it was not proof positive of goodwill at heart. And it would be a deterioration in the Pathan if he was non-violent only in appearance. For he must not be guilty of weakness.

The Khudai Khidmatgars listened to all I said with rapt attention. Their faith in non-violence is not as yet independent of Khan Saheb. It is derived from him. But it is none the less living so long as they have unquestioning faith in their leader who enjoys undisputed kingdom over their hearts. And Khan Saheb's faith is no lip profession. His whole heart is in it. Let the doubters live with him as I have all these precious five weeks and their doubt will be dissolved like mist before the morning sun.

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This is how the whole tour struck a very well-known Pathan who met me during the last days of the tour:

> I like what you are doing. You are very clever. (I do not know that cunning is not the right word.) You are making my people braver than they are. You are teaching them to husband their strength. Of course it is good to be non-violent up to a point. That they will be under your teaching. Hitler has perfected the technique of attaining violent ends without the actual use of violence. But you have bettered even Hitler. You are giving our men training in non-violence, in dying without killing; so if ever the occasion comes for the use of force, they will use it as never before and certainly more effectively than any other body of persons. I congratulate you.

I was silent and I had no heart to write out a reply to disillusion him. I smiled and became pensive. I like the compliment that the Pathans would be braver than before under my teaching. I do not know an instance of a person becoming a coward under my influence. But the friend's deduction was deadly. If in the last heat the Khudai Khidmatgars prove untrue to the creed they profess to believe, non-violence was certainly not in their hearts. The proof will soon come. If they zealously and faithfully follow the constructive programme, there is no danger of their fulfilling the prognostication of the critic. But they will be found among the bravest of men when the test comes.

ON THE TRAIN BETWEEN DELHI AND WARDHA,
November 11, 1938

Harijan, 19-11-1938

130. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

ON THE TRAIN (BHOPAL),
November 11, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yes, the lines you have sent me were copied for me by you before also. I shall have them recited by Babla when he comes. You should ask him to remind me.

I hope you got my letter[1] written from Taxila and one[2] from Delhi where I had a very busy day, seeing people up to

[1] This is not traceable.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 110.

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the last moment. But the pressure remained quite good, 166/100.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3888. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7044

131. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

ON THE TRAIN,
November 11, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am writing this after leaving Bhopal. Shuaib had come. He inquired after you and added that you had promised him that on your return you would break journey at Bhopal for two or three days. I feel that it would be good from every point of view, if you gave him two or three days. Durga and Babla will enjoy seeing a good many things there.

As Sushila's bag had been left behind, Pyarelal got off. He will come tomorrow.

Herewith your letters, sent by Mirabehn, which I had opened. I am sending the letter addressed to me also.

Ba is with me. She was tempted to stay on till your return, but I dissuaded her. Nimu came and saw me. She will now go to Lakhtar for a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11680

132. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

ON THE TRAIN,
November 11, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

The Kanya Gurukul celebrates its Annual Day towards the end of December at Dehra Dun. Acharya Ramdev invariably asks for someone to be sent for the occasion. I wanted to send Rajkumari, but she would be at the Women's Conference. You also must be going. But it would be good if you could spare a

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day at Dehra Dun. Perhaps you already know about the Kanya Gurukul. It is a good institution.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 3081. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru. Also G.N. 7985

133. TELEGRAM TO R. S. RUIKAR[1]

November 11, 1938

I STRONGLY URGE YOU TO ABANDON FAST. ON REACHING WARDHA, I SHALL DO MY BEST. WIRE REPLY.

The Hindu, 12-11-1938

134. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[On or after *November 11, 1938*][2]

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

Your very kind and full letter of 31st October was sent to me by Mirabai, whilst I was touring in the Frontier Province. I knew that she had acknowledged it. But I had fully intended to express my thanks for the considerate manner in which you dealt with the question of distress in Hissar.[3] Yes, I know that the Punjab Government is doing all it can. Not knowing the working of the railway system, I approached the fountain-head.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Mr. R. W. Phulay, General Secretary of the Provincial Trade Union Congress, was asked to convey this message telegraphically when he came to see Gandhiji at Nagpur station to draw his attention to the textile workers' strike at Rajnandgaon and Mr. R. S. Ruikar's fast since October 29.

[2] Gandhiji returned to Segaon after his Frontier tour on November 11, 1938.

[3] The reference is to a famine in the Punjab.

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135. MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

Dr. Syed Mahmud[1] has sent me a copy of his note on the progress of Mass Literacy Campaign in Bihar. Below will be found all the relevant paragraphs[2] of the instructive note. I commend to the Minister's attention Dr. Tao's note[3] on a similar movement in China. He will find in it perhaps much to copy.

Harijan, 12-11-1938

136. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
November 12, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Agatha is sitting in front of me.

The rest from Mahadev's letter[4]. This is just not to miss the post.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3839. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7045

137. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

November 12, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

You must see me some time before 17th for 30 minutes, when I shall be on speaking terms. Of course it is joint action which has resulted in the appointment of trustees. Is it not so?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10139

[1] Then Minister for Development and Employment in Bihar
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] This was published in *Harijan*, 29-10-1938, 5-11-1938 and 19-11-1938.
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 123.

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138. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 12, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Poor Lila had made preparations for you.

Mirabehn has changed her mind. She has decided to go to the Frontier Province. I have approved of her plan. Khan Saheb also wished that she should go. I have now written to him for his consent. The climate is fine here. Agatha is sitting in front of me. I have still not broken my silence. I will break it at two. You must have received my letter written at Itarsi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11681

139. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 13, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. Your second article is lying with me. It is certainly going as the leading article. The other one is still lying with me. I will take it out today. Now I will return it to you here. I don't want to send it by registered post, and I am afraid of sending it by ordinary post. There is no hurry at all. It is "evergreen".

Rajendra is from U. P. He has been here for the last four or five months. He is a good man. There is no time for more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11682

140. NOTE TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

Sunday, November 13, 1938

I could not reply to your letter. But if Munnalal[1] goes and you don't wish to stay in the Mahila Ashram, you may come here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8564

[1] Munnalal G. Shah, addressee's husband

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141. THE CONGRESS AND KHADI

I have letters from Bombay, U. P., Bengal and Sind bitterly complaining that the khadi clause of the Congress constitution is honoured more in the breach than in the performance. I have mentioned the four provinces not to have it inferred that in the other provinces things are better. I have simply referred to these provinces because there are complaints from them. People in the other provinces have not perhaps thought it worth while to draw attention to the evil which is widespread. It may well be that correspondence on the matter from other provinces has not been brought to my notice.

The correspondents' chief complaint is that in selecting Congress candidates for municipalities or local boards, the Congress officials do not enforce the khadi clause for such candidates. One correspondent says that the obligation of wearing khadi is waived because the Congress officials do not find competent enough candidates among khadi wearers. This would be a sound reason, if the dearth of proper khadi-clad men can be proved, for altering the clause, surely not for committing a deliberate breach of the Congress constitution. A writer justifies the waiver by arguing that there is no connection between swaraj and khadi. This again may be a good reason for a change in the constitution but not for disregarding it. Every Congressman is a potential civil-resister. The right of civil-disobedience accrues only to those who perform the duty of voluntarily obeying the laws of their State, more so the laws of their own making. Therefore, the Congressmen are taking grave risks when they commit wilful breaches of the constitution.

And is there no connection between swaraj and khadi? Were the Congressmen who made themselves responsible for the khadi clause in the constitution so dense that they did not see the fallacy which is obvious to some critics? I have not hesitated to say, and I make bold to repeat now, that without khadi there is no swaraj for the millions, the hungry and the naked, and for the millions of illiterate women. Habitual use of khadi is a sign that the wearer identifies himself with the poorest in the land, that he has patriotism and self-sacrifice enough in him to wear khadi even though it may not be so soft and elegant in appearance as foreign fineries nor as cheap.

But my argument has perhaps no force with many Congressmen when anarchy reigns supreme among them. There is another batch of letters in my file which continue to give me fresh evidence of corruption among Congressmen so called. One correspondent says bogus members are increasing on a wholesale scale. The cry comes from Orissa that Congressmen do not hesitate to spread lies in order to enlist members. A Calcutta correspondent tells me that there are original members who have not paid their own subscriptions. When asked, they say they cannot spare four annas per year. The correspondent indignantly protests that these same men spend many four-anna pieces per year on cinemas. My point however is not that these men can afford to pay and do not. My point is that if they have not paid their subscriptions they are not Congressmen and that the register containing their names requires to be purged of them. A U. P. correspondent says bribery and corruption are spoiling the good name of the Congress. He says that Congressmen do not hesitate to use their influence with Collectors and other officials to have all sorts of injustices perpetrated for the sake of themselves or their relatives. And he adds that the services are ill able to resist the pressure. And he says the growing evil may be worse than the evil that existed when the services did wrong under instructions from British officials. This charge is most damaging if it is true. It requires careful investigations by the U. P. Government and the provincial Congress command. Indeed, the whole of the irregularities I have lumped together in this note require careful and immediate handling by the Working Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees. If the Congress is not purged of illegalities and irregularities, it will cease to be the power it is today and will fail to fulfil expectations when the real struggle faces the country.

SEGAON, November 14, 1938

Harijan, 19-11-1938

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142. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
November 14, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have your letter. I hope I misunderstood your letter of yesterday. I loved you all the more for the deep cut I thought you had made. My love can weather storms and misunderstandings. My regret was and is that my reaction should hurt you. The scars left by loved ones never last. They heal as soon as they are made. If they did not, my love would suffer diminution. I hope therefore that on your part you will laugh at your folly and lack of faith or my stupidity in putting in your letter a meaning you had not intended. You must not make yourself sick over this passing episode.

Of course you could not attend Aryanayakum's meeting. But let us hope next year your programme will be better arranged.

Of course I shall write to you about the doings of the Travancore delegation.

Love.

WARRIOR

From the original: C.W. 3650. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6459

143. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

November 14, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

Can you come tomorrow, Tuesday ? Bring your work and take your meal here though not with me. You should take it after or before me so that you can talk the whole time. I am having my meal which [I] take between [*sic*] 10.30 or thereabouts. You can have a quiet corner for your work.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You need not worry about Travancore Deputation.

From a photostat: G.N. 01401

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144. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 14, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

Vallabhbhai came today. The problem of Rajkot has become fairly complicated.[1] But so long as his stars are favourable, even things that seem to go against him will end well. Mani has been showing her mettle.[2] I have never seen another daughter like her.

Your second article is going today. I will hand over to you personally the one rejected for *Harijan*. I will go through the one received today. Chandrashanker is really very ill. I am alarmed.

Mirabehn is going ahead with her preparations for the Frontier Province in anticipation of Khan Saheb's consent.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending two things shown to me by Mirabehn. You will understand both.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11683

145. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON,
November 14, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I got both your letters. If I could send you copies of all my labours, you would give me the first rank. But let it be enough for you that I have done all that was possible for me. At last I

[1] The people of Rajkot had started an agitation against the autocratic rule of the Prince Dharmendrasinh and his Dewan Virawala. The leaders of the State were in consultation with Vallabhbhai Patel, who in turn was guided by Gandhiji.

[2] She toured the villages of the State and "sustained the peasants in their struggle".

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got the accompanying reply. Ramachandran is coming tomorrow, when I will try again. I will not give up. But it is a great handicap that one cannot discuss things with him. There ought to be no secrecy in this regard. Saraswati is free in such matters. All children are free. I am also returning the letters you wanted me to return. Don't be perturbed. Have patience. I will spare no effort.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7352. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

146. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 15, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

What you say about the Ataturk is all true. Why don't you write a public letter about his removing the *purdah*?

Agatha will be here probably till J.[1] returns. She is doing well. We are discussing things in a leisurely manner.

So M.[2] leaves you on 19th. He is in ecstasies over your affectionate attention. The Travancore deputation is due now. Hence I must close this.

Love.

WARRIOR

From the original: C.W. 3651. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6460

147. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 15, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

I read your note about N. It cannot be sent anywhere for publication. Not that your argument is incorrect, but why give so much importance to N.? We know his ideas. Moreover, to reply to him is to raise up a hornet's nest. What is the advantage in publishing N.'s name? His arguments may be analysed

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru
[2] Mahadev Desai; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 134.

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and an indirect reply may be given to him as is often done by me. I can do this myself but his arguments do not have sufficient substance to deserve that. The proofs cited by you are worth using. I will see what can be done. I am, therefore, not returning the article. Treat this letter as the last I shall be sending. I will write tomorrow, however. If you have already left, Rajkumari will forward it. I am not sending the other things. As you will start on the 19th, I assume that you will arrive on the evening of the 21st.

Madgavkar is arriving tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11684

148. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 15, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I had a talk with R. He knows everything. He first heard about it from his father. R. has not made a full inquiry, but from what inquiry he has made, he feels that there is no truth at all in the matter. P. has completely denied the story and she says that P. could be believed guilty of such misconduct only if she also could be believed so. According to him, S. has seen everything through prejudiced eyes. But he says he will inquire into the matter further and will write to me. He has asked me not to worry about S. at all. In this situation, I have become completely helpless. If S. has committed no errors, she should boldly narrate what happened, as Devdas did in regard to Manilal. I would now advise you not to take any further interest in the matter. Don't worry. R. has assured me that he will not let S. come to any harm. Just now she will stay with her grandparents. She will continue to write to me and will accept whatever I finally decide.

I would also advise you to write to R. You may even write through me. If you handle the situation with detachment and calm, the truth will come out and S. can be saved.

Blessings from
BAPU

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[PS.]

Just now there are several deputations and so there is a good deal of pressure on me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7353. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

149. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEGAON,
November 15, 1938

CHI. PREMA,

I saw your letter after many days. Is it any wonder that you win people's appreciation wherever you go ?

Patwardhan may come whenever he can. The family responsibilities are always a problem. Illnesses and accidents are bound to happen. You at any rate ought never to fall ill. The golden remedy for this is obedience to rules in all things.

You may certainly bring your new friend with you.

Kishorelal had talked to me also. I myself have not been able to read the book[1], but I read the letter[2] which has been objected to. I have found no substance in the objection. Its publication is likely to do me no harm. I would be harmed only if I failed to do what I ought to do and did what I ought not to. I need therefore withdraw nothing. There is one letter among them which perhaps I would not have permitted to be published and that too only because of the prevailing social attitudes.

I am sure, moreover, that you had taken all necessary precautions while publishing the letter.

What Kishorelal has written is well meant.[3] Don't take it to heart. Explain courteously your position to him.

I am well.

Khan Saheb has asked for one woman social worker. Your name was almost on my lips, but I did not like to draw you

[1] *Vatsalyachi Prasaddiksha*, a Marathi translation of Gandhiji's letters to the addressee numbering about 90

[2] This was the one dated 21-5-1936; *vide* Vol. LXII, pp. 428-30.

[3] Kishorelal had been pained by the storm raised over the book and had written to the addressee criticizing her action in publishing the letters.

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away from your present work. I, therefore, dropped for the moment the idea of sending you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6836. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak. Also G.N. 10397

150. TALK TO TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS DEPUTATION[1]

November 15, 1938

I have received reports that there has been violence on a considerable scale in Travancore. On the other hand I have received wires from the State Congress dictators saying that there has been no violence whatever for which they can be held responsible, that whatever violence there has been was instigated by the authorities. It has been alleged too that there has been secret endorsement of violence by the State Congress people though they are not directly responsible for it. What I say is that if there has been mob violence, by whomsoever wrought, it shows that the State Congress has not acquired sufficient control over the masses. In that case civil disobedience has to be suspended even as was done by me more than once. I admit you were behind the prison bars when most of the alleged cases of violence took place. I appreciate also the fact that you did not get a chance of educating the masses into discipline. I entirely endorse your view that the fight should not be merely to wrest a few concessions from the authorities but for establishing real responsible government. But all that, to my mind, makes out a case for doing more spade-work among the masses. You must build from below.

You tell me that you regard the removal of the Dewan would help your movement as he is the chief obstacle in your way. If you persist in the charges, you must be prepared to prove them. But in my opinion it will have the inevitable result of pushing the question of responsible government into the background by bringing to the fore a purely personal issue. I call that playing the enemy's game. And you would give the wrong lead to the people. I do not want you to withdraw the allegations because they are not true, if you believe in them. I want those allegations

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Why the Withdrawal". The deputation had gone to see Gandhiji at Segaon. This, Pyarelal says, is the substance of the talk.

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to be withdrawn because you have a far bigger issue at stake. The greater includes the less. Removal of the Dewan by itself would not give you responsible government. A clever dewan might choose to slip out and remain in the background till the storm has blown over and in the mean time use a substitute to crush the movement. Such things have happened before and will happen again. On the other hand responsible government includes the power to dismiss ministers according to the popular will. You can therefore say, without abating an iota from your charges, you do not want to dissipate your energy by pursuing these charges. There are the two alternatives before you, both of them perfectly legitimate. You have to make your choice. You should know best the psychology of your people. It may be such that the fight can be best conducted through agitation to remove the Dewan. Personally, when I weigh the pros and cons of the matter, I feel like saying you should swallow the bitter cup and concentrate on getting the reins of power into your hands.

But whatever the decision about the allegations, I would advise you not to restart civil disobedience just now. You should put your own house in order. If you keep unadulterated non-violence at the back of your minds, you would not say, "Let us take time by the forelock, and now that there is all this energy bubbling forth, let us consolidate our gains." You would not capture power by madly frittering away the energy generated. That way lies danger. You will, if you follow that, only pave the way for the political schemers who may exploit the situation for furthering their own designs. I would therefore ask you to go slow, steadily gathering all the threads into your hands. You should become a homogeneous and disciplined mass by undergoing training in constructive work and non-violence. You may not take another forward step without canvassing public opinion inside and outside Travancore first.

Apparently there may be no connection between constructive work and non-violence; but there is an internal logic connecting the two when constructive work is taken up as a part of a non-violence programme. The National Flag, for instance, was conceived as a symbol of unity, purity and non-violence. It is the place that we have given it in our non-violence programme that gives it its significance and importance; by itself it has no virtue. In prosecuting your constructive programme, you must always keep the background of non-violence before your mind.

Then I should ask students to remain apart from the civil disobedience part of the struggle and should not carry on any

propaganda in their midst. It is not proper to ask students of school-going age to do such work. It is a sign of weakness. It is like asking children to undergo suffering for their parents.

But the students can and ought to take part in the struggle by becoming adepts in charkha and other items in the constructive programme, as the Chinese students are doing while the fight against Japan is going on. The Chinese students are working to preserve the essentials of Chinese culture through their programme of New Education. They are helping to create a national spirit which will remain unsubdued irrespective of the fortunes of the Chinese arms on the battle field.

The satyagraha struggle in British India had two aspects, non-violent non-co-operation with the Government and co-operation among the people themselves. Both these aspects should constantly be kept before the mind's eye. The constructive programme that I have set before you necessitates perfect co-operation among all the sections. You will therefore go among the Pulayas and the Pariahs, fraternize with them and appeal to them as fellow countrymen and equals to come out and take their due share in the sacred fight along with the Brahmins, Ezhawas, Christians and others. You must all become one. You dare not leave out or antagonize a single section or community without stultifying yourselves and damaging your fight.

Then there is the prohibition work. You would not picket just now, but you would visit the drunkards in their homes and strive with them. Even if you do not succeed in producing immediate tangible results, it will put your struggle on a moral plane and add strength and momentum to it.

Travancore people, both men and women, are so simple in their habits. They wear white and need very little cloth to protect them against the elements. They can easily produce all the khadi they need. Travancore need not import a single yard of cloth or even khadi from outside. This means that there should be a spinning-wheel in every home.

And khadi should be linked with liberty. All the time you are spinning, you would not think in terms of your own requirements but in terms of the requirements of the nation. You will say, 'I want to clothe the whole nation that is naked and I must do it non-violently.' Each time you draw a thread, say to yourselves, 'We are drawing the thread of swaraj.' Multiply this picture millionfold and you have freedom knocking at your door.

Harijan, 28-1-1939

151. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 16, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Why do you say when Mahadev leaves you you won't have to write to me (I suppose you mean so regularly) ? If you have the time I do want you to write regularly. I may fail to do likewise. But you have always permitted me that latitude.

I hope you will have a kind of relaxation after his departure. Though it was a pleasure to you to have him with you it was undoubtedly a tax on your attention and energy.

The Travancore deputation was finished today. They appeared to be good men. They have real difficulty in withdrawing the allegations. But they have not given me a conclusive answer. They will put the pros and cons before their W. C. and then come to a decision. How I wish you could have been present during the conversations. I gave them four hours. Ramachandran is still here.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

If Mahadev is there when this is received tell him he should give a day or two to Bhopal if he can.

From the original: C.W. 3890. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7046

152. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON,
November 16, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I hope both you and Indu have benefited by the voyage. I am expecting you to be in Wardha about 20th. But of course you will come as early as you wish. You have tough problems awaiting solution.

Love to you both.

BAPU

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

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153. DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR THAKORE SAHEB OF RAJKOT[1]

[Before *November 19, 1938*][2]

1. After having observed the growth of popular feeling and the regrettable sufferings of our people during the last few months for the redress of what they understood to be their grievances, and after having discussed the whole situation with the Council and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, we are convinced the present struggle and sufferings should end immediately.

2. We have decided to appoint a committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects or servants of our State, three of whom will be State officers and seven subjects of our State whose names will be declared hereafter. The President of the committee will be a person appointed by His Highness.

3. This committee shall draw up by the end of January, after proper investigation, a report to us recommending a scheme of reforms so as to give the widest possible powers to our people consistently with our obligation to the Paramount Power and with our prerogatives as a Ruling Chief.

4. It is our desire that our Privy Purse shall henceforth be regulated in the manner laid down in the circular of the Chamber of Princes.

5. We desire furthermore to assure our people that we intend to consider and give effect to the scheme that may be reported to us by the said committee.

6. It being understood that all unconstitutional agitation shall immediately cease, as a necessary prelude to restore peace and goodwill, we hereby grant full amnesty and release immediately all political prisoners and remit all fines and withdraw all repressive measures.

Harijan, 4-2-1939

[1] This was signed by Dharmendrasinh, Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on December 26 after talks with Vallabhbhai Patel.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", pp. 136-7, where Gandhiji mentions having drafted the statement.

154. PROHIBITION IN SALEM DISTRICT

The Syndicate of the Annamalai University deputed Shri C. Jagannathachari to study the problem of prohibition in Salem District under the guidance and direction of Professor B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu. I have been favoured with a summary of the report from which I take the following excerpts[1].

Harijan, 19-11-1938

155. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
November 19, 1938

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA WEST

HOPE DESPONDENCY GONE CHEERFULNESS RETURNED. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3891. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7047

156. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 19, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Please study the statement[2] which I have drafted after discussions with Anantrai[3] and Nanabhai. If you approve of it, the Thakore Saheb may act accordingly and satyagraha should be withdrawn. Decide the names of the members of the Committee in consultation with Bhai Anantrai. The people's representatives should be in a majority in the Committee. If this is accepted, I

[1] These are not reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* "Draft of Statement for Thakore Saheb of Rajkot", p. 135.
[3] Anantrai Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar

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think we should be satisfied. There is no mention of responsible government in my draft, but I think it is clearly implied.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 227-8

157. THE JEWS

Several letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Arab-Jew question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

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The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colourable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews.

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. And he is doing it with religious zeal. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity. If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is therefore outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all it means?

Germany is showing to the world how efficiently violence can be worked when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness masquerading as humanitarianism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness.

Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect, and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit there is. No person who has faith in a living God need feel helpless or forlorn. Jehovah of the Jews is a God more personal than the God of the Christians, the Mussalmans or the Hindus, though, as a matter of fact in essence, He is common to all and one without a second and beyond description. But as the Jews attribute personality to God and believe that He rules every action of theirs, they ought not to feel helpless. If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even

as the tallest gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this, I should not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance but would have confidence that in the end the rest are bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. Indeed, even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they can bring no inner joy, no inner strength. The calculated violence of Hitler may even result in a general massacre of the Jews by way of his first answer to the declaration of such hostilities. But if the Jewish mind could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the massacre I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the tyrant. For to the godfearing, death has no terror. It is a joyful sleep to be followed by a waking that would be all the more refreshing for the long sleep.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that it is easier for the Jews than for the Czechs to follow my prescription. And they have in the Indian satyagraha campaign in South Africa an exact parallel. There the Indians occupied precisely the same place that the Jews occupy in Germany. The persecution had also a religious tinge. President Kruger used to say that the white Christians were the chosen of God and Indians were inferior beings created to serve the whites. A fundamental clause in the Transvaal constitution was that there should be no equality between the whites and coloured races including Asiatics. There too the Indians were consigned to ghettos described as locations. The other disabilities were almost of the same type as those of the Jews in Germany. The Indians, a mere handful, resorted to satyagraha without any backing from the world outside or the Indian Government. Indeed the British officials tried to dissuade the satyagrahis from their contemplated step. World opinion and the Indian Government came to their aid after eight years of fighting. And that too was by way of diplomatic pressure not of a threat of war.

But the Jews of Germany can offer satyagraha under infinitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogeneous community in Germany. They

are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have organized world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart. The same God rules the Arab heart who rules the Jewish heart. They can offer satyagraha in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot or thrown into the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find the world opinion in their favour in their religious aspiration. There are hundreds of ways of reasoning with the Arabs, if they will only discard the help of the British bayonet. As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them.

I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regarded as an unwarrantable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.

Let the Jews who claim to be the chosen race prove their title by choosing the way of non-violence for vindicating their position on earth. Every country is their home including Palestine not by aggression but by loving service. A Jewish friend has

sent me a book called *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* by Cecil Roth. It gives a record of what the Jews have done to enrich the world's literature, art, music, drama, science, medicine, agriculture, etc. Given the will, the Jew can refuse to be treated as the outcaste of the West, to be despised or patronized. He can command the attention and respect of the world by being man, the chosen creation of God, instead of being man who is fast sinking to the brute and forsaken by God. They can add to their many contributions the surpassing contribution of non-violent action.

SEGAON, *November 20, 1938*
Harijan, 26-11-1938

158. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

November 20, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I had got your letter. You must have got mine. After writing to you, I discussed the matter with R. I have not been able to convince him. He says that there must have been some mistake in what S. saw and that the same charge was levelled against you regarding your relations with P. Ultimately it was proved that there was nothing in it. All the same, says R., he will make a full inquiry. But he adds: "Suppose my sister has fallen, is it not S.'s duty to bring her mother to her senses? Was it right for her to run down to you? Have we, who have brought her up, who have given her love, and separation from whom has made her shed tears, ceased to be of any value? If you order, I will certainly bring S. before you even to tell her this." In these circumstances, how could I insist any further? Now it is for S. to show courage. She should boldly prove P.'s misconduct, and having shown that she cannot reform P. she should try to come to me. P. may have gone astray but all the others cannot be like her. Don't become impatient. It is not proper that you should give up hope of P. Her love for you has not diminished. If it has, cannot the betrothal be cancelled even after it has been made public? But he does not even dream of such a step. You have become a part of that family. You should believe that there is still room for further inquiry in this matter. However that be, I do not want you to let this affair trouble you or take your time. Whatever type of woman P. may be, S. is certainly not going to be affected. It will be enough if she

remains engrossed in her duty. Write to her and ask her to write to me as frankly as she does to you. If she is afraid that someone might read her letters, I will tear them up after reading them, as I do R. K.'s. Her letters are given to me unopened, as also others which are marked "Private", "Personal", or anything to that effect. I want that not you but I should worry about S. You are also not right in believing that it was wrong to have made your betrothal public.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Jawaharlal arrives tomorrow.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7354. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

159. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

November 21, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I do hope you had my note[1] in Bombay. I could not take silence before 2 o'clock. I hope you will have a little quiet till then and enjoy it after the strenuous time in Bombay. Hope Indu is well.

Love.

BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 134.

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160. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 21, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

In a few minutes Jawaharlal will be here. I seize them for these few lines. The doleful strain still runs through your letters. Long or short, your letters are welcome and they get read in spite of heavy work.

Your note[1] on Kemal I had to amend in parts. You will see the corrections which I know you won't mind.

Mira will be going on Wednesday to Bombay for her eyes and thence to the Frontier P[rovince]. I think it is better she goes there first.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3652. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6461

161. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 21, 1938

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

There is no question of distrust.[2] We all feel that you cannot possibly do justice to your position, being continuously absent from Amritsar. The work suffers. But you can come and explain before your resignation is submitted to the Board. But then you should not be long in coming. I shall not be in Segaon in January. It would be better if you can come before 15th December.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] This was published in *Harijan*, 26-11-1938, under "Notes", sub-title, "The Late Kemal Ataturk".

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, "Letter to Lala Girdharilal", p. 403.

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162. FOREWORD TO "THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS"

These essays of Sophia Wadia show at a glance how much similarity there is between the principal faiths of the earth in the fundamentals of life. All our mutual quarrels centre round non-essentials. Sophia Wadia's labours will be amply rewarded if people belonging to different faiths will study faiths other than their own, with the same reverence that she has exhibited in her essays. An understanding knowledge of and respect for the great faiths of the world is the foundation of true Theosophy—Wisdom about God.

M. K. GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA, November 23, 1938

The Brotherhood of Religions

163. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON,
November 24, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your note. I knew that once you were in harness you won't be master of your own time. I shall be satisfied with what I get.

Here is a letter delivered through messenger from Gurudev. I have replied saying my personal opinion was that he needed to be free from the Presidential work, if he was to rid Bengal of corruption. I have no doubt Gurudev will write to you directly or talk to you. You will give your own opinion.

I hope Indu was none the worse for the journey.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 298

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164. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
November 25, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I had intended during the day to write to you but I could not. You must regain full control over your sleep. You must learn the art of producing a blank in the head at night. I understand what you say about Shummy. May everything turn out as it should.

Did I tell you that the programme is to pass January in Bardoli? You are to come to Bardoli. The whole of December will be spent here.

I had good talks with Jawaharlal on all sorts of topics. But I must not describe them. Most of my time is passed in giving interviews.

Mahadev is not extra well. For the time being he stays here.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3892. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7048

165. NOTE ON LETTER TO DR. N. B. KHARE[1]

November 25, 1938

Evidently the writer of the letter at the back addressed yours to me by mistake, and you must have received what was meant for me. Anyway, the mistake enables me to know that you have been ailing and hope that this finds you fully restored.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-12-1938

[1] The letter addressed to Dr. Khare by a student from Kanpur had been posted to Gandhiji by oversight.

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166. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

November 25, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I see no need for withdrawing the 1100 copies of Prema's book[1] and issuing a new edition. When the time comes for a new edition, we may think of omitting something. Prema's argument appears correct to me. I think we should see what effect the 1100 copies have.

Chandan[2] may now go to Delhi whenever she wishes. The earlier she goes, the better. Bal's letter was interesting. Let him retain possession as a trustee. He may even be given a special right in that capacity. It is desirable that he should keep nothing as heir.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Send the accompanying[3] to Bal, if you approve it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7977

167. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 26, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I won't be satisfied till you can report that you are getting good sleep without difficulty.

This according to your instruction goes to Jullundur.

Your letter to Barnabas is good but very hastily drafted. They may join the Congress in their thousands but why may they not have a separate organization of themselves to consider many questions that specially affect them. For social and religious uplift they need an organization. If they do not have it,

[1] *Vatsalyachi Prasaddiksha*; *vide* "Letter to Premabehn Kantak", pp. 130-1.
[2] Chandan Parekh, who later married the addressee's son, Satish
[3] Not traceable

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they are likely to tire of the Congress for the Congress won't contribute to their all-round uplift. I am therefore not dealing with it in *Harijan*. You should discuss this with me when you come.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

How I wish I had known that the toga had to be kept for you! However you do not mind Indu wearing it.

From the original: C.W. 3893. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7049

168. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON,
November 26, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I hope you had mine of yesterday. This is just to tell you that now that you are gone everybody misses you. Your room is more than full. Mahadev is not going anywhere, for the time being at any rate.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

B.P. 160/98

SHRI MIRABEHN
C/O SETH MATHURADAS TRICUMJEE
74 WALKESHWAR ROAD
BOMBAY

From the original: C.W. 6415. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10010

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169. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 26, 1938

CHI. KANTI,

I am trying to call over S. in my own way.

When the time for your medical studies comes, I shall see about your increased expenses.

I am trying to find Dharmdevji's letter. If I find it, I will reply to him, otherwise I will ask for a copy.

Take care of your health. Learn the art of preserving it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mahadev has arrived. He will take time to resume work. He is in Segaon just now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7355. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

170. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 26, 1938

CHI. ANAND,

I have sent your letter on to Father and have also written him a good letter. He will melt. Hope Vidya is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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171. NON-CO-OPERATORS

Several letters have been lying on my file from Congressmen who non-co-operated during the non-co-operation days. Among these were those also who resigned Government services. Some of these are now agitating for reinstatement. They quote in support my appeal to the public including Government servants to non-co-operate. Among the sufferers who have, to my knowledge, not agitated for restoration are the resisters who were fined, the relatives who lost their bread-winners, the lawyers who gave up their practice and were reduced to penury, and the students who gave up their studies and consequent prospects. They think the suffering voluntarily undergone was its own reward and demands no further compensation.

If all these were to claim restoration from the Congress Ministers, the latter's lot would be truly unenviable and they would have little work to do save that of adjudging claims. They would also have to raise money for discharging claims that must amount to several crores. Moreover, it would be difficult for the discharged Government servants who gave up their jobs whether compulsorily or voluntarily to show that the cases of other sufferers were less hard than theirs.

In my opinion these ex-Government-servants as a class were the least sufferers. And if they have been without work all these years, they can hardly become efficient servants of the State. Government service for Congressmen is not an avenue to material advancement; it should be an avenue to service. Therefore only those Congressmen may enter Government service whose market value is higher than that they can get from the Government. They can be employed only when they are wanted. There should be no such thing as Congress patronage.

A war, whether violent or non-violent, loses its thrill and its grandeur if the warriors are insured against all loss. A satyagrahi to be worthy of the name stands to lose all without expectation of any compensation in the future. His merit lies in his undergoing the uttermost sacrifice. Indeed the Congress machinery will fall to pieces if men come to it to better their prospects in life. And if the Congress Ministers are expected to satisfy personal ambition they will be themselves discredited and bring down the prestige of the Congress in the end.

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I hope the reader will not fail to note the difference between this and the restoration of lands which were vindictively sold for a song by the preceding Government administration. There the restoration was easily possible and was a duty. It was like restoring a bit of country taken away by the victor.

If another civil disobedience campaign becomes necessary, the Government will think fifty times before selling people's land and unpatriotic persons will not dare to profit at the expense of patriots.

SEGAON, November 27, 1938

Harijan, 3-12-1938

172. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
November 27, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is for the sake merely of telling you that I have your letter and that all is well. Mahadev seems to be progressing. I wish you could say the same of you.

Here is the Aundh party coming. Jairamdas has also come in. He is looking much better.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3894. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7050

173. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON,
November 27[1], *1938*

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. I shall attend to all your instructions. I do hope your eyes will be so suited as not to cause any trouble for some years to come.

Govind[2] may go astray. Kaka offered him a job but he has not even put in an appearance. A mission has begun operations

[1] In the source '28' seems to have been corrected to '27'.
[2] An inmate of the Ashram working with the addressee

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here and Govind has offered his services. I hear he has now gone to Nagpur to satisfy his would-be employers. He may prove an enemy of his people and Segaon. I do not want you to worry about him. I shall do all I can to wean him. But the lure of money is too great a temptation for poor peoples. Everything else is going well. Mahadev is well. Verrier and his sister came in today. They are passing the afternoon here.

I have been taking silence from 7 p.m. to 2 p.m. next day. So the speaking is confined to 5 hours. But it is incessant for those hours. I must cut off that too, if I am to have the full benefit.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6416. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10011

174. STATES AND THE PEOPLE

The almost simultaneous awakening in the various States is a very significant event in the national struggle for independence. It will be wrong to think that such awakening can be due to the instigation of one person or a body of persons or any organization. It is just possible that the Haripura resolution of the Congress put the people of the States on their mettle and they realized as never before that their salvation depended upon their own labours. But above all it is the time spirit that has brought about the awakening. It is to be hoped that the Princes and their advisers will recognize it and meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. There is no half-way house between total extinction of the States and the Princes making their people responsible for the administration of their States and themselves becoming trustees for the people, taking an earned commission for their labours.

I hope, therefore, the rumour is not true that the British Government are likely, at the instance of some Princes or their Dewans, to announce a change in the policy recently enunciated by Earl Winterton, about the ability of the Princes to grant responsible government to their people. If any of them have asked the British Government to reverse the policy, they have undoubtedly done a disservice to themselves. And if the British Government respond to the unworthy wish, they will precipitate a first-class crisis whose magnitude it is difficult to foretell. I must

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refuse to believe that the British Government can commit such a blunder. Earl Winterton's announcement was but an endorsement of past practice. They are not known to have ever interfered with the States giving powers to their people, however wide they might be.

I go a step further. Even as the British Government, as the Paramount Power, are bound to protect the Princes against harm from outside or within, they are equally or *a fortiori* bound to ensure just rule on the part of the Princes. Hence it is their bounden duty, when they supply the police or the military to any State, to see that there is a proper emergency justifying the request and that the military or the police will be used with becoming restraint. From Dhenkanal have come to me stories of fiendish cruelty exercised by the State myrmidons under the shadow of the police supplied by the Paramount Power. I asked for evidence in support of some of the unnamable cruelties. And I have enough to inspire belief.

Indeed, it is a question whether responsible Ministers in the provinces have not a moral responsibility in respect of the people of the States in their respective provinces. Under the Constitution, the Ministers have no power over them. The Governor is the agent of the Viceroy who is the representative of the Paramount Power. But the Ministers in autonomous provinces have surely a moral responsibility regarding what happens in the States. So long as the States and the people are satisfied, Ministers have no worry. But have they none if there is, say, a virulent epidemic in the States which, if neglected, may easily overtake the province in which they are situated? Have they none when there is a moral epidemic which seems to be raging in Dhenkanal ?

I understand that the persecuted people are taking refuge in British Orissa. Can the Ministers refuse them shelter? How many can they take charge of ? Whatever happens in these States affects for better or for worse the province as a whole. I do believe, therefore, that the Ministers by reason of the heavy responsibility resting on their shoulders have the moral right, within strict limits, to assert themselves for the sake of internal peace and decency. They cannot look on with unconcern while the people of the States—an arbitrary creation of the Paramount Power—are being ground to dust as they in Dhenkanal are reported to be.

One reads in the papers that some concessions have been given to the people of Dhenkanal. I do not know whether the report is true and whether the relief answers the purpose for

which the people of Dhenkanal are fighting and suffering. It is, however, irrelevant to the issue raised by me. I feel that the Ministers in the provinces are morally bound to take notice of gross misrule in the States within their borders and to tender advice to the Paramount Power as to what, in their opinion, should be done. The Paramount Power, if it is to enjoy friendly relations with the provincial Ministers, is bound to give sympathetic ear to their advice.

There is one other matter which demands the urgent attention of the States and their advisers. They fight shy of the very name Congress. They regard Congressmen as outsiders, foreigners and what not. They may be all that in law. But man-made law, if it is in conflict with the natural law, becomes a dead letter when the latter operates in full force. The people of the States look up to the Congress in all matters affecting their interest. Many of them are members of the Congress. Some like Shri Jamnalalji hold high offices in the Congress organization. In the eyes of the Congress there is no distinction between members from the States and from India called British. It is surely detrimental to the interests of the States to ignore the Congress or Congressmen, especially when it or they seek to render friendly assistance. They must recognize the fact that the people in the States are in many cases guided by the Congress. They know that I am responsible for the policy of non-interference hitherto followed by the Congress. But with the growing influence of the Congress it is impossible for me to defend it in the face of injustice perpetrated in the States. If the Congress feels that it has the power to offer effective interference, it will be bound to do so when the call comes. And if the Princes believe that the good of the people is also their good, they would gratefully seek and accept the Congress assistance. It is surely in their interest to cultivate friendly relations with an organization which bids fair in the future, not very distant, to replace the Paramount Power, let me hope, by friendly arrangement. Will they not read the handwriting on the wall?

SEGAON, November 28, 1938

Harijan, 3-12-1938

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175. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 28, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I shall be ready to write to S.[1] as soon as you free me from the restraint. The suspense should cease, if it is at [all] possible. Today is *Harijan* day. Your absence is most felt on Mondays. Of course you can do a lot if you could be here and kept fit.

I understand about Narandas. I am sending him your note, which is sweet.

Mahadev is well.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3895. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7051

176. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 28, 1938

DEAR MOTI BABU,

My sympathies are with you but equity and justice make me lean towards the A. I. S. A. I relied upon your integrity and business ability. If you must have reduction please start payment and rely upon getting it when you have paid what you contemplate. Is not that right and fair? But I would still plead with you to ask the co-workers to put forth redoubled effort to pay the debt due to a sister Association, which is run wholly for *Daridranarayana*.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 11052

[1] Shumshere Singh

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177. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 28, 1938

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had got your letter. On the basis of it I wrote a couple of lines, not to complain but for information. I am enclosing the reply to that. Destroy the letter after reading it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you see anything to criticize in the movement, please regard it as your duty to let me know about it.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8554. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

178. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 28, 1938

CHI. MANI,

I have got your letter. I had not expected that you would be able to write in the midst of so much pressure of work. I am watching your exploits even from this distance. You seem to have earned great merit in your previous life. I never had any doubt about your courage. As far as possible, don't court imprisonment. That is the Rajkot people's job.

I hope you are taking care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANIBEHN PATEL
NEAR TELEGRAPH OFFICE
RAJKOT

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 122

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179. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON,
November 28, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I am enclosing a letter from Bhavnagar. I have sent a wire asking the man to await a letter before sending any more batches. Participation by students in this manner seems to me altogether improper.

It also does not seem proper that subjects of other States should send batches from places outside Rajkot. This is completely contrary to our policy. That batch does not want and will not get swaraj. Its going to Rajkot will increase ill will and cover up the weaknesses of the Rajkot people if there are any. What will we gain by their weaknesses being covered up? The mettle of the people of Rajkot will shine only as much as it is worth. We may help it to shine brighter, but that can be done only by promoting growth among the Rajkot people themselves. If you agree with this, stop the batches from outside and stop all students from joining. I can write much more, but where is the time? It doesn't matter, though.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 229

180. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 29, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

A letter for Jayaprakash is enclosed. I hope it will reach in time. I am writing this letter at 3.45 a. m. Take care of Jayaprakash's health. I do not know how yours is. I see that you both could see Kanti. I am glad. Didn't I inform you that we would be going to Bardoli on January 1? We will be

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there for a month. You may come there. Jayaprakash also may come. But he is a fakir, absorbed in himself and lost in his own dreams. How can I expect him to pass some time with me? He will not be able to get anything from me and he may not even like some aspects of my life. What is the remedy? I am glad that you remain busy in his service. My health is fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3524

181. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
November 29, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I am writing this before the morning prayer. My health is excellent. Ba is fairly well. It is great news indeed that you have recovered. Now you need not come here at present for I expect to be at Bardoli on the 2nd of January. You are already there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7103. Also C.W. 4595. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

182. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

November 29, 1938

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Zakir telegraphed Big Brother's death.[1] What happened? I wrote to him only the other day about his daughter's death. I tried to come near him but failed. Cannot his death be turned to the end for which in his best moments he tried his utmost? This death is a tragedy. It will be doubled if no steps are taken to bring the two together. How it can be done is more than I

[1] Shaukat Ali died on November 27, 1938, at Delhi.

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can say. I am working at it in my own way. But that is not enough.

Love.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, p. 127

183. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 29, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

The cause of yesterday's suffocation was that the water was too hot. I also had such experience. If the heat is gradually increased, no discomfort is felt. It is desirable to begin with near-body temperature. The bucket of hot water should be kept just near. This is, of course, to be followed by cold water. It would be best to take the hip-bath in the afternoon. This will cost you some time but let not that worry you.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11685

184. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 29, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

Read the accompanying letter and send it to Manilal. Don't change the January date. You may stay there as long as you desire. Whenever you wish to run up here, you will have every right to do so. I was thinking only of Nanabhai and Vijayalakshmi. You also would naturally desire to stay with your parents.

In my present condition, I can give you nothing. I cannot spare even a minute for talking with you. And I would not wish that you should come here only in order that I could see your face every day and smile at you. Ba would not accept service from you. She is no longer ill. Having regard to all this, I leave it to you whether you should come here. I will leave this

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place on January 1 for Bardoli. If you wish to come there, you may do so for three or four days.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kishorelal and Gomati came and met me. Why does not Sita write? How is her health? How is Arun?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4889

185. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 30, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is the first letter I take up at 3.30 a.m.

I have your time-table. This is therefore being posted to Delhi.

Mahadev is having better nights than in Simla showing that the improvement continues. Perhaps the intense cold of Simla might not have agreed with him. Here unlike as before, he is sleeping under the open sky. The weather is quite mild. For three or four days I slept on the verandah. S. has permitted me to come out. How long the permission will last, one does not know.

Ever since Mira's departure I have been silent between 7 p. m. to 2 p. m. the day following. Hence there are only 5 speaking hours.

It will be good if Shummy finally makes up his mind to go to Europe. The change is likely to do him good and you will be able without anxiety to be with me. But Mahadev will say, what about the dog? He has been describing with what care that precious member of the family is being looked after.

I am just now engaged in hammering into shape the Aundh Constitution. The Raja Saheb's son is a delightful boy.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3653. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6462

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186. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

November 30, 1938

CHI. DEVDAS,

You did well in sending a copy of the report of Viceroy's talk with Bharatan. It is difficult to say how this catastrophe will end. Also read and think over what I have written about the States.[1] As Anantrai has intervened, the Rajkot matter will perhaps be settled. But how will that help? That will involve all the States. And that is what should happen.

Lakshmi and the children will be well. I am writing this letter before the morning prayer. My health is excellent—at present at any rate. I am taking proper care of it. Ba is fairly well and so is Mahadev. These days the atmosphere at Segaon is quite good. There goes the bell.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2007

187. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 30, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I do not mind your having spent the money. I do not want you to be ill for want of warm clothing or other things that may be necessary for keeping the body fit. I have no fear of the cold of the Frontier injuring you. I shall watch your career there with anxiety.

My silence up to 2 p. m. continues. There are thus only 5 speaking hours per day which are all practically given to interviews.

Mahadev wrote to you yesterday. He is steadily improving.
Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6417. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10012

[1] *Vide* "States and the People", pp. 151-3.

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188. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 30, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

The Chinese friends came and instead of five minutes they took thirty-five. I had ultimately to say as gently as I could that they had overstayed their time seven times.

Here is your copy of Agatha's report of the interview with the Viceroy. My message was merely to say that he was to regard me as a friend of the English people, etc. It had nothing to do with politics.

I hope you duly received my letter[1] enclosing Gurudev's letter about Subhas.

Hope you are not killing yourself with work and that Indu is doing well.

Sarup[2] should be relieved of the heavy work she is doing. She should rebuild her shattered body.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1938. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 303

189. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 30, 1938

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Mahadev has just now placed your letter in my hand. If I said I knew your father it would be an understatement. We were as close to each other as members of a family. It will not be strange, therefore, if I unveil his statue. But even if I do not do so, will it detract from our bond? Does one unveil

[1] *Vide* p. 144.
[2] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

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the statue of one's brother? I have lost all heart in such ceremonies. Please, therefore, do not take it ill at all. Try to understand my point of view fully and leave me out. Let the statue be unveiled on the same day on which the opening ceremony of the building takes place and let that be done by Sardar. Will you not excuse me?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 4728. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

190. A LETTER

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 30, 1938

CHI. LAMBUS,

'Lambodar' means 'long belly'. It is the name of God Ganapati. I should have named you 'Lambus'. Was it not kind of you to write to me after such a long time?

Amtul Salaam, Lilavati and Sharda are here. All of them are very well.

You sisters seem to be doing good work.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1752

191. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

SEGAON,
November 30, 1938

CHI. PREMI,

Your Hindi is not good, but I like it better than your English. Further efforts would improve it. Father has arrived here. He writes better Hindi than you do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9250. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

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192. TELEGRAM TO LOCAL SECRETARY, JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND[1]

[After *December 1, 1938*]

HOLD MEETING THIRTEENTH WARDHA THREE AFTERNOON.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

193. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI[2]

[Before *December 2, 1938*][3]

I am lucky to receive your handwriting today after several years. It is difficult to address you when you tender me "*dandavat*".

I am glad to hear about your ceaseless efforts to achieve my expectations. I never thought that the Rajkot public were presenting a united front single-handed, exhibiting unique solidarity. Vain are our impressions. God willing success is positive. If the unfavourable circumstances are reduced to dust, God may bless your services with singular success.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-12-1938

194. A CAUTION

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's and Shri Damodardas's requests respectively to non-Rajkot people and non-Hyderabad people not to take part in satyagraha are timely and deserve to receive hearty response. It is the essence of satyagraha that those who are suffering should alone offer it. Cases can be conceived when what may be termed sympathetic satyagraha may be legitimately applied. But so far as I see there is nothing in the Rajkot or

[1] This was in answer to the addressee's letter of December 1, asking if he might convene a meeting of the Memorial Fund at Wardha during the meetings of the Congress Working Committee there.

[2] Ex-Dewan of Morvi, Palanpur and Gondal States. The letter was presumably in Gujarati.

[3] The news report carrying this item is dated December 2.

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Hyderabad satyagraha to warrant outside participation. Indeed it is likely to acerbate the authorities. The idea underlying satyagraha is to convert the wrongdoer, to awaken the sense of justice in him, to show him also that without the co-operation, direct or indirect, of the wronged, the wrongdoer cannot do the wrong intended by him. If the people in either case are not ready to suffer for their causes, no outside help in the shape of satyagraha can possibly bring true deliverance.

SEGAON, December 3, 1938

Harijan, 10-12-1938

195. TELEGRAM TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

WARDHAGANJ,
December 3, 1938

THANUPILLAI
STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

REGARD STATEMENT MADE BY SEBASTIAN OTHERS ABOUT INTERVIEW INCORRECT. SHALL I ISSUE TRUE VERSION?[1]

GANDHI

From the original: Pattom Thanu Pillai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

196. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

December 3, 1938

CHI. KAKA,

I also wished to open the subject of the budget, but I forgot. We shall have to discuss the matter a little. A copy is enclosed. Come down on Tuesday. I will spare some time at 2 o'clock.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7979

[1] For Gandhiji's version, *vide* "Statement to the Press", 10-12-1938, and for the interview, *vide* pp. 131-3.

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197. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

December 3, 1938

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

Your narration is prolix. You have not cited any evidence in it.[1] What you have to say could easily have been put on one sheet. A factual narration has no need of adornment. Write it again. I will send it to U. P. You must furnish evidence in support of what you write. Give the names of persons who are your sources. Omit such phrases as "I hope" and the like. You should learn to be precise in writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11519

198. DISCUSSION WITH JOHN R. MOTT[2]

[On or before *December 4, 1938*][3]

Dr. Mott . . . wondered if the world, including the world of missionaries, had advanced since they had last met.[4] He was going to preside over the deliberations of the International Missionary Council meeting in Madras during the month, and he wanted to share with Gandhiji the plans of the meeting, and wanted Gandhiji's "intuition and judgment on things to be discussed at the Convention."

He said: " . . . This is a unique Convention where 14 councils of the younger churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and 14 of the older churches of Europe, America and Australia will be represented by over 400 delegates. We want this to be a help and not a hindrance to India. . . . Am I, I ask, right in thinking that the tide has turned a little bit on the

[1] The addressee had complained against the Congress.

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Dr. Mott's Second Visit". John Mott's part of the conversation has been slightly abridged.

[3] Desai gives no dates. *Vide*, however, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 5-12-1938, where Gandhiji says, "Mahadev wrote yesterday for five hours on the Mott visit."

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 33-41.

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great things you impressed on me? . . . Is there not a clearer recognition of these evils? . . .

GANDHIJI: What I have noticed is that there is a drift in the right direction so far as thought is concerned, but I do feel that in action there is *no* advance. I was going to say "not much advance", but I deliberately say "*no* advance". You may be able to give solitary instances of men here and there, but they do not count. Right conviction to be of use has to be translated into action.

JOHN MOTT: Take the first question, viz., that of the Communal Award. Has there been no progress?

G. No progress at all.

J.M. I have been studying the manuscript of the life of K. T. Paul, to which I have been asked to write a foreword. Don't you think there has been an advance since his time? The attitude of the Roman Catholics is hostile, but what about Protestant Christians?

G. If Protestant Christians are at one on this question, they can have the Award changed, so far as they are concerned. But there is no solid action in the matter.

J.M. I did not know that they could have an exception made in their behalf.

G. They can.

J. M. Take the next question. Is not taking advantage of people's disabilities being avoided now? I must say I was terribly pained to read of the McGavran incident[1] and greatly relieved to know that the misunderstanding has been cleared up.

G. Even on this question, whilst some friends, I agree, are in earnest, so far as action goes, there has been no change.

J. M. You mean to say there is not action enough?

G. No, there is *no* action at all. I have plenty of evidence to prove what I say. I do not publish all the correspondence I get. Mr. A. A. Paul, whom you may know, convened a conference some time ago. The proceedings were revealing. Their resolutions were half-hearted. As far as I am aware, there was no unanimity about any definite action.

[1] McGavran had contributed to *World Dominion* a fabricated report of the talk between Gandhiji on the one hand and Bishops Pickett and Azariah on the other.

J. M. I was encouraged by a resolution of the National Christian Council which insisted on pure motives and pure practice.

G. You may cite the resolution but you will not be able to show corresponding action.

J. M. I understand. Without action no decision is anything worth. This lesson was burnt on my mind even as a student when Foster's great essay on the *Decision of Character* helped me more than anything I had read.

G. I assure you you will find confirmation of what I say. I would say that there is not even concrete recognition of the danger of taking an undue advantage of people's disabilities. They will never give up what they call the right of mass conversions.

J. M. They are now talking of conversion of groups and families. I am not quite clear, though, as to what in certain cases the word 'group' implies.

G. I am quite clear. It is mass conversions called by another name.

J. M. That is strange. How can groups or families be converted *en masse*? Conversion in my family for instance came first with my father, then my oldest sister, then youngest sister, then I. It is an individual matter, a matter entirely between one and one's God.

G. So it is. On this matter of untouchability, I may tell you that for years I could not carry conviction to my own wife. She followed me willy-nilly. The conviction came to her after long experience and practice.

J. M. In dealing with the holiest of things we should use the purest methods. But you will pardon me if I reiterate that I am hopeful of the tide having turned. Discerning Christian leaders to my knowledge are not only thinking of these things keenly but sincerely addressing themselves to fostering right practice. On the third question of the wise use of money I see signs of encouragement.

G. But it is a virtue of necessity. The Indian Christians are thinking aloud and of doing things themselves. They are talking of their own responsibilities and saying, "Thank God, American money can't come."

Then came a rather long digression on the wise and unwise use of money. The topic had engaged their attention on the occasion of the last visit too and Gandhiji had put the matter most forcefully when he said:

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"I think you cannot serve God and Mammon both, and my fear is that Mammon has been sent to serve India and God has remained behind, with the result that He will one day have His vengeance."

He had made it also clear that there was all the difference in the world between money *given* and money *earned.*

J. M. But your own example proves that there are wise uses of money. What do all the organizations I saw this morning testify?

G. You see a contradiction between my theory and practice? Well, you must see the background. With all my experience and ability to collect money I am utterly indifferent in the matter. I have always felt that when a religious organization has more money than it requires, it is in peril of losing its faith in God and pinning its faith on money. There is no such thing as 'wise' or 'unwise' use of money. You have simply to cease to depend on it. You don't even depend on bread, and bargain with God saying you won't pray until God gives your bread!

J.M. I am arguing this at some length as I want to understand you and not to misquote you.

G. Then I will illustrate what I say by two telling illustrations. In South Africa when I started the satyagraha march there was not a copper in my pocket, and I went with a light heart. I had a caravan of 3000 people to support. 'No fear', said I. 'If God wills it He will carry it forward.' Then money began to rain from India. I had to stop it, for when the money came my miseries began. Whereas they were content with a piece of bread and sugar, they now began asking for all sorts of things.

Then take the illustration of the new educational experiment. The experiment I said must go on without asking for any monetary help. Otherwise, after my death the whole organizations would go to pieces. The fact is the moment financial stability is assured, spiritual bankruptcy is also assured.

J. M. But you wisely used the money.

G. Not metal, but bread; and even the dog, under God's Providence, has not to go hungry.

Then came the last question of untouchability. Dr. Mott wondered if there was no quickening of the conscience all the world over. There had been, he said, battles royal between groups in America, conventions refusing to go to hotels where the Negroes were not received, there were Christians

in Germany who had gone to prison for protesting against the inhuman treatment of the Jews. There was gold coming out of dross. What about India?

G. No advance in action, I say again. The British are a fair test. The racial feeling instead of declining is rising. In South Africa the tide of prejudice is rising high, declarations made by former Ministers are being disregarded. Similar stories come from East Africa. But I remain an optimist, not that there is any evidence that I can give that right is going to prosper, but because of my unflinching faith that right must prosper in the end.

J. M. Well, in South Africa too are there not people like Hoffmeyr and Edgar Brookes? There is certainly a turn of the tide on the part of certain individuals.

G. It would be wrong to draw conclusions from a handful of individual instances. Our inspiration can come only from our faith that right must ultimately prevail. But on this matter, as I have said, there is an advance in the thought world, but not in action.

Dr. Mott began the next day with these prefatory remarks: "You put in your quite original way your views on the questions I asked. I value it more than I can say. I was impressed by your recognition that there was a certain amount of advance in thought but not in action. . . . I could show you, too, that there are certain things actually concretely on foot. But, today, I want to engage your attention on another matter. What to do with 'gangster' nations, if I may use the expression frequently used? There was individual gangsterism in America. It has been put down by strong police measures both local and national. Could not we do something similar for gangsterism between nations, as instanced in Manchuria—the nefarious use of the opium poison—in Abyssinia, in Spain, in the sudden seizure of Austria, and then the case of Czechoslovakia. Now, in this connection, let me say, I was deeply impressed by what you wrote on the Czechoslovakian crisis[1] and on the Jewish question[2]. Can we bring something like international police into being?"

G. This question is not new to me.

J. M. I judge not.

G. I have to deal with identical questions with reference to conditions in India. We have had to quell riots, communal and labour. The Ministries have used military force in some cases and police in most. Now whilst I agree that the Ministers

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 404-6.
[2] *Vide* "The Jews", pp. 137-41.

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could not help doing so, I also said that the Congress Ministries had proved themselves bankrupt with their stock-in-trade, I mean their avowed weapon of non-violence. Even so, I would say in reply to the question you have asked, viz., that if the best mind of the world has not imbibed the spirit of non-violence, they would have to meet gangsterism in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not got far beyond the Law of the Jungle, that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the heritage that God has given us, that in spite of the teaching of Christianity which is 1900 years old and of Hinduism and Buddhism which are older, and even of Islam (if I have read it aright), we have not made much headway as human beings. But whilst I would understand the use of force by those who have not the spirit of non-violence in them, I would have those who know non-violence to throw their whole weight in demonstrating that even gangsterism has to be met by non-violence. For, ultimately, force, however justifiably used, will lead us into the same morass as the force of Hitler and Mussolini. There will be just a difference of degree. You and I who believe in non-violence must use it at the critical moment. We may not despair of touching the heart even of gangsters, even if, for the moment, we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall.

J. M. How may the Missionaries and Christians in general help in constructive activities like the village industries movement, the new educational movement and so on?

G. They should study the movements and work under or in co-operation with these organizations. I am happy to be able to say that I have some valued Christian colleagues. But they can be counted on one's fingers. I fear that the vast bulk of them remain unconvinced. Some have frankly said that they do not believe in the village movement or the education movement as they are conducted by the associations you have named. They evidently believe in industrialization and the Western type of education. And the missionaries as a body perhaps fight shy of movements not conducted wholly or predominantly by Christians.

If I get in my activities the hearty and active co-operation of the 5000 Protestant missionaries in India, and if they really believed in the living power of non-violence as the only force that counts, they can help not only here but perhaps in affecting the West.

J. M. Happily there are a goodly number amongst them who see eye to eye with you.

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G. I know.

J.M. What have been the most creative experiences in your life? As you look back on your past, what, do you think, led you to believe in God when everything seemed to point to the contrary, when life, so to say, sprang from the ground, although it all looked impossible?

G. Such experiences are a multitude. But as you put the question to me, I recalled particularly one experience that changed the course of my life. That fell to my lot seven days after I had arrived in South Africa. I had gone there on a purely mundane and selfish mission. I was just a boy returned from England wanting to make some money. Suddenly the client who had taken me there asked me to go to Pretoria from Durban. It was not an easy journey. There was the railway journey as far as Charlestown and the coach to Johannesburg. On the train I had a first-class ticket, but not a bed ticket. At Maritzburg where the beddings were issued the guard came and turned me out and asked me to go to the van compartment. I would not go and the train steamed away leaving me shivering in the cold.[1] Now the creative experience comes there. I was afraid for my very life. I entered the dark waiting-room. There was a white man in the room. I was afraid of him. What was my duty, I asked myself. Should I go back to India, or should I go forward, with God as my helper, and face whatever was in store for me? I decided to stay and suffer. My active non-violence began from that date. And God put me through the test during that very journey. I was severely assaulted by the coachman for my moving from the seat he had given me.

J.M. The miseries, the slaps after slaps you received burnt into your soul.

G. Yes, that was one of the richest experiences of my life.

J.M. I am grateful to you for sharing this experience with me.

J.M. What has brought deepest satisfaction to your soul in difficulties and doubts and questionings?

G. Living faith in God.

J.M. When have you had indubitable manifestation of God in your life and experiences?

G. I have seen and believe that God never appears to you in person, but in action which can only account for your deliverance in your darkest hour.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 93-4.

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J. M. You mean things take place that cannot possibly happen apart from God?

G. Yes. They happen suddenly and unawares. One experience stands quite distinctly in my memory. It relates to my 21 days' fast for the removal of untouchability.[1] I had gone to sleep the night before without the slightest idea of having to declare a fast the next morning. At about 12 o'clock in the night something wakes me up suddenly, and some voice—within or without, I cannot say—whispers, 'Thou must go on a fast.' 'How many days?' I ask. The voice again said, 'Twenty-one days.' 'When does it begin?' I ask. It says, 'You begin tomorrow.' I went quietly off to sleep after making the decision. I did not tell anything to my companions until after the morning prayer. I placed into their hands a slip of paper announcing my decision and asking them not to argue with me, as the decision was irrevocable.

Well, the doctors thought I would not survive the fast. But something within me said I would, and that I must go forward. That kind of experience has never in my life happened before or after that date.

J. M. Now, you surely can't trace such a thing to an evil source?

G. Surely not. I never have thought it was an error. If ever there was in my life a spiritual fast it was this. There is something in denying satisfaction of the flesh. It is not possible to see God face to face unless you crucify the flesh. It is one thing to do what belongs to it as a temple of God, and it is another to deny it what belongs to it as to the body of flesh.

Dr. Mott concluded his visit in 1936 with a question on silence. He had done so during a brief flying visit to Ahmedabad in 1928 and during this visit too he asked if Gandhiji had continued to find it necessary in his spiritual quest.

G. I can say that I am an everlastingly silent man now. Only a little while ago I have remained completely silent nearly two months and the spell of that silence has not yet broken. I broke it today when you came. Nowadays I go into silence at prayer time every evening and break it for visitors at 2 o'clock. I broke it today when you came. It has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me. Originally it was taken to relieve the sense of pressure. Then I wanted time for writing.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LV, pp. 74-5.

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After, however, I had practised it for some time I saw the spiritual value of it. It suddenly flashed across my mind that that was the time when I could best hold communion with God. And now I feel as though I was naturally built for silence. Of course I may tell you that from my childhood I have been noted for my silence. I was silent at school, and in my London days I was taken for a silent drone by friends.

J. M. In this connection you put me in mind of two texts from the Bible:

"My soul, be thou silent unto God."

"Speak Lord, for Thy servant hearkeneth."

I have often sought silence for communion even during my noisiest time . . .

I am sorry to have overstayed my time. I lose all sense of time when I am with you. I am more grateful than I can say.

