

1. LETTER TO BAIJNATH MAHODAYA

SEVAGRAM,
October 2, 1944

BHAI BAIJNATH,

I read your long letter. Do whatever you think right in the matter. It is beyond my understanding.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BAIJNATH MAHODAYA
179 RAMBAGH
INDORE (C. I.)

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

2. INTERVIEW TO “ THE HINDU ”

October 2, 1944

When I approached him this morning and asked him whether he had any particular message to give to the country on this auspicious day, Gandhiji said:

I am not accustomed to giving messages on such occasions.

Gandhiji amidst laughter added:

I want life for 125 years. But Malaviyaji cut it down by 25 years when he wired to me in Poona at Parnakuti that I must live for a hundred years.

Bernard Shaw’s message arrived here today . . . that he would not send birthday messages to Gandhiji. Gandhiji laughed aloud and said:

There you are. I did not know until a few years ago that I have a birthday.

The Hindu, 4-10-1944

3. *SPEECH AT KASTURBA MEMORIAL TRUST MEETING*¹

SEVAGRAM,
October 2, 1944

Gandhiji reminded them that the day's gathering was not a public meeting. There was an order prohibiting general meetings without previous Government permission throughout the Wardha district. They all knew that he was a confirmed civil resister. But this was not the occasion for civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil implies a certain procedure. This was a meeting of the trustees and collectors of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund for presentation of the collection.

Referring to the large number of people from Wardha and outside that had gathered there, he remarked that the reason for their presence on that occasion was that, for years, people all over India had got into the habit of celebrating his birthday according to both the Indian and the Christian calendar. The intervening period between the two dates was also included in the observance. This time, it had become known long before that he intended coming to Sevagram for receiving the purse on October 2.

The Secretary, in his report, had told them how the idea of the Fund had originated. They might like to know how he had come to be the President of the Trust. The collections were started when he was in jail. The trustees had asked for his consent to nominate him as their President. After his accidental release², owing to illness, they were able to consult him and he had become President for the purpose of guiding the trustees as to how the money collected should be spent in a manner befitting the memory of the late Smt. Kasturba. The responsibility primarily rested on the trustees, but it rested on him most of all.

The money had to be spent in villages, which were not part of the cities. The poorer and farther away from the cities, the better. The Fund had to be spent for education and welfare of women and children only. At first, the age limit for male children had been fixed at twelve years. He himself had thought of raising it to sixteen. But it was pointed out to him that in that case boys would get a disproportionate share, leaving the girls at a disadvantage and so their age limit was reduced to seven years. As he had already remarked, the money was to be spent for education of women and children. So long as he had any voice in the matter, the education would be of the basic education type. The scope of basic education included the education of the entire society, beginning with the children and going up to adults and old men and women. It had to be imparted through the practice of handicrafts, village sanitation and medical relief, preventive and curative, especially with regard to deficiency diseases.

¹ Gandhiji addressed the trustees and collectors of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund in Hindustani. On behalf of the trustees Sarojini Naidu presented him a purse of Rs. 80 lakhs, This report of the speech was issued to the Press by Pyarelal.

² On May 6, 1944

It was a tremendous work to carry out these reforms in the seven lakhs of India's villages. A sum of rupees seventy-five lakhs or even of rupees one crore was a trifle, compared to the vastness of the task. Seventy-five per cent of the money collected from a particular area would be spent in that area, not being towns or cities, and the remaining twenty-five per cent would go to the Central Fund. But the money collected from big cities would all go to the Central Fund and nothing out of it would be spent in the cities. In place of collection committees new committees would have to be formed to ensure proper spending of the money. These committees might include some members of the collecting committees, but new names should be added. If in any place ways and means of spending the money satisfactorily in accordance with the aims and objects of the Fund could not be found, the money would remain with the Central Fund. On the other hand, if in any place suitable workers in adequate number could be found to carry out bigger plans satisfactorily, they would be given more money.

It was his wish that, as far as possible, money should be spent through the agency of women workers. It was a matter of regret that women workers with suitable qualifications were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers. The fault lay with the men who had kept the women enslaved in domestic drudgery. They had to draw them out and push them to the fore. After all men were not born efficient as a special creation. It rested on them to produce more and efficient women workers. Men, before they became efficient workers, were prone to make mistakes. Therefore, they must not expect efficiency from women without giving them responsible work. The Fund was collected in commemoration of an old illiterate village-minded woman. It would give peace to her departed soul if women, and especially old women, took a leading part in the execution of the object of the Memorial. The collection had been made out of an overflow of enthusiasm and affection towards the memory of the departed soul. He wanted them to see that it was spent in a way commensurate with that sentiment. That was not a task merely for the twenty-six trustees; hundreds of workers would be needed for it. He had already said that to spend money properly was much more difficult than to collect it, unless they showed as much aptness in the former, as they had done in the latter. So long as he was with them in the flesh, he would, of course, argue with them and fight with them, but it was for them to see that their work was so carried on as to give to the departed soul no cause for dissatisfaction.¹

The Hindu, 4-10-1944

¹ At one of the meetings of the Trust the question of Kasturba's outlook on life was raised during the discussion. Gandhiji was reported to have said: "Kasturba's outlook on life means the outlook represented by Kasturba Gandhi, not Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi."

4. LETTER TO J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI

October 4, 1944

DEAR PILLAI,

Many thanks for your letter¹. Am sorry for the delay in replying.

My own opinion is that you should do what you think will best serve the 'Depressed Classes'.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 9257. Also C.W. 5065. Courtesy: J. S. Pillai

5. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

I have done the best I could². Now you have to take up the thread, unless you think I have made a mess of the whole thing. If I have, I know you will be frank enough to tell me so.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

6. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM
October 4, 1944

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

This is to seek your intervention in this communal tangle. Show me please where I have erred if at all. I did the best I was capable of.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ In his letter dated July 27, 1944, the addressee, a Depressed Class M.L.A., had sought Gandhiji's permission for forming a ministry in Madras at the initiative of the Depressed Class legislators and with the support of the non-Depressed Class Congress legislators and some others.

² The reference is to the talks with M. A. Jinnah.

7. LETTER TO ZAKIR HUSAIN

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

MY DEAR ZAKIR,

The friends you sent will give you full report of the doings here.

Tell me of your reactions to the talks with the Quaid-e-Azam. What do you think of my extension of the meaning of *Nayee Talim*?

You ought to take an active interest in the Kasturba Trust. Bapa and others were complaining that you had not attended a single meeting.

Lastly, how are you?

Love.

BAPU
DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

8. NOTE TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

October 4, 1944

I wish I had come in greater contact with Laxmidevi than I have been able to. I hope she has benefited by her stay here. You will judge. Krishna Gopal Dutt has written a biting letter against you. I have repudiated all the allegations as unworthy. But he sticks to them. If you have anything to say please do. What has made him so bitter? What is the charge about some iron having been bought? I hope you are progressing. Let me know your future plans.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

9. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

CHI. SHARMA,

I wanted to write to you. In the mean time Gadodiaji¹ arrived. He is not at all satisfied with your work. He says that nothing gets done. I told him it couldn't be so. What is the truth? Come here for a few days if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

H. L. SHARMA
KHURJA ROAD, U. P.²

From a facsimile of the Hindi: Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, between pp. 324 and 325

10. LETTER TO TEJWANTI DHIR

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

CHI. TEJWANTI,

I have your letter. It is all right that you went away. Come when you feel like it. Let your elder son go his own way. He will do as God prompts him. If you want you may work among the tribals or render service by taking up residence in the Bhangi Nivas. Do what you think best. Does this answer your letter?

Nothing has yet been decided about the Ashram.

TEJWANTI DHIR
P. O. NAKODAR, DIST. JULLUNDER
(PUNJAB)

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

¹ Lakshminarayan Gadodia, Treasurer and Trustee of the Surya Chikitsalaya, Dadhichi Seva Sangh, an institution run by the addressee

² The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

11. LETTER TO POTTY SRIRAMULU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1944

DEAR SRIRAMULU,

Carry on propaganda by all means but [no]¹ fast as yet.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 110

12. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

I am quite sure that I sent from Panchgani a reply to your letter.² I do not keep copies of such letters. However I do remember one thing. Do not rush to break free of your bonds. It is your duty to look after Father.

Hope you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8006. Also C.W. 3103. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

13. CABLE TO HORACE ALEXANDER

WARDHAGANJ,
October 6, 1944

HORACE ALEXANDER
144 OAK THULANE
BIRMINGHAM 29

YOU AGATHA³ MURIEL⁴ WELCOME. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1439

¹ The source has 'as'.

² Gandhiji had written to the addressee from Poona on June 16; *vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 19-11-1944

³ Agatha Harrison

⁴ Muriel Lester

14. LETTER TO DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR DR. MUKHERJEE,

As desired by Gandhiji I am herewith sending you a letter from Smt. Sachi Rani Sinha Roy of village Gobindapur, District Tippera.

It seems to be a genuine case of distress calling for aid. Gandhiji feels that you ought to be able to do something for it. Kindly drop a line in reply and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE
77 ASUTOSH MUKHERJEE ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

15. LETTER TO B. DAS

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of the 19th September and the kind sentiments expressed in it.

It was good of you to have sent all the news about the members of Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhury's family.

He would like you to keep him posted about the doings in Orissa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. DAS, M.L.A. (CENTRAL)
CHANDNI CHOWK
CUTTACK

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

16. LETTER TO YUVARAJA OF PITHAPURAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 3rd inst. and the enclosed statement.

He does not feel like putting you to the inconvenience of coming here. Moreover, at present every moment of his is pre-mortgaged.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

THE YUVARAJA OF PITHAPURAM
VASANTASOBHA
TEYNAMPET P. O.
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

17. LETTER TO J. R. D. TATA

SEVAGRAM ,
October 7, 1944

DEAR JEHANGIRJI,

In order that I may be understood by you as fully as possible I write this in English, though I should love to write to you in Gujarati. For similar reason this will be typed.

Thank you for your cordial letter of greetings. I would like you to make the cordiality concrete by attending the next meeting of the Trustees¹ to be held at Wardha on Saturday the 4th November. Saturday has been specially chosen in order to enable the original Trustees to attend with minimum of inconvenience. That you have already accepted the additional names proposed by me for the Board of Trustees and for the small Executive ought not to bear the meaning that the original trustees are to be sleeping members.²

¹ Of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund

² *Vide* "A Circular", 21-9-1944.

I know I am guilty of having given currency to the thought that the administration of trust funds should in practice be left to the Trustees of my choice. I discovered my mistake before any mischief was done. The more I think about it, the more I feel the narrowness underlying such a conception. The whole board is a very happy combination and if most of the Trustees take an active interest in the administration of the Fund, we may expect even unthought of beneficial results. An active combination and co-operation of top city men and simple village-minded men and women is not an everyday experience. I trust therefore that you will make it convenient to attend the forthcoming meeting and even persuade the Trustees to do likewise, if indeed they need any persuading.

M. K. GANDHI

J. R. D. TATA
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

18. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU¹

October 7, 1944

At the outset Jajuji read out the resolution submitted by Gandhiji before the workers of the A. I. S. A. in the September meeting. There was a suggestion in that draft² that the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh be also consulted while drawing the future plan of work of the A. I. S. A.

J. Should the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Goseva Sangh and Kasturba Trust be also included in this list?

G. Of course, inasmuch as they are as intimately connected with the programme of village reconstruction as the A. I. S. A., and have an economic background and outlook, not a political one. The idea behind the merging of the Sanghs is only that of co-ordinated service of the villages. But the Kasturba Trust may well be kept out.

J. Keeping the Trust out would mean paralysing an organ of the united body. Out of the six Sanghs we can easily form a united executive of one or more representatives from each Sangh.

¹ This and the subsequent discussions in Hindi with Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, were reported by Swami Anand. This translation is reproduced with alterations to bring it into conformity with the Hindi version appearing in *Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran*.

² *Vide* "Speech at A.I.S.A. Meeting-II", 2-9-1944.

G. We can get our work done through the institutions of the Kasturba Trust, for their work is not anything different from village service. Yet we should not include the Trust in it. When I placed that resolution before the Charkha Sangh the Kasturba Trust was not in my mind. I had only the A.I.V.I.A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh in view. My idea was that the heads of these Sanghs should meet together and co-ordinate their activities from the point of view of all-round village service, and influence one another morally without any of them disturbing any of the others in its day-to-day work.

The only work of the Central Office of the A. I. S. A. should be to watch and give moral guidance. It is quite possible that like Euclid's point we might not be able to reach the ideal. Decentralization consists in bothering little about the practical details of the various centres but regulating the over-all work on moral lines. I know that I may not be able to get the Goseva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and others to carry out this policy of decentralization. But as service and total uplift of villages is the basis of all their activity I hope and trust the heads and workers of these Sanghs would of their own accord meet and think jointly how best to organize their work. They would also have to consider, for example, why the work of the A. I. S.A. had to be arrested or modified. One may argue that the work had not been arrested in any way. The Sangh's work had expanded to cover 15,000 villages; 4_ crores of rupees had been distributed among the poor. All this is no doubt true but we should not rest content with only this much. Rather it should be a matter of regret for us that we have as yet accomplished only a hundredth part of our task.

A worker of the A. I. S. A. would hereafter not confine himself to khadi work alone but regard himself as well a representative of the A.I.V.I.A., the Goseva Sangh, etc., in the larger sense of the term. And in so doing the worker should not feel that all this other work was beyond his sphere and that a new burden was being imposed upon him. If he did so, it would mean that our policy and outlook were not really based on non-violence. Our worker should be able to identify himself with all that requires to be done in the village, that is, with the entire life of the village and yet feel as light as ever.

J. Like the A. I. S. A., should institutions such as the Goseva Sangh, the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh also depute such workers to the villages?

G. Exactly so. This is the real meaning of the merging of the Sanghs and of their having a united policy. It does not mean any regimentation of work but it simply connotes working with the united moral strength of all and with a wholesome integrated outlook.

J. Will the A.I.S.A. have to run commercial and welfare departments separately? I feel that to run all village activities with an all-round outlook and to give general guidance to the workers will be the special function of the joint body of all the Sanghs.

G. I do not think so. The joint body of the various Sanghs can once for all lay down administrative policies. The arrangements so made must be honoured by all the Sanghs, which would greatly facilitate their managerial work. My idea of the united body is that its work will expand like the mighty Krishna river, which starts as a tiny tickle of ten to twenty drops of water and ends as one vast Krishnasagar. So also should flow the ceaseless stream of all-sided work. Such is my conception of the joint body.

J. The real problem is to obtain suitable workers. You suggest various activities, but we cannot undertake them for want of workers. Then again you insist that we should reach the seven lakhs of villages.

G. Of course, I do. But when you fail I am there all along with you to share with you the blame.

J. So we are to take it that good workers are to be trained. For the present we cannot hope to get thoroughly capable first-grade workers. We shall have to get on with second-grade workers. From among them we shall obtain first-grade ones later.

G. Does the A.I.S.A. have about 2,000 workers?

J. About 3,000.

G. Well, then use them. Place upon them the responsibility for this new type of work. Also allow them greater freedom in their work. We shall have to decentralize even at some risk.

J. I do not quite understand what you mean by decentralization.

G. We shall have to expand the work so that it covers every village. This cannot be done by imposition from without. The workers will have to be allowed to carry on the work themselves, more or less free of regulation by a central authority. Were they to refuse to bear this much burden and wish to leave us we shall let them go ungrudgingly. But we are not going to turn anybody out.

I like your idea of giving khadi cloth in exchange for hanks in Maharashtra. This is not yet much in vogue. But it is being done through workers already on our staff. This is the way work will go on

and develop. But workers who create obstructions will have to go. I will have no hesitation in removing them. If they disobey the policy of the A. I. S. A. they will have to quit. And the Sangh is authorized to change its policy from time to time. The plea of the workers that they were not aware of such changes will not be accepted. Compulsory wearing of khadi, provident fund contributions, etc., were introduced in the course of the running of the Association and they were made applicable to all. Those who could not accept them had to go. Workers may leave us in this manner. But we shall not remove them ourselves. Nay, we shall require them to work along the new lines I have indicated. On the other hand, we shall require those who would like to stay under our plan to work extensively on the new lines, others would naturally quit on their own. Not for a moment did I think that we would have to disband the existing set of workers and start on a clean slate. Suppose we have five workers at a centre and we feel that more work of various kinds can be carried out there, we shall ask them to take up manufacture of hand-made paper and other village industries also, and if possible at the same time to produce more and more khadi and sell it in the neighbouring areas. This is decentralization.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 158-61

19. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

October 8, 1944

DEAR MAHMUD,¹

Bravo. I hope you are fairly fit. I shall expect you here as soon as well enough to come.

Love.

BAPU

DR. SYED MAHMUD
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The addressee, a member of the Congress Working Committee, was released on October 6, 1944. *Vide* also pp. "Letter to Syed Mahmud", 14-10-1944 and "Statement to the Press", 22-10-1944.

20. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

October 8, 1944

BHAI GANSHYAMDAS,

I have talked to Sohanlalji¹ and to Devdas also. I think that it should be easy enough to collect one lakh rupees towards a memorial for Mahadev. So it doesn't seem proper to sell Sohanlalji's book² at higher than its market price for that purpose. The book should be sold at its market price and on its own merit. In this way the extent of public response to such a book may be ascertained.

The subject of Mahadev's memorial should be kept separate. We shall talk about it when you come here.

Sohanlalji has agreed. Devdas and Shriman have also accepted my point. I understand, from what Devdas told me, that you feel some sort of a moral obligation [as you had agreed] that the book would be published for the Mahadev Memorial Fund. In that case too it only means that one lakh rupees will be collected for that fund, isn't that so? I fail to see any advantage in collecting it through the books when its impropriety is quite obvious to me.

A written order from you will be required for Parnerkar's³ appointment. These days you hold all the authority. The committee has been suspended. If it is to be revived it will be done when we meet. Lakshmanrao, who is the Secretary these days, needs your order; only then Parnerkar can take charge.

You must have read about my exploits in the newspapers. More when we meet.

Your health must have improved in Mussoorie.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8061. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

¹ Sohanlal Dwivedi, a Hindi poet who edited the *Gandhi Abhinandan Granth*, a felicitation volume in Hindi

² *ibid*

³ Yashvant Mahadev Parnerkar, a dairy expert

21. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 8, 1944

J. Please explain what should be the equipment and qualifications of workers.

G. For the present I shall not deal with other institutions but answer your question keeping in view the worker of the A. I. S. A. alone. First, he should know, besides his mother tongue, the language of the province in which he is working as also the national language. I do not feel that knowledge of English is essential. He should know about the economic, social and political condition of the country and also something about the condition of the world. This is rather difficult, it is true, but essential. Unless he knows what is happening in other countries, their political set-up, etc., how can he understand the relative conditions in India and where we are bound for? He must have especially detailed knowledge of the conditions prevailing in and about his place of work.

So much in regard to his general preparation which is only a preliminary part of his equipment. In regard to khadi, he should not only have thorough knowledge of the charkha, but he must also be well acquainted with the *takli*. Spinning alone will not do. He must know the entire science of khadi, i.e., evaluating the count, carding, identifying the variety of cotton, the kind of cotton required for a specific type of carding, spinning, etc. He must be in touch with the history of improvements in technique, viz., how carding reached its present stage, the various improvements effected in the charkha. He must also be able to repair and put the charkha in order. It was in Yeravda that I systematically learnt spinning, repairing of the charkha, etc., and I had no one to help me either. It means that the worker must know the elements of carpentry as well, for if he is not able to set right the damaged charkhas of the villagers, spinning will stop in the village and the cause will suffer.

I have dwelt upon the charkha so much because I regard it as the centre of village uplift. In addition, the worker will have to see what other village crafts can prosper in his village. The first in order among these crafts will be the bullock oil-press. Our worker would have to know its technique which has now been scientifically improved at Maganwadi under the supervision of Jhaverbhai Patel.

Another industry which may be introduced is hand-made paper. This has to be learnt not with the view of supplying paper to the whole country but in order to make the village self-sufficient and capable of earning a little income.

J. If the work of hand-made paper develops it will be like running a small factory.

G. I am only giving its outline.

Next to oil and hand-made paper we must revive the *handchakki* (grinding stone)—a vital thing in every village. Otherwise flour-mills which have been a source of anxiety to me for several years will be our fate. Similarly in regard to rice. Unless we inculcate among the villagers the habit of eating whole rice we shall not be able to solve the problem of food. We must get our people in the villages to take to hand-pounding of rice or *handchakkis* for husking paddy, for it is a well-established fact that the white polished rice put out by mills and white sugar are harmful to health. All the top experts are agreed upon it. We do get enough literature on these subjects from America. There brown, that is, yellow sugar has come in vogue. So much so that traders sell the white polished sugar after colouring it with harmful colours.

Next take agriculture. Our villagers depend on agriculture and cattle for ploughing. I am rather ignorant in this respect for I have no personal experience. But there is not a single village where we have no agriculture or cattle. There is the buffalo, but except in Konkan and a few other places it is not much used for agriculture. Even then it is not as if we have boycotted the buffalo. Our worker will have to keep a careful eye on the cattle wealth of his village. If we cannot use this wealth properly India is doomed to disaster and we also shall perish. For these animals will then, as in the West, become an economic burden to us and we shall have no option before us save killing them.

Our worker, therefore, would have to acquire some knowledge at any rate about these things, and discover a non-violent way of solving them. Therein lies the solution to our problem of increasing population. I do not know whether our non-violent way will succeed or fail. If it fails it will be our fault, not that of non-violence. It means that our sacrifice and efforts were insufficient. Nevertheless all of us will have to make some effort. Again, in the sphere of agriculture chaos reigns supreme. In regard to agriculture, we must do our utmost to prevent further fragmentation of land, and to encourage people to take to co-operative farming. The village worker will fully examine

the circumstances prevailing in his village and induce the villagers to take up co-operative farming.

Next to land is the question of water, not for agriculture but for drinking. The worker will go and examine all the wells in the village. It will be his duty to clean them both inside and around. He will see how many wells of the village are fit for drinking water, whether the surroundings are clean, and whether there are any public urinals and latrines near them. If they are near the wells, he will explain to the people the dangers involved in having them so near. He will seek their co-operation in having them removed to a distance. He will thus attend to the cleanliness of the entire village. Now we know about a worker's field of activity. He should have a thorough knowledge of village sanitation and efficient compost-making. He should convert this knowledge into practice. Of course there will be division of work but it should not be like that of the railway porter showing the green signal or like the woman-worker making soles in a leather factory. Such people are incapable of doing any other work save their own. This extreme division of work is degrading. The village worker should acquire all-round knowledge about building up the whole village. There will be some sewing work in the village, smithy, carpentry, leather work, agriculture, etc. The village worker should seek to bring about co-operation among the workers in these various occupations so as to make them serve as harmonious parts of one whole and thus organize the villages. All these activities appear to be too numerous but in fact they are not. This should not be too difficult for a worker resolved to employ his body and mind fully.

Now for my last point. If the worker going to the village has no faith in non-violence, our work must fail. If he concerns himself with economics alone and disregards ethics and morality, all our efforts are of no avail. Non-violence is the basis on which our work is to be built. It will not do to ignore it. In the initial stages people might achieve something even without it but ultimately the edifice of swaraj will not be raised without the foundation of ahimsa. Workers must demonstrate non-violence in everything they do. They must be living embodiments of non-violence. If they cannot do this, their work will be but a showy nothing. Our history is full of such instances. Merely holding classes on non-violence is of little use.

J. Would it not be better to have two workers instead of one in a village? They could then divide the work between them and one could supplement the other.

G. Many people have asked me this question. I am not going to lay down any definite rules in this regard. I would prefer a worker to go alone. He should tackle the situation single-handed and become fearless in the process. But if one is not enough you may send two. We shall consider the position if lack of finances comes in the way. But so far as I am concerned, I am prepared to go to the length of regarding one worker, if married, as two when both husband and wife serve in the village.

J. Experience often proves the contrary. The wife of a worker is more a handicap to him than a support.

G. That is why I am not going to frame any rules or regulations about it. Do you know that Rajaji insists on workers being married?

J. Some workers will be of higher calibre than others. How do you like the idea of putting under one good worker five or six ordinary workers working in adjoining villages?

G. I have had talks about it with several friends. It will not always be feasible. I asked Timappa Naik to train a large number of workers as otherwise his work was likely to suffer. He is a very capable and efficient worker of Karnataka. He maintains himself on about six rupees. He feels that only local workers could be trained at small expense. He has trained such and they are working with him.

J. How much should we spend on a worker?

G. These are days of war-made dearth. I am afraid it may last for a fairly long time. I am prepared to spend rupees fifty on a worker or even a hundred.

J. Besides food for the worker there is the burden of his family, of the education of his children, etc.

G. We shall take the middle way. We shall leave out those with many burdens. We shall confine ourselves to a family of four, husband, wife and two children, or at the most five. I think it would be better not to take a bigger unit.

J. Many workers argue that they have the responsibility of maintaining their parents, brothers and sisters or other relatives.

G. We cannot take them.

J. While fixing the allowance of a worker, which was to be considered as of greater importance, his capacity or his family responsibilities?

G. To Vallabhsami I would give only five, not hundred. But I would pay the maximum to one with a big family rather than let him go. That is to say, both should live and neither should be envious of the other. Nor should any entertain false hopes.

J. How much response should our workers expect from the villagers? Would it be proper to impose some conditions on villages at the time of selection of our place of work? The situation today is that workers who go to the villages are regarded as moneyed people and villagers think that they should extract from them as much benefit as possible. Consequently the whole work is reduced to nought when the worker leaves the village after working for two years.

G. I think we should not impose any conditions. For example, if we go and settle down for service among the aborigines, what terms can we lay down for them? If we settle down and work resolutely in places where we have already gained some experience, our work will grow and prosper.

In the end everything depends on the worker himself. If he wins the hearts of the villagers he will be able to get them to work with him.

J. How long may it take for a worker to become self-sufficient? Five years?

G. You yourself say five years. The worker will go to the village with one month's allowance in his pocket. He will ask for a piece of land from the villagers and build his hut on it. In case he obtains a vacant house he will occupy it. Taking out the takli from his pocket he will sit under a tree and spin. If the villagers have their spinning-wheels he will repair them and spin along with them. He will also gather the children of the village, play with them, tell them stories, teach them songs and do village cleaning. Apart from his salary I am not going to give him a pie by way of capital to start an industry or anything else. He will have to set up things by dint of his resourcefulness and love. This will put to trial his passion for service and his ability.

J. It is a very hard test.

G. Yes. We don't have to take up a sword, have we? The way of love and service shown by me is the only way. If we have to achieve swaraj by non-violent means I have no other way.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 161-5

22. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I was glad you sent your reply so soon. It has served the purpose. But can that prohibitory order be defended from the point

of view of the right of freedom of expression? Do you agree with the opinion I expressed to Homi¹?

I read your statement made in Jaipur. I did not like it. Is it not opposed to the Congress policy? Do you think the policy enunciated at Jaipur is contrary to the policy that we had jointly adopted at Nagpur²? I would not think it wrong if it should be so. I want to know only for my information. Has a difference of opinion arisen between us in this matter too?³

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7683. courtesy: K. M. Munshi

23. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEVAGRAM,

October 9, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS,

Amritlal must declare how he got possession of the papers? I have had a discussion with Bapa. Hope you are in excellent health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4688. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

24. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,

October 9, 1944

XXX⁴

BAPA,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. The Trustees were present and they resolved to meet at Wardha on 4th November. I think you should have issued a notice to that effect. If you don't think it is too late now, you may still issue one. If you want, you may notify through the

¹ H. P. Mody

² At the Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad on April 24, 1936; *vide* "Speech at Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad", 24-4-1936.

³ For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Letter from K. M. Munshi", 12-10-1944.

⁴ Omission as in the source

newspapers, so that the Trustees are informed without delay. If it is necessary, you may send telegrams to individuals. Why will only one lawyer be present out of the three? I can understand Mangaldas's inability to attend due to his illness. What about Munshi? And about Dada¹? I have written to Jehangirji,² and Mridulabehn will show the letter to you. I admit that all the botheration will be avoided if I go to Bombay. My unwillingness to go to Bombay is not due to my health, it is due to political considerations. Hence I feel no shame in putting all of you to trouble.

*Blessings from
BAPU*

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

25. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

October 9, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

It took me so many days to write to you.

You have to remember this much:

1. You should not rely upon me. I may go to jail or I may die; or, I might not be able to get away from here. If you do not have courage to undertake this experiment without me you had better not start on it.

2. If you have the courage and self-confidence you should find the required land.

3. After securing the land you should prepare a blueprint indicating all the proposed arrangements. The halls for treatment and experiment should be in the centre or in one corner. They should be surrounded by decent huts for the residence of patients and children entrusted to our care. The sanatorium should grow fruit, flowers, food grains and vegetables. It should have cattle sheds and roads good enough for vehicles. It should also have a gymnasium, a tank for bathing and other facilities. All this cannot be built in a day. But the entire project should be completed within five years. Patients should be admitted right from the beginning. They should be given such treatment as does not involve the use of electricity, for example, hot and cold water, steam, earth and sun-rays.

¹ G. V. Mavalankar

² *Vide* "Letter to J. R. D. Tata", 7-10-1944.

Think over all this. Recently a nature-cure practitioner from Andhra had been to me. He has thirty acres of land. And he treats about ninety patients. I would certainly wish to send you to see his sanatorium. You should study such institutions.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

26. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

[October 9, 1944]¹

CHI. MRIDU,

After reading Munshi's letter put it in an envelope and return it.

Read Jehangirji's letter to Bapa. Accept any date that is ultimately decided if you approve of the letter. Speak to Ambalalbai² about this letter. In that case, I would not be required to write to anyone else.

If Mahmud³ is definitely coming, inform me telegraphically and let me know in detail about his requirements. We shall put him up only at Bajajwadi. We shall not trouble him to come to Sevagram. I shall go to Bajajwadi on that day. If you have understood my argument, discuss it with Bapa and Mangaldas⁴, or if you would rather keep quiet, then do so. In my view the question is important. Today there is no one who will hear me in the matter.

Don't spoil your health by running about too much.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11119. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

¹ From the reference to K. M. Munshi's and J.R.D. Tata's letters, it appears that his letter was written on the same day as the one to Amritlal V. Thakkar, dated October 9, 1944; *vide* "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 9-10-1944 and "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", 9-10-1944.

² Ambalal Sarabhai

³ Syed Mahmud

⁴ Mangaldas Pakvasa

27. NOTE TO MANU J. GANDHI

October 9, 1944

This is for Manudi¹ or Sushilabehn.

A six-week course in First-Aid.

1. General anatomy, including description of the internal sub-division in the stomach, the prominent bones, the arteries and the veins.

2. Descriptions of the ordinary wounds such as are sustained on the battlefield and the various types of bandages for them: on the skull, the abdomen, the fingers, the legs and so on.

3. Tourniquet, for arresting bleeding, as part of curriculum and also extra-curricular improvised techniques, such as with a pebble.

4. The method of treatment in the absence of medical apparatus, e.g., warm ashes in the absence of boiled water, paper and cotton ashes; newspaper, etc., that one carries for reading in the absence of dry cloth or flannel. . . .

5. 'Primitive' remedies in the absence of medical aid for drowning, snake-bite and scorpion sting.

6. Stretcher drill for carrying the wounded or sick persons and making an emergency stretcher with a gun or a stick and a jacket.

7. Marching by thousands in regular formations and marching drill according to the rules. Erecting tents on a battlefield within a few minutes, rules about the use of water, how and when to construct latrines, kitchens, etc.

It may be that something is being omitted. Most of it is covered by the book written by Kettle. Many things are also to be found in "St. John's Ambulance". We did have all these books. Had I been talking I could not have said more. So, you have not lost much.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Ba Bapuni Shili Chhayaman, pp. 218-9

¹ Daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi

28. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

MY DEAR VAZE,

It was good you wrote. Your letter reached me too late even for a wire. Do please congratulate the Rajasaheb¹ on the liberal measure he has adopted for the people of his State. Aundh² has no reason to regret the reforms adopted there nor will Phaltan.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. G. VAZE
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

29. LETTER TO NAGINDAS T. MASTER

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

BHAI NAGINBHAI,

I have your letter. Doesn't the August Resolution [of 1942] mean that you should do what you think to be right?³

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ The Raja of Phaltan, Malojirao M. Naik Nimbalkar who had introduced full responsible government in the State

² Aundh was the first Deccan State to introduce reforms.

³ According to the *Gujarat Samachar*, 10-10-1944, the addressee was entrusted with the task of carrying Gandhiji's message to the people. The message was to the effect that "our struggle is definite and every citizen of India has to be prepared to make his contribution to the fight for independence".

30. LETTER TO KANTILAL AND SARASWATI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

CHI. KANTI AND SARASWATI,

One letter from Kanti is lying before me. It is full of information. You are doing right. I Will not write more. There is a good family gathering just now. It Will disperse soon. I keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7369. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

31. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 10, 1944

J. How will the workers become self-supporting? Villagers can either give them money or grain, or give them employment. Or they may run an industry and support the worker with a percentage of the profit.

G. Both courses may be adopted. We shall surely pay the workers. But apart from it the villagers or the worker himself can take up a craft for the sake of the village. It may be possible for a good intelligent worker to work in the village and meet his own expenses as also those of his entire activities by his own intellectual work and take nothing from friends. But earning money thus by the use of intellect alone is, as I have often said, a misuse of the intellect. All such income must go to the country.

J. If our worker were to live on khadi production alone, it would not be possible for him to become self-sufficient. He would have to produce commercial khadi; and to earn profit, he must sell it, send it outside and do various other things.

G. This is not what I had visualized in my scheme. I agree of course that if a village has to be made self-supporting through the production of khadi alone, the surplus will have to be sent outside.

Once somebody explained that if we did not produce, in addition to self-sufficient khadi, some amount of other khadi also, and our villagers had no other means of subsistence like land, etc., self-sufficient khadi alone would not suffice to provide all their needs. My idea of self-sufficiency is that villages must be self-sufficient in

regard to food, cloth and other basic necessities. But even this can be overdone. Therefore you must grasp my idea properly. Self-sufficiency does not mean narrowness. To be self-sufficient is not to be altogether self-contained. In no circumstances would we be able to produce all the things we need nor do we aim at doing so. So though our aim is complete self-sufficiency, we shall have to get from outside the village what we cannot produce in the village; we shall have to produce more of what we can in order thereby to obtain in exchange what we are unable to produce. Only nothing of our extra produce would be sent to Bombay or far off cities. Nor would we produce things with an eye to export to those cities. That would run counter to my conception of swadeshi. Swadeshi means serving my immediate neighbour rather than those far away.

Our outlook must be that we would serve the village first, then the neighbourhood, then the district and thereafter the province. Working on these lines the A.I.S.A. must function only as the central protector of this policy. We should not get involved in all sorts of complications. We have three thousand workers and a large number of sales depots. We shall not do away with them today. But I am simply telling you of our new line of approach.

J. What should be the extent of a worker's field of work? Should it be an area of about five miles around his centre?

G. Yes, sometimes even less. In Bengal and Bihar an area of five miles around the centre would cover many villages.

J. Why should we not define his field of activity as the area which he can cover if he left his centre in the morning, and returned to it after having a round by the evening?

G. Yes, we can do so.

J. Would the A.I.S.A. have to take up this work first?

G. Certainly, because the charkha is the sun round which other industries revolve like planets. They would revolve rightly only when the sun's movements are all right. Today the village industries are behaving like comets.

J. The work against untouchability sometimes involves the worker in all kinds of difficulties. How far may our worker entangle himself in them?

