SUBJECT:

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001/H/34-35.

P. 43.

ATTEMPT ON LIFE OF MR. GANDHI AT POONA
BOMB OUTRAGE AT MUNICIPAL HALL

Congress Leader's Escape: Several Persons Injured.

Several persons were seriously injured in a bomb explosion which occurred at the porch of the Poona City Municipal Hall on Monday evening, a few minutes before the arrival of Mr. Gandhi to receive an address from the Municipality.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, a member of the Municipality, who arrived at the Hall a few yards ahead of Mr. Gandhi, was injured and his car was damaged. A man’s nose was blown off while a police constable who was injured is in hospital in a dangerous condition.

(From our own correspondent).

Poona, June 25.

While a big crowd was waiting to greet Mr. Gandhi at the Poona City Municipal Hall this evening, a terrific bomb explosion occurred just as the car of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar drew up at the porch. Presumably the bomb was thrown from above, but owing to rain, it could not be ascertained where it fell. Mr. Gandhi’s car arrived three minutes after the explosion.

A police constable, who was on duty at the porch and four other persons were injured. They were taken to the Sassoon Hospital. The policeman was seriously injured and is said to be in a precarious condition. The other four received injuries on their legs and one had his nose blown off. Mr. Bhopatkar was slightly injured, some flying pellets striking him on the leg and ear.

The District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Kotahwalla and other officers arrived on the search near the main entrance, recovered some nails, washers and screws scattered about the place.

MR. GANDHI'S ESCAPE
MUNICIPAL CHIEF OFFICER INJURED

An Associated Press message says:

On the occasion of the presentation of the Municipal address to Mr. Gandhi, a bomb was thrown at the car which, it is believed, the assailant thought carried Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was not in the car. Seven persons were injured.
Mr. Gandhi was due at the Municipal building at 7-30 p.m. A car drew up in front of the building and the boy scouts, thinking that it was Mr. Gandhi’s car started playing the band. Almost simultaneously there was a loud explosion. People who had gathered there thought it was a cracker. They however realised their mistake when it became known that seven persons including Mr. Bhagavat, the Chief Officer of the Municipality, were injured. The injured people were immediately sent to hospital.

At 7-30 p.m. Mr. Gandhi arrived. He was then informed of the incident. He however agreed to the suggestion that the programme should be carried out. Accordingly the address was presented and Mr. Gandhi left the Municipal Hall at 8-30 p.m.

The police have arrested five persons.

**MR. GANDHI’S STATEMENT**

In a statement about the incident Mr. Gandhi says.

"I have had so many narrow escapes in my life that this newest one does not surprise me. God be thanked that no one was fatally injured by the bomb and I hope that those who were more or less seriously injured will be soon discharged from the hospital.

"I cannot believe that any sane Sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated this evening; but I would like Sanatanist friends to control the language that is being used by speakers and writers claiming to speak on their behalf. The sorrowful incident has undoubtedly advanced the Harijan cause.

"It is easy to see that causes proper by the martyrdom of those who stand for them. I am not aching for martyrdom but if it comes my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be a supreme duty in defence of the faith that I hold in common with millions of Hindus, I shall have well earned it and it will be possible for the historian of the future to say that the vow I had taken before the Harijans that I would, if need be, die in the attempt to remove untouchability was literally fulfilled.

**PITY FOR THE THROWER**

"Let those who grudge me what yet remains to me of this earthly existence know that it is the easiest thing to do away with my body. Why then put in jeopardy many innocent lives in order to take mine which they hold to be sinful?

"What would the world have said of us if the bomb had dropped on me and my party, which included my wife and three girls who are as dear to me as daughters and have been entrusted to me by their parents? I am sure that no harm to them could have been intended by the bomb thrower.

"I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb thrower was known I should certainly ask for his discharge even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who had successfully assaulted me.
"Let the reformers not be incensed against the bomb thrower or those who may be behind him. What I should like them to do is to redouble their effort to rid the country of the deadly evil of untouchability".

MUNICIPAL DECISION

An earlier message from our correspondent stated:—

A special meeting of the Poona City Municipality was held this morning at 8-30. Sanatanists and Congressmen were present in the hall along with the Municipal Councillors. Mr. V. A. Gadkari moved a resolution for presenting a civic address to Mr. Gandhi for the Harijan campaign which he had been carrying on.

Mr. G. M. Nalavade moved an amendment to omit the reference to Harijan work.

Pandit Patwardhan raised a point of order saying that as the matter contained in the resolution was sub-judice, the resolution could not be brought forward. The point of order was, however, disallowed.

Another motion was moved for postponing the resolution and adjourning the meeting to 5 o'clock in the evening on the ground that another application for injunction would be presented.

Opposing this motion, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar said that even if an injunction were granted, it should be disobeyed and the consequences of disobedience, whether fine or imprisonment, should be undergone cheerfully.

Eventually, the motion for adjournment was withdrawn and the original proposition and another resolution sanctioning Rs. 500 for the address were carried by 36 votes to 2.

MR. GANDHI AND SANATANISTS

At a mass meeting held yesterday Bhau Saheb Lavate, a Sanatanist, objected to the methods employed by Mr. Gandhi, in carrying on the Harijan campaign. He said the Sanatanists objected to any social reform being thrust on them with the help of Government.

Mr. Gandhi, replying, said that if the Hindu majority in the Legislative Assembly voted against the Untouchability Bill, it would not get through. He himself was a Sanatanist as he was honestly abiding by the rules laid down in the Vedas. Vedas, Mr. Gandhi said, had no sanction for untouchability as it was existing now. What he wanted was a change of heart and not any coercion.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that, whenever he had any occasion to open temples, he had first ascertained for himself that a large majority of Hindus, who would visit the temples were in favour of the reform. Otherwise, he had persistently refused to open the temples. Mr. Gandhi further said that Sanatanists in Maharashtra, while showing their opposition, had behaved very politely throughout.
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

SECRET

By Air Mail

S. B. Date—23rd September 1935.

Sender's name and address—Bapu (M. K. Gandhi), Wardha.

Date of letter—22nd September 1935.

Address—Jawaharlal Nehru, Hems Waldeck, Badenweiler, Baden, Germany.

Contents

Copy of a hand written letter.

My dear Jawaharlal,

Your three welcome letters give us all accurate news about Kamala. For the time being I expect you to follow up the practice. I had telegraphed for daily wires because of the public demand, but you were right in not sending any when there was no change. You were right also in omitting the sender's name. Your presence there is a source of great satisfaction to your friends here as it is a question of life to Kamala. I am not writing to her separately this air mail.

I am going to take up your manuscript presently. I have no difficulty in agreeing with you in the enunciation of principles. But when we descend to the concrete, we generally use the language I have used. In the huge organisation the Congress has become, no one man can hope to run the show. But some one has to shoulder the burden. And people want some guidance. Hence my enquiry. If you are elected, you will be elected for the policy and principles you stand for. I would like you therefore to tell me whether you will allow your name to be proposed for the crown of thorns.

I suppose India will now wait till Kamala's condition is better known.

I am sending the Congress constitution. If you can concentrate your attention on it, I would like you to send me your considered criticism on it.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

As to the present policy of the Congress, whilst I can in no way be responsible for the detailed working of it, it is in the main of my shaping. It is not one of drift. It is founded upon one central idea that of consolidating the power of the people with a view to peaceful action. But in your absence, we have been literally tacking. Now that you are free you have to give the guidance and take with you such old colleagues as would
go with you whole-heartedly. So far as I know they will not resist you, even more they may not be able to follow you. I must not weary you with more of this kind of thing whilst you are there nursing Kamala.

Love,
(Sd.) BAPU.

22-9-35. Wardha.

Copy of accompaniment:—

Dear Jawahararlji,

It was too late to get enough stamps for posting the Constitution. It will follow by the next air mail.

Love,
(Sd.) MAHADEV.

The original has been allowed to go on without being photographed.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.
Copy of an English letter.

"Maganwadi" (Wardha),
Dated the 19th October 1935.

My dear Malkani,

There is no such good news for you or me, I do not stir out of Wardha till the end of the year, January has been mortgaged to Gujrat and February will probably be given to Delhi.

The Sangh Council will meet here in November, I expect. But don't expect me to go either to Calcutta or to Bangalore next year. I don't want to devote the whole year to travelling.

There is much work to be done here. It is with the utmost reluctance that I have undertaken to go to Gujrat—one month to Delhi, I will have to give.

You may expect no congratulations but you will certainly deserve them for having built at such a reasonable cost and from the details you have sent, I see that everything was worked out most thoughtfully. You won't have Amtul Salam before next year and you might not have Vijogi Hari either.

With love.

Yours, (Sd.)
BAPU.
My dear Malkani,

Thakkar Bapa writes to say that 15th November does not suit him as he will have hardly finished Assam by then, and that unless Ghanshyamdasji wants that date and any other date is unsuitable to him, the date may be changed to 22nd, in order that he may have enough time in Assam and three or four days in Calcutta. He, however, says that if no other date suits Ghanshyamdasji, you should telegraph to him accordingly. Please consult Ghanshyamdasji and fix the final date and inform Thakkar Bapa and Bapu of your final decision.

I may add that 22nd will suit Bapu as well as the 15th.

Yours,

(Sd.) MAHADEO.

To

Sjt. N. R. Malkani,
Harijan Sevak Sangh,
Kingsway, Civil Lines, Delhi.
Mr. Knight,

I write to inform you that M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Mahadev Desai and Dr. Jivraj Mehta, arrived in Bombay from Wardha this morning. Arrangements were made by his friends at the Dadar Railway Station, where he alighted, to take him in an ambulance car, but he walked from the train to the car and went to reside with Bhulabhai J. Desai at Warden Road. He would be here for a couple of days for medical treatment.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

To

H. F. Knight, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

From:

Bospel,
Bombay.

To

Superintendent of Police,
Ahmedabad.


(Sd.) X X X

D.C.P.. S.B.
Sir,

The party was first to leave from Dadar, but ultimately left from B. C. There were about 200 persons present on and near the platform. The following were present to see Mr. Gandhi off:


(Sd.) x x x
22-1.