SEGAON, December 5, 1938

Harijan, 10-12-1938

199. HOW TO POPULARIZE KHADI

A valued khadi worker writes a letter in Hindi which freely translated means:

> Compared to mill-cloth khadi is not an economic proposition in terms of prices. To compete with mill-cloth you have to drop the cost of hand-ginning, carding and spinning. Even for self-spinners, therefore, it is not a paying proposition. No doubt you have evolved new economics of khadi. But till the people at large appreciate them, khadi cannot be universal. Even the Congress Ministers do not understand or appreciate your new economics. In the circumstances, will you not guide khadi workers and even the Ministers and Congressmen in general? Your faith seems to be so strong that you would straightway give eight annas per day to spinners for eight hours' honest and skilled work if we, your co-workers, will let you. Frankly we do not possess your faith.

There is no doubt that khadi cannot compete with mill-cloth, it was never meant to. If the people will not understand or appreciate the law governing khadi, it will never be universal. It must then remain the fad of monied people and cranks. And

if it is to be merely that, the labours of a huge organization like the A. I. S. A. must mean a waste of effort, if not something much worse.

But khadi has a big mission. Khadi provides dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year. Even apart from the remuneration the work brings, it is its own reward. For if millions live in compulsory idleness, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically. The spinning-wheel automatically raises the status of millions of poor women. Even though, therefore, mill-cloth were to be given gratis to the people, their true welfare demands that they should refuse to have it in preference to khadi, the product of their labours.

Life is more than money. It is cheaper to kill our aged parents who can do no work and who are a drag on our slender resources. It is also cheaper to kill our children whom we do not need for our material comfort and whom we have to maintain without getting anything in return. But we kill neither our parents nor our children, but consider it a privilege to maintain them no matter what their maintenance costs us. Even so must we maintain khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. It is the force of habit which makes us think of khadi in terms of prices. We must revise our notion of khadi economics. And when we have studied them from the point of view of the national well-being, we shall find that khadi is never dear. We must suffer dislocation of domestic economy during the transition stage. At present we are labouring under a heavy handicap. Cotton production has been centralized for the sake of Lancashire and, if you will, for the sake of Indian mills. Prices of cotton are determined by the prices in foreign lands. When the production of cotton is distributed in accordance with the demands of khadi economics, cotton prices would not fluctuate and, in any case, will be, in effect, lower than today. When the people, either through State protection or through voluntary effort, have cultivated the habit of using only khadi, they will never think of it in terms of money, even as millions of vegetarians do not compare the prices of flesh foods with those of non-flesh foods. They will starve rather than take flesh foods even though they may be offered free.

But I recognize that very few Congressmen have this living faith in khadi. The Ministers are Congressmen. They derive their inspiration from their surroundings. If they had a living faith in khadi, they could do a great deal to popularize it.

Khadi was an integral part of the original swaraj programme of 1920. In 1921-22 thousands of Congressmen repeated from hundreds of platforms that swaraj for the millions depended upon the spinning-wheel humming in every village. The late Ali Brothers used to say, at the numerous meetings they addressed, that without the charkha in every cottage and the loom in every village there was no freedom. Maulana Mahomed Ali used to say in his picturesque language that our charkhas were our instruments of war and the cones of yarn turned out by them were our ammunition. He said this with a conviction that went home to his audiences. But the faith of those early days was not sustained. Congressmen in general have ceased to connect khadi with swaraj. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has called khadi the livery of our freedom. For how many does it bear that meaning? If Congressmen could have that belief, khadi itself would be current coin. Freedom is never dear at any price. It is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living? The Congress flag was designed to represent not civil disobedience which is but a phase, but it was designed to represent the essentials of freedom. Its background is khadi. The spinning-wheel covers and sustains it. Its colours show how necessary communal unity is for the attainment of freedom. Given the fulfilment of these conditions, civil disobedience and the suffering it implies may not be at all necessary. To wear khadi is for me to wear freedom.

Given a full-hearted acceptance of this meaning of khadi, I am able to say what the Congress Ministers and, for that matter, all the Ministers, khadi workers and Congressmen can and should do.

There may be a Minister whose sole business would be to look after khadi and village industries. There should, therefore, be a department for this purpose. The other departments will co-operate. Thus the Agricultural Department will frame a scheme of decentralization of cotton production, survey the land suitable for cotton production for village use and find out how much cotton will be required for its province. It will even stock cotton at suitable centres for distribution. The Stores Department will make purchases of khadi available in the province and give orders for its cloth requirements. The Technical Departments will tax themselves to devise better wheels and other instruments of hand production. All these departments will keep in constant touch with the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. using them as their experts.

The Revenue Minister will devise means of protecting khadi against mill competition.

Khadi workers will with unremitting zeal investigate the laws governing the science of khadi and seek to make it more durable, more attractive and believe themselves to be responsible for discovering means of making khadi universal. God helps only those who are ever watchful and who devote all their talents to their mission.

Congressmen in general will spread the gospel of khadi among their neighbours by themselves wearing it not ceremonially but habitually, by spinning themselves, and by helping khadi workers whenever they are called upon to do so.

SEGAON, December 4, 1938

Harijan, 10-12-1938

200. HARIJAN WELFARE IN TATANAGAR[1]

I have before me a full and lengthy report of the function performed at Tatanagar by the Bihar Minister, Shri Jaglal Choudhury, of opening the new extension of the Dhatkidih Harijan School. The manager, Shri J. J. Ghandy, who takes a personal interest in Harijan welfare, in the course of his address requesting the Minister to perform the opening ceremony among other things said:[2]

SEGAON, December 4, 1938

Harijan, 10-12-1938

201. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

December 5, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

For the last three days I have neglected you so far as writing is concerned. You have been simply crowded out. So this I am writing before the morning prayer. But though I do not write there is enough here to make me think of you often enough every day.

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] The speech is not reproduced here. The speaker gave an account of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's efforts to promote the education of Harijan children.

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I wonder how you are getting on in body, mind and soul? I am anxiously waiting to hear from you.

Of the news here I must ask Sharda to write to you.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I have at last your letter from Peshawar. I am quite well. B. P. is in order. The cold has begun here.

From the original: C.W. 6418. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10013

202. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

December 5, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I wrote two letters to you at Delhi. One was, by my folly, sent to 12 instead of 4 Bhagwandas Road. I hope, nevertheless, it reached you.

Everything seems to be going well here. The pressure of interviews continues. Anand is having a week's fast with a break on the 4th day with lemon and banana.

Mahadev wrote yesterday for five hours on the Mott visit.[1]

The rest from Sharda.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

This goes to Lucknow.

From the original: C.W. 3896. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7052

203. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEGAON,
December 5, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

I have read the *Gram Udyog Patrika*—both the editions.

Are we in a position to show to the villagers the way to get unpolished rice cheaper than polished?

[1] *Vide* pp. 165-73.

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Has unpolished rice been proved to be digestible by delicate stomachs? I have in mind Chhotelal's and Babasaheb's experiences. Have we an apparatus we can present to the villagers for husking rice? If the C. P. Government offered us a post to organize introduction of unpolished rice in every village, can we shoulder the burden? If not, how will they manage it?

Who has written the Hindi Patrika? It is bad Hindi whoever the writer may be.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10141

204. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I rarely read anything outside my beat. But last week and this week your articles in *Chronicle* weekly riveted my attention and [I] could not leave them unfinished. Let us straighten out a few more wrinkles.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 933

205. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

I am glad your first impression is favourable. I think it will abide. Did you visit the Islamia College, Edward College? Did Ramdas or Chandrabhai seek you out? Of course Pushtu you have to learn. And you will find no difficulty. Give the enclosed to Khan Saheb with letter from Mehr Taj[1].

Love.

BAPU

[1] Abdul Ghaffar Khan's daughter

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[PS.]

Did you not say that Angad's[1] book was received? I can't trace it. What was its name?

From the original: C.W. 6419. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10014

206. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

I wrote about Inderpal from the Frontier Province. I have now written again.

Please let me have the history of the other prisoners you mention. Are they under the Provincial Government jurisdiction or the Central Government?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1286

207. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

December 5, 1938

CHI. DEVDAS,

Don't hesitate to write whenever necessary.

You did well in sending the cutting. I will reply to the argument if I can spare the time. They will not give Ramdas the agency as readily as you think.

Jamnadas has left. I also would not like the Mysore job. But I attach no importance to the possibility of my being criticized. Let Ramdas accept the job if he can get peace of mind thereby. This is my position. He will not be able to live without work nor will he take up honorary or half-honorary work. You should keep on writing to him. He will certainly respect your advice.

Ramdas is pining for Nimu. He is calling her to Poona. He wants her also to be treated there. I have, therefore, advised her to go to Poona for the present. After the treatment is over, you may certainly make arrangements for her in Banaras. I like your idea too, though I also like the plan about Dehra Dun. After she

[1] Reginald Reynold's

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has passed the examination for Ratna, she is bound to get more pay. I do not think it impossible that she may get even Rs. 150. She will have to trust her luck, of course. She can get sixty rupees in any circumstances. However, I would certainly like her to learn *sitar*.

Ba is quite well.

V[allabhbhai] wants that I should spend the whole of January in Bardoli. I have accepted his request. Mahadev also is quite well. As for me, God keeps me going.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You or Lakshmi should drop a few lines to Ba from time to time. She yearns, and naturally, for the love of you all. Where should I address the letter so that you may get it earlier—at the office or at Harijan Niwas?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2008

208. LETTER TO VAIKUNTHLAL L. MEHTA

December 5, 1938

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

Chandrashanker[1] had sent your article here. I have already sent it for publication. Chandrashanker cannot publish articles on his own responsibility. Hence to save time please send articles, etc., to me directly. Mahadev is well. He still needs rest, though.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VAIKUNTHBHAI LALLUBHAI MEHTA
SIR LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS'S BUNGALOW
ANDHERI, B. B. & C. I. Rly.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1365

[1] Chandrashanker Shukla, editor of *Harijanbandhu*

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209. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

When I happen to be there some time, you may take me to your office. If I send you a message, I shall have to send messages to others too. If friends excuse me, others too may. Such rules cannot, of course, be observed as vows. If you are keen on a message from me, I will not disappoint you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHANTIKUMAR NAROTTAM MORARJEE
JUHU
P. O. SANTA CRUZ
B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4729. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

210. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

December 5, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Sushilabehn was saying that the latrines remained unserviceable and that Bankelal[1] did not seem to be doing any work. She said that the twenty rupees paid to him could be used in some other way. Think over this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10780

[1] Sweeper at Segaon

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211. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

CHI. MANI,

Your account was true. You can always be trusted to acquit yourself well in whatever you undertake. Follow my advice and get your body massaged, or massage it yourself, with oil. The soldier who does not keep his body fit renders himself liable to punishment. And that is as it should be.

If the people have understood the lesson of ahimsa and suffer beatings, etc., they will never be defeated. Mahadev is here of course. He is quite well. He purposely writes less. This time I permitted him to write a good deal for *Harijan*. But I will not do that very often. It is desirable that he should have no responsibility at all. I keep very well these days.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
NEAR TELEGRAPH OFFICE
RAJKOT

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 122-3

212. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

December 5, 1938

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I feel that we should not have two goshalas. Expanding the present one will not endanger your health. To say that the goshala will swallow us up means that we will have to spend more and more on it. And if all the land is used for the cattle, that will be the only activity remaining to us. I would, therefore, advise Amritlal, Munnalal, Parnerkar, Balwantsinha and you to discuss the matter among yourselves and put your decision before me. What will be the total expenditure we shall have to incur? It is absolutely necessary to have some outward limit. I can arrange for the cattle which are not required.

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Is it true that we shall not be able to increase the yield of milk any further? Have you stopped buying milk from neighbours?

I suppose we shall not now be able to supply ghee to anybody.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10595

213. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

December 5, 1938

CHI. AMALA,

You will never be Margarete Spiegel to me, but will always remain Amala. How is your health? Please do come some day and let me see how you are.

Did you read what I wrote about the Jews?[1] Did you like it?

Mahadev is improving. He lives in Segaon at present.

Herewith my autograph.

All are well here. I hope the dog is fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

214. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

DEAR SISTER,

Your last letter was answered by Pyarelal. Your letter from Rajgarh is before me. You are doing good work. I could prepare an account of the tour from your letters but I have not the time. Therefore do send an account for *Harijan* when you have completed the tour. If it is in Hindi we shall translate it into English and if it is in English we shall have it translated for *Harijan Sevak*. Give a brief description of the towns visited

[1] *Vide* "The Jews", pp. 137-41.

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and all that was done there.[1] The demands presented to Bhopal are quite legitimate. Something must come about there.

You have to go to Dehra Dun for a day. It will be good to prepare the speech beforehand. Kakasaheb and Ba too expect to reach there.

I hope Bapa is keeping well and so are you.

Did you collect any funds anywhere?

Mahadev is here.

Everything is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7986. Also C.W. 3082. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

215. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your very candid letter. A tabloid machine costing Rs. 30 may be purchased. I shall provide the money.

As regards earning a living I do not believe that you can make a success of this venture. I fear that in one way or another your expenses will go up. The true purpose, which is that you should live simply, will be frustrated. Carrying on a business and doing good to others cannot go together. You should sit down with Draupadi and work out a limit to your expenses and you should make up your mind that you will not go beyond it. If you do that your monthly expenses can be drawn from some institution.

What can I say about the debt of Rs. 850? The mistake was made at the outset in incurring the debt. I can only say that so long as you have not repaid the debt you should forget all about helping others and take up a job so that you can meet your expenses and repay the debt. If you have jewellery or other property in the family you can even dispose of it to clear the debt. This is a drastic cure but I am sure it is also the most effective cure. You should resolve also not to incur any debts again.

[1] An account of Rameshwari Nehru's tour in Central India was published in *Harijan* in seven instalments, beginning with the issue of 18-3-1939.

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The question then remains as to what should be done about the task you have undertaken. I am myself baffled. You can always come and join me of course but what we have to consider is whether you can face living in society.

The little girl is all right, I hope.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 274 and 275

216. LETTER TO HARSARAN VERMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 5, 1938

BHAI HARSARAN VERMA,

Do you wish me to forward your letter to Ranjit Pandit?

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 91

217. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 6, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

There is no letter from you today. You had prepared me for the absence.

I hope you are having a profitable time in Lucknow. I shall expect to have full news about Sarup and J. L. Of the latter you will hardly see anything. I hope you won't be tired out.

I don't write to S.[1] before 10th.

I am still keeping well and so is Mahadev. Balkoba is going to Nagpur for X-ray examination tomorrow.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3897. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7053

[1] Shummy; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 198-9.

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218. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

December 6, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

Here is the amended draft.

I hope Satis Babu's certificate won't make you bulkier than you are. The book is still lying untouched. Those who wait and watch have their patience rewarded before they die.

Your answer about rice is very like giving me polished rice when I wanted the whole unpolished.[1] We must show how to eat unpolished rice and show how a whole village can dehusk. What should I do in Segaon, say? You have to probe deeper. What you have told me is not new. I want you to tell me something that is new and telling.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10142

219. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

December 6, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Today the *Gita* was recited in several tunes. If your tune could not mingle with Lilavati's, you ought to have let her recite by herself. Sushila's tune also sometimes mingled with yours and sometimes broke off. The result was that I perspired listening to such cacophony. That did not matter since it gave me some warmth, but what about Mother *Gita*? How must she have felt?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10781

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to J. C. Kumarappa", pp. 177-8.

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220. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

SEGAON,
December 6, 1938

CHI. VIJAYA,

I am writing this just to drop you a few lines. Thank God you are keeping well.

Nanabhai[1] must be all right. I hope you don't feel nervous. Do you insist on his taking proper care about his food, etc.? If he can live on fruit juice for some days, he will certainly benefit. At his age, he should require very little of other food. If he is accustomed to taking tea, it should be the colour of hay, that is, tea-leaves should be placed in the strainer and boiling water should slowly be poured through it. He should be content with the colour that this gives. The tea-leaves should never be immersed in the water.

Everything is all right here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7104. Also C.W. 4596. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

221. DISCUSSION WITH D. TAKAOKA[2]

[*December 7, 1938*][3]

It can be possible if Japan ceases to throw its greedy eyes on India. No doubt you do not bring your army to India, but you employ your matchless skill, and your ability to hide the truth and your knowledge of the weaknesses of Indians, in order to flood India with your goods which are often flimsy. You have copied the rulers of India in their methods of exploitation and gone even one better. Now, from the Japanese standpoint

[1] Addressee's father

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "A Japanese Visitor". Takaoka was a member of the Japanese Parliament and wanted to know how unity could be brought about between India and Japan.

[3] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-12-1938

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you cannot afford to lose the millions of rupees that you get from India. And if you cannot get them voluntarily, you will be quite capable of doing so by force of arms. But that would not be the way of bringing Japan and India together. What can bring them together is a moral bond based on mutual friendship.

But there is no basis for that friendship today. Take your art. I like it. I read a fascinating account of Japan and Japanese life by Edwin Arnold many years ago. That picture has remained with me. I want to assimilate all your good points, but unfortunately no one comes here to give us the good things of Japan. You believe only in dumping your goods on us. How can I take a single yard of Japanese cloth, however fine and artistic it may be? It is as poison to us, for it means starvation for the poor people of India. You have left the West far behind in diplomacy, in skill, in cheap manufactures, in armed warfare, in exploitation. How then can there be friendship between you and us, so long as you see nothing wrong in exploitation?

Mr. Takaoka wondered if Gandhiji could give a message to the new party in Japan which stands for Asia for the Asiatics. Gandhiji said:

I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics, if it is meant as an anti-European combination. How can we have Asia for the Asiatics unless we are content to let Asia remain a frog in the well? But Asia cannot afford to remain a frog in the well. It has a message for the whole world, if it will only live up to it. There is the imprint of Buddhistic influence on the whole of Asia, which includes India, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and the Malay States. I said to the Burmese and the Ceylonese that they were Buddhist in name; India was Buddhist in reality. I would say the same thing to China and Japan. But, for Asia to be not for Asia but the whole world, it has to relearn the message of Buddha and deliver it to the world. Today it is being denied everywhere. In Burma every Buddhist monk is being dreaded by the Muslims. But why should anyone who is a true Buddhist be dreaded by anyone?

You will therefore see that I have no message to give you but this, that you must be true to your ancient heritage. The message is 2,500 years old, but it has not yet been truly lived. But what are 2,500 years? They are but a speck in the cycle of time. The full flower of non-violence which seems to be withering away has yet to come to full bloom.

Harijan, 24-12-1938

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222. *REPLY TO GERMAN CRITICS*

I was not unprepared for the exhibition of wrath from Germany over my article[1] about the German treatment of the Jews. I have myself admitted my ignorance of European politics. But in order to commend my prescription to the Jews for the removal of their many ills, I did not need to have an accurate knowledge of European politics. The main facts about the atrocities are beyond dispute. When the anger over my writing has subsided and comparative calmness has returned, the most wrathful German will find that underlying my writing there was friendliness towards Germany, never any ill will.

Have I not repeatedly said that active non-violence is unadulterated love—fellow-feeling? And if the Jews, instead of being helplessly and of necessity non-violent, adopt active non-violence, i. e., fellow-feeling for the gentile Germans deliberately, they cannot do any harm to the Germans and I am as certain as I am dictating these lines that the stoniest German heart will melt. Great as have been the Jewish contributions to the world's progress, this supreme act of theirs will be their greatest contribution and war will be a thing of the past.

It passes comprehension why any German should be angry over my utterly innocuous writing. Of course, German critics, as others, might have ridiculed it by saying that it was a visionary's effort doomed to fail. I therefore welcome this wrath, though wholly unmerited, against my writing. Has my writing gone home ? Has the writer felt that my remedy was after all not so ludicrous as it may appear, but that it was eminently practical if only the beauty of suffering without retaliation was realized ?

To say that my writing has rendered neither myself, my movement, nor German-Indian relations any service, is surely irrelevant, if not also unworthy, implying as it does a threat; and I should rank myself a coward if, for fear of my country or myself or Indo-German relations being harmed, I hesitated to give what I felt in the innermost recesses of my heart to be cent per cent sound advice.

The Berlin writer has surely enunciated a novel doctrine that people outside Germany may not criticize German action

[1] *Vide* "The Jews", pp. 137-41.

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even from friendliest motives. For my part I would certainly welcome the interesting things that Germans or other outsiders may unearth about Indians. I do not need to speak for the British. But if I know the British people at all, they, too, welcome outside criticism, when it is well-informed and free from malice. In this age, when distances have been obliterated, no nation can afford to imitate the fabled frog in the well. Sometimes it is refreshing to see ourselves as others see us. If, therefore, the German critics happen to see this reply, I hope that they will not only revise their opinion about my writing but will also realize the value of outside criticism.

SEGAON, December 8, 1938

Harijan, 17-12-1938

223. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

December 8, 1938

BHAI MUNSHI,

It is some days since Pyarelal sent you a reply regarding the querns. Maybe the letter went astray. You may use mechanical querns in prisons.

If Dharmanand Kosambi can work for Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan without letting the work of the Buddha Mandir suffer, he may certainly do so.

If the Ministry continues for any length of time,[1] you will have to give up many more loves, besides that of home. I have received a complaint against you that you are ruining your health through overwork. You will have to give up this form of attachment too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7642. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] The addressee was Home Minister in the Congress Ministry of Bombay Province.

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224. LETTER TO DAMODARDAS MUNDHRA[1]

December 8, 1938

BHAI DAMODAR[2],

Both the replies are very long. But long or short there is no need to send them. They are all right for my information.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 10154. Courtesy: Secretary, Andhra Pradesh State Committee, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Hyderabad

225. SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Friends have sent me two newspaper cuttings criticizing my appeal to the Jews. The two critics suggest that in presenting non-violence to the Jews as a remedy against the wrong done to them I have suggested nothing new, and that they have been practising non-violence for the past two thousand years. Obviously, so far as these critics are concerned, I did not make my meaning clear. The Jews, so far as I know, have never practised non-violence as an article of faith or even as a deliberate policy. Indeed, it is a stigma against them that their ancestors crucified Jesus. Are they not supposed to believe in eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth? Have they no violence in their hearts for their oppressors ? Do they not want the so-called democratic powers to punish Germany for her persecution and to deliver them from oppression? If they do, there is no non-violence in their hearts. Their non-violence, if it may be so called, is of the helpless and the weak.

What I have pleaded for is renunciation of violence of the heart and consequent active exercise of the force generated by the great renunciation. One of the critics says that favourable public opinion is necessary for the working of non-violence. The

[1] The letter was written on the reverse of a letter from the addressee with which he had enclosed a letter received from Padmaja Naidu and his reply to it as well as one from Jamnalal Bajaj.

[2] Jamnalal Bajaj's secretary

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writer is evidently thinking of passive resistance conceived as a weapon of the weak. I have drawn a distinction between passive resistance of the weak and active non-violent resistance of the strong. The latter can and does work in the teeth of the fiercest opposition. But it ends in evoking the widest public sympathy. Sufferings of the non-violent have been known to melt the stoniest hearts. I make bold to say that if the Jews can summon to their aid the soul power that comes only from non-violence, Herr Hitler will bow before the courage which he has never yet experienced in any large measure in his dealings with men, and which, when it is exhibited, he will own is infinitely superior to that shown by his best storm troopers. The exhibition of such courage is only possible for those who have a living faith in the God of Truth and Non-violence, i. e., Love.

Of course, the critics can reasonably argue that the non-violence pictured by me is not possible for masses of mankind, it is possible only for the very few highly developed persons. I have combated that view and suggested that, given proper training and proper generalship, non-violence can be practised by masses of mankind.

I see, however, that my remarks are being misunderstood to mean that because I advise non-violent resistance by the persecuted Jews, by inference I expect or would advise non-interference by the democratic powers on behalf of the Jews. I hardly need to answer this fear. Surely there is no danger of the great powers refraining from action because of anything I have said. They will, they are bound to, do all they can to free the Jews from the inhuman persecution. My appeal has force in the face of the fact that the great powers feel unable to help the Jews in an effective manner. Therefore it is that I have offered the prescription which I know to be infallible when taken in the right manner.

The most relevant criticism, however, which I have received is this: How do I expect the Jews to accept my prescription when I know that India, where I am myself working, where I call myself the self-appointed general, has not accepted it *in toto*. My answer is: 'Blessed are they that expect nothing.' I belong to the category of the blessed, in this case at least. Having got the prescription and being sure of its efficacy, I felt that I would be wrong if I did not draw attention to it when I saw cases where it could be effectively applied.

Hitherto I have refused to deal with European politics. My general position still remains the same. I presented my remedy

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almost in suppressed tones in the case of Abyssinia. The cases of the Czechs and the Jews became more vivid to me than the case of the Abyssinians. And I could not restrain myself from writing. Perhaps Dr. Mott was right when he said to me the other day that I must write more and more articles like those on the Czechs and the Jews, if only because they must aid me in the Indian struggle. He said that the West was never more prepared than now to listen to the message of non-violence.

SEGAON, December 9, 1938

Harijan, 17-12-1938

226. RED TAPE

A distinguished Indian, who had been watching Ministers Kher and Munshi working at breakneck speed, told me the other day how they seemed to have aged, and warned me that the nation would lose them before their time if I did not prevent them from overworking themselves. I wish I had the influence over them which the friend credited me with. If I had, I would certainly prevent them from committing suicide by inches. What applies to these two Ministers applies to the others. A few days after the visitor, came a high official who has been specially entrusted with responsible work by Shri Kher. He said, "I want to fulfil Shri (of course he used 'Mr.') Kher's expectations. But I do not know how I am to give him satisfaction. I believe I have always been a conscientious worker and kept myself busy. But now since the advent of the Congress Ministry our work has increased. For they give themselves no rest and give us none. The result is an ever-increasing pile of files. It is almost impossible to clear the desk from day to day. And now I have been given work which demands thinking out and planning. I must study. And I do not know what to do with these files." I promptly answered, "Burn them." I meant it too.

The third visitor, who followed quickly after the second, was a socialist friend. He said: "We are much misunderstood. Your article on the walk-out[1] has added to the misunderstanding. I assure you we want to help, not to hinder, the Congress work and the Ministers, reserving to ourselves the right of constructive criticism. But look at our difficulty. There is the Karachi

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 401-2.

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resolution[1] and the Congress manifesto[2]. We honestly feel that the promises made in them about economic relief are not being fully carried out. I do not want to underrate the Congress Ministers' difficulties. But mere tinkering with the problem won't do. There are forces at work which no one can stop. Advantage is being taken of the situation to put up the masses against the Congress. The masses have the vote. They are becoming otherwise conscious of their power. And if we do not take care, the Congress may one fine morning discover that it has lost its hold (at least temporarily) on the masses."

I agreed in general with the friend and I said, "The reason for dissatisfaction is plain to me. You have a philosophy of your own. The Congress Ministries today are not of the socialist hue. They are supposed to be of the 'Gandhian' hue, whatever it may mean. Now, yours is a clear-cut programme. You have textbooks to go by. But I myself do not know what is the Gandhian hue. I am sailing on an uncharted sea. I have to take frequent soundings. If such is my pitiable condition, the Ministers' is much worse. They are so tied down to red tape that they have no time to think. They have no time to see me or discuss things with me and, what is more or worse, knowing their condition, I have no heart to inflict even letters on them. And I must not speak at them through the columns of *Harijan*."

I have touched on many topics in the foregoing paragraph. But my main purpose in this article is to deal with red tape. If the Ministers are to cope with their new responsibility, they must discover the art of burning red tape. The old order could only live by and on red tape. It will strangle the new order. The Ministers must see people on whose goodwill alone they can exist. They must listen to petty and serious complaints. But they need not keep a record of all these or the letters they receive nor even of all the decisions they give. They have only to keep sufficient record to refresh their memory and to preserve continuity of practice. Much of the departmental correspondence must cease. The Ministers are not responsible to the India Office several thousand miles away. They are responsible to the millions of their masters who do not know what red tape is and care little. Many of them can't read and write. But they have primary wants to be fulfilled. They have been accustomed by Congressmen to think that immediately the Congress comes into power

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXV, Appendix III.

there won't be a hungry mouth in all India nor a naked person who wants to cover himself. The Ministers have to give their time and thought to such problems, if they are to do justice to the trust they have undertaken. If they are of the so-called Gandhian hue, they must find out what it is, not from me but from within by searching inward. I may not always know what it is. But I do know that if it is properly investigated and followed, it is radical and revolutionary enough to satisfy all the real wants of India. The Congress is a revolutionary body. Only its revolution is to be distinguished from all the other political revolutions known to history. Whereas the previous ones have been based on violence, this one is deliberately non-violent. If it was violent, probably much of the old form and practice would have been retained. But, for the Congress most of the old forms and practices are taboo. The most potent is the police and the military. I have admitted that so long as Congressmen are in office and they cannot discover peaceful ways and means of preserving order they are bound to make use of both. But the question ever present before the Ministers must be: is such use indispensable, and if it is, why is it so ? If, as a result of their inquiry—not after the old style, costly and more often than not useless, but an inquiry costless but thorough and effective—they find that they cannot run the State without the use of the police and the military, it is the clearest possible sign, in terms of non-violence, that the Congress should give up office and again wander in the wilderness in search of the Holy Grail.

SEGAON, December 9, 1938

Harijan, 17-12-1938

227. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 9, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This letter is going to Jullundur. I have your letters. I am glad you had the talk with Pantji. The matter of corruption is becoming too serious to be neglected. I am going to discuss the whole thing at the forthcoming meeting.

Mahadev is well.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3898. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7054

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228. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

December 9, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

Fix any dates[1] you like after 20th December and let me know.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10144

229. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 9, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

Just a line to say all well here. Muriel and Dorothy came in this morning. Mary is also here. Shanta will be married in a few days to an Indian in London. She is happy and expects to return with her husband.

Sardar is also here and so is Jairamdas.

I hope the cold won't prove too severe for you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6420. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10015

230. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

December 9, 1938

CHI. LILA,

I was very much pained by today's incident. But how could you help your nature?

However, my purpose in writing this is different. I have noticed that you and Amtul Salaam cannot tolerate S.[2] sleeping with me. Whatever may be the cause, I do not want to carry

[1] For the meeting of the A. I. S. A. Council

[2] The name has been omitted.

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on my experiment by displeasing you two. I, therefore, want to tell both of you that I have discontinued my experiment for the present. The fault is not yours. I believe it is entirely mine. But I do not wish to discuss the matter with you, nor do I want you to reply. I have simply informed you.

Show this letter to Amtul Salaam.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I wanted to write and give this letter in the morning, but I could find no time.

From Gujarati: C.W. 9794. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

231. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 9, 1938

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It would be wonderful of course if one could completely lose oneself in meditation. This means that the person who is the object of one's devotion, has transcended the body. Why watch the activities of one who has left the body? But have I attained to that state? Therefore even the ears cannot be shut. It is not an artificial process. You have to strive towards perfect meditation. My efforts are known to you; there is nothing in them. I am a very imperfect person, I have good deal of intolerance, also anger. I am able to master these but that is nothing so great.

While plying the *takli* fix your mind on the thought that it is God who is doing it, that He is hidden in every fibre of the yarn. See Him with the inner eyes.

Then spinning, which now seems secondary to you, will become the primary thing. In the language of satyagraha the means become identified with the end.

You ought to grasp it by now that observing outward activities is only self-indulgence.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4566; also S.G. 71

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232. A. I. V. I. A. TRAINING SCHOOL

From the report of the certificate-giving function of this Training School I cull the following:[1]

> Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided at the sessional gathering of the A. I. V. I. A. Training School for village workers, which was held at Maganwadi, Wardha, on Thursday 17th November. . . . The Superintendent, Sjt. J. P. Patel, . . . welcoming the President and the guests said among other things :
>
> "... The industries that are taught at present are paper-making, oil-pressing, bee-keeping, gur-making, paddy-husking and flour-grinding. The course of the Vidyalaya is for five months. . . .
>
> "Rural economics, book-keeping and health and hygiene are also taught. . . .
>
> "In admitting students our main object is to see that after finishing the course here they devote themselves to some form of village service. . . .
>
> "The instruction is given through the medium of Rashtrabhasha. . . ."

I would advise the management to keep a register of all outgoing students, to keep a living contact with them, and carry on with them a kind of post-graduate correspondence class. So far as it is humanly possible not one of the students should lapse into the old rut or feel despondent because he can make no headway.

Harijan, 10-12-1938

233. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 10, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I hope you have received all my letters. J. L. and Maulana came in last night. We had 2½ hours together only on the question of Presidentship. Subhas must have arrived in the evening.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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I hope you are none the worse for your wanderings. My letter to Shummy goes today.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3899. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7055

234. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

December 10, 1938

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I chanced to see Kanam's nails today. Look at them and see how dirty they are! Is not the teacher responsible for the cleanliness of his nails, ears, teeth, etc.? He does not still take part in the Ramadhun. How is that? At this age he should be able even to sing *bhajans*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10782

235. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 10, 1938

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter and Jayaprakash's.

I have to go to Bardoli on the 1st of January. Come there both of you if you can. The treatment for your hand is steam, hip-bath and a diet of milk and fruit. I will cure you completely if you come to Bardoli.

Ba may perhaps go to Rajkot. Mahadev is better. Please tell Jayaprakash that I should be glad if he could spend some days with me. I sincerely wish that we should understand each other correctly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3525

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236. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

December 10, 1938

Having obtained the permission of the President of the Travancore State Congress, I am now able to tell the public what advice I gave the deputation that saw me on November 13 and 14.[1] I told them that their cause would be damaged by persistence in the charges against the Dewan and that the question was not one of the truth or otherwise of the charges.[2] It was one of political insight. Allegations were made that the struggle was personal. The demand for responsible government made it impersonal and raised it to a higher level. I could not be a party to the conduct of a struggle which must engage and exhaust time and energy in pursuit of a personal matter to the exclusion of the most important one of swaraj. If they concentrated on the allegations, responsible government was bound to recede into the background.

Though my conviction about the correctness of my advice was unshaken, the members were to be guided by their own, if it conflicted with mine, for the burden of conducting the struggle rested on them. I also told them that if violence continued, no matter how it occurred, they were bound to suspend civil disobedience; for violence on the part of the public, even though instigated, showed that the State Congress influence was not adequate. This in no way meant suspension of the struggle. It meant merely a change of the emphasis on the instruments. An instrument of permanent value was a constructive programme. The employment of civil disobedience had well-defined limitations and required suspension as the occasion demanded.

Harijan, 17-12-1938

[1] The deputation actually saw Gandhiji on the 15th; *vide* pp. 131-3.
[2] *Vide* also Vol. LXVII, pp. 387-8.

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237. *DISCUSSION WITH CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES*[1]

[Before *December 12, 1938*][2]

One of the questioners asked Gandhiji what his motive in life was, "the thing that leads us to do what we do", whether it was religious, or social or political.

GANDHIJI: Purely religious. This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. "How you, a social reformer," he exclaimed, have "found your way into this crowd?" My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing!

QUESTION : Seeing the influence you wield over the people, may we inquire whether it is the love of the cause or the love of the people that moves you ?

ANSWER: Love of the people. Cause without the people is a dead thing. Love of the people brought the problem of untouchability early into my life. My mother said, 'You must not touch this boy, he is an untouchable.' 'Why not?' I questioned back, and from that day my revolt began.

Q. You would expect us Christians to copy your example. Should we allow our religious motive to plunge us into politics?

A. Those who come from different parts of the world into this country cannot say: 'We shall have nothing to do with the politics of the country.' They would not be true to their faith if

[1] & [2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Non-violence and World Crisis". The missionaries included William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, Leslie B. Moss, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in North America, Dr. Smith of the British and Foreign Bible Society and John Mott. They were in India to attend the International Missionary Conference which opened at Tambaram on December 12, 1938.

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they bargained with the Government in order to supersede their fellow-feeling with the people. Supposing the Government does a grievous wrong to the people of the soil and the missionaries are told that they must not lift a finger to prevent it, surely, the least they can do is to leave the country by way of signifying their displeasure at the perpetration of the wrong. If a missionary puts himself out for service, opportunities will come: today it may be in the economic sphere, tomorrow in the social, next time it may be in the political field. You cannot then say, 'I shall confine myself to this or that work and do nothing else.' When I went to South Africa I knew nothing about that country. I was bound to my client only. Yet, within seven days of my reaching there, I found that I had to deal with a situation too terrible for words.

Gandhiji was next asked in what relation his non-violence stood to the Pacifist attitude, "which we Westerners are trying to adopt without much success."

GANDHIJI: In my opinion non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the activest force in the world. Therefore, whether it is materialism or anything else, if non-violence does not provide an effective antidote it is not the active force of my conception. Or, to put it conversely, if you bring me some conundrums that I cannot answer I would say my non-violence is still defective. Non-violence is the supreme law. During my half a century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence.

Take the question of the Jews on which I have written.[1] No Jew need feel helpless if he takes to the non-violent way. A friend has written me a letter objecting that in that article I have assumed that the Jews have been violent. It is true that the Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind, and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf. If I hit my adversary, that is of course violence, but to be truly non-violent, I must love him and pray for him even when he hits me. The Jews have not been actively non-violent or, in spite of the misdeeds of the dictators, they would say, 'We shall suffer at their hands; they knew no better. But we shall suffer not in the manner in which they want us to suffer.' If even one Jew acted thus, he would salve his self-

[1] *Vide* pp. 137-41.

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respect and leave an example which, if it became infectious, would save the whole of Jewry and leave a rich heritage to mankind besides.

What about China, you will ask. The Chinese have no designs upon other people. They have no desire for territory. True, perhaps, China is not ready for such aggression; perhaps, what looks like her pacifism is only indolence. In any case China's is not active non-violence. Her putting up a valiant defence against Japan is proof enough that China was never intentionally non-violent. That she is on the defensive is no answer in terms of non-violence. Therefore, when the time for testing her active non-violence came, she failed in the test. This is no criticism of China. I wish the Chinese success. According to the accepted standards her behaviour is strictly correct. But when the position is examined in terms of non-violence, I must say it is unbecoming for a nation of 400 millions, a nation as cultured as Japan [*sic*], to repel Japanese aggression by resorting to Japan's own methods. If the Chinese had non-violence of my conception, there would be no use left for the latest machinery for destruction which Japan possesses. The Chinese would say to Japan, 'Bring all your machinery, we present half of our population to you. But the remaining two hundred millions won't bend their knee to you.' If the Chinese did that, Japan would become China's slave.

And in support of this argument he referred to Shelley's celebrated lines from *The Mask of Anarchy*, "Ye are many, they are few":

Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war.

And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there,
Slash, and stab, and maim and hew,—
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away.

Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came,
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

It has been objected, however, that non-violence is all right in the case of the Jews because there is personal contact between the individual and his persecutors, but in China, Japan comes with its long-range guns and aeroplanes. The person who rains death from above has never any chance of even knowing who and how many he has killed. How can non-violence combat aerial warfare, seeing that there are no personal contacts? The reply to this is that behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that still, is the human heart that sets the hand in motion. And at the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant's will. But supposing a people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant's will, nor retaliate with the tyrant's own methods, the tyrant will not find it worth his while to go on with his terrorism. If sufficient food is given to the tyrant, a time will come when he will have had more than surfeit. If all the mice in the world held conference together and resolved that they would no more fear the cat but all run into her mouth, the mice would live. I have actually seen a cat play with a mouse. She did not kill it outright but held it between her jaws, then released it, and again pouched upon it as soon as it made an effort to escape. In the end the mouse died out of sheer fright. The cat would have derived no sport if the mouse had not tried to run away. I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will on the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidity involved on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her, and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence. And what I did in South Africa was but an extension of the rule of satyagraha which she unwillingly practised in her own person.

But one of the visitors objected: You do not know Hitler and Mussolini. They are incapable of any kind of moral response. They have no conscience and they have made themselves impervious to world opinion.

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Would it not be playing into the hands of these dictators if, for instance, the Czechs following your advice confronted them with non-violence? Seeing that dictatorships are unmoral by definition, would the law of moral conversion hold good in their case?

GANDHIJI: Your argument presupposes that the dictators like Mussolini or Hitler are beyond redemption. But belief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love. It should be remembered that they have up to now always found ready response to the violence that they have used. Within their experience, they have not come across organized non-violent resistance on an appreciable scale, if at all. Therefore, it is not only highly likely, but I hold it to be inevitable, that they would recognize the superiority of non-violent resistance over any display of violence that they may be capable of putting forth. Moreover the non-violent technique that I have presented to the Czechs does not depend for its success on the goodwill of the dictators, for, a non-violent resister depends upon the unfailing assistance of God which sustains him throughout difficulties which would otherwise be considered insurmountable. His faith makes him indomitable.

The visitor retorted that these dictators wisely refrain from using force, but simply take possession of what they want. In the circumstances what can non-violent resisters do?

GANDHIJI: Suppose they come and occupy mines, factories and all sources of natural wealth belonging to the Czechs, then the following results can take place: (1) The Czechs may be annihilated for disobedience to orders. That would be a glorious victory for the Czechs and the beginning of the fall of Germany. (2) The Czechs might become demoralized in the presence of overwhelming force. This is a result common in all struggles, but if demoralization does take place, it would not be on account of non-violence, but it would be due to absence or inadequacy of non-violence. (3) The third thing that can take place is that Germany might use her new possessions for occupation by her surplus population. This, again, could not be avoided by offering violent resistance, for we have assumed that violent resistance is out of the question. Thus non-violent resistance is the best method under all conceivable circumstances.

I do not think that Hitler and Mussolini are after all so very indifferent to the appeal of world opinion. But today these dictators feel satisfaction in defying world opinion because none

of the so-called Great Powers can come to them with clean hands, and they have a rankling sense of injustice done to their people by the Great Powers in the past. Only the other day an esteemed English friend owned to me that Nazi Germany was England's sin and that it was the Treaty of Versailles that made Hitler.

QUESTION: What can I as a Christian do to contribute to international peace? How can international anarchy be broken down and non-violence made effective for establishing peace? Subject nations apart, how can nations at the top be made to disarm themselves?

ANSWER: You as a Christian can make an effective contribution by non-violent action even though it may cost you your all. Peace will never come until the Great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events must force that belief on the Great Powers. I have an implicit faith—faith that today burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence—that mankind can only be saved through non-violence which is the central teaching of the Bible as I have understood the Bible.

Q. You have said that so far as India is concerned you are hopeful that it will stick to non-violence. What are the omens of that hope?

A. If you ask for outward proofs, I cannot give any. But I have an instinctive feeling that the country is not going to take to anything else. You must remember that just now I am filled with what I saw in the North-West Frontier Province. I was not prepared for what I saw. They are in dead earnest about the thing, and there is a deep-rooted sincerity in their hearts. They themselves see light and hope in non-violence. Khan Saheb told me that before that it was all darkness. There was not a family but had its blood feuds. They lived like tigers in a den. Though the Pathans used to be always armed with knives, daggers and rifles, they used to be terrified of their superior officers, lest they should lose their jobs. All that has changed now with thousands. Blood feuds are becoming a thing of the past among those Pathans who have come under the influence of Khan Saheb's non-violence movement and, instead of depending for their livelihood on paltry jobs, they have turned to the soil for cultivation, and soon they will turn to industry if their promise is kept.

Q. What is your method of worship?

A. We have joint worship morning and evening at 4.20 a. m. and 7 p. m. This has gone on for years. We have a

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recitation of verses from the *Gita* and other accepted religious books, also hymns of saints with or without music. Individual worship cannot be described in words. It goes on continuously and even unconsciously. There is not a moment when I do not feel the presence of a witness whose eye misses nothing and with whom I strive to keep in tune. I do not pray as Christian friends do. Not because I think there is anything wrong in it, but because words won't come to me. I suppose it is a matter of habit.

Q. Is there any place for supplication in your prayer?

A. There is and there is not. God knows and anticipates our wants. The Deity does not need my supplication, but I, a very imperfect human being, do need His protection as a child that of its father. And yet I know that nothing that I do is going to change His plans. You may call me a fatalist, if you like.

Q. Do you find any response to your prayer?

A. I consider myself a happy man in that respect. I have never found Him lacking in response. I have found Him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest—in my ordeals in jails when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God.

Harijan, 24-12-1938

238. MESSAGE TO C. K. GIBBON[1]

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

I wish you success in your endeavour to wake up the Anglo-Indian community to a sense of their duty as citizens of free India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-12-1938

[1] General Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Civil Liberties Association

[2] The news item carrying the message is dated December 12, 1938.

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239. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

I read suggestions about a memorial to the late Maulana Shaukat Ali.[1] As soon as I learnt about the wholly unexpected death, I wrote to some Muslim friends sharing with them my innermost thoughts. One of them writes thus:

> There can be no two opinions about the extreme urgency and essential necessity of a sincere and lasting Hindu-Muslim unity. And the sooner it is brought about the better it will be for all concerned. Delay in this matter can only be fraught with consequences which nobody can contemplate without serious concern. The present drift may lead to most tragic developments which must, if at all possible, be avoided. I know that Shaukat was in his own way genuinely anxious to bring about real Hindu-Muslim understanding, and nothing will please his spirit more than to know in its rest in heaven that one of the objects after which he strove in this world was at last achieved. There may be people who may doubt this, but knowing him and the working of his mind most intimately as I do, I can assert it with confidence.

I entirely endorse the opinion that, in spite of his outbursts at times to the contrary, deep down in the Maulana was the same longing for peace for which he used to speak and work eloquently during the Khilafat days. I have no doubt whatsoever that the truest memorial to his memory will be a joint determination on the part of both the communities to bring about not a paper-unity but a heart-unity, based not on suspicion and distrust but on mutual trust. No other unity is worth having. And without that unity there is no real freedom for India.

SEGAON, December 12, 1938

Harijan, 17-12-1938

[1] Shaukat Ali died on November 27.

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240. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

December 12, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

I think 5 p. m. will be the ideal time.[1] If any other is more suitable, I shall suit myself to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10146

241. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

December 12, 1938

CHI. AMALA,

I received the five rupees. Even if you sign Margarete Spiegel, you will be only Amala to me. I will address the envelope as you desire.

I hope you are keeping fine.

It will be good if you study Gujarati, even if only a little.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

242. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

December 12, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

Your anger will eat up both you and the cow. I am unable to see to everything myself. So I have entrusted this work to others. You have no plan. I would have closed my eyes and let you spend as you wished if I had unlimited funds. But I must know where to draw the line. I do not consider you an expert, but I have full confidence in you and also patience, so I

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. C. Kumarappa", p. 196.

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go on. Yes, I want to keep more than a hundred cows but where do I have the plan?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you cannot patiently argue with your colleagues, how do you expect to serve?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1912

243. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 12, 1938

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

What I did cannot apply in the case of your brother. I took no medicine except soda and I lived entirely on fruit juice. Massage, hip-baths, etc., were continued. If I tried to eat anything in the mean while my condition became worse. In the end it was goat's milk that saved my life.

Carry on whatever treatment is possible there. See if Saraswati can do anything. If you are so inclined you may take him to Poona.

The problem of Satyavati is a difficult one. She will not even take the full treatment.

It is surprising that there is no reply from the Meerut people. I am writing to them.

Mahadev and I are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am not able to suggest anything with regard to the mills except that we should organize the mill-hands.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2458

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244. LETTER TO HARSARAN VERMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 12, 1938

BHAI HARSARAN VERMA,

I have your letter. It is good you wrote to me. You should also submit to the Congress Committee all that you have written to me.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 90

245. INTERVIEW TO CELESTINE SMITH[1]

[Before *December 13, 1938*][2]

I had never thought of a girl coming. To take the responsibility of a girl so far away from her home would perhaps be a bit too much. But as you can see I have plenty of girls around me here, and if a girl did come from America like that, I should not mind it a bit, i. e., if she could put up with the incredibly simple life here as it would appear to her. What she can learn from here and take back is the secret of simple living. However simple life may be in America, it cannot come anywhere near the simplicity of life here. I do not know if America can assimilate such simplicity, or wants it. The other thing that she could take back is the spirit of non-violence, to the extent that she can assimilate it without the help of any words or speeches, if there is non-violence in the atmosphere here. If there is no non-violence in the atmosphere, no written or spoken word can make her understand it or grasp it.

Harijan, 31-12-1938

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". Celestine Smith was the Secretary of the Negro Section of the Young Women's Christian Association, New York. She was impressed with the Wardha scheme of education and wanted to know whether she could send one of her girls and, if she did, what she would learn and take back to America.

[2] A photograph of Gandhiji with Celestine Smith was published in *The Bombay Chronicle* of December 13, which would indicate that they had met before that date.

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246. *DRAFT OF CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON INDIAN STATES*[1]

December 13, 1938

The Working Committee welcome the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and consider this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Committee support the demand for civil liberty and responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States and express their solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression. While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognized this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Committee regret that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organizations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular, the Committee deplore the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and the Committee assert the right of the Congress to protect the people against an unwarranted use of military or police forces, lent by the British authorities, for the suppression of the legitimate movement of the people for responsible government within the States.

The Committee desire to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress which defines Congress policy in regard to the States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of civil liberty and responsible government in the States, existing circumstances impose certain limitations on this work, and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organizationally and directly in the internal struggles of the States. This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the goodwill of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognize

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, in the Chronicle of Events, notes under the date December 13 that Gandhiji drafted this resolution.

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the spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people. Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But this was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with States' people.

The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued. While, therefore, the Working Committee welcome the movements in the States for the attainment of responsible government, they advise the people not belonging to the States concerned against taking part in civil disobedience and the like. Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement, and may even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trust that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence.

Indian National Congress, February 1938 to January 1939, pp. 69-70

247. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

December 13, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

You understand now that I pleaded with Chimanlal on your behalf that cows need not be kept in two places. What I want to have is an estimate of the expenditure on and income from a herd of cows and calves numbering up to a hundred. You are a worker but a person who has to collect funds must have a plan. Therefore I said that if the workers here could together prepare a scheme I could think over it. It would have made my path easier if you and Parnerkar could get on well together. I want to expedite this matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1915

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248. TELEGRAM TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

WARDHA,
December 14, 1938

THANUPILLAY
STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

AM QUITE CLEAR THAT IN SPITE PROSECUTION YOU SHOULD WITHDRAW ALLEGATIONS BEFORE HEARING COMMENCES. IF COURT PERSIST YOU STILL REFUSE DEFEND SAYING THAT UNDER ADVICE WHICH ON SECOND THOUGHTS YOU CONSIDER TO BE SOUND YOU HAVE DECIDED NOT TO PURSUE THEM AS BEING INCONSISTENT WITH PURSUIT OF LARGER POLICY OF ATTAINMENT RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

GANDHI

From the original: Pattom Thanu Pillai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

249. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEGAON,
December 14, 1938

BHAI BHULABHAI,

I read Nariman's letter. Personally I feel that a great injustice has been done to him. If there is nothing else apart from that letter and if my view is correct, I should like you yourself to make amends when we meet tomorrow. I write this so that you may think about the matter beforehand. I wrote to Vallabhbhai from the car itself. But I see that I ought to write to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

250. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 16, 1938

CHI. SUSHILA,

I read your postcard addressed to Ba. I should certainly like to drag you here, but now I will not send for you. Stay at Bardoli as long as you can. Here I cannot even raise my head; what is the use of having you here then?

The swelling produced by the vaccination must have subsided.

I trust Nanabhai is well. Will it be too early for you to join me on the 1st itself?

Here we have a stream of visitors coming and going these days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4890

251. TELEGRAM TO ZAINAB[1]

[*December 16, 1938*][2]

JAMNALALJI'S WIRE BRINGS SAD NEWS. MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY AND PRAYER WITH YOU ALL. I KNOW YOU ARE BRAVE. HOPE DOCTOR'S TRADITION WILL BE FULLY KEPT UP BY FAMILY. LOVE.

BAPU

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-12-1938

[1] Widow of Dr. Rajab Ali Vishram Patel, a well-known freemason. During the non-co-operation movement in 1921 he had donated Rs. 50,000 and handed over the amount to Gandhiji for use at his discretion.

[2] Dr. Rajab Ali died on December 16, 1938.

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252. TELEGRAM TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

WARDHA,
[*December 17, 1938*][1]

THANUPILLAY
PRESIDENT STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

ADVISE YOU EMPHATICALLY NOT TO RESIST PRESENT BAN ON CONTEMPLATED CONFERENCE NEAR TRIVANDRUM AND ON DEMONSTRATIONS DURING FORTHCOMING VICEREGAL VISIT. ALSO ADVISE TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE EVEN IN FACE OF PROVOKING RESTRICTIONS. SUCH WILLING OBEDIENCE TO IRKSOME RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM WILL BE A LESSON IN ART OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

GANDHI

From the original: Pattom Thanu Pillai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

253. TELEGRAM TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

WARDHA,
December 17, 1938

THANUPILLAY
PRESIDENT STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

WITHDRAWAL MAY BE AS FOLLOWS. AFTER SERIOUS AND PRAYERFUL CONSIDERATION WE HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ALLEGATIONS MADE AGAINST THE DEWAN IN THE MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO HIS HIGHNESS SHOULD BE UNRESERVEDLY WITHDRAWN IN THE INTEREST OF THE LARGER STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. BUT WHILST THEREFORE WITHDRAW THE ALLEGATION FULLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY WE WOULD BE UNTRUE TO OURSELVES TO THE CAUSE AND TO THE PUBLIC IF WE DID NOT STATE THAT THE ALLEGATIONS WERE MADE BY US

[1] The original telegram as delivered has only "17". However the Viceroy arrived in Travancore on January 9, 1939, and hence the telegram is placed under this date.

WITH A FULL SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND WITH A BELIEF IN THEM AS FULL AS IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE IN A STATEMENT BASED UPON ONE-SIDED EVIDENCE. OUR BELIEF IN THE TRUTH OF THE ALLEGATIONS MADE PERSISTS BUT THE OPINION HAS FORCED ITSELF UPON US THAT FOR US TO PERSIST IN THOSE ALLEGATIONS WOULD BE TO HARM THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN TRAVANCORE. WE THEREFORE WITHDRAW THE ALLEGATIONS AND ASK THE PUBLIC NOT TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ALLEGATIONS OR BY OUR BELIEF IN THEM. IN CASE PROSECUTION IS PURSUED IN SPITE OF ABOVE WITHDRAWAL ADD LATER IN COURT AS FOLLOWS. WE ARE SORRY THAT THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IS NOT SATISFIED WITH OUR WITHDRAWAL OF THE ALLEGATIONS. WE SHALL CHEERFULLY UNDERGO ANY SENTENCE THAT MAY BE IMPOSED UPON US FOR OUR UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL MEANS THAT WE HAVE WITHDRAWN THE ALLEGATIONS NOT TO EVADE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE LAW BUT FOR HELPING THE LARGER CAUSE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. WE THEREFORE DO NOT PROPOSE TO ENTER UPON ANY DEFENCE AND AS WE HAVE WITHDRAWN THE ALLEGATIONS IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO PLEAD GUILTY.

GANDHI

From the original: Pattom Thanu Pillai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

254. MESSAGE TO ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY UNION[1]

[Before *December 18, 1938*][2]

I believe nothing except non-violence can solve our difficulties.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-12-1938

[1] This message was sent on the occasion of the unveiling of Gandhiji's portrait-painting in the Senate Hall of the University.

[2] The report carrying this message is dated December 18, 1938.

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255. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Strictly Confidential

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 18, 1938

MY DEAR SUBHAS,

I must dictate this as I am wilfully blind. Whilst I am dictating this Maulana Saheb, Nalini Babu[1], and Ghanshyamdasji are listening. We had an exhaustive discussion over the Bengal Ministry. I am more than ever convinced that we should not aim at ousting the Ministry. We shall gain nothing by a reshuffle. And probably we shall lose much by including Congressmen in the Ministry. I feel, therefore, that the best way of securing comparative purity of administration and continuity of a settled programme and policy would be to aim at having all the reforms that we desire carried out by the present Ministry. Nalini Babu should come out, as he says he would, on a real issue being raised and the decision being taken by the Ministry against the interests of the country. His retirement from the Ministry would then be dignified and wholly justified. I understand that so far as the amendment of the municipal law is concerned, separate electorate for the scheduled class is given up. There is still insistence on separate electorate for Mussalmans. I do not know whether opposition should be taken to the breaking point. If the Mussalman opinion is solid in favour of separation, I think it would be wisdom to satisfy them. I would not like them to carry the point in the teeth of the Congress opposition. It would be then a point against the Congress.

If my opinion is acceptable to you, the release of the Prisoners becomes a much simpler matter than it is today. And if this opinion commends itself to you there should be an open declaration about the new policy. This ought to result in easing the tension that prevails in Bengal, and Bengal will be automatically free from the state of suspended animation. Maulana Saheb is in entire agreement with this opinion and so are Nalini Babu and Ghanshyamdas.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: C. W. 7784. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, then Finance Minister of Bengal

256. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[After *December 18, 1938*][1]

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have gone through the papers. They are dreadful. If the Thakore Saheb remains firm, the problem can be solved in no time. But I doubt if he will remain firm. How much use can we make of the information gathered from the papers? If you receive an invitation, do go. I think if you go you should see the Resident[2] also and tell him the truth. The Ruler's invitation should not be kept a complete secret. If he does not have that much courage, it may not be worth while going to Rajkot.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 230

257. NOTES

COMPLAINT AGAINST CONGRESSMEN

I have a letter from the Rangoon Khadi Bhandar and another from Karnatak complaining that Congress committees have certified khadi which was decertified by the A. I. S. A. There is no doubt whatsoever as to the truth of the complaint. I have copies of the certificates issued by two Congress bodies. Congress committees should know that these certificates are illegal. The only authority that can issue certificates about khadi is the A. I. S. A.

[1] The papers referred to in the text consisted of correspondence Thakore Dharmendrasinhji of Rajkot had initiated with the addressee for a settlement. The addressee in his letter of December 18 to the Thakore Saheb had said, "I would come immediately—on receipt of your letter—and persuade the people to agree to the termination of the struggle." This therefore must belong to some date after December 18.

[2] E. C. Gibson

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No Congress committee has been, or can be, given the right unless the Congress resolution constituting the A. I. S. A. is changed.

There is no such thing as certified khadi. It is impossible to certify every piece and every article made of khadi; only shops and persons can be authorized to sell khadi approved by the A. I. S. A. The original definition of khadi has been broadened to ensure an adequate wage for the manufacturers of khadi. Those who sell any other khadi, deprive khadi workers of the wage that the A. I. S. A. has, of its own accord, ensured for them. Let it not be said of any Congressman and Congress committee that they are interfering with the vast experiment in nation-building that the A. I. S. A. is conducting and which bids fair to put life and lustre in the dying bodies of millions of sisters whom no agency ensures even two pice per day. I hope, therefore, that the Congress committees and Congressmen will not only not interfere with the work of the A. I. S. A., but will give their full-hearted cooperation to numerous organizations of the A. I. S. A., especially in the sale of khadi. If there was a steadily increasing demand, it would be possible to provide remunerative work in every famine area.

HINDUSTANI ONLY

A Muslim friend who calls himself an old Congress worker says:

> *The Times of India*, in its issue of the 12th September last, published an abstract of your article from the *Harijan* under the caption 'Congressmen Beware!'[1]. The cogent explanation you have given of the position caused by the anti-Hindi agitation in Madras and the use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act is remarkably convincing. I have no doubt that the sound advice you have offered to the agitators will go a long way in satisfying them and that they will be brought round to the right way of thinking. But in this connection I should like to draw your attention to an anomaly which seems to have crept in inadvertently regarding the 'Rashtrabhasha' for India. To the best of my knowledge the Congress resolution on the subject contains the word 'Hindustani' and not 'Hindi'. You yourself, in all your speeches and writings, have always used the word 'Hindustani'. It is therefore to be regretted that a majority of Congressmen have, in contravention of the Congress resolution, been using the word '*Hindi*'.
>
> This use of the wrong word has given rise to considerable misunderstanding and contention among the members of the different camps of

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 323-6.

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the Congress. To my mind it should be neither 'Hindi' nor 'Urdu', and all Congressmen when referring to the Rashtrabhasha should use the word 'Hindustani'.

I endorse the suggestion whole-heartedly. Rashtrabhasha has only one name, i.e., Hindustani.

SEGAON, December 19, 1938

Harijan, 24-12-1938

258. PROHIBITION

Prohibition in the Congress provinces is not going on in the spirit in which it was conceived. It is perhaps no fault of the Ministers. Public opinion is not insistent. Congress opinion is equally dormant. Congressmen do not seem to see that prohibition means new life for many millions. It means new and substantial accession of moral and material strength. They do not realize that honest prohibition gives a dignity and prestige to the Congress which perhaps no other single step can give. They do not see that prosecution of prohibition means identification with the masses and a resolute determination to refuse to have anything to do with the drink revenue. Even such a confirmed prohibitionist like Rajaji has not had the daring to set apart the drink revenue purely for the purpose of fighting the drink evil. He has proved in this matter too cautious for me. Congressmen have learnt to count no cost too dear for winning freedom. Our freedom will be the freedom of slaves if we continue to be victims of the drink and drug habit. Is any cost too much to establish complete prohibition in all the provinces?

And yet one finds Ministers drawing up prohibition programmes in a proper bania spirit. They think of their deficits. I wonder what they will do if all the winebibbers and opium-eaters suddenly give up their drinks and drugs! They will manage somehow, it may be answered. Why will they not do so voluntarily? Surely, merit lies in doing the right thing voluntarily, not compulsorily! The Bihar Government did not come to a standstill, when the earthquake swallowed more than their annual income. What do the Governments all over India do, when famines and floods ruin people and materially reduce the State revenue? I maintain that the Congress Governments break the spirit, if not the letter, of their pledge, when they delay prohibition for the sake of revenue.

They can and must make an honest attempt to raise money by fresh taxation. The drink curse is most prevalent in urban areas. It is in these areas that they can resort to fresh taxation. Prohibition gives direct help to the employers of labour. They can surely afford to bear the loss of revenue caused by prohibition. The few months of prohibition in Ahmedabad have put money into the pockets both of the employers and the labourers. There is no reason whatsoever why the employers should not pay for this inestimable service. Many similar sources of revenue can easily be thought of.

I have not hesitated to suggest a grant or at least a loan without interest from the Government of India where it can be proved that the raising of additional revenue is not a practical proposition.

The only valid reason for not having immediate prohibition is want of previous experience and hence the need for caution. I viewed the Salem experiment in that light. The Madras Government wanted to take the first step with great deliberation and did not want to take any risk of failure. The success of the Salem experiment should be sufficient encouragement to go on with the whole scheme. But it is not impossible to understand the desire of each Government to go in for prohibition in stages so as to have local experience. It was for that reason that the Working Committee fixed three years as the period to bring about complete prohibition. The time is running fast. And if India is to be free of the curse within the period fixed, there should be no delay for want of money or for fear of deficit in revenue. And if the programme is prosecuted with single-minded zeal, there is no doubt that the other provinces and the States will follow.

SEGAON, December 19, 1938

Harijan, 24-12-1938

259. DISTRICT BOARDS

It has often been borne in upon me that District Boards and Municipal Councils are excrescences involving a useless tax upon the people's purses. This became patent to me during the non-co-operation days in Mehmadabad. I had then advised the people that, if they boycotted their council or whatever it was called, they could do their own sweeping and lighting and conduct their schools without fuss and without much expense and avoid wrangling into the bargain.

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The truth of my remark became clear to me a few days ago when a member of the Surat District Board came to me, showed me a circular issued by the Board, and asked me for my blessing on their scheme. The scheme was extra-official. There are about forty members of the Board. I write from memory. They have really no work except to meet at stated intervals and hold debates on certain items of expenditure. As the Board has a sweeping Congress majority and as some of the members are conscientious, they do not know how to use their time for the service of the people. The Board has an income altogether inadequate for the expenditure required to keep all its departments in good order and condition, especially the roads. The circular, therefore, contained a pompous advertisement that the members and the officials would work during the National Week in April at road repairs, etc. On the strength of the proverb that something is better than nothing, certainly the National Week idea was commendable. But it was not good enough for me. I said, "If you want my blessing, you must begin work now and not merely for one week as a holiday, but for the whole term of your office and regularly as if you were members of the paid staff—no doubt consistently with your domestic and other obligations. In other words, you should constitute yourselves into a national service. You will meet officially only to vote items you must, but never to hold long debates or wrangle over petty appointments and the like. But your real and solid work would be extra-official. You would take pride in having first-class roads which you will have built yourselves. You will run your schools efficiently. You will see that your district has its proper supply of water, and your fields are well manured and grow crops that are useful from the national standpoint. You will teach the people proper methods of sanitation and ensure voluntary prohibition by weaning the people from the drink habit. You will run night-schools for adults. If you are in earnest about your duty, you will be too few for the task. You will set an example to the other boards and you will justify the choice of the electors. The result will be that the electors themselves and the others will become a voluntary brigade of workers who will revolutionize the life of the people around you. If you take to heart what I am telling you, you will find at once that you cannot do without hand-ginning, hand-carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This will give full occupation during leisure hours to every boy, girl, man and woman who is not disabled for light labour, and you will immediately add a good few lacs of rupees to your income as a

district. When you have achieved this programme you will have my blessings. I shall become your advertising agent. If you cannot do this, do not play with your work by having a spectacular demonstration of your holiday patriotism.