G. He should not involve himself in such troubles as would stop his work. But there should be no place at all for untouchability in his personal life. Our worker will draw water from the same well which the Harijans use. He will clean up their wells and take all sanitary steps possible for proper drainage.

J. Then there is the political issue. Suppose my self-respect is wounded in the course of performance of my duties or my freedom is restricted, would it then be proper for me to offer civil disobedience? It may be that I may keep aloof from other political disturbances, but in case of a general civil disobedience movement the worker cannot remain unconcerned. What should he do under such circumstances?

G. General civil disobedience means a sort of anarchy in which everybody is a leader. People start talking in terms of fighting. But ordinarily we must follow the orders of the chief or the commander in charge of that movement. Surely none can remain unconcerned in a movement of that nature. Yet the worker would have to explain his position to the President of the A. I. S. A. who would give his opinion after taking all the pros and cons into consideration. However, I am not thinking of general civil disobedience today.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 166-8

32. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
October 11, 1944

Numerous messages of birthday greetings from all over have been received and are still being received. It is impossible for me to send individual acknowledgement. I take this opportunity through the courtesy of the Press of thanking all the senders for their kind wishes.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-10-1944

33. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 11, 1944

DEAR BAPA,

We can do nothing about Chandvani.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

34. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

October 11, 1944

BHAI KUNDAR,

The spinning-wheel is the symbol of non-violence for those who project non-violence in the spinning-wheel. What I said was only to explain this. There should be no difficulty in understanding this.

BAPU

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

35. LETTER TO RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

SEVAGRAM,
October 11, 1944

BHAI DALMIA,

I have your letter. I think what I did was right. I know your letter was prompted by love. Do keep writing like this.

Blessings from
BAPU

DALMIA - JAIN NIVAS
NEW DELHI

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

36. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 11, 1944

J. I could not quite follow your views about decentralization. Will you kindly throw more light on it?

G. My view is that we should let as many provinces as wish to be free to develop their work as they desire. I would very much like them to take the entire responsibility on their own shoulders and recognize our authority only in the moral realm. I would allow them to work with complete freedom if they follow my lines, are personally of sparkling character, and are prepared to take risk in honestly implementing our policy. My only condition will be that they should sell all the khadi they produce in the villages near about the centre of production, the tehsil, the district or at the most the province. They

should not, like the people of Chicacole, produce everything for Bombay and use nothing at home.

J. Chicacole is an exception, and is the only production centre in the country for fine khadi.

G. Yes, even in that case I would ask the producers and sellers to wear what they produce or sell. They may send their articles outside but they must also wear them. In case they go on producing fine khadi for Bombay but use only mill-cloth themselves, their centre must cease to be run by the A. I. S. A. I would even insist that it be closed altogether.

J. Deducting something from the income of the craftsmen or women towards supply of khadi to them, we do make them wear some khadi. But this seems to be a sort of imposition. They do not take to it voluntarily.

G. I may put up with such a situation for a short period. I do not expect people to take to khadi immediately and to accept non-violence. We must educate them in true economics and in non-violence. If we succeed in developing a true economic outlook in them, they would ultimately understand non-violence as well. An economics which runs counter to morality cannot be called true economics. Our workers can develop an outlook of true economics in the villages only if they work under the inspiration of non-violence and morality.

Their personal conduct should be of the purest nature and they should not be a party to any exploitation of the people. If we try to cover India with khadi but ignore the miseries of the craftsmen, do not pay them living wages, do not share their weal and woe, or worry little if they are drunkards, it will not do at all. It is better to burn all khadi to ashes than to pretend to work for the good of the country in this manner. I would keep the drunkard and give him work, but I would befriend him and sweetly urge upon him daily to abstain from drink. My aim is not to do the work of khadi only but to enter into the entire life of the villager.

I know that Chicacole khadi is very popular and that it fetches a good sale in far off provinces; but this pains me very much. If we want to do khadi work successfully on the new lines in any province, district, taluk or village, we must not make one district lean on any other, or enter into competition with it. All districts must meet their requirements themselves. This would relieve us of our worries about sales. It is quite possible that implementation of this new policy may

for the present reduce a centre to zero. But later on the work is bound to progress. Of course I cannot submit data and figures to prove what I say as I know nothing about them. But you can of course supply them to me. What I know, however, is that if khadi is to disseminate non-violence, we shall have to follow this new policy, come what may.

J. Do you mean to say that the work of the A. I. S. A. will hereafter be entrusted to separate boards of trustees to be newly formed in each province?

G. I cannot say immediately what exactly would have to be done. I know, however, that to promote decentralization such as I want, we would have to do away with the central control now dominating our every activity. Today our machinery is top-heavy. Our approach and method being what they have been hitherto, this was inevitable. It could have been avoided had I followed and insisted from the very beginning on our doing the right thing. It is not that I was not aware that the work was not going on the right lines. But I succumbed to the temptation of doing some work and let the work develop itself, resulting in the present centralization.

J. Yet we shall have to evolve some sort of constitution. . . If the work of the provinces is to be entrusted to some body, registered societies with at least seven trustees for each would have to be set up.

If you allow me I shall soon bring about decentralization in sales. Today khadi is such a profitable business and so full of opportunities for expansion that dealers and tradesmen are ready to take it up. I am flooded with letters asking me for the transfer of one bhandar or the other. But as a clear picture of the coming decentralization is not yet before my eyes I am not able to go ahead. And even were we to entrust khadi work to some individual, trust or institution we shall have to insist on three things: (a) Purity of khadi, (b) Living wage and (c) Non-profiteering. If we are not able to control these three things the whole business will be reduced to a farce. Whatever is to be done has to be done very carefully. For example, take the case of the A. I. S. A. Every now and then we issue circulars to our branches to raise the wages and to impress upon the workers not to put the spinners to any difficulty whatsoever. Nevertheless, our experience is that it is well-nigh impossible to keep every worker of each centre in full control regarding such matters as accurate determination of the count of the yarn, correct payment of wages without adding or subtracting a pice or two here and there, and many little things of such nature. And this happens even though our worker has no axe of his own to grind. We appealed to purchasers of khadi to pay a higher price but those engaged in the craft did not receive an adequate wage. This is as regards the conduct of workers and centres even when run under the direct supervision of the A. I. S. A. If however we introduce decentralization and the control slackens or is almost withdrawn, one cannot say what a fearful mess the certified dealers might not make of it. Whether it is an individual or an

institution, there is acute rivalry among all those engaged in khadi work. Even institutions indulge in a lot of profit-making. Under these circumstances if the A. I. S. A. keeps away from commercial sales, it would be a problem as to who should be entrusted with this responsibility or what sort of conditions or limitations should be imposed on them. Again, if the provinces are to be left free to look after themselves, they do not have enough workers with the proper khadi outlook to be entrusted with the work.

G. Is there no way out of this difficulty?

J. The issue of provincial freedom will not be so difficult in some of the provinces, but it is bound to lead to complications in most of them. For the present, I think, it would be wise to confine decentralization to the district, and not to extend it to the province. The change should not be effected all at once.

G. For the present we may introduce decentralization in production only. It should be binding on the producers to sell in their neighbourhood what they produce. And it must be insisted that the central office should be consulted in case of distant sales.

J. What is the harm if we limit the sales-area of a centre to its tehsil?

G. We may, but we must see that the producers or those who live in that village or in its neighbourhood wear the khadi produced. We do of course recognize that khadi may be required to be produced for other places also.

J. We would ask workers to go to the centres that are well developed and to extend the work on the new lines as far as possible. The A.I.S.A. will withdraw from those places where such workers take up work. Thus decentralization will grow. But one thing is important. We shall ask the workers to sell khadi where they produce it, or in the tehsil or at the most in the district. The A.I.S.A. will help in disposing of the surplus. There is no loss in this work at present, as we know. Today all the khadi that may be produced can easily be sold. There is no worry as regards sales but only about transport.

G. Is the khadi sold in those centres where it is produced?

J. No, not even in the neighbourhood. Today we have our bhandars in the headquarters of the district and sometimes at tehsils also. We have also agents for taking khadi from the district bhandar and distributing it in other places in the district. To those engaged in the craft we supply khadi after deducting two annas, four annas, or even eight annas in the rupee. But apart from it, most of the khadi is sold in the cities.

G. As against this, I want the worker to go to his centre and produce only as much khadi as he can make the people there wear. He must not produce for outsiders. He should not rest content with training people in khadi production alone but should impart

instruction in other crafts also. The earnings from these crafts will also go to the villagers and add to their meagre resources. We shall take the unused or surplus khadi only if the villagers there tell us: 'We are producing khadi in a larger quantity than we can ourselves consume as we want cash for our other needs. Please, therefore, buy our surplus khadi.' It is quite possible that such villages as produce more khadi than they use will develop into centres of khadi production. But I am not thinking now of them. I have in mind only those villages where production of khadi will be carried on as a supplementary industry and so where the people will not depend for their living only on khadi but also on other industries. That is how most of the villages will have to be organized. This is decentralization in the true sense of the term.

J. Agriculture is the main occupation in the countryside. The bullock oil-press can also be run but it can provide a livelihood only to a few. It is khadi alone that can in a large measure relieve unemployment among the poor. But there is little scope for earning money through khadi produced for self-sufficiency. Should we desire to add a few pice to the coffers of the villagers, we shall have to encourage production of khadi for sale outside and we shall have to make arrangements for it. Otherwise we cannot succeed in providing relief to those underemployed villagers who have work only for part of the year.

G. The trouble is that such khadi will continue to provide occupation to a few people only without spreading everywhere.

J. Spinning, I hope, will become universal. Weaving of course will be a skilled craft carried on by a few as it is even today. The fact is that so long as there are mills khadi production cannot be carried on on a large scale. We began cloth self-sufficiency work in Surgaon. Ours was a five-year programme. Vallabhswami's experience is that people do take to khadi but not intelligently. Once we withdraw from the centre, khadi also disappears. Unless the people grasp the place of khadi in the entire economy of the village they will not stick to it. The benefits derived from self-sufficient khadi are so little that it offers hardly any attraction.

G. That also worries me. Vallabhswami's words resound in my ears. Party feeling developed in his village. Fasting had to be resorted to. I feel that behind it all there was a mistake in approach somewhere. We offered inducements to the people, gave them facilities, but these do not serve our purpose. We have to discover to what length khadi, by its own inherent strength, can carry India forward. So far in our quest we have found that khadi is saleable in the cities but not in the villages. We have not yet succeeded in making it acceptable to the villagers. If we have been defeated we must confess our defeat. We should learn from our past experience and adopt new methods of

work if needed. That is why I say that we should stop producing khadi for the cities. Today about a crore of rupees worth of khadi is sold in the cities. We should hereafter make it clear to the cities that we cannot any more supply them ready-made khadi but will teach them how to produce it, leaving them the option of either producing it themselves or getting it from the producer. I am not enamoured of the sales of one crore of rupees worth of khadi in the cities. We should put into khadi work not money but brain and heart. In other words we shall now have ruthlessly to investigate the value of khadi in terms of its real potentialities. In case we find it does not carry us as far as we claimed, let us give it up or lower our claim or let us take up some other basic occupation such as agriculture.

From the very beginning it has been my firm conviction that agriculture provides the only unfailing and perennial support to the people of this country. We should take it up and see how far we can go with it as basis. I would not at all mind if some of our young men serve the country by training themselves as experts in agriculture in place of khadi. I have come to realize that we have yet to overcome a lot of difficulties. The time has now come for us to pay attention to agriculture. Till now I believed that improvement in agriculture was impossible unless we had the administration of the State in our own hands. My views on this are now undergoing modification. I feel that we can bring about improvements even under the present conditions, so that the cultivator may be able to make some income for himself from the land even after paying his taxes. Jawaharlal says that any extra income to the peasant through the improvement of agriculture will be swallowed up under one pretext or the other by the alien Government. But I feel that even if it were so, it should not hinder us from acquiring and spreading as much knowledge about agriculture as possible. It may be that the Government will take away any additional income that may come to the villagers through improvements in agriculture. If they do, we can protest and teach the people to resist and make it clear to the Government that it cannot loot us in this manner. This is only by way of an illustration. I therefore hold that we must hereafter find workers who will interest themselves in agriculture.

J. From the very beginning the question of agriculture as the main problem of the peasantry was before our eyes. But we did not take it up because we thought it too difficult and also because we had to keep in view our own limitations. Besides, in agriculture the peasant is today dependent on external factors altogether beyond his

control. Supposing, for instance, we taught him better methods and he succeeded in producing more, his lot would still continue to be as bad as it always was if in the mean while the prices of cotton were reduced by half, a contingency which he can do nothing to prevent. This is the terrible situation confronting him.

G. There is remedy for this also. We did not train him on the right lines. The capitalists induced him to sow commercial crops that would yield them money, so food crops became scarce.

J. This is inevitable where economics is subservient to the ruler or the capitalist.

G. The same is the condition in the field of cattle farming and dairying. The cow and the bullock are intimately tied up with agriculture. In this field also we have failed to play our part. Therefore, our workers going to the villages will hereafter have to be alert and acquire the necessary knowledge to render effective service along all such lines. God alone knows how far they would be able to accomplish all this. But I have said what I had in my mind and what I thought fit.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 168-74

37. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

CHI. SUNDARAM,¹

Your letter and booklet. Come when you want to.
Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3179

38. LETTER TO A. N. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

MY DEAR SHARMA,

Are you so devoid of sense of humour? I had no evil thought about your visit to Nagpur. Indeed I thought (and rightly as it has

¹ The superscription is in both the Devanagari and the Tamil scripts.

turned out) that you had gone to render assistance to some friend. You had utilized my day of silence for that purpose. I was interested in you and so asked questions about your work. I paid you a compliment by summing up your life as of a homeless wanderer. I connected you with 'aniketa'¹ of the *Gita* and envied you. Your home was nowhere and everywhere. How could you mistake all this for a reflection on you. It shows what a sorry thing foreign speech is. What is to be done? Must I cease to use the English idiom to my countrymen? Or are you specially touchy? Anyway I hope you understand the language of this letter.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

39. LETTER TO HERBERT G. WOOD

SEVAGRAM,

October 12, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you remember your letter to me of 21st July, 1942. You rightly say that if your suggestion is right I would not be deterred from accepting it. As I see it, it is not right even after two years. How can a captive people help other oppressed people except by being free ?

Your letter was given to me on my accidental release in the early part of this year.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

HERBERT G. WOOD, ESQ.

WOODBROOKE,

SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM 29

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ One without a home; XII. 19

40. LETTER TO A. V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

BAPA,

I got your letters. By all means engage one or two paid men. You will of course have to pay a handsome salary. Shatikumarbhai will take your place, and whatever services are assigned by Vaikunthbhai and Swami Anand should be accepted. This will be besides [the work of] the paid man. The latter shall not indulge in politics.

I understand about the Bank. If you wish you may deposit some more money in the Bank.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1194

41. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Sita did stay here, but she wants to soar high up in the sky. Most probably she will attend school in Akola. She is a fine girl. She has become quite friendly with me. I am fine. I think you can come over here only when Manilal returns there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4938

42. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

[SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, (C.P.,)]¹
October 12, 1944

CHI. NIMU,

How did Usha fall ill? If no milk or soup is given while the fever

¹ As on the letterhead

is on, it will come down sooner. That is how we here begin the treatment in all cases of fever. This applies to all, young or old. Nobody fears fever. Sometimes, it may be necessary to give an enema. Give as much water as she can drink. Warm water will be better. You may add salt and soda to it, also some lemon juice. If Kanam really wants to come here, send him over. Or, bring him along at Diwali time, that is, if you can come. Will not Ramdas also have holidays then?

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI
TORNCO SALES DEPT.
KINGSWAY, NAGPUR, C.P.

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

43. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

October 12, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You do not want a reply to your letter, do you? Live and act as though you were just a cipher.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4448

44. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 12, 1944

J. Before discussing the idea of decentralization further, I would like to place before you the present position of khadi work. It will help us in our discourse. Khadi work has been carried on along two lines:

(i) Production and sale of commercial khadi to the utmost extent.

(ii) Extending cloth self-sufficiency as much as possible. Today the A.I.S.A. is blamed for not discharging fully its responsibilities in both these respects.

G. May I interrupt? Have we carried on sufficient research in regard to the self-sufficiency programme to be able to prove that self-sufficient khadi is cheaper than mill-cloth? In case we are not able to prove it, our villagers will not take to self-sufficiency and the workers will have to face despair. Now you may proceed.

J. There will be no cause for despair if we once grasp properly the limitations under which khadi work has to be carried on, whether it is commercial khadi or self-sufficient khadi. For instance, in spite of having made great progress as regards commercial khadi, it cannot be speeded up all of a sudden, for so long as there are textile mills khadi can develop only on public goodwill. Besides, there are other difficulties. Today, for instance, we produce one crore rupees worth of khadi. Last year we discussed a scheme to increase it to five crores. This meant that ignoring all other considerations, we had to make use of whatever workers were available, irrespective of their quality in order to push through our programme. After careful calculation we reached the conclusion that even after our utmost efforts we shall not be able to produce more than one and a half times our maximum production, and that it would be quite impossible to increase production to two to four times. Besides, there are other dangers in so recklessly increasing the work. For then we shall have to recruit all sorts of workers who are neither conversant with khadi work nor observe truth and non-violence. This will not only injure the basic policy of the A.I.S.A. but also bring a bad name to it since the behaviour of the new workers may not always be becoming and clean. I am, therefore, not in favour of developing work on such lines.

So also there are limitations in regard to cloth self-sufficiency. Even if the various processes from cotton-cultivation to ginning, carding and spinning are carried out by the villagers in their own homes, weaving charges are so high that their net saving as compared with the price of mill-cloth is very little, so little that the villager is not easily inclined to put himself to all the trouble involved. Besides, mill-cloth seems more attractive to him than khadi.

Moreover the reasons underlying our self-sufficiency programme require to be explained to the villagers in a manner which will appeal to them. They must see that only through working for self-sufficiency the entire money of the village will remain in the village, that they can control the factors that make for their well-being, that idle time will be profitably utilized and that the people of the village will become industrious. In other words, self-sufficiency khadi work can begin to have permanent effect only when carried out as part and parcel of the wider programme of non-violent village uplift or village reconstruction. A programme, which aims at making a certain number of villages self-sufficient in cloth within a specific period, does not appeal to me. We can succeed only to the extent to which we learn to work intelligently and with the backing of educated public opinion. Work based on momentary sentiment or emotion does not endure.

The same is true about other village industries as well. For the present the bullock oil-press is running well in the countryside. But there are serious misgivings as to whether it will continue always to do so. The fact is that our village economic organization of which khadi, *chakki* and other village industries were the various main organs has collapsed. Further, on account of mill competition, village-made cloth, flour, rice, oil and everything else have become costlier. Should we desire to reinstate them in their proper place, we should have to tackle the entire village economy and build it up anew. Concentration and research on any single aspect will

be of little avail. Inertia has seized our people. Progress cannot be by leaps and bounds but very gradual. The problem is very intricate indeed.

G. I would like to go even a step further. I accept all that you say. That is why for three days I opened my heart before the A.I.S.A,¹ and raised all these issues.

Now we have to do the work anew with the objective of all-round village uplift. Let us see how far we can go. Even if our present activities have to be slackened or reduced to nought for some time on account of these changes, it does not matter. We have created some sentiment about khadi among the people. But if there is some error in what we told the people about the significance of khadi we must pause. If ours was a wrong claim we must declare our error openly and withdraw our claim.

I would ask city-dwellers to produce their own khadi. I would forgo the temptation to supply khadi to them. We shall go and settle in the villages. In case workers want to leave us on account of this change we shall let them go. Unless our head and heart are converted to this extent we cannot achieve the desired result. We of the A. I. S. A. will merely direct policy. By decentralizing our work as much as possible we shall free ourselves from day to day khadi work completely. Thereafter we shall concentrate our energy and attention on the other activities or crafts carried out in the vicinity of the village we settle in. Only then will the real substance of our work be realized. All these years I remained under the delusion that we had made good job of it in that we had put four and a half crores of rupees in the pockets of the poor. I became anxious to increase it to sixty crores, and I claimed swaraj would be in our hands if we produced sixty crores worth of khadi in a year. Had I persisted along that line, I might perhaps have succeeded. But now I realize that even if I had succeeded what was done in a year might possibly have been undone in the next. Today our main concern should be to lay the foundation for this work as deep as possible.

J. It means that the city workers should curtail their present work (which is mainly concerned with pushing up sales in the commercial way) and start selling khadi in lieu of yarn. They should also participate in the programme for the revival of other village industries.

¹ *Vide* "Speech at A. I. S. A. Meeting-I", 1-9-1944 and "Speech at A. I. S. A. Meeting-III", 3-9-1944.

G. Exactly. In case we do not do it we shall be betraying ourselves and the world. Today we rejoice in having sold khadi worth several thousand rupees in one day in the Kalbadevi Bhandar at Bombay.

J. If we arrange to give khadi in lieu of yarn, and the A.I.S.A. does not do it, private dealers would come forward and say that they would willingly take up the work, asking us merely to give them certificates. If we agree to it we shall have to look into their accounts, their procedure, their work, etc., and we shall get engulfed in a maze of difficulties from which it would be hard to extricate ourselves.

G. Satis Babu says that we should give them freedom in this matter.

J. He holds that the entire production and sales work should be handed over to the people, and the A.I.S.A. should keep aloof.

G. It is essential for us to consider his proposal in detail.

J. In matters of money even good men have been found to have failed in resisting the temptations of earning extra profit . . . Human nature being thus what it is, it is very dangerous to hand over khadi work to private persons.

G. I have my answer. I do not know what exactly Satis Babu's proposal means. But in the picture before me there is no question of handing over khadi work to anybody. We shall say only this much to city-dwellers that if they want to put on khadi they cannot do so save according to the principle we have laid down. It is not merely a principle of economics but also invariably of morals and ethics. According to it everyone has to prepare his or her own khadi. If there is no weaving arrangement in the city, weavers can be domiciled in the cities, or somewhere in the neighbourhood in colonies. Weaving can be carried on there. There need be no rivalry. We shall explain to the city people that the khadi we are at present giving to them is of no use, as they are not able to know the extent of relief that the poor obtain thereby, and that therefore they should get khadi woven before their own eyes. Thus we shall change our policy. Today we ask the city people to take to khadi on the plea that it supports lakhs of people. But this compels the A. I. S. A. to resort to trade and commerce. Well, if the Sangh were to carry on commerce alone, it could easily support many people by doing so.

Hence we are not going to lend to khadi dealers the prestige of the A. I. S. A. We shall withdraw from that field of work so that the certificates will cease to have any meaning. The only limitation that we shall observe is that if there is some extra khadi left over in a village or

locality after meeting the local need, and if that khadi is useful to the city people we shall permit it to be sold in the cities. But the khadi should not be produced specially for export to the cities. If this means a reduction in our work it matters little. I am sure I am not providing true work relief to the people from the way in which I am doing khadi work today. What I am doing is tempting them by the handsome wages of the A. I. S. A. This is not the way to make the work permanent. If the poor want employment we must provide it. But it must be in such a manner that they can secure earnings from their own neighbourhood instead of depending on distant cities .

J. I would like you to throw more light on this point.

G. Today we are not really able to help the villagers. By offering the spinners three, four, six or eight annas I comfort myself with the belief that I have given them a livelihood. But it amounts to nothing more than a dole, for the work that I am providing them is not of a permanent nature. In case we get control of the State in our hands and by that means close all mills, it may perhaps then be possible to provide them permanent work. But today I cannot hide from them the truth that I have been only trying to fill their idle hours. If I have to provide them with some money I shall teach them other crafts also. I shall fully acquaint them with the present economic situation and educate them in this regard. No doubt I would wish to give work to every spinner who comes seeking it. But I shall not send the khadi thus produced to Bombay. I shall ask the workers to sell it in the neighbouring villages. But this is not enough. I must investigate what work other than spinning can be provided to them in the village. Only by revising the entire economic life of the village can our work become permanent. Whether for villagers or for us, I agree, cities will always have some sort of attraction. Nevertheless we shall be free from our present day city life. We shall show how in contrast to the cities more amenities can be provided in the villages. But if we merely go on sending to Bombay the khadi produced in the village, this object can never be accomplished, however high a wage we may pay to the village spinners.

I allotted an hour every day for discussion with you because I believed that through such discussion my own thinking would be clarified. I am convinced that we shall have to introduce fundamental changes in our mode of work. If we are destined to fail we shall face it; we shall do so with full knowledge and alertness, not in our

ignorance or folly. Even then If people laugh at me I shall bear it. They might say: 'Gandhi wasted a crore of rupees. But of course no one pocketed it.' I need your help in deciding whether what I am saying is correct. I would like to know your opinion.

J. When we send to the cities the khadi produced in the villages we provide immediate economic benefit to the villagers. But if we stop doing so what else can we give them?

G. If I had my way I would say to those whom I have been supporting through khadi so far that they should get out of this rut and take to some other work. We shall have to find other work for them, as we are doing in Sevagram where the majority of the population consists of Harijans.

J. The situation here in Sevagram is exceptional. There are so many institutions here. Guests are always coming in, new houses are under construction and various other activities are going on. All this provides work to the people.

G. Everywhere I would try to create a similar situation. We shall have to apply our mind and energy to discover new avenues of work.

J. What you say about agriculture, cattle-breeding, etc., is perfectly correct. But we should also consider how to provide permanent economic benefit to the villagers through khadi. Had mill-cloth not been there, it would have been easy. But the question is what are we to do when we have the mills.

G. I would explain to the people that they could not get khadi like mill-cloth. I would try to bring it home to them that if khadi is dearer the extra money goes to the villager, his family and to the village, and that this provides security to the economy of the village. I would explain to them the moral aspect as well. Besides, I would teach them other methods of earning in the village. I have now given up the idea that villagers can earn their living through doing khadi work alone.

J. It means that we have to set them to work by bringing home to them the moral and social value of khadi and other village industries.

G. Yes, I do not want to confine myself to khadi alone now. I am, therefore, thinking of ways and means of improving the condition of the people through a rehabilitation of agriculture, cattle-breeding and all other village industries. My problem will be solved if I succeed even in half a dozen villages, for "as is the part so is the whole".

J. That means we shall have to develop the villages keeping their allround progress in view. We should emphasize not only the economic aspect of khadi but explain its moral and social aspect also.

G. From this point of view even Vallabhswami's method does not appeal to me, for he emphasizes only khadi and promises to make the entire village khadi-clad within a certain period. There was a time when this idea appealed to me immensely, but now I feel that khadi alone cannot revive the villages. Village uplift is possible only when we rejuvenate village life as a whole, revive all village industries and make the entire village industrious.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 175-81

45. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM ASHRAM,
7a.m., October 13, 1944¹

Those who will look only to God shall cease to look to persons dead or alive.

If you digest this well you will never grieve.

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

46. LETTER TO P. T. RAJAN

SEVAGRAM,
October 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

It was an act of self-denial for the students to have given out [of] their pocket money Rs. 133 to the K. B. M. Fund.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI P. T. RAJAN
INDIAN STUDENTS' HOSTEL
KANDY, CEYLON

From a photostat: G.N. 797

¹ As noted by the addressee

47. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 13, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

Here are the insurance papers. I would like you to put them before Sir Alladi¹ or whomsoever you like and secure his opinion. I think a representation should be sent to the Central Government about the fine.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2097

48. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 13, 1944

J. Today I would request you to throw more light on decentralization. Narrowly viewed, there is even now decentralization in production because production centres are distributed all over the country. But of course all capital is centralized in the Head Office. I believe that the central control existing today is merely a control exercised by the A.I.S.A. in regard to policy.

Looking at the matter from the point of view of capital we must consider under whose initiative the work is to be carried on in the villages hereafter and who is to bear the profit or loss in the end. Now there are three ways of doing this.

Our worker on the spot can carry on all the work. Or, we may work through a committee of villagers interested in khadi work who may themselves raise shares, subscriptions, etc. Or as a third course the artisans of khadi can form their own societies and carry on the work as their own. If the worker remains solely in charge we shall have to hand over to him all the assets, money, property, etc. Should he then be regarded as a trustee or should some condition be imposed upon him? If the worker carries on his activities with an eye to personal profit there is every likelihood of undesirable developments. I think the best way, therefore, would be to form co-operative societies. Selfish interests may lead to some mismanagement but this fear should not deter us. We may have co-operative societies not only for khadi but also for oil-pressing, hand-paper, etc. In course of time these bodies in the various villages may, if necessary, merge into a union.

¹ A. Krishnaswami Iyer

G. I do not have much to say on this point. Wherever we can get reliable workers work should be started. There is no harm in beginning simultaneously the three types of experiments you have enumerated. But, as we had discussed yesterday, we can get rid of many worries if we do not hold ourselves responsible for khadi sales. So long as khadi remains a saleable commodity, these worries are bound to be there. I also realize that we cannot entirely get rid of them today. But so long as we believe that khadi, like bread, must be made at home and that we should not maintain ourselves on bazar-made biscuits even if cheaper, we shall have to explain to the people that to use bazar-made goods is to court disaster. If the people grasp the idea, we shall have to devise an easy method of khadi manufacture at home. Our slogan will be 'cloth even like bread'. All difficulties will then disappear. The co-operative bodies will then have their own shape and form which need not now be anticipated.

When you said that there was decentralization in khadi production, I was about to contradict you. Even in Lancashire some cloth is made at home, not for the use of the home but for the use of the masters. It would be outrageous to call this decentralization. So also in Japan everything is made at home; but it is not for the use of the home; it is all for the Government which has centralized the whole business. Though things are made at home, and made in a better manner than in England, yet the producers cannot keep any of it for their home consumption. The work is done at the behest of the Government which supplies ships and does everything else to carry such goods to the different markets of the world and thus draw wealth from other countries. The same is happening in Lancashire. Though millions of dhotis are made there, yet not a single one is available to any purchaser on the spot. They are exported to the country for which they are scheduled, be it India, Africa or any other. I would certainly not call this decentralization.

So also with khadi. Our artisans produce not for themselves but for the A. I. S. A. to which they give their finished material for wages paid. They were happy when we raised their wages. But this is not decentralization. What I mean by decentralization is that the artisan must produce for his own or his neighbour's use and not for sale. When we realize that khadi is not a commodity for sale but for self-consumption only then we shall have grasped the message of khadi and understood the scope of its potentialities. We may be

expected to clothe the whole country with khadi after getting political power. Should we not therefore make such an arrangement from today so that we may be able to make the country self-sufficient in clothing in case the future government of free India were to provide the requisite facilities to the A. I. S. A. and ask it, as an expert body, to do this task? But if the government of the day were to close all its mills, and to charge us with this responsibility, we are apt to fail as things are today. We should, therefore, know the extent to which khadi can take us. I myself cannot say that I know it for certain. But what I am quite clear about is that khadi should not be for sale but for self-consumption. Hence the necessity of changing the present policy of khadi work. We have before us the task of reconstructing our whole country, and in this khadi is an important item. So also there are oil-pressing and other industries. It is only if we look at the problem from the point of view of production for use rather than for sale that the country has everything to gain by Our work, and we shall be able to meet the situation squarely without withdrawing a single step when we obtain control over the reins of Government.

J. I presume what you mean is that we should direct all our efforts towards cloth self-sufficiency, i.e., towards spinning for one's own consumption.

G. Exactly so. But as I have no personal experience about it I cannot insist on it. I first introduced khadi and only later studied its implications and experimented with it. I find that I have been deceiving myself. What I gave to the people was money in the form of wages and assured them that it contained swaraj. People took me at my word and believed me, and continue to believe me. But I have now my own misgivings as to how far such khadi can lead to swaraj. I am afraid that khadi has no future if we continue it as today.

J. Do you visualize a stage in which the khadi bhandars running presently in the cities will be closed down?

G. Of course I do.

J. We shall then have to supply khadi to the people in lieu of yarn alone.

G. When we saw that we could not proceed without spinning we learnt spinning. But we did not take to weaving. However, now we feel that weavers will also have to be trained in the same manner. Whatever changes we want to introduce we must introduce intelligently and with discrimination.

I may recall what we did about living wages in spinning. We went along certain lines. Slowly it dawned upon us that khadi so

produced was no philanthropy but an exploitation of spinners. We then raised the wages. I pleaded for eight annas. The rest of you insisted on three annas. I agreed to your three annas. Then you raised it to four annas. Similarly we may proceed in our new attempt. First you must accept the principle, later we shall proceed in the light of our experience. You have pointed out three possible ways of reorganizing the work on the new basis. Think over them. We have got our machinery in every province. Provincial organizers are already there. Call some of the workers and discuss the matter in detail with them. True, it will mean some curtailment of our present work. But that will not deter me. Even if nobody else spins I shall go on spinning alone. When we started khadi production I was told that khadi dhoti was impossible to produce. I replied that I would put on sack cloth or a blanket but would not wear a mill dhoti. And hardly a month passed when Maganlal produced a dhoti; Gangabehn Majmudar also sent me one and asked me to place an order for any number of them.

J. It means we shall have to stop the large-scale sale of khadi in the cities and instead ask the people to take up spinning for themselves. Consequently, at least for some time a lot of our work will come to a stop.

G. I agree that there is practical consideration behind what you say. Today people have become paupers. Therefore if you provide them with bread they will do whatever you ask them to do. But if we carry on our work thoughtlessly we shall be deceiving them as well as ourselves. The livelihood we provide them today is nothing but a sort of dole as is usually handed out during the time Of famine to the people who are offered work on the roads or quarries. It does not have a lasting value.

J. Before asking khadi consumers to spin their own yarn we should consider how much we ourselves are devoted to spinning. Let me take the instance of the A.I.S.A. workers. Our rule requires every worker to spin at least 7_ hanks in a month. But we have not had a satisfactory response. Further, the number of spinners among the khadi customers is quite small. Most of the spinners in the countryside spin only for wages, scarcely for their own use. This is the situation. I wonder how far the experiment you suggest can succeed under these circumstances.

G. At least this much should be clear to all that khadi is not an occupation or a craft merely for earning a livelihood. None of us should harbour this idea. For, if khadi is an industry it would have to be run purely on business lines. The difference between khadi and mill-cloth would then be that while a mill provides employment to a

few thousand people in a city, khadi brings a crore of rupees to those scattered about in fifteen thousand villages. Both must then be classified as industries, and we would hardly be justified in asking anybody to put on khadi and boycott mill-cloth. Nor can such khadi claim to be the herald of swaraj. On the other hand we have claimed that the real significance of khadi is that it is a means for uplifting the villages and thereby generating in the people the spontaneous strength for swaraj. Such a claim cannot then be sustained. It will not do to continue to help the villagers by appealing to the philanthropic sentiments of city-dwellers. What is required is that the villagers should be made strong to face life's problems and march ahead. If we encouraged mills, the nation might get sufficient cloth. And if mills are nationalized cloth prices may also come down, people may not be exploited and may earn adequate wages. But our reason for putting forward khadi is that it is the only way to redeem the people from the disease of inertia and indifference, the only way to generate in them the strength for freedom. If other crafts are also thus revitalized, our villages could be made self-sufficient and self-reliant. They would prepare their own soap from *sajji* clay. That soap will not have the luring fragrance of soaps turned out in the factories of Tata and Godrej. Its packing also will not be so attractive. But it will have the quality of self-sufficiency even like khadi. But this grand picture of khadi as the means of all-round uplift of the villages, which I have been putting forward for so long, is not being realized. The talks I have had with the workers have led me to believe that I must now retrace my steps. As the founder of khadi, I must not grudge doing so. That is the call of truth. I retrace my steps consciously or intelligently, and not in a mood of defeatism or of cowardice. If there was any exaggeration in my claims for khadi it is but right that I must own it publicly and rectify it.