We informed Secretary, Home Department, when he arrived. We must inform the Secretary of his departure. Send copy of this to the Secretary in continuation of our last.

(Sd.) x x x 22-1.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

S. B. Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, 27th January 1936. It is learnt that Mahadeo Desai has informed Miss Agatha Harrison of London that—

(1) Gandhi will be able, in two or three weeks, partly to resume his usual activities.

(2) C. F. Andrews is sailing for Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, and might revisit India some time during the year.

(3) Gandhi sent a condolence message to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, on the death of His Gracious Majesty King George the V. He has received a telegraphic reply that the message has been conveyed to His Majesty the King.

Gandhi has sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Saklatwala, on the death of her husband, through Miss Harrison.

SECRET

No. S. B. 395 of 1936.

SIND C. I. D. OFFICE;
Karachi, the 27th January 1936.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the—

Commissioner in Sind.
Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department (Special), Bombay.
Assistant to the D.I.G. of Police, C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, Poona.
Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Bombay.

for information,

(Sd.) x x x
Superintendent of Police, Sind, C.I.D.
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

SECRET

Bombay S. B. 4th May 1936.

Date of letter—30th April 1936.

From

Bapu (Mr. Gandhi), Wardha.

To

Miss Agatha Harrison,

2, Cranbourne Court, Albert Bridge Road.

S. W., 11.

By Air Mail.

*Copy of a handwritten letter.*

Not revised

My dear Agatha,

I have your letter of 17th inst. Nothing less was to be expected of Jawaharlal. His address is a confession of his faith. You see from the formation of his cabinet, that he has chosen a majority of those who represent the traditional view i.e., from 1920. Of course the majority represent my view. I would love to kill the New Constitution today if I can. There is hardly anything in it I like. But Jawaharlal's way is not my way. I accept his ideal about land etc. But I do not accept practically any of his methods. I would strain every nerve to prevent a class war. So would he, I expect. But he does not believe it to be possible to avoid it. I believe it to be perfectly possible especially if my method is accepted. But though Jawaharlal is extreme in his presentation of his methods, he is sober in action. So far as I know him, he will not precipitate conflict nor will he shirk it if it is forced on him. But there perhaps the whole Congress is not of one mind. A difference there certainly is. My method is designed to avoid conflict. His is not, so designed. My own feeling is that Jawaharlal will accept the decisions of the majority of his colleagues. For a man of his temperament, this is most difficult. He is finding it so already. Whatever he does, he will do it nobly. Though the gulf between us as to the outlook upon life has undoubtedly widened, we have never been so near each other in hearts as we perhaps are today.

This is not for public use but you are at liberty to show it to friends. I do not suppose you want anything more in answer to your question.

The rest from Mahadeo.

30-4-36.

Love,

(Sd.) BAPU.
P.C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/I 36-37 I/IV-1.

14th June 1937.

Dated 9-6-1937.

From

M. K. Gandhi, (Bulsar).

To

J. B. Kirpalani,
(Allahabad).

"Sardar has handed me your letter of 31st ultimo for reply. I entirely agree with you that the Congress has to think out a policy and give the lead on the reported kidnappings. We must first of all be sure of the facts and therefore have an impartial inquiry. The burden must be thrown on the Frontier Congressmen of tracing out and bringing back, by such influence as they may possess on tribesmen, the kidnapped girls. If the kidnappings are purely political, why do they kidnap only girls? If they are instigated by the Government we must have some proof for the statement.

"Whilst we may have resolutions on the Government, Frontier Police, we must express our disapproval of the kidnappings and appeal to the tribesmen and enunciate our policy for the guidance of the Congressmen generally and of Frontier Congressmen in particular."


14th June 1937.

Copy F. W. C. to—

2. A. D. I., G. P. C. I.D.S.B.
   Nagpur.

(Sd.) X X X

For A. to D.I.G., C.I.D., S.B., U. P.

Lucknow.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/II.

SECRET

SPECIAL BRANCH, C. P.;

Nagpur, the 15th January 1937.

INTERCEPTION REPORT

(The secrecy of interception may kindly be safeguarded.)

No. S. B./56.

2. Date of censorship: .. .. 7-1-37.
3. Sender's name and address: .. .. N. Barlett, Bombay.
4. Date of letter: ... 6-1-37.
5. Language of letter: ... English.
6. Addressee's name and address: ... Mahadeo Desai, C/o Mahatma Gandhi, Wardha.
7. Whether withheld or delivered: ... Delivered.
8. If delivered, copy kept or not: ... Copy kept.
10. Additional information and remarks:

CONTENTS

We are Australian journalists touring in India with a view to study the political condition of the country. We are at present staying with Mr. S. A. Waiz, Indian Citizenship, 235 Hornby Road, Bombay.

C. F. Andrews while in Australia gave us an account of the village life in India. He also told us that the only way to approach Mahatma Gandhi is through you. We wish to pass some days in the village Wardha so as to get exact idea of the Indian village life. We are interested in India—a country whose struggles are near our heart. Kindly let us know whether it will be possible for us to live in village Wardha with the Mahatma for a couple of days. We are leaving for Agra and shall be back to Bombay in the next week. Please send your reply to Mr. Waiz.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/36-37/IV-1.

Dated 27th July 1937.

"The Bombay Chronicle"

MAHATMA REFUTES KELKAR'S CHARGE

Explain why he did not sign Savarkar Release Memorial.

Charges him with "Cruel Misinterpretation" of his motives and attitude.

Poona: July 1925.

Mr. S. D. Deo, President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, writes:—

When the working Committee meeting held at Wardha decided to sanction the acceptance of offices by the Congress, the Democratic Swaraj Party at Poona publicly congratulated Syt. Tatyasahib Kelkar. On that occasion, the letter made a speech which is reported in the "Dnyan-prakash" of the 10th July 1937. Following is a translation of portion of that speech relating to Mahatma Gandhi:—

"People made an application that this Bard of Freedom (Bar. Savarkar), who was rotting in jail for twelve years, should be released from custody; but on this application for the release of Bar. Savarkar, Mahatma Gandhi refused to give his signature. (Shame! Shame!)."
Don't say 'Shame, Shame'. It is merely a word of two syllables. This shows what feelings Mahatma Gandhi has about Maharashtra. Nobody recollects what Maharashtra did in the Non-Co-operation movement. Gandhiji mentions the name of Tilak from time to time, but then that is only to deceive Maharashtra by empty phrases."

These words are unjust to Mahatma Gandhi, and are calculated to prejudice the mind of the Maharashtra public about that great man. It is derogatory to the prestige of Maharashtra that such words should be uttered by a responsible Maharashtrian. Hence I entered into a correspondence with both Syt. Tatyasaheb Kelkar and Mahatma Gandhi in this connection. I am now releasing the whole correspondence for publication and am sure the Maharashtra public will come to a just and proper conclusion in the matter.

**LETTER TO MAHATMA**

Poona, the 14th July 1937.

Dear Mahatmaji,

Herewith is attached a cutting from a speech made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar delivered in Poona regarding the recent Congress decision to accept offices. I have a faint impression that you had given a public reply to the charge some years back. Anyhow, I think it necessary that you should once more express your feelings against this false perverted charge, and clear any possibility of misunderstanding in public mind. If you write to me about that, I will do the needful in the matter. I have written to Mr. N. C. Kelkar today about this. It is not only unfortunate but painful, that after all these years' experience, the same old poison should be injected by such responsible persons.

Waiting for a reply.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) S. D. DEO.

(Mahatmaji's Reply)

(Segaon Wardha):

July 15th, 1937.

My dear Deo,

I have your letter enclosing a newspaper cutting. I have forwarded the cutting to Mr. Kelkar for confirmation. As soon as I receive his reply, you will hear further from me.

I hope your progress towards complete recovery is continuing.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) BAPU.
(Mahatmaji's Second Letter)

Segaon (Wardha):
July 20th, 1937.

My dear Deo,

I have now heard from Shri Kelkar. He has forgotten to return the cutting which I had sent him. I, therefore, send my reply from memory.

About Shri Savarkar, I did refuse to sign the memorial, for, as I told those who came to me, it was wholly unnecessary as Shri Savarkar was bound to be released after the coming into force of the new Act; no matter who the Ministers were. And that is what has happened. The Savarkar Brothers at least, know that whatever the differences between us as to certain fundamentals, I could never contemplate with equanimity their incarceration.

Perhaps, Dr. Savarkar will bear me out when I say, that I did whatever was in my power, after my own way, to secure their release. And the barrister will perhaps, recall the pleasant relations that existed between us when we met, for the first time in London and how, when nobody was forthcoming, I presided at the meeting that was held in his honour in London.

RELATIONS WITH TILAK.

As to my relations with the late Lokamanya Tilak, our differences were well-known and yet we were on the friendliest terms. After all, you, Gangadharrao Deshpande and others, who know me, would perhaps testify that I yield to no one in my regard to Lokamanya for his burning patriotism, his fearlessness, his magnetic personality and his great learning.

As to office acceptance, I have not retraced my steps. I have no repentance for the advice I gave in 1920 to boycott the legislatures. I have not a shadow of a doubt that the abstention of the Congressed deprived them of the false halo of glory which they had acquired. In now strongly advising the Congress to send its representatives to the Legislatures and even to accept office I have responded to the wholly new circumstances that have since come into being. I have never made a fetish of foolish consistency.

Whilst you are at liberty to publish this letter, my personal inclination is that I should suffer in silence the cruel misinterpretation that Shri Kelkar has given of my motives and attitude.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

(Letter of Syt. Deo To Syt. Kelkar)

291, Shanwar Peth,
Poona, 14th July 1937.

Dear Mr. Kelkar,

At Yeola, on my way back from Wardha, I happened to read the "Dnyanprakash" of the 10th inst., and saw therein a report of a speech delivered by you in the Tilak Smarak Mandir. You say therein that what
Gandhiji feels about Maharashtra can be inferred from the fact that he refused to put his signature on the application for the release of Bar. Savarkar.