I fear, however, that the District Boards in India will not quite approve of the programme of voluntary service I have sketched above. I, therefore, suggest that at least the Congress provinces have a model and novel legislation constituting municipal, local and district boards on the basis of efficiency. I would have them elected, but there would be very few men and women capable of doing administrative, plodding work. Each one of the members will have his work cut out for him. I should impress the services of the paid officials side by side with the elected members who will be at once their masters and co-workers. This is but the barest outline of Boards of my notion. The Congress is a revolutionary body in the widest and the wisest sense. It must be original. All its activities must be derived from its creed of non-violence. There must be a perfect chain linking the smallest to the biggest unit after the same pattern, so that he who runs may see that it is an artistic whole designed to answer the main purpose. This presupposes one united mind and will in the Congress—not the mind and will of one man but the minds and wills of many men and women acting as one mind and one will.

SEGAON, December 19, 1938

Harijan, 24-12-1938

260. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 19, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have not been able to give you a line.

Yes, I shall not part with the blanket designed for me. I do not know whether I am wearing the old or the new. I shall inquire and get the new. What shall I do with the old?

Of course you will have a copy of the Aundh Constitution when it is ready.

If K.[1] has responsible government, why can't you be its first Minister and shape its destiny at will? But we shall discuss when you come.

[1] Kapurthala

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I fear I must leave for Bardoli on 1st Jan. The W. C. meets there on 7th, so you should come *via* Ahmedabad. If you leave on 3rd, you will reach Bardoli on 6th. No time for more.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3654. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6463

261. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 20, 1938

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I cannot let your sweet note go unanswered. I know what Xmas means to the English people. All my good wishes accompany you.

I knew you would understand Mira's letter. Yes, do keep in touch with her. She is in God's good hands.

You will come as often as you like and stay as long as you like.

Nobody gave you fudge today! Some goes with this.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1506

262. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

December 20, 1938

CHI. MAHADEV,

This is just to tell you that I remember you. There is a terrible pressure of work, but that seems to be God's pleasure. I do not work beyond the time fixed. I hope your stay is proving fruitful. Amtul Salaam is badly ill—malaria. There is a large crowd—Pannalal, Gangabehn, Nanibehn have come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11686

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263. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

December 20, 1938

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

Here is the reply from Vichitra[1]. What should be done now? I hope your brother is better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2457

264. LETTER TO N. M. JOSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

MY DEAR JOSHI,

I am very grateful to you for your two letters containing an exhaustive reply to my letter. I am glad too that Parulekar took the trouble of writing out his speech. Though the sentences marked do not appear in the speech, there is hot stuff enough in it, perilously going near to the sentiments ascribed to Parulekar in the report I sent to you. Mark the following:

> They often described British bureaucracy as Satanic. I must find out a stronger term than the word "Satanic", as this act is more devilish . . . . They know that the Bill is not in your interest and, therefore, they are afraid of you. They feel nervous. They think that you will throw away their Gandhi caps. This "Gandhi Cap Government" has shown by its acts that they are not the friends of the poor. They are there to work in the interests of the rich. . . . If they postpone the discussion they will have to discuss the Bill in Bombay who are politically conscious. The workers in Bombay will take out monster demonstrations and will create such a row that those who are responsible for the Bill will not be able to enjoy sound and comfortable sleep. The workers can be compared to a sleeping lion. I warn Government not to wake

[1] Vichitra Narayan Sharma, a khadi worker of Meerut. He had stated in his letter of December 14 that starting khadi work in famine-affected areas was bound to result in financial loss while expanding the work to include Delhi was inconvenient.

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him up. Let them not tease him. Let them not attack him. They must realize that if they provoke him the working class has enough strength to retaliate on the strongest Government. . . . This Bill is a deadly poisonous pill coated with sugar. We must scratch the sugar and leave the poison to be swallowed by the framers of the Bill.

I should not like such language in the mouth of a member of the Society.

As to your remark about the danger to civil liberty, I would like you to give me some concrete suggestion for a Provincial Government to be at least able to know what public men are saying and doing. Or, do you suggest that they ought not to concern themselves with the sayings and doings of public men? I am not now thinking of the possible punishment that might be inflicted upon those who make speeches inciting to violence or whatever is considered contrary to law. I am thinking of peaceful action such as warning to reckless speakers and establishing contact with organizations to which they belong. So far as Parulekar is concerned, I am making further inquiry. In any case I I am quite clear in my mind that there should be no prosecution against him and I am writing to Kher accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

265. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Maulana Saheb does not want the crown of thorns. If you want to try again please do. If you won't or he won't listen, Pattabhi seems to be the only choice.

Love.

BAPU

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

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266. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEGAON,
December 21, 1938

MY DEAR PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your two letters. I have been too busy to write to you earlier, but Pyarelal has been attending to every one of your requirements. The wool is being taken up and I shall have it woven and of course make use of it myself, unless I make better use of it by using it for exhibition purposes. I have not decided.

Though I do not want to publish your letter as the authorities may not like its publication whilst you are still a prisoner, I am going to make judicious use of it amongst those who are still unconvinced of the matchless superiority of non-violence over violence. So far as your own case is concerned you may depend upon my doing everything in my power. You need not do anything there till I advise you otherwise.

I have a very fine portrait of you taken by Kanu which Pyarelal is sending to your brother, but he will be writing independently to you.

Mahadev is quite well now, though I do not want him to return to his regular work.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5632. Also C.W. 2943. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

267. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

Your letter surprises me, for in your previous letter you said that while the prisoners were not ready to give the assurance to the Government, they were ready to give it to me. You now tell me they will not. Why this change? Please bring this to the

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prisoners' notice that if they cannot give this assurance even to me, so far as I am concerned, I am powerless.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1287

268. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I had both your letters. I had acted on the first. Why do you insist on my acting on the second, too? You need not attend the Jallianwala Bagh Committee. Keshavdevji may well attend. There will be no need of a vote. Don't take it into your head that your health is bad. The body only needs rest. If you get it, your health will be all right. It will be enough if you travel a little in India or Ceylon. Give up all worry about work.

Are Rajabali's affairs being properly administered? How is Janakibehn?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2996

269. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

CHI. MANUDI[1],

Do come to Bardoli if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1573. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

[1] Gandhiji's granddaughter

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270. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 21, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

The Maulana has flatly refused, and it does not, therefore, seem proper to press him further. I think it will be best to think of Pattabhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 230

271. MESSAGE TO ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE[1]

[Before *December 22, 1938*][2]

Women alone can emancipate themselves not men. If women will, they can help in the fulfilment of ahimsa. Through the charkha, they can serve the cause of their poor sisters. By wearing khaddar, they can bring help to the homes of the poor. They can bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. They can abolish the purdah and drive away the ghost of untouchability.

Will the Women's Conference at Delhi undertake to fulfil any of these causes?

The Hindustan Times, 28-12-1938. Also from a copy: C.W. 10362. Courtesy: All-India Women's Conference

272. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 22, 1938

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I am just now managing things through deputies. I can't cope with work otherwise. You are going to keep well in Bardoli.

[1] The Conference opened in Delhi on December 28. Amrit Kaur presided. Gandhiji's message according to *The Bombay Chronicle*, 29-12-1938, was in Gujarati.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

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Herewith a letter for Tai and a message[1] for the Conference. You having had one, naturally she also wants one.

I hope you left Shummy in a good condition. I am glad you liked my letter.

Mahadev should return on 24th.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

Herewith draft reply to the Jewish appeal.

From the original: C.W. 3900. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7056

273. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 22, 1938

CHI. MANI,

Mridula and you make a good pair. I got both your letters. Take complete rest. I am very glad that you spin. Write about food, etc., if you are permitted to do so. How does Mridula spend her time?

Mahadev has gone for four days to see the goshala near Calcutta. He is expected to return on the 24th. I am keeping excellent health. Ba has not yet got the permission to go there. She is going to Dehra Dun for the Kanya Gurukul. I am leaving for Bardoli on the 1st of January.

Blessings to you and Mridula from
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL
STATE JAIL
RAJKOT—KATHIAWAR

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 123

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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274. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

December 22, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

I gave much thought to your letter. You did make a mistake, but who doesn't? Your simplicity of nature consists in that you readily admit your mistake. The service of the cow and the good of all of us, including you, now lies in sticking to the decision that has been taken. If your anger really subsides everything will turn out well in the end. You and Parnerkar will have been tested. Give whatever help Parnerkar asks for. Find out what else can be done and tell me. You have to be in good cheer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1913

275. SPEECH AT SCOUTS RALLY[1]

SEGAON,
[*December 22, 1938*][2]

I congratulate you on the demonstration of the drill that you have given. It is a necessary part of your training. But while you have made a fine beginning, you have still much ground to traverse.

The object of mass drill is to enable large bodies of people to perform any movement rhythmically and swiftly and with absolute precision. What a saving in national time and energy it would mean if we could do that in our public meetings and functions! There is a silent music in disciplined movement of masses of men and women. Just now I asked you to move a little towards me so that my low voice may reach you. Had you advanced far enough in your drill, you would have been able to

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". The rally was held at the end of a 21 days' training course in scoutcraft conducted at Wardha for pupil teachers under the Wardha Scheme of Education.

[2] The date is from *The Hindu*, 23-12-1938.

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perform that movement with ease without any noise or confusion. There is a rhythm and music in drill that makes action effortless and eliminates fatigue. If the whole nation of 300 millions could be drilled so as to move together and act together and if necessary to die together as one man, we should attain independence without striking a blow and set an example of a peaceful revolution for the whole world to emulate.

I was particularly glad to note that the Khoja Boarding House at Wardha had sent its quota of scouts to participate in your rally. This is as it should be. Boy scouts' training has been incorporated in the Wardha Scheme of Education. It would be nothing worth if it did not serve to remove all mutual distrust and suspicion and foster among the various sections and communities a perfect spirit of camaraderie which is an integral part of that scheme, although it is not set down in so many words in the Zakir Husain Committee's report. The Wardha Scheme of Education does not aim merely at imparting literary training to the students; its object is to give an education for life that would answer the need of our millions. It is calculated to be a living and life-giving experiment. Teachers, who have in their turn to become torch-bearers of this education, have need, therefore, of a broader and wider training. And scoutcraft is an important and useful part of that training.

I know something of the work of the old Seva Samiti founded by Revered Malaviyaji. I know also Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru's work on it; and I have come in contact with Shri Bajpai, the organizer of the Samiti. If, therefore, I offer a few remarks by way of suggestions, they must be taken as those of a friend. As I watched the flag salutation ceremony, there seemed to be an air of unreality about it. Your song is composed in highflown language. You have in that song expressed your readiness to lay down your lives for that flag which you have envisioned as one day floating over the whole world. Could you seriously mean it, I asked myself, as you sang that song. I venture to suggest that such sentiments as are expressed in that song may not be associated with any other than the national flag—if they are not to remain a mere pious wish calculated to begin and end with the singing of that song. People cannot die for many flags. If you must have a separate flag and a hoisting ceremony, your song should be pitched in a lower key. Then, again, I see you have your inscription on the flag in English. That seems to me an anomaly. You should have on your

flag Hindustani inscription. Scouting must aim not merely at the training of the body but that of the brain and heart too. It would be a poor performance if it confines itself to mere externals and ignores the internal.

A word to the pupil teachers who are assembled here. As the first batch, on them rests a heavy responsibility. It is not merely they but the scheme of education which they are out to work that is going to be put on its trial. It therefore behoves them to be punctilious and exact in every little thing that they say or do. They must weigh every word that they utter and take care never to utter a word in vain. It is a new and untried experiment that they are going to launch upon, i.e., to give the whole education through a craft. Success will be the reward of unremitting exercise of intelligence in all their acts. Nothing will be more detrimental to it than insincerity in speech, thought or action.

Harijan, 31-12-1938

276. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 23, 1938

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I find that Residents in certain States are discouraging Ruling Chiefs from having any dealings with Congressmen such as Sardar Patel. I have unimpeachable evidence in two cases. Of these I am free to mention one. That is in connection with Rajkot. I do not wish to tax you with details. I hope it is not the intention at the headquarters to discourage ruling Chiefs from cultivating friendly relations with Congressmen. The States people have always looked to the Congress for guidance and advice. With increasing awakening among the States people, there should be no wonder if Chiefs seek Congress advice and assistance in settling their differences with their people. Discouragement by Residents amounts to orders to them. Recent declarations in London seem to show that there is no intention, on the part of the superior authority, to interfere with the Chiefs in such matters. If my impression is correct and if on enquiry you find that the statement I have made about Rajkot is borne out, may I expect that you will instruct Residents in general not to interfere with the Ruling Chiefs who may choose

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to seek the assistance of Congressmen in solving the difficulties that face them?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Lord Linlithgow Papers: Microfilm No. 107. Courtesy: National Archives of India

277. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

December 23, 1938

MY DEAR KU,

I am glad you went to Bombay. It would have been a mistake if no one had gone. No doubt you were the best man for our purpose. I would like you to tell me more about your doings on 30th if possible. But you may anticipate the date if you think it necessary.

I would like Sir P. to come to Bardoli on the earliest day after 3rd January.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10147

278. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 23, 1938

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

As you know I have always aimed at a redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. The cue was taken from the Andhra movement. I should therefore be more than glad if Andhra could have its status as a Province recognized even now.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile in *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 352 and 353

[1] At this time the addressee was in Segaon to persuade Gandhiji to prevail upon Rajaji not to make Hindi compulsory in Madras schools. *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", p. 239.

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279. LETTER TO INDU N. PAREKH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 23, 1938

CHI. INDU,

I got your letter. I had got the previous one also. In both you are carried away by your emotions. Be patient and search for a job there or come to me in Bardoli. We will think it over. Why do you lose heart? I will leave for Bardoli on January 1.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6256

280. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

SEGAON,
December 23, 1938

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

I have gone through your letter carefully. It is good. But I notice that you cannot bear to be separated from the cows. You should take it that the separation is in the interest of greater service to the cow. I shall gain some experience and so will you. You have doubts as to the propriety of what is being done. It is not right. For if you have doubts it denotes a lack of knowledge behind your renunciation. From what you told me yesterday I thought your heart was cleansed and you had realized that what was being done was all to the good. I never attributed to you any baseness of spirit. I did mention your pride and that too by way of praise. I even said that in your devotion to the cow you have no equal, not even Parnerkar, and the same applied to your capacity for hard labour. Your experience too is considerable, for you have been familiar with agriculture and cattle-keeping from childhood. But I also said that notwithstanding all this your knowledge was not systematic or scientific and consequently you would not be able to make further progress in animal husbandry and that your anger would consume you as well as the cow. At the same time I asked Parnerkar to

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examine his heart and to take possession of the dairy only if he was confident of himself. He has been given charge only under this stipulation and these conditions. I have had a talk with Nayakumji. He will discuss the matter with you. Do not commit yourself definitely to any work for the present. Have a little rest; give some quiet thought to what has been and is being done; read and ponder a little and do whatever Ashram tasks naturally come your way. Consult Chimanlal and take up any job for which he is hard-pressed. There can never be any want of work in our institution for a worker like you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1914

281. LETTER TO SARASWATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 23, 1938

CHI. SURU,

I have your letter. I do not remember about your earlier letters but I have replied to them all. I talked at length with Uncle[1] and strongly requested him to send you to me. If you continue your request he might send you. Keep writing to me. Uncle knows everything. You should speak to him fearlessly.

Ba has gone to Dehra Dun today to attend the Kanya Gurukul function. We all leave for Bardoli on January 1, to spend a month there. I hope that you will be reaching there.

I am keeping well, Kanti keeps on writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6174. Also C.W. 3448. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] G. Ramachandran

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282. NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY WAY

I share with the reader the following letter[1] from Mr. Gregg, the author of several books on khadi and non-violence. He is an industrious and accurate student of world events. The reader may know that Mr. Gregg was in India long enough to study things in India.

Harijan, 24-12-1938

283. WANTED A GUIDE BOOK

Shri Mridulabehn has sent me a letter which freely translated means:

> A beginning has been made in forming girl volunteer brigades. Naturally they require lessons in drilling, salutation to the flag, national songs, etc. If there was a book of instructions covering these important matters, we should have uniformity of practice throughout India. At present there is anarchy. Every gymnasium teaches what it likes, uses or coins its own technical words, and in many cases orders are given in English. Imagine village girls being given orders in English which they do not understand. This is essentially for the central office to handle, and that too with the quickest despatch. If the book suggested by me is published immediately, it will be useful for the instruction of the corps that are being formed in view of the coming Congress session in Mahakoshal.

I commend this letter to the central office. It ought not to be difficult to bring out the required book inside a week. The material is there in a scattered form. Dr. Hardikar has, I

[1] Not reproduced here. Richard B. Gregg, after describing the horrors resulting from "modern methods and weapons of war", had argued that it was "not bravery but utter folly" to pretend to fight that kind of thing. He had also forwarded a copy of Russell's *Which Way to Peace?* to reinforce the argument that war could not end war and that complete pacifism was the only practical possibility.

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think, published some literature on the subject. Pandit Malaviyaji's organization must have also issued some instruction book. I know that Prof. Manikrao of Baroda has taken great pains to produce simple technical terms in Hindustani answering most of the requirements. It ought to be a simple matter to bring out an authoritative book out of this material.

In this connection I would remind the Mahakoshal Reception Committee of the suggestion I had made at Haripura that there should be a guide book for Congressmen and visitors in simple Hindustani, written in Devanagari and Urdu scripts, about sanitation, etc. Generally the visitors are left to their own resources. They do not even know where to find the places they want to go to or the things they need. A guide book with a map of the Congress Nagar for the help of those thousands of people who attend the Congress session from year to year is a necessity.

SEGAON, December 24, 1938

Harijan, 31-12-1938

284. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 24, 1938

MY DEAR C. R.,

Sir Radhakrishnan was here yesterday. He said that anti-Hindi agitation was on the increase. He had suggested to you that you should accept a conscience clause, exempting those children from learning Hindi whose parents stated in writing that they had a conscientious objection to their children learning Hindi. I suppose you remember that such a suggestion was made in *Harijan* in the initial stages of the agitation. I think that it is not too late to give effect to it. It should not matter to you even though the concession may be interpreted as concession to unreasonable agitation. You will do what appears to you to be best.

What about separation of Andhra as a separate province? You had made some statement that you were moving in the matter. Are you? How are you keeping otherwise?

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2072

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285. INTERVIEW TO H. V. HODSON[1]

[Before *December 25, 1938*][2]

Mr. Hodson expressed the opinion that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim question was made difficult by the fact that, owing to its very nature, the Congress tended to take on the nature of a "totalitarian party" and acted as if it were the one and the only party in the country that mattered, instead of regarding itself simply as one of the principal parties.

GANDHIJI: It is a very wrong view to take of the Congress. The Congress does claim to be the one and the only party that can deliver the goods. It is a perfectly valid claim to make. One day or the other some party has to assert itself to that extent. That does not make it a totalitarian party. It is the ambition of the Congress to become all-representative of the entire nation, not merely of any particular section. And it is a worthy ambition in keeping with its best tradition. If you have studied Congress history, you will find that since its very inception the Congress has sought to serve and represent all sections in the country equally without any distinction or discrimination. Thus it used to have Rajas and Maharajas on the Reception Committee, and has defended the cause of the States against the Paramount Power as in the case of Kashmir and Mysore. It would love to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League would care to absorb it, or to absorb the Muslim League in its turn, so far as the political programme is concerned. For religious and social activity, of course, every community can have its separate organization.

HODSON: But if the Congress has the ambition of absorbing other political organizations, it cannot help being a totalitarian party.

GANDHIJI: You may try to damn it by calling it totalitarian. Absorption is inevitable when a country is engaged in a struggle to wrest power from foreign hands; it cannot afford to have separate, rival political organizations. The entire strength of the country must be used for ousting the third and usurping party. That is what is happening in India today. Where there

[1] &[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter" dated December 25. H. V. Hodson was the editor of *Round Table*.

is no common danger to oppose, there must be separate parties representing different schools of thought. You should bear in mind that the Congress does not impose its will on others. Its sanctions are non-violent.

HODSON: Would not the march to full responsible government be more rapid if the Muslims were taken along?

GANDHIJI: Of course it would be. Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose. But I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect. I claim to be able to look at the whole position with a detached mind. There is no substance in our quarrels. Points of difference are superficial, those of contact are deep and permanent. Political and economic subjection is common to us. The same climate, the same rivers, the same fields supply both with air, water and food. Whatever, therefore, leaders, Mahatmas and Maulanas may say or do, the masses, when they are fully awakened, will assert themselves and combine for the sake of combating common evils.

The effect of the Socialist and Communist propaganda too is to bring the masses of both the communities together by emphasizing identity of interests. I have my differences with them, but I cannot withhold my admiration for their endeavour to demolish the superstition that keeps the different communities apart.

Harijan, 31-12-1938

286. MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT, TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS

[On or before *December 25, 1938*][1]

On receipt of a telegram from the President of the Travancore State Congress, Gandhiji said he was delighted that personal allegations against the Dewan were withdrawn. He added that civil disobedience should also be suspended in order to examine the whole position afresh. He hopes that in view the of withdrawal of the allegations prosecutions will be withdrawn by the State and prisoners will be set free.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-12-1938

[1] The report carrying the message is dated December 25, 1938.

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287. MANIBEHN AND THE SPINNING-WHEEL

Manibehn is a *mani*[1]. I know of only one Mani in India who has sacrificed her all in order to serve her father and who has readily accepted spinsterhood for his sake. She left for Rajkot at one single word from her father and the strength that she had derived from her incomparable devotion is amazing. She is now in prison.[2] She keeps writing letters to me. Some of them deserve to be published. But, nowadays, I just cannot write for *Harijanbandhu*. I find no time for it. But I cannot help quoting the last sentence of her latest letter from jail. It is in praise of the spinning-wheel. It runs as follows:

> It is after a long time that I have found such leisure to work on the spinning-wheel. And when I can spin so peacefully, I do not need anything else. I find incomparable joy in this. I feel that I should spin enough to make up for the many days when I could not spin.

We do not come across many persons who combine so well in themselves love of the spinning-wheel, sacrifice, devotion to one's father and courage of the highest order. But, when I do come across one, my heart dances with joy.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 25-12-1938

288. DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS[3]

[Before *December 26, 1938*][4]

The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress after great deliberation has decided upon a temporary suspension of satyagraha, which was launched recently and which has already resulted in the imprisonment of more than 400 satyagrahis. Sentences range from one month to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

[1] Gem

[2] Manibehn Patel was arrested on December 5, 1938, for participating in the Rajkot satyagraha.

[3] Except for the first two paragraphs the draft is in Gandhiji's hand.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Akbar Hydari", p. 248.

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The public would like to know the reasons that have prompted this decision.

The State Congress has come in for a great deal of misrepresentation. It has been called a communal body. Its activities have been mixed up with those of the Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. Unfortunately the movements of the A. S.[1] and the Hindu M. S.[2] synchronized with the civil disobedience of the State Congress. The decisive cause has been the advice given by Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders that in order to make our position absolutely clear it was essential that we should suspend C. D. They say suspension would give the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam an opportunity to review the situation. We could not disregard the advice of the leaders whose sympathy and support are always a valuable asset in the conduct of the struggle for swaraj within the State.

We suspend C. D. in the hope that it will not need to be revived. But whether it will have to be revived, and if so when, will depend wholly upon the attitude of the State authorities. It is not without a wrench that we are suspending the struggle when more than 400 of our comrades are undergoing imprisonment ranging from $4\frac{1}{2}$ years to two months [*sic*]. We have more than 2,000 persons on our list as volunteers for C. D. The list is daily increasing. Every fresh arrest brings an addition to the list. We have had embarrassing offers of volunteers from outside the State. We have been obliged to decline the offers as we realize that the movement in order to remain strictly non-violent must depend upon internal strength and support.

But we have no desire to use our strength and undergo suffering, if we can achieve our end through negotiation and entreaty. We hope therefore that the Government of H. E. H. will recognize the wholly peaceful and loyal motive underlying the suspension. We hope that they will release the C. D. prisoners and lift the ban on the S. C. and its activities and pave the way to the inauguration of a scheme of responsible government consistently with reasonable safeguards for the rights of minorities.

Here we would draw the attention of the members of the State Congress that there are two arms to a non-violent swaraj movement, the remedial and constructive. C. D. is remedial and therefore in its nature temporary. The other is constructive

[1] Arya Samaj
[2] Hindu Maha Sabha

and permanent. We hope that the people will never lose sight of the permanent arm. Indeed our fitness for C. D. increases in the same measure as the intensity of the constructive programme. The constructive activities include hand-spinning, hand-weaving and like productive pursuits, activities promoting heart unity between the different communities composing the subjects of H. E. H. the Nizam, removal of untouchability, total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and kindred reforms. For a non-violent movement for gaining freedom must necessarily be a process of purification and social and economic reform. No one should run away with the idea that suspension of C. D. is suspension of movement for responsible government. Indeed its constructive nature should be doubly strengthened because suspension of C. D. frees the mind for constructive work.

In conclusion we wish to thank all those friends who have helped us by their advice and even material assistance.

From a copy: C.W. 101529

289. STUDENTS' SHAME

There is a most pathetic letter from a college girl in the Punjab lying on my file for nearly two months. Want of time was but an excuse for shirking the answer to the girl's question. Somehow or other I was avoiding the task, though I knew the answer. Meanwhile I received another letter from a sister of great experience, and I felt that I could no longer evade the duty of dealing with the college girl's very real difficulty. Her letter is written in chaste Hindustani. I must try to do as much justice as I can to the letter, which gives me a perfect picture of her deep feeling. Here is my rendering of a portion of the letter:

> To girls and grown-up women there come times, in spite of their wish to the contrary, when they have to venture out alone, whether they are going from one place to another in the same city or from one town to another. And when they are thus found alone, evil-minded people pester them. They use improper or even indecent language whilst they are passing by. And if fear does not check them, they do not hesitate to take further liberty. I should like to know what part non-violence can play on such occasions. The use of violence is of course there. If the girl or the

woman has sufficient courage, she will use what resources she has and teach miscreants a lesson. They can at least kick up a row that would draw the attention of the people around, resulting in the miscreants being horse-whipped. But I know that the result of such treatment would be merely to postpone the agony, not a permanent cure. Where you know the people who misbehave, I feel sure that they will listen to reason, to the gesture of love and humility. But what about a fellow cycling by, using foul language on seeing a girl or a woman unaccompanied by a male companion? You have no opportunity of reasoning with him. There is no likelihood of your meeting him again. You may not even recognize him. You do not know his address. What is a poor girl or a woman to do in such cases? By way of example I want to give you my own experience of last night (26th October). I was going with a girl companion of mine on a very special errand at about 7.30 p. m. It was impossible to secure a male companion at the time and the errand could not be put off. On the way a Sikh young man passed by on his cycle and continued to murmur something till we were within hearing distance. We knew that it was aimed at us. We felt hurt and uneasy. There was no crowd on the road. Before we had gone a few paces the cyclist returned. We recognized him at once whilst he was still at a respectful distance. He wheeled towards us, heaven knows whether he had intended to get down or merely pass by us. We felt that we were in danger. We had no faith in our physical prowess. I myself am weaker than the average girl. But in my hands I had a big book. Somehow or other courage came to me all of a sudden. I hurled the heavy book at the cycle and roared out, "Dare you repeat your pranks?" He could with difficulty keep his balance, put on speed and fled from us. Now, if I had not flung the book at his cycle, he might have harassed us by his filthy language to the end of our journey. This was an ordinary, perhaps insignificant, occurrence; but I wish you could come to Lahore and listen to the difficulties of us unfortunate girls. You would surely discover a proper solution. First of all, tell me how, in the circumstances mentioned above, can girls apply the principle of ahimsa and save themselves. Secondly, what is the remedy for curing youth of the abominable habit of insulting womenfolk? You would not suggest that we should wait and

suffer till a new generation, taught from childhood to be polite to their womenfolk, comes into being. The Government is either unwilling or unable to deal with this social evil. The big leaders have no time for such questions. Some, when they hear of a girl bravely castigating ill-behaved youth, say, 'Well done. That is the way all girls should behave.' Sometimes a leader is found eloquently lecturing against such misbehaviour of students. But no one applies himself continuously to the solution of this serious problem. You will be painfully surprised to know that during Diwali and such other holidays newspapers come out with notices warning women from venturing outdoors even to see the illuminations. This one fact should enable you to know to what straits we are reduced in this part of the world! Neither the writers nor the readers of such warnings have any sense of shame that they should have to be issued.

Another Punjabi girl to whom I gave the letter to read supports the narrative from her own experiences of her college days and tells me that what my correspondent has related is the common experience of most girls.

The other letter from an experienced woman relates the experiences of her girl friends in Lucknow. They are molested in cinema theatres by boys sitting in the row behind them using all kinds of language which I can only call indecent. They are stated to resort even to practical jokes which have been described by my correspondent but which I must not reproduce here.

If the immediate personal relief was all that was needed, no doubt the remedy that the girl who describes herself to be physically weak adopted, i. e., of flinging her book at the cyclist, was quite correct. It is an age-long remedy. And I have said in these columns that when a person wants to become violent, physical weakness does not come in the way of its effective use, even against a physically powerful opponent. And we know that in the present age there have been invented so many methods of using physical force that even a little girl with sufficient intelligence can deal death and destruction. The fashion nowadays is growing of training girls to defend themselves in situations such as the one described by my correspondent. But she is wise enough to know that even though she was able to make effective use for the moment of the book she had in her hand as a weapon of defence, it was no remedy for the growing evil. In the cases of rude remarks, there need be no perturbation but there should be no indifference. All such cases should be published in

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the papers. Names of the offenders should be published when they are traced. There should be no false modesty about exposing the evil. There is nothing like public opinion for castigating public misconduct. There is no doubt that, as the correspondent says, there is great public apathy about such matters. But it is not the public alone that are to blame. They must have before them examples of rudeness. Even as stealing cannot be dealt with unless cases of thieving are published and followed up, so also is it impossible to deal with cases of rude behaviour if they are suppressed. Crime and vice generally require darkness for prowling. They disappear when light plays upon them.

But I have a fear that the modern girl loves to be Juliet to half a dozen Romeos. She loves adventure. My correspondent seems to represent the unusual type. The modern girl dresses not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun but to attract attention. She improves upon nature by painting herself and looking extraordinary. The non-violent way is not for such girls. I have often remarked in these columns that definite rules govern the development of the non-violent spirit in us. It is a strenuous effort. It marks a revolution in the way of thinking and living. If my correspondent and the girls of her way of thinking will revolutionize their life in the prescribed manner, they will soon find that young men, who at all come in contact with them, will learn to respect them and to put on their best behaviour in their presence. But if perchance they find, as they may, that their very chastity is in danger of being violated, they must develop courage enough to die rather than yield to the brute in man. It has been suggested that a girl who is gagged or bound so as to make her powerless even for struggling cannot die as easily as I seem to think. I venture to assert that a girl who has the will to resist can burst all the bonds that may have been used to render her powerless. The resolute will gives her the strength to die.

But this heroism is possible only for those who have trained themselves for it. Those who have not a living faith in non-violence will learn the art of ordinary self-defence and protect themselves from indecent behaviour of unchivalrous youth.

The great question, however, is why should young men be devoid of elementary good manners so as to make decent girls be in perpetual fear of molestation from them? I should be sorry to discover that the majority of young men have lost all sense of chivalry. But they should, as a class, be jealous of their reputation

and deal with every case of impropriety occurring among their mates. They must learn to hold the honour of every woman as dear as that of their own sisters and mothers. All the education they receive will be in vain if they do not learn good manners.

And is it not as much the concern of professors and schoolmasters to ensure gentlemanliness among their pupils as to prepare them for the subjects?

SEGAON, December 26, 1938

Harijan, 31-12-1938

290. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI[1]

SEGAON,
December 26, 1938

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

I have purposely refrained from troubling you over the Hyderabad affairs. But as I have played an important part in shaping the decision of the H. S. Congress, I feel I should write to you. I do hope that you will appreciate the wisdom of the suspension[2] and return a generous response to their action.

I hope you are fully restored.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6841

291. NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

December 26, 1938

We shall talk for some time tomorrow, or, if you can stay on for a day or two, do so. I think the remedy for your disease is quite simple. There is no need to get alarmed. You are certainly not fated to be destroyed. But I do admit your blemishes, for I have gone through all such experiences. At the moment I

[1] Dewan of Hyderabad

[2] Of civil disobedience. *Vide* "Draft of Statement for Hyderabad State Congress", pp. 242-4.

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will say only this, that you should go only after solving the problem.

I will write this very evening.[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2997

292. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

Unrevised

SEGAON,
December 26, 1938

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Recently there was a thought for the day in English. It means: Man should not think about his shortcomings but should think about his virtues, for man becomes as he thinks. This does not mean that one should not see one's faults. One must see them, but one should not brood over them and lose one's balance of mind. We find the same advice in our Shastras. You should, therefore, have confidence in yourself and be sure in your mind that you will be an instrument of good. You have already been so.

You should overcome excessive greed. You should give up private business even if it is intended to help you in public service. If you cannot do that, you must lay down strict limits. You should try to retire from politics. If you think that you must remain in it, and if you can do so on your own terms, you should devote yourself exclusively to the advancement of the C. P. But your real field is altruistic business. Hence you should again use all your ability for the Charkha Sangh. That activity can make full use of your intellect, your moral qualities and your business acumen. In politics lots of dirty things go on. You are not likely to get much satisfaction from it. If the Charkha Sangh succeeds fully in its object, we shall easily get *purna* swaraj. If you take up that work, you can also do some work for village industry, eradication of untouchability, etc. But that depends on your inclination. I have said this only to dissuade you from excessive greed and to suggest to you work which would give you heart-felt satisfaction.

The other thing is impure thoughts. This is a rather difficult problem. If I understand you rightly, I feel that you should stop the practice of being nursed by women. All cannot

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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digest it. In our circle, it can be said that I am practically the only one who follows such a practice. The measure of my success or failure will be judged after my death. For me the thing is still an experiment. I cannot confidently claim that I have succeeded. I yearn to reach the condition of Shukadevji[1]. I am miles away from such a condition. If you have confidence in yourself I have nothing to say. But if you don't have it, and if I understand you rightly, you should examine yourself deeply and make the necessary change. I am not suggesting here stopping of women's service.

If none of these things find an echo in your heart, you need not do them. Continue to consult me on the matter. There is no cause at all for despair. You are not a fallen person, you are a votary of truth. There is no possibility of a fall for such a person.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2998

293. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[*December 27, 1938*][2]

CHI. MIRA,

Your daily post is an eagerly awaited event for me. My heart and spirit are with you. The spirit is hovering round you. You must not accept defeat. You should learn the art of saying everything to K. S.[3] in the gentlest manner possible. You must keep your health and keep it there. There means the Frontier Province. I am prepared to risk your death there rather than that you should return to Segaon to live. You will be all right in Peshawar. You may pass the week-end in Peshawar, if you cannot keep well in Utmanzai. You should have the three things. You must be able to go out, you must have a boy or a girl exclusively to yourself. Tell K. S. you do not expect him to spend money after you. I hope to send you some tomorrow.

[1] Son of Vyasa, regarded as the supreme example of one who has risen above body-consciousness.

[2] As given in *Bapu's Letters to Mira*. The source, however, has no date.

[3] Khan Saheb

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I told Agatha to ask Jardine to invite you. Of course you could go to Hindu homes. But I do not want you to do that just yet, unless K. S. himself suggests.

Anyway see if my suggestion commends itself to you that you are going to do or die there. Of course I shall be there in March. It may not be before the middle because the Congress does not meet before 10th March.

Mahadev returned yesterday. He broke down the last day of his stay in Calcutta. He is looking quite well but has something wrong in his head. He needs rest and proper dieting. He overdid it in Gosaba.

I have a crowd of visitors. But I am keeping my times fairly well. I do not need the silence as completely as I used to have. You should not worry about me. I am really keeping quite well, even becoming steadily better.

Here is Holmes's[1] letter. There is a letter from Lothian which I shall deal with in *Harijan*.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6421. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10016

294. INTERVIEW TO AMERICAN TEACHERS[3]

[Before *December 29, 1938*][4]

TEACHER: How would you, an old and experienced leader, advise young men to throw away their lives in the service of humanity?

GANDHIJI: The question is not rightly put. You don't throw away your lives when you take up the weapon of satyagraha. But you prepare yourself to face without retaliation the gravest danger and provocation. It gives you a chance to surrender your life for the cause when the time comes. To be able to do so non-violently requires previous training. If you are a believer in the orthodox method, you go and train yourselves as soldiers. It is the same with non-violence. You have to alter your whole mode of life and work for it in peace time just as much as in the time of war. It is no doubt a difficult job. You have to put your whole soul into it; and if you are sincere, your example will affect the lives of other people around you. America is today

[1] John Haynes Holmes

[2] *Vide* "Working of Non-violence", 6-2-1939.

[3] &[4] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter" dated December 29

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exploiting the so-called weaker nations of the world along with other powers. It has become the richest country in the world, not a thing to be proud of when we come to think of the means by which she has become rich. Again, to protect these riches you need the assistance of violence. You must be prepared to give up these riches. Therefore, if you really mean to give up violence, you will say, "We shall have nothing to do with the spoils of violence, and if as a result America ceases to be rich, we do not mind." You will then be qualified to offer a spotless sacrifice. That is the meaning of preparation. The occasion for making the extreme sacrifice may not come if you as a nation have fully learnt to live for peace. It is much more difficult to live for non-violence than to die for it.

The friends wanted to know if non-violence as enunciated by Gandhiji had a positive quality.

If I had used the word 'love', which non-violence is in essence, you would not have asked this question. But perhaps 'love' does not express my meaning fully. The nearest word is 'charity'. We love our friends and our equals. But the reaction that a ruthless dictator sets up in us is either that of awe or pity according respectively as we react to him violently or non-violently. Non-violence knows no fear. If I am truly non-violent, I would pity the dictator and say to myself, 'He does not know what a human being should be. One day he will know better when he is confronted by a people who do not stand in awe of him, who will neither submit nor cringe to him, nor bear any grudge against him for whatever he may do.' Germans are today doing what they are doing because all the other nations stand in awe of them. None of them can go to Hitler with clean hands.

T. What is the place of Christian missions in the new India that is being built up today? What can they do to help in this great task?

G. To show appreciation of what India is and is doing. Up till now they have come as teachers and preachers with queer notions about India and India's great religions. We have been described as a nation of superstitious heathens, knowing nothing, denying God. We are a brood of Satan as Murdoch would say. Did not Bishop Heber in his well-known hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" describe India as a country where "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile"? To me this is a negation of the spirit of Christ. My personal view, therefore, is that if you feel that India has a message to give to

the world, that India's religions too are true, though like all religions imperfect for having percolated through imperfect human agency, and you come as fellow-helpers and fellow-seekers, there is a place for you here. But if you come as preachers of the 'true Gospel' to a people who are wandering in darkness, so far as I am concerned you can have no place. You may impose yourselves upon us.

T. What is India's real message to the world?

G. Non-violence. India is saturated with that spirit. It has not demonstrated it to the extent that you can go to America as living witnesses of that spirit. But you can truthfully say that India is making a desperate effort to live up to that great ideal. If there is not this message, there is no other message that India can give. Say what you may, the fact stands out that here you have a whole subcontinent that has decided for itself that there is no freedom for it except through non-violence. No other country has made that attempt even. I have not been able to influence other people even to the extent of believing that non-violence is worth trying. There is of course a growing body of European opinion that has begun to appreciate the possibilities of the weapon of non-violence. But I want the sympathy of the whole world for India if she can get it while she is making this unique experiment. You can, however, be witnesses to that attempt only if you really feel that we are making an honest effort to come up to the ideal of non-violence and that all we are doing is not fraud. If your conviction is enlightened and deep enough, it will set up a ferment working in the minds of your people.

T. This is an admirable charge.

G. Take that charge with you then.

Harijan, 7-1-1939

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295. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
[*December 29, 1938*][1]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have your love notes. I am going through terrible rush. But I am keeping quite fit. I do not read Sharda's letters. What was there disturbing?

Do you say I sent you no message for Nagpur? It was wrung from me. And only you could have performed the trick. But having landed me in it, there was no getting out when the summons came from Tai. I can only call that your making.[2]

Your health causes me anxiety. The sooner you come to me the better.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3901. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7057

296. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 29, 1938

CHI. MIRA,

It is strange you have not yet heard from Jardine. Did I ask you to tell K. S. that if he was invited to see the Governor he should not say 'no' ? You are also likely to be invited. I am glad you are having the pupils fairly regularly now.[3] It is a great thing that is being done.

Mildred has come in today, two days in advance of the Muriel party.

No winter here now. There has been hardly any cold this winter. Rs. 25 herewith.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6422. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10017

[1] The date is in the addressee's handwriting.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 231.
[3] She was teaching carding and spinning to the Khudai Khidmatgars.

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297. LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 29, 1938

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have sent the money to Shankar. If you have not written to Anantbhai, write a nice letter of thanks. Send a copy of it to me.

Herewith is a letter from H.[1] Think over it. If there is any possibility of your both being innocent, give the benefit of it to H. If there is none, you may give whatever reply you wish to. Send the letter to me. Keep a copy of it.

You promised to write to me but have not kept the promise. If you had kept it, you would have written to me as soon as you arrived there.[2] I naturally desire to know how things are going there. And you alone can give me news about Ba. She herself is a cripple, so to say. So long as she is there, you can write on her behalf.

It is never too late to mend. Fulfil your promise even now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 945. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

298. SPEECH AT OPENING OF MAGAN SANGRAHALAYA AND UDYOG BHAVAN[3]

WARDHA,
December 30, 1938

Maganlal Gandhi was one of those few spirits who chose to face a precarious future by casting their lot with me in South Africa when I decided to give up my legal practice in order to

[1] The name has been omitted.

[2] The addressee on her return from America had gone to Dehra Dun Kanya Gurukul to teach English to the girls and study Hindi herself. D. B. Kalelkar and Kasturba had accompanied her.

[3] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A Dream Fulfilled". The function was attended by a large gathering which included over thirty economists who had come to take part in the Economic Conference being held at Nagpur. Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani.

embrace the ideal of voluntary poverty and service. He became a foundation member of the Phœnix Settlement, and took charge of the printing press when *Indian Opinion* was shifted there from Durban. Although he had gone there primarily with the intention of earning money, he sacrificed his ambition and decided to sink or swim with me and he never turned back.

He was, in my opinion, a genius. He had a versatile mind. His life was well ordered and disciplined. This enabled him to pick up anything new with ease and facility. Although not a mechanician by training, he soon made himself master of the printing machinery that was set up at Phœnix. On returning to India he made the service of the masses the passion of his life. He laid the foundation of the science of khadi by writing his *Vanat Shastra*. This book still holds its place as a classic although the science of khadi has made great progress since Maganlal's death. Although he had not specialized in all the various crafts that are at present being tackled by the A. I. V. I. A., his khadi activity, by providing the nucleus round which the village industries movement has since grown up, became its precursor.

A word about the buildings. Although, as Shri Kumarappa has observed, they follow the rural style, they are still far above the rural standards of living as they obtain in our country today. They stand there as a futurist symbol of what artisans' dwellings should be and would be in the rural India of the A. I. V. I. A.'s dreams. This much assurance, however, I can give you in this connection, that no pains have been spared to enforce the stingiest economy and simplicity commensurate with the purpose that they are intended to serve. The worst that can be said about the organizers of the Association is that they did not know their job as well as they might have. The Association is always ready to admit mistakes and to regard them as stepping-stones to knowledge. The one thing that it dreads is ignorance that masquerades as perfection.

So much for the externals. Proceeding to the exhibits inside the Museum, a critic may object, 'How can reversion to these primitive appliances and methods of production lead to swaraj? These village crafts have been with us always. Can they win the race against the industrial competition of the West and achieve anything like what the Western countries with their latest inventions of science and engineering skill have been able to achieve?' My reply is that although village crafts have been with us always, our forefathers were not aware of the tremendous possibilities that lie hidden in them and, they were never plied by

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awakened masses as a means for attaining freedom. I admit that in terms of orthodox and stereotyped standards of economics, as that science is understood and taught in our colleges today, and in a society governed by these standards, village industries including spinning have perhaps no chance, and to revive them might appear like reversion to Middle Ages. But I would like you to enter the Udyog Bhavan with a fresh and unsophisticated mind that has shed its prejudices. Envisage this spinning-wheel as a spinning mill in miniature, that enables a person to earn two annas daily in his home in this land of chronic and nationwide unemployment and starvation when otherwise he would not be earning two pice even. Picture this mill planted in lakhs of homes, as it is capable of being planted, and I see nothing in the world which can compete with it.

And yet two annas a day by no means exhausts its income-yielding capacity. If only I get the co-operation of our intelligentsia, I hope, before I close my eyes, to see it bring a wage of eight annas a day to the spinner. Show me another industry or industrial corporation in the world that has in the course of eighteen years of its activities put four crores of rupees into the pockets of lakhs of the neediest and most deserving of men and women, with the same capital expenditure that the A. I. S. A. has done. And this money has been evenly distributed among Hindus and Mussalmans, caste and the outcaste, without any distinction, uniting them in a common economic bond. Imagine what this would mean in terms of swaraj if many helped to cover the entire seven lakhs of our villages with this life-giving and unifying activity. You need not be highly specialized engineers or technicians to take part in this work of industrial revolution. Even a layman, a woman or a child can join in it.

I would like you to regard the Magan Museum and the Udyog Bhavan not as the 'old curiosity shop' but as a living book for self-education and study.

Harijan, 14-1-1939

299. *DISCUSSION WITH ECONOMISTS*[1]

WARDHA,
December 30, 1938

I want you to criticize what you have seen, and tell me the defects you may have discovered. Praise won't help me. I know where I deserve praise. Do not tell me *ex cathedra* that the whole thing is doomed to failure, as some economists have done before. Such condemnation would not impress me. But if after a close and sympathetic study you discover flaws and point them out to me, I shall feel thankful.

Q. Are you against large-scale production?

A. I never said that. This belief is one of the many superstitions about me. Half of my time goes in answering such things. But from scientists I expect better knowledge. Your question is based on loose newspaper reports and the like. What I am against is large-scale production of things villagers can produce without difficulty.

Q. What do you think of the Planning Commission ?

A. I cannot say anything. I have not studied it. It was not discussed in my presence in the Working Committee. Because I still continue to tender advice to the Working Committee whenever my advice is sought, it does not mean that everything that emerges from the Working Committee bears my *imprimatur* or is even discussed with me. I have purposely divested myself of responsibility, so far as the general body of decisions are concerned.

Q. It has your blessings ?

A. What can be the use of my blessings in a thing I do not know, or in which I am not interested.

Q. Do you think that cottage industries and big industries can be harmonized ?

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". The economists, some thirty in number, had been attending the Economic Conference at Nagpur and had gone to Wardha to meet Gandhiji and to attend the opening of Magan Sangrahalaya.

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A. Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages. Key industries, industries which the nation needs, may be centralized. But then I would not choose anything as a 'key industry' that can be taken up by the villages with a little organizing. For instance, I did not know the possibilities of hand-made paper. Now I am so hopeful that I believe that every village can produce its own paper, though not for newspapers, etc. Supposing the State controlled paper-making and centralized it, I would expect it to protect all the paper that villages can make.

Q. What is meant by protecting the villages?

A. Protecting them against the inroads of the cities. At one time cities were dependent on the villages. Now it is the reverse. There is no interdependence. Villages are being exploited and drained by the cities.

Q. Don't the villages need a lot of things that the cities produce?

A. I wonder. In any case, under my scheme, nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can be equally well produced by the villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products.

Q. Can we harmonize cloth-mill activity with handloom production?

A. So far as I know, my answer is an emphatic 'no'. All the cloth we need can easily be produced in the villages.

Q. But the number of mills is increasing.

A. That is a misfortune.

Q. But that is one of the things that the Planning Commission has set itself to do.

A. It is news to me. In that case the Congress will have to scrap its resolution on khadi.

Harijan, 28-1-1939

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300. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
December 31, 1938

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You know Shambhushankar. He is hoping to win self-rule for Palitana. I have of course written to the Durbar. Shambhushankar is a man of fairly independent nature. He hopes to be able to achieve his aim with God's help only, but he certainly expects the blessings of respected leaders. I have told him that if he can and does fight with such faith he is bound to have their blessings. A votary of truth and ahimsa cannot but command the blessings of all. But he won't be satisfied with such an assurance. He insists on having your blessings. Hear him and give him your blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
PURUSHOTTAM BUILDING
OPPOSITE OPERA HOUSE
BOMBAY 4

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 231

301. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

December 31, 1938

"JAMNALALJI
Fill in the Address[1]
DELHI

Wire. No worry about order. If possible come Bardoli. Bapu."[2]

[1] Instructions in Gujarati to Radhakrishna Bajaj
[2] This is in English. What follows is in Hindi.

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

Please send off this wire tomorrow.[1] The letter is also enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You must have got the message regarding the arrangements to be made for Muriel Lester. Send her here tomorrow at 3 o'clock.

From a photostat: G.N. 3039

302. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEGAON,
December 31, 1938

CHI. SHARMA,

You are right in saying that time is against us. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that you do not think that our ways of thinking differ. What pleases me, more than anything else, however, is your decision. It is not your dharma to sell ghee. Your dharma consists in curing patients by nature cure or other acceptable treatment. It is good that you will now earn a living in the city practising nature cure. स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः says the *Bhagavad Gita*. It is part of a verse[2] and means that even death in the pursuance of one's own dharma is good. There is only fear in another's dharma, never profit.

If you like you may also bring out a small magazine making a mention of the statement you made while withdrawing your books,[3] and outlining your future course. Keep me informed.

You have to pass one test. You have to master the art of getting on well with everybody, especially those with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, pp. 274-5

[1] In the mean while a telegram from Jamnalal Bajaj had been received and Gandhiji asked Pyarelal to write to Radhakrishna Bajaj to send the following wire instead: "Your wire. Will gladly meet you Jaipur friends Bardoli fourth. Bapu" (*Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, p. 208).

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 35

[3] This had appeared in *Harijan*, 14-12-1934, with a comment by Gandhiji. *Vide* Vol. LIX, pp. 447-8.

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303. INTERVIEW TO TIMOTHY TINGFANG LEW[1]

December 31, 1938

Rev. Lew, . . . in conveying thanks for the Indian medical mission to help the Chinese, remarked:

"We appreciate it as an expression of India's sympathy and goodwill towards China. China's struggle is not merely for China but for the whole of Asia. . . .

"We are not afraid of material destruction, . . . but of cultural destruction. The first bomb in Shanghai hit a library. Colleges have been wiped out. Professors have been killed. . . .

"Even worse is the moral injury. . . .

"We want your message. . . . We look to you for spiritual guidance."

GANDHIJI: I was once asked by a Chinese friend from Santiniketan to give a message to the Chinese people. I had to ask him to excuse me. I gave him my reasons. If I merely said I sympathized with the Chinese in their struggle, it would be not of much value as coming from me. I should love to be able to say to the Chinese definitely that their salvation lay only through non-violent technique. But then it is not for a person like me, who is outside the fight, to say to a people who are engaged in a life-and-death struggle, "Not this way, but that". They would not be ready to take up the new method, and they would be unsettled in the old. My interference would only shake them and confuse their minds.

But whilst I have no 'message' to send to the Chinese people who are engaged in fighting, I have no hesitation in presenting my viewpoint to you. I was almost going to ask you as to what you meant by being culturally ruined. I should be sorry to learn that Chinese culture resided in brick and mortar

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A World in Agony". Rev. Timothy Tingfang Lew was a member of the Chinese delegation to the Missionary Conference at Tambaram. Lew was a member of the Legislative Yuan of China. He had gone to Segaon to see Gandhiji along with two other Chinese delegates, Y. T. Wu, editor of Association Press of Y. M.C. A., Shanghai, and P. C. Hsu, author of several works on Confucius. There were also delegates from Rhodesia and one from Japan—a "world in miniature", as Gandhiji described them; *vide* "Letter to F. Mary Barr", pp. 284-5.

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or in huge tomes which the moths can eat. A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people. Chinese culture is Chinese only to the extent that it has become part and parcel of Chinese life. Your saying, therefore, that your culture and your morals are in danger of being destroyed, leads one to think that the reform movement in your country was only skin-deep. Gambling had not disappeared from the people's hearts. It was kept down not by the tone set by society, but by the penalty of the law. The heart continued to gamble. Japan is of course to blame and must be blamed for what it has done or is doing. But then Japan is just now like the wolf whose business it is to make short work of the sheep. Blaming the wolf would not help the sheep much. The sheep must learn not to fall into the clutches of the wolf.

If even a few of you took to non-violence, they would stand forth as living monuments of Chinese culture and morals. And then, even if China were overwhelmed on the battlefield, it would be well with China in the end, because it would at the same time be receiving a message which contains a promise of hope and deliverance. Japan cannot force drugs down unwilling throats at the point of the bayonet. It can only set up temptations. You cannot teach people to resist these temptations by replying to Japanese force by force. Whatever else force may or may not be able to achieve, it cannot safeguard Chinese morals or save Chinese culture.

If you feel the truth of my remarks, you will become a living message to China. You will then tell the Chinese people: "No matter what material destruction Japan inflicts, it cannot bring about China's cultural destruction. Our people must be sufficiently educated and warned to resist all the temptations that Japan may devise. Monuments and cities may be razed to the ground. They are but a passing show that is going one day to be claimed by time as its own. If they are destroyed by the Japanese, it will only be a morsel taken out of time's mouth. The Japanese cannot corrupt our soul. If the soul of China is injured, it will not be by Japan."

The Chinese friend was of opinion that only the economic collapse of Japan could save China. He wanted to know what the prospects of a boycott of Japanese goods by India were.

GANDHIJI: I wish I could say that there was any great hope. Our sympathies are with you but they have not stirred us to our very depths, or else we should have boycotted all Japanese goods, especially Japanese cloth. Japan is not only conquering

you but it is trying to conquer us too by its cheap, flimsy machine-made goods. The sending of the Medical Mission was good as a gesture of friendship and goodwill which there are in abundance. But that does not give me much satisfaction when I know we could do much more. We too are a big nation like you. If we told the Japanese: 'We are not going to import a single yard of your calico nor export any of our cotton to you,' Japan would think twice before proceeding with its aggression.

Harijan, 28-1-1939

304. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*1938*][1]

CHI. A. S.,

What can I say! There is 'I' in whatever you do. I do not complain of that. Your inability to eat yesterday proves that I have no influence over you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 612

305. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*1938*][2]

DAUGHTER,

You can do anything to improve your health but nothing if you find excuses to put it off. I shall be very happy if you get well.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 613

[1] & [2] From the placing of the letter in *Bapuke Patra–8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Nam*

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306. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*1938*][1]

I cannot write anything today. Do what Sushila says in her letter. Do not let your health deteriorate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 614

307. ENLIGHTENED ANARCHY—A POLITICAL IDEAL

Political power, in my opinion, cannot be our ultimate aim. It is one of the means used by men for their all-round advancement. The power to control national life through national representatives is called political power. Representatives will become unnecessary if the national life becomes so perfect as to be self-controlled. It will then be a state of enlightened anarchy in which each person will become his own ruler. He will conduct himself in such a way that his behaviour will not hamper the well-being of his neighbours. In an ideal State there will be no political institution and therefore no political power. That is why Thoreau has said in his classic statement that that government is the best which governs the least.

[From Hindi]
Sarvodaya, January, 1939

308. DISCUSSION WITH MAURICE FRYDMAN[2]

[On or before *January 1, 1939*][3]

FRYDMAN: What attitude should I, as a realist, adopt with regard to the tide of industrialization that is sweeping over the world?... Is it not waste of energy merely to oppose it? Would it not be better to try to change its direction?

[1] From the placing of the letter in *Bapuke Patra–8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Nam*

[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". Frydman, commonly known as Bharatanand, was a Pole. He was the head of the Government Electrical Workshop at Bangalore. He took a keen interest in Indian politics and philosophy.

[3] Gandhiji was in Segaon, where Frydman visited him, till January 1.

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GANDHIJI: You are an engineer. You will therefore appreciate an illustration from mechanics. You know the parallelogram of forces. There the forces do not neutralize each other. Each force acts freely along its own line and we get the resultant which indicates the final direction of motion. It is the same with the problem you have mentioned. As I look at Russia where the apotheosis of industrialization has been reached, the life there does not appeal to me. To use the language of the Bible, "What shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" In modern terms, it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society. The villages must become self-sufficient. I see no other solution if one has to work in terms of ahimsa. Now I have that conviction. I know there are others who believe in industrialization. I work with all my being for my conviction. The process of adjustment goes on all the time. I do not know what the outcome of it will be. But whatever it is, it will be to the good.

F. But, is no compromise with industrialization possible without imperilling the ideal of self-sufficient villages?

G. Oh yes, Railways are there, I do not avoid them. I hate motor-cars, but I make use of them willy-nilly all the same. Again, I dislike fountain-pens, but just now I am making use of one though I carry a reed pen about in my box. Every time I use the fountain-pen it hurts me and I think of the neglected reed pen in my box. Compromise comes in at every step, but one must realize that it is a compromise and keep the final goal constantly in front of the mind's eye.

F. When I turn from the busy West to masses in the Indian villages, I seem to be moving in a different world altogether in which stagnation reigns.

G. Yes, so long as you look on the surface. But the moment you talk to them and they begin to speak, you will find that wisdom drops from their lips. Behind the crude exterior you will find a deep reservoir of spirituality. I call this culture. You will not find such a thing in the West. You try to engage a European peasant in conversation, and you will find that he is uninterested in things spiritual. In the case of the Indian villager an age-old culture is hidden under an encrustment of crudeness. Take away the encrustation, remove his chronic poverty and his illiteracy and you have the finest specimen of what a cultured, cultivated, free citizen should be.

Harijan, 28-1-1939

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309. LETTER TO S. VELU PILLAI[1]

WARDHA,
January 1, 1939

Your telegram made painful reading. I have given the best advice I was capable of giving. I have no partiality for the Dewan. I repeatedly told the friends who came here that they were not to withdraw the allegations, unless they felt that my advice was thoroughly sound. I never said they were to be withdrawn against the express wish of the people. After all you, as leaders, were expected to know the wishes of the people. In spite of your telegram, I hold that withdrawal of the allegations was sound. If now the prosecutions continue, your course is clear. If there is unrest, you the leaders should be able to allay the unrest by showing the wisdom of the step you have taken. If the movement is really sound and the people are backing it with knowledge, it should be now stronger than it ever was. The burden of the allegations being removed, your course is absolutely clear and if you can control the forces of violence there is no difficulty in the way of your launching civil disobedience. My own conscience is absolutely clear. My advice is still at your disposal.

The Hindu, 16-1-1939

310. INTERVIEW TO TINGFANG LEW, Y. T. WU AND P. C. HSU[2]

[*January 1, 1939*][3]

The Chinese delegates put searching questions. . . . One of them asked: "Is it not necessary that individuals should practise non-violence first in their own person, in their relations with other individuals?"

[1] This was in answer to the addressee's telegram saying that the Dewan had not responded to the withdrawal of the allegations by the State Congress, that the Travancore fight had resulted in nothing, that arrests were continuing and that there was unrest everywhere in the State.

[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A World in Agony"

[3] Pyarelal says the Tambaram Conference delegates were in Segaon "on the last day of the dying year and the New Year's Day". Also that Lew saw Gandhiji separately on the first day (*vide* pp. 262-4) and that the whole group had discussion with him "later", which presumably meant January 1.

GANDHIJI: It would be a delusion to think otherwise. If one does not practise non-violence in one's personal relations with others and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is vastly mistaken. Non-violence like charity must begin at home. But if it is necessary for the individual to be trained in non-violence, it is even more necessary for the nation to be trained likewise. One cannot be non-violent in one's own circle and violent outside it. Or else, one is not truly non-violent even in one's own circle; often the non-violence is only in appearance. It is only when you meet with resistance, as for instance when a thief or murderer appears, that your non-violence is put on its trial. You either try or should try to oppose the thief with his own weapons, or you try to disarm him by love. Living among decent people, your conduct may not be described as non-violent. Mutual forbearance is not non-violence. Immediately, therefore, you get the conviction that non-violence is the law of life, you have to practise it towards those who act violently towards you, and the law must apply to nations as to individuals. Training is no doubt necessary. And beginnings are always small. But if the conviction is there, the rest will follow.

Q. In the practice of non-violence, is there not danger of developing a 'martyrdom complex' or pride creeping in?

A. If one has that pride and egoism, there is no non-violence. Non-violence is impossible without humility. My own experience is that whenever I have acted non-violently I have been led to it and sustained in it by the higher promptings of an unseen Power. Through my own will I should have miserably failed. When I first went to jail, I quailed at the prospect. I had heard terrible things about jail life. But I had faith in God's protection. Our experience was that those who went to jail in a prayerful spirit came out victorious, those who had gone in their own strength failed. There is no room for self-pitying in it either, when you say God is giving you the strength. Self-pity comes when you do a thing for which you expect recognition from others. But here there is no question of recognition.

Another friend thus placed his dilemma: "I am a firm believer in non-violence. Eight years ago, I read your *Experiments with Truth* and . . . translated the book into Chinese. And then came the Japanese invasion. My faith in non-violence was put to a severe test. . . . On the one hand, I felt I could not preach non-violence to my people who . . . believed that resistance with force was the only way out. . . . But on the other hand, when I try to take a sympathetic attitude and try to do something helpful in such

a situation, I find I am giving moral and material support directly and indirectly to something which is against the highest that I know. . . ."

G. Yours is a difficult situation. Such difficulties have confronted me more than once. I took part on the British side in the Boer War by forming an ambulance corps. I did likewise at the time of what has been described as the Zulu revolt. The third time was during the great war. I believed in non-violence then. My motive was wholly non-violent. That seemingly inconsistent conduct gave me strength. My example cannot be used as a precedent for others to follow. Looking back upon my conduct on those three occasions, I have no sense of remorse. I know this too that my non-violent strength did not suffer diminution because of those experiences. The actual work I was called upon to do was purely humanitarian, especially during the Zulu revolt. I and my companions were privileged to nurse the wounded Zulus back to life. It is reasonable to suggest that but for our services some of them would have died. I cite this experience not to justify my participation however indirect it was. I cite it to show that I came through that experience with greater non-violence and with richer love for the great Zulu race. And I had an insight into what war by white men against coloured races meant.

The lesson to be learnt from it by you is that, placed as you are in a position of hopeless minority, you may not ask your people to lay down their arms unless their hearts are changed and by laying down their arms they feel the more courageous and brave. But whilst you may not try to wean people from war, you will in your person live non-violence in all its completeness and refuse all participation in war. You will develop love for the Japanese in your hearts. You will examine yourself whether you can really love them, whether you have not some ill will towards them for all the harm they are doing. It is not enough to love them by remembering their virtues. You must be able to love them in spite of all their misdeeds. If you have that love for the Japanese in your hearts, you will proceed to exhibit in your conduct that higher form of courage which is the hall mark of true non-violence and which your Chinese friends will not fail to detect and recognize as such. You will not wish success to Japanese arms because you 'love' the Japanese. At the same time you will not pray for the success of Chinese arms. It is very difficult to judge, when both sides are employing weapons of violence, which side 'deserves' to succeed. You will therefore pray only that the right should prevail. Whilst you will keep yourself aloof from all violence you will not shirk danger. You

will serve friend and foe alike with a reckless disregard for your life. You will rush forth if there is an outbreak of an epidemic or a fire to be combated and distinguish yourself by your surpassing courage and non-violent heroism. But you will refuse to call the curses of heaven upon the Japanese. If by chance some Japanese soldiers or airmen fall into the hands of the Chinese and are in danger of being lynched by an infuriated Chinese mob or otherwise ill-treated, you will plead for them with your own people and if necessary even protect them with your life. You know the story of Emily Hobhouse. Though an Englishwoman, she courageously went to the Boer concentration camps. She exhorted the Boers never to lose heart, and it is said that if she had not steeled the hearts of the Boer women as she did, the war might have taken a different turn. She was full of wrath against her own people for whom she had not a good word to say. You would not copy her unmeasured wrath which somewhat vitiated her non-violence, but you will copy her love for the 'enemy' that made her denounce the misdeeds of her own countrymen. Your example will affect the Chinese and might even shame some Japanese who will become bearers of your message among the Japanese.