J. Our chief claim was that khadi was a craft whereby those who were forced to remain idle for a few months in the year could have some supplementary earning.

G. No, I did not stop at that. I went further and claimed that it had the capacity to bring swaraj.

J. That is true, but you did not stress so much its life-giving capacity as you are doing today. About three lakhs of people are employed in khadi work. They cannot quickly develop the manifold virtues (other than those of self-sufficiency) that you desire. They may do so in course of time. What you want to do today is to stop khadi sales and make people spin for their own needs, do you not?

G. You are right.

J. But a closure of the sales would mean a suspension of spinning for wages.

G. Of course. But the little amount of spinning we may then have would positively be such as can yield swaraj. For basically that strength is inherent in spinning.

J. Today we are in contact with about three lakhs of people through khadi work. Requiring people to spin for self-sufficiency, we would reduce it to no more than thirty thousand.

G. These thirty thousand would later grow into three crores. Be it as it may, I at least will not be guilty of betraying the cause. Further, we shall then not have to cajole or coax the villagers and artisans to spin. What we do today is to go to the villagers with a money-bag like bankers and promise four or six annas for spinning. Instead, we would enter into the life of the villagers. The workers and the villagers would freely lay bare their hearts before each other. We would raise the wage of the (woman) spinner. I would pay her as much as to a man. But I would tell her clearly that I am not interested in her spinning merely for a wage. I would ask her to spin for herself. I would promise to get her yarn woven, her children educated and trained in one craft or another. I would enquire into her budget and promise every assistance. I would try and relieve her of her woes. Had we done this from the beginning and taken the right type of workers with us, we would have assuredly secured freedom by now. But I have no regret for the past.

J. Do you think that you can get a large number of workers of this type? If so, it is easy sailing.

G. The mistake was undoubtedly ours. We did not keep this point of view ever before us. Nor did we train workers for it. Also we were in too much hurry. Had we devoted ourselves to the task intelligently, we would have got the needed workers.

J. You have said many a time that good workers should go and settle in the villages.

G. Yes, in order that they may make khadi the emblem of non-violence. If we fail, our claim for khadi will lose all force.

J. After all we shall have to get our workers from the material that we have in our country today.

G. If that is our attitude there can be no swaraj through non-violence. In other words, people are not ready for my conception of swaraj.

I would then go my own way even if I have to work all alone. I

would be happy if any of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., Hindustani Talimi Sangh or other bodies co-operate with me. It is quite possible that people may not follow us. It would then show that we are full of violence and that the non-violence we talk about is not non-violence but cowardice.

J. That is all right. But the question is one of implementation.

G. We should then renounce the tall claim we have made. We must stick to the truth. Without hesitation, without flattering ourselves we must declare that we are weak like everybody else and that we are in no way better. It would then be clear that swaraj, if and when obtained, will not be due to any special strength of ours.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 181-7

49. TELEGRAM TO NAGENDRA BIJOY BHATTACHARJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 14, 1944

NAGENDRABIJOY BHATTACHARJI
PRESIDENT, CONGRESS
BARISAL

ASK CONGRESS OFFICIALS.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

50. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

October 14, 1944

MY DEAR MAHMUD,

I see quite clearly what you have to do. Your letter must be given to the Press with an explanation. You have to send a wire to the Government asking for permission to release the letter.

You have to make a Press statement pending publication. "I have seen Press paragraphs making baseless suggestions against me. I have asked for permission to publish my letter which was intended to be private and confidential. I ask the public to suspend judgment pending publication of my said letter. I can say this however that I have neither broken with the Congress nor Gandhi with whom I am

now staying and under whose advice I am acting.”¹

I suggest the following wire to the P.S.V.2

“As many innuendoes have appeared in the Press about my release may I publish my letter to H. E. dated . . . I should have no objection to Government releasing same at my request.”

More when we meet. I see I cannot come to you before 4.15. I must attend to some of the work in front of me. I hope you had a restful night. Don't worry. Everything will be well.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5068

51. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

October 14, 1944

DEAR KALESWARA RAO,

Bapu was very glad to have your letter of the 8th inst.

He is sorry about Shri Narayanarayu's demise. We shall have to make such sacrifices before the battle of freedom is won.

Thanks for your suggestions which have been duly taken note of by Gandhiji.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI A. KALESWARA RAO
SANTIKUTIR
NANDI GRAM
KRISHNA DISTT

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* “Statement to the Press”, 22-10-1944.

² Private Secretary to the Viceroy

52. LETTER TO ABDUL QAIYUM

October 14, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 6th instant.

In regard to your question Gandhiji desires me to say that if the party members are in favour of attending the session of the Assembly he is not going to interfere.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

JANAB ABDUL QAIYUM

M. L. A. (CENTRAL)

ABIGUZAR

SRINAGAR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

53. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 14, 1944

Do you know the poem 'Try Again'? No giving in permitted.
All other trust is vain. Only trust in God. That is the lesson of Vidya's death. Your love is on trial.

This for today.

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

54. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

October 14, 1944

BHAI TANDONJI,

Is this Rashtrabhasha?¹

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The letter is written on a printed circular of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, issued in English.

55. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 14, 1944

J. If your programme of village reconstruction as a whole is to be taken up, we must select and train efficient workers. . . .

Then there will be the question of training workers for which we would have to start *vidyalayas* in every province and frame syllabi for them. There is a great dearth of able teachers. Our first-grade workers have confined themselves to their particular areas—to their village, tehsil or district. . . .

I do not quite see how the new work can be accomplished unless we divert some of these workers from their field to the training centres. Who else can impart the right attitude and approach to village workers?

G. Khadi work started in the beginning from a single centre. So also now we may begin with only one training centre. We shall prepare graduates there and send them to other centres. They will produce other workers who will start yet more centres.

J. It may involve a lot of time, from five to even ten years.

G. Possibly, but I do not think so. Our first batch will consist of those who have already enough prior preparation, and so they will not take long to go out as full-fledged workers. Again, as soon as they have acquired a certain amount of efficiency we shall ask them to go out to the villages and add to their store of knowledge by dint of actual experience in the field. I do not, therefore, feel that a large amount of time will have to be spent on training. But even if it is, we should not worry. If we do not get workers of the highest quality it does not matter. We will try to obtain the finest material, but be ready to do with what we can get at present.

J. The workers we got in 1920 proved their worth. Thereafter we did not secure that high type of workers in so large a measure. Some did come indeed, and do come, but in very small numbers.

G. The fact is our method was defective and there was little in our programme to attract the better type. There seemed to be little scope for intellectual development in our work. Hence a large number of people did not feel attracted to it. Besides the remunerative attraction present in other fields was not there. But what was worse, a sort of ignorance and inertia characterized the khadi workers, which made others look down on them. People felt that khadi workers did not dress properly, looked dirty and were quite often devoid of common sense. The workers did not have adequate knowledge of the science of khadi and so did little to explain it to the people. They were

often not in a position to answer the simple questions of those who wanted to know.

We did settle in the villages where we provided work to the villagers. But the intellectual among us did not, to any large extent. The few who worked did not have the attitude of an anxious and earnest devotee eager to explain his viewpoint to the people.¹ If we had we would have become such experts in our work that we would have been in a position to declare before economists, “We know all that you know. But you lack the practical knowledge that we have. This you can learn from us.”

J. True. Our knowledge is incomplete and we have very many defects. But our scale of measuring values is also different.

G. May be, but we must have the capacity to tell them that their scale is not right.

J. But how to compare moral values with material values?

G. Then you could at least place those moral values before them and prove their worth. If I come to realize today that khadi alone is not going to last I shall have to proclaim it to the world. So far as the material value of khadi goes, even Government records show that there is a place for the spinning-wheel as a means of relief, like stone-breaking, road-making, etc. You also can establish this much that khadi has an invariable place as a relief measure. But what we are required to prove above all is the need for khadi to establish a strong, non-violent village economy.

We shall see what difficulties we come across in working the programme of self-sufficiency. Commercial khadi may continue for a time, but the essential programme of the A.I.S.A. hereafter must be that of self-sufficiency, and workers should concentrate all their thought and energy on it.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 187-9

¹ The Hindi here has: “But a sufficient number of intelligent workers did not come forward from amongst us to work in the villages and those who did so did not learn the art of explaining their viewpoint to an anxious or earnest enquirer.”

56. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

MY DEAR GLADYS,

This is just to thank you for your letter and to say you must take care of yourself.

Love.

BAPU

MISS GLADYS OWEN
NUR MANZIL
LAL BAGH
LUCKNOW
U.P.

From a photostat : C. W. 11282. Courtesy : Dr. Priyamvada Mathur

57. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

Sevagra me yesterday. First about Henry¹. If I had received any letter from him I would have answered immediately. But I have nothing from him. I have enquired of both Pyarelal and Kanu and no letter from him can be found. I have registered my complaint. I don't want to ruffle him by repeating the complaint. Everybody I have met is sore at heart about his doings in U.S.A. Please give my love to Henry and Millie.²

About the developments here you know enough. I can add nothing except this that I am still trying. My trust in the God of Truth or better still in Truth which is God cannot be shaken under any conceivable circumstance. That for me is the rock of ages.

I hope Horace received my cable welcoming you, Muriel and him or any of you. I am in touch with the Metropolitan of Calcutta and now with the Bishop of Rangoon. This is only by the way to tell you of the company I keep and cultivate.

I am keeping as well as I can.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ H. S. L. Polak

² Millie Graham Polak, wife of H. S. L. Polak

58. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

CHI. MAGAN,

All of you may come over whenever you wish. The reason for my writing is a letter from Bhai Mayashankar. He writes about his dues. I think the matter should be settled. Jyotilal writes about Champa¹ and says that she wishes to come here. I think all these matters can soon be settled.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVAN MEHTA, BARRISTER
82 GHODBUNDAR ROAD
ANDHERI, BOMBAY, B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1030. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

59. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I read your letter written on the *Rentia Baras* day and also read the one written by Chi. Amba² *alias* Sujata. Why should we fear death when we know that wherever we are we are dancing in the jaws of death and they may close any moment to swallow us? Why should we worry about it? One day we have to leave this world, then why not today? We are also aware that death is not the end of the *atman*.

What Tulsiramji says is true but we should not regard it as a rigid law. In the prevailing circumstances your taking a lawyer's help or writing yourself whatever you wish to write is certainly proper. It may also be your duty.

I was glad to read your syllabus. You should not give up [your study of] Urdu. You will progress even if you devote half an hour or 15 minutes to it every day.

Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Sabarmati Sangrahalaya

¹ Wife of Ratilal P. Mehta, addressee's eldest brother

² Addressee's wife

60. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have had no letter from you. I hope you are quite well and I need never be worried that I do not have a letter from you. May you be happy and remain so.

Bhai Mahmud's reply is enclosed.

May the New Year prove happy for you!

Kanam is absorbed in his play and is bubbling over with joy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

61. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 15, 1944

God's grace descends on those who do His work. You have to do God's work. Do you ever ply the charkha? Plying the charkha constitutes the greatest *yajna*. You should ply it even while weeping. Meditate over this today.

Do as Pandit Shiv Sharma has directed. He has prescribed harmless remedies.

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

62. FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

Acharya Shriman Narayan Agrawal is one of those young men who have sacrificed a prosperous, perhaps even brilliant, career for the service of the Motherland. Moreover, he happens to be in full sympathy with the way of life for which I stand. This brochure is an attempt to interpret it in terms of modern political science. Acharya Agrawal seems to have made an earnest study of modern literature on the subject. I am sorry to have to say that I have not gone through the treatise with the attention it deserves. Nevertheless I have read enough of it to be able to say that he has not misrepresented me in any place. There is no pretence at an exhaustive presentation of the implications of the charkha economics. It claims to be a comparative study of the charkha economics based on non-violence and the industrial economics which to be paying must be based on violence, i.e., exploitation of the non-industrialized countries. Let me not anticipate the author's argument. I commend the treatise to the careful attention of every student of the present deplorable condition of the country.

The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India

63. A FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit has asked me to pen a few words about the late Ranjit Pandit's unfinished rendering of *Ritusanhar*. I consider myself wholly unfit to do justice to the author's effort nor does Vijayalaxmi expect me to attempt the impossible. But the touching circumstances under which Ranjit Pandit made the effort need emphasising. It is remarkable how much India owes to political imprisonments. Lokmanya's celebrated work on the *Gita* would not have seen the light of day but for his imprisonment nor Jawaharlal Nehru's world-known works. Ranjit Pandit's *Rajtarangini* and his labours on *Ritusanhar* might not have been but for his imprisonments. And he was ailing in the prison. His literary labours made him forget his pain. Instead of a preface the author's introductory notes

are deeply interesting and instructive. It reveals to us Ranjit Pandit as a patriot and scholar. Having known him intimately I know what talents he had. It is a sad thought that such a son of India should have died in the prime of life. I congratulate Vijayalaxmi on giving to India and the world her husband's last labour of love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

64. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Silence Day, October 16, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Herewith my foreword¹ or whatever it may be called. Let me know if you want something besides this. However much I tried I could not read the whole book. It requires at least four hours; how can I spare that?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 301

65. LETTER TO P. H. GADRE

SEVAGRAM
October 16, 1944

MY DEAR GADRE,

Incidents like what you describe will happen. You must not mind them. You have to continue to invite visitors. The Managing Committee members may be told to be careful and tactful. If you must come, you may come any Sunday. It is Divali today. For financial strain, I would like you to keep yourself in touch with Bapa.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI P. H. GADRE
NASIK

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Foreword", 16-10-1944

66. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

October 16, 1944

BHAI RAMNARAYAN¹,

I have the letter signed by you and Bhai Umashankar². I was surprised to find that you two made a common cause. The inquiry is now on under Jajuji's supervision. Hence I will not express any clear opinion at the moment. I will write again within three or four days.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA RAMNARAYAN PATHAK
BHARATI NIWAS
ELLISBRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

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

67. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS,

It was of course my fault that I misunderstood what you said. I beg your forgiveness for that. However, though my misunderstanding you two may be pardonable, whose forgiveness am I to ask for having taken interest in your story of a theft and the remarks I made on hearing the report? It has relieved me somewhat to know that Jinnah Saheb has punished me fairly well for that. But for me this punishment is not enough.

The alternating improvement and worsening in your health is not a good sign. Please do take care.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4689. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

¹ (1887-1955); Gujarati scholar and man of letters

² Umashankar J. Joshi, Gujarati poet and man of letters

68. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

CHI. JETHALAL,

Jajuji has investigated the matter. He had passed on [the relevant things] for me to peruse. He also gave me the letter addressed to you which I have read. I find that no office-bearer has made any allegation against you. Bhai Dhotre¹ never had any suspicion. And why should he? You are not asking for the return of some money that had been given away. You have only asked for the substantiation of any charges against you. There is no allegation, however. But I don't like your rejoinder to Jajuji. It reads like a lawyer's reply. It is not worthy of a votary of non-violence. Jajuji had asked the questions only to refresh his memory and you ought to have answered them. I want you to answer them even now.

Do you really have any khadi activity there these days? What do you do nowadays? How far have you merged yourself in the life of the people of Anantapur?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

69. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. We ought to raise a memorial to Mahadev. It is worth considering when and in what way it can be done. I for one have been thinking over it now and then. When you come here for the 4th of November please arrange things so as to have a spare day which you can spend here. We shall then talk it over.

Blessings from
BAPU

VAIKUNTH MEHTA
POST BOX 422
BOMBAY

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

¹ Raghunath Shridhar Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Seva Sangh

70. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

October 16, 1944

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I had your telegram and today I received your letter. It is quite all right. Subsequently I came to know that this Harijan had come to you. He is a good man; sort of a labourer and a little moody. He insulted a lady and on being scolded he ran away the day before yesterday. He was given the fare and sent home. I think so long as such Harijans are willing to abide by our rules we should have a place for them. Such a situation is the consequence of the sins of Hindu society. I can however understand your difficulties. The student who arrived here must have spoken to you. I don't recall his name.

Blessings from

BAPU

VIYOGI HARI

HARIJAN NIVAS

KINGSWAY, DELHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1100

71. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am herewith sending a booklet about Higginbottom¹. Professor Joshi had been here to get my signature on it. I declined to sign but agreed to write about it to some friends. You might have perhaps seen his farm. Maybe, you can help it a little if you approve of it and ask others to support it. I thought of writing to Singhanian also but I shall drop the idea for the moment and be content with this one.

You must have received my letter of yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

Encl. Pamphlet

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8062. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

¹ Sam Higginbottom, Principal, Allahabad Agricultural Institute

72. LETTER TO SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI SOHANLALJI,

I have gone through both your letters. I had a vague impression that you liked my idea. It was this: It is a bad practice to over-price a book to secure donations. And associating a name with such a price-rise is worse. I have conveyed the same view to Ghanshyamdasji.¹

What shall I say about the merits and demerits of your work? I have no capacity to judge poetry. How can I speak about poems written in my own praise? Of course I can say you have put in a lot of labour and no worthy labour is ever wasted.²

If you sell your work at market price we would at least know its comparative value. No special effort should be made to sponsor the sale. Many books sell on their own merit without any effort. You may realize your own expenses from the amount you have collected and, with the permission of the donors, send the balance to me for Harijan work or donate it for some altruistic work.

You can make public use of this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", 8-10-1944.

² This paragraph is from a facsimile of the Hindi in *Gandhi Abhinandan Granth*, p. iii.

73. *NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

October 16, 1944

One can do anything when one is peaceful and happy. But the charkha is the support and solace of the unhappy and the hungry. You must not abandon it when you are in grief. I shall write to Kewalramani¹. Get me to do so in the afternoon.

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

74. *LETTER TO K. B. KEWALRAMANI*

SEVAGRAM,

October 16, 1944

MY DEAR KEWALRAMANI,

I have your note. Vidya was a priceless girl with her thoughts always turned towards God. I miss her probably as much as you do. But Anand is simply disconsolate. I tell him, in being so he fails to be true to Vidya. Her soul is surely not at peace when she knows that her dear ones grieve over the dissolution of her perishable body, instead of copying her godliness and doing the work of God. Anand is trying to be peaceful and useful.

Yours,

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

75. *NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

7 a.m., October 17, 1944

You should make your time-table so as not to leave a moment free. That is the real love for the departed. Look at the Englishmen. They also love their dear ones. But they devote themselves to service all the more when they lose their dear ones.

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

¹ Addressee's father-in-law; *vide* the following item.

76. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 17, 1944

BHAI AMRITLAL,

I saw your letters written to Sailen¹. You should not have assumed that I would let the marriage² take place without informing you. But you have of course given your consent for it. They wanted to marry even while I was in jail. Then I did not consent to it. But now even if I tried Abha would not agree to postpone it. They have come very close to each other. They do observe the proprieties, but their mutual affection is growing. I would like the marriage ceremony to take place in Sevagram around the 5th of November.³ I would expect your blessings for them. Do come if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10356. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

77. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 17, 1944

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Received your letter. It is good. Your health is good. Well done. The more you improve your health the better will be the work you do. I can send all the money that is needed. If you send a certificate from Bhagirathji I can even send it from Ba's fund. But in that case a certain procedure will have to be followed. Budget sanction will be required. Satis Babu may himself write about the cow, he can also advise regarding khadi. He is a trustee as well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

Akbar⁴ has gone to a village in Gujarat. Zohra⁵ will join him after having had training in nursing at the Ashram.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 485

¹ Addressee's son

² Of the addressee's daughter Abha with Kanu Gandhi

³ The marriage took place on November 7.

⁴ Akbarbhai Chavda and his wife

⁵ *ibid*

78. LETTER TO ARUNCHANDRA GUPTA

October 18, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of October 2nd as also your letter of 27-7-1944 have been duly received by Gandhiji. Thanks for your good wishes.

What you say about Bengal is true. The matter is deeply exercising Gandhiji's mind. But at present the scope for effective action seems to be very limited indeed. He feels the handicap and the limitation galls him. He is therefore waiting upon God to show him the way.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SHRI ARUNCHANDRA GUPTA
SECURITY PRISONER, SPECIAL RESERVE JAIL
P. O . BUNA DUAR
JALPAIGURI DIST. (BENGAL)

From a photostat: G.N. 8670

79. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM,

October 18, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

You need not transfer the money as proposed by you. Keep it with you or transfer it to the V.¹ Ashram and use it under Sastri's guidance or his nominees.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Vinaya

80. LETTER TO VITHTHALDAS JERAJANI

October 18, 1944

CHI. VITHTHALDAS,

I have your detailed letter. My partiality for you is well known by now. You would think carefully before starting work anywhere. You need not insist on spinning at places where it cannot be easily popularized. If people agree either to card or spin or weave or get cloth woven for their own needs, let them do so. Jajuji will send you a note explaining my views¹ in this matter. Read it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9806

81. LETTER TO INDU PAREKH

Kartak Sud 1 [October 18, 1944]²

CHI. INDU,

New Year's blessings to you all.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Expressed during discussions with Shrikrishnadas Jaju; *vide* "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 7-10-1944, "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 8-10-1944, "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 10-10-1944, "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 11-10-1944, "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 12-10-1944, "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 13-10-1944 and "Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju", 14-10-1944.

² The letter has been included among those of 1944 in which year *Kartak Sud 1* fell on this date.

82. LETTER TO NRISIMHAPRASAD K. BHATT

Kartak Sud 1, 2001 [October 18, 1944]

BHAI NANABHAI,

I am sure your son's operation will be smooth and successful. Normally this kind of surgery does not involve any risk. You must pay me a visit before you return. Even if you have no questions to ask I have some. You may send Manubhai¹ and Vijaya² whenever you can. They may stay on as long as they like. In the mean while who will look after the work at Ambla? Blessings to Hiralal and Ponchibehn.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

83. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 18, 1944

We do not know if the dead send anything to the living; but the living do. Hence we should never weep after their death.

God's grace is gained by doing His work. This is done by serving the afflicted—in thought, word and deed.

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

84. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

October 19, 1944

CHI. DAHYABHAI³,

I have your letter. I feel that we cannot submit to a search. If we are permitted to go only on condition of submitting to a search, we should give up that desire. I think that you may go if they have imposed no such condition and if later they want to make a search,

¹ Manubhai and Vijaya Pancholi

² *ibid*

³ Son and daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel

you should refuse to submit to it.
God will protect Manibehn¹.
I am writing this in great hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 162

85. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

SEVAGRAM,
October 19, 1944

BHAI BALASAHEB,

I wished to but could not reply to your letter by return of post. There is no need to issue a rejoinder to *The Free Press [Journal]*. It will be enough if you give an interview to some paper or to a Press agency. I consider your reply to the Government perfectly harmless and complete in itself. Your health will improve at the Kaivalyadham³.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kishorelal is keeping well.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2773

¹ A yoga institute of Bombay

86. LETTER TO DADUBHAI DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
October 19, 1944

BHAI DADUBHAI,

I have your letter. We should have only women workers for women's institutions. Let them make mistakes, if they will, and learn in the process. Does not the Government tell us that we shall have swaraj when we have gained experience? Let us learn from them that women who have all along been oppressed by us must have a right to make mistakes if we want to help them become independent.

Blessings from
BAPU

DADUBHAI DESAI
NADIAD

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

87. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

October 19, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter. I am dictating this to Kanu for fear that my handwriting may not be legible.

I enclose the name and address of the nature-cure specialist in Andhra. I shall have a list prepared of other names and addresses for you.

With regard to Kamubehn my advice is that if she says she is not able to pay, we should leave it to her. I understand that she depends on the income of her husband. It seems her father too is in reduced circumstances. I cannot say for certain. Ardeshir¹ must be growing up. He should become an embodiment of nature in every way.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Addressee's son

88. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 19, 1944

Consider what a poor man would do in your situation. He would labour twice as much if he lost his wife. He too is a devotee of God. The inner joy comes from doing God's work. We should place ourselves in the position of the poor. You should look upon your deafness as a gift from God. Even a moment's idleness should be looked upon as theft of God's treasure. I know no other way to inner or outer happiness.

Do you follow all this? Or would you like me to write in English?¹

* * *

The best way to celebrate the date is for you to devote yourself wholly to spinning or some ashram labour of your choice and connect Ramanama with it.

* * *

Wholly unnecessary.² You may give something for those who are in real need.

BAPU

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

89. LETTER TO ANASUYA AND SHANKERLAL BANKER

SEVAGRAM,
October 20, 1944

CHI. ANASUYABEHN AND SHANKERLAL,

I have letters from both of you. May you both enjoy good health—mental and physical.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11565

¹ The following two paragraphs and the subscription are in English.

² The addressee had asked whether he could continue the practice of distributing fruits and sweets on the 20th of every month.

90. LETTER TO S. P. PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
October 20, 1944

CHI. APPA,

I have your letter. Let us not gloat over the pleasant nor brood over the unpleasant. It is therefore well and good that you experienced pleasure and pain simultaneously. There is no need to quit the Congress, or to give up the office that might come your way as a result of the election. Maybe, it is your dharma to cling to the office. Dharma to quit can arise if there is risk of being left behind. We must not frantically pursue an elective office so as to lose our senses. You have to decide for yourself which of the two above-mentioned dharmas holds in your case.

Blessings from
BAPU

APPA PATWARDHAN

RATNAGIRI

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

91. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 20, 1944

Today is an auspicious day for you. I had often made Vidya cry. She would weep like you and implore me to give her God's vision. I chided her and told her to see God in the charkha and not expect to see Him merely by sitting near me. She understood it in the end.

We are machines as well as mechanics. The body is the machine and the soul the mechanic. Today you have to take machine-like work from your body and render an account to me.

BAPU

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

92. *LETTER TO G. C. SONDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR SONDHI,

This is in reply to yours of 6th.

My blessings you have. Have they any value apart from your own effort?

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI G. C. SONDHI
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

93. *LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI*

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

Your letter in your usual style. I must await your arrival in patience. The Nawab Saheb's telegram quite becomes him. Let us see what happens.

I hope all is well on your side.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

94. *LETTER TO V. VENKATAKRISHNAIAH*

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I would like you to make your experiment in Sevagram but I lack the faith you want to inspire in me. Your intention is wholly good, your execution is defective. Nevertheless you shall come to see

me, if I feel settled down. You will know when I am.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. VENKATAKRISHNAIAH
KHADDAR SAMSTHANAM
BEZWADA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

95. LETTER TO GOVINDLAL

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR GOVINDLALJI,

This is in reply to your kind letter of 13th.

I never had any faith in the parliamentary programme. I have tolerated it as I tolerate many things. You know where my faith lies.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI GOVINDLALJI
15 LANDS END ROAD, MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From a copy: File No. 3001/H/P 297. Commissioner of Police, Bombay

96. LETTER TO ATMARAM BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

BHAI ATMARAM,

I have just heard that in the name of non-violence you have given up milk and milk-products as also medicines. I do not at all approve of this. After all am I not the sole source of these beliefs? You know that I do take milk although not cow's or buffalo's. Hence there is now no point in my having given up milk. We shall all give up milk when there is someone among us who will guide us towards intelligently giving up all milk as such. Understand that the same

applies to medicines. You can be said to have truly given up medicines if you ate all your food regarding it as medicine. Know it to be your dharma to preserve your body which is to be utilized for public good.

Blessings from
BAPU

ATMARAM BHATT

BHAVNAGAR¹

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

97. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

October 21, 1944

By all means study Sanskrit. The effort made for learning correct pronunciation will not be wasted. Chaste pronunciation is a requisite for [learning] any language. But perhaps for Sanskrit accuracy of pronunciation is imperative. It is not at all necessary for you to study English. Assimilate the knowledge you already have and add to it.

My blessings of course are with you .

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 358

98. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 21, 1944

A man can positively see God through the object of his meditation. The charkha is the best symbol and it produces tangible results too.

Institutions like the Ashram, etc., thrive because one needs the support of others. Physical nearness is not always necessary for such support. Some find it through correspondence, some through meditation and still others through the noble words of the dead, just as we meet Tulsidas every day.

BAPU

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

¹ The letter was dispatched through Sarvashri Jadavji, Rasiklal and Jethalal Joshi.

99. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
October 22, 1944

Congressmen should read without passion Dr. Mahmud's letters to the Viceroy and his statement to the Press releasing those letters. The motive in writing the letters was undoubtedly pure. He did not want his release before that of his colleagues of the Working Committee and yet the Government could not, consistently with their declaration, detain Dr. Mahmud after his unequivocal dissociation from the very start with the civil resistance clause of the A. I. C. C. Resolution¹ of 8th August 1942.

Where Dr. Mahmud erred was in not informing his fellow detenus of the letters. If he suppressed himself for so long he could not, without consultation and without authority from them, write to the Government what his mind was at the time the Resolution was passed. The practical question for Congressmen is whether they are to make use of Dr. Mahmud's services or ostracize him for the 'impropriety' he admits having committed. I have no doubt whatsoever that they should make the best use possible of the services for which his long and unbroken connection with the Congress makes him eminently fit. For me, in spite of his indiscretion, he remains the same dear friend he has been since the Khilafat and before. The public know my connection with the father-in-law, the late Maulana Mazharul Haque².

The Hindu, 24-10-1944

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Resolution passed by All-India Congress Committee", 8-8-1942.

² A nationalist leader from Bihar; one of the founders and, later, President of the Muslim League. He supported Gandhiji during the Champaran and Civil Disobedience movements.

100. HINTS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS¹

Workers should definitely realize that the constructive programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning *purna swaraj*. Its wholesale fulfilment is complete independence. Imagine all the forty crores of people engaged in the constructive programme which is designed to build up the nation from the very bottom upward. Can anybody dispute the proposition that it must mean complete independence in every sense of the expression, including the ousting of foreign domination? When the critics laugh at the proposition, what they mean is that forty crores of people will never co-operate in the effort to fulfil the programme. No doubt there is considerable truth in the scoff. My answer is, it is worth the attempt. Given an indomitable will on the part of a band of earnest workers, the programme is as workable as any other and more so than most. Anyway, I have no substitute for it, if it is to be based on non-violence.

Civil disobedience, mass or individual, is an aid to constructive effort and is a full substitute for armed revolt. Just as military training is necessary for armed revolt, training in constructive effort is equally necessary for civil resistance. And just as the use of arms becomes necessary only when an occasion demands it, even so is the use of civil resistance only occasional. Therefore workers will never be on the look-out for civil resistance. They will hold themselves in readiness, if the constructive effort is sought to be defeated. To take one or two illustrations, effort for communal friendship cannot be defeated, political pacts can.

But political pacts are required because of the previous lack of friendship. Similarly khadi manufacture and its use cannot be defeated if both become fairly universal. The manufacture and use are not to be brought about by imposing them upon the people, but they have to be intelligently accepted by them as some of the necessary items of the freedom movement, when it is worked from the villages as units. Pioneers even in such programmes are likely to be obstructed. They have had to go through the fire of suffering throughout the

¹ This was sent to the Workers' Conference held in Bombay on October 28 and 29 under the presidentship of N. V. Gadgil. Congressmen from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka also participated in the Conference.

world. There is no swaraj without suffering. In violence truth is the greatest sufferer; in non-violence truth is ever triumphant.

If this preliminary observation has gone home to the reader he will find the constructive programme to be full of deep interest. It should prove as absorbing as politics so-called and platform oratory.

The detailed constructive programme is to be found in my pamphlet¹ on it, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad's² which is a running commentary on it. It should be remembered that it is illustrative, not exhaustive. Local circumstances may suggest many more items not touched in the printed programme. These are beyond the scope of a treatise on an all-India programme. They are necessarily for local workers to find out and do the needful.

In these hints I have singled out some items for fuller emphasis in the light of experience gained since the publication of the programme.

The kisan or the peasant, whether as a landless labourer or a labouring proprietor, comes first. He is the son of the soil which rightly belongs or should belong to him, not to the absentee landlord or zamindar. But in the non-violent way the labourer cannot forcibly eject the absentee landlord. He has so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him. Closest co-operation amongst the peasants is absolutely necessary. To this end, special organizing bodies or committees should be formed where there are none and those already in existence should be reformed where necessary. The *kisans* are for the most part illiterate. Both adults and young persons of school-going age should be educated. This applies to men as well as women. Where they are landless labourers their wages should be brought to a level that would ensure a decent living which should mean balanced food, dwelling-houses and clothing, which should satisfy health requirements.

Land laws should be examined. The peasant indebtedness offers a limitless field for research. The problem of cattle too is an integral part of agriculture in India and therefore requires the attention of workers skilled in this very intricate and somewhat baffling problem.

Closely allied to the *kisan* work is labour. Here labour means industrial labour and, therefore, concentrated and centralized and

¹ Vide "*Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*;" 13-12-1941.

² *ibid*

much more limited in scope. Moreover, it lends itself readily to political handling; being necessarily confined to the cities it attracts workers more easily than *kisan* work. As part of constructive programme its primary aim is elevation of labour to its deserved status. Therefore a labour worker's aim should be to raise the moral and intellectual height of labour and thus by sheer merit to make him or her capable not merely of bettering his or her material condition but making labour master of the means of production instead of being the slave that it is. Capital should be labour's servant, not its master.

Labour should be able to support itself during strikes. (Labour should be taught the science of conducting a successful non-violent Labour should be made conscious of its duty from whose performance rights follow as a matter of course.

In a concrete form:

(a) Labour should have its own unions.

(b) Education, both general and scientific, of both men and women should be regularly undertaken through night-schools.

(c) Children of labourers should be educated after the Basic Education style.

(d) There should be a hospital, a creche and a maternity home attached to every centre.

(e) Labour strike.)

All the work I have mentioned could be only done through unions mentioned in (a). To my knowledge the Ahmedabad Union is the best managed union. This does not mean that it has reached my ideal. It is trying to. If all the unions worked in the same direction, the lot of labour would be infinitely better than it is today. Labour united and morally and intellectually trained would any day be superior to capital.¹

Next in importance is the student class above the age of 12. Indeed if we had enough workers of the right type, I would go so far as to say that we should work among them as soon as they begin learning as infants. For they have to be taken in hand from the school-going age. Indeed, I need not say that I have not in mind their political use. For the present the schools are largely under Government control or are influenced by them. Hence the students' education is defective in a vital matter. They are untouched by the political condition of the country save what they learn from the newspapers or platform orators. They should have in a systematic

¹ This sentence is from The Bombay Chronicle, 28-10-1944.

manner their present education supplemented by Congress workers. How this can be fitted into the present system of education is a serious question. But it has to be tackled. Up to the matriculation standard co-operation of parents is necessary.

I adhere to the view often expressed by me that the student world should be aloof from the political turmoil. It would be different if there was mass civil disobedience. But at any rate for the time being that is out of the question. But they should have education in national consciousness. It is the duty of an independent State to teach its citizens to be patriotic. The education is imparted by a foreign agency. It runs contrary to the national aspirations. There should, therefore, be a body of workers whose duty it would be to undertake the big task of taking in hand the work mentioned above. In this sense it is a new field and it is of vital importance to us. We must recognize the fact that the students are not to be weaned from schools and colleges. The rapidly increasing number of entrants is proof positive of it. The best course, therefore, is to supplement their studies in an orderly manner. Deliverance lies through national effort in this direction showing marked superiority over the foreign method.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, October 22, 1944

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

101. LETTER TO UMIA AGRAWAL

SEVAGRAM,
October 22, 1944

CHI. UMIA,

Why do you reprimand me ? I wanted to give you a good husband. Have I not given you one ? I can arrange for divorce if you do not like him. There are always ups and downs in life. They temper us. You will make me feel ashamed by feeling defeated like that. You will hurt the spirit of Jamnalalji and also make Jaya feel ashamed. Why are you becoming a coward ? I have imagined you to be brave. May the New Year be fruitful to both of you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

102. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

October 22, 1944

BHAI HIRALAL SHASTRI,

Why should you need anyone's blessings for your function? Even then you have mine. For people like you, however, your work itself ought to be the blessing. I have heard a lot in praise of your work. It would have been fine if you could have come. But why should anyone, immersed in his own work, waste his time going places?