Further, it is clearly suggested therein that Mahatma Gandhi harbours feelings of hatred about Maharashtra and about Bar. Savarkar. One of the many headlines given by the "Dnyanprakash" itself to this report, viz., "Mahatma Gandhi's hatred for Maharashtra," bears out the above view. Needless to say, I was hurt and greatly pained to see a responsible person like you with your balanced and justice-loving temperament make such charges against Mahatma Gandhi. To me it does not seem likely that you have sufficient material to justify this prejudicing the minds of the public of Maharashtra about Mahatma Gandhi. If you have any such material, please do show it to me, so that I may change my opinion about Mahatmaji. I do think that, knowingly or unknowingly, you are doing injustice to Mahatmaji. I hope you will give such explanation of the matter as you think proper.

Secondly, whenever, you speak of Maharashtra, what do you take to be the extent of the representative character of your statement? I will be obliged if you let me know your idea of the matter. I wish humbly to point out that it is not consistent with truth for you to say that your own opinions and beliefs are those of the whole of Maharashtra, or to do any thing which may give that impression to the public. You must admit that a large section of Maharashtra does not share your opinions. In view of the history of the last fifteen years and the events that have taken place in Maharashtra during that period. I think it is necessary that you observe proper restraint and take care that no misunderstanding about Maharashtra is unnecessarily created. I will be obliged if you offer some explanation in this matter also.

I am not writing this letter out of any personal consideration or prejudices. I make bold to address this letter to you with the only desire that no injustice should be done to anybody by our Province. Kindly reply.

Yours, etc.,
(Sd.) S. D. DEO,

(Kelkar's Reply To Deo)

Poona, the 16th July 1937.

To

Shankarrao Deo,

Received your letter. I, however, do not wish to pursue or develop this controversy by correspondence.

(Sd.) N. C. KELKAR.
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

SECRET

Bombay, S. B., 30th July 1937

Date of letter 27th July 1937.

From

M. K. Gandhi, Segaon, Wardha.

To

Shri M. N. Roy,
"Independent India ."
Bombay 4

Copy of a handwritten letter.

Dear Friend,

I entirely agree with you that every Congressman should fearlessly express the opinion he holds after due deliberation. You ask me how you can best serve the Congress. Since you are new to the organisation, I should say you would serve it best by mute service.

Segaon, Wardha.
The 27th July 1937.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The original has been allowed to go on without being photographed.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H III.

Copy of a letter written by Mahadeo Desai from Juhu addressed to Sarat Chandra Bose, 1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta, intercepted at Elgin Road P. O. at 4/30 a.m. on 21st December 1937 (bearing postal seal of Bombay, G. P. O., dated 19th December 1937, 3-15 p.m.).

Janki Kutir,
Juhu, the 18th December 1937.

My dear Sarat Babu,

I have your kind letter of the 15th instant. Bapu is very happy over all that is happening there. He wants you to win over Dr. Bidhan with your sweet reasonableness and he expects Ghanashyamdas to be of real help in this respect. I suppose the next time I hear from you I will have a full report of all that has happened between you and Dr. Bidhan.
I wish I could give you an encouraging report of Bapu's health. I am sorry there has been a slight set back. The thing is that no one has yet been able to lay down the real line of treatment that is suitable in his case. After all, all doctors are empirical. They try various hypothesis and the poor patient becomes the victim of their conjectures and experiments. This is not to disparage the present doctors who are devoting all their love and attention to him. But the present medical science is such.

I do not mind your having sent extracts from my letter to those in charge of the Hindusthan Standard. I am sorry. I have never met the two gentlemen you named and they are not likely to take criticism in good part. However, I do not mind their knowing what I feel about the general tone of their writings.

Bapu would surely love you to go to Juhu during the X mas holidays but I do not know what the doctors would say. I shall speak to them and as soon as I have ascertained their wishes, I shall let you have a telegram.

Yours affectionately,
(Sd.) MAHADEV.

I am sending no telegram. I happened to have a talk with Birlaji on the phone and I have asked him to convey to you my message.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

VERY SECRET

Special Branch Office,
14th, Lord Sinha Road,
Calcutta, the 4th January 1938

Memo No. 47760/F. 6006-III-C/Inter.

(Interception by the Inland/Memo of the 21st of December 1937.)

From
Mahadeo Desai,
Janki Kutir, Juhu,
Bombay.

To
Sarat Chandra Bose,
1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta.

Language, of letter—English.
Post office of interception—Elgin Road.
Date of letter —18th December 1937.
Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Wardha on the morning of April 28th and drove to the bungalow of Jinnah at Juhu. In the afternoon he had a private discussion with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the latter's residence, on the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity. No one else was present.

The discussion will be resumed on Mr. Gandhi's return from his Frontier Visit, on May 11th.

(Sd.) X X X

Supdt. S. B., C. I. D.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/ 36-37 /IV-1

Bombay, 28th April 1938.

GANDHI M. K.

28-4-38.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Wardha on the morning of April 28th and drove to the bungalow of Jinnah at Juhu. In the afternoon he had a private discussion with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the latter's residence, on the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity. No one else was present.

The discussion will be resumed on Mr. Gandhi's return from his Frontier Visit, on May 11th.

(Sd.) X X X

Supdt. S. B., C. I. D.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/ 36-37/ IV-1

Bombay, 28th April 1938.

Sir,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived from Wardha at 8-30 a.m. today by the Calcutta Mail and alighted at the Dadar Railway Station of the G. I. P. Railway. He was accompanied by his two Secretaries Mahadeo Desai and Pyarelal. He was received by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jinnah, the Honourable Mr. Munshi, Mrs. Munshi, S. K. Patil, Nagindas Master and a dozen other Congressmen. Mr. Gandhi drove to Juhu.

Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Mahadeo Desai went to the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah at Little Gibb's Road, Malabar Hill, at 11-30 a.m. and had conversation with Mr. Jinnah for about 3 hours. He left at about 2-30 p.m. for Juhu. It is learnt that they reviewed the Hindu-Muslim formula decided upon between Mr. Jinnah and Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 and both seemed to be in favour of that formula. Today's talk was only a formal and preliminary one and the conversation will be continued tomorrow and even after Mr. Gandhi's return from the N. W. F. tour. The talk between Messrs. Jinnah and Gandhi will be the ground on which the Congress and Muslim League Officials will consider the question of the Hindu-Muslim Unity.
After today's conversation was over, a joint statement was issued to the press as follows:—

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

(Sd.) x x x

28-4.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/36-37/IV-1

Bombay, 29th April 1938.

Following the Gandhi-Jinnah talks yesterday informal discussions were going on between Congress leaders in one hand League circles on the other.

The real object of the meeting it is definitely understood to arrange a Round Table Conference of Muslim leaders and members of the working committee, about the middle of May when the working committee meets in Bombay. It is reliably learnt Gandhi has given full assurance to Jinnah that he would advise the Congress to get his majority of the points accepted.

The Joint Conference will last for days together and it is expected a definite and lasting formula will be evolved. Besides Muslim leaders of Praja and Unionist Party are expected to be present.

Gandhiji leaving for Peshawar at 9-30 p.m. by Frontier Mail and returning back on 10th May. Subhash Bose is also expected to come on that day.
Along with the correspondence between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Nawab Ismail, the General Secretary, A.I.C.C. has also released to the press the first letter Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah from Tithal (Gujarat) on 22nd May 1937 in response to a special message sent to him by Mr. M. A. Jinnah through Mr. B. G. Kher and he has also released the telegram from Gandhi to Mr. Jinnah from Calcutta on 9th April 1938.

Mahatma’s letter

Mahatma Gandhi’s letter reads.

"Mr. Kher has given me your message. I wish I could do something, but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity is as bright as ever; only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress, I cry out to God for light."

Mahatma’s telegram

Gandhiji’s telegram is to the effect: "I am likely to be in Delhi about 12th. If at all possible, I should like to meet you there instead of in Bombay in order to save time and energy. If agreeable, Moulana will accompany me."

The A.I.C.C. will shortly release in pamphlet form all the correspondence that has passed between Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Nawab Ismail.—A.P.

Mahatma Dictates Letter to Jinnah.

"A UNITED PRESS"

Telegram says:—

Mahatma Gandhi had a full three hours discussion with that members of the Working Committee and left for Shegaon at 5-45 p.m. He will come again tomorrow, as the C. P. question could not be finally decided to-day.
The Congress President told the waiting journalists that the Working Committee meeting would continue till tomorrow evening.

On being pressed to indicate the subjects discussed with Gandhiji today, Mr. Bose remarked: "Having got Mahatmaji in our midst, we tried to cover as much ground as possible."

Mahatma's Draft.

It is gathered that Gandhiji dictated a letter that is to be forwarded to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, about the communal problem. The letter, it is understood, delivered that the Congress is unable to accept the claim put forward by Mr. Jinnah that the All India Muslim League should be recognised as the sole representative organisation and mouthpiece of the entire Muslim Population of India.

After having said this, the letter is concluded in such terms as may not be construed as indicating a desire on the part of the Working Committee to bang the door against continuance of further negotiations for Hindu-Muslim settlement if Mr. Jinnah deems it necessary. United Press.

EXPRESS LETTER

The Assistant Director (P), Intelligence Bureau (Home Department), Government of India, New Delhi.

To

2. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Bombay.

Has Gandhi ever applied for a passport to your Government? If so, did he claim to be a Rajkot subject? Have you information of his place of birth?

(Sd.) X X X
Assistant Director (P).

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Express from file No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.

Bombay, the 9th April 1939.

D.C.P., S. B.

Sir,

The attached papers are submitted under instructions from Superintendent, S. B. The original passport application is available at the Passport Office, Secretariat.

Inspector S. B.

The 10th April 1939
The Assistant to D. I. G., C. I. D., sent an express D. O. letter of Poona 11 p.m. 8th April 1939 with a special messages, requesting to be informed if Mr. M. K. Gandhi ever applied for a passport in this province and whether he claimed to be a Rajkot subject.

A D. O. reply has been sent for the messenger, enclosing copy of the passport application of 28th August 1931 and adding that we have no other such application on our file though possibly Mr. Gandhi may have made an application years before, while going to South Africa or England, but as the passport office was closed it was not possible to obtain any further information. As requested by Mr. Hotson his original D. O. has been returned to him.

(Sd.) x x x
9-4-39.