A very slow process, you will perhaps say. Yes, possibly, under the existing adverse circumstances to begin with. But it will gather momentum and speed in an incalculable manner as you proceed. I am an irrepressible optimist. My optimism rests on my belief in the infinite possibilities of the individual to develop non-violence. The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes till it overwhelms your surroundings and by and by might over-sweep the world.

Q. I, a believer in non-violence, often find that I am actuated by mixed motives. So does a war general have mixed motives. Is it not possible to fight with love for the enemy in one's heart? May we not shoot out of love?

A. We do often have mixed motives. But that would not be non-violence. There can be degrees in violence, not in non-violence. The constant effort of the votary of non-violence is to purge himself of hatred towards the so-called enemy. There is no such thing as shooting out of love in the way you suggest.

The last to place before Gandhiji his problem was Mr. P. C. Hsu.

P. C. HSU: I can say honestly, I have no feeling of hatred towards the Japanese people but I feel their military system is an evil. . . . I had hoped that at Tambaram, at any rate, an international link between the two countries on the basis of mutual goodwill and peace would be forged. But I

was disillusioned. . . . Our difficulty is this: While sincerely believing in non-violence, we have not found a way of making it effective.

G. Should that present a difficulty? A person who realizes a particular evil of his time and finds it overwhelms him, dives deep in his own heart for inspiration, and when he gets it, he presents it to others. Meetings and group organizations are all right. They are of some help, but very little. They are like the scaffolding that an architect erects—a temporary and makeshift expedient. The thing that really matters is an invincible faith that cannot be quenched.

Faith can be developed. Only, the way it can be developed and in which it works differs from that in the case of violence. You cannot develop violence through prayer. Faith, on the other hand, cannot be developed except through prayer.

Non-violence succeeds only when we have a living faith in God. Buddha, Jesus, Mahomed—they were all warriors of peace in their own style. We have to enrich the heritage left by these world teachers. God has His own wonderful way of executing His plans and choosing His instruments. The Prophet and Abu Bakr trapped in a cave were saved from their persecutors by a spider which had woven its web across the mouth of that cave. All the world teachers, you should know, began with a zero!!

Q. Whilst we have isolated individuals who have the mind of Jesus, because they are not united, not organized, theirs remains a mere cry in the wilderness. The question that arises in my mind is: Can love be organized, and if so, how?

A. Organization in the orthodox sense may not be possible. But there is no bar to united non-violent action. I am trying to show by a series of experiments that it is possible. It has its own technique.

Q. If China wins the war, will she be worse off or better off for her victory?

A. If China wins and copies Japanese methods, she will beat Japan hollow at her own game. But the victory of China will not mean a new hope for the world. For China will then be a multiple edition of Japan. But whether China wins or goes down, your line of action is clear. If China is defeated on the battlefield, your non-violence will remain undaunted and will have done its work. If China wins, you will go to the gallows in the attempt to wean China from copying Japan's methods.

Harijan, 28-1-1939

311. INTERVIEW TO S. S. TEMA[1]

[*January 1, 1939*][2]

TEMA: How can my people make their Congress as successful as the Indian National Congress?

GANDHIJI: The Congress became successful for the simple reason that it was inaugurated by the most selfless and cultured people that could be found in that age. They made themselves the representatives of the people and captured their imagination by reason of service and self-sacrifice. They were from the people and of the people. You have not, as far as I am aware, a band of Africans who would be content to work and live in impecuniosity. Among those who are educated there is not that absolute selflessness. Again, while most of your leaders are Christians, the vast mass of the Bantus and Zulus are not Christians. You have adopted European dress and manners, and have as a result become strangers in the midst of your own people. Politically, that is a disadvantage. It makes it difficult for you to reach the heart of the masses. You must not be afraid of being 'Bantuized' or feel ashamed of carrying an assagai or of going about with only a tiny clout round your loins. A Zulu or a Bantu is a well-built man and need not be ashamed of showing his body. He need not dress like you. You must become Africans once more.

T. Of late there has been some talk of forming an Indo-African united non-white Front in South Africa. What do you think about it?

G. It will be a mistake. You will be pooling together not strength but weakness. You will best help one another by each standing on his own legs. The two cases are different. The Indians are a microscopic minority. They can never be a 'menace' to the white population. You, on the other hand, are the

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A World in Agony–II". Rev. S. S. Tema of D. R. Mission, Johannesburg, was a Negro and a member of the African Congress. He was one of the delegates to the Tambaram Conference who had come to see Gandhiji after the Conference was over.

[2] The delegates were in Segaon on December 31 and January 1. On December 31 only Lew saw Gandhiji. Tema presumably met him on January 1.

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sons of the soil who are being robbed of your inheritance. You are bound to resist that. Yours is a far bigger issue. It ought not to be mixed up with that of the Indian. This does not preclude the establishment of the friendliest relations between the two races. The Indians can co-operate with you in a number of ways. They can help you by always acting on the square towards you. They may not put themselves in opposition to your legitimate aspirations, or run you down as 'savages' while exalting themselves as 'cultured' people in order to secure concessions for themselves at your expense.

T. What sort of relations would you favour between these two races?

G. The closest possible. But while I have abolished all distinction between an African and an Indian, that does not mean that I do not recognize the difference between them. The different races of mankind are like different branches of a tree—once we recognize the common parent stock from which we are sprung, we realize the basic unity of the human family, and there is no room left for enmities and unhealthy competition.

T. Should we adopt violence or non-violence as a means for our deliverance?

G. Certainly, non-violence under all circumstances. But you must have a living faith in it. Even when there is impenetrable darkness surrounding you, you must not abandon hope. A person who believes in non-violence believes in a living God. He cannot accept defeat. Therefore, my advice is non-violence all the time, but non-violence of the brave, not of the coward.

T. Your example has shed so much influence upon us that we are thinking whether it would not be possible for one or two of our young men, who we are hoping will become leaders, to come to you for training.

G. It is quite a good and sound idea.

T. Do you think Christianity can bring salvation to Africa?

G. Christianity, as it is known and practised today, cannot bring salvation to your people. It is my conviction that those who today call themselves Christians do not know the true message of Jesus. I witnessed some of the horrors that were perpetrated on the Zulus during the Zulu Rebellion. Because one man, Bambatta, their chief, had refused to pay his tax, the whole race was made to suffer. I was in charge of an ambulance corps. I shall never forget the lacerated backs of Zulus who had received stripes and were brought to us for nursing because no white

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nurse was prepared to look after them. And yet those who perpetrated all those cruelties called themselves Christians. They were 'educated', better dressed than the Zulus, but not their moral superiors.

T. Whenever a leader comes up in our midst, he flops down after a while. He either becomes ambitious after money or succumbs to the drink habit or some other vice and is lost to us. How shall we remedy this?

G. The problem is not peculiar to you. Your leadership has proved ineffectual because it was not sprung from the common people. If you belong to the common people, live like them and think like them, they will make common cause with you. If I were in your place, I would not ask a single African to alter his costume and make himself peculiar. It does not add a single inch to his moral stature.

Harijan, 18-2-1939

312. RAJKOT

Hitherto I have said hardly anything about the Rajkot struggle which has just ended[1] as brilliantly as it began. My silence was not due to lack of interest. That was impossible owing to my intimate connections with the place. Apart from my father having been the Dewan of the State, the late Thakore Saheb looked up to me as to a father. My silence was due to the fact that Sardar Vallabhbhai was the soul of the movement. To praise him or his work would be like self-praise.

The struggle showed what non-violent non-co-operation could do, if there was adequate response from the people. I was wholly unprepared for the unity, grit and capacity for sacrifice that the people showed. They showed that they were greater than their ruler, and that even an English Dewan was powerless before a people united in non-violent action.

The Thakore Saheb deserves congratulations for taking the reins in his own hands and overruling the English Dewan's advice and the known wishes of the Resident.

[1] The settlement about establishing responsible government was reached on December 26, 1938. The main terms were: (1) All repressive measures should be withdrawn; (2) all political prisoners should be released; (3) satyagraha should be called off; (4) to draft the constitution a committee of 10 persons should be appointed, seven of whom should be those suggested by Vallabhbhai Patel.

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From documents in my possession I know that Sir Patrick Cadell, supported by the Resident, cut a sorry figure as servant of the Thakore Saheb. He acted as if he was the master. He traded upon the fact that he belonged to the ruling race and his appointment was subject to the sanction of the central authority, and thought that he could do what he liked. At the time of writing I do not know whether he has wisely retired or what has happened. The correspondence in my possession shows that the ruling chiefs have seriously asked themselves whether it is wisdom to have Europeans as their Dewans. The central authority has to keep watch over Residents if its declarations are to be carried out as well in the letter as in the spirit.

It is to be hoped that the ruling chiefs who stand in awe of Residents will know from the Rajkot example that if they are straight and if they have their people really at their back, they have nothing to fear from the Residents. Indeed they should realize that the Paramount Power resides not in Simla, not in Whitehall, but in their people. An awakened people who rely upon non-violent strength are independent in the face of any conceivable combination of armed powers. What Rajkot could do in three months every State can do if the people show the qualities that the people of Rajkot showed.

But I do not claim that the people of Rajkot had developed the rare type of non-violence that would stand true in the face of all odds. But Rajkot did show what even ordinary non-violence by a whole people in an organization could do for it.

But great as was the work done by the people of Rajkot, as civil resisters their real test is yet to come. Their victory, if it is not followed up by a sustained exhibition of the same qualities that secured it, may prove also their undoing. By a long course of training Congressmen all over India have shown their capacity for offering civil resistance, but they have yet to show capacity for constructive non-violence. Civil disobedience may well be adulterated with much incivility, i. e., violence, and yet pass current. But construction is very difficult. In it detection of violence is easy. And existence of violence may even turn victory into a trap and prove it to have been a delusion. Will the people exhibit the requisite selflessness and self-denial? Will they resist the temptation to serve themselves and their dependants? Any scramble for power will rob the people at large of what they should really get if there was wise and resolute leadership that would command ready and willing obedience. Kathiawar is noted for its intrigues. It contains a race of politicals whose one

aim in life is self-advancement, if it is also known to contain stuff of which heroes are made. If the politicals gain the upper hand, there will be no *Ramraj* in Rajkot. *Ramraj* means renunciation ail along the line. It means discipline imposed by the people on themselves. If constructive non-violence is displayed by the people, it is possible for Rajkot to radiate an influence that can easily make Rajkot an example to follow.

Let the victory, therefore, be a time for humility, heart-search and prayer instead of self-satisfaction and vain rejoicings. I shall watch, wait and pray.

ON THE TRAIN TO BARDOLI, January 2, 1939

Harijan, 7-1-1939

313. IS NON-VIOLENCE INEFFECTIVE?

In dealing with my answer[1] to the criticism that the Jews had been non-violent for 2,000 years, *The Statesman* says in the course of an editorial:

> The whole world has heard of Pastor Niemoeller[2] and the sufferings of the Lutheran Church; here many Pastors and individual Christians bore themselves bravely before People's Courts, violence and threats; without retaliation they bore noble witness to the truth. And what change of heart is there in Germany? Buried in prisons and concentration camps are today, and have been for five years, members of the Bible Searchers' Leagues who rejected Nazi militarism as conflicting with Christ's Gospel of peace. And how many Germans know of them or, if they know, do anything about it?
>
> Non-violence, whether of the weak or of the strong, seems, except in very special conditions, rather a personal than a social gospel. A man's salvation may be left to himself; politicians are concerned with causes, creeds and minorities. It is suggested by Mr. Gandhi that Herr Hitler would bow before a courage "infinitely superior to that shown by his own Storm Troopers". If that were so, one would have supposed that he would have paid tribute to such men as Herr von Ossietzky[3].

[1] *Vide* "Some Questions Answered", pp. 191-3.

[2] Martin Niemoeller, anti-Nazi Protestant theologian, who had been arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in a concentration camp

[3] Carl von Ossietzky (1889-1938), German pacifist and writer. He was arrested as an enemy of the State and imprisoned. While in jail he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. Hitler was so enraged that he prohibited Germans thenceforth from accepting such awards.

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> Courage to a Nazi, however, seems a virtue only when displayed by his own supporters: elsewhere it becomes the impudent provocation of Jewish-Marxist *canaille*. Mr. Gandhi has produced his prescription in view of the inability of the Great Powers effectively to move in the matter, an inability we all deplore and would see remedied. His sympathy may do much for the comfort of the Jews, but seems likely to do less for their enlargement. Christ is the supreme example of non-violence and the indignities heaped upon Him at His tortured death proved once and for all that in a worldly and temporal sense it can fail hopelessly.

I do not think that the sufferings of Pastor Niemoeller and others have been in vain. They have preserved their self-respect intact. They have proved that their faith was equal to any suffering. That they have not proved sufficient for melting Herr Hitler's heart merely shows that it is made of a harder material than stone. But the hardest metal yields to sufficient heat. Even so must the hardest heart melt before sufficiency of the heat of non-violence. And there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence to generate heat.

Every action is a resultant of a multitude of forces even of a contrary nature. There is no waste of energy. So we learn in the books on mechanics. This is equally true of human actions. The difference is that in the one case we generally know the forces at work, and when we do, we can mathematically foretell the resultant. In the case of human actions, they result from a concurrence of forces of most of which we have no knowledge. But our ignorance must not be made to serve the cause of disbelief in the power of these forces. Rather is our ignorance a cause for greater faith. And non-violence being the mightiest force in the world and also the most elusive in its working, it demands the greatest exercise of faith. Even as we believe in God in faith, so have we to believe in non-violence in faith.

Herr Hitler is but one man enjoying no more than the average span of life. He would be a spent force if he had not the backing of his people. I do not despair of his responding to human suffering even though caused by him. But I must refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth. They will some day or other rebel against their own adored hero, if he does not wake up betimes. And when he or they do, we shall find that the sufferings of the Pastor and his fellow-workers had not a little to do with the awakening.

An armed conflict may bring disaster to German arms; it cannot change the German heart even as the last defeat did not.

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It produced a Hitler vowed to wreak vengeance on the victors. And what a vengeance it is! My answer, therefore, must be the answer that Stephenson gave to his fellow-workers who had despaired of ever filling the deep pit that made the first railway possible. He asked his co-workers of little faith to have more faith and go on filling the pit. It was not bottomless, it must be filled. Even so I do not despair because Herr Hitler's or the German heart has not yet melted. On the contrary I plead for more suffering and still more till the melting has become visible to the naked eye. And even as the Pastor has covered himself with glory, a single Jew bravely standing up and refusing to bow to Hitler's decrees will cover himself with glory and lead the way to the deliverance of the fellow Jews.

I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

I was unprepared to find the view expressed by *The Statesman* writer that the example of Christ proved once and for all that in a worldly and temporal sense it can fail hopelessly!! Though I cannot claim to be Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus' suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal. And I know that there are hundreds of Christians who believe likewise. Jesus lived and died in vain if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal Law of Love.

ON THE TRAIN TO BARDOLI, January 2, 1939

Harijan, 7-1-1939

314. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[On or after *January 4, 1939*][1]

PLEASE CONVEY MY HEARTFELT CONDOLENCE FOR THE UNTIMELY DEMISE OF MR. RAMAN MENON TO THE BEREAVED FAMILY. SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ JOINS.

The Hindu, 6-1-1939

[1] Raman Menon died on January 3. Jamnalal Bajaj arrived in Bardoli, where Gandhiji was, on January 4.

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315. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNASWAMY[1]

January 5, 1939

WIRE REDIRECTED. MY OPINION SUCH CANDIDATE INELIGIBLE BUT YOU SHOULD SECURE AUTHORITATIVE RULING FROM PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

316. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

BARDOLI,
January 5, 1939

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Zakir Husain was with me for four or five days. In the course of our conversations I learnt that the aid that was given to the Jamia Millia by Bhopal had been stopped. Is there any reason for the stoppage except the pressure on the purse? If there is not, I would like you to think of some retrenchment for the sake of the Jamia. It seems to supply a felt want. It seems to be the only institution manned by Muslims which has self-sacrificing workers who are staunch Muslims and equally staunch nationalists.

Now that I have disburdened myself of the load that was weighing on me, I leave the matter in your safe hands.

I hope Gulnar and baby are doing well.

Love to you all.

BAPU

JANAB SHUAIB QURESHI SAHEB
BHOPAL

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had asked whether producers and weavers of uncertified khadi were eligible to stand for election as delegates to Tripura Congress.

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317. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI

BARDOLI,
January 6, 1939

RESPECTED BROTHER,

I have received your letter . What you write is quite true. The real test is yet to come.[1] I have shown your letter to Sardar. He has just left for Bombay. However, he has left word that your fear is out of place.

My going to Ahmedabad is not in the programme.

Salutations from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4123. Also C.W. 2789. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

318. TELEGRAM TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

PRESIDENT STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

GLAD DEMONSTRATIONS CANCELLED AND PROHIBITION LAUNCHED. DELIGHTED PROSECUTIONS WITHDRAWN.[2]

GANDHI

From the original: Pattom Thanu Pillai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

319. TELEGRAM TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

[*January 7, 1939*][3]

WHY NOTHING FROM YOU? LOVE.

BAPU

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The reference is to the Rajkot Satyagraha; *vide* "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", p. 163.

[2] This was in reply to the Acting President R. Sankar's telegram dated January 3, 1939, informing Gandhiji of the launching of a prohibition campaign.

[3] This was written on the same sheet on which the telegram to Pattom Thanu Pillai, the preceding item, was drafted.

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320. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA[1]

January 7, 1939

IN JAMNALALJI'S LETTER JAIPUR STATE THERE IS REFERENCE TO YOUR TELEGRAM DATED OCTOBER TWELFTH ADVISING THAT REMAINING SIKAR PRISONERS WILL BE RELEASED THIRTEENTH. YOUR NAME NOT MENTIONED BUT MAY HAVE TO BE IF CHALLENGED. HAVE YOU ANY OBJECTION? WIRE BARDOLI.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 209

321. DRAFT OF PRESS STATEMENT FOR JAMNALAL BAJAJ[2]

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

Rumours have been going the round as to what I am going to do about the ban on my entry into Jaipur State—my birth-place and ancestral home. The ban is as much a surprise to me as to my friends. My whole life has been passed in the interests of peace in all walks of life. Whatever else non-violence may be with Congressmen it is my creed and I try as much as it is in my power to live up to it. I am no enemy of States. I have always maintained a friendly attitude towards them. I have always believed the States to be capable of responding to the new awakening that has taken place in India. I am now carrying on correspondence with a view to find out the secret lying behind the ban. The wording of the order in no sense applies to me. I do not wish to act in haste. I have no desire to embarrass the Jaipur State authorities. But if every honourable effort to have the ban removed fails the public may depend upon my doing my duty.

My present and immediate object is to afford through the Mandal[3] relief to the famine-stricken in Jaipur State. I hope that the ban will not be allowed to disturb the would-be donors.

[1] This was sent to Pilani.
[2] The draft was in Gandhiji's hand.
[3] Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal

I am making arrangements for all eventualities. Indeed my main reason for going to Jaipur was to devise measures for famine relief.

My second immediate concern is to try to secure the release of the nine prisoners during the recent crisis in Sikar. One of them is convicted and eight are still awaiting trial. I had good grounds for hoping that they would come in for general amnesty. I can only assure them that I shall leave no stone unturned to secure their release while I am still free.

From a photostat: G.N. 3077

322. DRAFT OF LETTER FOR JAMNALAL BAJAJ[1]

CAMP BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

TO
THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF STATE, JAIPUR
SIR,

The attached order dated 16th December last was served on me on the 28th of the same month at Sawai Madhopur whilst I was on my way to Jaipur.

The order came as a painful surprise to me. At the station I had over an hour's chat with Mr. F. S. Young, I. G. P., who was persuading me not to commit a breach of the order. I did not need much persuasion as in a discussion with Gandhiji, of the possibility of such an order being served on me, he had advised me not to break the order immediately but to consider the whole situation in consultation with him before taking any final step.

Accordingly I suspended my journey and proceeded to Delhi. After having conferred with friends and fellow-workers and finally Gandhiji, I have come to the conclusion that on the 1st of February next I should commit a breach of the order unless, before then, it is unconditionally revoked.

The authorities know that a public appeal was issued by me on 1st November last on behalf of the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal, of which I am President, that as famine had overtaken Shekhawati and other areas, relief work was to be undertaken by the

[1] The draft was prepared and twice revised by Gandhiji. The first draft in Gandhiji's hand is available in G.N. 3076.

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Mandal to the exclusion of all other activity. They were also aware that on a newspaper report having appeared to the effect that civil disobedience was to be started in Jaipur I had issued a flat contradiction.

I do not know what had happened on or before the 16th December to warrant the passing of the order in anticipation of my seeking to enter Jaipur State. I note that on the same date a notification was published in the State Gazette to the effect that "an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide against instigation to illegal refusal to the payment of certain liabilities". Seeing that the order against my entry was passed the same day, it is reasonable to assume that in the opinion of the authorities I would be connected with the feared movement of illegal refusal of taxes. Surely if the authorities had any fear of my leading such a movement, they might have at least ascertained from me as to the truth or otherwise of the information in their possession. They knew me sufficiently to feel sure that I would not conceal the truth from them.

Indeed the authorities know I rendered help to them also during the recent crisis in Sikar consistently with my obligations to the people. They know that my offices were used entirely on behalf of peace.

My surprise may therefore be better imagined than I can describe it when I learnt from the order that "your (my) presence and activities are likely to lead to a breach of the peace", and that, therefore, "it is considered necessary in the public interest and for the maintenance of public tranquillity to prohibit your (my) entry within the Jaipur State." I have no hesitation in saying that the notice belies the whole of my public career.

I observe that I have been described as of Wardha. I hope this is a slip. For the Jaipur State, surely I am of Jaipur. I do not cease to be of Jaipur because I have interests in Wardha and elsewhere.

It has become a serious question for my co-workers and me to consider our position in the State.

The Praja Mandal was started in July of 1931 and reorganized in November 1936. It has a constitution. It has many distinguished men of Jaipur State as its members. It has hitherto carried on its activities within the four corners of the Jaipur law and submitted even to irksome and illiberal restrictions regarding meetings and processions.

But the order served on me has opened the eyes of the Mandal. It has come to the conclusion that it must resort to civil

disobedience if civil liberty is not guaranteed and meetings and processions and forming of associations are not allowed without let or hindrance so long as they observe strict non-violence.

I should define the scope of our activity. There is no mistake as to our goal. We want responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. We must therefore tell the people what it is and what they should do to deserve it. But we do not propose to offer civil disobedience for it. We must, however, seek the redress of the grievances of all classes of the people; we must carry on constructive and educative activities. The Mandal has no desire whatsoever to preach non-payment of taxes at this stage. If we secure the co-operation of the State in our essentially peaceful and life-building activities and in the redress of admitted grievances there never need be any resort to non-payment of taxes. But should it unfortunately become a necessity, the Mandal will give the State authorities ample notice of its intention to do so. For the Mandal stands for open, honourable and strictly non-violent methods. Therefore, what I am pleading for is full liberty to the Mandal to carry on its perfectly legitimate and non-violent activities without let or hindrance. If, however, this reasonable request is not granted before the 31st day of this month, I shall reluctantly be compelled to attempt to enter the State in spite of the order, and the Mandal will hold itself free to take such steps as it may deem necessary for self-expression consistent with human dignity.

I hold that to do less will be to commit civil suicide. I trust that the Council of State will not put an unbearable strain upon my loyalty and that of the members of the Mandal.

I have, etc.,

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 393-6; also G.N. 3076

323. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

CHI. MARY,

Of course your letters are business letters, but business letters, when the business is the service of God's creatures, become love letters. Therefore there need be no apology for your letters being business letters.

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I can't think of any woman who will suit the purpose mentioned by you.

Muriel brought a party of 18 persons. I called it a world in miniature.[1]

Though it is quite a formal thing, let me reciprocate the good wishes for this year.

Love to you and Mira.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6074. Also C.W. 3404. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

324. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

How are you getting on? What are you doing? Are you keeping cheerful? Tell me everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1916

325. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

January 7, 1939

The murder of Major R. L. Bazalgette,[2] the Political Agent of Orissa States, is most unfortunate and comes as a rude shock. I tender my sympathy to the bereaved family. I hope that the subedar, who accompanied the deceased, will recover from the wounds. The Praja Mandal is expected to carry on the strictest investigation and find out the cause of the murder. It should be a warning to all workers to be most careful in conducting mass agitations. They should realize that the slightest departure from non-violence is bound to harm the movement for freedom, whether in the States or all India.

Harijan, 14-1-1939

[1] *Vide* footnote on p. 262.

[2] Bazalgette was killed by a mob in Rampur State in Orissa on January 5, 1939.

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326. UNCERTIFIED DEALERS[1]

The Secretary of the Tamil Nad Spinners' Association has sent us a complaint which he has received from the Kerala Branch of the Spinners' Association. The complaint gives conclusive proof that some merchants of Tiruppur are dumping cloth under description '*shuddha* khadi' and even making use of the name of the Spinners' Association. Two labels have been sent by the Secretary which were affixed to the cloth thus sold, and the labels show the names of 'S. Mariasusai Chettiar, Khaddar Store, Tiruppur' and 'M. K. Chidambaram Chettiar and Brother A. Palaniappa Mudaliar, Khaddar Store, Tiruppur', and the description is '*shuddha* khadi, certified by A. I. S. A'.

S. Mariasusai Chettiar has never been certified by the A. I. S. A. for dealing in khadi, and A. Palaniappa Mudaliar was decertified some four years ago. Such deception can certainly be punished under the ordinary Indian Penal Code. It would, however, be much better for the merchants as well as for the public if the public demand for khadi were not thus exploited, and if merchants who have not been certified abstain from such business, or at least abstain from fraudulently using the name of the Spinners' Association.

BARDOLI, January 8, 1939

Harijan, 14-1-1939

327. SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH[2]

Sardar Prithvi Singh writes to me to say that he is keeping well and that his requirements are being supplied by the authorities and friends as the case may be. I am in constant correspondence with him. He tells me that many friends are desirous of meeting him. He wishes me to thank them all but also to tell them that they need not take the trouble to go all the way to Rawalpindi to meet him. And when they do wish to do so, they should not feel disappointed if they are not immediately given a date. The visiting days generally remain full. He would

[1&2] These appeared under "Notes".

like all friends desiring to visit him to correspond with me so that I might guide them. Whilst I convey this wish to the would-be visitors, and whilst Pyarelal, or Mahadev as soon as he is permitted to take up full work, will gladly make arrangements, this will be possible only in a few cases. For nothing will be possible without correspondence with the authorities. This means taxing work to which those who are helping me are hardly equal in the present state of my health.

BARDOLI, January 9, 1939

Harijan, 14-1-1939

328. TRAVANCORE

A Travancore Christian friend writes:

> There is a great misunderstanding about you among the Christian circles of Travancore that you are absolutely against the interests of Christians, and this has originated since you have begun to insist on the withdrawal of the memorial to the Maharaja. The trend of public opinion as has been expressed to me by many friends is something like this:
>
> By the influence of the Travancore Maharani and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer you are wrongly made to understand that the present movement in Travancore is only a rising of the Christians for absolute supremacy over the Hindus of Travancore. It is with this impression in the background of your mind that you are today working against the Travancore movement. Besides, due to the famous temple-entry proclamation, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has done a great service to the Hindu community as a whole, and therefore you want to save him from any blemish and personal charges, whatever be his shortcomings. It is with this end in view that you are so strongly pressing the State Congress to withdraw the memorial. Otherwise there is no reason why you should adopt one policy for Rajkot and another for Travancore. For in the case of Rajkot Vallabhbhai Patel and many others have made so many personal charges against the Dewan, and recently Vallabhbhai even threatened to start another fight for the removal of the present Dewan. You simply approve of all this. While in the case of Travancore, even though it is absolutely impossible for you to understand the situation on the spot being so far off, you simply dictate terms on the memorial question and keep mum over all the unjust actions of the Government. Even after the memorial has been withdrawn the leaders are kept in prison and arrests are being continued in large numbers, and people are

terrorized all over the State even though the movement is almost dead. All this you view in silence without uttering a word. This is a further evidence of your partiality in siding with the Travancore Government.

Similar communications, more strongly worded, have also been received by me. It might clear the atmosphere a little if I answer the charges. My conscience is quite clear. I claim that in no other State movements have I taken so much interest as in the Travancore movement, for the simple reason that I was pressed to do so by Shri G. Ramachandran who belongs to the Sabarmati Ashram and in whose wisdom, courage, sincerity and non-violence I have very great faith. He threw himself into the struggle after receiving my consent. He had told me that there were all sections interested in the struggle. It was at his instance that I requested Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to go to Travancore and do what was possible by way of negotiation.

I have been against the mixing up of the struggle for responsible government with the charges against the Dewan. But I have been equally insistent that the leaders need not withdraw them unless they realized the soundness of my advice, for they had to bear the brunt of public opposition, if there was any. They could not do so, unless they could speak with conviction. I told them too that they would be justified in prosecuting the charges, if they made the dismissal the only issue, as they well might. But if they insisted on responsible government, there was no meaning in proceeding with the charges. It would divide the country's attention, and in the event of prosecution their time and resources would be employed in proving the charges. Whereas, if they got responsible government, which they were bound to if they were united and strong in their faith in non-violence and truth, they would have control over all the Dewans, present and future. The charges have been withdrawn, therefore, only because the leaders, as I see from the acting President's statement just received by me, were fully convinced of the advisability of withdrawing the charges.

The comparison with Rajkot is ignorant. I never guided the movement there. There was no occasion for my guidance. The Sardar was in no need of it. If he needed it, it was always at his disposal. There was no question there of dismissal of the Dewan. The Sardar resolutely refused to have anything to do with the charges, if the fight was to be for responsible government. Of course all sorts of people who opposed the struggle came under his lash, but that was wholly different from making dismissal of an official a plank in the struggle.

And my guidance in the Travancore struggle has never been lacking. But the critics should understand that I am not conducting the struggle. I advise when I am referred to. Nor need or can all my advice and all my work be before the public gaze. Much of my work is behind the curtain. It is not therefore secret. I have nothing to hide. But many things need to be done silently, even secretly (in the right sense of the word), in the interest of the cause.

Lastly, let my critics understand that I am not interested in the present Dewan retaining his office. If I have been in correspondence with the Dewan, it has been only for the sake of the cause, pleading for justice. And as for the Maharani, I have never been in correspondence with Her Highness throughout the struggle. I claim to be and have always been above partisanship. I know no distinction between Christians and non-Christians in terms of politics. I do in terms of religion, and then, too, I hold the Christian religion and the other religions in the same respect as my own.

BARDOLI, January 9, 1939

Harijan, 14-1-1939

329. THE BAN ON JAMNALALJI

The ban on Jamnalalji makes curious reading. Here it is:

TO

SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

OF WARDHA (C. P.)

Whereas it has been made to appear to the Jaipur Government that your presence and activities within the Jaipur State are likely to lead to a breach of the peace, it is considered necessary in the public interest and for the maintenance of public tranquillity to prohibit your entry within the Jaipur State.

You are, therefore, required not to enter Jaipur territory until further orders.

By order of the Council of State
(Sd.) M. ALTAF A. KHERIE
Secretary, Council of State, Jaipur

He is the last person whose presence anywhere can be a danger. He has ever been known as a peacemaker. He has enjoyed the happiest relations with the official world. His worth was so much recognized that he was awarded the title of Rai

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Bahadur in 1916 or thereabouts. This he returned during the non-co-operation days. He is one of the best known merchants in the commercial world. He is a banker besides being a commercial magnate. Though an ardent Congressman he has never been known as "an agitator". He is foremost in constructive work and social reform. True he has the courage of his convictions and has more than once staked his all for these. He is never afraid of prison. Obviously the description given in the order served upon Jamnalalji is false and wholly inapplicable to him. It will be probably urged that the wording is a mere formality, and that without it the order could not be legally served upon him. If that be so, it proves conclusively that persons like Jamnalalji were never meant by the law to be affected by it. It is an abuse, pure and simple, of the law to keep a person like Jamnalalji out of Jaipur or any other part of the country.

And the humorous part of it all is that Jamnalalji had to be described in the order as "of Wardha". As a matter of fact he belongs to the Jaipur State, has property there, and has many relations residing there.

It is to such an order that Jamnalalji has submitted wholly on my advice. There was a rumour that he might be arrested if he attempted to enter Jaipur. He had therefore consulted me as to his duty if an order was served on him. His co-workers of Jaipur had held that he should defy any such order there and then. I held a contrary opinion. And I have no cause to regret my opinion. The order, I reasoned, would be a mad act. Mad people should not be taken at their word. They should be given time to cool down. I understand that great preparations were made in anticipation of the arrest. There must have even been a kind of disappointment when the arresting party discovered that they were not to have their prey.

Jamnalalji has lost nothing by waiting and reasoning with the authorities[1] and telling them that they have acted wrongly and hastily. As a responsible man and Jaipur subject, it was perhaps his duty to give them time to reconsider their decision. If they do not, and Jamnalalji decides, as he must, to defy the order, he will do so with added moral strength and prestige. And it is moral strength that counts in non-violent action.

Let it be known that the Maharaja is merely a tool in the hands of his Ministers who are all outsiders and some of them English. They know nothing of the people or the country. They are, as it were, imposed upon them. Jaipur talent is at a discount,

[1] *Vide* "Draft of Letter for Jamnalal Bajaj", pp. 282-4.

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though before the foreigners came, Jaipur was somehow or other able to hold its own as a State. I had reason to remark last week on the sorry figure the English Dewan cut in Rajkot during his very brief term of office. At least the act of the Jaipur Council consisting of outsiders is a sorry exhibition of irresponsibility and ineptitude. The externment of one man, however great, may appear to be insignificant. But events may prove that it was a foolish and costly affair, if not much more. For the reader may not know that there is a Praja Mandal in Jaipur which has been working under Jamnalalji's inspiration for the past six years. Jamnalalji is its present President. The Mandal is a strong organization containing responsible men as its members and has a good record of constructive work to its credit. The Mandal will have to do its duty if the ban is not removed. For the ban is, it is said, a precursor of stopping even the constructive and constitutional activities of the Mandal. The authorities cannot brook the growing influence of a body which aims at responsible government in Jaipur under the aegis of the Maharaja, no matter by means howsoever honourable. It seems to be the precursor also of a ruthless policy of stopping all activities of bodies having political ambition in any shape or form. And rumour has it that it is a concerted policy on the part of the Rajputana States. Whether it is true only of Jaipur or all the other States, it is sufficiently ominous, and Jamnalalji and the people of Jaipur are in honour bound to resist it with all the strength at their command, no doubt consistently with the Congress creed of non-violence and truth.

BARDOLI, January 9, 1939
Harijan, 14-1-1939

330. TELEGRAM TO AKBAR HYDARI[1]

BARDOLI,
January 9, 1939

SIR AKBAR HYDARI
HYDERABAD DN

THANKS WIRE ADVISING CERTAIN RELEASES. LETTER NOT RECEIVED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10094. Courtesy: Government of Andhra Pradesh

[1] A photostat of the telegram was displayed at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1969-70.

331. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[*January 9, 1939*][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

G.'s telegram has been received.[2] He has consented. The letter has been sent by registered mail.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2999

332. AUNDH CONSTITUTION[4]

There are several startling things in the Aundh constitution. For the moment I am concerned with only two things—the qualifications for the vote and the courts of justice.

I have myself hitherto sworn by simple adult franchise as well for the illiterate as the literate. My observation of the working of the Congress constitution has altered my opinion. I have come round to the view that a literacy test is necessary for two reasons. The vote should be regarded as a privilege and therefore carry some qualification. The simplest qualification is a literacy test. And if the ministry appointed under the literacy franchise is sincere and solicitous about the disqualified illiterates, the much desired literacy would come in no time. The Aundh constitution has made primary education free and compulsory. I have been assured by Appasaheb that he will see that illiteracy is driven out from Aundh State inside of six months. I hope, therefore, that there will be no opposition in Aundh to the literacy test.

The second important departure from the ordinary practice is the making of justice in the lower court free and incredibly simple. What would, however, displease critics is not the freeness or the simplicity as such but the abolition of intermediate courts

[1] The date is in a hand other than Gandhiji's.

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to G. D. Birla", p. 281.

[3] The reference presumably is to the letter to President, Council of State, Jaipur; *vide* "Draft of Letter for Jamnalal Bajaj", pp. 282-4.

[4] This appeared under "Notes".

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and the fate of litigants and persons charged with offences being made to depend on a High Court presided over by one person. In a population of 75,000 a multiplicity of judges would be both unnecessary and impossible. And if the right type of person is chosen as the Chief Judge, he is as likely to deal out unadulterated justice as a bench of highly paid judges. This simplification contemplates abolition of the cumbrous procedure and the use of tomes of law books including hundreds of law reports used in British law-courts.

BARDOLI, January 10, 1939
Harijan, 14-1-1939

333. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

BARDOLI,
[*January 11, 1939*][1]

CHI. KAKA,

I have been observing silence for the last three days and hence I can do justice to correspondence.

The enclosed is about Sanjiva Kamat.

Shanker's letter is enclosed for your information. Write to him again. I have already written to Nanavati. After careful thinking, I have instructed him to pass the night in Segaon and the day with you. But if you need him in the tour, he may remain with you all the time. I consider your need more important.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

My coming there will be delayed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10917

334. NOTE TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BARDOLI,
January 11, 1939

It has always been my firm view (and it still holds complete sway over me) that in every province, except for one or two selected leaders, all the others should observe silence. When this is

[1] The date is in a hand other than Gandhiji's.

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not possible, they should read out at meetings carefully considered, short, simple written speeches. Everybody should remember that the people are getting increasing power in their hands now. In such circumstances no thoughtless word should escape the lips of the people's leaders.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 232

335. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

BARDOLI,
January 12, 1939

CHI. KAKA,

I saw your letter to Mahadev. Have I changed my policy? In Calcutta what has happened has happened. We should take our hands off that class. He will be paying Vamanchand's wages today, won't he? Not to start a separate class at present will perhaps be better. We shall discuss this matter when I come. I am afraid of internal disputes.

You must have received my letter[1] of yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The enclosed is for Shriman.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10918

336. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

BARDOLI,
January 12, 1939

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I do not have a minute to spare. Even this I am writing with difficulty.

The most powerful aid to *brahmacharya* is purification of the heart. In this external measures are to a certain extent helpful.

Prayer can go on even unconsciously, which means that when a person is engrossed in prayer he is not conscious of praying. It is like a man in deep slumber not being aware that he is asleep. Ramanama in its scope includes Krishnanama also. Even

[1] *Vide* p. 293.

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the plying of charkha can be regarded as Ramanama. Only so much for today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4309. Also S.G. 72

337. DISCUSSION WITH TOYOHIKO KAGAWA[1]

[*January 14, 1939*][2]

Now for his talk with Gandhiji.

Your reputation has preceded you, Dr. Kagawa.

With these words Gandhiji stood up to greet Dr. Kagawa. . . . The preliminary questions were about the drought in South India and famines and the co-operative movement. Was the movement flourishing in India?

GANDHIJI: I can't say that it is flourishing. It is going on somehow. It was initiated by the British Government. It did not come from within, but was superimposed upon the people. It is managed after a certain stereotyped pattern and has therefore no room for growth according to the exigencies of time. Whereas I know you have a big co-operative movement.

KAGAWA: Yes, it is growing every day. There are 3,50,000 producers' co-operatives organized by themselves. There are national health insurance co-operatives, harvest insurance co-operatives and storage co-operatives.

G. What is the feeling of people in Japan about the war?

K. I am rather a heretic in Japan. Rather than I express my views, I would like to learn from you what you would do if you were in my position.

G. It would be presumptuous for me to express my views.

K. No, I would like very much to know what you would do.

G. I would declare my heresies and be shot. I would put the co-operatives and all your work in one scale, and put the honour of your nation in the other, and if you found that the honour was being sold, I should ask you to declare your views against Japan and in so doing make Japan live through your death. But, for this, inner conviction is necessary. I do not

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Dr. Kagawa's Visit". Kagawa, a Japanese social reformer, evangelist and author, had come to India to attend the Tambaram Conference.

[2] From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary

know that I should be able to do all that I have said if I were in your position, but I must give you my opinion since you have asked for it.

K. The conviction is there. But friends have been asking me to desist.

G. Well, don't listen to friends when the Friend inside you says, 'Do this.' And friends, however good, can sometimes well deceive us. They cannot argue otherwise. They would ask you to *live* and do your work. The same appeal was made to me when I took the decision to go to jail. But I did not listen to friends with the result that I found the glow of freedom when I was confined within the four solid walls of prison. I was inside a dark cell, but I felt that I could see everything from within those walls, and nothing from outside.

K. Have you some irrigation co-operatives in India?

G. I do not think so. Of course you have all these things. You have done marvellous things, and we have many things to learn from you. But how can we understand this swallowing alive of China, drugging her with poison and so many other horrid things that I read about in a book called *What War Means* which Pandit Jawaharlal has given me. How could you have committed all these atrocities? And then your great poet calls it a war of humanity and a blessing to China!

Dr. Kagawa is a student of religions. He wanted to know how Gandhiji's ahimsa teaching could be reconciled with the *Bhagavad Gita*. Gandhiji said it could not be discussed in a brief interview, but he would ask him to read his introduction to the *Gita* where he had answered the question. The answer had just come to him as part of his experience, and the interpretation was, as he thought, not laboured in any way.

K. I am told you recite the *Bhagavad Gita* daily?

G. Yes, we finish the entire *Gita* reading once every week.

K. But at the end of the *Gita* Krishna recommends violence.

G. I do not think so. I am also fighting. I should not be fighting effectively if I were fighting violently. The message of the *Gita* is to be found in the second chapter of the *Gita* where Krishna speaks of the balanced state of mind, of mental equipoise. In 19 verses at the close of the 2nd chapter of the *Gita* Krishna explains how this state can be achieved. It can be achieved, he tells us, after killing all your passions. It is not possible to kill your brother after having killed all your passions. I should like to see that man dealing death—who has no passions,

who is indifferent to pleasure and pain, who is undisturbed by the storms that trouble mortal man. The whole thing is described in language of beauty that is unsurpassed. These verses show that the fight Krishna speaks of is a spiritual fight.

K. But there was actual fighting then, and your interpretation is your own peculiar interpretation.

G. It may be mine, but *as mine* it has no value.

K. To the common mind it sounds as though it was actual fighting.

G. You must read the whole thing dispassionately in its true context. After the first mention of fighting, there is no mention of fighting at all. The rest is a spiritual discourse.

K. Has anybody interpreted it like you?

G. Yes. The fight is there, but the fight as it is going on within. The Pandavas and Kauravas are the forces of good and evil within. The war is the war between Jekyll and Hyde, God and Satan, going on in the human breast. The internal evidence in support of this interpretation is there in the work itself and in the *Mahabharata* of which the *Gita* is a minute part. It is not a history of war between two families, but the history of man—the history of the spiritual struggle of man. I have sound reasons for my interpretation.

K. That is why I say it is *your* interpretation.

G. But that is nothing. The question is whether it is a reasonable interpretation, whether it carries conviction. If it does, it does not matter whether it is mine or XYZ's. If it does not, it has no value even if it is mine.

K. To my mind Arjuna's ideas are wonderful. Krishna has found some excuse for him, and it was natural and necessary before Christianity.

G. This interpretation is even historically wrong. For Buddha existed long before the Christian era, and he preached the doctrine of non-violence.

K. But Arjuna's views seem to me to be superior to Krishna's.

G. Then according to you the disciple was greater than the master!

K. But I agree with what you say, with your teaching of non-violence. I shall read the *Gita* again, bearing your interpretation in mind. . . .

Dr. Kagawa again turned to his great theme—agriculture and co-operation which he has studied carefully. "You get famine once in every *ten* years," he said.

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G. We get it every year, famine is our constant friend.

K. Then you should have more tree culture, more trees for fuel and for cattle fodder. Rice and barley are not enough, you need more protein trees. . . .

G. No. We need a change in the method of government!

It was a great pity that Dr. Kagawa had to go away to Bombay the same evening. . . . Even for a detailed discussion of his co-operative programme he might have stayed longer with the leading men in India. But Gandhiji appealed to him on a different ground.

How can you leave India without seeing Santiniketan?

K. But I have read the Poet's poems, and I love them.

G. But you have to love the Poet.

K. If I can repeat the *Gitanjali* every day, I can see the Poet every day and do I not love him? Maybe he is greater than his poems.

G. Sometimes the reverse is the truth, but in the case of the Poet he is infinitely greater than his great poems. Now, another question. Have you included Pondicherry in your programme? If you want to study modern India, you must see both Santiniketan and Aurobindo Ghose's Ashram. I wonder who your tour advisers are. I wish you had appointed me your adviser in this matter!

K. No. You are a good guide for life.

Dr. Kagawa asked what other books Gandhiji read every day. Gandhiji mentioned the *Ramayana* in which he said there was supposed to be enough blood and thunder, "*but not for me*". Dr. Kagawa said he too loved it for the story of Sita—the ideal of chastity.

G. But there are other fine things also in that unique poem. I have not read the original which is great. But the Hindi rendering done by a great devotee is the scripture for the masses of India. In the North India Tulsi *Ramayana* has been the inspiration of many a home for four centuries.

Dr. Kagawa discussed Shankaracharya and Ramanuja, and Gandhiji expressed his predilection for the former, and for his direct and marvellously logical way. But Gandhiji reverted again to his itinerary and expressed his great regret that Rev. Hodge who had been in charge of it had, out of his partiality for him (Gandhiji), included Bardoli, but not Santiniketan! [He said:]

You are going to Calcutta and not Santiniketan! It is a great pity. You say you are going to Gosaba. Well Gosaba is Gosaba, but Santiniketan is India.

Harijan, 21-1-1939

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338. JAIPUR

Jaipur authorities will not be happy until they have brought the Jaipur patriots to their senses. For they have now banned the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal of which Jamnalalji is the President. Jamnalalji has released for publication his letter[1] to the President of the Jaipur Council of State. The readers will find it elsewhere in these columns. That letter should induce withdrawal of the order. But evidently the Jaipur Council, which I erroneously described as entirely composed of outsiders in my last week's article[2], but which I understand does contain four members from the State, is intent upon wiping out of existence every activity whether social, humanitarian or other with which Jamnalalji or his co-workers are connected.

This is the newest method of dealing with people whom the authorities do not like. I can only hope against hope that the Jaipur authorities will shrink from precipitating an all-India crisis. For there are three reasons which might well give the Jaipur question that character. Jamnalalji is himself an institution. He is, moreover, a member of the Working Committee of the Congress and its Treasurer. The method being adopted in Jaipur is too drastic to be suffered without a desperate struggle. If it goes unchallenged, it may mean a death-blow to every activity in the States when it is even remotely connected with the legitimate political aspirations of their people.

The curious thing about Jaipur is that the real ruler is a high-placed Englishman[3] and not the Maharaja. Can it be that he represents the wishes of the central authority? If he does, what becomes of the recent declarations? If he does not, may an English Dewan initiate policies that may in the end spell disaster to the State itself? I understand that the Jaipur treasure-chest is over-full. If the worst happened, it could stand a prolonged boycott by the people, that is, assuming that the modern weapons of destruction do not tame the people into submission. It is time for the Princes and the Central Government to evolve a common policy of action. Or is the Jaipur method the common

[1] *Vide* "Draft of Letter for Jamnalal Bajaj", pp. 282-4.
[2] *Vide* "The Ban on Jamnalalji", pp. 289-91.
[3] Sir W. Beauchamp St. John, Prime Minister of Jaipur

policy of action, as some tell me it is? I can only hope that it is not.

BARDOLI, January 16, 1939

Harijan, 21-1-1939

339. DRINKING METHYLATED SPIRITS[1]

A correspondent writes:[2]

The correspondent's letter deserves the attention of those who are engaged in prohibition work.

BARDOLI, January 16, 1939

Harijan, 21-1-1939

340. VIOLENCE v. *NON-VIOLENCE*

Everywhere in India there is a duel going on between the method of non-violence and that of violence. Violence like water, when it has an outlet, rushes forward furiously with an overwhelming force. Non-violence cannot act madly. It is the essence of discipline. But when it is set going, no amount of violence can crush it. For full play, it requires unsullied purity and an unquenchable faith among the leaders. Therefore, if non-violence seems to fail in the duel, it will do so because the leaders lack the purity or the faith or both. There seems, however, to be reason to believe that non-violence will triumph over violence. Things seem to be shaping so that the workers will see for themselves the futility of violence.

But a well-known public worker writes:[3]

> "The States' method of dealing with satyagraha seems to be different from the British method. The methods adopted in some States are too inhuman and brutal. Will non-violence succeed against such brutal methods ?. . .
>
> I have carefully read and re-read your views[4] on the murder of the Political Agent of Orissa States. I was rather pained to find that

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. It stated that with the introduction of prohibition drink addicts had started drinking diluted methylated spirit and suggested that its sale should be controlled.

[3] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[4] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", p. 285.

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you made no reference to the terrible atrocities committed on the poor State subjects of Orissa. . . . If the mob was wrong in using violence against the Political Agent, was the latter justified in firing on the mob and thus provoking them to violence?. . .

. . . I fail to understand why you as the greatest apostle of truth and non-violence should not have also conveyed a warning to the Political Department of the Government of India, and especially the Eastern States Agency, that they should not adopt brutal methods in dealing with the States subjects' fights? I feel that the Eastern States Agency has been most brutal in dealing with the States subjects' fights, and murder of the Political Agent is the climax of the brutal repression carried on by the Eastern States Agency. . . . And if we are to show sympathy for the loss of life of the Political Agent, what about the two persons who died on the spot as a result, possibly of the police violence? . . .

Of course the right of self-defence is there and so is the right of armed rebellion. But after deep deliberation the Congress has abjured both and that for valid reasons. Non-violence is not worth much if it is worsted in the face of the greatest provocation. Its true test consists in its capacity for standing any amount of provocation. If there were eye-witnesses of the rapes and if the witnesses were non-violent, why are they alive? If the rapes became known after the event, of what use is violence ? The non-violent method is still open. The men may be tried or they may be brought up before the bar of public opinion, if there was any. To expose the criminals to mob fury would be barbarity.

The argument about the murder of the late Political Agent of the Orissa States is irrelevant to the issue. I was not called upon to adjudge the merits of the action of the ruler and the Political Agent on the one hand and the people's action on the other. It was enough for me at the time to condemn in unqualified terms the murder of the Political Agent not merely as a mark of sympathy, though that was deserved, but as an act of gross indiscipline and breach of the fundamental Congress policy. The misdeeds of the rulers have been exposed often enough in these columns. But they have not been mentioned for the purpose of drawing the wrath of the people upon the doers, but for the sole purpose of showing the people the way of dealing with them non-violently. Things were shaping themselves well in Orissa. I can quote chapter and verse in support of this assertion. This murder has disturbed the even course of the movement. Ranpur is a howling wilderness. The people, both innocent and guilty, are in hiding. They have deserted their homes in order

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to escape repression. For it will not be merely the actually guilty persons who will suffer. The technique of frightfulness in some shape or other is no doubt being applied and the whole of India has to be helpless witness of it. The authorities know no other way of dealing with murders of their officials, especially when they are Europeans. The non-violent method has been slowly educating them to know the new way. But I need not prolong the argument. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Both methods are being tried out in India. The workers have to make their choice. I know that India's freedom is possible only through non-violence. Those workers in the Congress who think or act otherwise are wronging themselves and the Congress.

BARDOLI, January 16, 1939

Harijan, 21-1-1939

341. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BARDOLI,
January 16, 1939

CHI. MIRA,

I have been unable to write a single letter during these exacting days. Today I worked at *Harijan* till after 5 p. m. Now I have a minute or two before going to the evening prayer.

Of course you will pay Jurab as you suggest. He will be worth all that and more, if he gives you full satisfaction.

I am glad your recent letters have been hopeful. Had they been otherwise, I would have made time to send you, if it was only a line.

Sushila has been writing to you daily. So you know all about my health. So far as the feel goes, it is excellent.

Events are fast shaping themselves. You will see the coming *Harijan* to show you what is happening.

I hope you are now having the food you need.

Devdas and Laxmi are here just now. Ramdas came in yesterday. He leaves tomorrow for Poona. Kallenbach lands on Saturday.

There are numberless visitors here. There is no such thing as the quiet of Segaon. But Sardar protects me against intruders.

Ramdas is looking none too well. Premabehn came in today. Mridula has been here for the past four days.

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There is nothing to report about Agakhan's visit. He wants the Congress to settle with Jinnah if it is at all possible.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6424. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10010

342. NOTE TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

BARDOLI,
January 16, 1939

This should be credited to the Harijan fund and a receipt sent to me.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1181

343. LETTER TO SIR W. BEAUCHAMP ST. JOHN

BARDOLI,
January 18, 1939

DEAR FRIEND,

My first thought was to publish the accompanying letter purporting to describe your attitude with regard to the ban on Seth Jamnalalji's entry into Jaipur State. But on second thoughts I felt that my purpose would be better served by sending you a copy of Shri Chudgar's[1] letter and inviting your opinion on it. My purpose is to promote harmony between the Princes and the people who are obliged in one way or the other to come in contact with them to secure justice wherever possible by friendly negotiation. And now that I have felt the necessity of writing to you, whatever may be your opinion on Shri Chudgar's letter, I would like to suggest to you that the bans upon Seth Jamnalalji and his organization might be removed without endangering the peace of Jaipur State. Indeed, I feel that peace is certainly endangered by the bans.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SIR W. BEAUCHAMP ST. JOHN
DEWAN, JAIPUR STATE JAIPUR

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 397-8. Also C.W. 7809. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Barrister and legal adviser of Rao Rama of Sikar; *vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.
[2] For Sir Beauchamp's reply, *vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.

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344. LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH

BARDOLI,
January 18, 1939

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have your letter. I am forwarding the letter which you have written to H. Nanabhai has also met me. He has left Dakshinamurti because of my letter. Thus H. has agreed to the first alternative. He is, however, firm about his innocence. But since he has left Dakshinamurti and withdrawn himself from women's education, nothing more remains to be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 946. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

345. LETTER TO RAVINDRA R. PATEL

BARDOLI,
January 18, 1939

CHI. RAVINDRA,

I have your letter. If you have had enough of that place and are giving up all thought of making money you can embrace poverty and serve the country. I shall consider it a success.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7455

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346. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

BARDOLI,
January 18, 1939

BAPA,

A cheque for Rs. 5,000 was sent to you from the Frontier Province. Shri Jasaram writes that it was meant for khadi work. The amount may therefore be remitted to Dr. Gopichand. I hope to raise money from the same person for Harijan work when I go again to the Frontier Province.

BAPU

[PS.]

I received just now your letter about Orissa. It is very difficult for Sardar to go there. Rajendra Babu will certainly go. He is doing that work from here also. Will you be able to spare 15 days for prohibition in Khandesh? Dr. Gilder has promised to get 12 shops closed provided you come. If you can, come immediately. Send a telegram.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1182

347. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA

BARDOLI,
January 18, 1939

CHI. BALWANTSINHA,

I return your old letter. Your handwriting is better than it was but there is still much scope for improvement. Do not cram the sheet too full. There should always be a margin on the left side and the words should be spaced well. The pen should be finely pointed. You must take a vow that you will effect these improvements for the sake of mother cow. You know the importance of vows, don't you?

The account you have sent could not but be good. There was never any doubt about your sincerity and your unselfishness.

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It is good that you are at peace. Make yourself strong and improve your knowledge of Hindi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1917

348. LOVE A UNIVERSAL VIRTUE

An Indian Christian writes:[1]

Your article "The Jews"[2] has evoked considerable comment of varying nature. I propose to confine myself to the criticism that the love that Jesus taught was a personal, not a social or collective, virtue.

To deny that Jesus' way of life was meant for all—collectively no less than individually—is surely to deny the basic truth of the religion of Christ. He was utterly dissatisfied with the existing order; the hypocrisy and pride of the Scribes and Pharisees riled him sufficiently for him to call them a 'generation of vipers' and 'whited sepulchres'; he openly protested against bribery and corruption when he 'upset the tables of the money-changers' and accused them of having made his house 'a den of thieves'; he denounced the sin of untouchability by dining with outcastes and speaking words of comfort to prostitutes.

His preaching roused the anger of the people because it was revolutionary and universal; otherwise why should those in authority have cared to arrest and condemn to the extreme penalty of the law a man in whom even the judge who tried him could find no 'sin'?

They sensed in his teachings a power which, if exercised by those who believed in them, would surely cause to fall the whole framework of their society. To 'turn the other cheek' to him who smites you on one, to love the enemy, to rejoice in suffering, to love your neighbour as yourself, to remove the beam from your own eye before pointing to the mote in another's, to pray for those who persecute you, to forgive the offender until seventy times seven, to serve the poor, to leave all and follow Jesus, are of the essence of a universal gospel for which he lived and died. That he asked his disciples to let the world see this message by virtue of their own example, that the disciples themselves felt the call to recreate a new order, bears ample evidence in the very formation, through their martyrdom, of the early Church which is termed to be the body of Christ. One of the most beautiful passages in the New Testament, the 13th Chapter of *I Corinthians*, was written by St. Paul

[1] Only extracts from the letter are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* pp. 137-41.

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at a time when the Church of Corinth was torn by internal dissensions. The message of love therein was the message for collective action. The 'Church Militant', as it is called, is surely the emblem of Christian society trying to war against the powers of evil by means of love which 'conquers all things'.

But while it may be convenient, because of the lack of courage and faith within us, to set aside the central teaching of the religion of Christ as a mere rule for personal conduct, it is a dangerous doctrine which has brought the so-called Christian nations to a sorry pass today.

No doubt the result of non-violence is not always visible to the naked eye. That the way of love—for what is non-violence except boundless love—is not easy to pursue is only too true. But to rule love out as a social virtue is to deny the existence of not only the religion of Jesus but of all the great religions of the world and to give way to fear which is the ruling passion in the world today.

Non-violence on a national or international scale has not yet been sufficiently tried; where it has been tried by Gandhiji it has met with success. Is not Europe, by subordinating her mind to the doctrine that 'Might is Right', giving a direct lie to the teaching of Jesus ? This is the question before Christendom today. Does the greatest measure of freedom consist in being able to resist force with the weapons of force, or may it not be that its highest and eternal form will be born out of the blood willingly shed by one nation or many nations?

Oh cross that liftest up my head,
I may not ask to flee from thee,
I lay in dust, life's glory dead.
And from the ground there blossoms red
Life that shall endless be.

This letter should convince honest doubters that the love that Jesus taught and practised was not a mere personal virtue, but that it was essentially a social and collective virtue. Buddha taught and practised the same thing six hundred years before Jesus.

BARDOLI, January 20, 1939

Harijan, 4-3-1939

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349. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI

BARDOLI,
January 20, 1939

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

I have your wires and your letter of the 5th instant, with enclosure which came later. The two documents were re-directed from Wardha and then I had to see the State Congress friends before I could reply. Hence the delay which please forgive.

At the outset I must thank you for the friendly tone of your letter. Nothing else and nothing less was expected of you.

Nevertheless the letter has not given me satisfaction. The only thing relevant to my request was the statement issued by the State Congress manifesto[1] calling off civil disobedience and its language. If it left nothing more to be desired, the immediate result should have been the discharge of the prisoners who had offered civil disobedience from within and as members of the State Congress.

Even Shri Kashinathrao Vaidya's statement was irrelevant. The State Congress manifesto was not before him. Had he known the implications of the manifesto, he should not have courted imprisonment at all. But his case needs to be condoned by the State Congress manifesto. Perusal of Shri Kashinathrao Vaidya's statement did not confirm the impression created by your letter. His statement I regard as mild and subdued. There is no threat in it. He has endeavoured calmly to argue the position of the State Congress and brought out the facts to the date of his conviction. It is noteworthy that he has accepted the fact of suspension and exhorted the State Congress members to desist from civil disobedience.

The Aryan League and the Hindu Mahasabha activities should not be confused with that of the State Congress. There never was any intention of amalgamation on the part of the State Congress.

Do you want me to find out what Sardar Patel, Shri Deo or Shri Bhulabhai said or did? As a matter of fact I have not even showed your letter to the Sardar though I am living with

[1] *Vide* "Draft of Statement for Hyderabad State Congress", pp. 242-4.

him at present. Not that I would not share your letter with him, only he has his work cut out for him as I have mine. But I could find out what they said if their opinion was relevant to my purpose or to the argument. If, however, you want me to, I shall gladly do so.

You were quite right in dismissing from your mind the suggestion that I had secretly advised anyone against the attempt to reach a settlement between Hindus and Muslims. Baba it was who brought Shri Narasingh Rao with him. Maulvi Bahadur Yar Jung was also to be of the party. But he could not come. They had come to a standstill. I, therefore, advised them to proceed no further but await Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's advice and be guided by him. Maulana Saheb is now in correspondence with you.

Now about "Bande Mataram". Some students did come to me. I told them that "Bande Mataram" was no religious prayer but that they had a perfect right to say it in their rooms or their prayer room. I told them too that by proper representation they would get redress and that till they had the redress they should remain without their studies unless they could go elsewhere. I have seen the explanation issued by the Osmania University authorities. It has not given me satisfaction. I do think that this is a matter you should set right without delay. If I have erred, not having all the facts before me, you will please correct me. But, of course, this question stands on its own footing.

I have not interested myself in it. The students are not under my guidance. And I told those who came to me that I had no time to study their question, important though I admitted it to be.

You say that drunkards and the like have sought imprisonment. My informants say that if such people have courted imprisonment they were unauthorized and had nothing to do with the State Congress.

I believe I have now covered all the points in your letter.

If my argument has any substance in it, I repeat the request for the discharge of all the State Congress prisoners and for permission for the State Congress to pursue such activities, political or otherwise, that are constitutional.

I hope this finds you in the possession of the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6846

350. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

BARDOLI,
January 20, 1939

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I was ashamed of your letter to Banker[1]. I enclose a copy received by me. Is your notion of agency so low and the worth of khadi so poor as to make you write what you have done? I would far rather let khadi die in Sind than be treated with such contempt as you have been betrayed into showing. Surely your other work should be subordinate to khadi. I do not want you to retort that Choithram and even Jairamdas did worse than you had contemplated. Then it was an evil of necessity.

I am deeply hurt.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 930

351. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BARDOLI,
January 20, 1939

CHI. MIRA,

Your letters are all works of art whether brief or long. I am glad you are getting on so well with John. If you will be patient, you will find that the Pathan grows on you. He is an admirable fellow—open if he once trusts you.

You need not worry about my health. I am taking all the care I can. I am taking the rest that is possible. B. P. is under control. Jumpy, I fear, it will remain unless I lead the forest life and cease all outward activity. But that would be wrong. I must discover the art of living long though full of activity to the end. I shall never completely master it, having dissipated

[1] Shankerlal Banker, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

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so much of my life in youth. We have to be thankful for what God vouchsafes of the rest of my life.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6425. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10020

352. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

BARDOLI,
January 20, 1939

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Kakasaheb's letter was sent to you yesterday. Everyone here has been distressed to hear that you will have to go. Music that was considered a permanent feature will now be discontinued. No one likes this idea. It also makes me unhappy. If your health permits, this is my suggestion. You should walk down at 6 in the morning every day after partaking of milk and fruit. You can easily be with Kakasaheb at 7.15. You can start work at 7.30 and go on till 5 or 4.30 and reach Segaon at 6 or 6.30 every evening. If you can do this, both the purposes will be served. The exertion is not too much for a healthy man. In South Africa I lived at a distance of 7 miles from my office and used to go there and come back either on foot or on bicycle. But I do not wish to overburden you. Think it over. Show this letter to Kakasaheb and do what is right. Think about other things having in mind that your decision to go to Kakasaheb is a firm one. I do not think that Kakasaheb wants you with him all the 24 hours. But if it is so, the question does not arise. Or even if he desires you to tour with him, then also there is no question of doing any work in Segaon. I have written in the dim light.

Everything else must be going well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10783

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353. TELEGRAM TO BALKRISHNA

BARDOLI,
January 21, 1939

BALKRISHNA
"PRATAP" OFFICE
CAWNPORE

AM GIVING ALL ATTENTION[1] GUIDED BY MEHTAB[2].

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

354. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

BARDOLI,
January 21, 1939

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

You should not write but ask someone else to write. Somehow I feel it is wrong to go to Hyderabad. Mothers are often more affectionate than wise. But if not to fulfil her wishes disturbs you, I suppose you must go to Hyderabad. Is Indore not possible? Why not Matheran? Nasik or Deolali are good. So is Sinhagadh for that matter and you have Dinsha Mehta's help there. How I wish you could make up your mind soon.