Blessings from

BAPU

BANASTHALI (JAIPUR)

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

103. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI¹

October 22, 1944

Hope is eternal. Devotion to it never goes in vain.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuke Ashirvad, p. VI

104. TALK WITH FRIENDS

[*On or after October 22, 1944*]²

Friends and co-workers tried to argue with him. He had just presented to them his enlarged and revitalized programme of constructive work. Would not the great wave of emotion, which his fast would set up, disturb the "peace and tranquillity" in which many of them were settling down to work? Gandhiji replied:

But that is just what I want. I do not want you or anybody else "to settle down" to anything. In the midst of this frightful triple do so because I know the joy of dying. Because I know that joy and amazing thing is that I still survive and can feel the joy of living. I can grief are the obverse and reverse of the same coin, I remain unaffected

¹ According to the addressee this "was written on a picture entitled 'Hopes' which Vidya used to cherish so much".

² From the reference to the "Hints for Constructive Workers", 22-10-1944.

by either and act as God bids me.

Must you speak through the pangs of hunger? Is there no other method?

There are many. They are for you to adopt. I must use mine, which I hold as a special gift from God to appeal to the heart and soul of the people.

a result, it would not let loose a storm with none left to control it?

That may happen. I do not want it. But I would face that risk if the upshot of living a conscious life of truth and non-violence for over half a century is that India, too, has to go through a blood-bath.

“Why should you not in that case invite the risk of chaos in pursuit of non-violence? The slaughter of soldiers, civilians and truth, it is impossible to settle down to anything. One has ceaselessly to be on the march body and soul. My business is to stir up myself and my surroundings and shake us out of our complacency.

What reason had he to think that his fast would compel the people to think instead of paralysing their thinking?

While it might be presumptuous on the part of a puny individual like himself to think, he replied, that his fast would galvanize the people, it was his faith that he had not striven all those years in vain to live a life of truth and non-violence, that gave him the right to speak through his fast.

Today millions are experiencing the pangs of hunger in passive helplessness. Even a small fraction of this suffering undergone willingly and with knowledge could change the face of the situation. How can I speak to these millions, or identify myself with them, without [under]taking this fast and knowing myself what pangs of hunger mean?

He could not point to any single thing in explanation of his urge to fast, he said, but the whole situation in its totality overwhelmed him.

The friends were not satisfied. What guarantee was there that if anything happened to him as while you are there in the flesh to control it?” the friends returned to the charge.

Because I do not want anarchy or chaos. I must work for orderliness, not anarchy. But if in that attempt anarchy comes in my way, I would not be deterred by it. The world is thrilled by the reckless bravery of the Japanese. Far greater courage and bravery are expected of non-violence at this juncture if the law of the Jungle is to be replaced by the law of love.

Mahatma Gandhi —The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 98-9

105. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
October 23, 1944

Mr. Horniman¹ thoughtfully sent the following wire to Mr. Pyarelal on the 19th:

Can you confirm or deny the Allahabad report that Gandhiji is contemplating a fast to achieve communal unity?

Pyarelal sent the following reply:

Thanks. Report without foundation.

The reply is accurate, in that I do not contemplate any fast to achieve communal unity or any particular end. Yet the reply is not complete.

Ever since my premature discharge, I have been saying to myself and some friends that yet another fast is in store for me. Of late what was vaguely felt has been taking a concrete shape, and so I have been sharing the feeling with a larger circle of friends. The report has now crept into the Press. It is as well for the public, therefore, to have a correct version of the talks I have been having with friends.

Fasting has a definite place in the scheme of satyagraha. It is the last weapon in the armoury of non-violence. It is taken by way of penance, purification, protest. If I am at fault, I must do penance. My non-violence rebels against the organized violence that surrounds me. It takes many shapes. Lying is as much violence as doing physical harm to a person. I do not here refer only to the violence of the rulers. I know this, that non-violence has to be most active in the face of what may seem to be invincible violence.

But nothing is clear, nothing is certain. What seems to me to be a call may be no call at all. I am, therefore, testing myself, discussing the pros and cons with friends, and allowing myself to be acted upon. I have never made fasting a fad.

I have never looked forward to it and yet it has often brought solace to the agonized soul, for real fasting puts the soul in tune with the Maker. It puts life into one's prayer. All the while, I am discussing the feeling with friends. I am praying for light and guidance, without

¹ B. G. Horniman of *The Bombay Chronicle*

which there will be no fast. I ask for the co-operation of friends throughout the world in my search for light.

The Hindu, 25-10-1944

106. LETTER TO MRS. HIGGINBOTTOM

October 23, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

I have your very kind letter. I have very few English-knowing girls. I would like you to be able to give me a fairly full course to village-minded Hindi-knowing girls for village maternity work. Must it take four years? I confess I am in the dark and so are my medical friends, not having worked in the villages. You won't think in terms of America. How can the village midwife be trained in the first principles?

My loving regards to both of you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

MRS. SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

HOME-MAKING DEPT.

ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURE INSTITUTE

ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: C.W. 10498. Courtesy: Mrs. Sam Higginbottom

107. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

*23 SEVAGRAM,
October, 1944*

BHAI MANGALDAS,

I have your letter. You are needlessly alarmed. There is no question of my doing anything. However, Bapa and you may try to convince me that I have done nothing wrong. For my part, I see my error clearly enough. But I will be glad if it can be proved an illusion. May not your sensitive heart be the cause of the repeated set-backs in your health? Harden your heart.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4690. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

108. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your detailed letter. I expect you are going ahead with the trust-deed. Devdas is rather slow but I won't let him forget about it.

I don't worry about the difficulties you mention because God is there to take care of both of us. We don't want to do anything for ourselves, do we? I am writing to Rameshwardas regarding the land and travelling facilities.

I hope you had my previous letter¹.

I am sure Ardeshir² is making some progress day by day.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Do you want anything to be added to the medicines for our treatment? We shall get it if it is necessary. Your Gujarati is all right.

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

109. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I gather from Dilip's letter to Swami that your health has deteriorated once again. It says you have had influenza and so forth. What is this ? Why has it happened ? I want detailed information. If you cannot write, let Dilip do so. I am deeply immersed in work.

Dilip must be quiet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹Vide "Letter to Dinshaw Mehta", 9-10-1944.

²Addressee's son

110. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. PARIKSHITLAL,

As usual with me I am not well informed about the parents and families of my co-workers. I learnt that your father was alive only on hearing that he had [recently] passed away. If I had known about it I have forgotten it. Do I have to condole with you? Some day or other we are sure to lose our near and dear ones and we too are bound to go the same way. There can be no exception to this rule. I expect, therefore, that you have resumed your work after performing the last rites.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

111. LETTER TO GANGA PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

DEAR GANGABEHN,

I came to know only through Gokulbhai's letter that your public spirited son has passed away. I don't think you are distraught. Are you? You have as many sons as you like. All the men and women workers are for you sons and daughters. I would therefore ask you not to go on grieving only to frighten everybody else. Life and death are and will ever be inseparable twins.

Blessings from
BAPU

GANGABEHN PATEL

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

112. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Is the land belonging to the Godrej Farm available? How does Jivanlalji help? Dinshaw's search is going on. These days it is difficult to obtain a vehicle for travelling. Can you do anything about it?

It has been proposed that the Birla House at Sevagram be used for the Maternity Home. Is there any difficulty about it?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

113. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 23, 1944

There is no harm in sitting near me but on such occasions do ply the *takli* as Mahadev and Kripalani used to do. Then you will not be stealing from God's time. The *takli* is our silent companion. Without making any noise it keeps turning out yarn which the world needs. While plying the *takli* we can see and hear everything. I would go so far as to believe that with God's grace, being absorbed in this sacrificial activity even your hearing may be restored to you. But if you become such a karmayogi¹, you would hardly care for your ears. The guru in the form of a monkey shuts his ears deliberately since the surrounding noise comes in his way.²

BAPU

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

¹ One who performs action without attachment

² The reference is to the Chinese figurine of three monkeys.

114. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
October 24, 1944

DEAR RAJAJI,

Herewith is a letter from Shri Joseph Victoria, a leper. Can you do anything for this unfortunate ?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
48 BAZLULLAH ROAD
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

115. LETTER TO JAMILUDDIN AHMED¹

SEVAGRAM,
October 24, 1944

BROTHER JAMIL SAHEB²,

Your letter dated October 7, 1944. The book which Quaid-e-Azam gave me contains better arguments than your writings. It produced no effect on me. What to do? How will you be able to do what Quaid-e-Azam could not do? Who does not know his influence over the Mussalmans?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 13-11-1944

116. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 24, 1944

The secret of my peace and sense of humour lies in my unflinching faith in God, that is, Truth. I know that by myself I can do

¹The Urdu original is not available.

²Convener of the Committee of Writers of the All-India Muslim League

nothing. How can I be unhappy when God dwelling within me impels my every act? I know too that whatever He makes me do, is ultimately for my own good. I should be happy in this awareness. If God has taken away Ba, it is for her good as well as mine. Hence Ba's loss should not cause me grief.

And so also you should consider it a sin to grieve over Vidya's death.

BAPU

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

117. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU¹

October 25, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

The Press cuttings on the breakdown of the talks² between Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and me show that for the most part the criticism is unhelpful and in some cases even regrettable. In the circumstances if a representative conference is held it might prove profitable. Anyway it can do no harm. No one is better able than your good self to take the lead in this matter.³ This conference should confine itself to an examination of the Pakistan issue in the light of the

¹This was sent through Dr. Beni Prasad.

²Which were held from September 9 to September 27, 1944

³In his letter dated October 14, 1944, the addressee had written: "Mrs. Pandit conveyed to me your message about the possibility of my calling a conference. I have for a long time been thinking over it and I have come to the conclusion that not only have I no locus standi to call such a conference but that such a conference will not do any good. In the first place I doubt very much whether Mr. Jinnah or the Hindu Sabha men will make any response as they can very easily dispose of me by saying that I have got no goods to deliver and I have got no party behind me. Secondly—and this is more important—I fear that in a conference like this where people will be actuated by party feeling and will be afraid of criticism from their own following if they take an independent line, no solid results can be achieved and indeed what I fear is that our differences will come to the surface. It is for this reason that I think that if you and Mr. Jinnah can appoint such a committee and that committee can submit a report, it may pave the way for a larger conference at that stage. I am, therefore, definitely of the opinion that a conference should not be called at this stage.

correspondence mentioned above.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7574

118. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 25, 1944

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. About sadhana do as I have suggested. Valjibhaī is here and he also says that he has checked up everything with *Indian Opinion*. My information therefore must be correct. You will however not be able to render me any personal service. Besides the sword of a fast is hanging over my head. I cannot say when the Ashram will go to pieces. Hence, I think it is best for you to continue to work among the Baraiyas³. I am convinced about what you say regarding education. They should therefore have the training that is offered at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL
NADIAD

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

119. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 25, 1944

Be engaged in more physical work. By all means carry on your studies and teaching but work a lot on the takli and charkha. Clean the vegetables. Participate in the work of the Ashram and see God in whatever you do, since God is omnipresent.

BAPU

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

¹ In his reply dated October 29, 1944, the addressee assured Gandhiji that he would try his utmost to promote the latter's desire in this matter.

² Valjibhai G. Desai

³ A community in Gujarat

120. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 26, 1944

From yesterday's experience learn the lesson that you are not to go anywhere alone.¹ Take someone along with you—maybe a boy or, say, a girl. And keep yourself absorbed in a lot of physical work. Weeping is no good. Be cheerful like Nandini².

BAPU

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

121. TALK WITH MRIDULA SARABHAI³

SEVAGRAM,
October 26, 1944

The unbearable forces of injustice, exploitation and falsehood prevailing in this country and the world stifle me. Government subsists on falsehood, but amongst us the number of people, who subsist on this falsehood and who have made injustice and exploitation the principles of their lives, is not small. In the presence of this, good elements of life are entirely suppressed and appear helpless. There is nothing left like moral public opinion.

On the one hand, there is a combination of violence effected on an unprecedented scale while, on the other, I have laid a claim that non-violence has strength enough to oppose any amount of well-organized and banded violence, and how to achieve it is the question. There are too good elements in India and the world, but how to awaken them? How can it be done? Fast is the last resort of satyagraha. When people cannot be made to do anything it is the right of a lone satyagrahi to resort to this final measure. If my fast comes about it is possible that it will be the complaining voice of the exploited humanity before the world.

¹ The addressee had broken down while taking a walk alone.

² Daughter of Mohanlal Nayyar

³ The report in Gujarati was released to the Press by Mridula Sarabhai but subsequently she withdrew it on being informed that Gandhiji intended to issue a statement on the subject, which however is not available. While sending this translation to the Home Department, the Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau *inter alia* wrote: "These notes are of interest as they furnish some indications of the working of Gandhi's mind."

Those who can foresee the possibility of mass movement, against the prevailing falsehood, they are at liberty to do it. But the individual or the individuals who do it must shoulder its complete responsibility. I cannot give my blessings to it. Today, the circumstances are not favourable for it. Besides, the public is full of resentment, and therefore the mass satyagraha would result in violence. Our little violence will be met by hundredfold violence by Government. We should not expect merciful treatment from them.

This does not mean that we should be a mute spectator of it, or that we should continue to suffer it. Those who consider the present condition as oppressive, and find the laws encouraging injustice and exploitation and depriving of one's liberty, they can definitely resort to satyagraha. Only that it should be done individually and it should not be devoid of politeness. It can only be done with absolute non-violence. There are good many forces contained in it. If a crore of people were to do individual satyagraha it would baffle Government. Then Government would either be helpless or resort to use of guns. You cannot sit silent after saying that individual satyagraha can be offered. It is one's duty to do it. If the public has any stamina, it can oppose thus the looting going on under its nose. Leaving aside the question of a crore of people, if all (local) people do so at one place, it is enough.

If individual satyagraha is not approved, the prevailing falsehood of the present day should be opposed in any other way. Today our own people are depriving the public of their food grains. If they do not do it, people will not starve. The cultivator, who produces food, does not get it to eat in spite of its being there. We have no political power, otherwise its remedy would have been found. This condition is terrible. I cannot tolerate our people behaving thus, and collecting vast fortunes at the cost of people's starvation. If we can rid our people of falsehood and roguery, Government's falsehood cannot work. Let us remove the corruption prevailing everywhere. It is already there in the Government, but it has increased to a very great extent among those middlemen who live on brokerage. If these people improve by themselves, others would do so. Today the chain of violence is made up thus. Against this we have to work non-violently. Fast is the last weapon of non-violence.

Corruption—It is both in the Government and other quarters. If non-Governmental corruption stops, the Government corruption

cannot go on. Non-violence has to bring about the union of good elements. Violence brings about unity among wicked elements. This is the first exhibition of violence.

The second is untouchability. Hindu religion must understand that it is a sin. If untouchability endures, Hindu religion will not survive. If the former is removed, the latter is safe. In the removal of untouchability and in trying to live as brethren Government cannot interfere.

The third exhibition is communal bitterness. Political settlement may be effected or not. As long as the present Government remains, it will not be possible; it would not be allowed. But we can develop good relations between us. We should not give any cause of complaint with regard to matters which are in our hands. The conduct of Congressmen in Allahabad Municipality has grieved me much. In short, we should develop good relations amongst us in the removal of untouchability and securing communal unity. Government cannot interfere in such attempts.

Refer to the supplementary note to the previous suggestions on the constructive programme and ponder over them. The meaning of your turning to me every moment for small things is that you do not want to use your intelligence. Everyone should be his leader. No harm if you commit a mistake. I shall point it out. You mend it and it should be considered as atonement. By making mistakes we shall find the real path. This does not mean that I would not guide you. As long as I can do so, I shall continue to do it.

When Gandhiji was requested to take the public into confidence with regard to all that is troubling his mind and to postpone his fast until then, he said:

I am neither in a hurry for the fast nor have a desire for it, but I think I will have to undertake it. I neither know the time nor the duration of the fast. I am trying to check that idea. How could I be a mute witness of the terrible looting and falsehood going on in India and the world? Then, what should I do? Should I start mass satyagraha? Or a revolution? That is possible. I can bring it about. But I do not want to do it. Non-violence cannot remain in it. I will not take that risk. There is no atmosphere for it. I can foresee it. Therefore the satyagrahi has only one weapon left and it is the fast. If I can move my forces thereby, I would do so. But nothing is certain yet. No decision has been taken on this fast question. Every time the public knew it after the decision was taken. This time I have been putting it

before my companions for discussion and consideration, and now this has been declared to the whole country. If they and the public desire, they might contribute towards its prevention by lessening its causes.

From File No. 51/4/44. Courtesy: National Archives of India

122. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH

SEVAGRAM,
[Before *October 27, 1944*]¹

The first question that arose was one bearing on the suggestion that the word 'basic education' might be incorporated in the Trust-Deed, so as to make it clear to all concerned that the education contemplated under the Fund² would be only of the basic type. Gandhiji did not approve of it. He did not wish to put any restraint upon the trustees. If any unit did not want to adopt basic education, he would leave it free to follow any other system approved by the Board.

But the Talimi Sangh should have the confidence that no one will be able to find a better system than theirs.

Basic education would forge ahead through its intrinsic merit. He knew that the reform would not come by mere argumentation. It would come by ocular demonstration. If they could carry their experiment to a successful end even in one village, the battle would be half won. He was, therefore, content to go slow. It was enough that the trustees had agreed to the money being spent for the education and welfare of women and children in the villages exclusively.

Your work is going chiefly to be among women. I have always had a passion to serve womankind. Ever since my arrival in India, the women have recognized in me their friend and servant. They have come to look upon me as one of themselves. I hold radical views about the emancipation of women from their fetters which they mistake for adornment. If God wills it, I hope one day to place some of my conclusions before the public when my researches are completed. My experience has confirmed me in the view that real advancement of women can come only by and through their own efforts. I am, therefore, anxious that as many women workers as possible should be inspired to carry out the Talimi Sangh activities under the Trust.

The second suggestion put forth by the Talimi Sangh was that the age of the

¹ The report, date-lined "Wardha, October 27, 1944", mentions this discussion as having taken place "recently".

² Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund

boys to be covered by the scheme should be raised from 7 to 12.

Mahatma Gandhi explained why he had agreed to the reduction of the age limit for boys from 12 to 7 years. It had been brought to his notice that, if there were equal facilities for the education of boys and girls, the mothers would send the boys to school but not the girls, as they would be loath to spare them from domestic work. The result would be that the boys would get a disproportionate share of the benefit and keep out the girls. But if in any place a sufficient number of girls was not forthcoming, they could take in boys above the age of seven, on condition that they would have to make room for the girls as soon as the latter came up and that their education was paid for. The object was not to shut out boys above seven, but to prevent them from being a burden upon the Memorial Fund. The Talimi Sangh should not fall back upon the Fund designed for women. All that he was concerned about was that the money of the Kasturba Fund should not be diverted to the use of boys over seven at the expense of girls.

“Is it desirable that there should be basic schools for girls exclusively if there was not enough room for both?” somebody asked. Mahatma Gandhi said he had no objection.

Supposing crores of boys come to us for education, are we to refuse them for lack of accommodation? I tell you I won't. I will let them sit under the shade of a tree, if necessary, put bamboo *taklis* into their hands and begin to educate them straightway through these.

As to adult education, Gandhiji observed that it had become clear to him that the scope of basic education had to be extended. It should include the education of everybody at every stage of life.¹

A basic school teacher must consider himself a universal teacher. As soon as he comes in contact with anybody, man or woman, young or old, he should say to himself: ‘Now, what can I give to this person?’

Won't that be supererogation on his part?

No. Supposing I come across an old man who is dirty and ignorant. His village is his universe. It would be my job to teach him cleanliness, to remove his ignorance and widen his mental horizon. I need not tell him that I am to be his teacher. I will try to establish a living contact with his mind and win his confidence. He may reject my

¹ Earlier, talking to a friend, Gandhiji had said he had been thinking hard during his detention over the possibilities of the new education. His mind had become restive. He said: “We must not rest content with our present achievements, we must penetrate the homes of the children, we must educate their parents; basic education must become literally education for life.”

advances. I won't accept defeat, but continue my effort till I succeed in making friends with him. Once that is achieved, the rest must follow.

Again, I must have my eye on the children right from their birth. I will go a step further and say that the work of the educationist begins even before that. For instance, if a woman becomes pregnant, Ashadevi will go to her and tell her: 'I am a mother as you will be. I can tell you from my experience what you should do to ensure the health of your unborn baby and your own.' She will tell the husband what his duty towards his wife is and about his share in the care of their expected baby. Thus the basic school teacher will cover the entire span of life. Naturally, his activity will cover adult education.

Some work for adult education is being done in many places. It is mostly concentrated among mill-hands and the like in big cities. No one has really touched the village. Mere three Rs and lectures on politics won't satisfy me. Adult education of my conception must make men and women better citizens all round. To work out the syllabus and to organize the work of adult education is a more difficult task than preparation of the seven years' course for children. The common central feature of both will be the imparting of education through village crafts. Agriculture will play an important part in adult education under the basic scheme. Literary instruction must be there. Much information will be given orally. There will be books more for the teachers than the taught. We must teach the majority how to behave towards the minority and vice versa. The right type of adult education should teach good neighbourliness and cut at the very root of untouchability and communal problem.

The particular industry which is to serve as the medium of instruction will be determined by local conditions in each place. For instance, people in a village might tell you that they are interested in agriculture, but they are not interested in the spinning-wheel. In that case, you will choose the former as the medium of instruction. You could make a beginning by taking a census of its cattle. For instance, I find that almost everyone in Sevagram has a bullock and a bullock-cart. It seems wasteful. The villagers should be taught co-operation. Again, we must inculcate in them the right principles of relationship between men and women. Men get almost double the women's wages for identical work. Sometimes men sit lazily at home and smoke while the women toil the whole day. People should be

made to realize that this is doubly wrong and ought to go. If you agree with me that the scope of basic education should be extended, you might have to change your constitution.

The Hindu, 29-10-1944

123. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 27, 1944

I don't consider anybody to be worthless. Everybody has done his best and I am satisfied. However, my yardstick is rather long and neither you nor I have come up to it. I am firm in what I said yesterday. You should make the kitchen an ideal one. Kanchan¹ may be asked to join in that work only if she is sincerely willing to co-operate, otherwise she will be dispirited. If you get her co-operation, you two, otherwise you alone with the help of anybody whom you select, should go on working silently. Consult me whenever necessary. Everybody must be assigned his or her share of the work, and I should be informed about the arrangement. Only those who can become one with the life in this village may stay here, others should leave and go where they like. I will help them in that. Let us be truthful and non-violent inwardly as well as outwardly.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5806. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

124. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

October 27, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I see several difficulties in the way of putting off Abha's wedding till December.² If a fast is ordained for me, it is best that the wedding should be over before that time. I can understand the love of you both and of Grandmother. But I am sure all of you will be able to understand the difficulty I have explained. If Abha's father does not attend or if, even though present, he does not insist on giving away the bride, Sumati and you may certainly do so. But since you have become so intimate [as to wish to do that], please remember that you

¹ Addressee's wife

² *Vide* "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 17-10-1944.

will have to follow the simplicity of Abha and Kanu, otherwise they also will lose it. Is it not our wish that this inter-caste and inter-provincial marriage should prove to be ideal in every respect?¹

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4803. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

125. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,

October 27, 1944

BAPA,

I have your letter regarding big cities. The question is not how many will stay at the main centre. The question is about utilizing them within and for the sake of the villages. We shall therefore thrash it out at the meeting on the 4th. Please have patience till then.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA

DELHI

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

126. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,

October 27, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You must have understood what I said about *sadhana*. Think deeply over what I said yesterday. This is what I say: unsteadiness of mind implies impurity of thought, it cannot be regarded as *brahmacharya*. This is quite usual in youth, but he who aspires to be a *brahmachari* will grow steadier day by day. Discuss this matter with Balkoba² or reach a conclusion by looking within yourself. According to Munnalal's list for yesterday perhaps both of you would like to go to the rural areas of the U. P. You will have my blessings if you take

¹ Finally, the ceremony of giving away the bride was performed by the addressee and his wife, while Ravishankar Maharaj officiated as priest.

² Balkrishna Bhav

such a decision. If you decide to stay here then this decision as to the sort of service you prefer should be made after thoughtful consideration. Take a decision, whatever it may be.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4449

127. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

October 27, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. It shows your inadequate understanding. I have spoiled nothing by setting up here the Khadi Vidyalaya, etc. The organizations initially started by me had to work in close association with me. If the people engaged in them could not live together as a family, then whose fault is it? Mine? Maybe, the fault is his who sees it. The Sabarmati S[atyagraha] A[shram] was remodelled after thoughtful consideration. It is my belief that we have lost nothing by being truthful. Again, after today's heart-searching we have lost nothing. We were in a slumber but now we are awake.

It is clear from what happened yesterday that it would not be right for us to continue as we have been doing. Those who can be of greater service outside should certainly go. What benefit can one derive from being near to me if one fails to understand my actions and the changes I make? No doubt a fire bucket is a very useful thing but how can one become like a fire bucket just by using it as an illustration? If you wish to be like a fire bucket then be quiet, be humble and be a sort of comfort for all, and do it after proper deliberation. Continue the study of Sanskrit. Your first task is to correct the wrong notions you have expressed in your letter. Consult Kishorelal. Ask for time if you wish to have a discussion with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1947

128. LETTER TO D. D. SATHYE

SEVAGRAM,
October 27, 1944

BHAI SATHYE,

I have carefully gone through your articles on village reconstruction. I find that they show lack of experience. I don't find in this work the attention to detail that is evident in the book on eyes. Yet the work of rural uplift calls for much greater perseverance and thoroughness than is required for the care of the eyes.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

D. D. SATHYE
39 PEDDAR ROAD
CUMBALLA HILL
BOMBAY

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

129. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 27, 1944

I have come to the conclusion that in your present state you had better stay here and try to come out of your shell. You will do justice to Vidya when you forget her and in so doing your true love for her will reveal itself. Your ears are connected with your mind. Maybe, if you devote all your time to service your ears will open up. Take interest in all the activities of the Ashram and mix with everybody.

BAPU

[PS.]

Get acquainted with Amin.

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

130. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You must have received my wire¹. Bhai Amrita Lal, his daughter and his younger son have arrived. The whole family is pleased. Amrita Lal is perfectly willing that you should give away the bride. This simplifies everything. I will accommodate you, Jehangirji² and any other people whom you may bring along in this very place. Grandmother should not be put to any trouble. Get her operated upon. Her blessings will be enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4804. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

131. LETTER TO GOKULBHAI BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1944

I read your letter to Kishorelal. I don't remember having invited you in my letter. I might have asked you to come whenever you chose. I might have also written that you should yourself decide matters concerning your State. How can I make categorical statements about things which I have not seen with my own eyes? However, you may come now if you choose and if your coming is necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹This is not available.

²Jehangir Patel

132. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

October 28, 1944

CHI. MRIDU,

I am not sending those letters to you. I see that they cannot be published. More when you come.

Blessings from

BAPU

[MRIDULA] SARABHAI

BOMBAY

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

133. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

October 28, 1944

CHI. SARUP,

I got your letter. I again went through my article. Personally I was satisfied with it. But if you send me a sample I shall know what you want. This is what I had asked Jawaharlal to do. You might have heard about it.

Blessings from

BAPU

2 MUKHERJI ROAD

ALLAHABAD

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

134. NOTE TO SWAMI ANANDANAND

[Before *October 29, 1944*]¹

The tussle you had with Thakkar Bapa² concerning the official work of the Kasturba Smarak Nidhi involved a matter of principle. There was nothing personal about it.

As a public worker and colleague, your attitude cannot be called

¹ Presumably written before the item that follows.

² Amritlal V. Thakkar

objectionable. Your protest was within the limits of discipline and was expressed in private.

Bapa levelled charges against you out of desperation. You had and still have a right to ask from him a fair deal. If you do ask for it, I shall grant it to you.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

135. LETTER TO SWAMI ANANDANAND

Sunday, 9.15 p.m. [On or before October 29, 1944]¹

BHAI SWAMI,

I have not forgotten my promise to you. I have been able to draft the letter only today. I have not talked to Bapa, because my letter as usual, should have your approval. If you do not like this draft, you may make one yourself which I can then place before Bapa. If he refuses to sign it, I am willing to look into your complaint.

Blessings from

BAPU

[Draft]

Bapu tells me that you insist on an open enquiry concerning my attitude towards you, or a letter of apology from me. I know that I am quick-tempered. I have no complaints about your work. but I hold that even though you are my co-secretary, you are still under my control. Such being my position, whenever you have opposed me, I have become impatient and lost my temper. I know I ought not to lose my temper. But I am an ordinary human being. You should forgive me. I hope you will. You are free to publish this letter of apology whenever you wish.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From the contents it appears that the letter was written before the addressee resigned from the Joint-Secretaryship of the Kasturba Memorial Trust on November 3, 1944; *vide* "A Resolution", 3-11-1944.

136. STATEMENT ON PROPOSED FAST¹

October 29, 1944

My heart is heavily grieved by the injustice, exploitation and falsehood prevailing and increasing, day by day, in the world. The best remedy for it is to awaken the good elements in the whole world. Collective civil disobedience is the way for it, but it is not possible today. It is very likely that such collective activity will result in violence. If we are able to avoid unofficial falsehood and injustice, Government falsehood and injustice will be no more. I feel I must do penance by fasting.

I am asked not to go on fast. I do not know when and for what duration it will come but let me say that the way to avoid the fast is in the people's hands. I desire destruction of exploitation, injustice and falsehood. If they are destroyed my fast will be unnecessary.

As a satyagrahi I cannot be a silent spectator of all these things. Revolution or collective civil disobedience is not possible and hence I must move on my wheels of non-violence through the fast.

I have expressed my views to someone today. I express them to the whole country. People can give their contribution in the work which I intend to do.

I cannot see people starve. Their rights are snatched by others. Nobody must do this. We must avoid falsehood and badmashi. We can improve those working as middlemen and thus lessen the burden upon the people. Activities of exploitation are in full swing and have become unbearable. Government stands firm and is maintaining its position on falsehood. But injustice and the policy of exploitation among the people too cannot be ignored².

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-10-1944

¹ According to the source this is the purport of what Gandhiji said during his discussions with different individuals.

² For a statement issued from Sevagram regarding Gandhiji's contemplated fast, *vide* Appendix "A Statement", 29-10-1944.

137. LETTER TO RAMLAL VARMA

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
October 29, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 25th July has been lying in Gandhiji's file all this time. He is very sorry he could not reply to it earlier. He wanted to send you a helpful reply. I am now to say that he is very sorry he does not know what help he can render in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAMLAL VARMA
DAILY "TEJ"
SHRADDHANAND BAZAR
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

138. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

October 29, 1944

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

It is raining today. Detain [him]. Shriram¹ may come any day after the 10th, excepting Monday.

Rameshwardas may accept the agency for ghee, on condition that there will not be the slightest adulteration and that the ghee is not sold as ghee from cow and buffalos' milk and is not used for adulteration of such ghee.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 213

¹ Son of Rameshwardas Poddar.

139. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 29, 1944

I have read your letter. Yes, you can take out what you want from my writings. This work is good but you must do a lot of physical work. It is very harmful to keep thinking of Vidya and go on weeping. That remembrance is good which elevates the *atman* and awakens it. The nature of *atman* is *sat* (truth) *chit* (awareness from heart, duly experienced) and *ananda* (bliss). The test of both lies in bliss—the inner bliss which finds outward expression. If you do not get peace here it would be better to go to Andhradesha early. I believe there you will get *satsanga* and treatment as well. If you do not, leave the place.

BAPU

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

140. INTERVIEW TO N. G. RANGA¹

October 29, 1944

PROF. RANGA, You say that the earth rightly belongs or should belong to the peasant². By this, do you mean only that the peasant ought to gain control over the land he cultivates or that he should also gain effective voice and power in the society and over the State in which he is obliged to live? If the *kisans* are to have only land and not effective political power, their position will be just as bad as in Soviet Russia where political power has been monopolized by the proletarian dictatorship while peasants were first allowed to gain some holdings and later were deprived of those

¹The report of this and the other interview with N. G. Ranga on November 28, 1944, was released to the Press by Pyarelal with the following note: "Soon after his release from prison Prof. Ranga saw Gandhiji at Sevagram. He had two interviews with him on 29th October, 1944 and 28th November, 1944. It was understood on both sides that the interviews were not for publication. As, however, parts of those interviews have already appeared in the Press, I am, under Gandhiji's instructions, releasing to the Press my full notes of the talks." At the first interview Prof. Ranga presented Gandhiji with a lengthy written questionnaire.

² For Gandhiji's statements quoted by N. G. Ranga, *vide* "Hints for Constructive Workers", 22-10-1944.

holdings in the name of collectivization of land.

GANDHIJI: I do not know what has happened in Soviet Russia. But I have no doubt that if we have democratic swaraj, as it must be if freedom is won through non-violence, the *kisan* must hold power in all its phases including political power.

Am I right in interpreting your statement that land should not belong “to the absentee landlord or zamindar” and that ultimately the zamindari system has to be abolished, of course through non-violent means?

Yes. But you should remember that I visualize a system of trusteeship regulated by the State. In other words I do not want to antagonize the zamindars (and for that matter any class) without cause.

When you say that a peasant “has so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him” does it include, apart from the satyagrahic campaigns and the legislative and administrative reforms, that the peasants may oblige the State through the exercise of their franchise and political influence to improve their individual and collective conditions and minimize the powers of the landlords?

Civil disobedience and non-co-operation are designed for use when people, i.e., the tillers of the soil, have no political power. But immediately they have political power, naturally their grievances, whatever their character, will be ameliorated through legislative channels.

‘But he might not have all that political power’, you will perhaps say. My reply is that if swaraj is attained by the effort of the whole people, as it must be under non-violence, the *kisans* must come into their own and have the uppermost voice. But if it is not so and there is a sort of a workable compromise between the people and the Government on the basis of a limited franchise, the interests of the tiller of the soil will need close watching. If the legislature proves itself to be incapable of safeguarding *kisans*’ interests they will of course always have the sovereign remedy of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. But as I said as early as in 1921¹ in connection with Chirala Perala, ultimately, it is not paper legislation nor brave words or fiery speeches, but the power of non-violent organization, discipline and sacrifice that constitutes the real bulwark of the people against

¹ The source has 1932. *Vide* “Chirala-Perala”, 25-8-1921.

injustice or oppression.

You suggest that the existing *kisan* organizations should be reformed where necessary. I quite recognize the need for Congressmen who have been working among *kisans* to re-orientate the general political attitude of the *kisan* class organizations so that they will recognize the need for a united political leadership for winning our national freedom. I am also convinced that the National Congress provides for us all—especially for peasants—the most effective weapon and leadership to win freedom. But is there any harm if we organize peasants into a ‘Kisan Congress’ which accepts the political leadership of the Congress?

There may be gross self-deception in this presentation. When I said that the Kisan Sabhas should be reformed, I meant that up till now Kisan Sabhas have been formed not to wrest power from the Government, but to capture the Congress. That applies to the student and labour organizations too.

You are partially right. That was so in the past. But we have now completely abandoned that idea. Since you made your statement on the subject in 1938¹ the thing was completely given up. We have adopted the word Congress not in a spirit of rivalry but because we want to be identified with the Congress. We will have double membership. Every member of the Kisan Congress will also be enrolled as a member of the National Congress.