We may reply on the lines of my note. Mr. Joshi the Union Secretary H. D. informed me on phone this afternoon that they had not been able to find out any other application than the 1931 one. When he might have gone in 1895 he may have applied but the records may have been destroyed. Still a search is being made. No passports were required before and he did not go between 1915 and 1931 from this country if I am right.

(Sd.) X X X
10-4

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001/H/IV-838.

SECRET

Head Police Office,
Bombay, the 12th April 1939.

No. 1936-H/3001.

My dear Johnston,

Please refer your Express Letter No. 8/P. F./39-II, dated the 8th April 1939.

I enclose herewith a copy of Mr. Gandhi’s passport application dated 28th August 1931 as well as a copy of the telegram dated 27th August 1931, from Home, Simla, to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay advising the latter to arrange for one for him as he had none. This was in connection with his visit to England for the Round Table Conference. His place of birth was then given as Porbander. It is known here that he was born at Porbander and educated at Rajkot.

We have no particulars of any other passport which he may have taken out for his visit to South Africa or other countries.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X
11-4.

To

M. K. Johnston, Esquire, I.P.
Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau,
Home Department, Government of India,
New Delhi.
A deputation of the Kolhapur State Praja Parishad headed by Mr. Ratnappa Dharmappa Kumbhar waited on Mahatma Gandhi on Tuesday. It consisted of Messrs Kumbhar, Jagdale, Ghugre, Ladage and Kodolikar.

The following are, in effect, some of the questions and answers between Gandhiji and the Deputation:

Deputation:—Even in spite of the fact that at present the Kolhapur State authorities are not in a mood to negotiate with the Parishad workers in view of your latest statement on the Travancore State, should negotiations be started with the State authorities?

Mahatma Gandhi:—My statement is meant only for the Travancore State. I know more than any one that the State authorities in any State are never willing to have negotiations with their people. This I have realised much more from the talks I had with Mr. Virawalla in Rajkot. Negotiations should always be started in an honourable way and as such for negotiations there should be a suitable and proper atmosphere. If that is not possible in your State it is far better for you not to start negotiation at an immature time. I found that opportunity in Travancore and I have issued that statement concerning Travancore only.

Notice served

Deputation:—What should those workers do on whom notices have been served by the Durbar directing them to present themselves before the Court on pain of losing their properties through confiscation

Mahatma Gandhi:—There is nothing objectionable for the workers to present themselves before the Court. If by disobeying such orders the properties were confiscated, it would be noble to remain outside the State and to work for their ideals like Garibaldi, Mazzini etc. It is a sin even to hold properties in a State where no law prevails. Here you
may think that the people would think a different way about your staying outside the State and get demoralised. But if you really lose your property and if the people are convinced that you work sincerely for them, you need not fear demoralisation of any kind in them. You should always be sure that selfsacrifice carries public support.

During his talk with the deputations Mahatmaji often pointed out that he would not object to taking direct steps of civil resistance if really any State people were ready for it and added that he always recommended it. But he would not be willing to allow any State people to launch Satyagraha unless he was satisfied that they were fully prepared for it.

Gandhiji advised the Deputationists to wait on Pandit Jawaharlal also, they are meeting him tomorrow. United Press.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001/H/V.

(THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE Dated 11th June 1939.)

Leaders Are Free To Choose Their Course.

Gandhiji Denies Stopping C. D. Movement In States.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in the current issue of "Harijan".

A Cutch worker came in and said "some leaders in Cutch are telling the people there that but for your stopping civil disobedience they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it."

I must deny having stopped civil disobedience in Cutch or for that matter elsewhere. All I gave was my opinion. I had told Shri Mulraj who had come to consult me that the workers should weight my opinion in the light of their own personal experience of things and adopt it only if it coincided with their own experience. It should be noted that my opinion was not given publicly.

If it was not acceptable to the local leaders, it need never have been published. Even now in Cutch as elsewhere responsible leaders are free to act according to their own judgment.

We should never develop the requisite qualities of leadership, unless leaders shoulder responsibility and even dare to commit mistakes in acting contrary to the advice of persons like me. Here there would be no question of indiscipline, for I am not in active command anywhere. I give advice as an expert when reference is made to me.

Those who seek my advice will wrong themselves and those whom lead, if they will suppress their own judgment when it seems contrary to mine especially when mine is not based on direct local knowledge.
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/V.*

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, dated 26-6-1939.)

"ENDING IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION IN INDIA"

Need of Active Form Of Satyagraha.

**MR. GANDHI ON HIS STATEMENTS ABOUT STATES.**

"India is facing an impossible situation, and I feel within me that some active form of satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation.

"There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time."

This statement is made by Mr. Gandhi in the course of an article in Saturday's Harijan.

Under the caption "Its Implications," Mr. Gandhi writes:—

I am sorry that my recent statements about States have perplexed even those who have hitherto had no difficulty in understanding my writings or my actions.

But the Rajkot statements, my actions in Rajkot, and the statement on Travancore have made 'confusion worse confounded.' Pyarelal and laterly Mahadev have been manfully trying to interpret for the readers of Harijan both my writings and doings.

I know that they somewhat helped to clear misunderstandings. But I observe that something is required from me directly. I must, therefore, try to give the implications as I understand them of my recent writings and actions.

I had better first say what they do not imply; Thus my ideas on civil disobedience—individual, group or mass—have not changed, nor have my view about the relations between the Congress and the Princes and the people changed. Nor has my view undergone any change that it is essential for the Paramount Power to do its duty towards the people of the States, a duty which it has woefully neglected all these years.

"Act of Violence"

My recantation had reference only to my distrust in God in whose name the fast was undertaken and my seeking to supplement His work by Viceregal intervention. For me to rely upon the viceroy, instead of God or in addition to God, to act upon the Thakore Saheb, was an act of pure violence which the fast was never conceived to imply or use in the remotest degree.

The positive implication of the Rajkot chapter in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1920, marvellous though it was not unadulterated. The results though brilliant would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete.

"Act of Violence"
A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent reaction upon the opponent. But I have observed that the movement in the States has produced violent reaction on the princes and their advisers. They are filled with distrust of the Congress. They do not want what they call interference from it. In some cases the very name 'Congress' is anathema. This should not have been the case.

The value of the discovery lies in its reaction upon me. I have definitely stiffened in my demands upon would be Satyagrahis. If my stiffness reduces the number to an insignificant figure, I should not mind. If Satyagraha is a universal principle of universal application, I must find an effective method of action even though a handful.

NEW LIGHT

And when I say, I see the new light only dimly, I mean that I have not yet found with certainty how a handful can act effectively. It may be, as has happened throughout my life, that I shall know the next step only after the first has been taken. I have faith that when the time for action has arrived, the plan will be found ready.

But the impatient critic will say, 'The time has always been there for action; only you have been found unready!' I cannot plead guilty, I know, to the contrary. I have been for some years saying that here is no warrant for resumption of Satyagraha.

The reasons are plain.

The Congress has ceased to be an effective vehicle for launching nationwide Satyagraha. It has become unwieldy, it has corruption in it, there is indiscipline among Congressmen, and rival groups have come into being which would radically change the Congress programme if they could secure a majority.

That they have failed hitherto to secure it is no comfort to me. The majority has no living faith in its own programme. In any case Satyagraha through a majority is not a feasible proposition. The whole weight of the Congress should be behind any nation-wide Satyagraha.

When there is the evergrowing communal tension. Final Satyagraha is inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Lastly, there is the provincial autonomy. I adhere to my belief that we have not done anything like justice to the task undertaken by the Congress in connection with it.

It must be confessed that the Governors have on the whole played the game. There has been very little interference on their part with the ministerial actions. But the interference, sometimes irritating, has come from Congressmen and Congress Organisations. Popular violence there should not have been whilst the Congressmen were in office.
Much of the ministerial energy has been devoted to dealing with the demands and opposition of Congressmen. If the ministers are unpopular, they can and should be dismissed. Instead they have been allowed to function without the active co-operation of many Congressmen.

It will be contrary to every canon of Satyagraha to launch upon the extreme step till every other is exhausted. Such haste will itself constitute violence.

It may be said in reply with some justification that if all the conditions I have mentioned are insisted upon civil disobedience may be well-nigh impossible. Is that a valid objection? Every measure carries with it conditions for its adoption. Satyagraha is no exception.

But I feel within me that some active form of Satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation. India is facing an impossible situation. There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time. I must examine this position on a future occasion.

DEMAND OF STATES' PEOPLE

Mr. Gandhi's Advice.

Writing in Saturday's Harijan under the caption "How Far" Mr. Gandhi says: —

With reference to my advice to the States' people to lower their demands if necessary, a correspondent asks, How are the people to go and what reduction, if any, is suggested or contemplated, for instance, in the Jaipur demand which has been practically framed by you?'

This question would never have arisen if my language had been properly attended to. In the first place. I have added the proviso if 'necessary.' This must be clearly proved and each committee should judge the necessity and the extent of the reduction.

In the second place, there can be no question of reduction where the people are ready for the exercise of the powers demanded and for the sacrifice involved in the development and the consolidation of the strength to enforce the demand.

Take the case of Rajkot itself. Award or no award, if the people in general had the capacity for the required measure of sacrifice and if they had been ready for swaraj, nothing would have kept them from their prize.

MISTAKE ADMITTED

"It would be wrong to say or believe that but for my mistake the people of Rajkot would have got what they wanted. My mistake has been admitted. But it must not be held responsible for the failure of the famous notification.

The talk of demoralisation resulting from my 'bad handling' of the situation is nonsensical. In satyagraha there is no such thing as demoralisation.
Those who are truthful, non-violent and brave do not cease, to be so because of the stupidity of their leader. Of course, here would be demoralisation or rather exposure if the three virtues were put on for the occasion and were to fail on the real test being applied. People who are strong by nature displace weak leaders and go about their business as if they never needed a leader. If they needed one, they would soon elect a better one.

"Workers in the States should try to understand the Rajkot case, if they will profit by it. If it is too complicated for them, they should leave it alone and go forward as if it had not happened.