Don't write.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 9253. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

355. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 21, 1939

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have just now received your letter. Since I am continuing my silence I can answer it. If the reason for stopping you is

[1] The addressee, in his telegram, had described the sufferings of the refugees in Dhenkanal satyagraha camp.

[2] Harekrushna Mahtab

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merely sentimental, then it is certainly better for you to go to South Africa. By your going there, Manilal will certainly be helped. You are worried about Sita. I am not. She will certainly learn at least something there also. Hence my opinion is this: if your services are not essential at Akola you may gladly go to South Africa. It is your duty. Since you have stayed on, write to Manilal and know his views. This is the right course.

Does Sita read the book she has received?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4891

356. LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH

BARDOLI,
January 21, 1939

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have your letter. Did I send you the money or not? Kanu is not here. I do recollect that I had already instructed him.

I send herewith H.'s letters lying with me. You may preserve them. Now we do not need to make them public. He left both Dakshinamurti and women's education. That was exactly what we wanted him to do. Let me know what impression these letters make on you. Now you need not write to H. However, if you still feel like it, you may write and send the letter to me. If I think it proper I shall forward it. Now the H. episode should not trouble you.

Absorb yourself in your study. Be careful about your health. Take long walks. Do you get fruit? Abstain from spices and oil.

Improve your handwriting. There is scope for improvement even in the Gujarati. There certainly is in the English. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The sweet letter from Shankar was in acknowledgment of the receipt of the money.

From Gujarati: C.W. 947. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

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357. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

BARDOLI,
January 21, 1939

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

The reason you have given for selling to the Government at a lower price is not a valid one. We can reduce the price for everyone if we get a large order, as executing it will also cost less. Since you have already written, it is all right. I have made the suggestion for future guidance. Discuss with Shankerlal the merits and demerits of my suggestion. Ultimately in the face of your experience, my own opinion will be of only secondary importance to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10840. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

358. LETTER TO SIR W. BEAUCHAMP ST. JOHN

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 18th instant.

I had expected your version of the interview, if you repudiated Shri Chudgar's version. The matter is too important to be dropped by me. I shall gladly publish your version together with Shri Chudgar's if you so wish.[1]

SIR W. BEAUCHAMP ST. JOHN
DEWAN, JAIPUR STATE, JAIPUR

Yours sincerely,

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 399. Also C.W. 7809. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.

359. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

MY DEAR MALKANI,

Just now Mahadev is out of work. And the cashier Kanu[1] is yet too boyish to shoulder the burden. He is a good boy but mere goodness without attention to one's duty is of no value. I gave him Chandwani's cheque to be sent to you as soon as it came. He forgot to send it. Then went on leave. On asking him today, he shamelessly said he forgot all about it. The fault is mine, not his. I have trained him badly.

Please forgive. You will find the cheque herewith.

Return it, if you cannot give undivided attention to the village construction work. I must be faithful to Chandwani. If you cannot concentrate on this work do not look to me for the monthly payment. Of course I shall send you money for three months in any case.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 931

360. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

CHI. SUSHILA,

I could read Manilal's letter fully only yesterday. I am enclosing it. It seems to have come direct. On reading that letter I felt that you should leave by the first available steamer. I cancel what I wrote yesterday. This is the first letter from Manilal which satisfied me. Ordinary letters from you both are drab and empty. Letters should reflect the life of the writer. I like this letter so much that I want it back. Ba is of the opinion

[1] Kanu Gandhi

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that you should immediately go to Manilal. I do think about the needs of Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4892

361. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

CHI. MANUDI,

Will it be all right if I do not write but dictate a letter to you? I dictated one to Sharda yesterday. Grandmother was angry and said, "Manu pines for a letter from you and you have no time to write to her." You know better whether you pine or not, but you can have this letter. You never write about yourself nor about Surendra.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1574. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

362. LETTER TO RAMIBEHN K. PAREKH

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

CHI. RAMI,

I saw your handwriting after many months—or is it years? I should be happy if you kept on writing. Even if I do not write, being too busy, you must. Hope you and the children are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9727

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363. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I had received your letter. Your action cannot be defended morally. You cannot be considered a cultivator. It can be said that you conspired to be listed as a cultivator. But you did not find any immorality in your action and so nothing remains to be done for the present. It would perhaps be proper if you withdrew from the Board at the earliest. You may seek some lawyer who can legally interpret such matters and act according to his advice. That seems the best way.

I do not intend to reply to the complainant. He will not understand such intricacies.

Understand about Ramjibhai.

I do not remember about leather and dead animals. Write again if the matter is important.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 2710. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

364. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. What can I say? Ba is of course unhappy. She wants you to come soon. I do not want that. I want you to stay on if you have work there. You must visit your brothers also. You are crazy not to be able to live away from me. Anyway, do what you think best.

What can I say about my suspicion? I cannot free myself of it. Time alone can do that. It came of itself and it will disappear of itself if that is to be. If you can become stable and discharge your duties the suspicion is bound to disappear. You will continue to get an occasional letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 411

365. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BARDOLI,
January 22, 1939

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

I have your two letters.

I hope your brother is better. I understand about the . . .[1] of Delhi.

If Dr. Gopichand wants to work in the neighbourhood of Delhi, he may.

What is the harm in the Harijan Ashram contributing the major portion towards the construction of the prayer hall? You should be agreeable. It does not require any deliberation.

My health is good. Here I have more than enough work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2476

366. THE STATES

The movement for liberty within the States is entering a new stage. History is going to repeat itself. Talcher and Dhenkanal have led the way in repression. It is no small matter that 26,000 out of 75,000 all told have migrated from Talcher to British Orissa. Prof. Ranga has published harrowing details of the sufferings of these refugees. His narrative is supported by Thakkar Bapa, the great social reformer and philanthropist, who responds to the call of distress no matter from what quarter it comes. They have been in exile for two months. I had hoped that they would have returned to their homes. But there seems to be no peace for these people as yet.

It is not possible for Orissa alone to tackle the relief work. The Government of Orissa has not much money to spare. I hope that the Marwadi Relief Society will take up the relief work bearing in mind that labour should be found for the refugees.

[1] Obscure in the source

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Ranpur has murdered a political agent.[1] And the police and military are having a merry time at the expense of innocent men and women. I hope the Government of Orissa will firmly handle the situation and not let the Imperial Power deal with the situation as it chooses. The Imperial Power loses its head when it loses one of its own class in the circumstances attending the unfortunate murder of Major Bazalgette. This murder should show us that there is nothing to be gained by the people by such acts.

Jaipur will not tolerate even the education of the Jaipurians to ask and fit themselves for responsible government and would presently bury alive one of its foremost sons.

The advisers of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot think nothing of making him eat his own words and commit a breach of his promise solemnly made to his people. The Resident of the Western States is party to this breach, if evidence in my possession is to be relied upon. To him the Congress and Sardar are anathema. Ground is being prepared in Rajkot for fomenting quarrels between Hindus and Muslims and the people in general and the Bhayats. None of these have hitherto quarrelled. It is to be hoped that the Muslims and the Bhayats will not prove enemies of their own deliverance. The reformers' course is clear. They must avoid all clash. They must be prepared to die at the hands of their own people if the occasion arose. They have tried with marvellous success the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. They can enforce it fully and simply sit still. The people are the paymasters, and the Prince and the officials are their servants who have to do the will of their masters. This is literally true of an awakened and enlightened people who know the art of thinking and acting as of one mind.

I would urge the people in the other States to hasten slowly. Liberty is theirs if they will have patience and self-restraint. Let them everywhere knit themselves together and have a consciousness of their strength. They should not have internal dissensions. They must know how to combat the maxim of irresponsibility—divide and rule. It is easy enough if the reformers master the technique of non-violence.

Travancoreans had better be on their guard. I have sufficient evidence in my possession to show that attempts are being made to create divisions between Hindus and Christians and Ezhawas. If they are to have responsible government, they must

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", p. 285.

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forget that they are of these different communities. They must learn that they are one and indivisible political unit, and they must attain control over all forces of violence. They must take full responsibility for peace throughout Travancore without the aid of the police, if they are to win freedom through non-violent means. Meetings and processions are necessary for propaganda among ignorant masses. They are not necessary for a people awakened to a sense of their duty as citizens. Swaraj is for the awakened, not for the sleepy and the ignorant.

BARDOLI, January 23, 1939

Harijan, 28-1-1939

367. INTERNAL DECAY

My time and that of co-workers is largely taken up in wading through complaints about corruption among Congressmen. The latest typical letter received is from a Bombay Congressman:[1]

> Tripuri Congress delegates' elections took place last Sunday in Bombay. The voting was to start at 8 a. m. in the morning. I reached Congress House at nearly 8.45 a. m., but to my consternation I found that I had already been impersonated in the short span of forty-five minutes. Scores of others had the same experience. I tried to trace the source, and though (as expected) I could not trace the miscreant I found that this impersonation business was regularly organized and practised on a mass scale as soon as the polling had started. Naturally those who came even half an hour late were disappointed, they having been impersonated meanwhile.
>
> Many suggestions have been made to you to abate this nuisance, but in my humble opinion unless we introduce the system of asking the prospective voters to *produce their membership cards* to be duly stamped by the issuing officers before slips are issued to them, nothing will do the trick . . . .

The correspondent's suggestion is quite sound. I should have thought that every voter had to produce an identification card before being allowed to register his vote.

My purpose, however, in reproducing the correspondent's letter is not merely to draw attention to the impersonation in Bombay and the method of dealing with it. The letter is a pointer. Besides impersonation there is the wholesale tampering with the Congress registers which contain bogus names. These registers have as much value as a box containing counterfeit coins though

[1] Only an extract from the letter is reproduced here.

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it is claimed to contain rupees. Strife at Congress elections is becoming a common occurrence. The indiscipline of Congressmen is on the increase everywhere. Many of them make irresponsible, even violent, speeches. Many fail to carry out instructions. Bihar is a notable example. Kisans of Bihar are supposed to be Congressmen. Their leaders are Congressmen. Bihar Ministers live in perpetual dread of kisan risings and kisan marches. Only two days ago I had a wire from Khandesh of a contemplated march to the Collector's bungalow by kisans headed by a well-known Congress worker. Such instances can be multiplied.

Rome's decline began long before it fell. The Congress, which has been nursed for over fifty years by the best brains of the country, will not fall the moment it has begun to decay. It need not fall at all, if the corruption is handled in time.

In my opinion the greatest work before the Congress will be to deal with this fourfold process of decay. We are yet far from our goal. We shall be no nearer it if we are not sure of our means and their meaning and implications. When the real time comes we shall be found wanting. If I was called upon to lead, say, an army of civil resisters, I should be unable to shoulder the burden. This is a big admission to make. But I should be guilty of cowardice and worse if I did not make it. Though there is non-violence enough among the masses, there is not enough among those who have to organize the masses. Even as a banker cannot run a bank if he has nothing in his chest, so can a general not lead a battle if he has no soldiers on whom he can rely implicitly.

Let no Congressman blame me for thinking aloud. Though I am not in the Congress, I have not ceased to be of it. Congressmen still expect me to give the call when in my opinion the time for action has come. What is more, if God so wills it, I feel I have enough strength and energy in me to lead a battle much more strenuous than any I have fought. But there are Saharas in the way. I have mentioned one which Congressmen can see, touch and handle. The Congress would not be harmed by my having lifted the curtain and exposing our uglinesses to the public gaze. It would be harmed if knowing the truth I hid it from the public.

Out of the present condition of the Congress I see nothing but anarchy and red ruin in front of the country. Shall we face the harsh truth at Tripuri?

BARDOLI, January 23, 1939

Harijan, 28-1-1939

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368. 'WHAT A MAN OF GOD!'

The much-travelled Miss Muriel Lester, my East End hostess during the Round Table days, who is in the Frontier Province at the time of writing this, having met Badshah Khan, thus writes of him:

> Now I have got to know Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, I feel there is not likely to be another such honour in my life so far as meeting wonderful people goes. He is an Old Testament prince with the New Testament gentleness. What a man of God! Thank you for making it possible for us to know him.
>
> He is taking us tomorrow to Utmanzai. It will be a pleasure to see Mira again.

I would not have published this private testimony if I had thought it to be the exaggeration of an unbalanced mind. It is true that Muriel Lester readily sees the bright side of those whom she meets. It is not a fault but a virtue. There is no one without faults, not even men of God. They are men of God not because they are faultless but because they know their own faults, they strive against them, they do not hide them and are ever ready to correct themselves. Such is Khan Saheb who prides himself in calling himself a servant of God. He is a devout Muslim who never misses his prayers and fasts. His interpretation of the Koran is the most liberal I have known. He had to make a choice of one from among the workers whose services I had offered him for introducing spinning, etc., among Khudai Khidmatgars. He deliberately chose Mirabai, Madeleine Slade. She was until recently living under the same roof as Khan Saheb and is now living in rooms adjoining Khan Saheb's residence where she conducts her class. She writes to me almost daily. I am glad to be able to say that her letters, though she does not spare those whom she loves, bear out Muriel Lester's first impression of this noble fakir. And yet the English officials have no use for him. They fear him and distrust him. I would not mind this distrust so much if it did not hamper progress, did not harm India and England and therefore the world.

BARDOLI, January 23, 1939

Harijan, 28-1-1939

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369. *ISLAMIC CULTURE*

A great Muslim asked me what appeared to me strange questions the other day. Strange, because I should have thought that every Muslim who knows me, and this great Muslim knew me, could answer them for me. Here is the dialogue:

Q. Are you the same to Muslims now that you used to be in South Africa—their friend, father and guide?

A. I never claimed the privilege of being father to them or anyone in South Africa. But I certainly was their guide and friend. (I may state in passing that I was addressed as Bhai—brother—by them and others.) I am absolutely the same as I was in South Africa, twenty-four years ago. I regard Muslims like other Indians as blood brothers entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other Indian.

Q. Then do you cherish their culture as you would cherish your own Hindu culture?

A. Of course I do. I cannot do otherwise, as I believe Islam and other great religions to be as true as my own. India is the richer for the cultures that Islam and Christianity brought with them. I regard the present antagonisms as a passing phase.

Q. Let me be plain. I do not believe in Akbar's dream. He aimed at fusing all religions into one and producing a new faith. Do you have some such aim?

A. I do not know what Akbar dreamt. I do not aim at any fusion. Each religion has its own contribution to make to human evolution. I regard the great faiths of the world as so many branches of a tree, each distinct from the other though having the same source.

Q. I would like you to tell me what you mean by Hindustani. Do you favour a common dictionary?

A. I have anticipated you. I understand that Maulvi Abdul Haq Saheb has produced a dictionary which has taken all the Urdu words that are to be found in the Benares Hindi Lexicon and Hindi words from the Osmania Lexicon. I have recommended to the Congress the adoption of the Maulvi Saheb's

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dictionary. And for new words have suggested a board composed of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Babu.

Q. What about the Border Tribes? You know they are being crushed under the British heel. Will you favour their relations with India being regulated by the Frontier Province?

A. I would most decidedly. I have been moving in that direction. I nave publicly stated more than once that India has to trust and befriend them and not regard them as her natural enemies. I have been trying to go in their midst myself and secure the same permission for Badshah Khan.

There were other questions also asked, but they are not of such public interest as the ones I have dealt with. And they are not matters of controversy so far as I know. I should like to add here that I have not lost my faith in communal unity. My life is still dedicated to it. Though a political pact has to come, it will never satisfy me without a heart unity. And a heart unity is inconceivable without non-violence as the basis of permanent friendship or brotherhood.

BARDOLI, January 23, 1939

Harijan, 28-1-1939

370. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BARDOLI,
January 23, 1939

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
CARE KANORIA
CALCUTTA

TIME RESERVED.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 210

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371. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

BARDOLI,
January 23, 1939

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have your letter, but what a letter! You bite even from a distance! Why should I worry about you? God takes care of all. It is surprising that you could not meet Mridulabehn. I am well. The reading was 160/94 at noon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 412

372. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

BARDOLI,
January 23, 1939

DEAR SISTER,

I have both your letters. The articles will be published in *Harijan*.[1] I had myself asked for them—hadn't I? I was only awaiting the second. I hope your daughter-in-law is well. Ba is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMESHWARI NEHRU
PAKPATTAM
PUNJAB

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7987. Also C.W. 3083. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

[1] They were published in *Harijan*, 18-3-1939, 1-4-1939, 15-4-1939, 29-4-1939, 6-5-1939 and 20-5-1939.

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373. INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

BARDOLI,
January 24, 1939

In reply to the correspondent's question as to what Gandhiji meant by saying in the last week's *Harijan* that an all-India crisis would occur if the Jaipur authorities persisted in prohibiting the entry of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj into the State,[1] Gandhiji replied:

Seth Jamnalal is an all-India man, though a subject of Jaipur. He is also a member of the Congress Working Committee, and essentially and admittedly a man of peace. He is the president of an organization which has been working and has been allowed to work in Jaipur for some years. Its activities have always been open. It contains well-known workers who are sober by disposition and who have done much constructive work, both among men and women. There is at the head of affairs in Jaipur a distinguished politico-military officer. He is shaping the policy of the State in connection with the ban pronounced against Jamnalalji and his association, the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal. I take it that Sir Beauchamp St. John, Prime Minister of Jaipur, would not be acting without at least the tacit approval of the Central authority, without whose consent he could not become the Prime Minister of an important State like Jaipur.

If the action of the Jaipur authorities precipitates a first-class crisis, it is impossible for the Indian National Congress, and therefore all India, to stand by and look on with indifference whilst Jamnalalji, for no offence whatsoever, is imprisoned and members of the Praja Mandal are dealt with likewise. The Congress will be neglecting its duty if, having power, it shrank from using it and allowed the spirit of the people of Jaipur to be crushed for want of support from the Congress. This is the sense in which I have said that the example of Jaipur, or say Rajkot, might easily lead to an all-India crisis.

The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is all-round awakening among the people of the States and

[1] *Vide* "Jaipur", pp. 299-300.

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a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognized, the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle for all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene.

In answer to a further question how the Congress as an institution and the Congress Ministries in the various provinces were justified in precipitating a crisis on an issue which exclusively concerned a State, Gandhiji said:

Supposing in a particular district in British India the Collector butchered the people of that district, is or is not the Congress justified in intervening and precipitating an all-India crisis? If the answer is 'yes', then it applies to Jaipur also for examining the conduct of the Congress in terms of intervention. If there had been no non-intervention resolution by the Congress, this question really would not have arisen. Therefore, unthinking people very often blame me for having said that constitutionally Indian States were foreign States. I do not accept that blame at all. I was wandering about in the States and I knew as a matter of fact that the people of the States were not ready.

The moment they became ready, the legal, constitutional and artificial boundary was destroyed. This is a tremendous moral question. Constitutionalism, legality and such other things are good enough within their respective spheres, but they become a drag upon human progress immediately the human mind has broken these artificial bonds and flies higher. That is precisely what is happening before my eyes. Without any spur from any outside agency I saw at once that there must be intervention by the Congress of the type you see today. And it will go on from stage to stage, if the Congress remains the moral force that it has become—in other words, if the Congress lives up to its policy of non-violence.

People say that I have changed my view, that I say today something different from what I said years ago. The fact of the matter is that conditions have changed. I am the same. My words and deeds are dictated by prevailing conditions. There has been a gradual evolution in my environment and I react to it as a satyagrahi.

The correspondent next drew Gandhiji's attention to recent developments in Rajkot and in Baroda, where the minorities were protesting against the Congress dictation. Gandhiji said in reply that he was unperturbed by those developments. He said:

The movement for liberty cannot possibly be withdrawn or arrested because there are at the moment so-called communal splits. I see that history is repeating itself and the power that is losing ground is becoming desperate and fomenting trouble and dissension within, hoping to drag on its existence by means of these dissensions. If the people know how to work the non-violent technique, the powers that are acting in this manner will be confounded and the people will rise victorious.

The Muslims in Rajkot, for instance, have everything to gain by the people of Rajkot securing liberty. They are today depending upon the sweet will, not of the Rulers, but of the advisers of the Rulers; tomorrow they will share power with the people because they are of the people. But I really do not believe that there is real Muslim opposition in Rajkot. They have enjoyed the best relations with the Hindus. I know this from personal experience myself. During the three months' brief but brilliant struggle there was no dissension between the Hindus and the Muslims in Rajkot. Though many Muslims did not court imprisonment, the Muslims as a community remained at the back of the agitation.

I really do not understand this unfortunate squabble in Baroda. I am as yet too paralysed to get a full grasp of the situation. There again, what can Maharashtrians lose if there is self-rule in Baroda? They are powerful enough to assert themselves. It is not as if they will be crushed by the so-called Gujarati majority, and if the majority gets its share of the crumbs of office, that should not be a matter for non-participation by the Maharashtrians in the struggle for liberty. Hence, though I have not been able to fathom the bottom of this quarrel, I have no misgivings so long as the reformers remain non-violent and do not harbour any ill will against the Maharashtrians for their action. The question dwindles into insignificance so far as Baroda is concerned when it is remembered that against its population of 2,500,000 there are only a few thousands of Maharashtrians, mostly to be found in Baroda city itself.

The Times of India, January 25, 1939, and *Harijan*, 28-1-1939

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374. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 25, 1939

CHI. MANILAL,

Enclosed is a cheque for £100. It is for the repairs of the library building—is it not? Why should you be afraid of the astrological prediction? Now it is certainly time for me to leave the world. Do not weep if you hear the news of my demise tomorrow. Both of you may look after my work. You should shine as my heir. Add to the inheritance. Money is something that comes and goes, but if I have some virtues those are your inheritance. Add to them and be happy. All are sharers in this inheritance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4893

375. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 25, 1939

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter does you justice. It came to my hand at 6.30. It is 7.50 now. I only think of your good. How can I claim to be a father otherwise? It is wrong for you to stay back for fear of your dreams and forecasts coming true. One should not deviate from one's duty even if the forecast is trustworthy. What does it matter if I or anybody at Akola dies when you are not here? If your presence here is necessary for some service, it becomes your duty to stay back. Otherwise, your place is by Manilal. You are his wife, his *vamangini*, which means the left side of the body. You are his better half. Your place is where Manilal is. Go without hesitation and with a light heart. That is your duty.

The enclosed is for Manilal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4894

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376. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

Confidential BARDOLI,
January 26, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

Your clear reply of the 4th inst. in reply to mine of the 23rd ultimo emboldens me to bring to your notice certain happenings as I see them.

In Orissa things seem to be worst.[1] Public opinion there is not so strong as elsewhere and the most unfortunate murder of Major Bazalgette in Ranpur has complicated the situation. The Orissa Government, as has been officially admitted, has rendered every assistance it could have. This unfortunate event apart, out of a total population of 75,000 souls in Talcher, 26,000 have been compelled by sufferings said to be indescribable to migrate to British Orissa.

I feel that it is the clear duty of the Resident to see that the cause of this migration is investigated and redress given to the people.

The Resident in Kathiawad, as far as I can see, has made the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot break his solemn pact with his people published in the form of an official Notification.[2]
The struggle has, therefore, been resumed in Rajkot.

The British Prime Minister of Jaipur is said to have vowed to crush Seth Jamnalalji, a well-known banker, philanthropist and social reformer, and socio-political organization of which he is the President.[3] Their crime consists in aiming at responsible government in Jaipur under the aegis of the Maharaja.

I take it that the Central Government cannot escape responsibility, if the information given herein is trustworthy.

This means that the people of the States have to fight not only their rulers who by themselves cannot resist their people but they have also to combat the unseen and all too powerful hand of the Central authority.

I venture to present this awful problem to you. I call it awful because I do not know how far it will commit both the

[1] & [2] *Vide* pp. 318-20.
[3] *Vide* pp. 299-300.

Central authority and the Congress which has a moral duty by the people of the States. I can understand the treaty obligations of the Paramount Power to protect States against danger from without and anarchy within. Is not the corollary equally true, that if the States suppress their people, the latter have also to be protected by the Paramount Power? Can a State suppress free speech, meetings and the like, and expect the Paramount Power to help it in doing so, if the afflicted people carry on a non-violent agitation for the natural freedom to which every human being in decent society is entitled?

I do not expect any reply to my letter unless there is anything to tell me. I know how every moment of your time is occupied. It is enough for me to know, as I do know, that my letters receive your personal attention.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm of a printed copy: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, pp. 401-2

377. LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH

BARDOLI,
January 26, 1939

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have asked Kanu to send you Rs. 30. I am sorry this was overlooked.

You should take it for certain that H. would not have left had it not been for the episode in which you figured. Do not forget the purport of your first letter. You wanted that H. should give up women's education. That has been done. To do anything more is cruelty. Your purpose is served. I do not hold you guilty. You wanted such justice from me, did you not? If I hand over the papers to Jamnalalji and others and if they hold you guilty, will you accept the verdict? Are you so foolish? But that is the meaning of your letter. You write that you will accept the verdict if they hold you guilty. This statement lacks wisdom. When I have acquitted you, what more is there for you to do? But I have done more for you. I pronounced you not guilty and made H. give up Dakshinamurti and women's education. What more

would you gain by making him accept his guilt? A prisoner is punished but he is never forced to confess the guilt. You are really exhibiting your foolishness. Have you or have you not given me the right to call you foolish? Write your reply with an easy mind. If you insist, I shall certainly give trouble to Jamnalalji and others.

I advise you to forget about H. and absorb yourself in your work. If you do not find the food suitable, cook yourself. It will take 15 minutes in a cooker.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 948. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

378. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

January 26, 1939

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

You will have received my letter. Your question is pertinent. But the solution is not to be found in what happened. We must find out why it happened. There is plenty of violence in the Aryan League. Who will counteract it? The substance of what you say is that the Muslims are more given to the gospel of violence. What is the non-violent person to do when two violent parties fight? When he is powerless to do anything he should pray, keep away from the conflict and seek for an opportunity to sacrifice himself.

About *The Hindustan Times* you should speak to Devdas.

The newspapers here do not contain any news of the riot. Was there anything in *The Statesman*?

I have not read the letter to Kripalani. I gave it to Pyarelal to forward to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2475

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379. SPEECH AT MEETING OF PEASANTS[1]

BARDOLI,
January 26, 1939

I went through the resolutions you have passed before coming here. Let me congratulate both the parties on it. Sardar has said that you have passed these resolutions with God as your witness. You have already had some experience of what happens when a man breaks his vow. I do hope that you will fully adhere to these resolutions. Quite often, when people do not make such resolutions of their own accord, law compels them to do so, which carries with it some kind of punishment. It is a good thing that you have passed these resolutions of your own free will. It is not an ordinary thing that the Dublas have ceased to be serfs and have become free. Of course, these resolutions gave me an impression that the peasants in this part are big businessmen for, through these resolutions they have indeed struck a big bargain. What is so great about paying fair daily wages to the Dublas for the full quota of work whereas formerly they were made to work as much as the owners desired? I am not greatly impressed by it. According to me, any man or woman must get the minimum wage of 8 annas for 8 hours of work. God willing, such conditions will be created in my lifetime. You may find 8 annas a big thing; but it

[1] The meeting, with an attendance of between 10 and 15 thousand landowners and Halis or Dublas, was held to approve the recommendations made by a committee of farmers and village workers, formed in the previous year to consider the question of the emancipation of Halis whose status was that of serfs. The committee had made the following recommendations:

(1) Every Hali to be emancipated, the wages from 26th January 1939 to be as. 4/6 (for males) and as. 3/- (for females); (2) every Hali who has worked on his master's farm for twelve years or more is automatically free from all his debts to him; (3) such Halis as may have worked for less than twelve years to have credited to their account a twelfth of the debt for every year that they have worked; (4) an anna per day to be deducted from the wage, in the case of men, until the debt is repaid; (5) everyone to be declared free from debt on expiry of 12 years, whether the debt be paid or not; (6) every debt to expire with the debtor's life; (7) a Dubla may engage himself on an annual wage of Rs. 80, and Rs. 15 may be deducted from his wage for repayment of a debt due if any; (8) a village committee to be appointed to settle all questions pertaining to debts.

really is not so big. But you have fixed 3 annas as the wages for a woman labourer, whereas you will take the same amount of work from her. Do you think those people will run away from you? Hence, even while congratulating you, I tell you that you have struck a bargain.

I would like to insist that you should not take the resolution too literally. Do not think that you can never pay more than 4½ annas and 3 annas. The very fact that you have made them free implies that they are free to work wherever they choose and earn the wages they can. The great significance of this resolution is that they will remain where they are and your relations will be pure. The fact that a Dubla ceases to be a serf and becomes a ploughman does not mean that the farmer will not plough the land. The plough will belong to the farmer and the Dubla will use it for him. But the real ploughman, in fact, is the tiller of the land and the ideal condition will be that in which both the farmer and the serf become ploughmen. Further, the resolution does not mean that even when it has been a good year and there are bumper crops you will pay only 4½ annas as wages. If you do so, I would say that you have not carried out your resolution.

You had taken the great vow of independence in 1921. You have not yet fulfilled the major part of it. What you have done now should have been done in 1921. This means that you delayed what should have been done many years ago. Nevertheless, I congratulate you as this is a meritorious act.

Agriculture is our basic occupation. But we are not very good agriculturists, because our farming does not keep us busy throughout the year. Nor does it give us enough to eat. That is why I have described the charkha as Annapurna and praise it even today as much as I did formerly. Hence, if the farmers want to make progress, they will have to supplement their income by taking to the charkha. Thus you should devote all your free time to the charkha.

I hope the resolutions will be implemented by both the parties.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 19-2-1939

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380. LETTER TO SIR W. BEAUCHAMP ST. JOHN

BARDOLI,
January 27, 1939

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for yours of the 25th inst.

I am afraid I cannot sympathize with you in your hesitation. The report Shri Chudgar has sent is too valuable not to be published. My concern was to see that I did not give currency to a report whose accuracy could be successfully challenged.

I am in correspondence with Shri Chudgar and if he adheres to the report he has given to Seth Jamnalalji, I may feel compelled to publish it in the interest of the cause of the people of Jaipur.

I have not understood the meaning of "suitable action" to be taken by you in the event of publication of Shri Chudgar's version.

Yours sincerely,

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 400-1. Also C.W. 7809. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

381. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 27, 1939

CHI. AMTUSSALAAM,

I am puzzled. I did not say no. I only explained my predicament. You made the suggestion and I accepted it. You are so unpredictable. If you are not worried over the lack of my contact but only about the refusal from Maulana, why is the letter so full of that topic? But I do not wish to get into an argument with you. There is no need for you to go to Mridula.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 669

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382. TELEGRAM TO BISWANATH DAS

[Before *January 28, 1939*][1]

PRIME MINISTER
CUTTACK

THAKKAR BAPA SAYS TALCHER REFUGEES STARVING AND SUFFERING. WANT MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. PLEASE GIVE RELIEF.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

383. TELEGRAM TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

BARDOLI,
January 28, 1939

JANKIDEVI BAJAJ
WARDHA

DON'T GO JAIPUR NOW TILL CERTIFIED BY DOCTORS AND ME AS PERFECTLY FIT AND CHEERFUL.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 210

384. DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR JAMNALAL BAJAJ[2]

BARDOLI,
January 28, 1939

The Prime Minister of Jaipur is reported to have vowed to crush the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal and me. In pursuance of that policy I have been put out of harm's way as they may think. Presently the same fate will overtake the members of the Mandal. But if we are true to ourselves and our self-imposed trust, though our bodies may be imprisoned or otherwise injured, our spirits shall be free.

[1] From the reference to the plight of Talcher refugees; *vide* "The States", pp. 318-20.

[2] This was to be issued by Jamnalal Bajaj at the time of his arrest. The draft in Gandhiji's hand is available in G.N. 3078.

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As I go into enforced silence let me reiterate what we are fighting for. Our goal is responsible government under the Maharaja but our civil disobedience has not been taken up so as to influence the Durbar to grant us responsible government. Civil disobedience is aimed at asserting the elementary right that belongs to all societies, to speak and write freely, to assemble in meetings, to take out processions, to form associations, etc., so long as these activities remain non-violent. We have been forced to resort to civil disobedience because this elementary right has been denied to us. The moment this right is restored civil disobedience should be withdrawn.

Hence there is no question as yet of mass civil disobedience or a no-tax campaign.

Seeing that the Mandal has been virtually declared an illegal body, let us regard our existing register to be abrogated. A new register should be opened if possible within the State and without if necessary. Those only will become members who know that there is risk today even in becoming members of the Mandal. It is to be hoped, however, that there will be a large number of Jaipurians living within the State or without who will become members of the Mandal and thus at least show their disapproval of the ban.

The names, addresses and occupations of these members will be registered and published from time to time.

The affairs of the Mandal will in my absence be managed by . . .[1] and they will exercise all the powers of the Mandal and the President as if the constitution was in operation. This council of five will have the right to substitute others in their respective places. In all matters of civil disobedience the council will whenever necessary seek and be guided by the advice of Gandhiji.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 403-4. Also G.N. 3078

[1] Omission as in the source

385. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF MUNICIPALITIES AND LOCAL BOARDS[1]

BARDOLI,
January 28, 1939

The first question they asked related to the question of taxation:

The Congress is pledged to the policy of reducing the burden of taxation. Yet when Congressmen enter the local boards and municipalities, they required more money for carrying out their programme of beneficent municipal activity. How can this be done without fresh taxation which the people naturally dislike? How is the dilemma to be solved?

A. If I were a tax-payer within the jurisdiction of a local board or a municipality, I would refuse to pay a single pie by way of additional taxation and advise others to do likewise unless the money we pay is returned fourfold. Those who enter local boards and municipalities as people's representatives go there not to seek honour or to indulge in mutual rivalries, but to render a service of love, and that does not depend upon money. Ours is a pauper country. If our municipal councillors are imbued with a real spirit of service, they will convert themselves into unpaid sweepers, Bhangis and road-makers, and take pride in doing so. They will invite their fellow-councillors, who may not have come on the Congress ticket, to join them, and if they have faith in themselves and their mission, their example will not fail to evoke response. This means that a municipal councillor has to be a whole-timer. He should have no axe of his own to grind. The next step would be to map out the entire adult population within the jurisdiction of the municipality or the local board. All should be asked to make their contribution to municipal activity. A regular register should be maintained. Those who are too poor to make any money contribution but are able-bodied and physically fit, can be asked to give their free labour. Real India consists not of a few big cities and our Presidency towns, but of seven lakhs of villages. It is there that the real problems of India have to be faced and solved. We require better roads, better sanitation, better drinking water supply for our villages.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Municipal Service and Non-violence". About 200 representatives of municipalities and local boards had met Gandhiji to discuss the various knotty problems relating to their day-to-day work.

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We shall never be able to get through even a fraction of this stupendous work if we proceed on a money basis. But India has an inexhaustible reserve of manpower. If we can mobilize that, we can transform the entire look of the country in an incredibly short time.

And the charkha is a means *par excellence* for effecting this mobilization of our labour resources. It is a natural symbol of non-violence too, which is the soul of all voluntary life-giving corporate activity. The popularization of the charkha thus has a definite place in any scheme of municipal work, whether it relates to the liquidation of rural unemployment and the consequent penury and appalling conditions of existence under which vast sections of our rural population live, or whether it refers to the amelioration of slum life that is the shame of our big cities.

But this presupposes a living faith in the charkha, a faith that should lead to an intelligent study and mastering of the science of spinning and its allied processes. As it is, we today love to kill our time by going to cinemas and picture houses or even in idle talk. Pursuits of making money without work interest us, but not the charkha. Yet it is my faith that we shall advance towards our goal of non-violence to the extent we succeed in universalizing the charkha.

By following the plan of work outlined above, we shall be able to return to the ratepayers whatever taxes they may have paid, multiplied manifold, in the form of vastly improved services and municipal amenities, and they will not grudge the levying of additional taxes, too, should that become necessary.

A member of the Jambusar Municipality asked: "In our municipality there are 17 members, out of whom eight have been returned on the Congress ticket, the remaining nine are non-Congress. They can always outvote us and thwart our plans. What should we do?"

G. That should present no problem. If they want to proceed in the orthodox style and fill up their time with speechifying and so on and so forth, you need not imitate them, or waste your time like them; you may just put in your appearance at these meetings, but need not waste your time by taking part in idle controversy. Instead, you should occupy all your time with useful service of the ratepayers, by yourself wielding the bucket and the broom, by working with the spade and the basket, by nursing and rendering medical aid to the sick and ailing, and by teaching the ratepayers who are illiterate, and their children, to read and write. As a result, two things may happen. Either

your opponents will be infected by your example and will align themselves with you and there will be an end to all controversy. Or the ratepayers will learn to know the sheep from the goats, and at the next election all the seventeen seats will be filled by Congressmen. That is the non-violent way of liquidating opposition. It eliminates all conflict and clash and makes our way clear irrespective of what the other party may or may not do.

Q. Since in many places in Gujarat the National Week is being observed by inviting the people to take part in rural uplift or municipal service work, would it not be desirable to alter the dates of the celebration so that the week should fall within the bright phase of the moon? This will enable mass operations to continue even after nightfall and economize lighting.

A. A multitude of calendars are at present in vogue in different parts of the country. But for a national celebration it is desirable to follow a calendar which is universal. If your civic zeal is not a vain show, beginning and ending with the National Week, you will have a series of municipal service weeks in addition to the National Week. The dates for these weeks in each place can be fixed according to the requirement of the activity suited to that particular place.

"Which form of taxation is better for municipal purposes, direct or indirect?" asked a city father from Surat.

G. Indirect taxation is found to be more popular with the ratepayers, because its incidence is not directly felt. But the direct taxation has more educative value and will be found more handy when the object is to make the ratepayers municipal-minded.

A friend from Kheda District complained: "We would like to introduce the Wardha scheme of basic education in the primary schools run by local boards. The local bodies are willing, but the Inspectorate and the higher officials of the Education Department are still old-fashioned in their outlook. They have not developed faith in the Wardha principles. How shall we circumvent this handicap?"

G. That does not surprise me. I should be surprised if the higher educational authorities developed faith in the Wardha scheme of education all at once. Faith will follow experience. In the mean time all I can say is that where there is a will there is a way. I do not think there is any legal difficulty in the way of the Education Minister instructing his Director of Public Instruction to help, in every possible way, those who might wish to give effect to the Wardha scheme of education. The C. P. Ministry has not found any difficulty in making the Education Depart-

ment to fall into line with them. But if a legal or technical difficulty is discovered, it can be removed in a legal way.

Q. In our schemes for adult education, should the aim be to promote the spread of literacy or to impart 'useful knowledge'? What about the education of women?

A. The primary need of those who are come of age and are following an avocation, is to know how to read and write. Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated. Of course, the literacy campaign must not begin and end with a knowledge of the alphabet. It must go hand in hand with the spread of useful knowledge. But municipal bodies should beware of trying to ride two horses at a time, or else they are sure to come a cropper.

As for illiteracy among the women, its cause is not mere laziness and inertia as in the case of men. A more potent cause is the status of inferiority with which an immemorial tradition has unjustly branded her. Man has converted her into a domestic drudge and an instrument of his pleasure, instead of regarding her as his helpmate and better half ! The result is a semi-paralysis of our society. Woman has rightly been called the mother of the race. We owe it to her and to ourselves to undo the great wrong that we have done her.

"You have expressed varying opinions on certain subjects at different times," asked a friend from Kapadwanj, Kheda Dist. "These are sometimes exploited by our opponents to oppose our current policies. What should we do under these circumstances?"

G. The contradiction in these cases is only in appearance and easily capable of being reconciled. A safe rule to follow would be that the latest utterance, in order of time, should be given precedence over all the previous ones. But no utterance of mine, whether late or early, need bind you if it does not appeal to your heart and head. That would not mean that my standpoint was wrong. But it would be wrong to accept a standpoint which you cannot appreciate or assimilate.

Q. How to deal with people who commit nuisance by using any and every place for evacuations? They defend the practice on the ground that it is enjoined by their religion. Again, how to cope with the nuisance of flies, mosquitoes, rabid dogs and monkeys, etc.? Their extermination is objected to by some on the ground of ahimsa.

A. With regard to the first, there are two ways of dealing with the problem—the apparently violent, and the non-violent.

You can enforce the penalty of law against those who may infringe the laws of sanitation. I have used the word 'apparent' advisedly. Religious freedom, like liberty, becomes licence when it is indulged in at the expense of the health and safety of others, or in contravention of the principles of decency or morality. If you want to claim unrestricted and absolute liberty for yourselves, you must choose to retire from society and take to solitude. I call the practice of making evacuations anywhere and everywhere, regardless of the health and convenience of others, a travesty of ahimsa. Where there is filth, whether physical or moral, there is no ahimsa.

The other way is to seek out the religious heads of the sects that indulge in these insanitary practices and to try to touch their heart and reason by patient argument.

As for the nuisance of flies, mosquitoes, street dogs and monkeys, etc., I in my individual capacity may choose to put up with it, but society as a whole cannot afford to do so if it at all wants to exist. These pests are a result of our misdeeds. If I feed the monkeys in a public place and thereby make life impossible for others, it is I who commit *himsa*, and society will have no choice but to exterminate the pest that my *himsa* has created. The criterion of ahimsa is the mental attitude behind an act, not the mechanical act by itself. A citizen who lets loose pests on others by indulging in a mistaken humanitarian sentiment is guilty of *himsa*.

Shrimati Mridulabehn Sarabhai, who is a keen social worker and founder of the Jyoti Sangh, an institution for the uplift and emancipation of women at Ahmedabad, put Gandhiji a few leading questions on the position of women in society: "The awakening of civil and political consciousness among Indian women has created a conflict between their traditional domestic duties and their duty towards society. If a woman engages in public work, she may have to neglect her children or her household. How is the dilemma to be solved?"

Basing his reply on a celebrated text of the *Gita*, Gandhiji remarked that it was always wrong to run after the 'distant scene' to the neglect of the more immediate duties that might have accrued to one naturally. Neglect of present duty was the way to destruction. The question was whether it is a woman's duty to devote all her time to domestic work. More often than not a woman's time is taken up not by the performance of essential domestic duties but in catering for the egoistic pleasure of her lord and master and for her own vanities.

G. To me this domestic slavery of women is a symbol of our barbarism.

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In my opinion the slavery of the kitchen is a remnant of barbarism mainly. It is high time that our womankind was freed from this incubus. Domestic work ought not to take the whole of a woman's time.

MRIDULABEHN: At the elections your Congressmen expect all manner of help from us, but when we ask them to send out their wives and daughters to join us in public work, they bring forth all sorts of excuses and want to keep them close prisoners within the four domestic walls. What remedy do you suggest?

G. Send the names of all such antediluvian fossils to me for publication in *Harijan*.

SEGAON, February 7, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

386. LETTER TO GENERAL SHINDE

BARDOLI,
January 29, 1939

DEAR GEN. SHINDE,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 25th inst.

I want unity between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis. There is no reason whatsoever for a split.

If you have copies of Sardar Vallabhbhai's speeches at Bhadran and Ena,[1] I would like to see them. Sardar is not the man to foment dissensions between the two communities.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee in his letter had charged Sardar Patel with fomenting dissensions between Gujaratis and Maharashtrians by his speeches at Bhadran and Ena and by his Press statements.

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387. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

BARDOLI,
January 29, 1939

DEAR MAHARAJA SAHIB,

I had intended long since to thank you for the woollen shawl you were good enough to send me through Shri Rangaswami. I hope that the relations between the State and the people are happy and that the forthcoming reforms will inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

388. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 29, 1939

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have your two letters.

How can I order you? I have already said that you are free to do as you like as I do not know what is in your best interest. It would be absurd for me to express any opinion under such circumstances. So the best thing would be for you to do what you think proper. I shall be content with that. I write this neither in grief nor in anger, only with your good at heart.

I hope everyone there is well, including yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 413

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389. SPEECH AT MEETING OF PEASANTS[1]

VARAD,
[*January 29, 1939*][2]

There can be no two opinions that this is an auspicious occasion. There was a time when we were faced with confiscation of our lands and when they were actually confiscated we declared times without number in our speeches that the Government would not be able to retain them, that they would be returned to the owners. And now these lands have been returned. Do not think that we have been able to get them back by our ceaseless efforts. You would be making a great mistake if you thought so. We have succeeded to the extent we adhered to truth and non-violence. Chitta Patel[3] remained firm and never came to Varad. He therefore completely fulfilled his pledge. It is not that Chittabhai alone had taken such a pledge. India abounds in such men and it is owing to their merit alone that we have got back our lands.

But we must know how to lose them again should an occasion arise. To believe that restoration of lands means that we have won swaraj or that we have become fit for it is to commit a sin. It suggests that for winning swaraj we have to tread the path which we have trodden so far. Let us not delude ourselves that nothing remains for us to do now. If we play the game guided by self-interest and pecuniary motives, we are bound to lose. I wish to warn you that a greater ordeal is yet to come.[4]

Let us in all humility pray to God that He may bless us with strength a hundredfold of that which He has bestowed on us up to now, so that we may be able to stand more fiery ordeals. We have had the courage to go to jail, to lose our homes and lands. Let us now pray for the courage to go to the scaffold cheerfully or to become ashes in a consuming fire. When we have exhibited

[1] On the occasion of restoration of confiscated lands. The text has been extracted from Mahadev Desai's reports in Gujarati and English under the heading "Bardoli".

[2] From *Gandhi—1915–1948*

[3] Chitta Patel had vowed not to enter the British territories until the confiscated lands were restored.

[4] The paragraph that follows is from *Harijan*.

that courage, swaraj will be ours, and no one dare rob us of it. But if we forget the lesson today, we shall lose the battle and be bankrupt. I hope and pray that none of us may be found wanting when the supreme test comes.

Harijanbandhu, 26-2-1939, and *Harijan*, 18-2-1939

390. RAJKOT

The struggle in Rajkot has a personal touch about it for me. It was the place where I received all my education up to the matriculation examination and where my father was Dewan for many years. My wife feels so much about the sufferings of the people that though she is as old as I am and much less able than myself to brave such hardships as may be attendant upon jail life, she feels she must go to Rajkot. And before this is in print she might have gone there.[1]

But I want to take a detached view of the struggle. Sardar's statement[2], reproduced elsewhere, is a legal document in the sense that it has not a superfluous word in it and contains nothing that cannot be supported by unimpeachable evidence most of which is based on written records which are attached to it as appendices.

It furnishes evidence of a cold-blooded breach of a solemn covenant entered into between the Rajkot Ruler and his people.[3] And the breach has been committed at the instance and bidding of the British Resident[4] who is directly linked with the Viceroy.

To the covenant a British Dewan[5] was party. His boast was that he represented British authority. He had expected to rule the Ruler. He was therefore no fool to fall into the Sardar's trap. Therefore, the covenant was not an extortion from an imbecile ruler. The British Resident detested the Congress and the Sardar for the crime of saving the Thakore Saheb from bankruptcy and, probably, loss of his *gadi*. The Congress influence he could not brook. And so before the Thakore Saheb could possibly redeem his promise to his people, he made him break

[1] Kasturba Gandhi was arrested at Rajkot on February 3 on entering the State to offer satyagraha.

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", pp. 330-1, and also "The States", pp. 318-20.

[4] E. C. Gibson

[5] Sir Patrick R. Cadell

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it. If the news the Sardar is receiving from Rajkot is to be believed, the Resident is showing the red claws of the British lion and says in effect to the people: 'Your ruler is my creature. I have put him on the *gadi* and I can depose him. He knew well enough that he had acted against my wishes. I have therefore undone his action in coming to terms with his people. For your dealings with the Congress and the Sardar I shall teach you a lesson that you will not forget for a generation.'

Having made the Ruler a virtual prisoner, he has begun a reign of terrorism in Rajkot. Here is what the latest telegram received by the Sardar says:

> Becharbhai Jasani and other volunteers arrested. Twenty-six volunteers taken at night to a distant place in the Agency limits and brutally beaten. Volunteers in villages are similarly treated. Agency police controlling State agency and searching private houses in civil limits.

The British Resident is repeating the performances of the British officials in 'British India' during the civil disobedience days.

I know that if the people of Rajkot can stand all this madness without themselves becoming mad, and meekly but resolutely and bravely suffer the inhumanities heaped upon them, they will come out victorious and, what is more, they will set free the Thakore Saheb. They will prove that they are the real rulers of Rajkot under the paramountcy of the Congress. If, however, they go mad and think of impotent retaliation and resort to acts of violence, their state will be worse than before and the paramountcy of the Congress will be of no effect. The Congress paramountcy avails only those who accept the banner of non-violence, even as the paramountcy of Britain avails only those who subscribe to the doctrine of 'might is right.'

What then is the duty of the Congress when the people of Rajkot have to face not the Ruler and his tiny police but the disciplined hordes of the British Empire ?

The first and natural step is for the Congress ministry to make themselves responsible for the safety and honour of the people of Rajkot. It is true that the Government of India Act gives the ministers no power over the States. But they are governors of a mighty province in which Rajkot is but a speck. As such they have rights and duties outside the Government of India Act. And these are much the most important. Supposing that Rajkot became the place of refuge for all the *goondas* that India could produce, supposing further that from there they carried on operations throughout India, the ministers would clearly have the right

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and it would be their duty to ask the Paramount Power through the British Representative in Bombay to set things right in Rajkot. And it will be the duty of the Paramount Power to do so or to lose the ministers. Every minister in his province is affected by everything that happens in territories within his geographical limit though outside his legal jurisdiction, especially if that thing hurts his sense of decency. Responsible government in those parts may not be the ministers' concern, but if there is plague in those parts or butchery going on, it is very much their concern; or else their rule is a sham and a delusion. Thus the ministers in Orissa may not sit comfortably in their chairs, if they do not succeed in sending 26,000 refugees of Talcher to their home with an absolute assurance of safety and freedom of speech and social and political intercourse. It is insufferable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider in the States which are vassals of the British.

This wanton breach, instigated by the British Resident in Rajkot, of the charter of the liberty of its people is a wrong which must be set right at the earliest possible moment. It is like a poison corroding the whole body. Will H. E. the Viceroy realize the significance of Rajkot and remove the poison?

BARDOLI, January 30, 1939

Harijan, 4-2-1939

391. THE MODERN GIRL

I have received a letter written on behalf of eleven girls whose names and addresses have been sent to me. I give it below with changes that make it more readable without in any way altering the meaning:

> Your comments on the letter of a lady student captioned 'Students' Shame' and published in *Harijan* on the 31st December, 1938[1] deserve special attention. The modern girl, it seems, has provoked you to the extent that you have disposed of her finally as one playing Juliet to half a dozen Romeos. This remark which betrays your idea about women in general is not very inspiring.
>
> In these days when women are coming out of closed doors to help men and take an equal share of the burden of life, it is indeed strange that they are still blamed even when they are maltreated by men.

[1] *Vide* pp. 244-8.

It cannot be denied that instances can be cited where the fault is equally divided. There may be a few girls playing Juliets to half a dozen Romeos. But such cases presuppose the existence of half a dozen Romeos, moving about the streets in quest of a Juliet. And it cannot or should never be taken that modern girls are categorically all Juliets or modern youths all Romeos. You yourself have come in contact with quite a number of modern girls and may have been struck by their resolution, sacrifice and other sterling womanly virtues.

As for forming public opinion against such misdemeanours as pointed out by your correspondent, it is not for girls to do it, not so much out of false shame as from its ineffectiveness.

But a statement like this from one revered all over the world seems to hold a brief once more for that worn out and unbecoming saying 'woman is the gate of Hell.'

From the foregoing remarks, however, please do not conclude that modern girls have no respect for you. They hold you in as much respect as every young man does. To be hated or pitied is what they resent much. They are ready to mend their ways if they are really guilty. Their guilt, if any, must be conclusively proved before they are anathematized. In this respect they would neither desire to take shelter under the covering of 'ladies, please', nor would they silently stand and allow the judge to condemn them in his own way. Truth must be faced; the modern girl or 'Juliet', as you have called her, has courage enough to face it.

My correspondents do not perhaps know that I began service of India's women in South Africa more than forty years ago when perhaps none of them was born. I hold myself to be incapable of writing anything derogatory to womanhood. My regard for the fair sex is too great to permit me to think ill of them. She is, what she has been described to be in English, the better half of mankind. And my article was written to expose students' shame, not to advertise the frailties of girls. But in giving the diagnosis of the disease, I was bound, if I was to prescribe the right remedy, to mention all the factors which induced the disease.

The 'modern girl' has a special meaning. Therefore there was no question of my restricting the scope of my remark to some. But all the girls who receive English education are not modern girls. I know many who are not at all touched by the 'modern girl' spirit. But there are some who have become modern girls. My remark was meant to warn India's girl students against copying the 'modern girl' and complicating a problem that has become a serious menace. For, at the time I received the letter referred to, I received also a letter from an Andhra

girl student bitterly complaining of the behaviour of Andhra students which from the description given is worse than what was described by the Lahore girl. This daughter of Andhra tells me the simple dress of her girl friends gives them no protection, but they lack the courage to expose the barbarism of the boys who are a disgrace to the institution they belong to. I commend this complaint to the authorities of the Andhra University.

The eleven girls I invite to initiate a crusade against the rude behaviour of students. God helps only those who help themselves. The girls must learn the art of protecting themselves against the ruffianly behaviour of man.

BARDOLI, January 30, 1939

Harijan, 4-2-1939

392. JAIPUR

The reader should know the distinction between the Jaipur struggle and the Rajkot one.

The Rajkot struggle is frankly for responsible government within the State and is now for redeeming the Ruler's promise to his people. Every man and woman of Rajkot, if they have any stuff in them, will be reduced to dust in resisting the dishonourable conduct of the British Resident.

The Jaipur struggle is on a very small and narrow issue. The one political association of Jaipur has been virtually declared illegal for the offence of pleading for responsible government, and its President, himself a resident of Jaipur, has been put under a ban. The civil disobedience struggle will cease the moment the bans are lifted and the right of free association, holding public meetings, etc., is conceded. But here again the British lion has opened out his big claws. The British Prime Minister of Jaipur had a chat with Barrister Chudgar, legal adviser of the Rao Rana of Sikar. He reported to Seth Jamnalalji the following purport of the talk:

> I understand it my duty to inform you that during my interview with Sir Beauchamp St. John, Prime Minister of Jaipur, in connection with Sikar affairs on the 9th inst. (January), at about 11 a. m. at his bungalow Natanika Bagh, I had some discussion with him regarding the Jaipur situation. The following is the substance of the discussion:
>
> I told Sir Beauchamp that the ban against your entry into Jaipur State territories came as a painful surprise to millions of people all over India, particularly because you are well-known to be a man of peace

and your mission was to supervise and direct famine relief activities in the famine-stricken parts of Jaipur State. To this Sir Beauchamp replied that he agreed that you are a man of peace, but you and your men's visit, he thought, would bring you and your men in contact with the masses in the famine-stricken areas, and this he did not like for obvious political reasons. I told him that you cannot be expected to submit to the order for an indefinite period, and that it would be better in the interests of the State and the people, in view of the statement you have published in the Press after you had been served with the order, if the order were recalled so that unnecessary trouble may be avoided. He was adamant, and he said that he was prepared to meet any situation that might arise if you disobeyed the order. He said that the Congressmen are out for a revolution by means of a non-violent struggle. But non-violence, he said, was a force as powerful or perhaps more powerful than violence. He further said Indians were playing upon the humane instincts in the English race, but if there was Japan or Herr Hitler instead of the English in India we could not have succeeded so well with our non-violence.

He then said that it was his considered opinion that non-violence, however strict, must be met by violence, and his reply to the non-violent movement in Jaipur would be the 'machine-gun'. I pointed out to him that all Englishmen were not of his way of thinking and even the English race as such would not agree with him. He said, "That may or may not be so," but personally he was of the opinion that there was no difference between non-violence and violence, and that there would be nothing wrong in using violence against non-violence.

If you or Mahatmaji desire to make use of this statement, I have no objection.

I considered this to be so startling that I referred it to the Prime Minister in the following letter (18-1-1939):[1] The Prime Minister replied as follows (20-1-1939):

I write to acknowledge your kind letter of the 18th instant, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Chudgar to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Your hesitation in publishing it before you had ascertained the correctness of its contents was a wise step, which I personally much appreciate, as I am now able to inform you that its description of my views is completely erroneous. I am unable to understand how Mr. Chudgar so misunderstood me, as I may say that this incident confirms me in my hesitation to grant any such interviews in future.

Now that you are aware of the facts, I am sure your reluctance to publish such a letter will be confirmed. Should, however, you decide

[1] For the text of the letter, *vide* p. 303.

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otherwise, I shall be glad if you can inform me as soon as practicable so that I can take suitable action.

With renewed thanks for your consideration.

I replied as under (22-1-1939) :[1]

To this there came the following reply (25-1-1939):

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd instant.

I am sure you will sympathize with me in my natural hesitation to make a record of an interview which was understood to be private and personal when the other party to the interview has already threatened to publish an erroneous version. Such a procedure can, as I am sure you will agree, only lead to acrimony, and so far as I can see, serve no useful purpose.

Should, however, Mr. Chudgar see fit to publish his erroneous version, I am sure you will give me due warning so that, as I have already said, I may take suitable action.

To this I replied again as follows (27-1-1939) :[2]

I referred the correspondence to Shri Chudgar and he has sent me the copy of the following letter he has addressed to Shri Jamnalal (28-1-1939):

I have read the correspondence between Mahatmaji and Sir W. Beauchamp St. John ending with Mahatmaji's letter to him dated the 27th inst. I have carefully read my letter to you dated the 15th inst. again, and I say that what I have stated in that letter is a substantially correct reproduction of the conversation between me and Sir Beauchamp.

The Prime Minister's letters have made strange reading. I had asked for bread, he has sent me a stone. He will pardon me if I believe Shri Chudgar's version, unless he can give his own. His mere denial accompanied by a threat carries no weight.

The Congress cannot wait and watch whilst it has the power, and allow the people of Jaipur to die of mental and moral starvation, especially when this denial of a natural right is backed by British might. If the Prime Minister has no authority to do what he is doing, let him at least be recalled.

BARDOLI, January 30, 1939

Harijan, 11-2-1939. Also C.W. 7809. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] For the text of the letter, *vide* p. 314.
[2] For the text of the letter, *vide* p. 335.

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393. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 30, 1939

CHI. KANTI,

I had messages sent to you. Ba, I and others were worried because there was no letter from you. It was received today. I am all right. You should not miss sending at least one postcard every week.

I have had a long talk with Ramachandran. I have just received his letter. He is now convinced. I am of course still trying to persuade him to send Saraswati. S.'s help is essential in this matter.

It is time for prayer and so I stop now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving for Segaon on the 1st.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7357. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

394. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

January 30, 1939

CHI. KANTI,

I do not make any suggestions of my own these days. P.'s name was mentioned to me and that was the only name. I had expressed my objection to re-election.

You must have received my letter of yesterday.

Saraswati writes to me occasionally.

Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7356. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

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395. 'KICKS AND KISSES'

The reader will read with painful interest the following account, said to be authentic, of the meeting recently held in Bombay of the Chamber of Princes:

> H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner opened the discussions by narrating the events at Rajkot where, he said, the trouble was due to the absence of influential jagirdars, the want of demarcation between the Privy Purse and the State Expenditure, and the smallness of the Kathiawar States. It was regarded as a test case by the Congress, and they had selected Rajkot for various reasons, the principal ones being that Rajkot, small and with limited resources, would not be able to withstand for long the onslaughts of the Congress, that the ground was ready for the delivery of such an attack, that the Congress was virile and active in Kathiawar and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was near at hand to direct operations and conduct the campaign. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner then mooted the suggestion of a common Police force for a group of States, as the resources of individual States, particularly of small ones, are not extensive and, therefore, totally inadequate to face the common danger. Such also was the indication of the Paramount Power and of its representatives. No great reliance, he said, could now be placed on co-operation and help from adjoining British territories as Congress was supreme there and they naturally would not like to help Indian States. On the other hand their sympathies either tacitly or actively are on the side of Indian State subjects or foreign agitators. This was actually evidenced by the attitude of the Orissa Government when help was demanded by the States in Orissa which had to face this trouble.
>
> Continuing, he stated that the Congress would devote increasingly greater attention to Indian States. Up to now its policy, as embodied in the resolution of the Haripura session and before, was of non-intervention, and the Indian States people were directed to be self-reliant. The reason is manifest. The Congress was actively busy with British Indian problems, and it wanted to generate strength in Indian States subjects and foster self-help in them. Now the Congress had practically established its sway in British India and would naturally mobilize its energy and influence towards Indian States.
>
> There was another point. In order to distract attention from the differences that are creeping into Congress ranks, it is necessary to unfold the plans of a campaign. This is a subtle but short dictum of statecraft.

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This is one of the reasons of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and the Austrian and Sudeten campaigns of Germany. It enables the powers to draw attention away from cleavages in the party and creates enthusiasm amongst its followers. We have also to bear in mind the attitude of the Paramount Power. In this connection reference must be made to the recent utterances of Mr. Gandhi on this subject. In my opinion greater reliance should be placed on our own strength than on any outside agency whose support is, at best, precarious and inadequate.

After a survey of Rajkot affairs, His Highness discussed the problems of the Rajputana States and outlined for the benefit of the Princes the policy he pursued with regard to his own State, Bikaner. He stated that he started the State Assembly in 1913, and it discussed the State expenditure. Bikaner had a *Raj-patra*—State Gazette. He discriminated between the agitators from outside and from amongst his own subjects. This, he said, was important and the distinction must ever be borne in mind. Foreign agitators, who have no stake in the State and who assume this role merely to be dubbed leaders and to be in the public eye, deserve short shrift. No consideration should be shown to them. Their continued activities are a menace to the State; their presence constitutes a danger. The remedy is deportation from the State and their entry should be banned. The agitators in the State, though equally obnoxious to the State and its ordered peace and progress, however, stand on a slightly different footing. They have an interest in the land; they probably sometimes advocate grievances which are to a certain extent legitimate, and such should be redressed as far as possible so that the wind may be taken away from the sails of their agitation which they advocate and foster. Legitimate grievances so far as possible should be redressed and agitation should be silenced. If the agitators are genuine and come from the ranks of the educated unemployed, an effort should be made to give them suitable State employment and to close their mouths, acting on the adage "it is better to sew the mouth with a morsel."

The question of Praja Mandals was then discussed. In this connection H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Kailashnarain Haksar, R. B. Pandit Amar Nath Atal of Jaipur, Pt. Dharmanarain of Udaipur and Major Harvey of Alwar made valuable contributions to the discussions. Mr. Robertson of Bundi and Mr. McGregor of Sirohi also asked a few questions. Mr. Atal narrated at great length the origin and growth of the Praja Mandal at Jaipur. It was evident that the founders and promoters of these Praja Mandals were disgruntled subjects and dismissed petty officials of the State. A note of caution and warning was sounded. It was agreed that they should be watched very carefully and their activities, however slight or extensive, should be fully reported. It was stated that these Praja Mandals should be crushed immediately and that

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they should not be allowed to gather strength or to attain the status of an influential body. If they had gained any, an effort should be made to direct adroitly their activities into social channels such as the Sarda Act, etc. On the other hand it was urged that the formation of genuine and healthy advisory bodies of the States people should be encouraged, which should form the nucleus for the training of the people for so-called responsible government in the States. The Praja Mandals located outside the States should be ignored.

As regards responsible government in the States advocated by Congress leaders like Messrs Gandhi and Patel, it was felt that the States people are not at all ready for it, and to concede it, therefore, would be detrimental to the States and the people and fatal to ordered progress and peace. The position was summed up in the dictum, 'Be responsive, but no responsible government.' H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner was emphatic in his policy towards the Congress, and his words can be crystallized in the following mottos: Be just, but be firm; follow the policy of repression and reconciliation as stated in the famous letter of Lord Minto in 1908, 'the policy of kicks and kisses'. It will require all the tact and discretion possible to adjust when to be gentle and when to be firm and how to mix the two. The decision must depend on the situation which confronts the State and the merits of the individual problem. It was, however, very clear in their discussions that the Praja Mandals, as such and as political bodies, should never be allowed to be formed in the States, and if in existence, should be crushed and banned and their activities very carefully and closely watched. No hard and fast rules could be laid down as to how they should be repressed. Individual States will devise and evolve their own plans and lay down the *modus operandi*.

The tentative conclusions arrived at were: 1. Group Police for States; 2. Praja Mandals to be crushed immediately; 3. Legitimate grievances to be redressed; 4. Foreign agitators to be severely dealt with and deported; 5. Encourage social activities but not political; 6. Encourage genuine States People's Advisory Bodies; 7. Policy of 'Reconciliation and Repression'; 'Be just, but be firm'.