Then why not run the Congress? Why set up an independent and parallel organization? Don’t you see when Kisan Sabhas are *bona-fide* organizations they are the Congress? Today only a fraction of India’s population is represented on the Congress register. The Congress aspires to represent the whole nation. It claims by right of service to speak even for those who are not on its register. When it becomes a fully national organization, *de jure* as it is today by moral right, the bulk of its membership will naturally consist of the *kisans* and they will be in a position to dictate its policy.

The trouble is that some of our Congress colleagues think we are ousting them from their legitimate position of power and privilege. They may not be prepared to welcome our existence or trust our *bona fides*. We want to avoid conflicts within the Congress by willingly accepting the political leadership of the Congress. For executing our economic programme we want to have a separate class-conscious organization which will derive power both for itself and the Congress from its

¹ The source has 1929. *Vide* “Discussion with Bengal Congressmen”, 13-4-1938.

contact with the masses. Unless we do that, others will come and confuse the *kisans*.

Here you have involved yourself in a fallacy. You should work to make the Congress fully representative of the *kisans*. Unless we get down to this fundamental thing and work from bottom upward, there will be no swaraj. Every Congressman must make up his mind to make the Congress an honest organization, and therefore a *kisan* organization. As for rights they should follow as a natural corollary from the performance of service. Otherwise, there is only usurpation.

You have tried for the last twenty-five years to rebuild the Congress organization and you know the result. I along with others must plead guilty for my share in the responsibility for failure. I must confess we have not got the confidence that we shall be able to so behave and act that the Congress will in the end become a *kisan* organization. Our fear is that by following your line of action in spite of ourselves, we shall allow ourselves to be exploited by vested interests. The very fact that the Birlas and their like are today prepared to give you shelter and you accept it from them prevents radical reform. Therefore, though I shall feel the wrench, I shall feel unable to work on your lines.

Then you admit that whilst you will work under the aegis of the Congress, you will at the same time run a parallel, independent organization. My mind runs in a straight line. I do not understand this zigzag. This can only lead to trouble when the Congress becomes an effective organization. I am thinking of the millions of our downtrodden countrymen who do not know what to hope and what not to hope. A parallel organization will only further confuse their minds. It would be more logical to keep out of the Congress altogether.

We enter the Congress, but we do not fight for position and power. Can you not treat us on the same footing as the Ahmedabad Labour Union?

Well, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. It will all depend on the spirit in which it is done. I have already expressed my apprehension. It is for you to remove it. You can model your organization after the Ahmedabad Labour Union. All the Labour Union members are on the Congress register. They are under the discipline of the Congress. Yet they are a power in the Congress and in the Municipality. You should confine yourself to Andhra alone. All *kisans* should be automatically on your register. But the purpose of enrolment should be educative, to make the *kisans* Congress-minded and politically conscious.

I am glad you are laying special stress on adequate wages which will assure a minimum and decent standard of living for the landless peasants. Do you not also recognize the need for achieving minimum prices for agricultural produce which will assure labouring proprietors a decent and minimum standard of living?

Of course I do.

The Bombay A. I. C. C. Resolution assures the masses that the power in the national Government and swaraj India ought to belong to the toilers on the fields, in the factories and elsewhere.¹ Can we say that the spirit of the Resolution means that the Congress therefore stands for the achievement of democratic-kisan-mazdoor-praja raj after the attainment of swaraj?

Not only after but before also. The Congress stands for democratic-kisan-mazdoor-praja raj.

Do not your new instructions envisage the development of *kisan* organizations from the village upwards, to provide for peasant leadership and co-operative action, but working in harmony with the local National Congress Committee and their leadership? I may say that the Haripura session² of the Congress has recognized the right of *kisans* to have their own class organizations. But we are anxious, in the light of these four years' experience, that Congressmen shall take the lead in organizing *kisans* into their own unions so that there can be real unity and co-operation between *kisan* organizations and Congress Committees.

Kisan organization and Congress organization are to me convertible terms. National Congress organizations to be true have either to be *kisan* organizations or nothing else.

Can we organize landless agricultural labour into their separate unions wherever there are workers to undertake such responsibilities in order to win for them the barest economic and social justice? I do not envisage such unions in rivalry with the local peasant unions but as a supplement to them.

Yes, but as part of Congress reorganization work.

Your instructions do not specifically mention the need for awakening and organizing the Hill Tribes and people of backward areas known as the Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas. These people number easily thirty million all over India and they are subject to many disabilities and they need our help very badly. May we take it that Congressmen have to spare their energies to organize these people into their unions?

Certainly. The aboriginal is as backward as the Harijan and more neglected. He calls for all the humanitarian service that

¹ *Vide* "Resolution Passed at All-India Congress Committee", 8-8-1942.

² In February 1938

Congressmen are capable of. Unfortunately very few Congressmen have taken to it.

Can our peasants and their organizations undertake satyagraha campaigns against any oppressive measures or policies of a landlord or a revenue authority, i.e., after all possibilities for settlement by negotiations through the good offices of the local Congress Committees have failed? We are aware of the 1939 Bombay A. I. C. C. instructions¹ regarding such campaigns and we accept that when there is a National Government with which the Congress co-operates, peasants' unions as well as local committees have to seek the guidance of the Provincial Congress Committees as to when and how to start and conduct such satyagraha campaigns.

They would be fools if they did not do that.

What flag do you recommend for peasant unions and handloom weavers' unions and such other unions which agree to accept the National Congress leadership? I may inform you that we have decided to drop the Red Flag and adopt the National Flag, with the typical class or professional emblem such as the plough or the loom placed in one corner in addition to the charkha which occupies already the central place.

I don't mind. To differentiate you can have your class emblem by the side of the national emblem.

Do you not recognize the need for all the colonial peoples to try to come nearer to each other, learn from each other's experience in their fight for freedom and help each other?

“Colonial people” is a badly chosen expression, “oppressed races of the earth” expresses the idea better. “Colonial” in the English language means whites who have migrated to the Colonies.

Are we right in thinking that your stand against world imperialism is intended to benefit as much the African, Chinese, Red Indians and other non-white masses as the 400 millions of India?

My correspondence with the Government while under detention shows that most clearly.

May we have your blessings for our attempt to build up the “Colonial Peoples' Freedom Front” and thus develop a research, propaganda and ideological platform with merely advisory and informative functions? I may inform you that several of our friends and your admirers in England, Africa and the West Indies, such as Mr. Reginald Reynolds, Miss Stock Kenyatta, Mr. George Padmore, have already been working on your lines for the emancipation of the colonial and coloured peoples.

¹ *Vide* “A. I. C. C. Resolutions”, 23-6-1939.

I want to say ‘Yes’. But I want to understand its implications.

The greatest social problem of the modern world is the exploitation of the vast masses of agricultural people by the industrial peoples and countries through the unequal exchanges imposed upon the former by the latter through their control over the world markets and finance and imperialist machinery. Are we right in thinking that you stand for the abolition of this process of exploitation of the producers of primary commodities and the agricultural masses of the world?

Root and branch.

Are we right in thinking that ours is only a part of the general struggle of colonial peoples against world capitalism and imperialism and that India is the vanguard in the world movement of colonial and agricultural masses for freedom, economic and political?

I hope so.

Is it not our duty to allow Congressmen to join and work in local food councils and such other quasi-official organizations now that every detail of a person’s life has come within the price-controls, grain procurement and requisition and acquisition and rationing activities of Government, provided we feel satisfied that we can render some effective help to our masses or prevent mischief?

Yes. They ought to be allowed if they can do without loss of initiative and independence and can really render effective help.

What shall those peasants do whose Gandhi-Irwin salt privileges have been unjustly withdrawn or curtailed?

They should take the salt if it comes within the clause.

Do you not recognize the need for students and their Students Congress to understand, popularize and act upon the ideology of the I.N.C. consistently with their responsibilities as students?

Of course they should study and understand all that. I have set forth the limitations in my “Hints”.

The Hindu, 23-1-1945

141. NOTE TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

Silence Day [On or before *October 30, 1944*]¹

Take the juice of as many oranges or *mosambis* as possible. You take dextrose with fruit juice if you feel hungry, not otherwise. It will be better to live on fruit juice only for two or three days and you will be all right. You can go to Bombay without any fear.

From a photostat: C.W. 10496. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

142. NOTE TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

Silence Day [On or before *October 30, 1944*]

Tell him² I gave the name³. Madalasa knows it. I forget now but she won't. Sushila too may remember.

From a photostat: C.W. 10497. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

143. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

CHI. SUNDARAM,⁴

Your note. I thought you were definitely coming. From what fund do you expect me to send you Rs. 1001? You who can command lacs wanting me to send the University [money] for building a lowly hut? Does not the incongruity strike you?

As to printing one lac copies of the little booklet, let those who are interested see to the publication. You have better work to attend to.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3204

¹ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, this and the following note were written at Sevagram in October 1944, on a silence day. October 30 was the last Monday of the month.

² Gordhandas Chokhawala

³ Gandhiji had suggested the name 'Ashok' for Gordhandas Chokhawala's son.

⁴ The superscription is in Devanagari and Tamil scripts.

144. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

DEAR DESHBHAKTA,

Bapa says you are ailing. You cannot afford to do so when all about you are starving and ailing. Let someone drop me a line about you. Who is nursing you?

Love.

BAPU

DESHBHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

145. A LETTER¹

October 30, 1944

DEAR BABY,

You are a baby—as careless as you ever were. You give no address, the date unfinished, spelling defective. And your letter received yesterday, the day of the wedding. Well, better late than never. So you have blessings for X and his wife. Who shall prove worthy of whom?

Love.

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 111-2

¹ This was addressed to a friend's daughter.

146. LETTER TO KULSUM SAYANI

October 30, 1944

CHI. KULSUM,

What a girl you are! You have written to me neither in Gujarati nor in Urdu, nor even in Hindi, but in English! How queer is our feeling for our national languages! What help can I offer you? If the people care, a thousand copies should sell in no time. If the people don't care, hold your patience till they feel that strongly.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. KULSUMBEHN SAYANI

From the Gujarati original: Begum Kulsum Sayani Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

147. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA NATH CHAHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

CHI. DHIREN,

I like your letter very much. You have got a fine job to do. Serve all and devote yourself to your work. Write to me from time to time. Improve your health, use a mosquito-net.

DHIREN CHATTERJEE
SODEPUR

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

148. LETTER TO ZAINABEHN RAJABALI

[Before October 31, 1944]¹

DEAR SISTER,

Indeed, you have given me happy news. Congratulations to you and to Chi. Latif. Let us hope Dr. Latif will carry forward the legacy of his father and earn the blessings of millions.

Blessings from
BAPU

ZAINABEHN RAJABALI
57 C WARDEN ROAD
BOMBAY

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

149. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1944

BHAI KUKABHAI,

I carefully read your letter of the 23rd, Jajuji also read it.

He has asked for a clarification, as is his wont, and says that we five should put our heads together. And I should let you all know the conclusion that I should draw from our consultations. But at the moment Jajuji does not propose to trouble any one of you. Hence, if you three come three days before the meeting of the the A.I.S.A., we could discuss things at length and also formulate our policy. We can also bring about a change in the Secretaryship, if it is found necessary. You will of course press Jajuji to accept the Secretaryship. After all it was I who had insisted upon it, wasn't it? By three I mean Vitaldas, Lakshmidas and you. You will yourself write to the two friends.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10853. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

¹ In the source this letter is placed before those of October 31, 1944.

150. LETTER TO MAHADEV A. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1944

CHI. MAHADEV¹,

You do not write yourself but keep asking Anand, "Does Bapu ever remember me?" I do remember you. Now write to me regularly. What do you read? Do you take exercise? What do you eat? When do you go to bed? Write all this.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

151. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

[Before November 1, 1944]²

BHAI GOPICHAND,

Do I ever add my signature to an appeal, if I have myself not worked for the cause? My blessings are certainly there. You will get the money, but do not ask for my signature to be published. Consider my plight.

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAHORE

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

152. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

November 1, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I appreciate your very affectionate letter of 25th October.³ I want all the assistance I can get from friends like you for my guidance. I have never found myself in the condition I am in today. My ultimate guide is Truth the name by which I know God best. So far as I know there will be no haste. I am going through the daily routine as if the fast is not coming at all. Please therefore do not

¹ Son of Anand T. Hingorani

² In the source this letter is placed before those of November 1, 1944.

³ *Vide* Appendix "Letter from T. B. Sapru", 25, 10, 1944.

hesitate to warn me as often as you like. I hope you had my letter¹ through Dr. Beni Prasad².

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7573

153. LETTER TO N. R. JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,

November 1, 1944

DEAR JOSHI,

It is disgraceful that I should reach only today yours of 2nd ultimo.³ You know the reason why. As you contemplate coming to me, I defer action on your appeal pending your arrival. Do please come whenever you can barring Mondays. If I am away or anything happens to me you will learn from the papers and act accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI N. R. JOSHI

SECRETARY, HIGGINBOTTOM RECOGNITION FUND

ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE

ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 25-10-1944.

² Professor of Political Science, Allahabad University

³ The addressee had sought Gandhiji's help and guidance for raising the Higginbottom Recognition Fund which was to be used for the development of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute. Dr. Sam Higginbottom, who had completed 70 in October, was retiring from the Institute.

154. LETTER TO A. K. CHANDA

November 1, 1944

DEAR ARUN KUMAR CHANDA,

I hope you are better. I note your advice about fasting.¹ I am in God's hands. Why do you think that I have not the Eastern Provinces in mind?

BAPU

SHRI ARUN KUMAR CHANDA
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

155. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR SHRI PHATAK,

Shri A. V. Thakkar in a letter dated 16.10.1944 writes to me as follows :

Bapu had transferred Rs. 2,000/- to Shri Haribhau Phatak for Harijan work. But no work seems to have been done so far. A lot of correspondence has been passing between Shri Phatak and Shri Barve of Dhulia, the President of the Maharashtra Sangh. The main point of contention seems to be that Shri Phatak would not agree to realize Rs. 3/- or Re. 1/- from the Members of the Committee as required by the Constitution of the Sangh."

Gandhiji has desired me to draw your attention to it. A line in reply will oblige.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HARIBHAU PHATAK
POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹The addressee, Deputy Leader of the Assam Congress Parliamentary Party, had invited Gandhiji to pay a visit to Bengal, Bihar and Assam and contact the suffering humanity there before undertaking another fast "as his life was no less the nation's than his own".

156. LETTER TO NATINDRA NATH DAS

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 25th ult. for which he desires me to thank you.

You should seek guidance from Congress leaders. He is unable to advise.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NATINDRA NATH DAS

CONTAI P.O.

MIDNAPORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

157. LETTER TO KODI NARASIMHAN

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 24th ult. for which he desires me to thank you.

He has never said to anyone that Communists as such should not be admitted to the Congress. So far as he knows no one who signs the Congress creed and pays 4 as. can be prevented from becoming a member.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SHRI KODI NARASIMHAN

NANDYAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

158. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 1, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

If you had used the wedding at least as an excuse for coming, I could have met you both. We could have talked about important matters. But I can understand your not coming. I am not happy that

all of you keep indifferent health. But, knowing that you are a thoughtful man, I trust that you must be using your discretion in all that you do, and so do not worry.

Whether I will fast or not rests with God. He will prompt me to do what is ordained and nothing else.

Whatever I do about the Kasturba Fund I will do after giving careful thought. You on your part should go on sending me whatever ideas occur to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

You will get Rs. 3,500.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8618. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

159. LETTER TO T. R. DEVGIRIKAR

November 1, 1944

BHAI DEVGIRIKAR,

What do you want me to write regarding Vasukaka¹? We were alike in many things. How am I to write any more?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7914

160. DISCUSSION WITH H. J. KHANDEKAR

[On or before *November 2, 1944*]²

Send me your scheme³ immediately and I shall give my thought to it.

When Mr. Khandekar wanted Gandhiji to attend the next session of the Depressed Classes League, the Mahatma replied:

If possible.

¹ Vasukaka Joshi

² The report appeared under the date-line "Nagpur, November 2".

³ Hemchandra J. Khandekar, M.L.A., Working President of the All-India Depressed Classes League, had demanded separate Harijan University, schools and hostels for boys and girls and wanted these institutions to be financed by caste Hindus.

In reply to another question whether sufficient number of Harijan members could be co-opted to the Harijan Sevak Sangh so as to form a Harijan majority, Gandhiji said:

No. It is a body of those who want to undergo *prayashchitta*¹ and this must be done by the caste Hindus only. The touchables should serve the untouchables and the latter should accept the services of the former.

To the question when untouchability would be removed, Gandhiji said:

Perhaps both of us may not live to see it. But it is my firm conviction that untouchability will have to go if the Hindu religion is to live.

The Hindu, 7-11-1944

161. LETTER TO EMILY KINNAIRD

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DEAR MOTHER,

What is a Christian luncheon table? What distinguishes it from say a Hindu or a Muslim luncheon table?

You won't fret about my fast, if it comes. For if it does, it will come from God and He will be responsible for the result that may follow.

How can I pay even a pie towards the expenses of a room named after my wife? You may pay an anna yourself.

Your loving son,
BAPU

MRS. EMILY KINNAIRD
Y. W. C. A.
57 CANTONMENT ROAD
LUCKNOW

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Atonement

162. LETTER TO K. P. CHAKRAVARTY

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DEAR CHAKRAVARTY,

Your touching letter. Treasure your wife's memory and devote yourself to the service of afflicted humanity round you. No one really dies. Bodies are destined to perish; some today, some tomorrow.

BAPU

SHRI K. P. CHAKRAVARTY
TOLLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

From a copy Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

163. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

November 2, 1944

I have carefully read your two letters. I will take the last sentence. I will assuredly not undertake a fast unless it is as clear to me as daylight [that it is my duty to do so]. Secondly, at whose call?—of the God of Truth or of the ego? If on the earlier occasion it was that of the God of Truth, so will it be this time, too. I have answers to all the other arguments. After declaring my intention to fast, I am examining myself. If any argument against the fast convinces me beyond the shadow of a doubt, I would give up my intention, but if ultimately I get a clear call from the God of Truth, nobody will be able to dissuade me. You may go on arguing, but please do not worry. I should certainly be pleased to meet you, but it is not essential for us to meet over this problem. Leave me to the mercy of God. Get well completely. . . ¹

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 204

¹ Omission as in the source

164. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

November 2, 1944

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

Your suggestions regarding the Kasturba Memorial [Fund] are excellent. We shall succeed only in the measure that they are implemented. I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM
HARIJAN ASHRAM
WADHWAN CITY
KATHIAWAR

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 399. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

165. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I shall of course send Balvantsinha but, so long as a local worker does not come forward to take up this work on a permanent basis the difficulty in maintaining the cows is bound to be there, is it not? I do not like that Dhiren should leave his work and attend to the cows. However it will be good if he can learn to do that in addition to his present work. It is quite possible though, that I am mistaken in this because *goseva* should be a full-time job.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Why does Arun¹ fall ill? Hasn't he completely recovered yet?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1639

¹ Addressee's son

166. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 2, 1944

Nandini is living, having been brought up by her grandmother. Her mother had died after giving birth to her. Therefore it was my duty to distribute bananas. The memory of Vidya makes you cry and therefore it will be mere attachment if you distribute bananas. If you want to do something for Vidya, I should advise you not to buy bananas but save the amount for those who are really famished. One has to act keeping in mind the individuals concerned. This is the test of good behaviour. Give each one according to his deserts.

BAPU

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

167. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DAUGHTER A. S.,

I have your two letters. You may have been angry but this I know that I do what is for your good and what I consider my dharma. You may work hard all your life, but you don't know how to keep accounts. Hence I want someone else to certify [the accounts]. You will have no difficulty if you understand this. The expenses on your food are met from here. Chi[manlal] has just confirmed that he sends money regularly. Do you want it in a lump sum? If you spoil your health and that too by cutting on your food I shall have to quarrel with you.

If at all I must undertake a fast it will be at God's command. You will stick to your work.

Dr. Mahmud and his two sons are with me. They are nice boys.

There is no difference between *shabash*¹ and *dhanyavad*. One is derived from Persian and the other from Sanskrit. The latter I have already sent.² Now I send you the former. This is Hindu-Muslim Unity!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 486

¹ Literally, both mean 'well done' but *dhanyavad* means 'thanks' also.

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amtussalaam", 17-10-1944.

168. LETTER TO GOKHALE

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

BHAI GOKHALE,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. Your questions are good. But I do not wish to be involved in answering them. Please excuse me. If my fast does not come about, I would like to meet you. Even if it does materialize and, provided I survive it, you may come over and we shall have a talk. In the mean time do whatever service you can. Learn Hindi. Have this letter read out to you. I shall be pleased to have a reply either in Marathi or Hindi.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

169. LETTER TO LAKSHMAN PRASAD TIWARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

SHRI PANDIT LAKSHMANSINGHJI TIWARI,

I have before me your daughter's heart-rending letter. She wants that either you should bless her marriage to the boy of her choice, or, if that is not possible, you should never force her to marry anybody else. I think you can have no objection to this. How can we now coerce our daughters?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

LAKSHMAN PRASAD TIWARI
NARASINGHPUR
HOSHANGABAD

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

170. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[After November 2,]¹ 1944

CHI. A. S.,

You are right in saying that I have lost faith in your word; how can I have it? I am not at all angry, my only consideration is my duty towards you. I cannot share the financial responsibility. Submit your budget to Jajuji. You are sure to get the amount he sanctions. It is not proper to trouble Bari Khan² for your expenses. It would be better if you can get them from another brother, otherwise take them from the Ashram. There is always a place for you in the Ashram, and positively so in my absence. You should give up building castles in the air. Stick to any job you may take up.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 691

171. LETTER TO BIPINBIHARI CHATPAT

[Before November 3, 1944]³

BHAI BIPINBIHARI CHATPAT,

Shardabehn has given me a copy of your original letter, which I have perused.

I like your ideas. It would be better to carry on the work under a single authority. I had once (before August 1942) made an unsuccessful attempt. I am going to try again.

What was wrong in Bhai Amritlal writing a reply to you? It was his effort at saving me the trouble. The work that he is doing is for putting into practice Kakasaheb's ideas. Like you he does his work regarding it as his dharma. The only difference is that I do not know you, whereas I know him well. Why can't you all work in unison although you work independently? From your letter I see that there is some difference between your way of thinking and mine. I shall not discuss the point here as I don't have the time. Tandonji⁴ is likely to come here. Kausalyayanji⁵ will surely come. I shall have a discussion.

¹ From the contents it appears that this letter was written after the letter to the addressee dated November 2. *Vide* "Letter to Amtussalaam", 2-11-1944.

² Addressee's brother

³ In the source this letter is placed before those of November 3, 1944.

⁴ Purushottamdas Tandon

⁵ Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan

I shall also try to satisfy you if you happen to come some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

172. A NOTE

November 3, 1944

It is very good but it does not touch me because I have not been able fully to devote my mind to it. The entire constructive programme is the end. Negative non-co-operation is meant to achieve that end. The example of Christian missionaries would not help because the way to realizing God as Truth is different. I cannot describe that way. If someone can see it in my life, let him do so. Here fasting is very important. Natural death comes even to animals and birds as it comes to us. If you feel like writing something after reading this, do so. Send this back to me.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

173. LETTER TO BAL D. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1944

CHI. BAL¹,

I have your very beautiful letter. I can understand that Western music has claimed you. Does it not mean that you have such a sensitive ear as to appreciate this music? All I wish is that you should have all that is to be gained there and come here when your time is up, and be worthy of your country. I don't know whether I shall survive to see you. And what does it avail to know about it beforehand? Aren't we all in God's keeping? I like your letter so much that I would love to reply to it at length but it cannot be. This too I have written out soon after the morning prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Sons of D. B. Kalelkar

174. LETTER TO SATISH D. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1944

CHI. SHANKAR¹,

I send you the enclosed letter rather late because I wanted to send through you the letter to Bal also. Please send Bal's letter on to Kaka. Either you or Chandan² should make a copy from the aerogramme and send it. I could read it only after I had a copy made.

I hope you are all fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

175. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Express

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1944

RAJAJI
THYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

SORRY. TELEGRAPH NATURE UNSATISFACTORY HEALTH.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

176. TELEGRAM TO JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA³

November 3, 1944

SHETH JUGALKISHORE
CARE LUCKY
BENARES

DEPEND UPON IT I AM IN GOD'S HANDS.

BAPU

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Sons of D. B. Kalelkar

² Addressee's wife

³ The addressee had wired Gandhiji requesting him not to risk his life by undertaking a fast.

177. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

November 3, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR

This is written in a hurry.¹

I suggest not a tentative public statement but a personal letter to a few representatives asking whether they favour the idea of calling a conference.

I have in mind not a centre but a board composed of representatives of the two States regulating matters of common concern and enforcing the treaty obligations.

The conference will meet to consider the causes of the failure of the talks, to find whose fault it was and to suggest an independent solution, if any. It will inform and educate public opinion. Thus there is no fear of failure unless the conference does not come to a unanimous decision or one tantamount to it.²

You must keep well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7572

178. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

November 3, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

Do not get agitated on reading about my fast. What is ordained will happen. I will do only what God prompts me to do. But this time everything seems unusual. I don't worry, though. I am not happy that you are alone there, but in a way I am happy, too. I am happy because

¹ This and the other letter dated November 1 were handed over to the addressee by Devdas Gandhi at the Wardha station on November 3.

² For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix "Letter from T. B. Sapru", (a). The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference met at Delhi on November 18 and 19 under the chairmanship of the addressee. For the text of the resolution adopted at the meeting, incorporating certain changes suggested by Gandhiji, *vide* "Letter from T. B. Sapru", (b). For a list of names suggested for the Conciliation Committee, *vide* "Letter from T. B. Sapru", (c).

you are passing through a severe test. I am impatient to send back Manilal, but his going has become uncertain because of his fear regarding my fast. How can I send him away against his will? He will surely leave if he is able to muster courage.

I too would have been happy if Sita had stayed with me. But I see that her interest lies in going through the modern style of education . She is a nice girl. She will earn a good name and bring credit to us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4939

179. A RESOLUTION¹

[After *November 3, 1944*]²

While accepting the resignation of Swami Anand from Joint Secretaryship, this meeting of Trustees thanks him for his industry and devoted service.

[From Hindi]

Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

180. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

November 5, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Utmost frankness is a sure test of friendship. I therefore appreciate all your criticism, being that of a true friend.

Could you tell your audience in Dacca that religious strife should be impossible especially in a place which is a seat of learning? The influence of a university should travel beyond its four walls. Religion should be a binding, not a disruptive force. I need not elaborate this thought. It came to me as I was reading your letter.

The late Charlie Andrews used to tell me of the good that some missionaries had done among the Frontier tribes. This was

¹ This was drafted by Gandhiji and passed at the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust meeting on November 5. Swami Anand's letter of resignation was dated November 3, 1944.

² *ibid*

corroborated by Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Your testimony therefore does not come upon me as a surprise.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA
BISHOP'S HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

181. A NOTE¹

November 6, 1944

The attempt is good. I can understand the argument. But how far can reason take you ? Hence even though I give due weight to reasoning. I depend on prayer. I act in the light of the answer I get through prayer. I shall be guided by God. It is a difficult task. I am not worried. There is no hurry at all. I continue working. I do not stop work fearing imminent death. Take my fast also in the same way. Do write to me if you can think of something more.

You have written in English. Could you not have conveyed it in Hindi or Gujarati ? You did well to have written to Shankerlal.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

182. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have your two kind letters.

As to the suggestions about the use of the K. G. M. funds I read your letter to the Trustees.² I shall bear your suggestion in mind. I wish you could have attended the meeting.

¹ This is written on a communication in English from Gulzarilal Nanda.

² The addressee had suggested that funds should not be spent on purposes which it was the duty of the Government to carry out; they should be utilized for the establishment of orphanages and pilgrim centers and for the selection of women to be sent to Russia and Japan to study rural uplift.

As to the contemplated fast, the ultimate decision will be His, not mine. I would have been untrue to friends, if I had not shared with them the struggle through which I am passing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN
VICE-CHANCELLOR
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

183. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

MY DEAR LOTUS-BORN¹,

So you will presently complete another year of the allotted span of your life. Who knows what is your span? So it is forgivable to hope that you will have many years of service of the mother land. Hope you are taking care of yourself.

Love.

BAPU

SMT. PADMAJA
HYDERABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

184. LETTER TO PRINCESS OF BERAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR PRINCESS²,

Sarojini Devi³ has just given me the sad news that your illustrious father is no more. All my sympathies are with you. This death reminds me of the glorious Khilafat days when for the brief period Hindus and Muslims seemed to be united so as never to be parted by any person or thing. Alas! it was not to be. Sarojini Devi

¹ Literal translation of the addressee's name

² Durdana Begum, *nee* Durr-e-Shahvar

³ Sarojini Naidu

also tells me how you are serving the poor in your part of India. May God bless you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE PRINCESS OF BERAR
HYDERABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

185. LETTER TO DR. LAXMIPATHI

SEVAGRAM
November 6, 1944

DEAR LAXMIPATHI,

Mine is a most unenviable position. You remember how helpless you were when Ashadevi's son died. I do not want allopathic medicine and yet I do not get out of its coil. You are very good but you refuse to see things as they are. I am now trying Pandit Shiv Sharma. I do not know how I shall fare.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. LAXMIPATHI
BEZWADA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

186. LETTER TO DR. M. E. NAIDOO

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR DR. NAIDOO,

I was glad to see your familiar handwriting. I am all with you. Only you are too impatient. Time is on our side.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. M. E. NAIDOO
KOTTAR

From a photostat: G.N. 95. Also C.W. 9197

¹The addressee felt that the Brahmins of Mylapore and Tanjore were not really for social equality of Harijans. He wanted Gandhiji to introduce inter-caste dinners.

187. LETTER TO P. G. MAVALANKAR¹

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

You have set for yourself a splendid and difficult ideal. God will help you. Come and see me some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1717

188. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. PREMA,

You are quite silly. You are dying before your death! Is not the fast but a threat as yet? It is not at all certain. Is it likely to come unless God wills? Anybody who understands its profound meaning would welcome it, and look upon the day [it starts] as a blessed day. If it comes, I alone will have to undertake it. Nobody else will be permitted to join me. After my passing away, others may be called upon to fast one after another. But why think about that just now? Remain absorbed in your work and keep others absorbed in theirs.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10432. Also C.W. 6871. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

¹The addressee had sought Gandhiji's opinion on two of his articles, one on his ideal and the other a Gujarati translation of a tribute by the addressee's father to A. B. Dhruva. Gandhiji had handed this letter to G. V. Mavalankar saying he would send his opinion on the tribute later. *Vide* "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", 28-1-1945.

189. LETTER TO AKBARBHAI CHAVDA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. AKBAR,

I have your beautiful letter. May God bless you with excellent health. Your work is fine.

Zohra will write to you and tell you how she is doing. Sushilabehn will certainly write to you about guinea-worm. The best way is to foment the spot with hot water and bandage it. As and when the worm shows, you should tie it up and not let it snap. BY and by it will come out.

I suppose you know the simple remedy of an enema. Vallabhram Vaidya's pills are available at the Majoor Mahajan. They may also be available with somebody in Palanpur. About this matter, too, Sushilabehn alone can write to you in detail.

Do not worry about my fast. Nothing is certain yet. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3235

190. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

What shall I write to you? Give up all worrying, whether on my account or Dilip's¹ or any other. You will then get well sooner. You must not write to me yourself but content yourself by dictating to Dilip. I am tied up with so much work. MY health, however, is co-operating with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

MATHURADAS, BOMBAY

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

¹ Addressee's son

191. LETTER TO DILIP M. TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. DILIP,

I have your letter. Your duty is now to serve your father. Reassure him on your side. His blessings which will be evoked by the service you render will spiritually benefit you in all ways.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

192. LETTER TO JYOTILAL A. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

BHAI JYOTI,

I had your wire and also your letter. I have had a talk with Parikshitbhai¹ who is here. You must see to it that no one does physical violence to Ratilal². After all he is Chi. Champa's husband. All we have to see to is that he does not annoy Champa. In all other respects we should be considerate to him.

Doctor³ had the Bungalow⁴ constructed specially for the benefit of the Ashram; only he used to stay there whenever he wished. I was expected to accommodate my guests in the Bungalow. Now Doctor is no more. I never asked him to commit anything to writing. And then Ratilal turned out to be a mental case. How can I convince Prabhashankar⁵? Champa used to be under Prabhashankar's control,

¹ Parikshitlal Majmudar

² Eldest son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

³ Dr. Pranjivan Mehta; a Gold Medallist of the Grant Medical College, Bombay, Bar-at-Law; was Gandhiji's "oldest friend". From the time he received Gandhiji in London in October 1888 he acted as his "guide and counsellor". A philanthropist, from whom "no deserving poor ever returned empty-handed", he rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phoenix Settlement till his death in August 1932. Author of *M. S. Gandhi and South African Problem*. For Gandhiji's tribute to him, *vide* "Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta", 7-8-1932.

⁴ The Lal Bungalow near Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad

⁵ Prabhashankar Harchandbhai Parekh, father of Champa R. Mehta

now you have become her adviser. All I wish is that you should not sell the Bungalow. You should either have a separate trust for the Bungalow or entrust its management to the Ashram. I would not in the least think it right to evict any Harijans who might be living there. But the final decision rests with Champa and you. I can say nothing definitely about Maganlal¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

193. LETTER TO SARALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. SARALA,

Got the yarn. I hope Sheth is all right now. Come when you want. In terrible hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARALABEHN
[C/O] SHETH GATUBHAI JAMIATRAM
BOMBAY

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

194. LETTER TO TOTARAM SANADHYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

BHAI. TOTARAMJI,

Parikshitlal has given me all the information. Your body has of course grown old, it will go when it has to. You have been dedicated to service all your life, so it is your dharma to accept it from those who wish to offer it sincerely. Of course Ramanama is always there to sustain us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2530

¹ Youngest son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

195. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, November 6, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If you work in the Talimi Sangh then too you will be near me, won't you? In the alternative, let me know what you would like [to do].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4450

196. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

*[November 6, 1944]*¹

I do want to write something for you but do not have a moment to spare.

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

*197. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR HINDUSTANI
PRACHAR SABHA*

*[On or before November 7, 1944]*²

The objective of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha is to popularize Hindustani rapidly. For this it is essential that those who are learning Hindustani acquire familiarity with the Devanagari and Persian scripts. It is therefore the duty of this Sabha to get the right textbooks published and arrange examinations in order to be able to certify that one knows both the scripts and can read and write Hindustani. The Working Committee should lay down details regarding the curriculum and the examinations.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 18

¹ As supplied by the addressee

² According to *Mangal Prabhat*, July 1952, this Resolution was drafted for the meeting held on November 7, 1944.

198. LETTER TO RISHABHDAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
November 7, 1944

CHI. RISHABHDAS,

I have heard Guneji's reputation. He should send me the names of the medicines and their properties. I shall make use of the information. It would be best if he prepares a booklet for me. I shall have it printed if I like it.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

199. A LETTER¹

[Before November 8, 1944]²

I don't know when I shall fast, but, if I do fast, it will be for the welfare of the oppressed classes of the world.

Congressmen all over India have been anxious over my intention of fasting. But there is no necessity for becoming anxious.

When people have become inactive and when the day-to-day activities of the Congress are at a standstill, the last and the only effective weapon for a satyagrahi is the fast.

The Hindu, 10-11-1944

200. A LETTER³

[Before November 8, 1944]⁴

When the tongue and the pen fail, the Shastras say, man should resort to fast. Why should there be any objection to fasting?