Nothing will be more misleading than to think that before my so-called mishandling of the Rajkot case, the Princes were so trembling in their shoes that they were about to abdicate their powers in favour of their people.

What they were doing before I even went to Rajkot was to confer among themselves as to the ways and means of meeting the menace, as they thought it to be to their very existence.

"UNHOLY COMBINATION"

We know what Limbdi did. The talk of combining with the Muslims the Girasias and even the depressed classes against the Congress workers was in the air. My action has resulted in the discovery of the unholy combination. A true diagnosis is three-fourths the remedy.

The workers are today in a position to devise remedies to combat the combination. It simply resolves itself into the necessity of Congressmen or satyagrahis gaining control over the forces arrayed against them.

They are as much out to gain liberty for the Muslims, Girasias, depressed classes and even the Princes as for themselves. The satyagrahis have to show by cold reasoning and their conduct that the Princes cannot remain autocrats for all time and that it is to their interest to become trustees of their people instead of remaining their masters.

In other words, what I have done by correcting myself in Rajkot is to show the true way to satyagrahis. In following it, they may find it necessary to lower their immediate demands but only so as to really hasten their progress to their goal.

Therefore, there can be no lowering out of weakness. Every lowering must be out of a due appreciation of the local situation and the capacity of the workers to cope with it.

NO ROOM FOR ROUT

"Here there is no room for demoralisation and a rout. In cases like Jaipur, of course, there can be no question of lowering. The demand itself is the lowest pitch. There is no room in it for lowering anything. In essence, it is one for civil liberty.

Civil liberty consistent with the observance of non-violence is the first step towards Swaraj. It is the breath of political and social life. It is the foundation of freedom. There is no room there for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. I have never heard of water being diluted.
Another question has been raised by another correspondent. He says, "You expect us to work by negotiation. But if there is no wish on the other side and the only wish is to humiliate the party of freedom, what is to be done?"

Of course, nothing is to be done except waiting and preparing for suffering and promotion of constructive work.

The absence of wish for negotiation by authority may mean despise or distrust of the party of freedom in either case silent work is the remedy. Negotiation has been mentioned as a substitute for the ignoring of, i.e., the despite of, the constituted authority whether it is the Dewan or any other. And what I have pleaded for is desire and readiness for negotiation. It is not inconceivable that the stage of negotiation may never be reached. If it is not, it must be for the fault of the satyagrahis.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 IHV.*

Bombay, the 6th July 1939.

Sir,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by his Secretary Mahadeobhai Desai left for Taxila by the Frontier Mail holding Inter Class Ticket Nos. 30172 and 30173 last night. The following were present at the platform to see him off:—

(About 30 persons were there.)

1. Vallabhbhai Patel,
2. Nagindas T. Master,
3. R. D. Birla,
4. The Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi,
5. Jairamdas Daulatram.
6. S. K. Patil; Tricumji,
7. Mathuradas Tricumji,
8. Dahyabhai Patel,
9. Miss Maniben Patel,
10. Surji Vallabhdas,
11. Devidas Gandhi, and
12. Two Chinese Monks.

Reported by P. C. Tanaji.
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE
BOMBAY STATE
FILE No. 3001/H/VI.
1940

SUBJECT:

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001/H/VI.
(The Bombay Chronicle, dated the 29th February 1940.)

SHOE HURLED AT GANDHIJI

Patna, February 28.
A shoe is stated to have been hurled at Gandhiji at Lilooah Station, a few miles from Calcutta, last night, by an unknown person when Gandhiji left for Patna. The shoe, however, missed Gandhiji but struck Mr. Mahadev Desai, his secretary, who has kept it with him.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001 /H/VI.

Copy/26-8-40.

NLT OL 1 WARDHAGANJ 26 IRC 65
NLT CARLHEATH FRIENDSHOUSE EUSTONROAD LONDON SITUATION SERIOUS CONGRESSMEN FEEL GOVERNMENT REPRESSION AIMED AT CONGRESS STOP THIS WILL MAKE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE INEVITABLE THOUGH TRYING AVERT CRISIS MYSELF MAY BE INVOLVED STOP POLICY NONEMBARRASSMENT ADOPTED MY INITIATIVE STOP IT MAY NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE USED TO CRUSH CONGRESS STOP WILL DO NOTHING WITHOUT TRYING SEE VICEROY STOP FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONGRESS AND ME BEING ELIMINATED.

GANDHI

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001 /H/VI.

Bombay, 12th September 1940.

Sir,

I beg to report that Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Kasturbai, Mahadeo Desai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived at Dadar Railway Station G.I.P. Rly. from Wardha by the Calcutta Mail via Nagpur at about 8-42 a.m. on 12th September 1940.
About 100 persons were present at the platform to receive the party, including the following.

1. Vallabhbhai Patel,
2. Bhulabhai J. Desai,
3. K. M. Munshi.
4. B. G Kher,
5. Mathuradas Tricumji,
6. Dr. Jivraj N. M. Mehta.
7. Nagindas T. Master,
9. Dr. Vaidya,
10. Sunderdas Morarji,
11. Dayabhai V. Patel,
12. Bimal Sharma,
13. B. N. Maheshwari,
15. Mrs. Lilawati Munshi.

The party then drove to the residence of Mr. G. D. Birla at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay. Nothing untoward happened.

(Sd.) X X X
12-9-40.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from file No. 3001/H/VI.

BE FULLY NATIONALIST OR FRANKLY COMMUNAL
Gandhiji’s Advice to Master Tara Singh.
"You have nothing in common with Congress"
Correspondence Released.

LAHORE, Sept. 13.

Full and free recruitment of the Sikh to the Indian Army is advocated in the course of a letter written last month to the Congress President and Mahatma Gandhi by Master Tara Singh, a well-known Akali leader and President of the Shromani Gurdwara Prabendhak Committee who has resigned from the Congress following differences with Congress leaders.

With the permission of Mahatma Gandhi, Master Tara Singh has released for publication the correspondence which recently passed between the two.
MASTER TARASINGH’S LETTER

Master Tara Singh in his letter dated August 9, 1940, said, "It is my considered opinion that even if the Congress is compelled to have recourse to Civil Disobedience to exert moral pressure on the Government, it should do nothing to prevent recruitment to the army, but confine its activities to spheres which do not infringe the morals of our troops or dissipate our powers of defence."

"I am writing preoccupation of wresting power from Britain we must not close our eyes to dangers internal and external, to which our country would be exposed, if England fails in the war".

POSITION OF SIKHS

" I am writing to you " added Master Tara Singh, to make the position of my community and that of my own clear. I am definitely of opinion that Sikhs should join the army in as large numbers as possible in the interest of their motherland and their own. They can only then maintain their position in any Government. I cannot be a party to anything which is likely to weaken the position of my community. To be strong is the essence of independence.

FULL RECRUITMENT ADVOCATED.

' In my anxiety to help the Congress and remove the last obstacle in the path of recruitment to the army, I made a conditional offer to provide a hundred thousand recruits in case a Congress Government agreement was reached. The chances of such an agreement appear to be far from encouraging, while the world situation is worsening. I, therefore, see no alternative but to support full and free recruitment of the Sikhs to the army.'

GANDHIJI’S REPLY

While no reply was received from the Congress President, Mahatma Gandhi in a letter dated Sewagram (Wardha C. P.) 15th August, wrote to Master Tara Singh as follows:

"Dear Sardarji.

I am glad you have sent me a copy of your letter to Maulana Sahib.

NOTHING IN COMMON WITH CONGRESS

As I have told you, you have nothing in common with the Congress, nor Congress with you. You believe in the rule of the sword: The Congress does not.

You have all the time 'my community' in mind. The Congress have no community but the whole nation. Your civil disobedience is purely a branch of violence.

...... I am quite clear in my mind that being in the Congress you.......weaken 'your community' and weaken the Congress with your mentality.
LOOKING UP TO BRITISH

You have to offer your services to the British Government unconditionally and look to it for protection of the rights of your community. You do not suppose for one moment that the British will take your recruits on your conditions. They will commit suicide if they did.

NO MIDDLE COURSE

You have to be either fully Nationalist or frankly Communal, and therefore depend upon the British or other foreign power.

"This is the considered opinion of one, who loves you and the Sikhs as he loves himself and in reality more, for I have ceased to love myself."

Yours Sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

PREPARE TO MAINTAIN INDEPENDENCE

In the course of his letter dated 9th August Master Tarasingh says:

'As we claim to be arbiters of our own future, we must do all we can to help the mobilisation of our man power and our resources with one object only that whatever the result of war, we may be able to attain and maintain independence.

'I am, therefore of opinion that we should not only do nothing to prevent recruitment but demand that India should be in a position to produce the modern armament in factories under Indian control only to leave the responsibility of defence to Britain is to accept continuances of dependence.

INDIA'S OPPORTUNITY

It is Britain's interest at the moment, continues Master Tarasingh to prepare India for her own defence. England is no more in a position to spare any force for Indian defence. It is a rare opportunity for us to raise India from a position of helplessness to a position to be able to help herself. It is the interest of England to defeat her enemies by raising India to a position which England could never have contemplated before.

It is in the interest of India to make the most of the opportunity which circumstances have created.'

SAME VIEWS AS IN 1939.

In a second letter sent to Mahatma Gandhi yesterday Master Tara Singh says:

'You say that I have to be either fully Nationalist or frankly Communal. I do not mind any epithet you choose for me. I am frankly what I was in 1939 when you recognised the Sikh community and assured the Sikhs that no communal settlement would be agreed to by the Congress which does not give full satisfaction ' inter alia ' to the Sikhs. If you have changed your position it cannot affect my frankness. I am as good a Nationalist ask a Congressman as I was in 1939.'
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/ VI.

(The Bombay Chronicle, dated 6-10-40)

Mahatma Unburdens His Soul

Immediate Issue Not Independence But Right to Exist

CONGRESS CONTENT TO REMAIN IN OPPOSITION

British Disinclination To Do Right Thing, Bar to Freedom

Divergence In Simla Talks Wholly Avoidable

WARDHAGANJ, Oct. 5.

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement to the press:

"In the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and myself announcing the breakdown in the talk I have said in my letter that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter".