If the report is an accurate summary of the speeches delivered at the Conference, it shows that there is a nefarious plot to crush the movement for liberty which at long last has commenced in some of the States. Kisses are to go hand in hand with kicks. This reminds me of the Latin proverb which means: "I fear the Greeks especially when they bring gifts!" Henceforth Rulers' favours are to be suspected. Reforms when they are made are to be made not for the sake of making the people happy, but in order to sew the mouth with a morsel. But man's proposals are

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often confounded even though his may be a crowned head. God has been found often to have disposed of his proposals in a way contrary to his expectations. If the people have shed fear and learnt the art of self-sacrifice, they need no favours. Kicks can never cow them. They will take what they need and assimilate it.

BARDOLI, January 31, 1939

Harijan, 4-2-1939

396. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

January 31, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

Shri K. M. Munshi, Sir Purshottamdas and now Shri G. D. Birla tell me that my writings in *Harijan* about the States have been causing you embarrassment—more especially about Jaipur. I have, therefore, suspended publication of the accompanying article[1] which I had already sent to the Manager of *Harijan* at Poona.

I need hardly say that I have no desire whatsoever to do anything that would cause you embarrassment, if I could avoid it. My purpose is to secure justice for the people concerned.

How I wish it were possible for you to take effective action in the three cases mentioned by me in my previous letter[2]!

May I expect a line as to what you would have me do about the article under suspension?

I am,
Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 7806. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.
[2] *Vide* pp. 330-1.

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397. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

BARDOLI,
January 31, 1939

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

Here are a few words[1] about Panditji.
I hope you are keeping good health.
Do write sometimes about Kusum, Manju and others.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

398. IN MEMORY OF NARAYAN M. KHARE[2]

BARDOLI,
January 31, 1939

I like to write about Panditji. I have many sweet memories of him. But I do not have the time to record them. The essence of all those memories is that I have seen very few persons combining purity and music. It was found in a great measure in Panditji. It was Panditji who created a taste for good music in Gujarat. For this, Gujarat will remain ever indebted to him.

M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] He had died on February 6, 1938, at Haripura.

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399. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

BARDOLI,
January 31, 1939

Shri Subhas Bose has achieved a decisive victory over his opponent, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go. I do not subscribe to his facts or the arguments in his manifestos. I think that his references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy. Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory. And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Saheb withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand.

I rejoice in this defeat. It gives me an opportunity of putting into practice what I preached in my article[2] on the walk-out of the minority at the last A. I. C. C. meeting in Delhi. Subhas Babu, instead of being President on the sufferance of those whom he calls rightists, is now President elected in a contested election. This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance.

There is one thing common between majority and minority, viz., insistence on internal purity of the Congress organization. My writings in the *Harijan* have shown that the Congress is fast becoming a corrupt organization in the sense that its registers contain a very large number of bogus members.[3] I have been suggesting for the past many months the overhauling of these registers. I have no doubt that many of the delegates who have been elected on the strength of these bogus voters would be unseated on scrutiny. But I suggest no such drastic step. It will be enough if the registers are purged of all bogus voters and are made fool-proof for the future.

[1] This appeared in the source under the title "I Rejoice in This Defeat" and was also published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-2-1939, *The Hindu*, 31-1-1939, *The Hindustan Times*, 1-2-1939, and various other papers.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 401-2.

[3] *Vide* "Internal Decay", pp. 320-1.

The minority has no cause for being disheartened. If they believe in the current programme of the Congress, they will find that it can be worked, whether they are in a minority or a majority and even whether they are in the Congress or outside it.

The only thing that may possibly be affected by the changes is the parliamentary programme. The ministers have been chosen and the programme shaped by the erstwhile majority. But parliamentary work is but a minor item of the Congress programme. Congress ministers have after all to live from day to day. It matters little to them whether they are recalled on an issue in which they are in agreement with the Congress policy or whether they resign because they are in disagreement with the Congress.

After all Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme. The minority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority.

The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those who, being Congress-minded, remain outside it by design, represent it most. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress may come out, not in a spirit of ill will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.

Harijan, 4-2-1939

400. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

BARDOLI,
January 31, 1939

Appeals are being made to me not to precipitate matters in the States. These appeals are unnecessary. After three months of non-violent struggle by the people of Rajkot an honourable understanding was arrived at between the Thakore Saheb-in-Council and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel representing the people, and the struggle was closed amid general rejoicings. But the noble work done by the Thakore Saheb and the people has been undone by the British Resident.[2]

[1] This appeared under the title "Rajkot and Jaipur", and was also published in *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[2] For the Government of India communique in reply to this, *vide* Appendix II.

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Honour demanded that the people should fight unto death for the restoration of the covenant between the Thakore Saheb and his people. The struggle now is not between the Ruler and his people, but in reality it is between the Congress and the British Government represented by the Resident, who is reported to be resorting to organized *goondaism*. He is trying thereby to break the spirit of innocent men and women, who rightly resent the breach of faith.

It is a misrepresentation to suggest that Rajkot has been made a test case.[1] There is no planned action with reference to Kathiawar States. What is happening is that those who feel that they are ready for suffering come to the Sardar for advice and he guides them. Rajkot seemed ready and the fight commenced there.

Jaipur's case is incredibly simple and different from that of Rajkot. If my information is correct, the British Prime Minister there is determined to prevent even the movement for popularizing the ideal for responsible government.[2] Civil disobedience in Jaipur is being, therefore, offered not for responsible government but for the removal of the bans on the Praja Mandal and its president Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.[3]

In my opinion it is the duty of the Viceroy to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the pact and to ask the British Prime Minister of Jaipur to lift the bans. Such action by the Viceroy can in no sense be interpreted to mean unwarranted interference in the affairs of States.

Harijan, 4-2-1939

401. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHAGANJ,
February 2, 1939

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
NEW DELHI

QUITE WELL. TAKING NEEDED REST. NO ANXIETY.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7802. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* "Kicks and Kisses", pp. 354-7.
[2&3] *Vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.

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402. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEGAON,
February 2, 1939

MY DEAR KU,

I came in today. I should not have taken such a long time to produce the accompanying.[1] I wanted to go through the whole book but it was impossible. And now I am laid up. That is to say the doctors say unless I want to commit suicide, I must be on bed and do as little work as possible. Complete silence is enjoined. I shall break it therefore only when I must. In these circumstances I thought I must give you a few lines at once. Here they are with a thousand apologies.

I hope your committee is flourishing and Sita[2] is proving her worth.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10148

403. FOREWORD

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 2, 1939

It is a good sign that *Why the Village Movement* is required to go through the third edition. It supplies a felt want. Prof. J. C. Ku[marappa] answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. It is of no use to those who have made up their minds that the only movement worth the name is to destroy the villages and dot India with a number of big cities where highly centralized industries will be carried out and everyone will have plenty and to spare.

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] Wife of Bharatan Kumarappa, younger brother of the addressee

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Fortunately as yet there are not many who belong to that school of destruction. I wonder if the village movement has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair! This booklet is an attempt to answer the question.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 10149

404. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 2, 1939

CHI. MIRA,

I have neglected you for many days but Sushila has instructions to write to you daily. I have to take complete rest from physical toil but also as much as possible from mental. You won't worry. Bury yourself in your work.

Ba going to Rajkot. So she stayed behind[1].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6426. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10021

405. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 2, 1939

BA,

Why are you uneasy? Do not worry about me. Improve your health. Recite Ramanama. Rest assured we shall win the battle by dint of the devotion of many. That includes yours too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 31

[1] At Bardoli

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406. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 2, 1939

CHI. SHARMA,

The work at Bardoli was so much that I fell ill and returned only today. Hence the delay in answering your letter. There is no cause for anxiety. I shall be all right.

February 3, 1939

But I could have asked someone to send you a line saying that the reply would be delayed. I did not do it, because I was hopeful of being able to write soon.

Destruction and construction are simultaneous processes. Your destruction seems to be of a kind which may become unbearable for you. It should not turn out that you do one thing today and another tomorrow.

I cannot write the pamphlet. You have rightly said that everything is useless until construction has commenced. The pamphlet probably has no place in what is going on.

An earlier letter from you mentioned a principle: namely, that society and family are distinct entities and should be so. However, if you think they are identical but cannot reach the ideal today, why talk about it? Once you show in practice that there is no difference between you and those living with me I shall consider my job done.

The comparison with the dog is harsh but quite apt. We are all in a way like dogs in that we lack tolerance, but living in society and being intolerant are incompatible things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 177 and 178

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407. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

SEGAON,
February 3, 1939

The communiques[2] issued by the Government of India and the Jaipur Government on my statements[3] on Rajkot and Jaipur are remarkable for sins of omission and commission and suppression.

It was no part of the Sardar's duty to publish the Thakore Saheb's letter about the composition of the Committee. It was for the Thakore Saheb's convenience that a condition as to the composition of the Committee was embodied in a separate letter. This is a well-known procedure adopted in delicate negotiations. Surely the Thakore Saheb's understanding of his note, which admits of no double interpretation, is wholly irrelevant.

I aver that this understanding is an afterthought, discovered to placate the Resident, who was angered that the Thakore Saheb should have dared to deal with a Congressman and give him a note of which he had no advice. Those who know anything of these Residents and States know in what dread the Princes stand of even their secretaries and peons. I write from personal knowledge.

There is sufficient in the appendices to the Sardar's statement[4] on the recrudescence of the struggle to show how the whole trouble is due to the Resident's displeasure. It is wrong to suggest that the Sardar did not give reasons for his refusal to alter the names of the Committee. A translation of his letter is one of the appendices.

When the Thakore Saheb agreed to nominate those whom the Sardar recommended, Mussalmans and Bhayats were before his mind's eye. But it was common cause that all rights would be guaranteed under the reforms. The proper procedure would have been to lead evidence before the Committee. I suggest that, as happens everywhere in India, the Mussalman and Bhayat objection to the personnel of the Committee was engineered after the event.

[1] This appeared under the title "Not a War of Words", and was also published in *The Hindu*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, and *The Hindustan Times*, all of 4-2-1939.

[2] For the Government of India communique, *vide* Appendix II.

[3] *Vide* "Rajkot", pp. 274-6 and 346-8, "Jaipur", pp. 299-300 and 350-2.

[4] *Vide* Appendix I.

I have not asked that the Thakore Saheb should be asked to do this or that. He has no will. His will is pledged to the Resident. The Thakore Saheb once dared to act against his suspected wishes. He was on the brink of losing his *gadi*. What I have asked is that the Resident should restore the pact and help to honour it. If it is a matter purely of names to placate interests, I undertake to persuade the Sardar to make the accommodation provided that its other parts are carried out to the full.

But the communique adroitly omits the most relevant fact that the terms of reference too have been altered out of shape. These were agreed to by the Thakore Saheb-in-Council, of which the British Dewan was a member. I have never known such a dishonourable breach of a pact signed on behalf of a Chief. I do suggest that the Resident, who should be the custodian of the honour of the Chiefs within his jurisdiction, has, in this case, dragged the Thakore Saheb's name in the dust.

I repeat the charge of organized *goondaism*. The Agency police are operating in Rajkot. Wires received by the Sardar show that civil resisters are taken to distant places, there stripped naked, beaten and left to their own resources. They show further that Red Cross doctors and ambulance parties have been prevented from rendering help to those who were injured by lathi-charges in Halenda. I call this organized *goondaism*. If the charges are denied, there should be an impartial enquiry.

Let me state the issue clearly. I seek no interference in the the affairs of the State. I seek non-interference by the Resident in Rajkot. The Resident is directly responsible for the strained relations between the State and the people. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to see that the solemn pact is fulfilled to the letter and in spirit.

If the objection about Muslim and Bhayat representation has any honesty about it, it can be removed. I once more appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to study the question more deeply than he has done. Let not a grave tragedy be enacted while whitewashing communiques are being forged in the Delhi Secretariat. This is not a war of words. It is a war in which the people who have hitherto never been to jail nor suffered lathi blows are exposing themselves to all risk.

As for Jaipur, I have only one word. I do know that the British Prime Minister[1] is one member of the Jaipur State Council. My submission is that he is all in all. He has vowed vengeance against the Praja Mandal and Seth Jamnalalji. And in

[1] Sir W. Beauchamp St. John

spite of the forest of words about action in respect of the Praja Mandal, I claim that virtually it is declared illegal. If not, let the authorities leave Seth Jamnalalji free to enter Jaipur and let him and his Mandal educate unmolested the people in the art of responsible government. Let them be punished if they inculcate violence, directly or indirectly.

Harijan, 11-2-1939

408. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ[1]

[On or before *February 3, 1939*][2]

STICK TO YOUR PLANS. MY BLESSING IS WITH YOU AND SUCCESS IS YOURS.

The Hindu, 5-2-1939

409. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHA,
February 3, 1939

GHANSHYAMDAS
BIRLA HOUSE
ALBUQUERQUE ROAD
NEW DELHI

SWELLING MUCH REDUCED. TAKING PRACTICALLY FULL REST. BLOODPRESSURE 156/98 LAST NIGHT. JAMNALALJI MUST NOT WAIT WITHOUT WRITTEN REQUEST FROM AUTHORITIES.[3] HAVE MADE STATEMENT ABOUT JAIPUR GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE WHOLLY UNSATISFACTORY.[4]

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7803. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] This was evidently in reply to the addressee's telegram of February 3, saying: "Ghanshyamdas pressing delay re-entry" into Jaipur State, which Bajaj intended to effect in defiance of the ban imposed by the State.

[2] In his diary Bajaj mentions under the date February 3, having received a telegram from Gandhiji. Presumably this was the telegram.

[3] This was in answer to the addressee's telegram suggesting that Jamnalal Bajaj might wait another fortnight before returning to Jaipur.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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410. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 3, 1939

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter from Peshawar is crowded with news. You are in the thick of it now. You must keep your health at any cost. Cover your feet well. Insist on the food you need. Do not overdo it. And do not go beyond your depth. Then all will be well.

Have no worry on my account. God will keep me on earth so long as He needs me. It is well whether I am here or elsewhere. His will, not ours, be done.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6427. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10022

411. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 3, 1939

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

After the election and the manner in which it was fought, I feel that I shall serve the country by absenting myself from the Congress at the forthcoming session. Moreover, my health is none too good. I would like you to help me. Please do not press me to attend.

I hope the rest at Khali has done you and Indu good. Indu ought to write to me.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 307

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412. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

February 3, 1939

CHI. KAKA,

The necessary arrangements have been made for the poet Khabardar[1]. Ambalalbhai will pay or collect for him Rs. 200 every month.

Booke asks for more information about him. He needs an X-Ray of his chest. There is little hope of his being able to help much. Have you written to Parvati?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10919

413. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

February 3, 1939

CHI. KAKA,

I am feeling thoroughly washed out at present. You may come. But I do not know what I shall be able to do. The trainees are here up to the 3rd or 4th. I hope to write about the Roman script.[2] Do the needful about Hindi *pracharak*. I do not see my way clearly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10920

[1] Ardeshar F. Khabardar
[2] *Vide* "Roman Script *v.* Devanagari", pp. 380-1.

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414. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
[After *February 3, 1939*][1]

BA,

I have your letter. You have now become a State guest. Take care of your health. I am not worried since Mani[2] is with you. I must have letters. I shall bear your point in mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 32

415. DISCUSSION WITH TEACHER TRAINEES[3]

February 3/4, 1939

It is the fashion these days to talk of the rights of minorities. Therefore, although those who understand English only are here in a hopeless minority, I shall speak today in English.[4] But I warn you that I shall not do so at the next meeting. You must go back with a firm resolve to learn Hindustani. It is impossible to put into practice the idea of basic education—an idea which is calculated to answer the educational requirements of our millions—if the mind works only through the English medium.

A number of questions were put to him by the delegates. The first question expressed a doubt as to whether the Wardha scheme was likely to stand the test of time, or if it merely was a measure of temporary expediency. Many prominent educationists were of opinion that sooner or later the handicrafts would have to give place to whole-hog industrialization. Would a society educated on the lines of the Wardha scheme and based on

[1] Kasturba Gandhi was arrested on entering Rajkot on February 3, 1939.
[2] Manibehn Patel
[3] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Wardha Scheme under Fire". About seventy-five delegates from all over India had attended a three weeks' course at the Teacher Training Centre at Wardha. Before leaving for their respective provinces they met Gandhiji.
[4] Gandhiji, at the suggestion of Asha Devi, had started to speak in Hindi and some of the delegates had not been able to follow.

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justice, truth and non-violence, be able to survive the severe strain of the process of industrialization?

GANDHIJI: This is not a practical question. It does not affect our immediate programme. The issue before us is not as to what is going to happen generations hence, but whether this basic scheme of education answers the real need of the millions that live in our villages. I do not think that India is ever going to be industrialized to the extent that there will be no villages left. The bulk of India will always consist of villages.

"What will happen to the scheme of basic education if the Congress policy changes as a result of the recent presidential election?" he was asked next.

Gandhiji replied that it was misplaced fear. A change in the Congress policy was not going to touch the Wardha scheme.

It will affect, if it at all does, higher politics only. You have come here to undergo three weeks' training course, so that you may be able to teach your students along the Wardha method on your return. You should have faith that the method will answer the purpose intended.

Although schemes for industrialization of the country might be put forth, the goal that the Congress has set before it today is not industrialization of the country. Its goal is, according to a resolution[1] passed by the National Congress at Bombay, revival of village industries. You cannot have mass awakening through any elaborate scheme of industrialization that you may put before the *kisans*. It would not add a farthing to their income. But the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. will put lakhs into their pockets within the course of a year. Whatever happens to the Working Committee or the ministries, personally I do not sense any danger to the constructive activities of the Congress. Although started by the Congress, they have been having an autonomous existence for a long time, and have fully proved their worth. Basic education is an offshoot of these. Education Ministers may change but this will remain. Therefore, those interested in basic education should not worry themselves about Congress politics. The new scheme of education will live or die by its own merits or want of them.

But these questions do not satisfy me. They are not directly connected with the scheme of basic education. They do not take us any further. I would like you to ask me questions directly pertaining to the scheme, so that I may give you my expert advice.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LIX, p. 220.

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Before going to the meeting, a friend had asked him if the central idea behind the scheme was that teachers should not speak a word to the pupils that could not be correlated to the *takli*. Gandhiji, answering this question in the general meeting, remarked:

This is a libel on me. It is true I have said that all instruction must be linked with some basic craft. When you are imparting knowledge to a child of 7 or 10 through the medium of an industry, you should, to begin with, exclude all those subjects which cannot be linked with the craft. By doing so from day to day you will discover ways and means of linking with the craft many things which you had excluded in the beginning. You will save your own energy and the pupils' if you follow this process of exclusion to begin with. We have today no books to go by, no precedents to guide us. Therefore we have to go slow. The main thing is that the teacher should retain his freshness of mind. If you come across something that you cannot correlate with the craft, do not fret over it and get disheartened. Leave it and go ahead with the subjects that you can correlate. Maybe another teacher will hit upon the right way and show how it can be correlated. And when you have pooled the experience of many, you will have books to guide you, so that the work of those who follow you will become easier.

How long, you will ask, are we to go on with this process of exclusion? My reply is, for the whole lifetime. At the end you will find that you have included many things that you had excluded at first, that practically all that was worth including has been included, and whatever you have been obliged to exclude till the end was something very superficial that deserved exclusion. This has been my experience of life. I would not have been able to do many things that I have done if I had not excluded an equal number.

Our education has got to be revolutionized. The brain must be educated through the hand. If I were a poet, I could write poetry on the possibilities of the five fingers. Why should you think that the mind is everything and the hands and feet nothing? Those who do not train their hands, who go through the ordinary rut of education, lack 'music' in their life. All their faculties are not trained. Mere book knowledge does not interest the child so as to hold his attention fully. The brain gets weary of mere words, and the child's mind begins to wander. The hand does the things it ought not to do, the eye sees the things it ought not to see, the ear hears the things it ought not to hear,

and they do not do, see, or hear, respectively, what they ought to. They are not taught to make the right choice and so their education often proves their ruin. An education which does not teach us to discriminate between good and bad, to assimilate the one and eschew the other is a misnomer.

Shrimati Asha Devi asked Gandhiji to explain to them how the mind could be trained through the hands.

G. The old idea was to add a handicraft to the ordinary curriculum of education followed in the schools. That is to say, the craft was to be taken in hand wholly separately from education. To me that seems a fatal mistake. The teacher must learn the craft and correlate his knowledge to the craft, so that he will impart all that knowledge to his pupils through the medium of the particular craft that he chooses.

Take the instance of spinning. Unless I know arithmetic I cannot report how many yards of yarn I have produced on the *takli*, or how many standard rounds it will make, or what is the count of the yarn that I have spun. I must learn figures to be able to do so, and I also must learn addition and subtraction and multiplication and division. In dealing with complicated sums I shall have to use symbols and so I get my algebra. Even here, I would insist on the use of Hindustani letters instead of Roman.

Take geometry next. What can be a better demonstration of a circle than the disc of the *takli*? I can teach all about circles in this way, without even mentioning the name of Euclid.

Again, you may ask how I can teach my child geography and history through spinning. Some time ago I came across a book called *Cotton—The Story of Mankind*. It thrilled me. It read like a romance. It began with the history of ancient times, how and when cotton was first grown, the stages of its development, the cotton trade between the different countries, and so on. As I mention the different countries to the child, I shall naturally tell him something about the history and geography of these countries. Under whose reign the different commercial treaties were signed during the different periods? Why has cotton to be imported by some countries and cloth by others? Why can every country not grow the cotton it requires? That will lead me into economics and elements of agriculture. I shall teach him to know the different varieties of cotton, in what kind of soil they grow, how to grow them, from where to get them, and so on. Thus *takli*-spinning leads me into the whole history

of the East India Company, what brought them here, how they destroyed our spinning industry, how the economic motive that brought them to India led them later to entertain political aspirations, how it became a causative factor in the downfall of the Moguls and the Marathas, in the establishment of the English Raj, and then again in the awakening of the masses in our times. There is thus no end to the educative possibilities of this new scheme. And how much quicker the child will learn all that, without putting an unnecessary tax on his mind and memory.

Let me further elaborate the idea. Just as a biologist, in order to become a good biologist, must learn many other sciences besides biology, the basic education, if it is treated as a science, takes us into interminable channels of learning. To extend the example of the *takli*, a pupil teacher, who rivets his attention not merely on the mechanical process of spinning, which of course he must master, but on the spirit of the thing, will concentrate on the *takli* and its various aspects. He will ask himself why the *takli* is made out of a brass disc and has a steel spindle. The original *takli* had its disc made anyhow. The still more primitive *takli* consisted of a wooden spindle with a disc of slate or clay. The *takli* has been developed scientifically, and there is a reason for making the disc out of brass and the spindle out of steel. He must find out that reason. Then, the teacher must ask himself why the disc has that particular diameter, no more and no less. When he has solved these questions satisfactorily and has gone into the mathematics of the thing, your pupil becomes a good engineer. The *takli* becomes his *Kamadhenu*—the 'Cow of plenty'. There is no limit to the possibilities of knowledge that can be imparted through this medium. It will be limited only by the energy and conviction with which you work. You have been here for three weeks. You will have spent them usefully if it has enabled you to take to this scheme seriously, so that you will say to yourself, 'I shall either do or die.'

I am elaborating the instance of spinning because I know it. If I were a carpenter, I would teach my child all these things through carpentry, or through cardboard work if I were a worker in cardboard.

What we need is educationists with originality, fired with true zeal, who will think out from day to day what they are going to teach their pupils. The teacher cannot get this knowledge through musty volumes. He has to use his own faculties of observation and thinking and impart his knowledge to the children through his lips, with the help of a craft. This means a revolution in the method of teaching, a revolution in the teacher's outlook.

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Up till now you have been guided by inspectors' reports. You wanted to do what the inspector might like, so that you might get more money yet for your institutions or higher salaries for yourselves. But the new teacher will not care for all that. He will say, 'I have done my duty by my pupil if I have made him a better man and in doing so I have used all my resources. That is enough for me.

Q. In training pupil teachers, would it not be better if they are first taught a craft separately and then given a sound exposition of the method of teaching through the medium of that craft? As it is, they are advised to imagine themselves to be of the age of 7 and relearn everything through a craft. In this way it will take them years before they can master the new technique and become competent teachers.

G. No, it would not take them years. Let us imagine that the teacher when he comes to me has a working knowledge of mathematics and history and other subjects. I teach him to make cardboard boxes or to spin. While he is at it I show him how he could have derived his knowledge of mathematics, history and geography through the particular craft. He thus learns how to link his knowledge to the craft. It should not take him long to do so. Take another instance. Suppose I go with my boy of 7 to a basic school. We both learn spinning and I get all my previous knowledge linked with spinning. To the boy it is all new. For the 70-year-old father it is all repetition but he will have his old knowledge in a new setting. He should not take more than a few weeks for the process. Thus, unless the teacher develops the receptivity and eagerness of the child of 7, he will end up by becoming a mere mechanical spinner, which would not fit him for the new method.

Q. A boy who has passed his matriculation can go to college if he wishes to. Will a child who has gone through the basic education syllabus too be able to do so?

G. Between the boy who has passed his matriculation and the boy who has gone through basic education, the latter will give a better account of himself because his faculties have been developed. He would not feel helpless when he goes to college as matriculates often do.

Q. Seven has been put down as the minimum age for admission of children to a basic education school. Is it to be a chronological or mental age?

G. Seven should be the average minimum age, but there will be some children of a higher and some of a lower age as

well. There is physical as well as mental age to be considered. One child at the age of 7 may have attained sufficient physical development to handle a craft. Another one may not be able to do so even at 7. One cannot therefore lay down any hard and fast rules. All the factors have to be taken into consideration.

Many questions show that many of you are filled with doubts. This is the wrong way of going about the work. You should have robust faith. If you have the conviction that I have, that Wardha education is the thing required to give training for life to millions of our children, your work will flourish. If you have not that faith, there is something wrong with those in charge of your training. They should be able to imbue you with this faith, whatever else they may or may not give you.

Q. The basic education scheme is supposed to be for the villages. Is there no way out for the city-dwellers? Are they to go along the old rut?

G. This is a pertinent question and a good one, but I have answered it already in the columns of *Harijan*. Sufficient for the day is the good thereof. As it is, we have a big enough morsel to bite. If we can solve the educational problem of seven lakhs of villages, it will be enough for the present. No doubt educationists are thinking of the cities too. But if we take up the question of the cities along with that of the villages, we will fritter away our energies.

Q. Supposing in a village there were three schools with a different craft in each, the scope for learning may be wider in one than in the other. To which school out of these should the child go?

G. Such overlapping should not occur. For the majority of our villages are too small to have more than one school. But a big village may have more. Here the craft taught in both should be the same. But I should lay down no hard and fast rule. Experience in such matters would be the best guide. The capacity of various crafts to become popular, their ability to draw out the faculties of the student, should be studied. The idea is that whatever craft you choose, it should draw out the faculties of the child fully and equally. It should be a village craft and it should be useful.

Q. Why should a child waste 7 years on learning a craft when his real profession is going to be something else, e.g., why should a banker's son, who is expected to take to banking later on, learn spinning for 7 years?

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G. The question betrays gross ignorance of the new scheme of education. The boy under the scheme of basic education does not go to school merely to learn a craft. He goes there to receive his primary education, to train his mind through the craft. I claim that the boy who has gone through the new course of primary education for seven years, will make a better banker than the one who has gone through the seven years of ordinary schooling. The latter when he goes to a banking school will be ill at ease because all his faculties will not have been trained. Prejudices die hard. I will have done a good day's work if I have made you realize this one central fact that the new education scheme is not a little of literary education and a little of craft. It is full education up to the primary stage through the medium of a craft.

Q. Would it not be better to teach more than one craft in every school? The children might begin to feel bored of doing the same thing from month to month and year to year.

G. If I find a teacher who becomes dull to his students after a month's spinning, I should dismiss him. There will be newness in every lesson such as there can be new music on the same instrument. By changing over from one craft to another a child tends to become like a monkey jumping from branch to branch with abode nowhere. But I have shown already in the course of our discussion that teaching spinning in a scientific spirit involves learning many things besides spinning. The child will be taught to make his own *takli* and his own winder soon. Therefore, to go back to what I began with, if the teacher takes up the craft in a scientific spirit, he will speak to his pupils through many channels, all of which will contribute to the development of all his faculties.

SEGAON, February 9, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939 and 4-3-1939

416. TELEGRAM TO MAHADEV DESAI[1]

WARDHA,
[*February 4, 1939*][2]

MAHADEV DESAI
BIRLA HOUSE
NEW DELHI

THOUGH DO NOT LIKE YOUR SUGGESTION NOT KNOWING FULLY AM ADVISING JAMNALAL FOLLOW YOUR INSTRUCTIONS. HEALTH GOOD.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 212

417. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[*February 4, 1939*][3]

JAMNALAL
CARE LAKINSURE
AGRA

YOUR WIRE. MAHADEV HAS WIRED YOU CERTAIN SUGGESTIONS. CARRY THEM OUT. HEALTH GOOD. BA MANIBEHN DETAINED STATE GUESTS.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 404

[1] The addressee in his telegram of February 4 from New Delhi had said "Inasmuch as police officer in charge Jamnalalji verbally requested him give authorities time reconsider may I ask Jamnalalji address letter to authorities mentioning police officer's request absurdity of communique and giving them time until eighth ? Am sending him draft suitable letter. If you agree advise him send letter."

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] As given in the source

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418. LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 4, 1939

CHI. INDU,

How can you think of me now? I was happy to learn that Almora had benefited you. I pray to God that you may soon be well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9801. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

419. LETTER TO GENERAL SHINDE

SEGAON,
February 4, 1939

DEAR GENERAL SHINDE,

Many thanks for your letter and enclosures.[1]

I see nothing objectionable in the excerpts you have sent me.

As to the printed circular, if what is stated therein is true it is evidence of a tragic situation. It is up to the wise heads in Baroda to find out the truth.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to General Shinde", p. 343.

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420. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

February 4, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

If you cannot stay away, you can stay here even after your marriage. I made haste because you wished it. There is nothing certain about me. I am moreover weak of health. Therefore, I thought it better to pay off this debt with my own hands. You can return after staying for only a few days at your husband's place. You may, of course, come if you are in bad health. You can do as you like. I do wish you to join the work at Bardoli.

Where is the cloth? But would it not be better if you took a new piece out of what I keep for my wear for a petticoat or upper garment where white will pass? What about the charkha? All the books will be available. I have already prepared the maxims. Staying away, you will serve me by doing my work.

Reply to yesterday's letter could not be covered in the letter to Sardar. I advise you to convey your views in this matter to Sardar.

Ask me again about religious reading.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10003. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

421. ROMAN SCRIPT v. DEVANAGARI[1]

I understand that some of the tribes in Assam are being taught to read and write through the Roman script instead of Devanagari. I have already expressed my opinion that the only script that is ever likely to be universal in India is Devanagari, either reformed or as it is. Urdu or Persian will go hand in hand unless Muslims, of their own free will, acknowledge the superiority of Devanagari from a purely scientific and national standpoint. But this is irrelevant to the present problem. The Roman cannot go hand in hand with the other two scripts. Protagonists of the Roman script would displace both. But sentiment and

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

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science alike are against the Roman script. Its sole merit is its convenience for printing and typing purposes. But that is nothing compared to the strain its learning would put upon millions. It can be of no help to the millions who have to read their own literature either in their own provincial scripts or in Devanagari. Devanagari is easier for the millions of Hindus and even Muslims to learn, because the provincial scripts are mostly derived from Devanagari. I have included Muslims advisedly. The mother tongue of Bengali Muslims, for instance, is Bengali as is Tamil of Tamil Muslims. The present movement for the propagation of Urdu will, as it should, result in Muslims all over India learning Urdu in addition to their mother tongue. They must, in any case, know Arabic for the purpose of learning the Holy Koran. But the millions whether Hindus or Muslims will never need the Roman script except when they wish to learn English. Similarly, Hindus who want to read their scriptures in the original have to and do learn the Devanagari script. The movement for universalizing the Devanagari script has thus a sound basis. The introduction of the Roman script is a superimposition which can never become popular. And all superimpositions will be swept out of existence when the true mass awakening comes, as it is coming, much sooner than anyone of us can expect from known causes. Yet the awakening of millions does take time. It cannot be manufactured. It comes or seems to come mysteriously. National workers can merely hasten the process by anticipating the mass mind.

SEGAON, February 5, 1939
Harijan, 11-2-1939

422. NO APOLOGY

I have two letters from Jewish friends protesting against a remark of mine in a dialogue reported in *Harijan* over the Jewish question. Here is one of the letters:

> My attention has been called to a paragraph[1] in *Harijan* of December 24th, 1938, in which you are reported to have said that "The Jews called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind, and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf." I can hardly doubt that you have been misreported, for there is nothing that could possibly justify such a statement. But as the paragraph

[1] *Vide* pp. 202-3.

much distressed me, I should be glad to receive from you a word of reassurance.

I am sorry to say that I cannot give the reassurance required. For I did make the remark put into my mouth by Shri Pyarelal. Hardly a paper comes to me from the West which does not describe the agony of the Jews who demand retribution by the democratic Powers for German atrocities. Nor do I see anything wrong in the attitude. The Jews are not angels. My point was they were not non-violent in the sense meant by me. Their non-violence had and has no love in it. It is passive. They do not resist because they know that they cannot resist with any degree of success. In their place, unless there were active non-violence in me, I should certainly call down upon my persecutors the curses of Heaven. It is not contended by my correspondents that the German Jews do not want the big Powers like England, America and France to prevent the atrocities, if need be, even by war against Germany. I happen to have a Jewish friend living with me. He has an intellectual belief in non-violence. But he says he cannot pray for Hitler. He is so full of anger over the German atrocities that he cannot speak of them with restraint. I do not quarrel with him over his anger. He wants to be non-violent, but the sufferings of fellow-Jews are too much for him to bear. What is true of him is true of thousands of Jews who have no thought even of 'loving the enemy'. With them as with millions 'revenge is sweet, to forgive is divine.'

SEGAON, February 5, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

423. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SEGAON,
February 5, 1939

MY DEAR SUBHAS,

I hope you had my personal letter as also yesterday's.[1]

I had a wire from Maulana Saheb suggesting his and others' withdrawal from Working Committee.[2] I replied saying it might be embarrassing to you. Now comes a letter from Rajen Babu

[1] These letters are not available.

[2] For the resignation letter of members of the Working Committee, *vide* Appendix III.

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making the same suggestion supporting it by the argument that you would be helped if you had the resignations in your hands now so that you could choose a temporary cabinet to help you to frame your future programme. Rajen Babu's argument commends itself to me. So far as I can judge the old colleagues whom you consider as rightists will not serve on your cabinet. You can have their resignations now, if that would be more convenient for you. Their presence would be unfair to you and to them. You should be left free to frame your own programme and expect the rightists (I wish you would choose better and indigenous terms to designate the parties of your imagination) to support where they can and abstain without obstructing where they cannot see eye to eye with you.

I have just read your statement[1] in answer to mine[2]. Though it demands a reply, I must refrain. I do not want to enter into a public controversy with you so long as I can avoid it.

This letter you may show to friends, if you find it necessary. I am sending copies to Maulana Saheb, etc.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

424. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

February 5, 1939

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

This copy[3] for your information.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[2] *Vide* pp. 359-60.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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425. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

[*February 5, 1939*][1]

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

Nanabhai and Manubhai will be arriving tomorrow. It would be better to let them come to Segaon. We are not so crowded here these days. And why should I trouble you unnecessarily when Munnalal will be going to receive them? Probably five more persons will be coming on Tuesday and I want them too to come to Segaon. If changes are to be made, I shall see. It is good that Jamnalalji has been arrested.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The marriage rites will be performed by Nanabhai but Vyasji may certainly come.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3002

426. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

[On or after *February 5, 1939*][2]

Contradictory is wholly inapplicable. I mean that there is nothing wrong in an ordinary man wanting God to punish the wrongdoer. Non-violence is a new thing. It would be wrong for a non-violent man to call down the wrath of God or man. But a non-violent man must not see anything wrong in a persecuted man retaliating and seeking the assistance of others. You should try to understand the argument.

From the original: C.W. 4209. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7845

[1] From the reference to Jamnalalji's arrest and the weddings of Vijaya Patel and Sharda Shah which took place on Tuesday, February 7, 1939

[2] The note is written on the back of a telegram from Damodar to Bachhraj, Wardha, dated 5-2-1939.

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427. *INTERVIEW TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN STUDENTS*[1]

BARDOLI,
[Before *February 6, 1939*][2]

"What should we, South Africa-borns, do to preserve our Indian culture in our country of adoption?" they asked Gandhiji. "What other languages would you ask us to learn besides English ?"

Gandhiji answered by first twitting them for giving the first place to English. He advised them instead to learn Hindustani, which should contain all words of Sanskritic as well as Persian or Arabic origin, that are used by the man in the street. The Hindus dared not neglect the study of Sanskrit, nor the Muslims of Arabic, not only because the study of these languages was necessary to give them access to their scriptures in the original, but also because these two tongues contained the grandest poetry that the world has ever produced. He concluded:

But above all you should jealously retain the essential simplicity and spirituality which is the hallmark of Indian culture.

Their other question was whether they should carry on the struggle for their rights in South Africa through satyagraha or through constitutional agitation.

GANDHIJI: If the South African Indian community had guts in them, I would say satyagraha, and they are bound to win. I am hoping that some day from among Indian youths born in South Africa a person will arise who will stand up for the rights of his countrymen domiciled there, and make the vindication of those rights his life's mission. He will be so pure, so cultured, so truthful and so dignified in his bearing that he will disarm all opposition. The whites will then say, 'If all Indians were like him, we should have no objection to giving them an equal status with us.' But he will answer, 'It is not enough that there is one representative of the Indian community whom you are ready to recognize as your equal. What I am, other countrymen of mine too can be, if instead of calling them names and putting them under all sorts of disabilities you give them a

[1] & [2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "A World in Agony–II", 6-2-1939. The students were in India to pursue medical studies and wanted Gandhiji to help them gain admission in medical college.

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sporting chance in the matter of educational and other facilities which are today denied them.' Such a one, when he appears, will not need to be coached by me. He will assert himself by his sheer genius.

Harijan, 18-2-1939

428. MAHATMA'S STATUE[1]

Correspondence has been pouring in upon me protesting against the Mahatma's statue said to be in course of construction on the Congress ground at a cost of Rs. 25,000. I know nothing of this statue. I have enquired about it. But I must not wait for confirmation. Assuming that such a statue is in course of construction, I reinforce the protest of my correspondents and I agree with them that it will be waste of good money to spend Rs. 25,000 on erecting a clay or metallic statue of the figure of a man who is himself made of clay and is more fragile than a bangle which can keep by preservation for a thousand years, whereas the human body disintegrates daily and undergoes final disintegration after the usual span of life. I have learnt from my Muslim friends, among whom I have passed the best part of my life, my dislike of statues and photographs of my figure. And I should like the Reception Committee, if the report is true, to desist from the unfortunate enterprise. Let them save what money they can. If it is a mere rumour, let these lines serve as a warning to those who want to honour me by erecting statues and having portraits of my figure, that I heartily dislike these exhibitions. I shall deem it ample honour if those who believe in me will be good enough to promote the activities I stand for and at least divert the money they would use for statues and portraits to the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., or Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

SEGAON, February 6, 1939

Harijan, 11-2-1939

[1] This was published under the heading "Notes".

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429. *WHY KASTURBA GANDHI?*[1]

I had not intended to say anything about my wife having joined the Rajkot struggle. But some cruel criticism I have seen about her intervention prompts an explanation. It had never occurred to me that she should join it. For one thing she is too old for such hardships as are involved in being in civil disobedience struggles. But strange as it may appear to critics, they must believe me when I say that though she is illiterate, she is and has been for years absolutely free to do what she likes. When she joined the struggle in South Africa or in India, it was of her own inner prompting. And so it was this time. When she heard of Manibehn's arrest, she could not restrain herself and asked me to let her go. I said she was too weak. She had just then fainted in her bathroom in Delhi and might have died but for Devdas's presence of mind. She said she did not mind. I then referred her to Sardar. He would not hear of it either.

But this time he melted. He had seen my grief over the breach of faith by the Thakore Saheb induced by the Resident. The reader must realize my ancestral connection with Rajkot and the intimate personal relations I had with the present Ruler's father. Kasturba is a daughter of Rajkot. She felt a personal call. She could not sit still whilst the other daughters of Rajkot were suffering for the freedom of the men and women of the State. Rajkot is no doubt an insignificant place on the map of India. But it is not insignificant for me and my wife. As a child she was brought up in Rajkot though born in Porbandar. And, after all, neither she nor I can be unconcerned in a struggle which is based on non-violence and in which so many reliable co-workers are involved.

The success of the struggle in Rajkot will be a stage forward in the fight for freedom. And when it ends in success, as it must sooner or later, I hope that Kasturba's share will count as a humble contribution towards it. Satyagraha is a struggle in which the oldest and the weakest in body may take part, if they have stout hearts.

SEGAON, February 6, 1939

Harijan, 11-2-1939

[1] This was published under the heading "Notes".

430. WORKING OF NON-VIOLENCE

I have been very much interested in reading the recent numbers of *Harijan* and your observations on the European crisis and the N. W. F. Province. But there is one aspect of the non-violence problem, which I should have discussed with you at Segaon[1] if there had been time, to which you seldom or never refer. You say that non-violent non-co-operation, as you have developed it, is the answer to the violence which is now threatening the whole world with ruin. There is no doubt as to the immense effect such spirit and action could produce. But must not the non-violent spirit of selfless love for all, enemies and friends alike, express itself, if it is to succeed, in a liberal, democratic and constitutional form of government? Society cannot exist without law and government. International peace cannot exist unless the nations accept a system of constitutional government which will give them unity and law and end anarchy among them. No doubt some day the law of God will be so "written on the hearts and minds" of men that they become individually the expression of it, and will need no human law or government. But that is the end. The beginning of progress towards that heavenly goal must take the form at first of a willingness among races, religions and nations to unite under a single constitution, through which their unity and membership one of another is established, the laws under which they live are promulgated after public discussion and by some form of majority decision and are enforced, where it is not voluntarily obeyed, not by war but by police force, where persuasion and example have not sufficed. As between sovereign nations the operation of a constructive non-violence spirit must lead to some form of federation. It cannot succeed until it has done so. The proof that it exists effectively will be the appearance of a federal system. Thus the only real solution for the European problem is the federation of its 25 peoples and nations under a single democratic constitution which will create a government which can look at and legislate for the problems of Europe, not as a set of rival and conflicting nations but as a single whole with autonomous parts. In the same way the only solution to the Indian problem is the substitution of a democratic constitution for the control of Great Britain. And what is true for Europe and India is true, in the long run, for the whole world and is the only final method of ending war.

[1] Lord Lothian was at Segaon from January 18 to 20, 1938; *vide* Vol. LXVI, p. 343.

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> Non-violent non-co-operation may be the best, perhaps the only, method of bringing about the change of mind and heart which will make acceptance of a federal democratic constitution by the nation possible. But attainment to democratic federation is the necessary attainment whereby its success is assured and without which it cannot succeed. It is always a matter of interest and indeed of surprise to me that you appear to think that non-violent non-co-operation is enough in itself, and that you never proclaim that a democratic system of government unifying men, races, religions and nations is the goal to which it must lead, though that attainment is only possible as the result of a spiritual change of heart and cannot be reached by force or violence or chicanery.
>
> I do not write this as a kind of indirect argument for the Indian constitution, though it obviously has a bearing on that problem also. The Government of India Act is clearly a very imperfect application of the principle of democratic federation and must necessarily evolve rapidly if it is to work. The main argument I have always urged for it is that in present conditions it represents the only constitutional compromise uniting Provinces, States, Muslims and Hindus which can be made to work and that it has far more seeds of evolution within it than is generally recognized. If your spiritual gospel informed the people, it would rapidly and easily evolve. My object is not to elicit any opinion from you about the constitutional problem but an answer to the larger question set forth in the early part of the letter.

Thus writes Lord Lothian. The letter was received early in January, but urgent matters prevented my dealing earlier with the important question raised in it.

I have purposely refrained from dealing with the nature of government in a society based deliberately on non-violence. All society is held together by non-violence, even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation. But when the law of gravitation was discovered the discovery yielded results of which our ancestors had no knowledge. Even so when society is deliberately constructed in accordance with the law of non-violence, its structure will be different in material particulars from what it is today. But I cannot say in advance what the government based wholly on non-violence will be like.

What is happening today is disregard of the law of non-violence and enthronement of violence as if it were an eternal law. The democracies, therefore, that we see at work in England, America and France are only so called, because they are no less based on violence than Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or even Soviet Russia. The only difference is that the violence of the last three is much better organized than that of the three

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democratic powers. Nevertheless we see today a mad race for outdoing one another in the matter of armaments. And if when the clash comes, as it is bound to come one day, the democracies win, they will do so only because they will have the backing of their peoples who imagine that they have a voice in their own government whereas in the other three cases the peoples might rebel against their own dictatorships.

Holding the view that without the recognition of non-violence on a national scale there is no such thing as a constitutional or democratic government, I devote my energy to the propagation of non-violence as the law of our life—individual, social, political, national and international. I fancy that I have seen the light, though dimly. I write cautiously, for I do not profess to know the whole of the Law. If I know the successes of my experiments, I know also my failures. But the successes are enough to fill me with undying hope.

I have often said that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means, the end for every nation is complete independence. There will be an international League only when all the nations, big or small, composing it are fully independent. The nature of that independence will correspond to the extent of non-violence assimilated by the nations concerned. One thing is certain. In a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated.

It follows from this that the Government of India Act is merely a makeshift and has to give way to an Act coined by the nation itself. So far as Provincial Autonomy is concerned, it has been found possible to handle it somewhat. My own experience of its working is by no means happy. The Congress Governments have not that non-violent hold over the people that I had expected they would have.

But the Federal structure is inconceivable to me because it contemplates a partnership, however loose, among dissimilars. How dissimilar the States are is being demonstrated in an ugliness for which I was unprepared. Therefore the Federal structure, as conceived by the Government of India Act, I hold to be an utter impossibility.

Thus the conclusion is irresistible that for one like me, wedded to non-violence, constitutional or democratic government is a distant dream so long as non-violence is not recognized as a living force, an inviolable creed, not a mere policy. While I

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prate about universal non-violence, my experiment is confined to India. If it succeeds the world will accept it without effort. There is, however, a big BUT. The pause does not worry me. My faith is brightest in the midst of impenetrable darkness.

SEGAON, February 6, 1939

Harijan, 11-2-1939

431. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 6, 1939

BA,

Herewith are letters from Akola. I hope you are well. The marriages of both the girls[1] will take place tomorrow. We all feel your absence. I have to do the giving away and that too in your absence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 31

432. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

February 7, 1939

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

You must not worry. Those who worry are not warriors. There is no point in going to Jaipur. Therefore, you have to stay here and do your duty. Let it be as God wills.

I am keeping the telephonic message with me.[2] I wish to make some statement. I am not detaining the car.

Why do you want to come here in your present condition?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3000

[1] On February 7, Vijaya Patel was married to Manubhai Pancholi and Sharda Shah to Gordhandas Chokbawala.

[2] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 396-7.

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433. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 7, 1939

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. What is happening in Limdi is terrible, but it does not surprise us. More, and worse, will happen. That will test the people. Our path is straight. I intend to write about this. Since I arrange my work with due care for my health, I am not able to attend to everything as I would wish to. I very much like what Subhas Babu is doing. We have had a narrow escape. See about Rajendra Babu.

I am ready for a meeting whenever you desire it.

I have received a letter from Mani, which is enclosed. I am writing this after performing the marriages of both the girls. The simplicity was absolute. Nobody was invited. The village Harijans and others were present. I was very much pleased.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 232-3

434. TELEGRAM TO CHANDRABHAL JOHRI[1]

[On or after *February 7, 1939*]

JAMNALALJI IS SAFE WHEREVER HE IS.[2] TRYING ISSUE STATEMENT. KEEP ME INFORMED.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 213

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of February 6, 1939, received on February 7, expressing his anxiety about Jamnalal's whereabouts after the latter's arrest on February 5, 1939.

[2] Jamnalal had been taken to Bharatpur State and released there on February 7.

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435. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

[On or after *February 7, 1939*][1]

R[AJENDRA PRASAD]
SADAQAT ASHRAM
PATNA

HAVE NOT CONVENED CONFERENCE. NO SUCH SUGGESTION BEFORE ME. DO YOU WANT CONFERENCE?

From a copy: Jamnalal Bajaj Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

436. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

[After *February 7, 1939*][2]

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your two letters. If you write 'Private', etc., at the top, no one will read your letters. I will tear them up after reading.

Do not get frightened. Obtain permission and come away to me immediately. We shall talk about everything at length. Your experience is no unusual story.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You may use the accompanying letter[3] if you wish.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10021. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

[1] This along with the preceding item was drafted on the reverse of the telegram from Chandrabhal Johri; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] This was obviously written some time after the addressee's marriage, which took place on February 7.

[3] *Vide* the following item.

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437. LETTER TO GORDHANDAS CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[After *February 7, 1939*][1]

CHI. GORDHANDAS,

If Sharda feels ill at ease there, send her away here to me for some days. She has never been away from home and so it is likely that she may feel a stranger there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10084. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

438. TELEGRAM TO THE LIMDI PRAJA MANDAL

[Before *February 8, 1939*][2]

IN THE HAPPENINGS IF THE PEOPLE REMAIN NON-VIOLENT AND BRAVE SUFFERING TORTURES LOSS OF PROPERTY LIMBS AND LIFE, VICTORY IS THEIRS. KEEP ME INFORMED.

The Hindustan Times, 10-2-1939

439. TELEGRAM TO JETHANAND

WARDHA,
February 8, 1939

RAIBAHADUR JETHANAND
DERAISMAILKHAN

DEEPLY REGRET RIOTS. AM HELPLESS THOUGH WIRING[3] PREMIER. HAVE MAHOMEDANS BEEN KILLED AS REPORTED PAPERS.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] The news report carrying this item is dated February 8.
[3] *Vide* the following item.

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440. TELEGRAM TO DR. KHAN SAHEB

WARDHA,
February 8, 1939

DR. KHANSAHEB
PESHAWAR

ARE YOU DOING ANYTHING EFFECTIVE ABOUT DERA RIOTS.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

441. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 8, 1939

DEAR MOTI BABU,

Better to send instalment directly to A. I. S. A.
The convocation address not yet received.
Love.

BAPU

From the original: G.N. 11053

442. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 8, 1939

BA,

You are being put to a severe test. You must let me know about the difficulties you face. You are born to suffer and hence your discomforts cause me no surprise. I have sent a telegram to the Government. I do not wish to publish anything about your difficulties in the Press. God is certainly even there by your side. He will do as He wills.

Kanam is well. He remembers you at night. Do not worry in the least. Amtul Salaam is here. She takes care of Kanam.

Chi. Mani, how nice that you are there!

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 31

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443. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 8, 1939

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You should not expect a long letter from me. Only he is a *brahmachari* who can remain unmoved even while conducting a wedding. One who feels disturbed watching a wedding need not do so. I did not invite anyone.

You should salute A. B. from a distance and forget the rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4310; also S.G. 73

444. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

WARDHA,
February 8, 1939

The following telephone report[2] has been received about Seth Jamnalalji who, when he was arrested a second time, was accompanied by his son, his secretary and a servant:

> Seth Jamnalalji was detained at Ajmer Road station, 50 miles from Jaipur, and kept in the dak bungalow there. Mr. Young went to Sethji in person and asked him to enter his car. Sethji declined saying, "You wish to put me outside the border of Jaipur State. I wish to enter Jaipur. I will not accompany you." Mr. Young thereupon said, "We are taking you to Jaipur. Come with us." Sethji replied, "I cannot rely on your word." Mr. Young then said, "I have orders. You will have to come with me." Sethji asked to be shown the order, but it appears that there was no order in Mr. Young's possession. At length, Mr. Young

[1] The statement was also published in *The Hindu* and *The Bombay Chronicle* of February 9 and in a slightly modified form in *Harijan* of February 11 under the heading "Barbarous Behaviour". It turned out, however, that the report used by Gandhiji in the statement was not wholly accurate; *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 410-1.

[2] The report was in Hindi, which Gandhiji translated; *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 410-1.

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again told Sethji that he would be taken to Jaipur. "If we do not take you there, you can have it printed in the newspapers that after promising to take you to Jaipur, we took you elsewhere." Sethji was not inclined to believe anything that was said to him. He said, "I will not accompany you willingly. You can take me by force, if you so desire."

This conversation took nearly an hour. In the end, five men forcibly put Sethji in a car and took him away. In this process of using force, Sethji was injured on his left cheek below the eye. He was taken to Alwar State. Sethji here said, "You cannot act like this. You are not at liberty to deposit me in another State. If you do so I will run a case against you." On this Mr. Young brought Sethji back again into Jaipur State. But we do not know his present whereabouts.

The only remark I have to offer is that this is barbarous behaviour. The sacredness of person, legal procedure and liberty are thrown to the winds. That a British Inspector-General of Police should resort to deception and then to personal injury to one who was his prisoner is what I call organized *goondaism*. But I know that nothing will break Jamnalalji's spirit. He will enter Jaipur either as a free man or prisoner.

The Hindustan Times, 9-2-1939

445. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHAGANJ,
February 9, 1939

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
LUCKY
CALCUTTA

I THINK BEST LEAVE JAMNALALJI DO ACCORDING HIS INSTINCT. I DO NOT APPRECIATE SENDING NOTICE. LET HIM SUFFER IF HE MUST.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7804. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

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446. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHAGANJ,
February 9, 1939

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED I THINK IT WOULD BE WISE POSTPONE LUDHIANA CONFERENCE TILL AFTER CONGRESS. PRINCIPAL WORK[ER]S ENGAGED IN STRUGGLE GOING ON VARIOUS STATES.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

447. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 9, 1939

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I understand your letter.[1] It satisfies me. I shall send you Rs. 200 as soon as Kishorelal returns. You will operate on Rs. 300 cheque.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 932

448. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 9, 1939

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter. I understand your analysis. Subhas wired saying he wants to come to Wardha. Let us see what happens.

[1] *Vide* also letters to the addressee, pp. 310 and 315.

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Of course I shall take no hasty decision. I am glad Sarup[1] is coming soon. I am hoping that the quiet of Segaon will suit her.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

449. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 9, 1939

MY DEAR MAHTAB,

Your letter. You can come on 16th inst.[2]

Yours,
BAPU

From the original: H. K. Mahtab Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

450. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 9, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

Marriage is a sacrament. It should, therefore, lead not to indulgence but to restraint. We have four stages of life. *Grihasth-ashrama*[3] is the second stage. In family life enjoyment has no place but service has an important place. Service and begetting of progeny cannot go hand in hand. Progeny, however, has a place in married life. If there is an intense desire for progeny sexual union is permitted. This union should result from deliberation, not passion. If this principle is accepted, husband and wife should not share the same bed. There should be no love-play. Nothing should be done which would turn their minds to the sexual act. In these days it is a difficult dharma. May God grant you both the strength to perform it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10004. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

[1] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

[2] The addressee had wanted to meet Gandhiji to discuss the affairs of the Princely States in Orissa.

[3] Householder's state

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451. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 9, 1939

BA,

I have your letter. I do not like your being constantly ill. But be brave now. You will get the facilities. But what does it matter even if you don't? Mani should read aloud the *Ramayana*, even if she cannot sing well. What are our troubles as compared to those of Rama and Sita? For the time being I have given up taking help from the girls. Do not feel uneasy. Do not worry. I shall see what to do. Sushila of course continues to look after me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, pp. 31-2

452. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

WARDHA,
February 9, 1939

Critics of my recent writings on Rajkot and Jaipur have accused me of being guilty of untruth and violence. I owe them an answer. Such accusations have been made against me before now, indeed since my entry into public life. I am happy to be able to say that most of my critics have later been obliged to acknowledge that I had not been guilty of either untruthful or violent language and that my statements were based on my belief in them and made without malice.

Even so is the case in the present instance. I am fully aware of my responsibility. I know that many of my countrymen put implicit faith in my statements. I have been asked for proofs in support of my statements. I have given them.

[1] This was also published in *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindu* of February 10 and in *Harijan* of February 18 under the heading "Not Guilty".

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Sardar Patel has reproduced in his statement[1] on Rajkot the remarks of the Resident reported to have been made by him about the Congress and himself. The memorandum of the conversation between the Resident, the Thakore Saheb and councillors, including Sir Patrick Cadell, is in my possession. It is too long to be published, but it will be, if occasion requires it.

As for organized *goondaism*, the facts have been published.[2] I connect the Resident with it, because he has sent the Agency police to the State and must be held responsible for the acts of his agents.

Similarly, the British Prime Minister is responsible for everything that is happening in Jaipur. The making of Seth Jamnalalji a football to be kicked out of Jaipur every time he dares to exercise the right of entering his birth-place is surely worse than unseemly.

I am not guilty of violence of language when I correctly characterize action. I would be guilty of violence if I harboured any ill-feeling against the Kathiawar Resident or the Jaipur Prime Minister. For ought I know, they may be most estimable men to meet, but their being estimable does not help the people of Rajkot or Jaipur. As a votary of truth and ahimsa, my business is to state the naked truth without fear but without ill will against the wrongdoers. My non-violence does not require any gilding of a bitter pill. I must, therefore, plead not guilty to the charge of racial animosity.

I cannot succeed in weaning people from the path of violence by hiding or dressing the naked truth; I hope to wean them by telling them and, what is more, showing by my conduct that it is not only right but profitable to wish well to the wrongdoer in spite of his wrongs, however grievous these may be.

Protection of the Princes is a duty the Paramount Power owes to them, but surely it is equally its duty to protect the people living in their jurisdiction. It seems to me that it is also their duty to withhold support from Princes when it is proved that a ruler is guilty of breach of faith with his people as in Rajkot or when it is proved that his people are denied ordinary civil liberty and one of his citizens is driven from pillar to post and practically denied access to courts of justice as in the case of Jaipur.

The more I think of what is happening in the States in India, I see nothing but a dark future for this unhappy land,

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.
[2] *Vide* p. 366.

if the Paramount Power remains a helpless witness to the tragedy that is being enacted in the Princes' India. For what is happening in Rajkot and Jaipur is but a sample of what is going to happen presently in the other States. The Maharaja of Bikaner was right when he advised concerted action among the Princes.[1] Only His Highness gave the wrong lead.

The doctrine of kicks and kisses will lead the Princes nowhere. It has sown bitterness and strife. The people of States may not be able to take concerted action as the Princes can, but the latter will not be able to treat the people from States other than their own or those from British India as foreigners. There is sufficient awakening among the people of the States to withstand the pressure even from a concert among the Princes.

The Hindustan Times, 10-2-1939

453. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[On or after *February 9, 1939*][2]

JAMNALALJI
SAINIK, AGRA

YOUR TELEGRAM. SEND DEFINITE CORRECTIONS MY VERSION. WILL THEN PUBLISH REVISION. QUITE CLEAR YOU SHOULD CROSS BORDER IF POSSIBLE ON FOOT WITH SMALL PARTY WITHOUT GIVING NOTICE. JANAKIDEVI MUST NOT LEAVE WARDHA. SHE IS UNFIT PHYSICALLY AND KAMALA'S APPROACHING DELIVERY MAKES IT DANGEROUS FOR HER LEAVE WARDHA. IF SHE WENT SHE MUST THROW HERSELF INTO STRUGGLE AND CAN NEVER COME BACK BEFORE STRUGGLE OVER. AM CONVINCED TIME HAS NOT ARRIVED FOR HER TO DO SO. EVEN IF SHE WAS WELL AND OTHERWISE FREE TO LEAVE WARDHA I SHOULD DISCOUNTENANCE HER LEAVING BUT WOULD RESERVE HER FUTURE WHEN STRUGGLE IN FULL SWING.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 214

[1] *Vide* "Kicks and Kisses", pp. 354-7.

[2] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of February 9, for the text of which, *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 410-1.

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454. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

SEGAON,
February 11, 1939

CHI. MARY,

You are considerate always. But if you had come you would have caused me no worry. Yes, you will stay with me if I go to the Congress.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6075. Also C.W. 3405. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

455. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 11, 1939

I have your wire and letter. I understand your position about the conference and the W. C. I cannot think of causes without the persons who handle them. I wrote about postponement on the strength of what I had heard from Balwantrai Mehta. He is engrossed in the Kathiawar struggle. Achintram could not do without him. So I wired to you. I know nothing about the situation in Ludhiana.

I am sorry about Sarup. I was looking forward to her passing a few days with me.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1939. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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456. LETTER TO L. M. PATIL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 11, 1939

DEAR PATIL,

I have your letter. Where the Directors are Indians having an effective voice in the management of the concern and the concern itself is wholly in the interests of India I would call it swadeshi even though the whole of the capital may be foreign. Thus if I had full control of, say, a hand-spinning concern but I employed skilled white men under me and employed also European capital with or without interest I would claim that concern to be wholly swadeshi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

457. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 11, 1939

MY DEAR C. R.,

I would have you to continue what you are doing about employment in spite of adverse comment. We do not need to copy anybody.

Who is this lady at the back of the anti-Hindi propaganda? Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2073

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458. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 11, 1939

CHI. KANTI,

I may be said to be quite ill. Prabha will write. If I cannot show Saraswati's letter to Ramachandran it will be difficult to send for her here. How can we help one who hides her misery? I have, however, written to Ramachandran to send Saraswati here. But to send for her is one thing and to do so in order to save her from abuses and beatings is another. So you should give me full freedom. You should not lose your peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7358. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

459. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 11, 1939

BA,

I read about your transfer in the newspapers. Stay free of care wherever you are placed. Do not worry. God is certainly with you wherever you go. The doctors have come to examine me. They advise rest. I do take rest. A letter has gone to you from here every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 32

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460. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 11, 1939

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got the papers sent by you.

I cannot believe the report about Mani having been separated from Ba.

If the meeting of the Working Committee on the 22nd is arranged here, what about Bardoli? Jamnalal writes to say that the meeting on the 22nd will be held here. Why not stay here for the present?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Forward the enclosed.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 233

461. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 11, 1939

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

So long as you have not acquired equimindedness it is best to observe the restraint I have suggested. But it does not at all mean that you are not to render even the necessary services to her or speak to her when the occasion demands it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4311; also S.G. 74

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462. HYDERABAD

Hyderabad State Congress people are getting restive. As they have been acting under my advice some of them came to me and said, "We have suspended civil disobedience at your and other leaders' instance. You had held out the hope that, if we suspended civil disobedience, most probably the prisoners would be released and the State Congress recognized. Neither the one nor the other has happened. How long are we to remain out and vegetate while our co-workers are rotting in the State jails where life is none too easy? What will you have us do?"

As these friends have to deal with a large number of colleagues I had better give a summary of my answer to them. I said:

I sympathize with you. In your place I should feel like you. But satyagraha is not a simple affair. It is a way of life. It requires discipline. It demands infinite patience and capacity for uttermost suffering. Civil disobedience, which is but a phase of satyagraha, has to be suspended even though colleagues may have to suffer imprisonment, hardships attendant upon jail life, and even worse. And they have to do all this with good grace, joyfully and without malice towards those who are responsible for subjecting them to such suffering. Remember, too, that a true satyagrahi, being outside, goes through greater mental suffering than the one who has gone behind prison bars. The latter has done his task for the time being. His mind is free. He fulfils his immediate mission if he behaves like a model prisoner and cheerfully submits to the sufferings he might have to go through. Whereas the former has to bear the brunt of managing the struggle, thinking out plans, and responding to the programme as it may be given from day to day.

I have to ask you to prolong your suspension if only for the simple and decisive reason that two bodies are offering civil disobedience for purposes wholly different from yours, however worthy their purpose may be. The Arya Samaj civil disobedience is purely religious in the sense that it is being offered for the vindication of the exercise of their religion. The Hindu Mahasabha is, I suppose, supporting the Arya Samaj. And,

therefore, the struggle has assumed a communal colour. If you resume civil disobedience, it will be very difficult for you to retain your nationalistic character. You will expose yourselves to needless suspicion. Your methods too may not be identical with theirs. You will create an embarrassing situation without advancing your cause.

Thus the situation demands delicate handling. It is my conviction that your restraint will largely disarm suspicion, and to that extent you will be making a definite advance towards your goal. Meanwhile I can give you the assurance that whatever friendly offices can do is being and will continue to be done. Having heard my argument, you will act as may seem best to you. You must reject my advice if it does not appeal to your head and heart. If you accept it, remember that every member will be expected to devote himself whole-heartedly to the constructive programme as I have explained it to you.

SEGAON, February 12, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

463. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA, C. P.,
February 12, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I duly received your letter of the 5th inst. redirected from Bardoli.