The soul does not die. It is the body that goes away. Why should one worry? Moreover fasting will be resorted to only when God so wills it.

The Hindu, 10-11-1944

¹ This was addressed to "a prominent Congressman of Gujarat". The Gujarati original, however, is not traceable.

² The report appeared under the date-line "Ahmedabad, November 8".

³ This was addressed to a Congress member of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Hindi original, however, is not traceable.

⁴ The report appeared under the date-line "New Delhi, November 8".

201. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 8, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,

I have been neglecting you. You know why. I am writing this before the morning walk which commences just after 7 a.m. Dr. J. Mehta is standing by me. He has come for a day on his way to Madras where he is going to deliver an address to physicians.

Rajaji is unwell and so did not come for the various meetings.

Amtul Salaam is in Calcutta doing good work.

Kanu's wedding came off very well. Nearly 300 people dined. Harijans and caste men of Sevagram were in it. Sevagram inmates and guests accounted for over 150.

You are right in not worrying about the fast. It will come if God wants it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4148. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7783

202. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 8, 1944

MY DEAR C.R.,

It won't do for you to get ill. I am not going to worry you to come early. You must not strain yourself even to come to Nagpur¹. You may even send your address or depute someone to read it for you. If however you do come to Nagpur you will give yourself a few days for Sevagram, or Wardha whichever suits you best.

Did I tell you I had carefully read your pamphlet about the Cripps offer? It carried no conviction to me. But you will try again if you wish. Munshi² had a chat with me on it. I have invited him to discuss it further. He is likely to come again.

As to the fast I have ceased to think much about it. I am simply

¹ For the Convocation of the Nagpur University, which was to be held on November 25.

² K. M. Munshi

watching myself and waiting on Truth to guide me. A double process is going on within me. Let us see what happens.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2098

203. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

November 8, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I heard from Dr. Mehta about the set-back in your health. There is nothing particularly wrong with your health. You have spoiled your health by over-exertion and worry. You ought to utilize your knowledge for the benefit of your own health. Englishmen are not philosophers, but they keep themselves free from worry so as to preserve their health and for the sake of their health they never let any external trouble overcome them. You have such capacity. Stop worrying about me and about other matters. You are giving your services even from the sick-bed. Nothing at all is definite about the fast.

Blessings from

BAPU

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 204. Also from a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

204. TALK WITH GULZARILAL NANDA¹

[Before *November 9, 1944*]

If everyone stuck to his dharma and did his duty why should I have to fast? And how would God permit it? But if people become unsettled and remain inactive the fast will not be stopped.

So long as I can work otherwise, there is no possibility of my resorting to a fast. When there is no work for me or no work which can be taken from me, then alone will God ask me to go on a fast. I

¹ Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, had conveyed Gandhiji's words to the Association's organ, *Majoor Sandesh*, in his letter from Wardha dated November 9, 1944.

can hear a voice echoing that I should fast. Not that I should start a fast right away. But when God bids me no one can prevent me from undertaking the fast. Pray to God that I may not have to fast. Prayer is the only thing that matters. To do sincere work in the name of God is itself prayer. I say what I feel. There is not only one thing that disturbs me today, there are several. I have only mentioned the thing that most perturbs me. If something else comes up, I shall not hesitate to say it. These have little to do with Congressmen. People today are engaged in fraud, black-marketing and amassing of wealth somehow. There is no end to the lies they mouth. Who can change their hearts? I do not know whether my fast will do so. I can only pray. God's will be done. Nobody knows today what is going to happen. If everyone does his duty it is possible that the fast will not come off. One man cannot assume the whole burden, but the concerted effort of many people may bear fruit. Let everyone calmly do his work without being despondent or becoming agitated. This is all I ask for. God too will want no more. I am at peace.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Samachar, 14-11-1944

205. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[On or before *November 9, 1944*]¹

It would be advisable to let Kanchan be examined by the vaid on Friday morning. Her health is none too good. If you can get cloth for a mosquito-net cut, have one stitched so that we may use it when required. Khurshedbehn has agreed to stitch one. Share the work in this manner.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6973. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

206. TELEGRAM TO K. N. KATJU

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1944

DR. KATJU

19 EDMONSTONE ROAD

ALLAHABAD

GLAD HER² AGONY HAS ENDED. YOU ARE WISE

¹ From the postmark

² Addressee's wife

ENOUGH TO BEAR SEPARATION WITHOUT GRIEVING. MAY
GOD BLESS YOU.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

207. LETTER TO K. VENKATARAMANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji had your letter of 31st October.

Gandhiji says you can come here whenever you like for your week's stay here. You will, of course, send previous intimation of your arrival.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI K. VENKATARAMANI
34 ALAMELUMANGAPURAM
MYLAPORE
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

208. NOTE TO ANAND KAUSALYAYAN¹

November 9, 1944

1. Obviously it is obligatory for a member of the Sabha to fulfil at any rate the condition laid down by you. The objective of the Sabha is clearly stated in its constitution. I do wish, however, that all Indians learn both the scripts and speak a language which could be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

2. The Hindi style and the Urdu style are like the Ganga and the Yamuna. Hindustani is like the Saraswati. It is concealed and yet not concealed. The Sabha should endeavour to make it clearly discernible.

¹ Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. This note was in reply to the following questions:

(1) It appears that, in 1942, when the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was formed, you intended and directed your efforts that persons enrolling themselves as members

3. Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be complementary of both and will seek help from both. But its work will be distinct from theirs, which could also be regarded as the same. If the Sabha tried to undo the work of these two organizations, its own objective would be defeated. How can you have Saraswati without the confluence [of the three]?

4. The work of the Sabha will be, and should be, uniform all over the country. The procedure may be modified here and there to suit the differing needs of the provinces.

5. The new movement of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha should not create difficulties in the work of Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, if the two co-ordinate their activities.

M. K. GANDHI

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

of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha must learn both the scripts of the *Rashtrabhasha*. Do you, even today, expect that thing only from the members, or do you want that everybody, both old and young in the country, must learn both the scripts?

(2) Regarding the plan of work of Hindustani Prachar Sabha, some people understand that the Sabha aims at propagating both Hindi and Urdu but there are others who say that it aims at propagating neither Hindi nor Urdu but Hindustani. In 1942, you were of opinion that the Saraswati in the shape of Hindustani had not yet made its appearance. Is the situation different at present? What is it that the Sabha will propagate if Hindustani has not yet made its appearance?

(3) Under the auspices of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan a number of institutions are working for the propagation of Hindi and the Devanagari script, and the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu for that of Urdu and the Persian script. Will the Hindustani Prachar Sabha be merely co-ordinating the activities of these two institutions or will it be complementary of the two? Or will it be a third body pursuing its own programme undoing the work of these two?

(4) Will the policy and programme of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha with respect to South India and the non-Hindi provinces be the same as in the other provinces—that is, will the propagation of both the scripts be obligatory?

(5) Will the new policy of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha create difficulties in continuing the propagation of *Rashtrabhasha* as it is being carried on in South India and the other non-Hindi provinces for the last so many years?

209. LETTER TO ABDUL GHANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

DEAR ABDUL GHANI¹,

I was delighted to hear from you. I do hope your wife will be fully restored and that you too will have your trouble attended to. As to the restrictions you will do as your instinct guides you. Do please keep me informed of your movements and the progress of your wife and yourself.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

210. LETTER TO DIWANCHAND OBHERAI

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, C. P.
November 10, 1944

DEAR OBHERAIJI,

I read out your letter of the 28th to Gandhiji.

He has decided nothing about the fast¹ yet but has simply put himself in God's hands. He won't undertake the fast unless he has a clear call. He cannot rule out fasting altogether as he holds it to be the ultimate and most potent weapon in the armoury of non-violence.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI DIWANCHAND OBHERAI
SENIOR ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 23-10-1944.

211. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 31st ult. and desires me to thank you for the same.

He has decided nothing about the fast. He has only taken the public into confidence as to the working of his mind.

Could you kindly send the address of Maulvi Abdul Ghani though I doubt whether anything effective can be done from this end ?

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI DUNICHAND
7-A BEGUM ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayar and Dr. Sushila Nayar

212. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

CHI. MUNNALAL,

At last your father has passed away. It was for the best. He was released from suffering and was delivered from the necessity of being obliged to others for their services. You and the other members of the family have no reason for grief. Life, when it attaches itself to a body, is invariably accompanied by death. Only, it does not know the appointed hour of death. Why, then, grieve over death? We should learn this lesson from the death of a dear one. Let us follow his virtues.

Both of you may remain there as long as necessary. Here everything is going on as usual.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8468. Also C.W. 7179. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

213. LETTER TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

November 10, 1944

CHI. CHAMPA,

I have your letter. I was sorry to hear that Chi. Sarala had fallen ill again. I should be very happy if she comes here after she has recovered. However, the fast is hanging over me. How can I therefore assume responsibility for Sarala? We will think over this when you and Jyoti arrive here. I have gone through your letter addressed to Chimanlal. I did not fully understand it. I will ask Chimanlal to explain it. You must have read what I wrote to Jyoti about the Red Bungalow.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

CHAMPABEHN MEHTA

[C/O] M/S SHASHIKANT RATILAL

SIR LAKHAJI ROAD, RAJKOT PARA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8757. Also C.W. 1043. Courtesy: Champa R. Mehta

214. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR

SEVAGRAM,

November 10, 1944

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

Somebody had conveyed to me the news of your dear son's passing away. I had thought I would write to you a letter of condolence but being burdened with work it slipped from my memory. Last night I remembered it when I happened to read the news again in Vallabhbai's letter to Dahyabhai. And now I write this. Please know that I share your grief. There must be hundreds like me sharing your grief. May they all lighten your burden and may God grant you peace.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jyotilal A. Mehta", 6-11-1944.

215. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM
November 10, 1944

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I am sending Chi. Sankaran for six months to learn the science of village sanitation and Chi. Sharda for some homoeopathic treatment. Can I put up these two in the dharmshala in your charge? If Sharda is accommodated her husband will also stay with her. Write to me without hesitation what the position is. Ghanshyamdass left today. It was good he came. A lot of work could be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Sankaran is leaving today. He will stay with Raihanabehn¹. But he can do so only for a few days as there is not enough room.

R. BIRLA
BOMBAY

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

216. SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH MEETING

November 10, 1944

Speaking to members of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh who are meeting here, Mahatma Gandhi said that the Sangh should now take up the entire span of national education as its field and work out a programme of national education for life in all its stages through manual activity and handicrafts. He pointed out that the future programme of national education thus became only an extension of the present programme of basic education upwards and downwards.

The Hindu, 12-11-1944

¹ Raihana Tyabji

217. A NOTE

November 11, 1944

(1) I have read Shri Wadia's letter of 31-10-'44. I have no recollection whatsoever of having made the remark attributed to me about Shri Agnibhoj. Indeed I had nothing to do with such appointments. I was not then nor am I now a member of the Working Committee.

(2) There was no question of my refusal to have a Harijan on the executive of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a matter of fact there are Harijans on the Central Board as well as its branches. But I am opposed on principle to such appointments for the Sangh is formed of a body of caste-Hindu penitents who are vowed to eradicate untouchability. It is therefore a debtors' association. Harijans are creditors. I expressed this opinion to a body of Harijans who recently interviewed me.¹

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

218. LETTER TO K. R. R. SASTRY

November 11, 1944

DEAR PROF. SASTRY²,

I thank you for your kind letter.

(A) My experience does not bear out the truth of your proposition. I do not claim to be a saint. But I do not regard politics as inconsistent with the strictest moral code. Politics I hold to be a noble art which every good citizen must cultivate ...³ not in...⁴ the game that professional politicians play.

(B) is answered in (A)

(C) Only posterity can judge. Obviously I can't.

(D) I am sorry I cannot subscribe to your opinion. Mine is a new experiment. I plead for patience in coming to a judgement.

As to your constructive suggestions, you will perhaps forgive me if I do not argue about them.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8810

¹ *Vide* "Discussion with H. J. Khandekar", on or before 2-11-1944.

² Of the Department of Law, Allahabad University

³ Illegible

⁴ *ibid*

219. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

November 11, 1944

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have your kind letter of 4th instant. Your amendment is too late for revision of the draft deed.¹ It has been passed by the Board. But there will be no difficulty if a village girl is ripe for being sent to foreign lands for gaining further knowledge of use in the villages.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS]

When may I write to you in Hindi ?

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

220. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA AND HEMPRABHA
DAS GUPTA

November 11, 1944

CHI. SATISBABU AND CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have letters from both of you before me. To worry about the fast betrays a lack of faith in God. Do you not believe that I will do what God wills? Why should you worry then? Do your duty, that will be enough.

Now about khadi. The ideas contained in the circular² sent by Jajuji are mine. I see that you hold a different view. You must point out the fallacy in my ideas. I take it that you will attend the meeting of the Charkha Sangh.

What has to be done about Balvantsinha?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1640

¹ The addressee, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University had suggested that funds of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust should not be spent on purposes which it was the duty of the Government to carry out; they should be utilized for the establishment of orphanages and pilgrim centres and for the selection of women to be sent to Russia and Japan to study rural uplift; *vide* also "Discussions with Representatives of Hindustani Talimi Sangh", 27-10-1944.

² The circular contained the gist of the discussions carried on from October 7 to 14 between Gandhiji and Shrikrishnadas Jaju.

221. LETTER TO SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1944

BHAI SOHANLAL,

I have had a talk with Ghanshyamdasji. I hope you have calmed down. The incident has shown me a new way. May I hope the same has happened to you? A few friends, if not many, have understood my point.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

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

222. LETTER TO SATYAVATI DEVI

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1944

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I got your letter. Send over Chandrani. If you do not get permission to go to Lahore even for reasons of health, write to me before taking any step.

Only this much today. Do not worry about my fast. I am in God's hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

SATYAVATI DEVI

JUHAR, *via* SIMLA HILLS

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Sohanlal Dwivedi", 16-10-1944.

223. *CABLE TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON*¹

November 12, 1944

JAWAHARLAL, IS A JEWEL AMONG MEN. HAPPY IS
THE LAND THAT OWNS HIM. SOMETHING IS RADICALLY
WRONG WITH THE SYSTEM THAT HAS NO BETTER USE
OF PERSONS LIKE HIM THAN AS PRISONERS.

The Hindu, 14-11-1944

224. *LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW*

November 13, 1944

MY DEAR MATHEW,

Yours. Pray that God may guide me aright.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. P. G. MATHEW
S. H. COLLEGE
THEVARA, *via* ERNAKULAM
COCHIN STATE

From a photostat: G.N. 1545

225. *LETTER TO CARL HEATH*

November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Your welcome letter came into my hands today. I am in the
midst of a raging storm and often hum to myself:

Rock of Ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in Thee.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

CARL HEATH
WHITEWINGS, 57 MANOR WAY
GUILDFORD, SURREY (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: G.N. 1051. Also C.W. 4441. Courtesy: F. H. Chopping

¹ This was sent in connection with Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday, November 14

226. *LETTER TO K. T. GHANASHAM*

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I assure you I am giving due weight to every argument advanced against the contemplated fast. I wonder if this will reach you, as you have given me no address.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. GHANASHAM
KARACHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

227. *LETTER TO ERNEST F. PATON*

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

MY DEAR ERNEST,

I have your heartening letter. You will not mind if I find it helpful to publish your letter. I take it you are also a doctor. Have we ever met?

Yours,
BAPU

ERNEST F. PATON
CHRISTU KULA ASHRAM
TIRUPATTUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

228. *LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRAVARTY*

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

MY DEAR ATULANAND,

Your letter. Thanks.

Many come whom I must not turn away. I don't want to encourage you just now. Let me settle down one way or another.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SADHU ATULANAND
C/O POST MASTER
NEW DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

229. *LETTER TO CHARLES A. ISAAC*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C . P.,
November 13, 1944

DEAR ISAAC,

Yours is one of the typical letters I am receiving daily. Pray with me that God may guide me aright.

Yours,
BAPU

BRO. CHARLES A. ISAAC
KOCHUMURI
KAYANKULAM, TRAVANCORE STATE
SOUTH INDIA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

230. *LETTER TO P. SUBBAROYAN*

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR SUBBAROYAN,

I am listening to every argument advanced by friends like you but the final arbiter will be the inner voice.

I do hope Rajaji won't stir out unless he is completely restored.

I shall be glad if Radhabai¹ breaks her journey.

Please warn her however that I am reaching the end of my bodily resources.

Yours,

BAPU

DR. SUBBAROYAN

MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

231. LETTER TO SYED MUSTAFA

SEVAGRAM,

November 13, 1944

DEAR SYED SAHEB,

I thank you for your kind note. You have my assurance that I shall do nothing without a call from God.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SYED MUSTAFA, BAR-AT-LAW

LUCKNOW

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Addressee's wife

232. LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA, C, P.,
November 13, 1944

DEAR KHANDEKAR,

I have your letter. I have become afraid of you after your unauthorized misleading report of our conversation¹. I express no opinion on your contemplated meeting² or its programme.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI H. J. KHANDEKAR, M.L.A.
ITWARI, NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

233. LETTER TO G. LAKSHMI AMMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

The condition you mention is truly deplorable. You and I have to do the best we can. Nothing like patience and perseverance.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. LAKSHMI AMMA
DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION
MANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Discussion with H. J. Khandekar", on or before 2-11-1944.

² Of Harijan workers and provincial leaders of Nagpur to organize Harijans under the banner of the All-India Depressed Classes League, which was to be held in the last week of December 1944

234. LETTER TO DEVIBEHN PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

CHI. DEVI,

I have your letter. Also the money. The yarn is to be handed over to Kakubhai¹ who should use the amount realized from its sale for the service of Harijans. Vasumati² tells me you fall ill now and then. How is it?

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVIBEHN PANDIT
BOMBAY

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

235. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

What guidance can I offer? See if you can deduce something from what I am writing. I have had a talk with Ravishankar Maharaj³, who will offer some [advice]. All of you should do as much [work] as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHIVABHAI PATEL
BOCHASAN

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

¹ Purushottam K. Jerajani

² Vasumati D. Pandit

³ Ravishankar Vyas who worked among the Baraiyas, a backward community of Kheda district in Gujarat

236. *LETTER TO NRISIMHAPRASAD K. BHATT*

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. I cannot come to such a quick decision; I can say something only after we meet. Let us hope Bachu's affairs are settled without any hitch.

Blessings from
BAPU

NANABHAI BHATT
HINDUSTAN STORES
CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

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

237. *LETTER TO ADWAIT KUMAR GOSWAMI*¹

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

BHAI ADWAIT KUMAR,

In my opinion a Congressman may, as an individual, do anything that is not opposed to the publicly stated policy of the Congress. However, you should remember that I am not a registered member of the Congress.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 804

¹ The addressee, a Congress worker of Brindaban, had asked if a Congressman could take part in satyagraha to be offered in Sind against the Sind Government's ban on the fourteenth chapter of *Satyartha Prakash*.

238. *LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

November 13, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You should go on the 18th. Things will be managed somehow here. The kitchen here must not come in the way of other work.

I have seen Satis Babu's letter and I have written to him.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1948

239. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

November 13, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

May you be firm in your resolve. I like vigilance. Of course you will always remain an inmate of the Ashram and you will be living here in the Ashram. It is another thing that you may have to be associated with the Talimi Sangh in the interest of your work. For the present your personal expenses will be met by the Ashram. Whether or not you can devote some time to the work at the Ashram is something to be looked into. Experience alone will tell us that. Don't be agitated over such matters, but have faith in God. "One step enough for me."

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS]

Give a copy of this to Chimanlal.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4441

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra and Hemprabha Das Gupta", 11-11-1944.

240. LETTER TO SARASWATI K. GANDHI

November 13, 1944

CHI. SURU,

Received your letter. Kanti¹ has written me a nice and long letter. May you both study well, continue making progress and rendering service. Of course I do hope to see Shanti². I will some day. How do I know that you are not as silly as you used to be?

Blessings to the three of you from

BAPU

SHRI KANTI GANDHI

2994/1 VANI VILIA MOHOLLA

MYSORE

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 3456. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi. Also G.N. 6182

241. LETTER TO ANIL K. MISHRA

SEVAGRAM,

November 13, 1944

BHAI ANIL,

If you want to draw up your programme after consulting me you will never be able to do anything. Chart your own course from what I have written for the general public.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

242. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,

November 13, 1944

Your duty is obvious. Father is of course being looked after. You must try to get well. You will stay here or go to Andhra only to persist in this effort. Mother though alone is not helpless. Your son is

¹ Addressee's husband, Harilal Gandhi's son

² Addressee's son

being looked after. Separation has to be endured. God willing you will get well and all those who are separated today will be united. Having realized this, give up worry and be cheerful with the conviction that God does everything and what He does is for our good.

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

243. LETTER TO SHRIPAD D. SATAVLEKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

PANDITJI,

I have your letter. Herewith the reply from Appasaheb¹. Please spare me of such responsibilities. I am no longer capable of taking up such work. My strength is limited and my burden heavy.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT SATAVLEKAR
AUNDH

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

244. LETTER TO DURLAB SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR SARDAR DURLAB SINGH²,

This is my answer to your questions:³

(1) My association with Rajaji in his formula⁴ could not affect the Sikh position in the slightest degree, even if Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah accepted it. The Lahore Resolution⁵ of the Congress referred to by you stands. The result of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's acceptance would have been that both of us would have gone to the Sikhs and others

¹ Pant, Ruler of Aundh

² General Secretary, Central Sikh Youth League

³ For extracts from the addressee's letter, *vide* Appendix "Letter from Durlabh Singh", 12-11-1944.

⁴ *Vide* Appendix "C. Rajagopalachari's Formula", before 5-8-1942.

⁵ *Vide* "Speech at Subjects Committee", 1-1-1930.

interested to secure their acceptance. I had made this clear in my letter¹ to Masterjee.

(2) I cannot understand the Akali indignation. My meeting a deputation was unnecessary in view of my absolute assurance. If Masterjee had wanted to bring his friends to me, in spite of my assurance, I would have gladly seen them as I did other friends who sought clarification from me.

(3) Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution² which please see. But supposing that it is inconsistent with the Rajaji Formula and the Congress accepts the latter, there is nothing to prevent the Congress from rescinding the Resolution.

(4) How could I favour a contrary opinion when I have always given the closest collaboration to Sikh friends? Those Sikhs, who do not accept the Congress creed, naturally refrain, like many others, from joining the Congress.

(5) I know nothing about the Sikandar³ -Baldev Singh Pact, much less about the Congress High Command's association with it. Nor do I know the details of the Azad Punjab scheme.

I could never be guilty of blessing anything which is contrary to the national interest. You can certainly have the assurance that the interests of the nationalist Sikhs, as also of all nationalists, are safe in my hands, also, I presume, in the Congress hands, though as you know I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Congress.

There are many inventions about me going the round. I would warn friends against giving credence to any of them without reference to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Indian Annual Register, 1944, Vol. II . p. 222

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Tara Singh", 15-8-1944.

² *Vide* 5th footnote of "Note to Jagdish K. Munshi", on or before 12-8-1944.

³ Sir Sikander Hayat Khan

245. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter just received. I wonder if you saw my statement¹. If the fast comes, it will have nothing to do with the Government. For ready reference I send you a copy of my statement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

METROPOLITAN
BISHOP'S HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

246. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ANSARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR SARDAR SAHEB,

I have your letter. There was no question of ignoring you. Yours is a nationalist organization not needing any wooing by me. Neither you nor I can afford to ignore the League. We have to win it and other like forces round to our side. I tried Quaid-e-Azam. And though I may be said to have failed, we have lost nothing, You and I have to work in the best manner we can, the objective being to reduce antagonism without sacrificing fundamentals.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR MOHD. ANSARI
BIHAR MOMIN CONFERENCE
DEHRI-ON-SONE, E.I.R.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 23-10-1944.

247. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have received your two letters which I find very long. The fast will come only when God sends it. He will not send it if we ask for it. How will you carry on your work in such fear? Taking care of your health, carry on your work. If all of you do your work, certainly the fast will not come off. But those who are scared at the mention of a fast do not know even the first lesson of satyagraha.

Zohra is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 487

248. *LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I like your note. You will see that I have made a few deletions. May I make a suggestion? Your writing is very close making it difficult to add anything in between the lines. You will find this in the present case. Paper, no doubt, has to be used sparingly. But should not there be a limit to it?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The note is enclosed.

From the Gujarati original: V. L. Mehta Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

249. *LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

Your letter. Let us not be in a hurry about the land. Things are

being delayed, but there is God's hand in it. I understand what you say regarding my fast. Nothing about it is yet certain, nor even whether it will be for forty days or less. I continue to pray. I should like to be with you when I undertake the fast but nothing about this fast is going to be left to my choice. After all am I to seek my convenience? Is the fast to be undertaken for the sake of my health? It will be for God's work and He will take me where He wants. Please make no preparations for me. Be engrossed in your own work which will be your greatest contribution. Neither of you should worry. Let Ardeshir make progress; he has still farther to go. Teach him non-violence.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

250. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I suggest no one should rush down here at the moment. All of you should immerse yourselves in your own work. Maybe it will avert the fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI MANIBHAI PATEL
VITHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

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

251. LETTER TO HARIBHAI DAHYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

BHAI HARIBHAI,

I have your letter. Let us not commit another wrong to undo the first. That cannot be the way of truth or of non-violence. Hence the

straightforward way is to offer all that we legitimately can. If it fails to mend matters we should bear with the suffering whatever it be. If we act in this way, we need never repent.

Blessings from
BAPU

HARIBHAI DAHYA
P.O.B. 89
WELLINGTON
NEW ZEALAND

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

252. *LETTER TO TEJWANTI DHIR*

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. TEJWANTI,

I have your letter. If you want you may stay in Lalaji's house. If you are not perfectly all right within three months, take more time. Go to the village only when you are fully recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

TEJWANTIBEHN
ADAMPUR

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

253. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, MYSORE ASSEMBLY CONGRESS PARTY*

[*Before November 16, 1944*]¹

Mr. Pyarelal . . . has sent a letter to the Secretary to the Mysore Assembly Congress Party, conveying Gandhiji's thanks for the invitation to the Party's conference (held yesterday), adding that anything that helped constructive activities and advanced the cause of popular freedom had his blessings. He also congratulated the Party on its good work in the Legislature during the first term of its existence under the new constitution.

The Hindu, 19-11-1944

¹ The conference was held on November 16, 1944, at Mysore.

254. *LETTER TO J. J. SINGH*

November 16, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you and other friends for your kind message.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR J. J. SINGH
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
40 EAST, 49TH ST.
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

255. *LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, KURNOOL
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE*

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 24th ult.

You should be guided by Shri A. Kaleswara Rao who is at present here and will be returning to Andhra Pradesh after his talks with Gandhiji.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

THE GENERAL SECRETARY
KURNOOL DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
NANDYAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

256. *LETTER TO R. S. DESHPANDE*

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

DEAR PROF. DESHPANDE,

Apart from the fact that I have no time, the books have been

transferred to the late Jamnalalji's daughter for whom Prof. Kalelkar had meant them.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI R. S. DESHPANDE

POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

257. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

November 16, 1944

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

You have not acted properly in resuming the experiment of ground-nuts and dates. It is wrong to make such an experiment. To persist in living on uncooked food is a kind of obstinacy. One must know how to carry out such experiments. There is no difficulty in cooking ordinary food, and that is what you should do. Or I may send back Manu there. She herself will not like to remain here after hearing about your experiment.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

258. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,

November 16, 1944

CHI. LILI,

I have your two letters. People die all over the world and they will go on dying. For your part you have to excel in your studies. Everything else will follow. Try to build up the atmosphere of Sevagram as far as possible.

Blessings from

BAPU

LILAVATI UDESHI

BOMBAY

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

259. *LETTER TO DR. SANGANI*

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI SANGANI,

I got your letter. You have given Sanyuktabehn¹ excellent treatment and nursing. She was in great agony. May God repay you. Tell Chi. Sanyukta that I had her letter. She can come over when you allow her to leave.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SANGANI
HARKISSONDAS HOSPITAL
BOMBAY

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

260. *LETTER TO JAYENDRA*²

November 16, 1944

BHAI JAYENDRA,

I have read your letter carefully. I have no time to set out my arguments in reply. I shall do as God bids me. Just now there is no call from Him.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI JAYENDRA, SAHITYARATNA
HINDI PRACHARAK
AMADAL PALLEE

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

261. *LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

November 16, 1944

CHI. B. S.,

I am sending all the papers. I have nothing to say about others.

¹ Daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi

² This was not posted for want of complete address.

All I wish to say about the letter received today is that it may be your duty to stay on for the sake of Kishorelal. It is for you to decide that. You are not obliged to stay on for the kitchen work. You should leave it to me. What I would ultimately like you to do, I cannot decide that just yet. Yes! I shall be very happy indeed if you acquire a scientific outlook. I have not heard anything about A. S. I have no misgivings about you. Why should I waste my time?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1949

262. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 16, 1944

Weeping and laughing come from the heart. When grieved one weeps. One must turn that grief into joy and laugh. Hence the need for Ramanama. Surrender all to Him and there is only joy. Why grieve over the loss of hearing? You are saved from hearing a lot of drivel. What is relevant you get through the written word. Moreover I believe that if there is joy within, the ears will of themselves regain the power of hearing.

BAPU

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

263. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

I have your letter. What authority do I have to ask Jajuji to give the yarn to you? And why should the amount be in Jajuji's name? It means you cannot get yarn because the amount did not belong to you. I do not remember all the facts. I am writing this just from conjecture. You should ask for a raise if you cannot make both ends meet. Otherwise choose some other vocation. If the money belongs to you, you should get an injunction from a court of law. In case I have

forgotten something do remind me.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
KHADI VASTRALAYA, MAHAL
NAGPUR

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

264. LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI KHANDEKAR,

I got your letter. I was grieved to learn about the death of your child. May God give you peace and patience. I have the notes of the talks I had with you but I do not wish to send them. Not words but your conduct alone can inspire confidence. May God bless you.

M. K. GANDHI

HEMCHANDRARAO JAGOBA KHANDEKAR
ITWARI
NAGPUR

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

265. LETTER TO DR. BALDEV

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI BALDEV,

What have you done? Why is Subhadra unhappy? Will you please write to me?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. BALDEVJI
AMRITDHARA [PHARMACY]
LAHORE

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

266. *LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU*

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

Gandhiji has your letter of 13th instant. He is of opinion that it will be better not to use his name in public in connection with the forthcoming conference, but if you feel you must he would not mind.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

RT. HON'BLE SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

267. *LETTER TO THE NETHERLANDS TRADING SOCIETY*

November 17, 1944

DEAR SIRS,

With reference to your draft No. nil, dated 14-11-1944 for £.1,000 in my favour, I have to inform you that I have authorized the Bank of Nagpur Ltd., Wardha, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS THE NETHERLANDS TRADING SOCIETY
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

268. *LETTER TO L. RAJAGOPALA RAO*

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

DEAR RAJAGOPALA RAO,

1. I have not excluded any stage of education. The question is purely one of finding the right type of workers.
2. This is answered. Of course the parents should be contented.
3. Your suggestion is sound. Co-ordination is being attempted.

4. This also, if worthy of consideration.

5. Do try. Don't expect me to do executive work. That is for young people like you to do.

6. I have doubts about the soundness of your suggestion. Your note is being circulated among the Heads of the Associations concerned. I had a talk about you with Shri Kaleshwara Rao.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI L. RAJAGOPALA RAO

P. O. RAZOLE

EAST GODVARI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

269. LETTER TO P. SUBBARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,

November 16, 1944

DEAR DR. SUBBARAYAN,

I read out your letter of 14th inst. to Bapu.

You must have seen his reply to Rajaji's wire. He does not propose to make any public statement with regard to the Congress reorganization work as suggested by you. He has favoured the formation of *ad hoc* unions of Congress workers for carrying out normal Congress work. Don't you think that in these matters *ad hoc* committees should be free to frame their own rules and shape their policy according to local circumstances in the best possible manner they can ? This does not involve any constitutional point. All those who accept the policy and plan of work laid down by these bodies and abide by their discipline would of course be entitled to join these bodies.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

WHITE'S GARDEN

ROYAPETTAH

MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

270. LETTER TO KHANDUBHAI DESAI

November 17, 1944

BHAI KHANDUBHAI,

May the Labour Day function¹ bear fruit. Labour has made great strides in Ahmedabad. But much remains yet to be done. I cannot be satisfied till the respect for labour rises higher than that for capital, nor should labour be satisfied. We will not attain that position till it has attained unity, 100 per cent honesty and education with knowledge. There is no place for caste, creed or communalism in the ranks of labour. There should be equality of rights between men and women.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Gujarati: *Gujarat Samachar*, 3-12-1944

271. LETTER TO BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT

SEVAGRAM,

November 17, 1944

BHAI BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT,

I read your full long letter today. I see your Union has made good progress. Do make further progress.

Why do you use your letter-heads as your working papers? About one-third of each page is thus wasted besides the useless expenses of printing. This is an additional loss.

Among your activities I do not find service of Harijans given its proper place.

Do you all learn Hindustani (Hindi+Urdu)?

I don't see any Muslim names among your office-bearers. Do you have any in your Union?

Have you seen my hints to constructive workers?² I wish your

¹ 26th anniversary of the foundation of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad

² *Vide* "Hints for Constructive Workers", 22-10-1944.

Union thinks over what I have written in it regarding students.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT
NATIONAL STUDENTS' UNION
RAIPUR
AHMEDABAD

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

272. LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

BHAI JIVRAJ,

Chi. Sushila¹ is arriving there to see Mathuradas² and his ailing friend. I am not very keen just now to start a maternity hospital here. Since Sushila will not devote all her time to this work I am thinking what her position in this project should be. Again I fail to see how the Committee can work efficiently if she were not on it. Sushila believes that with the time she will give, she can do justice both to the local maternity home and the Committee. She should have a doctor under her to attend to the needs of the maternity home. If you wish you may discuss the matter with her. I have told Abid Ali that he should obtain an estimate of expenditure but should not incur any expenditure just now.

I hope you are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA
BOMBAY

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

¹ Dr. Sushila Nayyar

² Mathuradas Trijumji

273. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I got the impression from your letter today that your work has got on the rails somewhat. S. is leaving today to see you and his friend Pyarelal who is also sick. He will give you further news. There is every chance of your full recovery if you withdraw your mind from all other worries.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

274. *LETTER TO VALLATHOL NARAYANA MENON*

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

DEAR VALLATHOL¹,

May Mallika and her husband live long in harmony and serve the country to the best of their ability.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI VALLATHOL
CHERUTHURUTHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

275. *LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR*

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI OMKARNATH²,

Your letter reached me today. May your pious wishes bear fruit. Your statement is very long. I shall go through it when I have the

¹ An eminent Malayalam poet

² An exponent of Hindustani music

leisure and write to you if I have anything to say.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT OMKARNATH
BOMBAY

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

276. *LETTER TO ASHABHAI*

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI ASHABHAI,

Since I had passed on your original letter to Bapa I did not reply to it. Ravishankar Maharaj gave me a copy of it and we also had a talk. You certainly have my blessings. Your work is fine. And it was good that all of you participated in [raising] the contributions. I suggest you should utilize the fresh amount you might have for whatever work you wish to do and not add it to the Memorial [Fund]. This will not create any difficulty and you will be able to utilize the entire sum locally. I am sure you have a local committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

277. *LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI SAHEB,

Sundaram showed me your letter about the Mahadeva temple. It is my request to you that the temple should be very simple. Should Mahadeva's abode be in a grand mansion or in a simple place? In my humble opinion the noblest of ideas dwell in a simple temple. The courtyard is quite good as it is. Thousands of devotees will be able to worship Mahadeva under a simple roof. There is no urgency to build the temple just now. All that is needed is there. You should be happy

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Omkarnath Thakur", 18-11-1944.

if a firm resolve is made and a vow taken to fulfil it.