"BEFORE I DO SO I THINK IT IS NECESSARY FOR MY PURPOSE TO SAY A FEW WORDS REGARDING LORD LINLITHGOW. HE IS STRAIGHT IN HIS TALK AND ALWAYS DELIBERATE AND ECONOMICAL IN HIS LANGUAGE. HE IS NEVER EQUIVOCA. NEVER LEAVES YOU IN DOUBT AS TO HIS MEANING. HE CONVEYS THE MOST UNPALATABLE DECISION WITH A CALMNESS AND COURTESY WHICH FOR THE MOMENT MAKE YOU THINK THAT YOU HAVE HEARD NO HARSH OR HARD DECISION. HE LISTENS TO YOUR ARGUMENT WITH A PATIENCE AND ATTENTION I HAVE NEVER KNOWN ANY OTHER VICEROY OR HIGH FUNCTIONARY TO SHOW IN AN EQUAL MEASURE. HE IS NEVER RUFFLED, NEVER DISCOURTEOUS."

With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so. There is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable. He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact British satraps decided that there should be no such Pacts. Whatever they wanted to do they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter. He and I have become friends never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

"DIVERGENCE WHOLLY AVOIDABLE"

"Holding such an opinion about the Viceroy it pains me to have to relate, what I must, my impression of the talks which have ended in a divergence which, in my opinion, was wholly avoidable; and acceptance of my proposal would have been no less beneficial to England than to India."
"I went to Simla in the capacity of a representative and as a friend. As friend I presented him with my doubts as to certain acts of the British Government. To have them dissolved was necessary to enable me to determine my mental attitude which to me is more than any visible act.

I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy and then the Secretary of State of want of agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people.

CLAIM OF CONGRESS

I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, where as the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organisation striving to represent India as a whole. And, therefore, the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a National Assembly elected on the basis of the broadest franchise. It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate so far as special Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore, it was wrong to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safeguards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs. The Princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by special treaty obligations. I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress, and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The Princes were not like other parties free to conclude any agreement with the Congress even if they wished. Moreover the Treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the Princes equally compel them to protect the rights of the people.

PRINCES' NEGLECT OF DUTY

But it has been abundantly proved that the British had rarely interfered with the Princes purely on behalf of the people. If they had been as careful of the people's right as they were bound by Treaties to be, the people's condition would not have been as miserable as it is today. Had they been true to the Treaties of their own making, the people of States India should be more advanced than those of British India. I cited some telling illustrations of this neglect of duty. The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress and that the Congress in infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided into as many castes as the caste Hindu society. No single Scheduled Class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes among them.

NO SATISFACTION ON POINTS RAISED

I had sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion.
I can have no grievance about his disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument.

"THE COLD RESERVE"

There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what inferences you like, while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that what is meant by the "Steel Frame". For me this side of British policy has been the least attractive. I had hoped against the warning of friends that I might be able to break through this Steel wall of Reserve, and get at the naked Truth. But the Imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle.

KNOWING NO DEFEAT

Nevertheless I will not accept defeat. I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the Bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing. The unreality of the British reasons for refusal to treat India as a free country was not my only grouse. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy.

FIGHT ONLY ON WELL-DEFINED ISSUES

There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contributions. He has promised to examine all cases of hardships and all other difficulties. My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight if there was to be a fight only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I want to enter upon the fight with the hope that its very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations of the earth.

POWER FOR WHOLE NATION

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power. I told His Excellency the Viceroy in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation. Therefore, he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representation of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned, and so long as the Government machinery has to subserve imperialist ends. The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right to exist, i.e., the right of self-expression, which broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that that condition answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.—A.P.
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/VI.

TELEGRAM (State)

No. S.D./W-3968. Dated 26th December 1940.

To

All District Magistrates.

(By hand to the District Magistrate, Bombay Suburban District).

Important. An open letter from Mister Gandhi to Hitler was submitted for press advice at Delhi and was not passed for publication by Chief Press Adviser. Stop. Suggest you inform all Editors in your area informally and if possible verbally.

— Provincial Press Adviser —

No. S.D./W-3969.
Home Department (Political) War.
Bombay Castle, 26th December 1940.

Copies forwarded with compliments for information to:—

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,
The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.
The Senior Censor, Bombay,
The Special Press Adviser, Bombay,
The Director of Information, Bombay,
The Oriental Translator to Government,
The Secretary to the Governor of Bombay.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,
(Sd.) X X X

for Joint Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, and Provincial Press Adviser,

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.
(Copy)

Sevagram,
via Wardha, C. P. India.
3,1-12-40.

My dear Muriel,

You have been more regular in your correspondence than we folks here, who as usual, are fighting an unequal battle for our existence. Bapu has reduced the whole national demand to a simple one of liberty of speech and pen within the limit of non-violence, but that too is being denied to us and the best in the land are already imprisoned in vindication of their
right. The struggle is necessarily limited to a few chosen people who satisfy the stringent conditions imposed and so there is little excitement and no fireworks. But the moral of it seems for the moment to be lost on those in authority and so it may have to be a prolonged fight. But liberty always everywhere has expected a heavy price.

The Harijan has been extinct for over two months now. You can imagine what it must mean to Bapuji for whom deliverance of the message of Ahimsa seems to be the only excuse for existence. While the Britisher sees this, they would like to limit the scope and extent of the message and there is the rub.

You sent with your last letter a cheque for £. 2 and yet you wrote in the blank left for the sum to be written down in words—Five Pounds: Your letter gives no clue to the solution of the riddle for all you say therein is this: "I am overjoyed at the memorial to C. F. A. and have great pleasure in sending 2 weeks' salary to it". As I do not know your week's salary I could not tell the bank how much you might have meant. But I have banked the cheque nevertheless, hoping that it could be cashed at least for the lesser amount.

For the rest all is well. Bapu is burning the candle at both ends as usual but God is great and he keeps him. He will keep him as long as he needs to use him as an instrument for his purposes.

Love Yours,
Mahadeo Desai.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

SECRET
4004/1/209/IN
Censorship Office, Bombay,
January 18th, 1941.

MEMO

Enclosed is a letter dated 31st December 1940 from Mahadeo Desai, to Miss. Muriel Lester, 2929 Broadway, New York.

We take the view that this letter should be stopped. Please let us know whether you agree.

I think it can go.

(Sd.) x x x

Captain
for O. C. Censor St.
Bombay.

(Sd.) X X X
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

SECRET

No. 657/A/366, dated the 31st January 1941.

To

The Officer Commanding,
Censor Station, Bombay.

SUBJECT.—Letter from Mahadeo Desai to Miss. Muriel Lester, New York.

Sir.

With reference to your secret Memo No. 4004/1/209/IN, dated the 18th January 1941, I have the honour to return herewith the letter from Mahadeo Desai to Miss Muriel Lester, 2929, Broadway, New York and to state that it may please be allowed to go on.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) x x x

Sir.

The letter really does not contain anything objectionable. Mr. Mahadeo Desai, gives only the bare facts of the present movement due to the restrictions imposed upon the Satyagrahis by Mr. Gandhi and observes that those in authority do not understand the moral of the present phase, for the moment. The letter can be allowed to go on.

__________

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

SECRET

G/L-13. Criminal Investigation Department,
Special Branch, U. P.
Bombay/Lucknow, dated the 11th April 1941

2. Date of censorship—7-4-1941.
3. Postmarks—Allahabad, Mail Agent, 7 April 1941, 9-30 a.m.
4. Sender's name and address—Shivaji, 19, Edmonstone Road
   Allahabad.
5. Date of letter—6-4-1941.
My dear Mahadev Bhai,

Many thanks for your letter enclosing Bapu's note. That should comfort my grandfather. I am so grateful to Bapu for it.

Father is somewhat better. The temperature has gone down but not disappeared altogether. Two more teeth will be extracted tomorrow. They are all infected perhaps that is causing the temperature. It gets to about 98.6 or 7 in the evening—it is about seven points more than the normal temperature. My anxiety is that there might not be other complications in his present state of health. It is getting quite hot here.

Dr. Sapru meets the Viceroy tomorrow. I am hoping for the best. He did receive Jayakar's letter three days back. The letter was fairly long. I saw it. It gave the gist of your talks with him. He said he had spoken to the Governor of Bombay who would get into touch with the Viceroy and know whether he could move in the matter. Placed as he is he must get the sanction. But now I feel things are running in the right direction and the needful is being done. Jayakar may be more helpful after he gets the sanction.

I do not think I was wrong in putting the interpretation I did in Bapu's message contained in your letter, to Dr. Sapru, Jayakar's letter has confirmed me in my belief that I was right.

I think Shrinivasan must have seen Bapu by now. I had a mind to accompany Sir Tej to Delhi, but then I gave up the idea.

Maulana Azad is in the same barrack with father. He is doing well. Hope this finds you well. Please convey my respectful regards to Bapu.

Yours V. Sincerely,

(Sd.) Shivaji.
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /H/II.

(P. 107.)

SECRET

4004/2/427/IN

Censorship Office, Bombay,
14th April 1941.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,
C.I.D., Special Branch II,
Bombay.

MEMO

Attached is a letter from Horace G. Alexander, Woodbrooke, Lilly Oak, Birmingham 29, to Mahadev Desai, Segaon, Wardha, C. P. India, for your information.

We do not propose reporting this letter to A. H. Q., should you consider any portion should be reported to D.I.B., you will no doubt do so direct.

(Sd.) X X X

Captain,
for O. C. Censor St.
Bombay.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.


Dear Mahadev,

John Alexander arrived here yesterday, and at the very moment of his arrival, Agatha was here with us for the week end and we were talking together. You can imagine how thrilled we were: Although our grand father was a Quaker, we are net related to each other. We shall certainly hope to keep in touch. It was fine to get direct personal news of you. Thank you very much for your letter and the document you sent which we are very glad to have.

We had been celebrating the Indian Independence Day here in Birmingham earlier in the afternoon.

I have been meaning to write to you about your biography of Abul Kalam Azad. I am sure it ought to do a lot of good. I wrote a short preface to it and Unwins promise its publication any day now.
You will know how sad we are that there should be this fresh conflict just now. But we are confident, as you are, that truth cannot be silenced and Ahinsa cannot be smothered. We must strive to use these weapons more faithfully, more ardently, and that men are converted in their hearts and true friendship between India and England and indeed between all nations will then be possible.