I am grateful for the pains you have taken to explain your position so fully, frankly and fairly. After much consideration I felt that it was a duty to publish the article returned by you. Even if Shri Chudgar has been guilty, consciously or unconsciously, of having misreported[1] Sir Beauchamp St. John, the truth could only be ascertained by publication of the correspondence. As I have the moral conviction about the accuracy of Shri Chudgar's report I felt that it would be wrong to withhold it from the public. I note in passing that although I asked the Prime Minister of Jaipur, if he denied Shri Chudgar's version, to give me his own, he would not do so.[2] But the question of wisdom

[1] *Vide* "Jaipur", pp. 350-2.
[2] *Vide* pp. 314 and 335.

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or otherwise of publishing the correspondence pales into insignificance in the presence of the tragedy that is going on in Jaipur, Rajkot and Orissa.

In spite of your letter suggesting the possibility of it being erroneous, what is happening in these places has deepened the belief expressed by me in my letter to you of the 26th ult.

If you think that by a meeting you could clear my mind of the disquiet and show me that my belief is erroneous, I would be glad to run up to Delhi even though medical friends have enjoined complete rest for some time if I am not to collapse altogether. But I would gladly risk my health if I can be shown my error or if I could convince you that delay in action on your part is dangerous.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 10388. Courtesy: Pyarelal

464. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 12, 1939

BA,

I have your letter. You are kept informed of all the news. Stop worrying. I learn that you have duly received the enema can. What medicine would you want sent from here? The doctor now visits you there. If you feel the need you may take the medicine he prescribes. I will of course continue to write to you every day. Be brave.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 32

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465. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 12, 1939

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

What happened about the article that Chudgar was to write for me? I want it soon. I have received a long letter from the Viceroy. I will send you a copy of the reply[1] I have sent.

Send me a copy of the Princes Protection Act referred to in the accompanying notification.

Mani was first removed and then again brought back to Ba. What is all this? I don't understand at all. Who is the doctor, and the nurse?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 234

466. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[2]

WARDHA,
February 12, 1939

On reading my Press statement regarding his second expulsion from Jaipur State, Seth Jamnalalji telegraphed to me as follows:

> On the 9th instant I saw that your statement on my version regarding Mr. Young was incorrect owing to confusion in the telephonic message. The correct version appeared in *The Hindustan Times* of the 8th and 9th.[3] I hope you will do the needful.

I had not then seen *The Hindustan Times* referred to by Sethji. I have now seen both issues and I find that I have

[1] *Vide* pp. 408-9.

[2] Published in *Harijan*, 18-2-1939, under the title "My Apology"; this also appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 13-2-1939, and other newspapers.

[3] It also appeared in *The Tribune*, 8-2-1939, in the form of a statement by Damodar Das and showed that Young had never given any assurance to Jamnalal Bajaj that he would not be taken outside Jaipur State.

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unconsciously done injustice to Mr. Young, whom, in my Press statement, I accused of having practised deception upon Sethji. I made the accusation on the strength of the telephone message received by his son in Wardha, of which I gave a literal translation in my statement. Sethji's son had no doubt whatsoever as to what he received through the telephone. But neither his accuracy nor my faithful translation can excuse the error into which I was betrayed. I, therefore, tender my unqualified apology to Mr. Young and I shall be extra careful henceforth in making use of telephone messages.

I see that not only was Mr. Young not guilty of any deception, but that he was careful to say that he was performing a painful duty in obedience to the orders of a superior authority. And in the execution thereof he was as courteous and as careful as it was possible for him to be in the circumstances.

Having made these amends, I must say that *The Hindustan Times* report, confirmed by Sethji, shows that his ill-treatment was much worse than was conveyed in the telephone message. All that night journey in the cold of Rajputana winter was a cruel and unnecessary torture. Even if expulsion was necessary for the preservation of peace in Jaipur, the night journey could surely have been avoided, as also the use of force.

The Hindu, 12-2-1939

467. UNTRUTH IN NEWSPAPERS

A State official writes:

> I have read your several articles in the *Harijan* about Congress activities in general and those in the States in particular. One[1] of these deals with corruption in the Congress ranks and at least, by implication, with other undesirable activities quite inconsistent with the spirit which you have tried to infuse into the mass of Congress workers.
>
> It has occurred to me to draw your attention to the fact that much violence to truth and, therefore, harm to the cause you have at heart is being done by certain newspapers which live by abuse and which depend upon so-called 'Congress workers' for the unmitigated falsehoods they publish.
>
> So far as the States are the targets of attack, legitimate criticism which rests on incontrovertible facts must be wholesome and should be helpful. You would, however, agree that nothing but the truth should be published.

[1] *Vide* pp. 320-1.

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What is happening, in fact, is that some people who nurse a sense of injury against the State to which they belonged or where they lived in the past, finding themselves driven away as a result of their activities to which the Government of the State took objection, are trying to pay off old scores and for such a purpose they imagine their position greatly fortified by their having joined the Congress fold. The papers they feed, in their turn, live by their diatribes, while for them those papers are the needed medium for the discharge of stored-up venom. The unfortunate result is that however these vernacular papers may succeed in inflaming the uninformed public, responsible people remain unaffected by their denunciations.

It is a pity that things that may be usefully brought to light in the honest spirit of awakening the administrations of the States to their responsibilities are, for want of knowledge, never published. What is published is either in the nature of a gross exaggeration of facts of no vital importance or, as is more often the case, some pure inventions and, therefore, an utter lie.

Your present policy seems to me to be that where the people desire to manage their own affairs, it is the duty of the Congress to help them in the attainment of that aim. I venture to think that it is not your policy to replace the contentment of the people with discontent, in pursuit of the ideal of responsible government throughout India.

Above all, I take your policy to be to disseminate and propagate the truth, and to wage a ceaseless war against untruth. In that belief, I venture to suggest that an article or two in the *Harijan* on the responsibility of newspapers that depend for what they publish upon 'Congress workers' and that of those workers might help to purge the Congress movement of some destructive germs and thereby make it more effective alike for the uplift of the downtrodden masses and for serving the highest cause of the country.

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the correspondent that newspapers which indulge in untruth or exaggeration harm the cause they profess to espouse. I admit, too, that there is enough untruth in enough newspapers to warrant action. But my experience is that no amount of public criticism will affect the policy of newspapers which make their livelihood by such policy.

I would like, however, to point out to my correspondent and others like him who are connected with States that the public must not be blamed for believing untruths if the State officials, under a false sense of security, will not deign to correct untruths or render explanations. And sometimes when they condescend to give explanations they are more untruthful than the untruths

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of the newspapers. The latest instance is that of Talcher. The Chief denied even the truth of a telling photograph in *The Statesman* of the refugees and has received a well-deserved snub from its Editor. I have a Talcher bulletin sent to me by Thakkar Bapa for me to laugh or weep over. Its denial is a shameful perversion of truth. I am publishing in this issue startling news about Mewar.[1]

I would like an authentic contradiction of the news or strong action against the police if they acted in disregard of instructions. But I write this in no way to condone untruths in newspapers. I am quite clear that if newspapers weighed every word that is printed therein, we should have a speedier removal of abuses whether in the States or elsewhere.

SEGAON, February 13, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

468. TRAVANCORE

Though I have been apparently silent about Travancore, the workers may rest assured that I have not been neglectful. Sometimes silence is more telling than speech. All I am free to say is that I have been usefully silent. I am sorry that all has not gone well. I had hoped that when the State Congress withdrew the allegations against the Dewan things would run smoothly and the movement for responsible government would be allowed full play.[2] But the bulletin[3] reproduced elsewhere shows that there is no such luck for the Travancoreans. The unseating of 19 prominent members of the Travancore Assembly seems to be vindictive.[4] Have they done anything dishonourable? Not that I know of.

I have before me a letter describing the ill-treatment of Shrimati Akkamma Cherian, a political prisoner. If what she declared in court is true, her treatment was surely disgraceful. She is a cultured woman. She gave up the headmistress-ship of a school in order to join the struggle for liberty. It hurts one to think that in an advanced State like Travancore, which boasts of an enlightened Prince, an equally enlightened Maharani, his

[1] *Vide* pp. 415-6.

[2] *Vide* "Talk to Travancore State Congress Deputation", pp. 131-3, and "Travancore", pp. 287-9.

[3] "Travancore Bulletin" by G. Ramachandran

[4] These members, all belonging to the State Congress, had been disqualified on the ground of their having been convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation.

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mother, and an experienced Dewan, liberty is being choked by rude repression.

But another letter tells me that this repression is taking place in the name of Hinduism and for the sake of saving a Hindu State! It has been suggested that the idea is to repress the Christians who are playing a prominent part in the struggle for freedom.

It is surely late in the day to talk of Hindu States and Muslim States. And what is the test? Is Kashmir a Hindu State because a Hindu Prince happens to rule a territory which has an overwhelming majority of Muslims as its inhabitants? Or is Hyderabad with its overwhelming Hindu population a Muslim State because a Muslim Prince rules their destiny? I regard this kind of talk as a libel on nationalism. Is India a Christian State because a Christian king rules over her destiny? But if India is Indian no matter who rules, the States are also Indian no matter who happens to be the ruler. And the present Rulers and their successors will rule only by the grace of an awakened people. The awakening that has taken place has come to stay. Every day quickens the pace. The Rulers and their advisers may succeed for the time being in suppressing the spirit of the people. They will never succeed in killing it. To succeed would be to kill the spirit of the people of India. Is anyone in India so short-sighted as to feel that independence is not coming soon? And is it possible to conceive that an independent India will for one moment tolerate repression in any single spot, be it ever so big or ever so small? There is room, in my conception of an independent India, for States with Princes as constitutional trustees, as in Aundh.[1] There is room for Englishmen as fellow-servants of the people, never as masters. Therefore, the only way in which the Princes can live in a free India is for them now to recognize the time spirit, bow to it and act accordingly. Let it be the boast of the Hindu Prince, his Hindu mother and their Hindu Dewan that they were not afraid of their Christian citizens. Supposing there was responsible government in Travancore, what could the Christians or the Hindus or the Muslims do? Whoever the legislators, they will be responsible to the voters. There is no room for fear, there is no hitch in the process. But in the present repression, there is much to fear and there are many hitches.

SEGAON, February 13, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

[1] *Vide* pp. 90-1.

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469. THE ETHICS OF IT

A friend suggests that I have perhaps departed from correct conduct in publishing the confidential correspondence[1] between Thakore Saheb and Sir Patrick Cadell and extracts from the interview between Thakore Saheb-in-Council and the Resident. I have no such feeling at all. I claim to be very sensitive to points of honour. My worst critics have credited me with the capacity to respect confidence and bury secrets entrusted to me. But I have never regarded it any part of my duty to protect breaches of promises against disclosure or to cover crimes of which I have notice in due course. I do protect confessions made to me in confidence as I did when I was asked, on pain of being punished by a court of law, to disclose the names of criminals during the unfortunate riots in Ahmedabad at the time of the Rowlatt Act agitation. In the case in question there is no such point of honour. Regard for truth and the popular cause demanded publication of the correspondence and the extracts. The documents were received by the Sardar in ordinary course. They were handed by those who were in legal possession. There was, therefore, so far as I can see nothing dishonourable about getting possession of the documents and, as I have said, nothing incorrect, much less dishonourable, about their publication. Without such publication the popular case could not be proved.

SEGAON, February 13, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

470. MEWAR

A correspondent sends the following business-like note[2]:

> First incident: Date of happening: 14th December, 1938. Place of happening: A wayside bridge in the British territory of town Deoli. Mewar territory: At a distance of about 12 yards.
>
> . . . Shri Mathura Prasad Vaidya, a worker of the Mewar Praja Mandal, . . . while distributing Praja Mandal literature . . . was all of a sudden attacked by two constables of Uncha Police in Mewar. One of them snatched away the literature . . . The other knocked him down on the

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[2] Of which only extracts are reproduced here

ground and then both of them forcibly dragged him in a semi-conscious state to the nearby territory of Mewar only at a distance of about 12 yards . . . Vaidya Mathura Prasad was severely beaten by those policemen on the way to Uncha police station. He has now been sentenced for nine months.

Second incident: Date of happening: 2nd February, 1939. Place of happening: On the outskirts of Deoli, British territory.

. . . Shri Maniklal Varma, secretary of the Mewar Praja Mandal, had gone to Deoli . . . In the evening at about 6.30 p.m., he with four other colleagues of his was all of a sudden attacked on the outskirts of the town by 15 men of Mewar police with lathis. All the five persons were badly wounded, and Maniklalji was then forcibly dragged through bushes and thorns in a most inhuman way to the Mewar territory which was at a distance of at least a few hundred yards. The Deoli police was informed during the mishap but no notice was taken, and the Dewan of the police station could not be found even after a good search, as if the whole thing was prearranged. Maniklalji was arrested and taken to the Uncha police station in Mewar.

The correspondent adds:

Shri Maniklalji belongs to Bijolia. He has been devoting himself to the service of the peasantry for the past 20 years. He founded the Praja Mandal a year ago. But it was declared illegal within a few days. Therefore he started civil disobedience some months ago. I send you these incidents as you have begun to write publicly about States' affairs. Will you kindly guide us workers also what should be done in such circumstances?

This news is strange, if it is true. It is difficult to understand why the police did not arrest these workers within the Mewar border. Or was it that the workers' friends were avoiding the Mewar territory? In any event the arrests seem to me to have been illegal. The dragging amounted to an assault. The only advice I can give is that this is essentially a case for legal proceedings. The Praja Mandal should take it up.

But civil resisters of the States should remember that the real battle has yet to come. The States, big or small, seem to be taking concerted action. They are copying the methods adopted by the British in British India during the satyagraha struggle and are likely to improve upon them in frightfulness. They fancy that they have no fear of public opinion, for there is none in the States except in rare cases. But civil resisters who are worth their salt will not be deterred by any frightfulness.

SEGAON, February 13, 1939

Harijan, 18-2-1939

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471. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHA,
February 13, 1939

GHANSHYAMDASJI
LUCKY
CALCUTTA

GILDER JIVARAJ EXAMINED YESTERDAY BUT DR. ROY[1] HAS RIGHT COME WHEN HE LIKES.

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7805. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

472. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*February 13, 1939*][2]

CHI. MIRA,

All your letters are good and works of art. Your report of the interview is graphic. Let us hope it will bear fruit.

The money I hope you received in good time.

I shall try to come as soon as I can.

The rest from Sushila.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6428. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10023

473. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

February 13, 1939

BA,

You have now had good experience of staying alone also. But I forget. When were you alone? Rama has always been with you. And when He is there, it does not matter whether

[1] Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy
[2] From the postmark

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others are or not. But now there are two, Mridu and Mani. Be cheerful. They may also write.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 32

474. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 13, 1939

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letters. The Garasias are not likely to forgo readily what they regard as their *garas*[1]. If we go on suffering silently everything will end well.

The problem about Ba was quickly solved. Mani is a resourceful girl. She has mastered the art of doing the right thing at the right time.[2] She is living up to her name.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 234

475. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 13, 1939

CHI. SHARMA,

Did you get the wire I sent? The reply received here was: "Many Sharmas, wire undelivered."

There is only one point you want answered. We need not give such a deep meaning to nature cure. Only he is entitled to it who has put it into practice in its popular meaning. We cannot all say: "I am the Brahman." When it is time for you to go to jail God will open a way. Anyway, what I am

[1] Share in State lands

[2] On being separated from Kasturba, Manibehn had refused to take food till she was taken back to her.

[3] 'Mani' means a jewel.

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envisaging for you is not jail-going. So keep yourself immersed in your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 278 and 279

476. DISCUSSION WITH DR. CHESTERMAN[1]

SEGAON,
February 13, 1939

. . . He said he had been overwhelmed with the perplexity of Indian problems and naturally the medical ones had taken first place in his mind. When he heard that 2 lakhs of women die yearly from child-birth, 1 lakh from smallpox, 36 lakhs from indiscriminate fevers, that there are 10 lakhs of lepers and 6 lakhs of blind persons, he confessed he was appalled with the immensity of the task of both preventive and curative medicine. He was not sure whether Gandhiji was aware of the fact that there were 266 mission hospitals and 500 dispensaries in India, 254 European and 350 Indian doctors, 300 European and 800 Indian nurses, 2 million patients seen and 5 million treated per annum in these hospitals, that half of the T. B. work and almost the entire work of lepers was in the hands of missions. While, of course, the work of conversion was there, and he knew Gandhiji's opinion on this subject, he wanted to draw attention to the fact that three quarters of their medical work lay in areas where there was no response to religious teaching . . . He would, therefore, much like to have Gandhiji's opinion on how the work could be most fruitfully developed and how far they could count on support and co-operation.

In reply Gandhiji said that the answer was difficult and yet simple at the same time.

I hold peculiar views on the function of medicine. I expressed these very forcibly years ago, and nothing in all the course of my long experience since has made me change them in essence. But there is no need for me to expound these to you now. I have visited many mission hospitals, seen the wonderful work of the missionaries among lepers. This work may be called their monopoly and speciality, for practically no one else has come in to take it up. I know the Leper Home in Cuttack. I have spent quite a long time in the Purulia Leper Asylum and

[1] Extracted from Amrit Kaur's "A Good Samaritan". Dr. Chesterman was the medical secretary of the English Baptist Mission and had come to India to attend the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram and to visit various mission hospitals.

been very struck with the work there. Then I have seen Mrs. Higginbotham's work in Allahabad and several other places, too, for I love to visit leper homes. But in spite of all this admiration of mine for the work of medical missionaries there has always been mental reservation and criticism within me. I have felt that these good and well-intentioned missionaries have not touched the fringe of the question. Certainly good work has been done for lepers, for the blind, for sufferers from T. B. and other ailments, but the help has not really touched the suffering millions of this great land. Medical aid has been made available in the main to those who live in or near the cities—whereas the bulk of India's population in our villages has been untouched. Provincial Governments, even Congress Governments, are appalled at the need of the villager. They do not know what to do and nothing great has yet been done in spite of various experiments. Therefore, if I were asked to advise missionaries or Mission Boards, I would ask them not to try to transplant the entire system of Western medicine into India. We cannot afford it. There is ever so much to be gleaned and had from the study of indigenous drugs and medicines, but practically very little work has been done in this department. No one has made it his business to go out into our fields and search and much of the indigenous talent, simply because it is not considered original or scientific, is running to waste. I will give you an incident which happened only today. As you may know, I have had a little swelling on one foot for some days now which has alarmed the doctors because they feel that it is a sign denotative of commencing disintegration of the heart and kidneys. One of my co-workers here — you may call him almost an illiterate man — was very troubled, as all are, about me and tells me he could not sleep last night. This morning he brought me a green leaf and told me that it had cured his father of the same trouble and begged of me to try it also. I had no hesitation in acceding to his proposal— whereas if I had had a bewildering prescription given me by a highly qualified doctor my reaction would not have been the same. I feel, therefore, that in these simple ways lies relief for the villager. I do not say that the leaf will answer the purpose. But there should be an agency that can say with certainty what these herbs are and what is their quality.

Gandhiji then went on to explain that he had no prejudice against Western medicine or doctors. He had today sent for glucose for Mr. Kallenbach, a South African friend of his who was lying ill with malaria and who was refusing to take quinine, a drug in which Gandhiji himself had implicit faith.

Here, Dr. Chesterman interposed and said that quinine was an indigenous drug to which Gandhiji replied that though that was so it was a monopoly and therefore very expensive and utterly beyond the reach of the villager.

I should, therefore, like to see missionaries as medicine vendors for the villages, confining themselves, as far as they can, to indigenous medicines. There will certainly not be gold medals or knighthoods from Government forthcoming for them for this valuable research work. But, in my opinion, they will obtain what is of far greater value, a knighthood from Jesus Christ.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said that he had felt for a long time that the medical faculty in India should manufacture a short course of training for village workers, and had told Surgeon General Hooten of Bombay so, many years ago. Village school-teachers should be utilized for this purpose. They should look upon the entire village as under their jurisdiction from the point of view of health and teach the simple laws of hygiene and prevention of disease to the inhabitants. Their schools could be used as dispensaries for the distribution of ordinary medicines for simple ailments. He gave the analogy of the useful six weeks first-aid training which he himself had had to undergo before he could form and lead the ambulance corps which he did during the Boer War.

. . . Dr. Chesterman then asked Gandhiji his opinion on expenditure on buildings and elaborate equipment for hospitals. Gandhiji replied saying that he had always been opposed to this and was invariably trying to wean people from spending on what was unnecessary when for so much that was urgently needed money was lacking. Big hospitals did not help the poor man in the long run for they did not educate him to understand how he ought to look after his health once he left the hospital.

DR. CHESTERMAN: What contribution can medical missionaries make towards the raising of ethical standards in professional life?

GANDHIJI: They can help, but I do not feel they can do much according to my measurement. You may think me uncharitable, but so long as the mental reservation is there that medical missionaries would like all their patients and co-workers to become converts to Christianity, so long will there remain a bar to real brotherhood. Then there is the additional handicap that they belong to the ruling race and that is responsible for their aloofness. Missionaries have not learnt the maxim 'When you go to Rome do as Rome does'. They retain everything of the West in their daily lives forgetting that clothes and food and modes of life are in response to climate and to surroundings and adjustment, therefore, becomes necessary. They have not stooped to conquer. The gulf of mutual distrust exists and there is,

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therefore, no easy passage between the medical missionary and the medical profession in India.

Dr. Chesterman disputed this statement. He maintained that there was any amount of goodwill also. He had met a Hindu friend in Bombay who had definitely assured him that there was need for mission hospitals because Indians got greater consideration and greater compassion there than in Government institutions.

Asked whether mission hospitals were justified in taking fees from those able to afford them, unlike Government institutions where money was generally extracted by the subordinate staff in undesirable ways, Gandhiji said he saw no reason against it.

The last question Dr. Chesterman asked was whether Gandhiji's objection to conversion applied to areas like the Kond Hills where the aboriginal races were animists. The unhesitating reply was:

Yes. It does apply, because I know that in spite of being described as animists these tribes have from time immemorial been absorbed in Hinduism. They are, like the indigenous medicine, of the soil, and their roots lie deep there. But you can only endorse this if you feel that Hinduism is as true as Christianity. I hold that all religions are true but imperfect inasmuch as they are presented through human agency and bear the impress of the imperfections and frailties of the human being. My quarrel with missionaries is that they think no religion other than Christianity is true.

In parting from Gandhiji, while thanking him for the time he had given and hoping the conversation had not unduly tired him, Dr. Chesterman implored Gandhiji to continue to appeal to the best that was in them. The feeling answer that greatly touched Dr. Chesterman was :

I am making that appeal incessantly from the innermost recesses of my heart. That is of far more value than the written word although I have indulged in that also.

Harijan, 25-2-1939

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477. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 14, 1939

CHI. NARANDAS,

Is your work going on well? How did you manage to fall ill?

A letter for Shaikh Chandbhai is enclosed.

If there is anything which you think might interest me, write to me.

I am not quite well, but there is no cause for worry just now.

Can you or Gokibehn get permission to see Ba?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8555. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

478. LETTER TO GULAM RASOOL QURESHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 14, 1939

CHI. QURESHI,

Amtul Salaam had a talk with me but I completely forgot to write to you. There is no need to feel hesitant about accepting money for social service. I have already talked about it. You can start drawing money the moment you are relieved from the perfumery business. You have to bear in mind that you are not to incur debts.

I have already explained to you about the children, haven't I? You can give them religious education at home and general education along with other children. Sultana might perhaps study in the Harijan Ashram as the other girls do. I could not ask Narahari whether you could get a place in the Ashram and later forgot about it. I am now having him consulted.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10765. Courtesy: Gulam Rasool Qureshi

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479. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 14, 1939

BHAI SURESH,

I have not so far considered civil disobedience nor do I find an atmosphere for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8691. Also C.W. 2893. Courtesy: Suresh Singh

480. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 15, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

I had your second letter. Time will put everything right. Have patience. Everything, since it is new to you, must appear strange. Ultimately you will get used to things. Have courage. You must have received my letter.

Mr. Kallenbach was seriously ill but is better now. Your absence is often felt here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10009. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

481. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 15, 1939

CHI. VIJAYA,

We have already begun feeling lonely without you. One misses your voice at the prayer. But that is the way of the world. Meeting, parting, again meeting, and again parting will go on and we should remain unaffected by them.

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You should now understand your dharma. Conjugal dharma is easy as well as difficult. It is easy for one who understands it. You should become one with Manubhai and Manubhai should become one with you. But there is no scope for bargaining. There can be no bargaining in dharma. Dharma has to be performed by oneself. So it is certain that you have to become one with Manubhai who may or may not become one with you. This means that your entire spiritual riches should be surrendered to him. And so you both should lift each other higher and higher but never bring each other down. Brighten up the atmosphere there as you filled the house with joy here. If you have understood the *Gita* you will be cheerful in whatever condition you may be placed.

Absorb yourself in the school work. There can hardly be any news to give, seeing that it is not quite two hours since you left. But Prabha will come tomorrow. This will also be despatched tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4599. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

482. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

[Before *February 16, 1939*][1]

BA,

I have your letter and Mani's. You must go through all the tests. Letters have already gone from here. Enquire from the officer there. Mr. Kallenbach has fallen ill. It is a severe illness. Lilavati observes fast on Mondays. I am not writing separately to Mani.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 33

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Kasturba Gandhi", pp. 426-7, in which Gandhiji says, "Kallenbach is better."

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483. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 16, 1939

MY DEAR C. R.,

If you can, you should give him notice about the passages marked by me and ask him to apologize and promise not to repeat the performance. But you will be right in prosecuting him straightway.

Do read the enclosed from Tatachar. You can't govern by mere cold reason. But you are the man on the spot. You must act according to your lights not mine.

Pray don't ask me to cover the spinning prices. Do listen to those who ask you to take care of your health.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2174

484. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

February 16, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

Is it my fault that you do not receive the letters I write you? I hope you have become calm now. Vijaya left yesterday, crying. Many others have come. Among them are Yashoda and Sarup.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10005. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

485. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

February 16, 1939

BA,

I write to you every day. What can I do if you do not get my letters? Just as there is now no cause for worry about you, there was never any cause for worry about me. Subhas Babu

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has already arrived. Others keep coming and going. Mr. Kallenbach is better. Kanam is well. He not only eats with me but also sleeps with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 33

486. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 16, 1939

CHI. MANI,

I have received your long letter and other letters. I have been impressed by all your actions. I can find no fault. I see that you have understood the principle of satyagraha very well. I am therefore completely at ease.

I don't get a telegram from Government every day. I have had two or three. From here letters have gone every day. In the beginning I wrote at the address you gave. Then I wrote to the Government as to why my letters were not reaching you. They sent me a telegram advising me to route my letters through the First Member. I now act accordingly.

I do receive a letter from your end every day. I am therefore content.

I do not write separately to Mridu. She should not worry. Is the burden of work there so little that she should take up that of the Congress, too?

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
STATE PRISONER
C/O FIRST MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL
RAJKOT (KATHIAWAR)

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro– 4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 124

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487. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 17, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

If you do not receive my letters sent to you at the Bombay address given by you, is it my fault or yours? I have even the dates with me. It will be better if you come here now. It is not good to fall ill. My going to Bardoli has been cancelled.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I myself open your letters.

From Gujarati: C.W. 10006. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

488. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHA,
February 18, 1939

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
LUCKY
CALCUTTA

TELL BIDHAN BARDOLI CANCELLED. NO ANXIETY.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7808. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

489. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON,
February 18, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letters. I have written or asked somebody to write to you almost every day. It is difficult to forget you. My eye always turns towards where you used to sleep, but to what good? It won't do your having a chronic fever. If it persists, you had

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better come to me in good time. If you do not use a mosquito-net, start using one now. I am quite well. But do not keep me worried about you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10007. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

490. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 18, 1939

BA,

Letters have been sent to you every day. But if you do not get them what can one do? You need not worry about me. Even if I am in a really bad way I shall expect you to say: 'If it is willed that he should die during separation, he will. I on my part will stay where my children are being tortured. I shall be even more happy if I am sent to jail. All of you should help me in making Thakore Saheb fulfil his promise. I would prefer to die in Rajkot, if you do not make use of my services.' Since you have gone there of your own accord, you may voice these sentiments if they arise in your heart. You should think on these lines.

You are always telling me to take service from the girls. But I have altogether given that up now. Sushila does the massage. That also will have to be abandoned, won't it? I have not been able to give it up because of my present bad health. Do not worry about me even in this respect. Is not God my ultimate support?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 33

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491. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 18, 1939

CHI. VIJAYA,

I hope you are completely at ease and happy there. I would not like your being the least bit unhappy; it will be a blot on my training. There should not be the slightest resistance to mutual adjustment. Write to me a detailed letter. How are you settled? How do you find the climate and the surroundings?

Amritlal had a little fever today. Even a slight change has its effect. There is nothing to worry about. Mr. Kallenbach is fairly improved although the fever is still there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Write a letter to Ba.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7108. Also C.W. 4600. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

492. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL AND MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEGAON,
February 18, 1939

CHI. MANI AND MRIDULA,

It is God's grace that you both are there. I would be happy if all three of you were here together. But we have to live as God wills.

You do not have to worry about Subhas Babu and others. As far as that is concerned you are in jail. I shall act as God directs me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 125

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493. NOTES

JAIPUR

After all the Jaipur Durbar has been obliged to arrest Seth Jamnalalji. It is reported that he is decently housed though kept in an out-of-the-way place under a strong guard. There seems to be secrecy about everything. I suggest that the authorities make a public statement as to his whereabouts, the facilities given to him and the conditions as to correspondence and interviews. Is medical assistance easily available?

But if what one hears about Shekhavati is true, the detention and treatment under detention of Sethji is of minor account. In the absence of detailed news on behalf of the State the public are bound to give credence to the statements appearing in the Press.

SEGAON, February 20, 1939

TRUE SWADESHI

If I have to use the adjective 'true' before swadeshi, a critic may well ask, 'Is there also false swadeshi?' Unfortunately I have to answer 'yes'. As, since the days of khadi, I am supposed to be an authority on swadeshi, numerous conundrums are presented to me by correspondents. And I have been obliged to distinguish between the two kinds of swadeshi. If foreign capital is mixed with indigenous, or if foreign talent is mixed with indigenous, is the enterprise swadeshi ? There are other questions too. But I had better reproduce the definition I gave to a Minister the other day. "Any article is swadeshi if it subserves the interest of the millions, even though the capital and talent are foreign but under effective Indian control." Thus khadi of the definition of the A. I. S. A. would be true swadeshi even though the capital may be all foreign and there may be Western specialists employed by the Indian Board. Conversely, Bata's rubber or other shoes would be foreign though the labour employed may be all Indian and the capital also found by India. The manufacture will be doubly foreign because the control will be in foreign hands and the article, no matter how cheap it is, will oust the village tanner mostly and the village *mochi*[1] always. Already the *mochis* of Bihar have begun to feel the unhealthy competition.

[1] Cobbler

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The Bata shoe may be the saving of Europe; it will mean the death of our village shoemaker and tanner. I have given two telling illustrations, both partly imaginary. For in the A. I. S. A. the capital is all indigenous and the whole of the talent also. But I would love to secure the engineering talent of the West to give me a village wheel which will beat the existing wheels, though deep down in me I have the belief that the improvements that indigenous talent has made are by no means to be despised. But this is a digression. I do hope that those Ministers and others who guide or serve the public will cultivate the habit of distinguishing between true and false swadeshi.

SEGAON, February 20, 1939

Harijan, 25-2-1939

494. TRAVANCORE AGAIN

I take the following from Shri Ramachandran's letter to the Rajkumari:

> I know there is nothing we can expect unless we burn ourselves out peacefully and truthfully for the cause for which we stand. You must have seen how at the last meeting of the Working Committee of the State Congress we laid down a time limit of six weeks before commencing a programme of civil resistance. God is witness that we are anxious for peace. But there has been no enquiry into shootings which took place in nine places. Many lawyers convicted during the last campaign have been debarred from practising for two years. 19 members of the State Congress Party in the Legislature have been disqualified just on the eve of the present session now sitting. Government had ample time to notify disqualification earlier and order re-elections in time. Now 19 constituencies remain unrepresented. Fines have not been refunded. Confiscated property has not been returned. Cancellation of newspaper licences remains intact. One would have thought that the birthday amnesty would include all these. Instead a systematic attempt has been made to destroy the State Congress volunteer organization under another iniquitous regulation brought into force for that specific purpose. Just now there are over 200 political prisoners. Many respectable people have been arrested under section 90 meant for security proceedings against *goondas*. Fresh accommodation has been added in the central jail. Over 1,000 special police have been recruited from among bad elements at the astounding monthly salary of Rs. 5. Can anything beat that? And as though the

> Travancore police cannot be trusted to do the dirty work, numerous police constables have been recruited from outside Travancore. The Government's policy of repression has gone on unabated, without fuss and without precipitating a frontal battle. That is why we feel compelled to lay down a time limit of six weeks. I wish you to study carefully the papers I have sent to Bapu—specially the two resolutions we passed at the last meeting of the Working Committee. I am oppressed with the idea that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer's policy will create a gulf between the Ruler and the people.

I have refrained from giving in these columns the resolutions and the preface referred to in the letters. It is well for the reader to have these before him to enable him to judge what the State Congress is doing. They will be found elsewhere in this issue.

The documents make painful reading. What has happened since the amnesty has robbed it of the grace that should accompany generous amnesties as this one on the birthday of the Maharaja was claimed to be. It was a spontaneous gesture. After events seem to suggest that it was no gesture of generosity, but that it was a part of the tactics adopted by the authorities to allay the agitation that was rising against the Travancore Durbar and to divide the people in Travancore. If the information given by Shri Ramachandran is correct, the second object has not been gained and the first was partly achieved. For the Indian Press was inclined to believe, after the release of prisoners, that the fight was over.

I would love to think that there was no sinister motive behind the partial amnesty. If so, it seems to me to be quite easy to conciliate the State Congress, unless crushing, not conciliation, is the aim of the authorities. Let the amnesty be completed and Reforms Committee be appointed in consultation with the State Congress, and peace between the Prince and the people is assured.

But there may be no such good fortune either for the people or the Prince. In that case the State Congressmen should remember that satyagraha, if it is the greatest force in the world, requires also the capacity for the greatest suffering with a heart without anger or malice. Whilst it is right to publish the news about the doings of the oppressor, there must be infinite patience for endless suffering and yet a burning faith in the ultimate success of truth.

It is well that the Congress has fixed upon a six weeks' limit. But if it is found that six weeks are not enough for ensuring non-violence as far as it is humanly possible and for also

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ensuring continuity of constructive work, there would be no shame but additional credit in taking further postponement. If thoughtless persons and unkind critics regard such postponement as a sign of weakness, the fighters need not mind such imputations. After all the soldier knows when to stay his hand and when to move on. He knows that often there is action in so-called inaction and imprudent action is worse than real inaction. And weak is not he who is so called but he who feels that he is weak. Let the members of the Working Committee realize that the technique of non-violent action requires general and effective control over forces of violence, no matter how or by whom instigated. If and when the struggle is resumed, I hope that in answer to my wires I will not be told that the State Congress is not responsible for violence if it breaks out. Does not responsible government mean that the people, instead of a dictator appointed by a Paramount Power, are responsible for all the acts of the people? Let them realize that if violence breaks out on any appreciable scale, it might, very probably will, be a call for another suspension, even as there was suspension in Bardoli, though violence broke out in far-off Chauri Chaura.[1]

SEGAON, February 20, 1939
Harijan, 25-2-1939

495. LAWLESS LIMBDI

Limbdi is a Kathiawar State. It had the reputation of being progressive. I have the good fortune to know many of its workers. They are wise, self-sacrificing and capable of doing hard work. In common with many States, Limbdi also had a great awakening among the people. The workers used to boast of their progressive Yuvraj. But they have now discovered that he has imbibed some curious notions of the dictatorships of the West. He would let the reformers have a free run of little Limbdi. But they must not go to the villages. In the villages he was to make his own experiments unhindered by anybody. The Limbdi reformers thought that they had as much right as the Yuvraj to work among the villagers, especially as they had already established connection with them. They therefore dared to go to the villages, with the result mentioned in the following telegram:

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 415-21.

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At least eighty persons, armed with lathis, *dharias*, native guns, swords, axes, attacked village Pansina midnight fifth. Entrances of village were guarded by batches of three to five persons. Two batches of twenty persons went round village and selected houses of Prajamandal workers and sympathizers for dacoity. First of all they went to the Prajamandal office and chained it from outside so that volunteers could not go out. Then one batch went to house of Chhotalal, prominent merchant and Prajamandal worker, and brutally assaulted him and his wife. She received serious injuries including on her sex organs. President of local branch attacked with sword and received punctured wound in lungs. About thirty persons are seriously injured. Ornaments, cash and goods worth about sixty thousand rupees taken away from ten to twelve houses of active members of Prajamandal. Dacoits continuously carried on firing in air and at houses for about two hours. After this they went to another village, Ralol, two miles away from Pansina and repeated process there. Three goldsmiths and one bania sympathizing with popular movement have been seriously wounded and property worth ten thousand rupees taken away. One bania Jeychand Valji was attacked today with knife, stabbed at four places and plundered in Siani; his sister also beaten. People have strong grounds to suspect State Officers' hand in dacoity. Some dacoits were identified as Pagis and Pasayatas of State. Prajamandal workers and sympathizers were actually being threatened since last week by State Pagis, Pasayatas that they will be robbed and beaten. Stolen property removed in about eight motor-cars and two buses which could not have been supplied by private individuals. Dacoits continued firing in air for two hours using number of cartridges which could not have been supplied by private individual. State police has not started any investigation as yet. Even *panchanamas* have not been made. No medical aid sent by State from capital. Thakore Saheb even though approached has not taken any strong action. Threats of similar dacoity are being given by State Pasayatas in other villages. Previous incidents of *goondaism* strengthen this suspicion. Attacking Bhaktiba's car with lathis in Jambu by Mukhi's men, smashing Prajamandal car and beating its driver and worker in Siani, beating members of Prajamandal in village Raska, threatening head of volunteers in Siani by village Pasayatas with death, free movement of about thirty *goondas* with lathis, *dharias*, knives in Siani and number of such incidents have left no doubt here that organized *goondaism* is started by State to suppress recently started popular movement. Attention of Thakore Saheb has been drawn to these incidents times without number but in vain. As protest against last act of dacoity about 400 to 500 persons including Nagarsheth Lalchandbhai and prominent citizens like Durlabhji Umedchand, Amulakh Amichand have started hunger strike and are sitting day and night before Palace. About three thousand

other persons have joined this morning. Great indignation prevails against State. People observing remarkably non-violent attitude and are prepared for any contingency.

They also dared to announce a meeting of their Parishad with the result embodied in the following message received by me:

> Sitting Praja Parishad arranged tomorrow. To break Praja Parishad many *goondas* imported Limbdi. People suspect hand of State officials in this. Strong grounds for this suspicion. Procession of *goondas* armed with lathis, naked swords, guns, *dharias*, marching through town for whole day. Some of these tried to assault certain women. Seth Amulakh Amichand, prominent merchant of Bombay, intervened and asked them to beat him rather than women. Seth Durlabhji Umedchand and Bhagwanlal Harakhchand rushed to scene with six male volunteers. Male volunteers were brutally assaulted with sticks and beaten. At another place *goondas* caught hold of Prahladrai Mody, pleader of Bhavnagar, and released him only when they knew that he was not Prajamandal worker. Bhogilal Gandhi was threatened with death by *goonda* armed with naked sword. Manubhai Thakar was given one lathi blow. *Goondas* are shouting before Prajamandal office. Batch of *goondas*, headed by Tapubha of Siani who is State servant and who beat Prajamandal volunteers in Siani two days before, have stationed themselves outside Sthanakvasi Bhojanshala where peasants from villages are sleeping. They threaten anybody who comes out with death. Different batches of *goondas* are marching streets. Practically state of siege amounting to virtual martial law by State prevails. People feel that State is responsible for this. Narubha, superintendent of police, was seen talking with some of these by respectable people. Many peasants are forcibly brought from villages and made to parade streets in procession headed by these *goondas*. People have adopted remarkably non-violent attitude and have decided to suffer anything for asserting their right to meet in Parishad.

I have since learnt that Durbar Gopaldas Desai and his wife Bhaktiba were surrounded by the same gentlemen described in the message. Both suffered minor injuries. The *goondas* had the satisfaction for a time of preventing the meeting of the Parishad.

I have no reason whatsoever for disbelieving the messages which describe the events with a wealth of detail that carries conviction. What is more, they are sent by parties whom I hold to be incapable of conscious exaggeration or of invention.

In spite of this lawlessness, the reformers will win if they have grit enough to be ground to the dust and if they really represent the wishes of the people. The public outside will help

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them. The Paramount Power is also bound by treaty obligations to help them as has been amply proved by Pyarelal in the extracts produced from Lee Warner. But let the satyagrahis know that salvation comes from within. They will have to lose all, if they will save their souls and gain the freedom which is their birthright.

SEGAON, February 20, 1939

Harijan, 25-2-1939

496. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 20, 1939

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. I see that you are getting wiser. With patience all will be well. You have done well in getting rid of the fever. Engage yourself in work now. Take the diet which suits you.

My tour of the Frontier Province is likely to be after the 12th. I am well. It does not seem probable that I shall be going for the Congress session.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10008. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

497. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 20, 1939

BA,

Be alert. Take care of your health. Everybody has come so I shall not write much. Nanavati has gone to stay with Kaka today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 34

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498. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 20, 1939

CHI. VIJAYA,

You must have received my letters. How bad you are! Why should you feel giddy? Why should you feel so unhappy going to your own house? Be wise and do your duty cheerfully. Your constantly falling ill won't do. Write to Ba. Address the letter care of the First Member. Write to others also.

Amritlal has gone to live with Kakasaheb today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7110. Also C.W. 4602. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

499. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA SHARMA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 20, 1939

BHAI BALKRISHNA SHARMA,

What have they been doing in Kanpur? Why all this rioting?[1] Did not another Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi[2] offer himself as a sacrifice?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7516. Also C.W. 4993. Courtesy: Parasuram Mehrotra

[1] There had been communal riots in Kanpur from 11th to 13th February, 1939.

[2] Editor of *Pratap*; he had been killed during the Hindu-Muslim riots in Kanpur in March 1931.

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500. TELEGRAM TO AKBAR HYDARI[1]

WARDHA,
February 21, 1939

SIR AKBAR HYDARI
HYDERABAD DN

IN REPLY YOUR TELEGRAM HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM SHOLAPUR. NARAYANSWAMI INTERVIEWED AFTER PERMISSION BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE SUNDERPERSHAD ON SEVENTEENTH GULBARGA JAIL . . .[2] WITH CONVICT DRESS AND IRON RING IN HIS FOOT.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10097. Courtesy: Government of Andhra Pradesh

501. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI[3]

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 21, 1939

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

Here is a letter on the Arya Samaj satyagraha. Their demand seems to me to be reasonable. But I do not want to say anything in public till I hear from you.

I still await your reply to my letter[4] about State Congress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10096. Courtesy: Government of Andhra Pradesh

[1&3] Photostats of these items were displayed at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1969-70.
[2] Illegible in the source
[4] *Vide* pp. 308-9.

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502. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 21, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I am much obliged to you for your cordial and frank letter.[1] In the circumstances I shall await the time that you may consider appropriate for our meeting.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also C.W. 7810

503. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 21, 1939

BA,

I get your letters regularly. My letters are despatched regularly from here. I shall find out why they are not delivered to you in time. Take proper care of your health. I must get a detailed report. Prabha will write the rest. I have not been able to look after Sushila's diet. You did well in cautioning me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 34

[1] In his letter of February 19, the Viceroy had referred to Gandhiji's letter to him of February 12 and said he did not "in the least misunderstand your decision to publish the article which you were kind enough to let me see." (This was the one entitled "Jaipur", 30-1-1939, which Gandhiji in his letter of 31-1-1939, had said he was not publishing and which evidently he decided later to publish.) He had also referred to Gandhiji's suggestion that they might meet and said he did not see the time was appropriate but nevertheless if Gandhiji still felt they might meet it would be a great pleasure to him to see Gandhiji again but would prefer that it should be after his Rajputana tour.

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504. TALK TO HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS DELEGATION[1]

SEGAON,
February 21, 1939

A satyagrahi will, like a general, always choose his own time and ground for fight. Satyagraha should be kept in reserve until all other means of advancing the cause are exhausted. Even in armed warfare, suspensions and withdrawals are the recognized tactics.

Suspension does not exclude facing imprisonment if in the course of legitimate, peaceful and constructive activities people are arrested. These will not constitute civil disobedience. Your decision to continue the suspension is a wise one. You have lost nothing by suspension. There is nothing to prevent you from resuming the satyagraha when the situation again demands it and there is ample cause to compel you to revive satyagraha.

The Hindu, 22-2-1939

505. A MISCHIEVOUS SUGGESTION

A correspondent sends the following cutting from *The Bombay Chronicle*:

> Mr. Rushbrook Williams in a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* declares that during the last few months of last year there was a definite progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards a position in which Mahatma Gandhi would have found it possible to approach the authorities with suggestions in relation to the Central Government, roughly corresponding to those which he so successfully carried through in connection with the Provincial Governments. What was then regarded as the approach of Federation compelled the Congress to reckon up its forces. It had little Muslim support and without such support, thanks to the Muslim League, and unless it found new allies, it will be unable to form a Government in the Centre. Therefore it was necessary to concentrate on Indian States in order to secure that the

[1] The Delegation had informed Gandhiji of the State Congress decision to continue suspension of the satyagraha for some time more. The satyagraha was suspended on or about 26-12-1938. *Vide* "Draft of Statement for Hyderabad State Congress", pp. 242-4, and "Letter to Akbar Hydari", p. 248.

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representations of States should be drawn from elements sympathizing with the Congress programme.

He adds: "It is not without significance that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is intimately associated with the States Subjects' Conference, but the election of Mr. Bose has been a blow to the Right Wing and apparently has postponed any *rapprochement* with the authorities as the High Command had in mind. Mr. Bose does not like the States, but he also does not like Federation. He can, therefore, have little sympathy with an endeavour to convert States into allies of the Congress in preparation for a Congress domination over the new Central institutions. In fact he desires to keep them at arm's length to secure a settlement of British Indian destinies by British India and eventually no doubt to expel the Princes and absorb the States into the new self-governing India he projects."

Mr. Williams is an old 'enemy'. During the non-co-operation days he edited an official Year Book, in which he drew upon his imagination and gave his own colour to facts which he could not avoid. He has played the same role again in his letter to *The Manchester Guardian*, assuming that he is correctly quoted. It is wrong to say that there was a definite or any progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards the position pictured by Mr. Williams's imagination. The suggestion about Muslim support is malicious. I know my own mind and so far as I know the Congress mind, neither it nor I ever dreamt that there could be any federation without Muslim support. Indeed so long as there is opposition to federation by the Muslims, the Congress has no need to worry about federation coming. Therefore, unless there is perfect communal unity, no Congressman can think or talk of federation whether of the Government mint or cent per cent swadeshi mint.

About Dr. Pattabhi, the whole of India knows that his candidature was thought of at the last moment when Maulana Saheb withdrew and as Dr. Pattabhi was the only candidate left besides Subhas Babu. His connection with the States People's Conference has been a convenient fact for building up Mr. Williams's case.

As for the innuendos about Subhas Babu, he is well able to look after himself. But throughout one year's intimate connection with him I never once heard him say of the States what Mr. Williams attributes to him. I am quite certain that if the States come to terms with the Congress about the treatment of the people in their jurisdiction, Subhas Babu will be quite as keen as any Congressman to close the bargain but not in anticipation of federation.

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I have come into the States agitation by accident. Responsible government in the States is a goal by itself and independent of federation which may never come. It won't come till the Congress and Muslims are ready for it. But liberty of the States people has to come in any and every case. They cannot be in chains and what is called British India become free.

SEGAON, February 23, 1939
Harijan, 4-3-1939

506. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

[*February 23, 1939*][2]

RT. HONOURABLE SASTRI
MADRAS

NEVER KNEW ANYTHING WAS SERIOUS IN YOUR UNIVERSITY. FULL LETTER RECEIVED YESTERDAY GAVE ME SHOCK. MY HEART WENT OUT TO YOU. I PITY STUDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN SO UNWORTHY OF YOUR GREAT STEWARDSHIP.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

507. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 23, 1939

BA,

You always complain about my not writing, but today there is no letter from you. What about that? All is well here. Nothing to worry about.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 34

[1] At this time Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University
[2] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 444-5.

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508. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

February 23, 1939

I continue to receive daily wires about hunger-strikes in Rajkot over the treatment, said to be inhuman, of prisoners and others in villages. The Rajkot matter is becoming daily graver because of the breach of faith on the ruler's part with which the second struggle started. Agitated inquirers should know that I am in telegraphic correspondence with the State authorities. I hope to take them into confidence in the near future. In the mean time let the satyagrahis understand that the first thing they have to show is an infinite capacity for suffering with inward joy and without malice or anger.

The Hindustan Times, 24-2-1939

509. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

February 23, 1939

The news of Lord Brabourne's death has grieved me deeply.[2] I had the privilege of close friendship with him.

The Hindu, 24-2-1939

510. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[3]

February 23, 1939

I saw yesterday a letter[4] from Annamalai University, addressed to a colleague, giving a detailed description of the students' strike. According to the letter, the strikers prostrate themselves in front of the entrances to prevent non-strikers from attending classes and when the classes are held, they enter the class-rooms,

[1] This was also published in *Harijan*, 4-3-1939, under the title "Gandhiji's Statement on Rajkot".

[2] Lord Brabourne had served as Governor in Bombay and Bengal. He died in Calcutta on February 23.

[3] This was also published in *Harijan*, 4-3-1939, under the heading "Students' Strike at Annamalai".

[4] *Vide* "Is It Non-violent?", pp. 457-9.

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shout, and otherwise make holding of classes impossible. The letter ends by saying that the strikers are likely to give up the strike if they know that, in my opinion, the methods adopted by them are contrary to non-violence.

If the description reproduced by me is correct, I have no hesitation in saying that the methods adopted by the strikers are not only not non-violent but positively violent. I would implore the strikers to desist from the methods they have adopted and allow those who want to attend classes to do so without any obstruction.

The Hindu, 23-2-1939

511. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY

February 24, 1939

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY VICEROY
NEW DELHI

HAVE WIRED TO FIRST MEMBER RAJKOT AS FOLLOWS:[1] PLEASE PLACE THIS BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7811. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

512. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

SEGAON,
February 24, 1939

BA,

You should be receiving letters regularly now. I take as much service as necessary from the girls. Keep up patience and courage. All will be well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 34

[1] For the text of this telegram, *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 449-52.

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513. TALK WITH AN ASHRAM INMATE[1]

SEGAON,
February 24, 1939

Who knows. But somehow I think it would not happen that way. I expect this visit to be brief. My relations with the Rajkot ruling family are such as to warrant a frank talk. Either the Thakore Saheb will restore the pact or he will refer me to the Resident and I shall settle it up with him in no time. The case is so clear that I do not expect any serious resistance. It will be a test of my ahimsa too. People may think that I am gone crazy in my old age to give so much importance to a small State like Rajkot. But I am made that way. When the moral fibre in me is touched to the quick I simply cannot sit still.

Harijan, 25-3-1939

514. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

[Before *February 25, 1939*][2]

CHI. VIJAYA,

I am now coming nearer you. It does not mean that you both have to come over to Rajkot. Take care of your health. Do not fall ill. I hope you are cheerful now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7105

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "The Rajkot Fast". On hearing about Gandhiji's decision to go to Rajkot an Ashram inmate had asked him when he expected to return and whether there was not a chance of his being made a 'State guest' at Rajkot like Kasturba.

[2] Gandhiji left for Rajkot on February 25.

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515. WORK INSTEAD OF ALMS[1]

To those who are hungry and unemployed God can dare reveal Himself only as work and wages as the assurance of food.

I do not want to humiliate the naked by giving them clothes of which they have no need. Instead I will give them work which they need very badly. I will never commit the sin of becoming their benefactor. But having realized that I had a hand in their ruination, I will give them a respectable place in society. I will never give them left-overs and discarded things. I will share with them my best food and clothes and help them in their work. My ahimsa will not tolerate giving free food to a healthy person who does not put in honest labour. If I had my say I would close down all charitable institutions and alms-houses. It is because of them the country has fallen and such vices as laziness, hypocrisy and crime have got encouragement.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 25-2-1939

516. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 25, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

My telegram to the Rajkot State of yesterday was wired to you last night.[2] Nevertheless I attach a copy of it as also of the Rajkot answer and my reply thereto.

For me Rajkot has become a moral issue of tremendous importance. I am sure you recognize it and will give me all the help you can.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] This was originally published in *Sarvodaya*, a monthly organ of Gandhi Seva Sangh.

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to the Viceroy", p. 445 and "Statement to the Press", pp. 449-52.

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517. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI[1]

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 25, 1939

DEAR SIR AKBAR,

I am obliged to you for your two letters of the 16th and one of the 21st inst.

About the State Congress, for the time being, we must agree to differ. You will have seen my advice[2] to the State Congress. In order to make assurance double sure I enclose herewith the relevant cutting. You will have also seen the manifesto of the State Congress accepting my advice. I suppose you will say even that is not enough. I am hoping, however, that some day you will see eye to eye with me and release the State Congress prisoners and let the organization function normally.

As to Mahatma Narayanswami I realize what you say and I am glad that I referred the matter to you.[3] I am now trying to persuade my informants to correct the mistake they have made, I hope, quite unconsciously.

With reference to your letters about the prisoners I am unable to agree with you that ghee is a luxury. But I am going to bear your suggestion in mind and must think out the name of someone whom I can ask to visit your jails.

I am glad you are restored to health and that you are working at the proposed reforms which I hope will answer the time spirit.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10098. Courtesy: Government of Andhra Pradesh

[1] A photostat of the letter was displayed at the Andhra Pradesh Pavilion at Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1969-70.

[2] *Vide* pp. 242-4.

[3] *Vide* p. 439.

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518. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

February 25, 1939

The following wires have been exchanged between the First Member[2] of the Rajkot State Council and myself:[3]

Hear satyagraha prisoners Rajkot jail fasting. For Sardhar prisoners said to be inhumanly treated. Could you enlighten me?—Gandhi (dated 20-2-'39).

Your telegram. Personally visited Sardhar yesterday. No truth absolutely whatsoever regarding ill-treatment to prisoners. First Member of Council (dated 21-2-'39).

Thanks wire. You are silent about hunger-strike. Have again long wire about atrocities which difficult to disbelieve. Every day urge growing that I should myself plunge. Agony of Ruler's breach of faith, coupled with growing tales of terrorism, becoming unbearable. Have no desire embarrass Thakore Saheb or Council. Would like you listen to voice of old man claiming to be Rajkot's friend.—Gandhi (dated 22-2-'39).

Absolutely no truth in allegations of ill-treatment to Sardhar prisoners. Whole thing nothing but fabrication. Regular programme of daily diet, bedding, etc., nearly on same lines as Rajkot arranged. Written information to above effect given to prisoners on hunger-strike in local jail by me. In spite of these they unreasonably insist continue fasting. Assure you everything humanly possible being done give fair treatment. Please have no anxiety.—First Member (dated 23-2-'39).

If all reports are fabrication, it is serious for me and co-workers. If there is substance in them, it is serious reflection on the State authorities. Meanwhile, the hunger-strike continues. My anxiety is unbearable. Therefore, propose start for Rajkot tomorrow night taking with me medical attendant, secretary and typist. I come in search of truth and as peacemaker.

Have no desire to court arrest. I want to see things for myself and shall make ample amends if my co-workers

[1] This was also published in *Harijan*, 4-3-1939, under the heading "Gandhiji's Statement on Rajkot".

[2] Khan Bahadur Fateh Mohammed Khan

[3] None of the telegrams quoted here are available from any other source.

have been guilty of fabrication. I shall also plead with Thakore Saheb to repair breach of faith with his people. I shall ask people to avoid demonstrations and am asking Sardar, pending my effort in Rajkot, to suspend satyagraha by persons in Rajkot or from outside.[1] If by any chance Thakore Saheb and Council can restore pact intact, subject to adjustment of members, and prisoners are immediately set free and fines restored, I naturally cancel my proposed departure. You can send official with full authority to negotiate adjustment as to personnel. Majority of Sardar's nominees will be a condition. May God guide Thakore Saheb and his Councillors. May I expect express wire?—Gandhi (dated 24-2-'39).

Since your telegram you must have received information that hunger-strike has been discontinued since last night having no justification, as telegram sent to you by Nanalal Jasani and Mohanlal Gadhadawala must have convinced you. His Highness does not consider there has been any breach of faith on his part and is only anxious that representative Committee appointed by him should be able to start working in calm atmosphere, so that he may be in a position to introduce as soon as possible such reforms as may be found by him to be required after fully considering the Committee's recommendations. His Highness feels sure that in the circumstances explained, you will appreciate that no useful purpose could be served by your coming here now. He wishes once again to assure you that no atrocities or terrorism have been or will be allowed. —First Member (dated 24-2-'39).

Your wire is no answer to my heart-felt entreaty. I leave for Rajkot today on my mission of peace.—Gandhi (dated 25-2-'39).

These wires tell their own tale. I am glad the fast is broken. That certainly removes one cause of anxiety. But the charge of fabrication abides. I know personally many of the workers in Rajkot. They and I must make full reparation if they have resorted to falsehood in order to make out a case of atrocities against the authorities. The struggle in Rajkot, as in other States, is part of the struggle for the liberation of India. Mutual mud-flinging cannot advance the cause. Truth must be ascertained.

The telegram of the First Member denies the charge of breach of faith. It baffles me. I do not know what is meant by the denial. The notification announcing the pact and the notification

[1] On February 25, Vallabhbhai Patel issued a statement suspending the satyagraha.

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announcing the breach with Sardar Patel are clearly contradictory as one reads the plain language of the two.

I have suggested that the Resident at Rajkot is responsible for the breach.[1] I have been told that I have been hasty in bringing this charge and that there is another side. If there is, it is my duty to know it. I shall make it a point to seek an interview with him and if I find that I have done an injustice to him, I shall tender a public apology. I feel that it is wrong on my part to allow the sufferings to continue in the midst of mutual recriminations. The least I can do is to go to Rajkot and find out the truth and invite the Thakore to repair what is a palpable breach of faith, unless I discover that the repudiation of this charge is somehow justified.

If the statements made by the workers about atrocities are true, there must be found a way of avoiding such exhibitions of man's worst passions. He must be helped against himself, if it is at all possible. It is part of the struggle for liberty, if it is non-violent, to reclaim even the *goondas*, whether they are to be found among the people or those in authority. By going to Rajkot, I want to exert myself to the utmost of my capacity and find out the way of dealing with the *goonda* element in society. In this respect Rajkot is a test case. I go to Rajkot because I am the same friend of the States that I have always claimed to be.

It hurts me that by force of circumstances, all of which perhaps I do not know, the Ruler of Rajkot has been made to break his word given to his people. I hold that it is the duty of the Princes of Kathiawar, if not of all India, and their advisers to help to rectify the wrong, if it is done. An honourable mutual understanding is impossible if faith becomes a valueless article. Life to me becomes a burden when I find myself witness to a breach of faith, as I happen to be in this case. Let it be recalled that I was the author of the draft[2] that the Ruler of Rajkot signed with but a slight modification. I know that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel left no stone unturned to ensure that it was signed with the fullest understanding.

As I go to Rajkot purely as a messenger of peace, I have asked Sardar Patel to suspend the Rajkot civil resistance whilst, under God's guidance, I make the humble effort to end the agony. The public will please remember that I am an invalid so far as the body is concerned. They will avoid demonstrations

[1] *Vide* pp. 346-8 and 365-7.
[2] *Vide* "Draft of Statement for Thakore Saheb of Rajkot", p. 135.

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at the stations. In Rajkot the citizens will carry out the instructions of the State authorities during the suspension period. I shall need freedom from turmoil during my negotiations. I want the silent prayers of all who believe in them. Though Rajkot is a tiny place on the map of India, the principle for the vindication of which I go to Rajkot is one without which society must disintegrate.

The Hindu, 25-2-1939

519. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 25/26, 1939

CHI. MANILAL,

I received your letter yesterday. How good you are at deciphering! And Schlesin! Why did you not read 'M. A.' instead of 'ma'? Where was there any talk of sending a woman? I have acted on the advice of Schlesin. The person who was to be sent is the brother-in-law of Nirmala, Mahadev's sister. You should have sent a cable to ask.

February 26, 1939

However, I hope that Mahadev has written to you all the details. Even if he has not, you now know them. If you cannot pay his salary there, there is provision for payment from here. He can take up the work in Gujarati, English, etc. Your burden will be reduced. Cable to me about what you wish to do now. If you do get the permission to call him, wire accordingly.

Mr. Kallenbach has recovered now. He has to be careful, however. I am leaving for Rajkot. Don't worry about it. I hope to return only after solving the problem. I am going at God's command. I shall act according to His directions. Ba is fine. Don't worry about the Congress. It is enough if you can remain absorbed in your work.

Pyarelal, Sushila and Kanaiyo are accompanying me. Rami, Manu, etc., had come to see me. Rajkumari is at Segaon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4895

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520. QUESTION OF HONOUR

On my way to Rajkot, going *via* Bombay, I have to wait a whole day for the Kathiawar mail. I am passing the time in writing for *Harijan*. And I read the following note:

> Ramdurg—a small State in the Bombay-Karnatak, area 169 sq. miles, population 33,997, revenue Rs. 2,69,000—was hard hit by famine and scarcity conditions, and also depression due to fall in prices for some years past. On 20th March 1938 some agriculturists from villages gathered together in front of the palace and requested the Rajasaheb to grant some concessions in respect of land revenue. It was alleged on behalf of those assembled at the Palace that they were dispersed by lathi charge by the Ramdurg police. On the other hand these allegations were denied by the State authorities. It seems that no definite demands were made on behalf of the people, nor was there any organization to speak for them. Some time later some of the people of the State approached Shri Yalgi, a Congressman and one of the Secretaries of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, and requested him to visit Ramdurg and see the situation for himself. Accordingly, Shri Yalgi visited Ramdurg in April and advised the people there to organize a committee to place their demands before the authorities. In accordance with his advice, a body named Ramdurg Sansthan Praja Sangh was established and on its behalf demands were formulated and submitted to the Rajasaheb.
>
> A Conference of Deccan States' People took place at Sangli on 22nd May 1938, presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He left Sangli on the 22nd. But the Conference continued under the presidentship of Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande.
>
> On the 23rd, the question of Ramdurg was taken up and it was decided that a committee, consisting of (1) Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, President, K. P. C. C., (2) Shri Shankarrao Deo, Member of the Congress Working Committee, (3) Shri Munoli, President, Ramdurg Praja Sangh, (4) Shri Kanabur, Secretary of Deccan States People's Conference, (5) Shri Andaneppa Doddameti, M. L. A., (6) Shri K. S. Patil, M. L. A., (7) Shri Ari, Pleader, Hubli, a subject of the State, was appointed to investigate and report on the Ramdurg affair. In the mean time the Ramdurg Durbar, on their own initiative, had issued a proclamation and announced certain concessions. But the people were not satisfied with these concessions and the agitation was assuming a serious turn. . . .

Then on the 5th June 1938 the Committee appointed at Sangli visited Ramdurg and instituted an enquiry. It was felt by the Committee and also by the prominent representatives of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh that a mere enquiry and report would not serve the purpose. Therefore the latter requested the Committee to bring about a settlement in respect of the demands which were submitted to the Ramdurg Durbar.

The matter was discussed for two hours and on the 6th of June Shri Deo was entrusted with the sole authority of settling the differences. Shri Deo, in accepting the responsibility, made clear to the people all the implications of what they were doing. Shri Deo, on behalf of the Committee, formulated the demands and submitted them to the Rajasaheb. After some discussions the matter was postponed at the desire of the Rajasaheb. However, most of the suggestions, with slight modifications, were conceded by the Rajasaheb. Shri Deshpande wrote to the Sardar as to what had happened. He also informed him of the demands of the Praja Sangh and the offer of Rajasaheb. In reply, Sardar wrote to Shri Deshpande on the 11th June 1938 to say that the terms offered by Rajasaheb could not be improved upon, that they were quite good and that the people should be advised to accept them.