Your younger brother,

M. K. GANDHI

BHARAT BHUSHAN PANDIT MALAVIYAJI

C/O SHRI SUNDARAM

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10359. Courtesy: Bharat Kala Bhawan

278. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

SEVAGRAM,

November 18, 1944

BHAI OMKARNATH,

I read your statement fully. Till this point I wrote in Hindi either inadvertently or because I was possessed by Hindi. Why is your statement in English? Your language too does not follow the English usage and hence sounds out of tune. Very few among us have a perfect command over English. And why must we? When we cannot do without it we may scribble some kind of English to express our thoughts. You want to place your thoughts before the Indian people. They should therefore be either in Gujarati (your mother tongue) or Hindi (the national language).

This was only a point to note.

What have you to do with a charter? Your own merit deserves to be your writ. Certainly, you don't need State patronage. I think the [institutions at] Santiniketan are run without a licence and yet command global reputation. Did Vishnu Digambar¹ ever obtain a licence?

And now the third point.

Your statement is contrary to your new resolve. It smacks of Pakistan. Music till now is untouched [by it]. Please don't let it be defiled by bringing in Pakistan.

What more can you expect from a man on his death-bed except an exchange of notes?

Blessings from

BAPU

PANDIT OMKARNATH, SANGITMARTAND

BOMBAY

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

¹ V. D. Paluskar, an exponent of Hindustani music and the addressee's guru

279. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is merely a love-letter. I hope when you come here, you will be fit. Winter has set in here.

Pray that I may look at your pamphlet¹ with your eyes.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2099

280. LETTER TO DR. HARIPRASAD DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

BHAI HARIPRASAD²,

I was very pleased to meet you after so many years and that too in Sevagram.

I was glad to listen to the detailed news from Ahmedabad that you gave me. But you know how greedy I am. I shall be satisfied only if Ahmedabad helps me realize my dream, that is, if untouchability goes root and branch, men and women practise abstention as a matter of dharma and attain equality, the inequality between the rich and the labourers is removed, drink and gambling are stopped, all wear nothing but pure khadi whether at home or outdoors, ideal cleanliness of the heart as well as in outer life is observed and no one suffers hunger. Do whatever you can out of this and persuade others to do so.³ What more shall I say? Come again.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. HARIPRASAD DESAI
AHMEDABAD

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

¹ About the Cripps offer; *vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 8-11-1944.

² Ex-President of the Ahmedabad Municipality

³ This message was sent for the 'Labour Day'.

281. LETTER TO JIVANLAL DIWAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

BHAISHRI DIWAN,

I was pleased to read your letter. You have not yet regained your full strength. I don't like it. Do the doctors and the vaidas have no remedy? Or is it that you are lax in your observance of the rules of hygiene? True, my asking you this question may sound like the pot calling the kettle black, but it is not quite that.

No doubt, you must miss Babubhai at every step. I had regarded you two as inseparable. But he has left us all behind and gone ahead.

Herewith the reply to your student.¹ Read it and tell him what you think right.

The rest you may learn from Dr. Hariprasad.²

Blessings from
BAPU

JIVANLAL DIWAN
AHMEDABAD

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

¹ *Vide* the following item.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

282. LETTER TO SURYAKANT PARIKH¹

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944²

CHI. SURYAKANT PARIKH,

The sincerity of your letter is unmistakable. The leaders who are in jail are doing their duty by being there. A satyagrahi in prison never rots. He serves his cause by his imprisonment, nor can anyone say with certainty that he could have served the cause better if he had remained outside. But it is the duty of those who are outside not to forget those who are in prison. They must labour to get them out. If we had the requisite strength, many of our leaders should not be today in jail. In its absence, we must strive with whatever measure of strength we may possess. I, therefore, like the idea of students abstaining from going to school on 9th, provided they devote the whole day to self-purification and service. There should be strictest adherence to truth and ahimsa in whatever they do. Mass civil disobedience is today in abeyance; rather, it was never started but the fight for independence shall go on so long as independence is not attained.

Whatever your decision let the bounds of propriety be not transgressed and let the decision be taken after due consultation with your teachers and school management. Do not forget that yours is not a Government school.

You must also remember what I have said in another place about the duties of students.

Blessings from
BAPU

SURYAKANT
C/O JIVANLAL DIWAN
AHMEDABAD

The Hitavada, 21-1-1945

¹ The addressee, a student of the Proprietary High School, Ahmedabad, had written to Gandhiji on behalf of the School Committee asking how the 9th of each month was to be observed. Since Gandhiji was receiving a large number of similar enquiries especially from students and incomplete extracts from this letter had appeared in the Press, this authorized translation was released to the Press on January 19, 1945.

² The date, superscription, subscription and the address are from the Gujarati in Pyarelal Papers.

283. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA TEACHERS' TRAINING CAMP¹

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

At the request of Shrimati Ashadevi, Gandhiji delivered a short address to them on the 19th instant, to explain the meaning of New Education. He described in a few words how the Basic Education scheme was born. In 1937 when the Congress took up power for a short term, as it afterwards turned out, in seven out of the eleven Provinces they were confronted with the question of popular education. His advice was sought. Like many others, he had been dissatisfied with the present system of education. He felt that if education was to be linked with the living needs of the masses inhabiting the villages of India, it ought to be imparted through a basic craft. He had no practical experience of agriculture. But he was saturated with the idea of the charkha which he had identified with village life. He, therefore, suggested that it should be used as a medium for the children's education. The idea appealed to Shri Aryanayakum, Shrimati Ashadevi and Dr. Zakir Husain and through their effort the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was founded.

Originally this New Education was intended to cover only the first seven years of a child's education, viz., from the seventh to the fourteenth year. The experiment had already completed six years and was now entering upon the seventh. As a result of further thought, he had come to the conclusion that this education should cover the whole of life from the moment of conception to the moment of death.

Referring to the prayer which had been recited at the beginning of the proceedings, he observed:

There are several things in this prayer which are worthy of your note but I want to draw your attention to that particular portion of it which pledged the reciter to adherence to Truth in speech and action under all circumstances and at all times. One *mantra* means: "Lead me from untruth to Truth, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality." Similarly the Islamic prayer, which has just been recited is an outpouring of the soul for Light and for being guided on to the straight path of Truth and Righteousness. This quest for Truth is the Alpha and Omega of all education.

After finishing your training here you will go back to your respective Provinces to propagate this New Education. You will keep this ideal of devotion to Truth before you. Your work will be that of pioneers. There will be no one to help or guide you with his previous experience. You shall have to grope your way all by yourselves. It is, therefore, not an easy task that you have before you. Then this New

¹ Organized by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and attended by about 50 students, the camp was inaugurated by Gandhiji in the afternoon. This is the authorized version of Gandhiji's speech, presumably in Hindi.

Education will not help you to get big jobs carrying high salaries and emoluments. But yours will be the privilege to go among and serve the villagers in their villages. Palatial buildings and costly equipment can, therefore, have no place in your scheme of work. The school of my conception is one where classes are held in the open under the shade of a tree. I know that it cannot be realized at present. Some shelter will be necessary, perhaps always for protection against the sun, wind and rain. True education can only be given under conditions of utmost simplicity.

Pointing to the building in which they were assembled, he continued:

All the buildings here in the Talimi Sangh are built of local material and with the help of local artisans. We have thereby established a living link between ourselves and the people. That by itself is an education for the people and constitutes the foundation of our future educational work.

If you thoroughly assimilate this ideal of simplicity and its importance in the New Education, you will have justified your training here. You will then appreciate your work.

That work consists of cleaning up. Cleanliness of the mind and body is the first step in education. Prayer does for the purification of the mind what the bucket and the broom do for the cleaning up of your physical surroundings. That is why we always commence our proceedings with prayer. No matter whether the prayer we recite is the Hindu prayer or the Muslim or the Parsi, its function is essentially the same, namely, purification of the heart. God has innumerable names but the most beautiful and suitable in my opinion is Truth. Let Truth, therefore, rule every action of our life, be it ever so insignificant. Let every morsel of food that we eat be sanctified with His name and consecrated to His service. If we eat only to sustain the body as an instrument of His service not only will it make our bodies and minds healthy and clean, the inner cleanliness will be reflected in our surroundings also. We must learn to make our latrines as clean as our kitchens.

As with the individual so with society. A village is but a group of individuals and the world, as I see it, is one vast village and mankind one family. The various functions in the human body have their parallel in the corporate life of society. What I have said about the inner and outer cleanliness of the individual, therefore, applies to the whole society. In the mighty world, man, considered as an animal, occupies but an insignificant place. Physically, he is a contemptible worm. But God has endowed him with intellect and the faculty of discrimination between good and evil. If we use this faculty to know

God we become a power for good. Abuse of that talent converts us into an instrument of evil, so that we become like a scourge and a plague and fill this earth with strife and bloodshed and unhappiness and misery.

The struggle between the forces of good and evil is ceaseless and eternal. The former have truth and ahimsa as weapons against the latter's falsehood, violence and brute force. There is nothing more potent in the universe than God's name. If we enthrone Him in our hearts and keep Him there always, we shall know no fear and lay for ourselves rich treasure in life.

The Hindu, 5-12-1944

284. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

DEAR BARDOLOI¹,

I have your letter with enclosures. Concentrate on producing a solid scheme for villages and the names and qualifications of those who would work it. If you can do that there might be no difficulty about funds even if you exceed your allotment. But you must be prepared for a stiff test. Don't take a full bite at once and face disaster.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI GOPINATH BARDOLOI
GAUHATI
ASSAM

From a photostat: C.W. 10493. Courtesy: Omeyo Kumar Das

¹ Ex-Premier of Assam

285. *LETTER TO F. J. CURTERI*

SEVAGRAM, INDIA,
November 20, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the interesting enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

F. J. CURTERI, ESQ.
425, 112 WEST DORAN
GRENDAC 3
CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

286. *LETTER TO A. KALESHWARA RAO*

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

DEAR KALESHWARA RAO,

I see that I cannot bear the burden you want me to shoulder about Rajagopalarao. You should have no difficulty in bearing it.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI KALESEIWARA RAO
NANDIGRAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

287. *LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY,
GOVERNMENT OF C. P.*

November 20, 1944

SIR,

Perhaps the Government are aware that I am intimately connected with the institutions¹ described in the enclosed² which has been prepared at my request. The figures are necessarily approximate.

¹ Nalawadi and Paunar Ashrams; *vide*, letter to the addressee, 7-1-1945.

² This is not available.

Apart from the question of the legality of the confiscations and without prejudice to the rights of parties interested to claim damages for losses sustained, I venture to suggest that the properties described in the enclosed may be returned to the trustees, so that the constructive and creative activities providing means of livelihood to those for whom they were designed may be resumed as before and further deterioration may be prevented.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE C. P. GOVERNMENT
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

288. *LETTER TO HIRABHAI S. AMIN*

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI HARIBHAI [*sic*],

I have seen Chi. Jeram's¹ letter to you. Everyone here is pleased with the service he has rendered. I approve of his desire to learn painting. However I cannot use for this purpose the money that lies with me. But I think it would not be wrong if you encouraged him in his endeavour. The present generation will certainly want to have freedom in the choice of education, etc., when it comes of age. Whatever elders do—except the restraint they exercise upon those going astray—can hardly be anything but coercion.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

HIRABHAI S. AMIN
TARAPORE

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

¹ Jeram Patel

289. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

November 20, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You have rightly cautioned me.¹ I shall do what I can. The result will be what we all deserve.

Who knows what will happen tomorrow? Ramji hadn't known what was to happen the next morning. You may return after straightening out things there and setting your mind at rest.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1950

290. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,

November 20, 1944

CHI. SATYAVATI,

Received your letter.

Chi. Chandrani has arrived here. But since I am observing silence I cannot speak to her today.

You may go to Lahore if there is no answer from the Government and if they impose humiliating restrictions you may break them. It will be best if they allow you to come here, then we shall see what happens. Go to jail if they imprison you and there even if you meet your death it doesn't matter. In death too the victory will be yours; it is yours even as it is. I do not see any point now in complying with the restrictions imposed by the Government. Write to them plainly that your primary duty is to recover your health. I have assumed responsibility for Chandrani.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 10234. Courtesy: Brijkrishna Chandiwala

¹ The addressee had offered some suggestions about the Ashram administration.

291. LETTER TO KALAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

CHI. KALAVATI¹,

Chi. Anand has given me Rs. 10 on your behalf and has also told me all about you. Remember, we are after all made up of this country's soil. We belong to the starving millions. And so you should lead a simple life and be one with God.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 10584. Courtesy: Anand T. Hingorani

292. LETTER TO A. C. PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

How can I write to Bhaiya? I have no preferences. I have agreed to take up the responsibility only out of love—provided both the parties are willing.²

I treasure many sweet memories of the late Abhyankar. Reduced to words they will lose much of their worth.

Blessings from
BAPU

A. C. PATWARDHAN
"TARUN BHARAT"
NAGPUR

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

293. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

I have your frank letter. I am helpless. Only today I received Patwardhan's letter. He says that I should arbitrate in this dispute also.

¹ Anand T. Hingorani's sister

² *Vide* the following item.

I shall do so provided you are also willing. Patwardhan writes that you will agree only if I write to you. I have written to him that it is not my job. I have no wish to undertake this responsibility but I shall agree to arbitrate out of love provided both the parties are willing. And that too on the condition that I should have written statements from both the parties. I cannot accept oral statements. And you must allow me six months' time for the verdict. If you agree please inform him and send me the statements and the letter of authority.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
KHADI VASTRALAYA
NAGPUR

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

294. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 20, 1944

I saw Vidya's mobile *samadhi*¹. It is good but I am inclined towards the simple and subtle. Let it be if you get peace and solace from it. It is also transient and if you can free yourself of attachment for it your love for Vidya will become further purified. You will better understand Vidya's true nature and your oneness will become clearer. A photograph shows difference. By identifying yourself with the unmanifest Vidya, that is with her spirit, non-difference can be attained. If you can keep the ashes in a little box which can be put in a pocket you may do so. You do not have to do this because I am saying so, but only if you yourself fully understand its meaning and its importance. Only then can it profit you. What I mean is your peace and your joy should increase more with this sacrifice. If this does not happen then let things be as they are.

BAPU

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

¹ Memorial

295. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

November 21, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter came in today.

You have to submit to the relief in instalments for the sake of your brothers. Amid conflict of duties, the choice is often a very delicate affair. In every case you will be cheerful and keep your body in a fit condition. The climate there must be most bracing. I hope you had a good time with Kamalnayan¹.

I am well. Sushila has gone to Bombay to see Mathuradas. She is due any day now.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4149. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7784

296. *LETTER TO C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SEVAGRAM,

November 21, 1944

DEAR SHRI RAJAGOPALACHARI,

I have your letter of the 18th inst. and also your pamphlet.

I hold the concluding paragraph of your last letter to be offensive. However, let me say briefly that when I wrote the article referred to by you, so far as I recall past events, I had not Rajaji's opinion in mind. My correction was a correlated reflection of my mind.

I have no place in the Congress for several years past. I never court publicity. A sense of duty compels me sometimes to write. I have no desire to enter into a public discussion about the matters raised by you.

Yours truly,

SHRI C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BUCKINGHAMPET
BEZWADA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Jamnalal Bajaj's eldest son

297. LETTER TO KUSUM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

CHI. KUSUM¹,

Your letter after many days. It was well you spared me. Naturally I remember you very often. It is precisely for your sake that Narandas refrains from coming to me. If he himself comes whom should he bring along and whom should he leave behind? Besides, what is the point in our meeting? All of you there are busy rendering service which is more valuable than our meeting each other. I have Narandas's letter as also Jamna's². I am not writing to either. Kanu and Abha are fine. For my part I have given them permission to go there but they will not for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[C/O] NARANDAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

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

298. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA P. PATHAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

BHAI BALKRISHNA PATHAK,

True, I had close contact with the late Anandshankarbhai³. My greetings for the unveiling of his portrait. But will the University be content with unveiling his portrait by way of commemorating him or will every teacher and student endeavour to follow his noble qualities?

¹ Daughter of Vrajlal Gandhi

² Wife of Narandas Gandhi

³ A. B. Dhruva (1869-1942); Sanskrit scholar and Gujarati man of letters; Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

This came off my pen in Gujarati. If a Hindi rendering is necessary do it yourself.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

DR. B. P. PATHAK
AYURVEDIC COLLEGE
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

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

299. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. You went away too soon after you arrived. I could not listen to your little confidences. I am reduced to a difficult and awkward position. The days when I could give individual satisfaction can be said to be almost over. For the present I see no possibility of getting anything better than the *dharmashala* where you have been accommodated. I hope Anand¹ does not make a nuisance of himself. I trust you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHARDABEHN CHOKHAWALA
BIRLA'S DHARMASHALA
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

300. LETTER TO SUJATA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

DEAR SUJATA,

Amrit Babu is leaving tomorrow. From the account he gives me of your activity I see you are doing good work. May God bless you for it.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10511

¹ Addressee's son

301. LETTER TO J. C. GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

DEAR GUPTA,

When I saw in the papers months ago a reference to a lawyer brilliantly arguing his case before the Federal Court, I never knew that you had the honour to own that lawyer as your son. May his marriage be a blessing to him and his future wife. I congratulate her on her choice.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI J. C. GUPTA
23 CIRCUS AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

302. LETTER TO JYOTILAL A. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

BHAI JYOTI,

Your letter is fine. Obviously what you say is correct. I also know that the Bungalow has changed hands. I have raised only a question of dharma.¹ If you sell the property I shall have to bear it without a word.

Who is Keshubhai? I cannot understand why Qureshi should turn inimical. I am writing to him.

I consider it intolerable that anyone should disfigure the Bungalow. I should also consider it wrong on the part of anyone who appropriates the Bungalow. Arrange, if you can, for the property to cease to be negotiable. But you may sell it if it will safeguard Champa's interests and if you think that it will not tarnish Doctor's name. I have a letter from Maganbhai of which I am sending you a

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jyotilal A. Mehta", 6-11-1944.

copy. Just now I am not in a position to arbitrate.

Blessings from
BAPU

J. A. MEHTA
JYOTI & CO.
MORVI

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

303. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

November 22, 1944

CHI. MAGAN,

I had your letter. I have written to Champa's adviser.¹ I will forward the reply to you. I am not in a condition just now to take up a long inquiry. I am buried under public work. Hope you are all happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVAN MEHTA, BARRISTER
82 GHODBUNDAR ROAD
ANDHERI, B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1031. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

304. LETTER TO KUSUM M. KOTHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. How do you meet your expenses? Where you are? You and your sisters should not give up your studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUSUM MANILAL KOTHARI
TAKHTESHWAR PLOT
BHAVNAGAR

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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

305. LETTER TO LIMAYE

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

BHAI LIMAYE,

It is disturbing that both of you keep indifferent health. The only consolation is that you have two doctors with you. Please come when you are free.

I feel that we cannot let those who sell uncertified khadi also have Congress agency. It is not a matter of rules but of morals. You however have to work as the local committee directs.

It is good that you have taken up the work of Nayee Talim. About this when you come.

Chi. Balmohan must be progressing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA LIMAYE
925 SADASHIVPETH
POONA 2

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

306. LETTER TO SUBHADRADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

CHI. SUBHADRA,

I have your sorrowful letter. I have written to Dr. Baldev.¹ I shall write to you if I hear anything from him. What else can I do? What could I do for you if I called you here? Nothing is definite about me. God alone is our true help. He will protect you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUBHADRADEVI
C/O AMRITDHARA [PHARMACY]
LAHORE

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

¹Vide "Letter to Dr. Baldev", 16-11-1944.

307. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 22, 1944

Do not take to heart what Mother says. All mothers say things like this. Laugh over it.

To worship God in His invisible form, watch the stars every night and look at the sun early in the morning. Mingle Vidya with the vision. Has not Vidya too gone up? The Saptarshi¹ is there and so is the Arundhati². Though it is an imagination it helps.

BAPU

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

308. LETTER TO TOTARAM HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,

November 23, 1944

MY DEAR TOTARAMJI³,

Anand is somewhat reconciled to Vidya's death. He sees that a soul does not die with the dissolution of the body. His one and real unhappiness is that you are not reconciled to your wife. As a dutiful son the grief is natural to him. Is there no possibility of reconciliation? Pardon me for this intrusion. I feel for Anand.

Yours sincerely,

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

309. LETTER TO T. R. NARSIMHACHAR

SEVAGRAM,

November 23, 1944

DEAR FRIENDS

I thank you for your cautions. Everyone is useful. I shall not enter upon the fast unless I have the clearest possible call from the

¹ *Ursa Major*

² A star near *Ursa Major*

³ Anand T. Hingorani's father

inner voice which is God.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. R. NARSIMHACHARJI OF TIRUPATI
SRIRANGAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

310. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 23, 1944

CHI. JETHALAL,

I am not at all in a condition to write to anybody, but how can I remain without sending you an acknowledgement? I got your detailed letter. I hope you will be able to make your way through the difficulties. You must have written to Jajuji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9872. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

311. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[November 23, 1944]¹

CHI. MANILAL,

This cable [from Sushila] has been just received on the telephone. I suppose it means that you should not go. But we need not act on that. Nothing is definite about the fast. If it comes, Sushila may be with me at the time instead of you.

From Gujarati: C.W. 1354. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi

¹ From the C.W. Register

312. LETTER TO MARUTI SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

CHI. MARUTI¹,

I was happy to have your letter. It was wise of you to have cancelled your plans of coming here. Who but Bapa would accommodate you? I have not seen many people whose generosity can match Dada's [and] Bapa's. Do as he bids. It is certainly a fine idea to build yourself a house. It is right that you and Lakshmi practise abstention. In the present circumstances it is better not to go about meeting people. It is our duty to save every single pie. I hope the children are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

313. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

CHI. SUMI,

I reach your fine letter, which I have preserved since October 21, right up to this day. For a long time I had intended to do you justice. But now I don't have the time, so I shall make do with this little note. See that you get yourself the right food. Keep writing to me regularly. I hope you are fine. Keep the promises you have made me. Have you made friends with any of the girls? Take care of your eyes.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S]

I just got your letter. How did Mathuri² happen to fall ill? I hope she is all right now.

KUM. SUMITRA RAMDAS GANDHI
BIRLA SCHOOL
PILANI

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

¹ An inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati, married to Gandhiji's adopted daughter, Lakshmi, a Harijan

² Mathuri Narayan Khare

314. LETTER TO NATHTHUBHAI PAREKH

SEVAGRAM
November 23, 1944

BHAI NATHTHUBHAI,

I have your letter full of affection. This is only to acknowledge receipt of it. I just don't have the time to write more. Writing even this little thing is burdensome, but how can I forget you?

Blessings from
BAPU

NATHTHUBHAI PAREKH
C/O KISHORE BROTHERS
BANGALORE

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

315. LETTER TO SUNDERLAL

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

BHAI SUNDERLAL,

Received your letter. I had read about your case in the newspapers.¹ I felt sorry. Is there no scope for an appeal? What does Dr. Sapru say?

I understand what you say regarding the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. Dr. Tara Chand² could not join it, but do invite Dr. Abdul Haq Saheb³ to come. Even though there are Muslim members in the Sabha, Abdul Haq Saheb ought to be there.

I have occasionally noticed the activities of the Hindustani Culture Society. We should welcome whatever people are able to do. I note that your lectures are going on. They must be having a good

¹ After the ban on the addressee's book *Bharatmen Angrezi Raj* was lifted, it was reprinted by another publisher. This led to litigation in which the addressee lost the case. Later an appeal was filed leading to a compromise. T. B. Sapru had pleaded the addressee's case.

² Head of the Department of History and Politics, Allahabad University

³ President, Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu

impact.

Come whenever you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT SUNDERLALJI
8 TUKOGANJ MAIN ROAD
INDORE

From the Hindi original: C.W. 10264. Courtesy: Purushottam Prasad

316. LETTER TO KHWAJA A. HAMID

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

BHAI HAMID,

Why in English? I can read Urdu written in a clear hand. I can also write it but with some difficulty. I am writing to you in Hindi hoping that you can read the language. I have gone through your letter thoroughly. What have I to discuss with the nationalist [Muslims]? I can meet the nationalists only if I can bring something from Jinnah Saheb. I did not go to him to surrender the rights of the nationalists. Our duty is to reach, if possible, an agreement with the League, is it not?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

KHWAJA A. HAMID
BYCULLA
BOMBAY

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

317. LETTER TO AKBARALI I. LOKHANDWALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 24, 1944

BHAI AKBARALI,

I have your letter. What advice, much less help, can I offer you? I don't even fully understand this kind of work. I am sorry that you are in trouble and that things are getting worse. May God soon relieve

you from your troubles.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

AKBARALI ISMAILJI LOKHANDWALA
GODHRA

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

318. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

November 25, 1944

DEAR DR. GURBUX,

Please wait till I am free. Send me a reminder at the end of December.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1319

319. LETTER TO K. RENGARAJAN

November 25, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

You should have mer[cy] on me. I am one and senders of papers are many. How can I cope with the work except by excluding much unsolicited matter?

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10232. Courtesy: Gandhi Seva Sangh, Sevagram

320. LETTER TO KAILAS HAKOOR

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

DEAR SIR KAILAS,

I am late in acknowledging your kind letter of 28th ultimo. I am so much pressed for time. I send these lines to thank you for your letter.

Pray don't be anxious about the contemplated fast. It won't

come except in answer to a call from God.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR KAILAS HAKOOR
SIMLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

321. LETTER TO KRISHNABAI NIMBKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

DEAR KRISHNABAI,

I am late in answering your letter. I see you are incorrigible. Obstinacy is both a virtue and a vice. Which it is depends on circumstances. In your case I would fain believe that it is a virtue. You ask for permission to do certain things. Who am I to give or withhold permission? I can only advise where advice is sought. I have given you my answers.

Your attack on Rajaji is ill-founded.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SMT. KRISHNABAI NIMBKAR
192 POONAMALLEE HIGH ROAD
VEPERY, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

322. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

November 25, 1944

BHAI JETHALAL JOSHI,

I could not reply to your letter immediately. I have received other letters similar to yours and I am drafting a statement¹ with reference to them. Please read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1353

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 27-11-1944.

323. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

November 25, 1944

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I was glad to hear that all of you reached there safely. I am better now. Now in place of Kanu Sushilabehn sleeps here. The massage and bath are given by Kanaiyo. Krishna's teeth caused some anxiety, He had some relief after Sushila arrived. He had sound sleep last night. I have accommodated him in Rustom Bhavan. Your decision to go is perfectly correct. I am in God's hands. I have started sleeping in the verandah since last night. Do not worry about me in the least. I sent you Sushila's cable. I wrote a couple of words below it.¹ You must have received it by now. My blessings to Kishorelal and Gomati and the rest. Let no one worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANILAL GANDHI
C/O SHRI NIRMALABEHN SHROFF
ISHVARDAS MANSION
BLOCK-A, 5TH FLOOR
NANA CHOWK, GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4940

324. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I like your letter very much. You can take both the examinations. You will see a statement that I am issuing.

I have correctly understood what you write about music. You should not take anything from the Harijan Sevak Sangh. You should cease to be a burden. Service of Harijans is the warp and woof of our lives. Music is your life's mission. It is the legacy left by Panditji². Merge yourself into music. I should regard it not at all improper if

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, 23-11-1944.

² Narayan Moreshwar Khare

you earned your maintenance through it. But I am prepared to write to Jivanlal if right now you are shrinking from doing it. He is a sound and dependable person and your relationship with him is not confined to that of a father-in-law and son-in-law. Hence you need not be embarrassed if he pays your expenses for the sake of your music. I shall not write without your consent. You may also consult Narandas and let me know if both of you think of something else. I know that Vijaya¹ is fully co-operating with you. I had also learnt that Aruna is progressing. You are lucky. Acquire full control over your body. Charge only those who are rich and not the poor.

Blessings from
BAPU

PURUSHOTTAM N. GANDHI
RAJKOT

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

325. LETTER TO SATYACHARAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

BHAI SATYACHARANJI,

I have your letter. I am considering what I ought to do. I am also having a talk with Ghanshyam Singhji.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SATYACHARANJI
D. A. V. HIGH SCHOOL
ALLAHABAD

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

326. LETTER TO V. N. BARVE

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

BHAI BARVEJI,

I had your letter. With such a rush of work I forget whether or not I have replied to the letters. I value your Harijan service highly. I

¹ Addressee's wife and daughter

admit that our work is proceeding very slowly. I do not know how to quicken its pace.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

V. N. BARVE
PRESIDENT, HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
DHULIA

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

327. *LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 26, 1944

DEAR KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU,

Bapu was delighted to see your letter of 4th instant. He was sorry to learn that you are not keeping well. You have got to keep well.

He is not anxious to undertake a fast. He is praying for light.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DESHABHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a photostat: G.N. 3227

328. *LETTER TO T. N. AVINASHILINGAM*

SEVAGRAM,
November 26, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji had your letter of 3rd November.

With regard to the Kulasekharapattanam rioting case he is of opinion that the appeal ought to be filed in the Privy Council. He wants to know what the probable costs would be and the extent of assistance that would be required.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI T. N. AVINASHILINGAM
13-A FERUZESHAH ROAD
NEW DELHI

[P.S.]

I have just finished Ranga's thing.¹ I am taking up yours next without any further delay.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

329. *LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN*

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 26, 1944

DEAR SISTER²,

Bapu was very glad to have your letter of 3rd inst. He is sorry he cannot write to you himself as he has been forced to further curtail his work owing to overstrain. In fact he has almost reached the limit of his capacity and has had nature's warning signals which he cannot ignore.

He does not want to undertake a fast, but he is faced with a moral dilemma and he is praying to God for light. He will not undertake the fast unless he has the clearest indication that it is the will of God.

I hope you had a favourable response from the trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund with regard to your proposal about your school.

What you write about Ba is but too true.

You will certainly come whenever you feel like coming.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SISTER MARIA

SEVA MANDIR

PROTO NOVO

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* footnote of "Interview to N. G. Ranga", 29-10-1944.

² The addressee, a former member of the Danish Mission, had founded an ashram—a school for girls—at Porto Novo.

330. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS¹

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

At present, the Hindustani *prachar* work is being carried on in Gujarat by Shri Amritlal Nanavati. This work is in accordance with the scheme prepared by Kakasaheb in consultation with me. Hindi *prachar* work is being conducted by the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, appointed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Both these activities are supposed to be undertaken for spreading the national language. I regard myself as the founder of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. In 1925, the resolution about Hindustani was passed at the Cawnpore session of the Indian National Congress. But no attempt was made to act upon the resolution. The Hindustani Prachar Sabha was, therefore, established in Wardha on the 2nd May, 1942. The Sabha has defined Hindustani as follows:

Hindustani is that language which the Hindus, Muslims and all other people of villages and towns in Northern India speak, understand and use for mutual intercourse, which is written and read in both the Nagari and the Persian scripts, and the literary forms of which are recognized today as Hindi and Urdu.²

But before the work of the Sabha could be started properly, many people of the country, including the founders of the Sabha, were thrust into jails on account of the August Resolution³ of the Congress. Shri Nanavati was not in jail, and he felt that he should start the Hindustani *prachar* work. In my opinion he has served the country by doing this work.

Hindi and Urdu are the two literary styles of the same national language. These two styles are, at present, diverging from each other. From the point of view of *Rashtrabhasha*—Hindustani—it is necessary to bring these two styles nearer to each other. Without the knowledge of both these styles and the scripts this is impossible to achieve.

¹ This was issued on January 10, 1945, by Shriman Narayan, Honorary General Secretary, All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha, in order to remove misunderstandings about the object and work of the Sabha. The Gujarati original appeared in *Gujarat Samachar*, 2-12-1944.

² *Gujarat Samachar* has this paragraph in Hindi.

³ *Vide* Appendix “Resolution Passed by All-India Congress Committee”, 8-8-1942.

The venom of Hindu-Muslim differences has entered the sphere of language as well. I have been possessed with the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity ever since my childhood. In order to eliminate this poison of disunity in the domain of language, it is necessary to learn both the styles and the scripts. If the Congress desires to conduct its work without English—and this must be done—it is the duty of each Congressman to learn both the styles and the scripts. This will result in the happy fusion of Hindi and Urdu, and the language that will thus evolve will be the natural Hindustani.

A question is asked whether the enthusiasm for learning both the styles and the scripts should be among both the Hindus and Muslims or only in one of them. A misunderstanding lurks behind this question. Those who make progress in the knowledge of languages will stand to gain: those who do not will be the losers. Moreover, he who cherishes unity will take special pains to know both the styles and the scripts. It should also be remembered that, in provinces like the Punjab, the Hindus, Muslims and all others know only Urdu. To know at least this much is the duty of every patriot. In a vast country like India, the more languages we strive to learn the better equipped shall we become for national service.

Should both the scripts and the styles be learnt by national workers and Congressmen only or by all?

My answer to this question is that all Indians should become Congressmen, and thus everybody should learn both the styles and the scripts. In fact, the very question is irrelevant, because only a very limited number of men and women have so far developed this hobby of learning the national language. We cannot go into raptures over the fact that a few thousands or a few lakhs of people appear at the Rashtrabhasha examinations. Even the number of persons in the non-Hindi and non-Urdu areas who desire to learn only Hindi or Urdu is not sufficient to satisfy our ambition.

Is it not enough that those who desire to learn Urdu should do so through the Anjuman¹ and those who desire to learn Hindi should do so through the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan?

Not at all. It was precisely because of this that the Congress passed the resolution on Hindustani and the need of establishing the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was felt. The scopes of both the institutions (Sammelan and Anjuman) are restricted, and from my point of view, narrow as well. It is my cherished desire that both these sister institutions should co-operate with each other. When that auspicious

¹ Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu

day will really dawn, the work of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be deemed to be over. So long as this situation does not arise, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha should continue to perform its duty. I do hope that these two sister associations will not only tolerate but also welcome this third sister institution which seeks to establish unity between them.

In Gujarat many workers who are at present engaged in Hindi and Hindustani *prachar* work are my colleagues. Some of them have sought my guidance. This statement is my guidance to them. If those who are working for the Wardha Samiti of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan agree with my views on Hindustani *prachar*, they should take up this work as well. They can certainly teach and coach for the Sammelan examinations those students who desire to learn only the Hindi style and the Devanagari script. But they themselves should popularize both the styles and the scripts and should also try to persuade as many persons as they can to do the same. So far as language is connected with the welfare of the nation, I regard Hindustani *prachar* work to be most essential. There should never develop any conflict between the two activities (of Hindi and Hindustani).

Now a question arises as to what should be done by those who have so far learnt or may learn in future only Hindi or only Urdu. Such persons should learn the other style or script and sit for the Hindustani examinations which are to be conducted in both the scripts. Those who have already learnt one style and script will find it very easy to answer the question papers.

The Hindu, 15-1-1945

331. LETTER TO MALIK WAHID

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

You will please forgive me for being late in replying to your letter of 1st ultimo.

Munshiji¹ cannot be disqualified for holding certain political views. He has rendered assistance to the trust in a variety of ways.

¹ K. M. Munshi

I thank you for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MALIK WAHID SAHEB
JOGESHWARI
B. S. D.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

332. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRAVARTY

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR ATULANAND,

Do be merciful to me. Don't ask me to read anything and don't seek my opinion. Of course you must pursue your mission, come what will.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

333. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BABOOJI,

I have treasured your letter of 28-9-44 all these days in the hope of answering it. I came across it today while overtaking arrears.