Olive keeps fairly well. Thank you. And since bomb fell near us last November and broke some of our windows we are living in Woodbrooke itself.

Rumour says that you are in Jail. I only hope that it is not true. Still more I hope and pray that all will soon be released. Love to all friends.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) Horace G. Alexander.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

Sir,

With reference to the attached, I beg to report that the letter addressed to Mahadev Desai contains nothing interesting except that the writer Horace G. Alexander received from him through John Alexander "a letter and document" and about 'the publication of Abul Kalam Azad's biography by Mahadev Desai.

In any case as the letter is seen by us, it would be as well that we send a copy of the same to D.I.S., who may perhaps be interested in the Foreign contacts of Mr. Gandhi and others of his fold.

I attach a copy of the letter for our record and ready-reference.

Draft letters to the D.I.B. & Military Censor is put up below for approval.

(Sd.) x x x

16-4.

SECRET

No. 2236/H/3001, dated the 17th April 1941.

My dear Ahmed,

I send you herewith, for your information, a copy of a letter, dated the 27th January 1941, from one Horace G. Alexander to Mahadev Desai, which was seen by the Military Censor here.

Yours etc.,

(Sd.) X X X

16-4.
P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy of an English letter, dated 23rd April 1941, bearing the Postal Seal of issue, Sevagram,
from:—

M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram.

To

Shree A. GUHA, B.P.C.C.

32, Upper Circular Road,
Calcutta.

Dear Guha,

Your letter dated 18th instant. I shall do what I can. But relief by way of clothing or food has
not much attraction for me. The problem is why do riots take place in spite of Congressmen
functioning in all the three places—Dacca, Ahmedabad and Bombay. Congress influence is
strongest in Ahmedabad, then in Bombay. You are under a handicap. Why were so many thousand
people so helpless as to fail to defend their homes? They could have done it either violently or non-
violently, Congressmen must not be satisfied with mere relief work. That is for social-workers who
have specialised in the field, such as the marwari relief society. Congressmen have to find out the
why and the way to combat the evil. You are a seasoned worker, no armchair man, I would like you
to apply your mind to the task. We may not expect Governments to help in such things. If there are
people who can be easily frightened, there must be those who will put them in fright.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
BOMBAY STATE
FILE No. 3001/H/VII.
1941

SUBJECT:

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VII.

STRICTLY SECRET

No. 8/P. F. (D)/41.

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU, HOME DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

New Delhi, dated the 19th April 1941,

CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM

In December, 1940, Gandhi drafted an "open letter" to Hitler setting out the Congress attitude towards the war in terms which were regarded as objectionable. Permission for its transmission or publication was refused and Gandhi, thereupon undertook not to pursue the matter further.

2. Information has now been received that more than 200 copies of a leaflet containing an Urdu translation of the letter have been distributed by one Shri Kishen in Delhi recently. We have no information about the translator or publisher of the leaflet, but it is reported that copies of it were brought to Delhi by Shambu Dayal of Meerut and handed over to Shri Kishen, and that on receipt of a further message from the U.P., the letter left Delhi on the 3rd April to distribute the leaflets in the Rohtak and Hissar districts in the Punjab.

3. Provincial S. Bs./C. I. Ds. are requested to keep a lookout for the appearance in their jurisdictions of this or similar leaflets and to let us have immediately any information of interest that may come to notice in this connexion. In particular we would like to know whether the leaflet has been published under Gandhi's authority and who the translators and publishers of the leaflets may be. (Can S. B., U. P., add anything to the information contained in paragraph 2 above ?)

(Sd.) X X X

Assistant Director (S).
To  
C.I.D.s. Assam, Delhi, N.W.F.P., Poona, Orissa, Sind, S.S.P., Quetta.  

Sir,  
With reference to the attached Circular Memorandum from the D.I.B., I beg to report that no leaflet either in Urdu or in any other language containing or purporting to contain an 'open letter' from Gandhi to Hitler has come to notice in Bombay City.  
(Sd.) x x x  
1-5.

Sir,  
No such letter has so far came to the notice of this branch.  
(Sd.) X X X  
1-5-41.  
Inspector of Police,  
Labour Branch, C.I.D., Bombay.

Sir,  
No leaflets of the kind mentioned in the attached circular memorandum have so far come to the notice of the M. Branch.  
(Sd.) X X X  
1-5.  
M. & B.: Draft reply.  
(Sd.) X X X  
1-5.

Sir,  
A Draft reply on reverse for favour of approval.  
(Sd.) X X X  
1-5.

INTERIM REPORT  
SECRET  
No. 2541/A/358  
Bombay, 2nd May 1941.

My dear Ahmed,  
Please refer to your Circular memorandum No. 8/P. F. (D)/41, dated 19th April 1941 regarding certain leaflets containing Urdu translation of Gandhi's open letter to Hitler.  
A look-out was kept here for these leaflets but so far they have not come to notice in Bombay.  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X  
1-5.
Dear Mr. Ray,

Please see No. 8/P. F. (D)/41, dated 18th April 1941, from the Assistant Director (S), I.B., New Delhi.

It is learnt that the "Open letter" was issued from Wardha to the Associated Press and the United Press at Bombay and that they have copies of the same and that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had instructions from Wardha to cyclostyle the same and to issue copies to the various Congress Offices. As, however, Government objected, the Associated Press and the United Press withheld the despatch of the "Open letter". Subsequently, instructions were received from Wardha by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to the effect that as Government objected to the publication of the letter it should not be published. It is understood that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has not got a copy of the letter and until now it has not been circulated and the general public are not in the know about it.

This is for your information and necessary action.

Yours sincerely,

G. G. Ray, Esq., I.P.,
Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch I,
Bombay.

G. G. Ray, Esq., I.P.,
Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch I,
Bombay.

Johannesburg, 12-7-41.

Revered Bapu and Ba (i.e., Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi),

(During my stay here I thought of writing to General Smuts for an interview, copy of the letter is enclosed herewith. I did not expect any reply and went to Phoenix after two days. The third day there was a telephone call from his Private Secretary informing me that the General would see...
me. When I went for the interview in the Union Building the Private Secretary received me cordially: General Smuts entered the Secretary's Office and on seeing me, asked me if I was young Gandhi and shook hands with me. I was asked to see him at 3 O'Clock. I was with him for about 45 minutes. He enquired about you and we had a nice talk. I have taken notes of this conversation from which you will get an idea of the topics discussed. Copy of same enclosed herewith. I could gather from this visit that he has a sweet tongue but is not sincere. He respects you; he said to me "You must not go to gaol. I shall be very sorry if you do. We all cannot follow great men. It was amazing how your father could walk about in the streets of London in that cold weather with a loin cloth and bare feet. We cannot do that."

* * * *  *

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

SECRET

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,
Delhi, Dated the 20th October 1941.


Copy of the following interception report is forwarded with the request that the SECRECY OF THE INTERCEPTION MAY KINDLY BE SAFEGUARDED.

From: Padmavati for Bapu (Gandhi) Sevagram, Wardha.
To: Satyavati Congress Office, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
Date of letter: 24-10-1941.
Post office and date of interception: G. P. O. 26-10-1941.
Postmarks: Sevagram, Wardha.
Name of officer who can prove the interception: S. I. Thakur Das, F. C. Sat Dev.

Whether photographed or not ? —
Whether withheld or delivered ? Delivered.
If delivered, whether copy kept or not ? Translation below.

Z. D. A.

Dear Sister Satyavati,

Bapu has received your letter dated 21-10-1941. On account of too many visitors Bapu himself could not write to you and so he has asked me to write instead.

Bapu says that nobody could stop you courting jail again. You may come here in person and get permission. Bapu will hear you first and then will accord his permission.

I hope you will come now. I trust you are keeping a good health.

Yours sister,
(Sd.) Padmavati.
for BAPU.
P. C’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H.

Bombay, S. B., November 6th, 1941.

SECRET

Date of letter: 5th November 1941.

From: Mr. M. K. Gandhi,

Sewagram, via Wardha.

To: Sri Purshottam Tricumdas,

Barrister, Shantaram Lane,

Walkeshwar, Bombay.

A FREE TRANSLATION OF A LETTER IN GUJARATI (MANUSCRIPT)

Brother Purshottam,

I was dissatisfied with your speech in Bihar to the same extent as I was satisfied with your comments on the statement re: Jayprakash. It amounts to this that the teeth for show and for chewing are different. And what a poisonous criticism of the Congress of which you are a member? If the Congress is as you believe it to be, what is the good of your continuing to be a member of the same. Your justification of the Congress policy at present appears to be a favour on it from a high position. I am writing this much as a friend of yours. This is not for discussion in the Press. No institution can advance by adverse criticism of any other institution. It progresses by its own strength.

Blessings from Bapu.

Sir,

The original is submitted herewith for favour of orders as to whether it should be photographed. (Not necessary).

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.

SECRET

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,

SPECIAL BRANCH, U. P.

Lucknow, dated the 14th February 1942.

2. Date of censorship—7-2-42.
4. Sender's name and address—Mahadeo, Sevagram, Wardha.
5. Date of letter—31-1-42.
7. Addressee's name and address—Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.
8. Whether photographed or not and who can prove photograph—No.
9. Whether withheld or delivered—Delivered.
10. If delivered whether copy kept or not—Copy kept.
11. Who can prove copy or give evidence of having seen the letter—
12. Additional information and remarks—.................................

CONTENTS

My dear Mrs. Naidu,

Taking advantage of your presence I wish to consult you about the possibility of the Cong.
organisation making the fullest use of the constructive programme resolution passed in Wardha
especially in reference to measures for allaying panic and rendering help in case of disorder due to
enemy actions in Bombay.

As you know I belong to no party, official or non-official but by virtue of my present office as
(?) I could usefully serve the citizens as a link between the official and non-official organisation for
the above purpose.


P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001 /Hill.

I need hardly point out to you the necessity of construction without subordination to any
authority, at the time of crisis. It is also obvious that there must be at such times unitary contest and
any one policy to be effective at all.