Though Shri Deo was entrusted with full powers to negotiate and settle the terms, he on the 21st June 1938 took Shri Munoli and all the members of the Managing Committee of the Praja Sangh into confidence, and after long discussion secured their assent to the terms settled between himself and Rajasaheb. The members of the Committee appointed by the Sangli Conference with the exception of Shri Shastri, who was absent, also agreed. The acceptance of the terms was communicated to Rajasaheb. The same evening durbar was held in the palace to which the President and representatives of the Praja Sangh and leading men of Ramdurg were invited. The Rajasaheb in his opening speech surveyed the history of his rule and gave the outlines of the terms of settlement. The Dewan, Rao Bahadur Pradhan, then read out the proclamation embodying the terms of the settlement. Thereupon the President of the Praja Sangh, on behalf of the Sangh, thanked the Rajasaheb in suitable terms. After the durbar was over, Shri Deo and others went to the public meeting. The meeting was attended by more than 12,000 persons. The President of the Praja Sangh presided. When Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande was explaining the terms of the settlement, a slight disturbance was noticed in one corner of the meeting. It was ascertained that they belonged to Sureban and were weavers. Shri Andaneppa Doddameti went to that corner and successfully tried to restore peace. After Shri Deshpande, Shri Andaneppa spoke for more than one hour and fully explained all the details of the terms and defended them very vigorously. He carried conviction to the audience and concluded his speech amongst

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enthusiastic cheers. Shri Deo also made a short speech asking people to organize and strengthen their position by working the reforms granted. Shri Munavalli, the President in his concluding speech, which was very touching, defended all the terms settled and asked the audience whether they had confidence in him. The audience with one voice replied in the affirmative. He then asked them to accept the terms and they assented. At the conclusion of the meeting a paper, containing the terms of the settlement, was brought to the President for his signature by an officer of the State. Shri Munavalli, the President, again asked the audience whether he should sign it and with concurrence of not only the large audience but of the representatives of the Praja Sangh, signed the document.

The Council of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee passed the following resolution:

"The Council congratulates the people of Ramdurg, Jamkhandi, Miraj Sr. and Jr. and Mudhol for the success they have achieved in their struggle for redress of their grievances and trusts that they will strengthen their organizations by non-violent and peaceful means for the attainment of full responsible government in the near future.

"This Council expresses its sense of appreciation of the Rulers of the above States for readily responding to the demands of their subjects and trusts that the terms of the settlement will be implemented by both the portions without delay. It also requests the Rulers of all the States in Karnatak to follow the liberal policy followed by the above-mentioned States.

"This Council, however, notes with extreme pain that anti-propaganda is being carried on by some people and especially by some Congressmen on the plea that the settlement was arrived at by the efforts of prominent Congress leaders between the people and the Prince of Ramdurg. This Council while requesting them not to carry on anti-propaganda is definitely of opinion that the good of the people will advance only by standing by the settlement."

I have omitted some part irrelevant for my purpose. It appears that an attempt is now being made on behalf of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh to terrorize the Ruler into making further concessions[1]. He refrains from taking action against the mischief-mongers for fear of losing Congress sympathy. The question I am asked is, "What are Congressmen involved in the settlement to do?" Assuming the correctness of my information, my unequivocal answer is that they have to keep at any cost the plighted word of the Provincial Committee. I am going to Rajkot to entreat H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot to keep his word.

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXIX, "Popular Violence in Ramdurg", 24-4-1939.

The breach, as I interpret his action, has shaken me to my depths. I can think of no other answer with regard to the Congress. Rajkot represents the Princely order. Its shame or credit would be the shame or credit of the whole order. If a representative Congressman breaks his word, the reputation of the whole Congress is at stake. How much more so, if a Provincial Congress Committee cannot redeem its word? The Congress claims to represent the whole nation. Its transactions must be above reproach.

In these days of awakening, all kinds of forces must rise up. Demands, even extravagant, will be made by new additions to the Congress. If they are in excess of Congress commitments and if the Congress credit is to go up day after day, they must be checked. I do not know what the Ramdurg Praja Sangh claims. It may be that the claim is intrinsically sound. But they cannot enforce it by rowdyism and threats even before the ink is dry on the settlement paper. The representative Congressmen in Karnatak have to stand by the Ramdurg Chief and see that the settlement is honoured by the people even though in battling with them they should lose their lives.

BOMBAY, February 26, 1939

Harijan, 4-3-1939

521. KHADI AS FAMINE RELIEF

This letter[1] shows conclusively what a relief khadi is to famine areas. Those, therefore, who buy relief khadi help the famine-stricken and themselves. In addition they give not doles but wages and these at khadi market rates for spinning which are higher than for any other relief work. I hope, therefore, that this appeal will receive a generous response from the public.

BOMBAY, February 26, 1939

Harijan, 4-3-1939

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had said that because of drought and failure of crops in certain taluks of Coimbatore district, the farmers there had taken up spinning and so there was a surplus stock of khadi in Tamil Nadu. He had requested Gandhiji to appeal to the readers of *Harijan* to buy the khadi produced in the drought-hit areas.

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522. *IS IT NON-VIOLENT?*

Below is an extract from a letter from a teacher in the Annamalai University:[1]

> Some time in November last, a group of five or six students organizedly assaulted the secretary of University Union, a fellow student. Shri Srinivasa Sastri, the Vice-Chancellor, took a serious view of it and punished the leader of the group with expulsion from the University and the rest with suspension till the end of this academic year.
>
> Some sympathizers and friends of these punished students wanted to abstain from attending classes and strike work. . . .
>
> The next day, about 20 per cent of the students stayed away from the classes; the remaining 80 per cent attended the classes as usual. I may add, the strength of this University is about 800.
>
> The student who was expelled next day came inside the hostel to direct the strike. Finding the strike unsuccessful he adopted other methods in the evening, as for example, bodily lying across the four main outlets from the hostel, locking some gates of the hostel, locking up some of the young boys inside their own rooms. . . . In this way in the afternoon, the rest of the students were prevented from coming outside the hostel gates by fifty or sixty people.
>
> The authorities thus finding the gates closed wanted to make an opening in the fencing. But when they started pulling down the fence with the help of servants of the University, the strikers prevented the other students from passing through the breaches to attend college. . . . The authorities finding the situation unmanageable requested the police to remove the expelled student from the hostel premises . . . which the police did. This naturally irritated some more of the students who began to show sympathy with the strikers. . . . Shri Srinivasa Sastri then closed down the University for a long vacation of $1\frac{1}{2}$ months from November 29th to January 16th. He gave a statement to the Press appealing to the students to come back from home in a chastened and happier mood for study.
>
> But the college reopened with renewed activities on the part of the strikers who had extra advice during the vacation from . . .[2]

[1] Only extracts from the quotation are reproduced here.
[2] Omission as in the source

They went to Rajaji, it appears, but he asked them to obey the Vice-Chancellor, and declined to interfere. . . .

The picketing is still going on. . . . The strikers are about 35 to 45 in number. They have got about 50 sympathizers who dare not come into the open and strike with them, but from within they create trouble. Every day they come in a body and lie down in front of entrances to classes, and on the stairs leading to classes on the first floor and thus prevent the students from entering the classes. But the teachers shift from place to place and hold classes before the picketers can reach there. . . .

Yesterday there was a new development. The strikers came into the classes, rolled on the floor and uttered shouts. Some strikers, I heard, began writing on blackboards before the teacher could come. If any teachers are known to be meek, some of the strikers try to intimidate them also. In fact they threatened the Vice-Chancellor with 'violence and bloodshed', if he did not accede to their demands.

One other important point I ought to tell you is that the strikers get help from some outsiders, employ *goondas* to enter the University premises and disturb the work there. . . .

Now the point I am driving at is this: We have all been feeling, i.e., several teachers and a large number of students, that these activities are not truthful and non-violent and so are against the spirit of satyagraha.

I learn reliably that some of the striker students persist in calling this non-violent. They say that if Mahatmaji declares this to be violent they will stop these activities.

The letter is dated 17th February and addressed to Kakasaheb Kalelkar whom the teacher knows intimately. The portion not printed by me seeks Kakasaheb's opinion whether the conduct of the students can be called non-violent and deplores the attitude of unruliness which has become rampant among so many students in India.

The letter gives the names of those who are inciting the strikers to persist in their behaviour. On the publication of my opinion[1] on the strike, someone, presumably a student, sent me an angry telegram saying that the behaviour of the strikers is perfectly non-violent. Assuming the correctness of the version reproduced by me, I have no hesitation in saying that the attitude of the students is essentially violent. Surely, if someone blocks the passage to my house, his action is violence just as much as if he pushed me bodily from the doorstep.

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 444-5.

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If students have a real grievance against their teachers, they may have the right to strike and even picket their school or college but only to the extent of politely warning the unwary from attending their classes. They could do so by speaking or by distributing leaflets. But they may not obstruct the passage or use any coercion against those who do not want to strike. And the students have struck against whom? Shri Srinivasa Sastriar is one of India's best scholars. He had become renowned as a teacher before many of the students were born or were in their teens. Any university in the world will be proud to have him as Vice-Chancellor as well for the greatness of his learning as for the nobility of his character.

If the writer of the letter to Kakasaheb has given an accurate account of the happenings in the Annamalai University, Sastriar's handling of the situation seems to me to have been quite correct. In my opinion the strikers are harming themselves by their conduct. I belong to the old school which believed in reverence for teachers. I can understand not going to a school for whose teachers I have no regard. But I cannot understand disrespect towards or vilification of my teachers. Such conduct is ungentlemanly, and all ungentlemanliness is violence.

BOMBAY, February 26, 1939
Harijan, 4-3-1939

523. TELEGRAM TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

RAJKOT,
February 26, 1939

RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ
JAIPRAJA
AGRA

NO HARTAL JAIPUR CITY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 214

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524. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI[1]

February 26, 1939

You must not be anxious. I miss you on this journey. I am going there as God is taking me there. Within me is joy, hope. Who knows if the prospect is no more than a mirage? I know that I will not return from Rajkot with hope blasted.

Harijan, 11-3-1939

525. LETTER TO SATISH D. KALELKAR[2]

February 26, 1939

CHI. SHANKER[3],

I had no time to reply to your letter. I liked it. Chandan is quiet and happy. It should be sufficient that she has been proved innocent, that is, truthful. We should not be interested in proving a person guilty. So long as H.[4] does not admit his guilt, it does not seem fair to give a final verdict about him. Ninety-nine per cent he is no longer innocent. I think now he will not indulge in backbiting against you. Doing anything more will be like killing a man who is already down. It will be good if you can forget this incident. I should like it even better if you can see that my viewpoint is correct.

Take care of your health.

Poor Chandan came here to go to Rajkot. I feel as if I was going there on her behalf. I am writing this in the train. Chandan is accompanying me. She will go to Bhavnagar from Viramgam. There she will wait and watch.

What Chandan has written above was really my test. I wanted to see whether she would respond to my advice or not. She may be said to have scored $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent marks in the test.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 949. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "A God-given Fast". The letter, which was presumably in Gujarati, is not available from any other source.

[2] This was written below a letter Chandanbehn wrote to the addressee, whom she later married.

[3] Son of D. B. Kalelkar, who later changed his name to 'Satish'.

[4] The name has been omitted.

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526. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

February 27, 1939

MY DEAR IDIOT,

The journey up to now has been quite pleasant and uneventful. This is being written at Viramgam. You bore yourself bravely on parting. The same bravery must continue. It is strange that responsibility for the secretariat work should rest solely upon you so suddenly. You had not bargained for it. You will expect a wire from Rajkot either today or tomorrow.

You will keep well both in body and mind.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3903. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7212

527. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

VIRAMGAM,
February 27, 1939

CHI. MIRA,

We reach Rajkot about 2.50 p. m. Train going, so good-bye. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6429. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10024

528. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI[1]

February 27, 1939

How mysterious are the ways of God! This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going, whither am I going? What for? I have thought nothing about these things. And if God guides me, what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance.[2]

[1] Extracted from, Mahadev Desai's "A God-given Fast". The letter, which was presumably in Gujarati, is not available from any other source.

[2] For Shri Ramana Maharshi's comments on this, *vide* Appendix V.

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The fact is it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do not come. Indeed there is no vacuum—but I mean to say that there is no thought about the mission.

Harijan, 25-3-1939

529. INTERVIEW TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 27, 1939

A few minutes prior to his arrival at Rajkot, Mahatma Gandhi told the Associated Press special correspondent travelling with him that he had no specific plans with regard to his "mission of peace in Rajkot".

Asked how long he would be at Rajkot, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I really don't know how long I will be here. I have to be here till I finish my work.

QUESTION: Does that mean that you will not be able to go to Tripuri Congress?

ANSWER: Well, if my work in Rajkot detains me, I am afraid I will not be able to go to Tripuri.

On being told that despite the suspension of satyagraha in Rajkot State the authorities have continued the arrests and the auctioning of houses for the purpose of recovering fines, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I myself heard of an instance just now in the train. If this is true, it is most unfortunate.

The Hindustan Times, 28-2-1939

530. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

RAJKOT,
February 27, 1939

RAJKUMARI
MAGANWADI
WARDHAGANJ

BORE JOURNEY WELL. TALKS BEGUN. LOVE. LAST SENT TELEGRAM FIRST MEMBER NOT RECEIVED HERE. INQUIRE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3902. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7211

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531. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

RAJKOT,
February 27, 1939

MIRABEHN
CARE BADSHAHKHAN
CHARSADDA

BORE JOURNEY WELL. TALKS BEGUN. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6430. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10025

532. INTERVIEW TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 27, 1939

I am a born optimist. I hope that as a result of my visit to Rajkot there will be an honourable settlement.

I had a friendly exchange of views with Khan Saheb Fateh Mahomed and Durbar Virawala. They have offered me full facilities to visit the jails and see prisoners and also to visit the villages. I am seeing the prisoners tomorrow afternoon. The Muslims and Garasias (landholders) have asked for an appointment and I expect to meet them tomorrow.

The negotiations are likely to take a few days. Although I am most anxious to attend the Tripuri Congress, I am afraid work in Rajkot will take me some time.

The Hindustan Times, 28-2-1939

533. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

February 27, 1939

. . . I do not know how long I may stay here. I have no ready plan. I desire to study the situation and interview the Ruler and Mr. Gibson and do my best to restore the Pact between the Administration and the Praja Parishad. I am doubtful of my visit to Tripuri. If I finish my mission in time, I shall go to Tripuri. Otherwise I may have to miss it.

The Hindu, 27-2-1939

534. TELEGRAM TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ[1]

[On or after *February 27, 1939*]

HARTAL SHOULD BE ABANDONED WHEN VICEROY ENTERS. BUT YOU MUST BE FINAL JUDGES.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 215

535. TALK TO REPRESENTATIVES OF MUSLIM COUNCIL OF ACTION[2]

February 28, 1939

But surely, you do not mean to ask for separate electorate without reservation of seats? The former without the latter would be meaningless. You must, therefore, have that too. Having made that unilateral offer, may I take the liberty of telling you that if you chose to represent your interests through the Parishad, the latter would be bound to safeguard your religion and culture and protect every legitimate Muslim interest? But I agree that so long as the atmosphere is vitiated with mutual distrust and suspicion you are entitled to ask for and have separate representation.

Harijan, 25-3-1939

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of February 27, 1939, which read: "Received. Jaipur hartal spontaneous and continues in connection Viceroy visit. We favour hartal. Wire if you disapprove."

[2] Extracted from Pyarelal's "The Rajkot Fast". Pyarelal says: "The representatives of the Muslim Council of Action met him at 7 a. m. They told him that during the last civil disobedience struggle in Rajkot the Muslim community had given its passive support to the movement. Gandhiji at the very outset of the conversation set them at their ease by telling them that he would gladly agree to have their two nominees on the committee. They also insisted on separate electorate. He conceded that too."

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536. DISCUSSION WITH DEPUTATION OF GARASIA MANDAL[1]

February 28, 1939

As in the case of the Muslim Deputation, Gandhiji set them completely at their ease by telling them at the very start that they would have their one nominee on the Committee. In reply to further questions on their part, he told them that if they expected to be confirmed for all time in all the privileges that they had up till now enjoyed, they were doomed to disappointment. That was neither right nor feasible. If the condition of India's countless destitute masses was to be ameliorated, the privileged class shall have to divest itself of some of its privileges in favour of *Daridranarayana*. If the Garasias would only understand the spirit of the times, become one with the toiling masses and make the latter's interests their own, their legitimate interests would be safeguarded. He would therefore give them the advice he had given to the Princes, viz., to make themselves true servants of the people and not want to ride on their backs. They should hold their wealth as a trust to be used wisely in the interest of the people. They were entitled to a reasonable emolument for themselves but only in return for service rendered.

"We are bitterly attacked by a certain section of Congressmen, we are even called names. Would not you protect us?"

You should know that there is today in the Congress a considerable and growing section that wants to do away with all vested interests altogether, because they have no faith in the possibility of their conversion. My capacity to protect you will, therefore, entirely depend on your willingness to adopt and live up to the ideal of trusteeship that I have placed before you. I would not be able to help you unless you co-operate with me.

Harijan, 25-3-1939

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "The Rajkot Fast"

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537. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

RAJKOT,
February 28, 1939

Gandhiji in an interview stated that the day began with a cordial exchange of views with representatives of Muslims.[1]

After the meeting with the Muslim representatives, I went to the Resident's bungalow, and there was a very friendly conversation between us two. At 2 p. m. I met representatives of the Garasia Association with whom also I had a cordial talk.[2] Later I visited the jails of the State in the company of Col. Daly, Lt. Col. Aspinal and Khan Saheb Fateh Mahomed Ahmed, who were all present at the interviews with the prisoners. At Rajkot Jail, I met men and women satyagrahi prisoners for an hour and then drove to Sardhar Jail where I spent an hour and a half.

Asked about his impressions of his talks with prisoners in the two jails, Gandhiji refused to commit himself to any definite opinion until he had had a discussion with Khan Saheb Fateh Mahomed. Continuing, Gandhiji said:

From the Sardhar Jail, I went to Tromba where I met Kasturba, Mridulabehn and Manibehn. I had my meal there. On returning to the capital, I went to the Thakore Saheb and spent nearly an hour and a half with him.

Replying to a question about the chances of his going to Tripuri, Gandhiji said:

I still entertain the hope that there will be an honourable settlement, and I am making desperate efforts to go to Tripuri as early as possible. It is, however, difficult for me to say whether I will be able to leave before the week-end.

The Hindu, 1-3-1939

[1] *Vide* p. 464.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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ADDENDA

1. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

SEGAON, WARDHA,
January 1, 1939

BHAI SAMPURNANANDJI,

Dr. Zakir Husain was here with me for a few days. He has prepared a memorandum on the Hindu-Muslim question. I send you the portion concerned with U.P.[1] I like the suggestions he makes. Please go through it and implement what it is possible to implement. If you wish, you may write direct to Dr. Zakir Husain. I have known him for many years. He is a good man.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

2. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1939

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

I have your letter. I hope your feet are all right now.

I wrote a letter regarding what you had said about Basti and the matter has been fully investigated. I even received a reply from there. Ask me about it when we return. I will show you the letter if it is lying somewhere.

Blesssings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11688

[1] In this Zakir Husain had suggested Government help being extended to the various Muslim educational institutions in U. P. He had also recommended that assistance should be provided to libraries and societies doing literary work in Urdu.

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3. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

[After *February 2, 1939*][1]

BHAI SAMPURNANANDJI,

I received your letter but could not acknowledge it promptly. I hope you have also written to Dr. Zakir Husain what you wrote to me.

Your letter regarding the flag and *Bande Mataram* was received at a time when I was travelling. What you have said in it is correct. I am working on the same lines.

The problem of those who have entered Councils is becoming difficult day by day. But after all it is nothing but a symptom of the malaise. I see clearly that the Congress is going downward each day. Selfishness, infighting, untruth and violence have crept into the Congress and are on the increase. I fear we are destroying ourselves because of our inner failures. Let us see what God wills.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] This letter seems to be connected with that written to the addressee on 1-1-1939. Gandhiji returned to Segaon on this date.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I[1]

COLD-BLOODED BREACH OF A SOLEMN COVENANT

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued the following statement on January 25th:

It is with the deepest regret that I have to announce resumption of the struggle in Rajkot which seemed to have ended so happily. Resumption has become a duty in order to vindicate the honour of the State and the self-respect of the people of Rajkot.

The public will recall that the settlement announced in the Rajkot State *Gazette* of 26th December was a result of discussions between the Thakore Saheb and his Council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell, Rao Saheb Maneklal Patel and Shri J. Jobanputra. The discussions which took place on the evening of December 25th lasted for nearly eight hours ending at 1.42 a.m. On the day of the settlement the Thakore Saheb gave me the following note:

AMARSINHJI SECRETARIAT, RAJKOT STATE,
December 26, 1938

> It is agreed that seven members of the Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the State announcement of today's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by us.
>
> (Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH
> THAKORE SAHEB, RAJKOT

It should be remembered that I had gone to Rajkot at the Thakore Saheb's invitation.

Soon after the settlement Sir Patrick Cadell retired. . . .

I must state with the greatest reluctance that the Thakore Saheb has been ill served by those who have eaten his salt. Among the worst of these advisers has been Durbar Virawala who has ruined the State and drained it empty by his hopeless mismanagement. He has cast a spell over the Thakore Saheb which the latter cannot resist even if he would. It was he who brought Sir Patrick Cadell. When the latter realized that Durbar Virawala was the evil genius of the State, almost his first act was to have him banished from Rajkot with the help of the Agency. Sir Patrick Cadell might not have been obliged to leave if he had not traded upon his prestige as a member of the ruling race. Durbar Virawala would not brook the presence of a Dewan who had brought about his banishment.

[1] *Vide* p. 346.

Though he was banished he pulled the wires from Bagasra. His son Bhojvala and his nephew Valeravala are still with the Thakore Saheb. Realizing that he could not successfully resist the contemplated settlement, he played the role of a friend and seemed to assist the settlement. Soon after the settlement, when Sir Patrick Cadell was about to go, Durbar Virawala found himself in Rajkot and began his operations which have never ceased. The Resident's note and the Political Agent's note will be read with interest.

I needed a few days to enable me to select, in consultation with those who were in charge of the movement, seven names of the committee that had to be given in terms of the settlement. I sent the following seven names on the 4th January:

1. Shri Popatlal Dhanjibhai Malaviya
2. Shri Popatlal Purushottam Anada
3. Shri Mullan Valiji Abdulalli
4. Dr. D. J. Gajjar
5. Shri Jamnadas Khushalchand Gandhi
6. Shri Vrajlal Mayashanker Shukla
7. Shri Uchharangray Navalshanker Dhebar

Notification of the appointment of the committee should have followed at once. But nothing happened for some days.

On the 28th December there was a consultation between the Resident and the Thakore Saheb-in-Council. I have authentic notes of that interview taken by one of those present. The remarks made by the Resident about the Congress and me will be read with interest. He could not conceal his dislike of the settlement, the Congress or me.

It seems that the Resident and Durbar Virawala are responsible for the breach of the solemn undertaking the Thakore Saheb gave to his people. As evidence of Durbar Virawala's influence over the Thakore Saheb, the letter of thanks received by me from him makes interesting reading.

It is necessary to compare the present one-sided arbitrary notification with the one which was issued in terms of the settlement. The second notification cancels four of my nominees. It also cancels the terms of reference and is vague, whereas the first was precise. The former contemplates publication of the report before the 31st instant and effect being given to it by the Thakore Saheb. The latter fixes no time-limit for the report.

Before the last announcement I received a letter from Rao Saheb Manek-lal Patel. It is noteworthy that whereas that letter had accepted four of my nominees the notification has only three. To this I sent a reply in Gujarati of which the translation will be found.

I had heard so much of Durbar Virawala's influence on the Thakore Saheb and his interference that I had to say in my said letter that Durbar Virawala could not in any event be accepted on the committee. I wanted no loophole left.

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This flagrant breach of a solemn settlement leaves but one course open before the people of Rajkot. It now remains for me to invite the people of Rajkot to resume the self-chosen course of suffering for vindicating their liberty and saving Rajkot and the Thakore Saheb from utter ruin. It is best to anticipate and provide for the worst. The worst that can happen is frightfulness of the extreme type, including torture not unknown in Kathiawar and setting up of internal quarrels. Of the latter we have evidence in inspired agitation from some Muslim brethren. We have to show them by our conduct that they have at least as much to gain as the rest of us by settled government under their own control. Rajkot has been made bankrupt through hopeless mismanagement and corruption. These dissensions, if they persist, can prolong the struggle, never defeat the end in view, if the people at large cohere, show capacity for enduring suffering, no matter how great or protracted, and also show capacity, in spite of pecuniary losses, for going through the items of non-violent non-co-operation. On no account must students take part in civil disobedience or strikes. They can and should do constructive work if they believe in it. They can by house-to-house visits alleviate suffering which is bound to be inevitable as the struggle proceeds.

Non-violence has to be observed in thought, word and deed. It has to be observed as well among co-workers as with opponents and neutrals, as well in the jail as outside it. The measure of our non-violence will be the measure of our success. We must have faith in the possibility of our non-violence turning the Thakore Saheb's face in the direction of his people. Today he is a Ruler in name only; it must hurt every one of his people to find the young Prince committing a deliberate breach of the solemn covenant he made with his people.

I have said seemingly bitter things about Durbar Virawala. But truth has to be sometimes bitter and harsh. I have said nothing that I do not believe about him. We must love him in spite of his glaring blemishes and expect our love to convert him and those who are working under his influence and direction.

I am sorry the Resident resents my intervention and the influence of the Congress in shaping the policy and programme of the people of Rajkot. The people of the States have always been guided by the Congress. They owe allegiance to it. Indeed in the early stages the Princes also looked to the Congress for its support. The Congress adopted the policy of non-intervention in the sense of direct participation in the matters affecting questions arising between the people and the Princes. This was nothing but recognition of the limitations of the Congress. But when the people became conscious of their strength and were prepared to suffer, the Congress would be untrue to its mission if it failed to help them to the best of its ability. As for poor me I happen to have been a President of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad and as such owe a duty to the people of Kathiawar as also to the Princes and dare

not refuse help when they need it. In Rajkot the people in the first instance and then the Ruler sought my assistance which I claim has been unstintingly given. I fail to see anything wrong in this or to be resented by the Resident or the Imperial Power. This is a question which it would incidentally be Rajkot's proud privilege to be the cause of having decided.

For the time being the civil resistance will be confined to Kathiawaris only. The people of Kathiawar are so inter-related that for practical purposes it would be difficult to exclude any Kathiawari from participation on moral grounds.

THAKORE SAHEB'S LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

AMARSINHJI SECRETARIAT,
RAJKOT STATE,
December, 1938

MY DEAR SARDAR VALLABHBHAI,

Thanks for your note received just now.

I shall be delighted if you come and have tea with me at 5 p. m. today.

We shall then discuss the present question in presence of my Council Members.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

LETTER FROM SIR PATRICK CADELL TO THAKORE SAHEB

AMARSINHJI SECRETARIAT,
RAJKOT,
October 1, 1938

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I yesterday asked you to allow me to see you not later than 8 o'clock. I had affairs of great importance to talk about. I suggested this late hour though inconvenient to myself, in order to suit you. You sent your Private Secretary to tell me that you would see me at 8.30. I was present at that time and was told that you were in your bath. I waited till 9 o'clock, and was told that you might be another quarter or half an hour late. I then left.

I now write to inform Your Highness that I have no intention of allowing myself to be treated in this grossly discourteous manner. I had no idea when I left England to help you that you would be capable of such behaviour. I cannot allow it to be continued.

I had intended to tell you last night that in any case the present situation cannot go on. The condition of affairs in the State is very serious. Many of the complaints against the State are based on your behaviour. It is believed

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that you spend too large a share of the State's revenue, that most of your expenditure is on unworthy objects, and that you take no part in the administration of the State. I do not wish to make any reference at present either to the amount of money you spend, or the way you spend it. But it is certainly true that you take no part in the administration and show no interest in the welfare of your people. This is all the more noticed because it is so different from the system which your father followed. It is not fair to your officers to expect them to bear the burden of repressive methods while you do nothing. You must take some share. I therefore propose to you the following action.

(1) I understand that you are to take part in the *yajna* ceremony at one, and perhaps two, of the temples this evening at 7.30. If there is time for you to agree to this, I request that after you have done this, you will drive through the city and that you will allow me to accompany you.

(2) The Huzur Office is closed today as it is a holiday, but it is open on Monday. I suggest that you should promise *on your word of honour* to come to the office on Monday, not later than 6 p. m. to hear petitioners for about an hour.

I am sure that these two actions will have a good effect in the city.

I must also make a third request.

(3) Whenever I have to see you on any day, you will promise to see me on that day not later than 7.30 p. m. and you will promise *on your word of honour* not to be more than a quarter of an hour late.

If you are unable to accede to these suggestions, I shall be obliged to inform the Hon. the Resident that I cannot carry on and that I propose to return to England as soon as possible.

If I have to do so, I fear that this may have unfortunate consequences both for your State and for yourself. I can assure you that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on your conduct. I should be sorry if you were to suffer, but I cannot continue if Your Highness behaves like this.

I should be obliged if you would let me know before 5.30 this evening whether Your Highness agrees to drive through the city this evening and to allow me to accompany you.

Yours sincerely,
PATRICK CADELL

LETTER FROM THAKORE SAHEB TO SIR PATRICK CADELL

Confidential

RANJIT VILAS PALACE,
RAJKOT,
October 2, 1938

DEAR SIR PATRICK,

I am exceedingly sorry to receive your letter of yesterday, and I must say that I do not like the tone of it. I cannot accept that the complaints

against me are based on facts. The present agitation is only a wave spread by the Congress for the initiation of responsible government in the States, and I believe that to be the reason why they have selected Rajkot in Kathiawar, as they have done with Mysore, Travancore, etc., as States in which people already enjoy greater share of public liberties.

It was with a view to put down the situation that I had requisitioned your services. I have still a wish to smoothen your task as much as possible and will come to the office any day at my convenience after Dasera.

I strongly object to your remarks that if you have to go it may have unfortunate consequences both for my State and myself, and that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on my conduct. In this connection I must definitely let you understand that it is I who has appointed you as my Dewan, and that if as a result of any disagreement with you I have to ask you to be relieved, neither the Hon. the Resident nor H. E. the Viceroy will have any cause to look upon me with disfavour. Whatever information you may be able to gather with regard to my State and myself is made available to you because you enjoy my confidence, and I need hardly say that you cannot utilize any of my State records without my permission, and much less against myself. Any information which the Hon. the Resident has thought it necessary to receive about anything relating to my State has been sought for through my Dewan, only if I am agreeable to give it. I might also tell you that I have done nothing to lose any share of the confidence which I enjoy both with the Hon. the Resident and H. E. the Viceroy to its fullest extent. I would therefore wish you to reconsider your decision and express your agreement to act in a manner consonant with my dignity and policy.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

LETTER FROM THAKORE SAHEB TO SIR PATRICK CADELL

RAJKOT,
October 16, 1938

DEAR SIR PATRICK,

You are, I am sure, fully aware of the present situation. It has not been improved in any way and so far as I can see it is getting worse every day and has reached a climax by now. The other day when we called a meeting we agreed to give the people certain concessions, but it failed to ease the situation and bring about any desired result. I am myself getting convinced that we failed to take proper steps at the proper time, which should have removed my anxiety. The situation, in short, is decidedly getting out of control and adding immensely to my troubles. The agitation is getting more and more intense with little hope of its being brought under control in the near future. My people feel and are led to believe that you have been sent by

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the Government and that I have lost the position which I had hitherto enjoyed. They now refuse to extend to me the same love and loyalty which they used to extend before your arrival. Nay they even seem to think and carry the impression that not I but you are the Ruler.

I should say that though this feeling is not created by you but I must say that anyway it is there which they are not in a mood to shake off obviously. Diwali holidays are drawing nearer and Ijaras must as usual be given but the people have boycotted them. They are further determined to boycott sales of grain also, and it is possible that no sale of grain could be made this year due to their non-co-operation. This would mean a financial ruination of the State and a crisis which had better be imagined than stated. This state of things, I feel, I, as the Ruler, am bound to prevent at any cost or sacrifice in the interests of the State and its subjects.

The people, as you know, have now adopted a defiant attitude and are suffering. I must, therefore, see that this unfortunate situation must be thoroughly eased and some sort of definite settlement should be arrived at between them and me at the earliest possible opportunity. I feel I am unable to do anything in this matter so long as my people do not recognize me as their *de facto* Ruler. As a well-wisher of the State you would also wish and agree that such state of things should not be permitted to continue any more. It is therefore my bounden duty to see that I must have my position as the real and benevolent Ruler re-established in the eyes of my people, in order that I may be able to carry conviction and settle with them and win their love and confidence.

I had asked D. S. Virawala to know your views in this matter. He tells me that he saw you on the 13th instant and you told him that in your view the fight should be continued as long as the State's finances would permit and we should see whether they or we would ultimately win.

Besides, your letter dated 1st October 1938 gives me to understand that in so far as you are concerned you are definitely of the view that I am myself, more or less, the cause of these troubles. I have denied the charges by my reply. Considering the allegations made in your letter and your attitude, I have little doubt in my mind that we would not be able to pull on together in the interests of my State and its subjects and also my rights, dignity and position of the Ruler, as nobody realizes the extremely disastrous situation more than I do.

It is my definite desire to myself settle the domestic dispute between my State and its subjects as early as possible and before the Diwali holidays. This would not, in my view, be possible unless we part at the earliest. This is a very unfortunate position and no one would be more sorry than myself, but it could not be helped as the interests of myself and my State are at stake. I need hardly assure you that it is not my desire to make your position awkward in any way, and hence I leave it to you to decide how you should arrange to leave and retire, as I am anxious to see that just as you came as a

friend you should also part as a friend. I had engaged your services for six months certain and hence I am instructing the State Treasury to pay your salary accordingly. I am also instructing Mr. Bhat, the Revenue Secretary, to relieve you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

LETTER FROM E. C. GIBSON TO THAKORE SAHEB

Confidential

THE RESIDENCY,
RAJKOT,
October 26, 1938

D. O. No. C/134-38

MY DEAR THAKORE SAHEB,

You will remember that on the evening of October 16th you wrote to inform me that you desired to dispense with Sir Patrick Cadell's services and you enclosed a copy of the letter which you already sent to him. On the following morning we had a discussion. I then strongly advised you to reconsider the matter and to refrain from taking a step which from every point of view must inevitably be very prejudicial to the interests of your State and yourself. I also pointed out that when, on August 25th, you wrote to me asking me to obtain the necessary sanction to Sir Patrick Cadell's appointment, you stated very definitely that the appointment was to be for a minimum period of six months in the first instance. On this understanding I referred your request to the Political Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative's approval of the proposal.

I need not repeat here the views which I explained fully when we discussed the matter on October 17th and again on October 22nd. After our discussion on October 17th, as you are unwilling to accept the advice which I offered, I forwarded to the Political Secretary a copy of your letter of October 16th.

When we met on October 22nd I told that I had been instructed to inform you that His Excellency the Crown Representative trusts that in the interests of your State and yourself you will lose no time in reversing the action taken by you. Since then I have been hoping to hear that you have accepted and acted upon this advice. As however I have received no intimation from you to this effect, I write to ask you kindly to let me know as soon as possible the action you have taken in the matter since I saw you on October 22nd.

Yours sincerely,
E. C. GIBSON

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LETTER FROM THAKORE SAHEB TO E. C. GIBSON

Confidential *October 29, 1938*

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON,

I am very thankful for your confidential D. O.C/134-38 dated 26th instant.

In view of the desire of His Excellency the Crown Representative and your earnest advice and recommendation, I have decided to continue Sir Patrick Cadell in my service, although I maintain that the constitutional aspect of this question is in my favour.

I am very anxious that proper steps should be taken as soon as possible and have decided to form a strong council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell and two of my officers to carry on the State, so that peace and tranquillity and respect for law is properly maintained.

At the time of my interview with you on the 17th instant you approved of my suggestion of forming a council. Accordingly I have decided to have one of the following members in charge of the departments shown against their names:

1st member and Vice-president: Sir Patrick Cadell: 1. Law and Justice, 2. Political, 3. Finance, 4. Police and 5. Praja Pratinidhi Sabha and Municipality.

2nd member : Rao Saheb Maneklal C. Patel: 1. Finance, 2. Industries, 3. Revenue, 4. P. W. D. and 5. Bardashi.

3rd Member : Mr. Jayantilal L. Jobanputra: 1. Medical, 2. Jail, 3. Education and 4. Stables and other unspecified departments.

As regards the future steps to be taken to control the present situation, they will be decided by the council with my approval and in all other important questions the above procedure is to be adopted.

I will issue detailed instruction hereafter. I think the formation of such a strong council will remove my anxiety about the present situation, which is increasing day by day.

On hearing from you, I shall inform Sir Patrick Cadell accordingly.

I am so sorry for the trouble I gave you in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH

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LETTER FROM E. C. GIBSON TO DURBAR VIRAWALA

THE RESIDENCY, RAJKOT,
November 25, 1938

MY DEAR VIRAWALA,

Thanks for your letter. I did hear when I returned to Rajkot this morning that you were here, and I must say that I was very much surprised to hear it. I should have thought that if Mr. Anantrai Pattani wanted to see you he could have asked you to go to Bhavnagar or could himself have gone to Natwarnagar which is, I believe, much nearer to Bhavnagar than Rajkot is. I cannot understand why he felt it incumbent on him to make this extraordinary request, and I certainly think that it is a pity that you complied with it after the advice I gave you. I can understand that you were reluctant to come here. These long journeys must be very bad for your health at a time when you require rest and quiet for recuperation after your long illness. I am glad that you are feeling better today, and I strongly advise you to take more care of your health in future.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
E. C. GIBSON

VALA SHRI VIRA MULU,
TALUKDAR OF NATWARNAGAR, RAJKOT

LETTER FROM POLITICAL AGENT TO DURBAR VIRAWALA

Personal

RAJKOT,
November 29, 1938

DEAR VALA SHRI,

Your personal letter of yesterday. I am sorry Col. Aspinall thought the journey had been trying to you, particularly as you told me you were feeling so unwell after it.

I was naturally extremely surprised, after your assurances that you would see nobody in Rajkot pending a reply to my reference to the Hon. the Resident, to learn that you had been to the Palace.

I can only assume that you will realize that, in your own interests, this was hardly wise, and that you will, pending your return to Natwarnagar, not

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again depart from the attitude you had offered to adopt, i. e., complete aloofness from local affairs and not to meet anybody.

I trust that you have now completely rested and will not suffer from your return journey to Natwarnagar tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
C. K. DALY

LETTER FROM THAKORE SAHEB TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

AMARSINHJI SECRETARIAT,
RAJKOT STATE,
December 27, 1938

MY DEAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL,

I am very thankful to you for coming to Rajkot.

I appreciate very much the way in which you helped me in ending the impasse.

I think you are fully aware by now that Dewan Saheb Virabhai has been most loyal to me and my State. All along his career he has done his best for the good of my people.

In safeguarding the interests of myself and my State he had to suffer also.

Now I request you to do your best to remove any misunderstanding existing in the minds of my people against him.

I shall feel very thankful for the same.

Yours sincerely,
DHARMENDRASINH
THAKORE SAHEB, RAJKOT

EXTRACTS FROM NOTES OF TALKS AT THE RESIDENCY

December 28, 1938

Present: The Hon. Mr. Gibson,
The Thakore Saheb,

Sir Patrick R. Cadell,
Rao Saheb M. C. Patel,
Mr. Jayantilal L. Jobanputra — Members of the State Council

The Hon. Mr. Gibson started by saying to the Thakore Saheb to the effect that the agreement made by him had stirred up all the Princes. He would like to know how Vallabhbhai Patel had come to Rajkot and whether he was invited by him.

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THAKORE SAHEB: He had come of his own accord and asked for meeting me, and I had invited him to tea.

MR. GIBSON: Well, he is a very unreliable man. You know that the Government of India's wishes were that no outside interference should be allowed. By settling with him, you have lost sympathies of your brother Princes and the Government. Although the Government of India do not mind what you do, you have erred in settling through Patel. Even amongst the Congress workers, Mr. Patel is the most untrustworthy. However, as it appears from the Notification, the wordings of the settlement are not so bad but for the words "widest possible powers" which are capable of any interpretation. It may mean that you will be reduced to a figurehead. On the strength of these words, they would demand full responsible government at the very start and you will find yourself in a very awkward situation.

THAKORE SAHEB : No, I have only appointed a committee.

MR. GIBSON: Yes, but who will appoint the members of the committee? And the report as received has to be given effect to.

THAKORE SAHEB: Well, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel will suggest names.

MR. GIBSON : That is it. That means Congress workers, who will demand full responsible government in view of the words "widest possible powers".

SIR PATRICK: How is Mr. Patel to suggest names? Are we to write to him?

THAKORE SAHEB: No, he will send names.

MR. GIBSON: In one of the clauses, you have agreed to give full effect to the report. That is very bad. You have given up your cards.

As regards the appointment of the President of the Reforms Committee, Mr. Gibson asked the Thakore Saheb as to who will be the President of the Committee.

THAKORE SAHEB: Durbar Virawala.

MR. GIBSON: No, he cannot come.

THAKORE SAHEB: Why? He will come after his leave period is over.

MR. GIBSON: No. He is a talukdar. He cannot come. I would not let him come now.

THAKORE SAHEB : No. He can come after Sir Patrick has gone.

MR. GIBSON: That will be seen after Sir Patrick is gone.

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RAJKOT GAZETTE NOTIFICATION

RAJKOT DARBARI GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Saturday, January 21, 1939

NOTIFICATION
No. 61 OF 1938-39

As observed in the Notification No. 50, dated the 26th December '38, we are hereby pleased to appoint the following seven gentlemen, representing all important interests in the State, to work along with the three officers of the State, whose names will be announced hereafter, to work on a committee to draw up, after proper investigation, a report recommending to us a scheme of reforms with a view to associating the people more closely with the administration of the State:

1. Mr. Popatlal Purushottam Anada, President, P.P. Sabha,
2. Jadeja Jivansinhji Dhirubha,
3. Sheth Dada Haji Valimohmed,
4. Mr. Popatlal Dhanjibhai Malaviya,
5. Mr. Mohanlal M. Tank, President, Municipal Corporation,
6. Dr. D. J. Gajjar, and
7. Sheth Haptubhai Abdulali.

The Committee is expected to submit its report after full and thorough inquiry.

DHARMENDRASINH
THAKORE SAHEB, RAJKOT STATE

LETTER FROM MANEKLAL PATEL TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Confidential

RANJIT VILAS,
RAJKOT,
January 12, 1939

DEAR SARDAR SAHEB,

I am desired by H. H. Thakore Saheb to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, recommending the seven names to be nominated by him to the proposed Reforms Committee.

You must have learnt from the newspapers that the names suggested by you were already out by the time your letter was received by His Highness,

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He regrets that it should have been so, because such an exposure places you and His Highness in somewhat awkward position.

While H. H. would very much wish to select all the names suggested by you, you would also appreciate that he cannot ignore the requests made by important classes of his subjects, and should see that the committee consists of such persons as would command the confidence of all important groups of his subjects. In fact, His Highness has received representations from the Bhayats and Muslim Council and a petition from the Depressed Class, and has therefore desired me to write to you as under.

While here, you very rightly said to H. H. that you did not know who the real leaders were and therefore postponed suggesting names until after you had consulted others.

His Highness approves of the gentlemen numbered 1, 2, 4 and 5.

While number three owns immovable property and resides here since about 40 years and is a respectable citizen, he could hardly be expected to be useful with independent opinion to work on a committee of this nature.

You would agree that the Mahomedans form a very important unit and are now too well organized to be ignored so lightly. In their representation submitted as a result of the unanimous resolution of the Muslim Council, they have requested that three out of seven should be Mahomedans. This demand of theirs is of course unreasonable, but including the Bohras they should be given two seats and the President of their Council should be one of them. In view of your vast experience in British India, you will appreciate that if their legitimate request were not met, they may make a row and may create unhealthy atmosphere, which we all wish to avoid. There is no doubt that we all want a committee which would represent all sections of the people, be impartial and work harmoniously and with sagacity.

As regards numbers six and seven, it appears that they would not come strictly within the scope of the definition of the "subject" as referred to in the notification.

Mr. V. M. Shukla was neither born in the State nor has he been staying within the jurisdiction of the State since his birth for as many as about forty years. Possession by his ancestors of some property in Sardhar Pati does not entitle him, according to the definition, to be considered as a Rajkot State subject. He is neither born, nor domiciled, nor naturalized in the State.

As regards Mr. U. N. Dhebar, His Highness feels that the same objection would come in the way. As is understood, he originally belongs to the Jamnagar State and his father spent the major portion of his life in Bombay. He himself is said to have received his schooling in Rajkot and was residing in the Civil Station when he started practice as a pleader. He has been living within the State limits since about two years. He has also purchased land in the State last year. His Highness feels that he should restrict his nomination to the definition, so as not to create any ill-feeling amongst other leading

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gentlemen, who have always been recognized by the State, since the time of the late Thakore Saheb, as leaders of the public.

It may also be brought to your notice that the Bhayats have also approached His Highness, and very rightly, with a request that at least one of them should be on the committee, as they represent a very important and considerable unit in the State. His Highness therefore considers it essential that one of them should be on the committee.

It is His Highness's wish, as you will readily understand, that the committee should consist of the best brains who would also be representative of all important classes of his subjects.

If any suggestions are to be made in the light of what has been said above, His Highness will then declare the personnel of the committee, inclusive of three officials besides the President of the committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. C. PATEL

LETTER FROM VALLABHBHAI PATEL TO MANEKLAL PATEL

CAMP, BARDOLI,
January 15, 1939

DEAR SHRI MANEKLAL PATEL,

I have your letter of the 12th instant. It has pained me. It is indeed regrettable that the names I proposed were published, but it is not always possible to keep anything private in which a number of persons are concerned. And then in spite of publication, alteration can certainly be made therein if there are valid reasons.

I am afraid I cannot accept your recommendation regarding the names of Bhayats and Mussalmans on the committee. There was a definite intelligible object behind the settlement entitling me to suggest the names. That object would be frustrated if I were to accept your recommendation. The names have been suggested to achieve the object which can be fulfilled only by having on the committee men of integrity holding particular views. The seven members whose names I have suggested will surely bear in mind the interests of Bhayats and others. More than this may not be expected.

I regret you have seen fit to object to certain names on the ground of their not being State subjects. But you have a right to do so. If on further consideration you should adhere to the view that Shri Dhebarbhai does not come within the definition, rather than argue with you I am prepared to withdraw his name and to suggest instead the name of Shri Gajanan Joshi Vakil. I maintain that Shri Vajubhai Shukla comes within the definition.

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H. H. the Thakore Saheb's notification can only mean that the chairman of the committee had to be from the committee of ten, and I must say that Darbar Virawala may not be appointed chairman. He has sent me word that he does not intend to hold any office, but in order to avoid any possible accident I have thought it proper to mention this.

I cannot help saying that the appointment of the committee has been greatly delayed. Their report has got to be published by the 31st January. I therefore hope that the committee will be appointed immediately on receipt of this letter. If unfortunately the appointment continues to be delayed, there is every fear of the struggle being resumed by the people. I must also add that I have in my possession copies of correspondence that has taken place between H. H. the Thakore Saheb and Sir Patrick Cadell, and of the summary of an interview with the Resident. If the settlement breaks down, I am afraid it will be my duty to publish, in public interest, these and other documents in my possession. But I hope I may have to do nothing of the kind, and the committee will be appointed and begin work immediately.

May I expect a wire from you in reply?

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Harijan, 4-2-1939

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APPENDIX II

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S STATEMENT ON RAJKOT[1]

NEW DELHI,
February 1, 1939

1. Attention has been drawn to Mr. Gandhi's statement to the Press in regard to the recent events in the Rajkot and Jaipur States.

2. In the case of Rajkot, Mr. Gandhi states that "an honourable understanding arrived at between the Thakore Saheb-in-Council and Sardar Patel, representing the people, has been undone by the Resident", and he expresses the opinion that "it is the duty of the Viceroy to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the pact."

3. The facts are that the Thakore Saheb-in-Council reached an agreement with Sardar Patel that a committee should be appointed to investigate and make recommendations for constitutional reform. The terms of this agreement were published on December 26, in the State *Gazette*. The number of official and non-official members who were to serve on the committee were stated in this announcement. No further indication was given as to the committee's composition or the basis of its selection. It appears that simultaneously a private exchange of letters took place between the Thakore Saheb personally and Sardar Patel, to which no publicity was given. In this correspondence, the Thakore Saheb wrote to Sardar Patel as follows:

AMARSINHJI SECRETARIAT,
RAJKOT STATE,
26-12-'38

It is agreed that seven members of the Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the State Announcement of today's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by us.

(Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH,
Thakore Saheb, Rajkot

The Thakore Saheb claims that this letter was intended to leave him at liberty to accept or not the names put forward by Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel contends that its intention was to bind the Thakore Saheb to accept whatever names he put forward.

REFORMS COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

Of the names put forward by Sardar Patel, the Thakore Saheb accepted three. In the interests of securing adequate representation for the Mohammedans

[1] *Vide* pp. 360-1.

and the Bhayats in the State, both of which parties submitted their claims to be represented, he found himself unable to accept the remaining four names. On his instructions, his Minister so informed Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel, however, in his reply, did not address himself to the merits and refused to acquiesce in the Thakore Saheb's proposals for the representation of the interests mentioned above, and merely intimated that he would be content with nothing less than the names which he had put forward irrespective of the considerations advanced by the Thakore Saheb, in acting as he has acted of his own free will. The Resident has no knowledge of the correspondence which had passed and was not a party to it.

Mr. Gandhi's suggestion is that the Thakore Saheb should now be required to accept a different construction which Sardar Patel has placed on his letter. It would clearly be most improper to bring pressure on the Thakore Saheb to accept a construction which he evidently did not intend and is not now prepared to accept.

Mr. Gandhi states that the Resident is reported to be resorting to "organized *goondaism*". Mr. Gandhi has not indicated the source of this report, which has no foundation whatever in fact.

In the case of Jaipur, the Jaipur Government will no doubt issue whatever statement they see fit in answer to Mr. Gandhi's observations.

The Hindu, 2-2-1940

APPENDIX III

RESIGNATION LETTER OF CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS[1]

[*February 22, 1939*][2]

DEAR SUBHAS,

We were all deeply pained to hear of your illness. It was not to be thought that you should come to Wardha at the risk of your health. We hope that you will be soon restored to complete health.

We have thought over the recent events carefully and have also read your various statements in connection with the Presidential election. Your unfortunate illness and the consequent cancellation of our meeting deter us from expressing our views on your statements.

It should be sufficient at this stage for us to say that we, the undersigned, feel it our duty to tender our resignations as members of the Working Committee, and we hereby tender the same. We feel [*sic*] to choose your Cabinet that represents your views.

[1] *Vide* pp. 382-3.

[2] From Brijkrishna Chandiwala's *Delhi Diary*

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We feel that the time has come when the country should have a clear-cut policy, not based on compromise between different and incompatible groups of the Congress.

It is but right, therefore, that you should select a homogeneous Cabinet representing the views of the majority. You may trust us to give you all possible co-operation in matters where we see eye to eye with you in the policies that you may put before the country. In order to allay public suspense, we are sending this letter to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- ABUL KALAM AZAD
SAROJINI NAIDU
VALLABHBHAI PATEL
RAJENDRA PRASAD
BHULABHAI DESAI
PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
SHANKARRAO DEO
HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
KRIPALANI
ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN
JAMNALAL BAJAJ
JAIRAM DOULATRAM

The Hindustan Times, 23-2-1939

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENT OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE[1]

I have read the statement of Mahatma Gandhi on the recent presidential election with all the attention that it deserves. It grieves me to find that Mahatma Gandhi has taken it as a personal defeat. I would respectfully differ from him on this point. The voters, that is the delegates, were not called upon to vote for or against Mahatma Gandhi. Consequently the result of the contest does not in my view and in the view of most people affect him personally.

Much has been said in the Press during the last few days about the Right and Left wings in the Congress. Several persons have interpreted the result of the election as a victory for the Leftists. The fact is that I placed before the public two main issues, namely, the fight against Federation and free and unfettered choice for the delegates in the matter of choosing their president. These issues must have greatly influenced the voting, and over and above these, the personality of the candidates might have had some

[1] *Vide* pp. 382-3.

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effect. In the circumstances, I feel that while analysing the significance of the election we should not draw on our imagination nor should we read into it more than it contains.

Assuming for argument's sake that the result of the election implies a victory of the Left, we should stop to consider what the Leftists' programme is. For the immediate future the Leftists stand for national unity and unrelenting opposition to the Federal scheme. In addition to this, they stand for democratic principles. Leftists will not take the responsibility of creating a split within the Congress. If a split does come, it will come not because of them, but in spite of them.

Personally I am definitely of the opinion that there is neither reason nor justification for a split within the ranks of the Congress. I, therefore, earnestly hope that there will be no occasion now or in the near future for the so-called minority party to non-co-operate with the so-called majority party. I need hardly add that I shall try till the last to avert a split whenever any such likelihood appears before us.

A certain amount of apprehension has been caused in the minds of many as to the policy which people like myself will follow in future. Let me make it quite clear that there will be no violent break with the past in the parliamentary or in the extra-parliamentary sphere. So far as the parliamentary programme is concerned, we shall only try to implement our election pledges and our parliamentary programme with greater speed than in the past. In the extra-parliamentary sphere, we shall endeavour to rally all our strength and resources for combating Federation and for pushing on towards *purna* swaraj. And we shall, of course, act in accordance with the principles and policy of the Indian National Congress.

In this connection I should also like to say that I have on some occasions felt constrained to differ from Mahatma Gandhi on public questions, but I yield to none in my respect for his personality. If I have understood him correctly, he too would like to see people think for themselves, even though they may not always agree with him. I do not know what sort of opinion Mahatmaji has of myself. But, whatever his view may be, it will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.

The Hindustan Times, 5-2-1939

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APPENDIX V

SRI RAMANA MAHARSHI'S COMMENTS ON GANDHIJI'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS STATE OF MIND[1]

The Maharshi referred to the following passage of Gandhiji's in the *Harijan* of the 11th instant:

"How mysterious are the ways of God ! This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going, whither am I going? What for? I have thought nothing about these things. And if God guides me, what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance.

"The fact is, it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do *not* come. Indeed there is no vacuum—but I mean to say that there is no thought about the mission."

He remarked how true the words were and emphasized each statement in the extract. Then He cited Thayumanavar in support of the state which is free from thoughts:

"Bliss will reveal itself if one is still. Why then is this illusory *yoga* practice? Can it (i. e., bliss) be revealed by directing the intellect in a particular way?"

D. Is not what Gandhiji describes the state in which thoughts themselves become foreign?

M. Yes. It is only after the rise of the 'I' thought that all other thoughts arise. The world is seen after you have felt "I am". The 'I' thought and all other thoughts had vanished for him.

D. Then the body-sense must be absent in that state.

M. The body-sense also is a thought whereas he describes the state in which "thoughts do not come".

D. He also says, "It takes no effort to stop thinking".

M. Of course no effort is necessary to stop thought whereas one is necessary for bringing about thoughts. . . .

D. Gandhiji adhered to *Satya* (Truth) so long and won realization of the Self.

M. What is *Satya* except the Self ? *Satya* is that which is made up of *sat*. Again *sat* is nothing but the Self. So Gandhiji's *Satya* is only the Self. . . .

The Upanishadic Text is the eternal Truth to which everyone who has realized owes his experience. After hearing the Self to be the Brahman the person finds the true import of the Self and reverts to it whenever he is diverted from it. Here is the whole process of Realization.

Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi, pp. 734-9

[1] *Vide* pp. 461-2.

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CHRONOLOGY

(October 15, 1938—February 28, 1939)

October 15, 1938: Gandhiji was at Utmanzai. Returned to Peshawar.

October 16: Addressed meetings of Khudai Khidmatgars at Nowshera and Hoti Mardan.

October 17: Mardan. Issued statement to the Press condemning students' rowdyism in Travancore.
Visited Swabi and addressed meeting of Khudai Khidmatgars.

October 18: Returned to Utmanzai.

October 19/20: Had discussions with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

October 21: Returned to Peshawar. Arrived in Kohat.

October 22: Addressed public meeting at Kohat.

October 23: At Hungoo. Had talk with Khudai Khidmatgars.

October 24: At Bannu.

October 25: At Bannu. Addressed public meeting.

October 26: At Bannu. Issued statement to the Press Congratulating Maharaja and Dewan of Travancore for granting amnesty to satyagrahi prisoners in the State.
Visited Lakki. Addressed public meeting. Had talk with Khudai Khidmatgars.

October 27: Arrived in Dera Ismail Khan.

October 28: At Dera Ismail Khan. Addressed public meeting.

October 30: Visited Kulachi. Returned to Dera Ismail Khan.

October 31: Tank. Addressed public meeting.
Had talk with Khudai Khidmatgars. Returned to Dera Ismail Khan.

November 1: Had talk with Khudai Khidmatgars at Paniala. Arrived in Mirakhel.

November 2: At Mirakhel. Visited Ahmedbandh. Reached Peshawar in the evening.

November 3: At Peshawar. Inaugurated khadi exhibition.

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November 4: At Peshawar.

November 5: At Peshawar. Addressed meeting of the Bar Association.

November 6: At Peshawar. Visited Bibhuti, Punja Saheb and Haripur.

November 7: At Haripur, Abbottabad. Had talk with Khudai Khidmatgars.

November 8: At Abbottabad.
Reached Mansehra. Addressed public meeting. Returned to Abbottabad. Received Minorities' Deputation. Addressed public meeting.

November 9: At Abbottabad. Visited Taxila. Left for Delhi.

November 10: Arrived in Delhi. Called on Begum Ansari. Left for Segaon.

November 11: Arrived in Segaon.

November 14: Had discussion with Vallabhbhai Patel about Rajkot satyagraha.

November 15: Had discussion with Deputation of Travancore State Congress.

November 16: Continued discussion.

November 21: Received Jawaharlal Nehru.

November 27: Had discussion with leaders of Aundh State.

November 29: Had discussion with Appasaheb Pant on Aundh Constitution.

November 30: Started drafting constitution for Aundh State.

December 1: Had discussion with Appasaheb Pant.

December 3: Discussed with Ruikar strike in Rajanandgaon Mill and State policy towards it.

December 15: Had discussion with members of Congress Working Committee.

December 22: Addressed Scouts rally.

December 23: Dr. Radhakrishnan called on Gandhiji and suggested his persuading Rajaji not to make Hindi compulsory in Madras State.

December 24: Gandhiji arrived in Wardha. Inaugurated Magan Sangrahalaya and Udyog Bhavan. Had discussion with the

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economists who attended Economic Conference at Nagpur. Had discussion with Frydman. Returned to Segaon.

December 31: Gave Interview to Timothy Ling Fang Lew, member of Chinese delegation to Missionary Conference at Tambaram.

January 1, 1939: Gave interview to Ling Fang Lew and P. C. Hsu, members of Chinese delegation to Missionary Conference at Tambaram. Gave interview to Rev. S. S. Tema of D. R. Mission, Johannesburg.
Left for Bardoli.

January 2: Arrived in Bardoli.

January 3: Had discussion with U. N. Dhebar about Rajkot satyagraha.

January 4: Had talk with Jamnalal Bajaj concerning Jaipur satyagraha.

January 11-14: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

January 15: Had talk with Toyohiko Kagawa. Had discussion with the Aga Khan about minority community and communal unity.

January 17: Received B. G. Kher.

January 23: Vallabhbhai Patel arrived in Bardoli to discuss Rajkot affairs with Gandhiji.

January 24: Gandhiji had talk with Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

January 26: Addressed meeting of peasants on emancipation day.

January 28: Had discussion with representatives of Municipalities and Local Boards.

January 29: Addressed meeting of peasants held on occasion of restoration of confiscated lands.

January 31: Issued statements to the Press on election of Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President and on Rajkot and Jaipur satyagrahas.

February 1: Left for Segaon.

February 2: Arrived in Segaon.

February 3-4: At Wardha. Had talk with teachers undergoing training under Wardha scheme of education.

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February 5: At Segaon.

February 8: Issued statement to the Press on Jamnalal Bajaj's arrest.

February 9: Issued statement to the Press on Rajkot and Jaipur satyagraha.

February 13: Had discussion with Dr. Chesterton of English Baptist Mission.

February 14: Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Segaon to have discussion with Gandhiji.

February 15: Discussion continued.

February 21: Gandhiji had talk with delegates of Hyderabad State Congress.

February 23: Issued statements to the Press on strike in Annamalai University and Rajkot satyagraha.

February 24: Had talk with Ashram inmates about his decision to go to Rajkot.

February 25: Issued statement to the Press on Rajkot satyagraha. Left for Bombay *en route* to Rajkot.

February 26: Arrived in Bombay.

February 27: Arrived in Rajkot. Gave interview to Associated Press and *The Hindu*.

February 28: Had separate discussions with representatives of Muslim Council of Action and deputation of Garasia Mandal. Gave interview to *The Hindu*.

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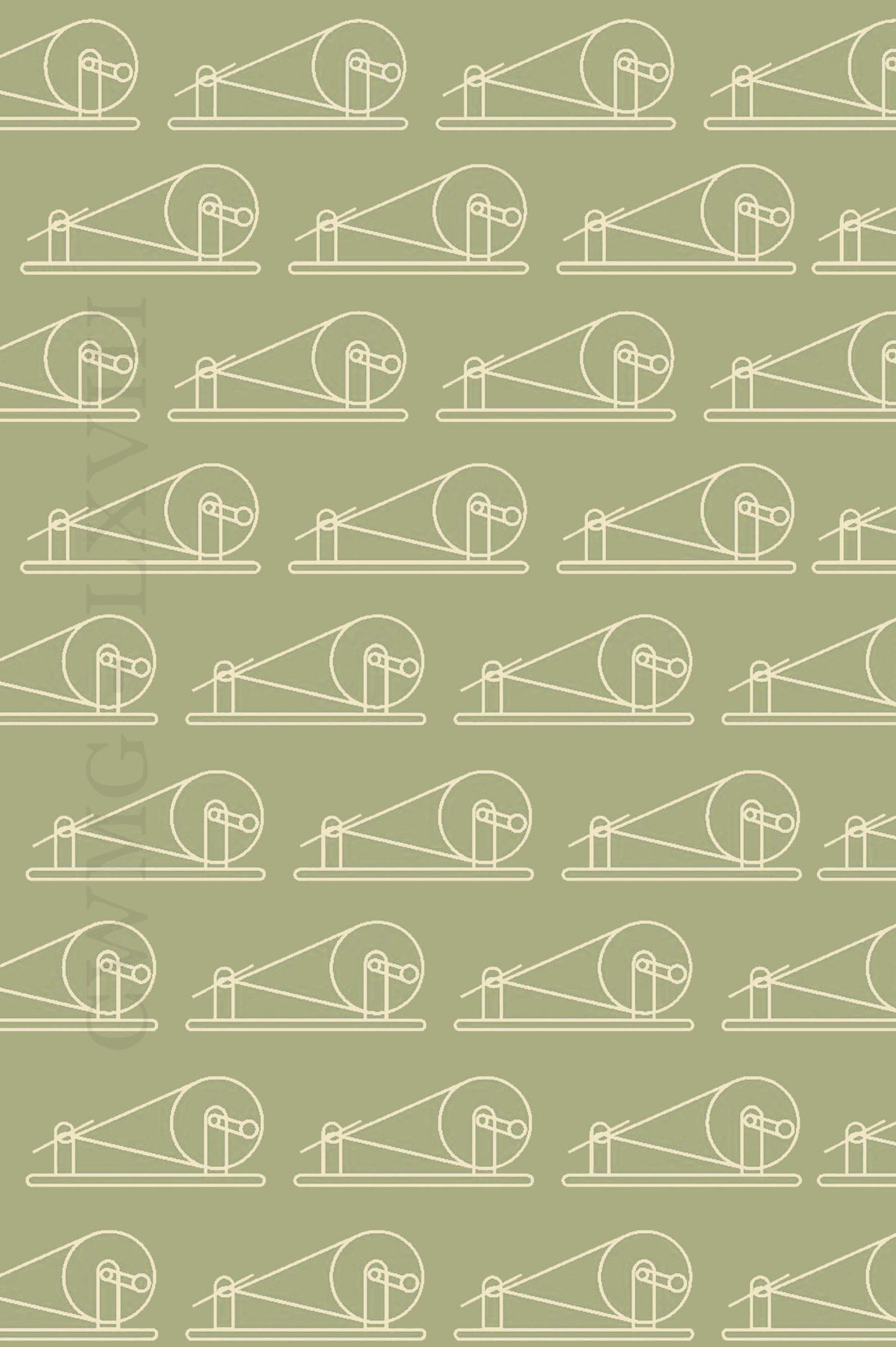
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