In formulating such a policy should it be not possible for both the official and non-official to
meet on a non-official joint committ, which I am anxious to convene to achieve the necessary co-
ordination without prejudice to the independent status of either side.

Would you very kindly consider this matter and if necessary, consult Gandhiji or any one else
you think fit. I shall await your reply before moving in the matter but I may point that I am pressed
and we must do something for our city soon.

Yours affectly.,

(Sd.) Roberts.

My dear Naidu,

Since my letter I have had a talk with your friend David Synungton, the A. R. P. Controller. I
have suggested to him the formation in Bombay of a Civic Defence League which membership is
open in the same terms to all including the A. R. P. workers. I am glad to say that he is quite
agreeable and all places approved by the body whether suggested by the A. R. P. or other would be
the accepted plan of action. And, of course, plans rejected by the committ. would be scrapped.
It will be a purely non-official Civic Committee independent of the organisation of the rest of the Province and concerned only with the safeguarding of the citizen of Bombay City.

I hope this suggestion will (?) accepted to all sections of citizens of Bombay.

Yours affectly,
(Sd.) Robert.
Sevagram,
Wardha, 6-2-42.

Dear Faiba,

Your letter to Bapu with the enclosures. He says that you should seek Jawahar's or/and Maulana's guidance on these and similar matters— as that guidance will be authoritative. And since you are going to Allahabad it will be easy for you to discuss the matters with either or both of them.

I return the enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mahadeo.
POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
BOMBAY STATE.
FILE No. 3001/H/VIII.
1942
MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.
1942

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.
1942

From
E. W. C. Wace, Esquire, C. I. E., I. P.,
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

To
The Deputy Commissioner of Police, S. B.,
C. I. D., Bombay.

No. 2191-ADSB. Lahore, dated the 20th April 1942.

Sir,

I have the honour to request you to please ascertain and let me know if Harijan (Ahmedabad) published in your province is suitable for issue to the security and political prisoners confined in the Punjab Jails.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)—
for Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
C. I. D., Punjab.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.


CONFIDENTIAL

No. 29/8/H/3001.

Forwarded with compliments to the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, for favour of direct disposal.

(Sd.) J. C. Wilson,
Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch I, C. I. D., Bombay.
No. 2919/H/3001 of 25/4/42.

Copy with compliments to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Punjab. Lahore.

(Sd.) X X X

Dy. Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch I, C.I.D., Bombay.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

Bombay City S. B., May 11th.

M. K. Gandhi.

With a view to collecting money for the Andrews Memorial Fund, Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay by Calcutta Mail on May 10th. He alighted at the Dadar Railway Station at 1 P. M. and was received by about 300 persons including Mr. Vallabh bhai Patel, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Dhirubhai B. Desai, S. K. Patil, the Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, Y. J. Meherally, Nagindas T. Master, R. D. Birla and others. He is staying at Birla House, Malabar Hill.

An appeal has been made asking contributions to above mentioned fund.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

SURVEILLANCE REPORT.

Name of the suspect—Mr. Gandhi.
Place of residence—Birla House, Bombay
Time—1/10 p.m to 7/30 p.m.
Watcher’s name—(i) H. C. Pandurang, (ii) W. Nahasingh.

Date 10-5-42.

Place & persons visited by the suspect.

Visitors to the Suspect.

Time                                      The suspect accompanied by K. M. Munshi, and Mrs. K. M. Munshi, arrived at Birla House in the Cars Nos. B.M.X./892 and B.M.W./1757 respectively.
1-15 p.m.                                  K. M. Munshi and Mrs. K. M. Munshi left.
3-00 p.m.                                  Mahadev Desai arrived.
3-15 p.m.                                  Mahadev Desai left.
3-16 p.m.                                  Miss Khurshed Bin Navraojee and Mr. Perain Bin Captain arrived.
5-30 p.m.                                  Miss Khurshed Bin Navraojee and Mr. Perain Bin Captain left

N. B.—About 200 local citizens participated in a prayer at Birla House at about 7-00 p.m. which lasted for 15 minutes.
Prominent among those present were:—
(i) Sundar Dass Murarji.
(ii) Ambalal Mehta.
(iii) Mahadev Desai.
(iv) Seth Birla.

Sir,
I beg to report that about 250 citizens of Bombay participated in a prayer at Birla House compound at about 7 p.m. on 11th May 1942. The prayer lasted about 25 minutes. Prominent those among the present were:—
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Pyare Lal.
5. K. M. Munshi.
6. Seth Birla.
At the end of the prayer M. K. Gandhi addressing those who were present said that he had come to collect money for the Andrews memorial and hoped that citizens of this city would fill his bowl.

(Sd.) Naher Singh.
Watcher.

Sir,
Re: Visitors to Mr. Gandhi.
Since his arrival here on the 10th May, Mr. M. K. Gandhi was visited by the following persons on the dates shown against them:—
10-5-1942
Mr. K. M. Munshi.
Mrs. Lilavati Munshi.
Mrs. Perin Captain.
Miss Khurshedben Nowroji.
Vallabhbhai J. Patel.
11-5-1942
Mr. K. M. Munshi.
Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

12-5-1942
Bhulabhai J. Desai.
Vallabhbhai J. Patel.
Ghanshyamdas Birla.
Rameshwardas Birla.
Prithvi Singh of the Physical Culture School at Malad.

(Sd.)  x  x  x

13-5

Sir,

The following were amongst the visitors to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 13th May 1942: —
1. Vallabhbhai Patel.
2. Ghanshyamdas Birla.
3. B. G. Kher.
5. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
7. Prithvi Singh of Malad.

At the evening prayers collections were made towards the Andrews Memorial Fund.

(Sd.)  X  X  X

14-5.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

Bombay. 13th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that about 300 local citizens participated in prayer at Birla House Compound at about 7 p.m. on 12th May 1942. The prayer lasted about 20 minutes.

Prominent those among the present were: —
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. Bhulabhai Desai.
7. Prithvi Singh of Malad.
8. Rameshwardas.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for the Andrews Memorial Fund.

Nahar Singh.
Watcher.
Sir,

The following visited Mr. Gandhi on 14-5-1942: —

2. Yusuf Meherally.
3. B. G. Kher.

(Sd.) x x x

15-5.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

Bombay, 14th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that about 300 local citizens participated in a prayer at Birla House Compound on 13th May 1942 at 7 p.m. The prayer lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent those among the present were:—

2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.
6. B. G. Kher.
7. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh,
8. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
10. S. G. Vayankar.
11. Prithvi Singh Malar.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the Andrews Memorial Fund.

Naher Singh.

Watcher,

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

Bombay, 14th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that a prayer attended by about 400 local citizens was held at Birla House compound, Bombay on 14th May, 1942 at 7 p.m, which lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent among those present were:—

1. M. K. Gandhi,
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. Seth Rameshwandas.

Following the prayer funds were collected on the spot for Andrews Memorial.

Yusuf Meherally, B. G. Kher and Nagindas T. Master had also come to see M. K. Gandhi at 4 p.m. and went back at 4-30 p.m. on 14th May, 1942.

Nahar Singh.

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P. C's Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

Bombay, 16th May 1942.

Sir,

On the 15th May 1942, the following met Mr. M. K. Gandhi: —

1. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. K. M. Munshi.
5. Mrs. Shantabai Vengaskar.
7. B. G. Kher.
8. Dr. Jivraj Metha.
9. Vinoba Bhave.

About 75 Congress workers including members of the B. P. C. C. also met him between 4 & 5-30 p.m.

(Sd.) X X X

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi left for Wardha by the Nagpur Mail from V. T. at 5-40 p.m. He was seen off by about 50 persons including Nagindas T. Master, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai, Bhawanji Arjun Khimji, S. K. Patil, Yusuf Meherally, Mangaldas Pakwasa and others.

(Sd.) X X X

18/5.

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P. C's Office, Bombay.

Bombay, 16th May 1942.

REPORT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9-30 A.M.</td>
<td>Bhulabhai J. Desai arrived at Birla House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-46 A.M.</td>
<td>Bhulabhai J. Desai left the place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-07 A.M.</td>
<td>Joachim Alya arrived at Birla House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-55 A.M.</td>
<td>Joachim Alya left the place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
About 75 Congress workers met privately at Birla House from 4 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. on 15th May 1942. The proceedings of the meeting are being ascertained.

Following were present among the prominetns:—
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. K. M. Munshi.
7. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh.
8. Shantabai Vengaskar.
11. B. G. Kher.

From 7 to 7-20 p.m.
About 500 local citizens attended a prayer at Birla House, Bombay which lasted for about 20 minutes on 15th May 1942.

Prominent among the present were: —
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. K. M. Munshi.
6. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
7. Vinoba Bhave.
8. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for Andrews Memorial.

P. C.’s Office, Bombay.
Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.

REPORT

Time.
10-00 a.m. S. G. Vayankar arrived at Birla House.
11-00 a.m. S. G. Vayankar left the place.
12-55 p.m. Dr. D. D. Santhe arrived at Birla House.
1-30 p.m. Dr. D. D. Santhe left the place.
1-00 p.m. Mangaldas Pakwasa arrived at Birla House.
3-45 p.m. Mangaldas Pakwasa left the place.
1-00 p.m. Morarji Desai arrived at Birla House.
3-45 p.m. Morarji Desai left the place.
2-10 p.m. B.G. Kher arrived at Birla House.
3-50 p.m. B. G. Kher left the place.
5-25 p.m. Bhulabhai J. Desai arrived at Birla House.
5-40 p.m. Bhulabai J. Desai left the place.

About 30 press reporters and press photographers met privately at Birla House, Bombay from 2-15 p.m. to 3-45 p.m. on 16th May 1942.

Prominent among those present were: —
2. S. G. Vayankar.
3. B. G. Kher.
5. Morarji Desai.

About 1,500 local citizens participated in a Prayer at Birla House Compound, Bombay at 7 p.m. on 16th May 1942 which lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent among those present were: —
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
4. B. G. Kher.
5. S. G. Vayankar.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for Andrews Memorial fund.

(Sd.) Naher Singh.
Watcher.

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