You lay upon my shoulders a burden they are ill able to carry. I am ill-equipped for the task you call me to.

I hope you are keeping quite well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BHAGWANDAS
BENARES CANT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

334. LETTER TO S. M. PINTO

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR PINTO,

As to my fast do your duty and leave me in the strong hands of God. Trust Him to guide me aright. I shall do nothing without His guidance. As to the Trust¹ do you not see that the trustees were self-constituted? Their business was to collect from whomsoever gave. Then I came on the scene. I was permitted to add names of those who I thought would carry out best the object of the Trust. The whole of India now comes in to see that the money is spent on and for the women and children excluding males beyond an age in the 700,000 villages of India. Here there is no religious or other distinction.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

S. M. PINTO
NATIONALIST CHRISTIAN PARTY
FORT, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

335. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. SITA,

I have your letter. The handwriting is beautiful. You should make your letters slightly bigger. It has now grown pretty cold here. Build up your body with the same devotion with which you are pursuing your studies. Do not be lax about anything.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SITA
C/O NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA

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

¹ Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

336. *LETTER TO BALUBHAI P. MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI BALUBHAI,

I have your letter. I am no more useful for personal work. My strength is limited. I can hardly cope with public work either. There are hundreds who are afflicted like you. Would I have the time if I set out to meet all of them? One should find out one's own way out of one's troubles.

Blessings from
BAPU

B. P. MEHTA
GANJIKHET
NAGPUR

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

337. *LETTER TO VIKRAM A. SARABHAI*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. VIKRAM,

I have your letter of the 16th. You have taken a lot of pains but the job can be done only if we have power in our hands. A 'Gallup poll' is conducted by newspapers and it means nothing. Besides, the number of newspaper readers in our country is so small that a research of this kind will not give any worth-while result. Let us see what the Sapru Committee¹ does.

Blessings from
BAPU

VIKRAM SARABHAI
BANGALORE

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

¹ The Conciliation Committee appointed by the Standing Committee of the Non-party Conference under the Chairmanship of T. B. Sapru, *vide* Appendix "Letter From T. B. Sapru"(b) and (c) "Names Suggested for Conciliation Committee".

338. *LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BAPA,

I have gone through your letter. Some people are capable of sitting idle enjoying their leisure. You are certainly not one of them. Your enjoyment lies in doing work. Well, enjoy yourself Narahari is coming tomorrow and he will examine your statement. Sushilabehn is examining it. It seems it will be delayed to some extent. I hope you are getting some peace of mind. Yesterday Pakvasa¹ came and took my signature.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
S[ERVANTS OF] I[NDIA] SOCIETY
POONA

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

339. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. LILI,

By all means have a mosquito-net. For this you don't have to go up to the Dean. Whatever the rules, one should observe them ungrudgingly. Of course it is a different matter if they are morally wrong.

It is good that you reported your talk with the Dean, which shows that you must clear all the examinations with perseverance. That is your dharma. Forget Sevagram and devote yourself to your studies. About my fast we shall see when one actually comes up. You have to be guided by the straight line that has been chalked out for you. You are not so much as to glance aside this way or that.

You already sign your letters as 'obediently'. Well, you have got

¹ Mangaldas Pakvasa

my command.

Blessings from

BAPU

LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
MEDICAL HOSTEL
PAREL, BOMBAY

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

340. LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

November 27, 1944

BHAI JIVRAJ,

I have your letter. Your worrying about my health is misplaced. It is quite unnecessary to give any importance to the reeling ensations. Nothing would have happened if I were not observing silence. It am exhausted, no doubt. I have therefore increased the amount of rest and I shall go on increasing it if I feel the need. Yes, the stomach is slightly better. But it is an old story, don't worry about it. I have no desire to move out. The cold does not bother me. There is still the month of December to go. Besides, the echoes from Bengal are resounding in my ears. If the need arises Sushila will send for all three of you.

It is good news that Mathuradas is better.

True, I am no more as keen as I was about the medical section of the Memorial. For the present we are not going to have anything on a large scale here as decided earlier. Let us see what finally comes off. Sushila is trying to do something herself. She is training a few girls, and she will carry on as she thinks right.

Thinking about a board of trustees I see that any scheme coming from outside will necessarily have to be examined. So there will have to be a board. I am considering its final form. You too should think over it and write to me. The onslaught of Ayurveda, homoeopathy, etc., is crushing. All this confuses me But a way has to be found. I shall watch where we land.

The Charkha Sangh meetings start tomorrow.

I hope you are up on your two feet. I hope Hansabehn¹ and the children are fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA, BOMBAY

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

¹ Addressee's wife

341. LETTER TO KAMAL NARAYAN MALAVIYA

November 27, 1944

CHI. KAMAL NARAYAN,

Received your letter. Your suggestion is very good but it is beyond my capacity to carry it out. To establish a school and a library in every village is a Herculean task. I am glad to know that Babuji¹ is well.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI KAMAL NARAYAN MALAVIYA

BHARTI BHAVAN

ALLAHABAD (U. P.)

From the Hindi original: C.W. 10556. Courtesy: Municipal Museum, Allahabad

342. LETTER TO SHIVLAL GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,

November 27, 1944

BHAI SHIVLAL GUPTAJI,

It is from the Provincial Congress Committee that you should ask for help for Bhai Sant Ram. I am helpless.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHIVLAL GUPTA

JAIPUR

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

¹Madan Mohan Malaviya

343. *LETTER TO TEJRAM BHATT*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI TEJRAMJI,

You spend money needlessly. I can no longer attend to personal problems. I cannot look into your case. I have no time at all. Please have mercy on me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

TEJRAM BHATT
DEHRA DUN

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

344. *LETTER TO RADHAKANT MALAVIYA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI RADHAKANT¹,

What you say is correct. No doubt I promised but now I plead helplessness. I feel exhausted and the burden of work is quite heavy. I know what you want to tell me. Spare me, if you can. Come if you must but after December 5.

M. K. GANDHI

RADHAKANT MALAVIYA
ALLAHABAD

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

345. *NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

November 27, 1944

Inspect everything in Andhra and meet the patients. If you find anything lacking in the matter of sanitation report it to the doctor, undergo the treatment he advises and if you do not find it good come back.

¹ Son of Madan Mohan Malaviya

Get to know Babaji¹ and Gokhaleji who accompanies him and extend whatever help they need. Write to me fully. See what the treatment is. Do not become disheartened if you do not recover your hearing. There is no harm in not hearing. There is harm only in forgetting God.

BAPU

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

346. LETTER TO LLOYDS BANK LTD.

November 28, 1944

DEAR SIRs,

Ref: Your letter marked Exchange dated 24-11-1944

With reference to your letter above enclosing your receipt in duplicate dated 24-11-1944, for £539-12-6 in my favour, I have to inform you that I have authorized the Bank of Nagpur Ltd., Wardha, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS LLOYDS BANK LTD.
HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

347. LETTER TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

SEVAGRAM,
November 28, 1944

DEAR MIAN SAHIB,

Bapu was glad to have yours and Mrs. Iftikhar's letters. He is too tired to write to all those whom he would like to write. He desires me to thank you both for your kind sentiments.

So far as the fast is concerned, he says he won't undertake it unless there is a clear call.

¹ Babaji Moghe

How is your health now ? I hope this will find you fully restored.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

MIAN IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

21 AIKMAN ROAD

LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

348. LETTER TO R. K. KARANJIA

November 28, 1944

BHAI KARANJIA¹,

I have your letter. I read the journal. Is not offering satyagraha also subject to some rules? No satyagraha violating its own rules can be offered even if it were to bring in millions of rupees. One invariable rule is that it is to be offered by one who suffers tyranny. The country should be able to stand by him. I or anybody else who might lead the band of satyagrahis must drift with the current. As things stand now it seems to be impossible.

Blessings from

BAPU

R. K. KARANJIA

BOMBAY

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

349. LETTER TO MAHADEV A. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,

November 28, 1944

CHI. MAHADEV,

Anand says that you get quite scared at night. Why should you be afraid in the night? God does not sleep at night. He keeps watch for us even while we are asleep, why should we be afraid then? Sleep after reciting Ramanama and have no fear at all.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Editor of *Blitz*, a Bombay weekly

350. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,

November 28, 1944

You are going not only to have your ears treated but for nature cure in a wider sense. My opinion is that your deafness is closely connected with the state of your mind. Nature cure includes mental activity. In this sense uttering Ramanama, reading the *Gita*, and so on, are part of nature cure. Perhaps Rajuji's¹ centre will provide this. I have a feeling that Raju looks at nature cure in a spiritual way. You too should make such an effort. Give up all other thoughts. Go there determined that you will be cured and you will get back your hearing. Take the treatment that Raju advises and eat what he says you should. Do some reading and writing. Leave all thoughts of Vidya, Father, Mother, myself and Mahadev (son). You will be doing good to them all by giving up their thought. Detachment will help cure your ears. Do not think about the ears. Think about work. Try and remove the shortcomings you notice in Raju's centre. Get to know the patients there. Speak to Gokhale or Babaji. Learn the *Gita* from them. Learn Telugu. We from the North neglect the four Southern languages. It is a great mistake. In short you are going to Andhra for a new life. You must give there what you have taken from here and you have to bring here what you find there. Do spinning and other allied work regularly. What more? God is with you.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS]

It will be good if you show this to Gokhale and Babaji. But do as you please.

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

¹ Krishnaraju

351. INTERVIEW TO N. G. RANGA

November 28, 1944

At the second interview¹ Prof. Ranga placed before Gandhiji two alternative proposals for the re-organization of the Kisan Sabhas and their co-ordination with the Congress organization. They were:

(1) To include in the *kisan* councils that may be formed one-third representation from corresponding Congress Committees. This would secure for them the co-operation and the advice of the Congress.

(2) (a) To adopt Congress membership as a basic membership for the *kisan* organization.

(b) To constitute *kisan* councils out of rural delegates to the Congress Committees elected as per the present constitution. Such *kisan* councils would be part of the Congress Committees while retaining their separate Corporate existence for dealing with the problems relating to the *kisans*.

(c) In addition to Congress members some non-Congress but not anti-Congress members also might be taken on the *kisan* councils to provide a suitable representation.

He felt that the first formula would be more acceptable than the second to most Kisan Sabhaites. The final clause in the second formula too had the same object in view, namely, to make it acceptable to them.

GANDHIJI: But this is a variation upon what you suggested last time. Then you suggested that the Kisan Sabha will have no member who is not a member of the Congress also.

PROF. RANGA : We want to have in our organization some non Congress *kisans* also who are not anti-Congress but for various reasons could not afford to join the Congress.

GANDHIJI: Why do you want that? You said that you did not want anything in opposition to the Congress. So, if you have for your members only Congressmen, the *kisan* organization will deal with matters relating to the rights of *kisans* as against landlords and employers. It won't deal with political questions. I thought that I could reconcile myself to it. I said I approached it with hesitation while it was for you to dispel my doubts. So you better stick to your original proposal.

PROF. RANGA : It has been forcibly brought home to us that the Congress people feel nervous about this double membership. So I thought the Kisan Sabha had better remain as a distinct body. Our workers are used to that idea. I have been able to

¹ For the earlier interview, *vide* "Interview to N.G. Ranga", 29-10-1944.

persuade them that so far as politics is concerned we must accept Congress leadership. The idea is that after the Congress elections are over the rural delegates will form themselves into a *kisan* council. This *kisan* council will deal with matters relating to the *kisans* and in politics accept the lead of the Congress.

GANDHIJI: My suggestion is this. You have your own organization where you register all the *kisans*. As soon as the *kisan* becomes your member, he becomes also a Congress member. Matters particularly bearing on the *kisans* and their relationship with the landlords, etc., are then tackled by your organization while political matters will be tackled by the Congress.

PROF. RANGA: In that case may we retain one anna for the *kisan* council out of the Congress membership fee of four annas?

GANDHIJI: You can do that subject to Congress approval. This would mean that the Congress allows a gratuity of one anna to you for doing this special work. If I were at the head of Congress affairs I would certainly allow it.

PROF. RANGA : In the mean time may we start with one-anna membership from now on the clear understanding that those who are now enrolled are to become members of the Congress as soon as the Congress organization again begins to function? Or we can take five annas from each member now and out of it keep four annas in trust for the Congress.

GANDHIJI: I am afraid you cannot do it today. You must do it openly or not at all. Do not collect the four annas Congress membership fee in advance. I will suggest a better plan which I recommended to Shrimati Rama Devi. Have a register of workers only. Don't have Congress members just now.

PROF. RANGA: Can't we have something like a Congress Seva Sangh, an *ad hoc* body of Congress workers but not Congress members, to carry out Congress work?

GANDHIJI: Yes, you may do that. But seeing that ours is a non-violent body their work will only be to carry on the fifteen-fold constructive programme. That will avoid tussle with the Communists also. Today you are not working for power but as Congress servants. If you carry on your work silently and unostentatiously you become irresistible. No one will come in unless he wants to work with you. There will be no eloquence or Press publicity to attract power seekers.

PROF. RANGA: Eloquence by itself, I admit, is no good but has it not its use when coupled with solid public work?

GANDHIJI: Work by itself is eloquence. Here there are workers in Khadi Vidyalaya, Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Gram Seva Sangh, working themselves to death. They make no speeches. They speak to the villagers through their activity.

PROF. RANGA: As regards the Communists they have done a lot of harm so far as *kisan* work is concerned and as a result have become very unpopular. There are two *kisan* organizations in Andhra, one Congress-minded, the other Communist. So far as we are concerned we keep the Communists out of our organization.

GANDHIJI: You won't be able to keep anybody out of primary membership by merely making rules. But you can keep out trouble if you work on the lines I have indicated.

The Hindu, 23-1-1945

352. MESSAGE TO STUDENTS' CONFERENCE¹

[Before November 29, 1944]²

The fourteen-point programme is dear to Gandhiji and if you can implement it and give it a dynamic drive you will advance the country towards freedom, peace and progress. The blessings always go to workers in the cause of freedom.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-12-1944

353. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR³

SEVAGRAM,

November 29, 1944

My heart goes out to you all. Give my love to Maud⁴. She is brave. I hope that the impending examination will show nothing worse.⁵ How has Beryl⁶ taken the thing? Shummy⁷ must be soldier-like and face all this bravely. Of you what shall I say? Do send me a cheerful wire, if you can.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4203. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7839

¹ This was sent by Pyarelal. The Conference was scheduled to be held at Allahabad on December 2 and 3.

² The report appeared under the date-line "Allahabad, November 29, 1944".

³ This is a postscript to Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee dated November 29, 1944.

⁴ Consort of Maharaja of Kapurthala

⁵ The addressee's sister-in-law, Raniji, had undergone an operation and was to be treated at the Tata Memorial Cancer Hospital, Bombay.

⁶ Maud's daughter

⁷ Shamsere Singh, addressee's brother

354. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I had asked you to write again regarding the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. There were other letters too, on the basis of which I have issued a statement¹ which both of you should see, and write to me if you have anything to say. You ought to get some guidance.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMNARAYAN PATHAK
ELLISBRIDGE
AHMEDABAD

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

355. LETTER TO KALANGI

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

BHAI KALANGI,

I have your letter as well as the money order. I hope you will get this letter. One cannot put an end to the misery of the masses by ending one's life in the way you describe. A number of things happen in the world to which we are helpless witnesses. We should do our utmost and leave the rest to God. He also bears with whatever His creation does, doesn't He? You have no idea at all about what I do and what I refrain from doing. Therefore I would advise you to give up your idea of suicide. If you want I shall return the money.

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. KALANJI [*sic*]
FIRE SERVICE 2
UTTARPADA
DIST. HOOGLY

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

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 27-11-1944.

356. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

CHI. SHARMA,

There is a letter from Bhai Vichitra¹ from which I gather that you have raised a grand structure. But you have no one to help you. The question is what and how much you will be able to do by yourself. Who can bear your expenses? How and from where can I draw money for what does not look promising? I am convinced that you should do what you can with your own efforts. At times I feel that I have entered your life only to disorganize it. You belong neither here nor there which means you have lost your moorings. Now forget me and make your own decision. I shall make the final decision regarding the trust after hearing from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

HIRALAL SHARMA
SURYA CHIKITSALAYA
KHURJA

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

357. LETTER TO VANAMALA N. PARIKH

7.15 a.m., November 30, 1944

These chapters² are not bad, but they do not come up to my expectations. Perhaps I should not have entertained those expectations. I have not permitted you to have enough experience or education for that. You could certainly have worked harder. Since you are not lethargic, I assume that you did not get the necessary time for putting in more work. Now revise the Writing at the places I have indicated and hand over the manuscript to Jivanji³ to deal with it as he likes. You need not at all feel discouraged.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5845. Also C.W. 3068. Courtesy: Vanamala M. Desai

¹ Vichitra Narayan Singh

² Of *Amaran Ba*

³ Jivanji D. Desai, Manager, Navajivan Press

358. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have had a talk with Rajaji. The position is as I have explained, namely, that the Princes can preserve their independence and Pakistan can exist only if British power remains. How can I tolerate this? It means that a part of India can be independent, and the British rule will continue in the States ruled by the Princes and in the Muslim majority Provinces. I can never be a willing witness to this. I cannot understand how you can be. You may, if you wish, meet Rajaji and seek clarification. I have stated here the position as I have understood it. See that in trying to secure something you do not lose everything. Go thoroughly into the details.

Sarala¹ must be doing fine.

Blessings from
BAPU²

From Gujarati: C.W. 7684. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

359. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Rajaji does not feel inclined to go there. His health is impaired. He would not be able to stand the Delhi cold. There is nothing specifically wrong with his health, only he is not keeping robust health. He has made changes in his diet. You and whoever else wants to see him should come over here.

I am also preparing to take a little rest. I think I will stick to this place but stop doing any work. Rajaji strongly insists on it. He has well spread his fragrance in Nagpur. Dr. Mahmud is fairly well although he has grown weak. He is taking Pandit Shiv Sharma's

¹ Addressee's eldest daughter

² The letter bears the following instruction: "Send this with anyone going to Bombay."

prescriptions. Krishnadas had to bear a lot of pain in having some of his teeth extracted. He is better now.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVDAAS GANDHI
DELHI

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

360. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Your letter. There is no need to write to Tandonji¹. I have received the resolution.

Kedar Babu's note is good. I am herewith sending a copy of it. I want you to guide Madalasa in this respect. Talk to Shantabehn if you wish to. I appreciate the letter; something must be done. I am even prepared to meet all the teachers. But I should not be burdened with this responsibility. Owing to fatigue I wish to stop all work from the 3rd until the 31st.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 302

361. LETTER TO SHIV SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

BHAI SHIV SHARMA,

Hope you are in perfect health. Ramesh is a very nice person but he failed to reveal the wonders of Ayurveda to me. He is hard-working. He tries to compete with Allopathy. A great deal of diligence and experience is required to compete with Allopathy.

I have grown very weak. My intake of food is somewhat reduced. Two to three hours' work exhausts me. Now I am thinking

¹ Purushottamdas Tandon

of disengaging myself to some extent from public work. Ganeshshastri Joshiji had prescribed some pills. I did not take them. I am unable to decide what to do. Sushilabehn, of course, recommends her line of treatment. I am still keen on getting well with the help of Ayurveda or my own methods of treatment. Let us see what I decide to do. Instead of sending another vaidya it would be better if you yourself come over whenever you can.

Blessings from

BAPU

PANDIT SHIV SHARMA

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

362. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

December 1, 1944

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have revised the draft¹ sent by you. There should be no reference to fast. You should confine yourself only to the marriage. You will see the addition about the reform.

I hope Sailabala Devi² is better and will soon be completely restored. How is Ronu³? Love to you all.

BAPU

[PS.]

Sailen's meals and residence are properly fixed up now. I do not think that Sailen can be appointed auditor for the K. B. Trust Fund. They will have well-known chartered accountants for the purpose, I expect.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10509. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ Of a Press statement

² Addressee's wife and son

³ *ibid*

363. LETTER TO K. R. AGHARWAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Please believe that the fast will not come except for a definite call from within.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. R. AGHARWAL
DIBRUGARH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers,. Courtesy: Pyarelal

364. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. JAYA¹,

Didn't my sending the yarn by itself mean my blessings? Since, however, you are not satisfied with that, tell Chi. Bindu² and Chi. Chandrakant that I bless them and wish that both of them should understand the significance of marriage which I have explained, act accordingly, lead their lives in a spirit of service and be happy.

If you can persuade Manu to go with you, she may certainly do so. I have not held her back. You should, however, understand that on an occasion like this one should entertain no expectation from anybody who may have been entrusted to me.

Blessings from
BAPU³

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

¹ Jaisukhlal Gandhi's sister

² Addressee's daughter

³ The letter bears the following instruction: "Show this to Manubehn."

365. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. KISHORELAL,

You understand the matter correctly. Maybe, I should proceed in the same direction. In support of my action I quote the fasts in the past that were universally praised. But I should not waver if they were found to be wrongly undertaken or not fully justifiable. It is my firm conviction that even from a purely modern point of view fasting has an important place. It is as much necessary for the *atman* that takes on a body as for the body itself. If in the process the body drops that should be no reason at all for grieving. Nevertheless I should like to read whatever Nathji¹ may write.

Improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

366. LETTER TO GOMATI K. MASHRUWALA

[December 1, 1944]²

CHI. GOMATI,

I have your letter. If you have the faith that I am—in fact all of us are—in the hands of God, what is the point in worrying? I am taking all the care I can. I hope to come through. I have decided to retire immediately for rest, mainly urged by Rajaji.³ It will start on the fourth. The weather here does not disagree with me. Manilal has given me all the news. Both of you seem to be doing well on the whole.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Kedarnath Kulkarni, addressee's guru

² The letter was enclosed along with the preceding item.

³ According to Sushila Nayyar's letter to Amrit Kaur dated November 29, Rajaji "put the suggestion of rest to Bapu in a very original fashion. He said that just as when he fasted he abstained from food, he should take up a fast from work and religiously Abstain from work for one month."

367. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

[December 1, 1944]¹

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I saw your letter to Pyarelal. I think you should bring along the Maharaja's money. Maybe, we will not be able to take up the responsibility. He should entrust the amount either to the Talimi Sangh or to someone in Bihar who might take up the burden. It would be all right if he could accomplish the job through Badrinarayan who is in Bihar.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

Show this to Bapa if you can. Don't hesitate to write to me if you differ from me.

BAPU

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

368. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Your letter is very frank and good. We will all discuss it after my [work] fast is over. I quite understand the importance of your college work. Organization of the students and the responsibility of the Mahila Ashram work will take up all your time. Hence I shall try to relieve you, as much as possible, from the work of the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. I will see what can be done.

You must keep yourself in good health. I hope you will not neglect your duty to preserve your health for the sake of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 302

¹In the source this letter is placed at the end of the letters dated December 1, 1944 and before those of December 2, 1944.

369. LETTER TO INDUBHUSHAN BHINGARE

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

BHAI BHINGARE,

I showed your *bhajans* to Diwanji who is a poet and who has made a study of the *abhangas*¹, *Jnaneshwari*², etc. I enclose herewith his opinion. In this condition how can I write a preface for them? I would advise you to see Diwanji and with his help revise [the manuscript] where necessary.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

370. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am dissociating myself from all public activity, discussions, etc., from the 4th to the 31st. There is no cause for panic. It is only by way of precaution. I hope I shall be completely all right.

You have sent a telegram to Rajaji but he is reluctant to go. Nor is it necessary. Besides, he cannot be said to be too well. There is no mental exhaustion but his physical energy is at a low ebb. He won't brave the Delhi cold. He wants to leave for Madras soon after I start my [work] fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
DELHI

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

¹ Compositions of Tukaram

² The first Marathi commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* by Jnaneshwar advocating the path of knowledge

371. ADDRESS TO A.I.S.A. TRUSTEES

SEVAGRAM,

*December 1, 1944*¹

I am sorry to say that I am physically not so fit and fresh as I had expected to be and that I have decided to take complete rest for four weeks commencing from the 4th December in order that I may be able thereafter to take up the work more energetically. However, I warn the members not to take pity on me and spare me in the deliberations.

Shri Jajuji, the General Secretary of the Sangh, has discussed with me² the future policy of the Sangh in all its aspects for seven days devoting one hour daily to it. The gist of those discussions has been sent to the members of the Board and other prominent khadi workers in the form of a circular letter. Replies thereto have been received from a number of members and they are all before the Board for their consideration.

The chief thing that I want the members to consider is that so far the Sangh work was directed from the Central Office, but henceforth the work is to be decentralized and any province or district which wants to be autonomous is to be allowed to do so. Workers must be prepared to go to organize such autonomous centres with the prestige and moral support of the Sangh. The worker will be paid a maintenance for five years on an annually diminishing scale. He should work there according to the fundamental principles and policy laid down by the Sangh. It is not possible otherwise to decentralize the work in seven lakhs of villages.

There are two schools of thought current in the world. One wants to divide the world into cities and the other into villages. The village civilization and the city civilization are totally different things. One depends on machinery and industrialization, the other rests on handicraft. We have given preference to the latter. After all, this industrialization and large-scale production are only of comparatively recent growth. We do not know how far it has contributed to our development and happiness, but we know this much that it has brought in its wake the recent world wars. This second world war is not still over and even before it comes to an end we are hearing of a third world war.

¹ From *Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran*

² Between October 7 and 14

Our country was never so unhappy and miserable as it is at present. In the cities people may be getting big profits and good wages, but all that has become possible by sucking the blood of villagers.

We do not want to collect lakhs and crores. We do not always want to depend on money for our work. If we are prepared to sacrifice our lives for the cause, money is nothing. We must have faith and we must be true to ourselves. If we have these, we shall be able to decentralize our capital of thirty lakhs in the villages to create national wealth amounting to three hundred crores. To do that, the main thing that is necessary is to make the village self-sufficient and self-reliant. But mind you, my idea of self-sufficiency is not a narrow one. There is no scope for selfishness or arrogance in my self-sufficiency. I am not preaching isolation. We have to be humble as dust for a cause. We have to mix with people even as sugar mixes itself with milk. Though the villagers will be self-sufficient so far as it is possible, they will devote their time also to their intellectual development for the creation of the consciousness for the contemplated non-violent society of the future.

Cloth stands second to food as necessity. If every village begins to produce its own cloth, its strength will greatly be enhanced. But to achieve that we do not want to close down the textile factories by legislation. We want to achieve our purpose by revolutionizing the psychology of the people. By decentralization we want to produce cloth wherever cotton is grown.

But what of the city people who have taken to khadi now? I would ask them to spin their own yarn and to find out for themselves weavers to weave that yarn into cloth.

It is absurd that the cloth should come from Manchester for the poor, who produce cloth for Bombay people. It is also not proper to compel the poor to accept part of their wages in the form of khadi. They should be so educated that they may spin voluntarily and intelligently and may use with love and pride the cloth produced by them. If the people of Bombay want to wear khadi they should spin for themselves or get their children and other dependents to spin. If people pledged to khadi, spin for themselves, the practice will be contagious. Even if we are able to produce khadi worth ten crores instead of one crore as at present our object of reaching the whole of India will not be achieved.

Gandhiji then read out the resolution¹ which he wanted the Board to consider and adopt. Whilst explaining its implications he said:

The workers of all our five constructive programme institutions (Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Goseva Sangh) should possess such knowledge that the politics of the whole country may be guided by them.

Today we are all the while thinking that our work will be able to make headway only when Rajaji becomes the Prime Minister of Madras. But that is not proper. In our present politics we are looking with longing eyes to the Viceroy's Secretariat but if we do our work properly the Viceroy will have to come to us. He will see our work and realize that it is not possible to keep such people in subjection or to rule over them. When seven lakhs of villages will take up this work in the new spirit we shall not remain a subject nation. Each one of our villages will be independent and self-reliant. That is true swaraj and that is true democracy. I do not worry when we shall be able to attain our goal, but if we are sure of our path and if we have faith that it is the only true one, we should go on striving for it incessantly and uninterruptedly.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-12-1944

372. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

That 'man proposes and God disposes' constantly proves true in my case, as I expect it does in every case whether we realize it or not. I was contemplating a food fast for reasons I hold to be entirely spiritual. But for the time being, it is being replaced by a day-to-day-work fast. I had hoped that I had recovered sufficiently to be able to go through the routine work without interruption. But nature's warning has been sounding in my ears during the last ten days. I was feeling fatigued. Even after the noonday siesta, the brain seemed tired. There was a complete disinclination to speak or write. But I continued hoping that I would be all right without having to discontinue mental activity.

But nature would have her way. Rajaji who saw me after a month detected a marked change in my face, and he said, 'You must stop all

¹ For the draft resolution, *vide* "Speech at A.I.S.A. Meeting-II", 2-9-1944 and for the resolution passed, *vide* Appendix "Resolution Passed by A.I.S.A.", on or before 3-12-1944.

this ceaseless mental activity if you want to avoid a disaster.' I seized the suggestion. He even went so far as to say that I should not mind disappointing invited workers of the Charkha Sangh, although I was looking forward eagerly to meeting them and discussing with them my plan for a new orientation of khadi work. But I would not listen. So I am going through these meetings in the best manner I can in the hope that no crisis will overtake me during the remaining two days of these meetings.

From the 4th to the 31st of this month, I have decided rigidly to discontinue all public activities, all interviews for public or private purposes and all correspondence of any nature whatsoever. I shall read no newspapers during the period. This abstention will be subject to exception for unforeseen circumstances of a grave nature.

I shall not deny myself the pleasure of reading non-political literature in which I am interested. This also I shall read without in any way unduly taxing the brain. I have asked friends who were expecting to see me during the month to indulgently postpone their visits for the time being.

Let readers not be alarmed at what is only a precautionary measure. Dr. Sushila Nayyar assures me that there is nothing physically wrong with me except that my old friends, the hookworms and the amoebae, have not left me. I am able to take daily walks without the slightest strain and they will be continued. I had hoped to make one or two public statements in connection with a lot of misrepresentations of my views and doings about the communal question and some other public questions. I must forbear for the time being. But I must repeat the warning I have given before, that nothing that is not authoritatively stated by me should be accepted by the public. There are things which I have seen in the Press which I can only say I am incapable of having countenanced directly or indirectly.

There are some vital questions addressed to me by correspondents. They will forgive me for my inability to deal with them for the moment. If, after a month, they still feel the necessity, they will please repeat their letters and if all goes well, I shall gladly reply. Starvation of millions, black markets, and what I cannot but describe as gambling, will continue to worry me as they do now. I can but entreat my numerous co-workers to do what they can to ease the situation, which can be done, I am perfectly sure, if those concerned will make up their minds that the claims of the famishing millions are the first charge on their care and attention.

The Hindu, 3-12-1944

373. NOTE TO AMINA G. QURESHI

[After *December 1, 1944*]¹

Stay over if you can. No message would be sent up to the 31st;
nor a letter.

BAPU²

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10776. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasool
Qureshi

374. TELEGRAM TO RASHID KHAN

December 2, 1944

RASHID KHAN
MUSLIM LEAGUE
KUMBAKONAM

YOUR TELEGRAM. BEST WISHES.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

375. LETTER TO ANIL CHANDRA CHANDA

SEVAGRAM,
December 2, 1944

DEAR ANIL,

Satis Babu has handed me your note. I have not forgotten
Santiniketan. As you know Kamalnayan had taken over the whole
burden himself. Unfortunately he had to go to Mussourie to look
after his wife. He has not returned. I shall attend to the matter as soon
as he returns but not before my rest-cure is over.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From C.W. 10515. Courtesy: Visvabharati

¹ This is written on a letter dated December 1, 1944, to the addressee from her
Son requesting her to get from Gandhiji a message for the students who had planned to
observe the 9th of every month by engaging in patriotic activities.

² The signature is in the Urdu script.

376. LETTER TO AKBARBHAI CHAVDA

SEVAGRAM,
December 2, 1944

CHI. AKBAR,

I have made arrangements for a watch for you. You will get it soon. I have read all your letters. You have been doing fine work. God will bless you with success.

You will soon get lots of drugs, but they will not be very helpful. So long as water, fire and earth are available, drugs are not necessary.

Give the people boiled water to drink. This will cure most of the complaints. Use soda [bicarb] if you have it. Water containing soda will stop diarrhoea. Food should be stopped. Persuade the people patiently to stop eating. You may even let them die who do not listen to you. Search for village medicinal herbs. You must have *neem* trees there. If you persuade the people to chew its leaves and see that they fast, the fever will probably disappear. Boil *neem* leaves in water and wash the blisters with that. The water should be bearably hot. Cover the blisters with a mud-pack of clean earth. Get clean cloth for bandaging the blisters. If you can get tamarind you can give a solution of it in place of water mixed with lemon juice. Revive people's knowledge of nature-cure remedies. Local medicinal drugs should be made available. Give rice water instead of milk. If you mix jaggery with it, it will provide more energy. Teach people the rules of hygiene. If food is stopped to people suffering from fever or diarrhoea and they are put on boiled water, more than fifty per cent of the cases will recover. I have no doubt in my mind about this at all. Fifty per cent is a conservative guess. For guinea worm, try fomentation with hot water and tie up the thing as it comes out. Try also a poultice of onions. You must have received the suggestions sent by Kishorelalbhai and Sushilabehn. I have suggested only the simplest remedies. Let Devibehn send whatever she wishes. If cows, buffaloes or goats are offered, accept them. To meateaters you may unhesitatingly give meat-soup. Soup means water in which meat has been boiled. These things should be served hot after boiling them. This is not the time for doing our religious duty of propagating vegetarianism. Soup is bound to be useful where milk is not available.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3236

377. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

December 2, 1944

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Where do you want to keep Chakrayya¹? Do you want to keep him in Adhyapan Mandir² or in Harijan Ashram or with you?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10805

378. LETTER TO ABDUL MAJEED

December 2, 1944

BHAI KHWAJA,

I had known it even earlier that my Muslim friends who are not with the League were a little angry with me because I went to Bombay to talk with Jinnah Saheb and did not talk with them. As I have already written to you earlier, I can never be unfaithful to the Muslims or Islam. I had never thought that I would have any settlement with Jinnah Saheb which would be against the interests of my Muslim friends who have joined me in making sacrifices or which would harm the genuine interests of any community in India. Had any such situation arisen, I would have certainly consulted some of you.

I was distressed to learn that some of my Muslim friends think that in my friendliness with Jinnah Saheb I have ignored them. That certainly is not the case. It must be accepted that the majority of the Muslim community belongs to the Muslim League whose Quaid-e-Azam is Jinnah Saheb. It must also be accepted that he is opposed to our line of action. That is why I wished that either he should convert me to his course or I should convert him to mine, and if this could be done, the Hindus and Muslims would march together to freedom. I failed in my attempt. I wish that Maulana Saheb and certain other friends, particularly Maulvi Hafizur Rehman Saheb, Mufti Kifayatullah Saheb and Maulana Syed Ahmed Saheb would take the trouble of meeting me here. I would try to clear their doubts. We can all work together and pray to God to show us the straight path to freedom. If all of you cannot come, it would be enough if only

¹ An inmate of the Sevagram Ashram

² Training school

Maulana Saheb comes. Or, Maulvi Hafizur Rehman Saheb who is the secretary of the Jamiat may come. Please convey my regards to all the friends.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Urdu original: A. M. Khwaja Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

379. LETTER TO VICEROY

SEVAGRAM,

December 3, 1944

DEAR FRIEND¹,

This is with reference to your letter of 2nd November last.

My letter² of 17th July to Mr. Churchill was, in my estimation, of a sacred character, not meant for the public eye. I now contemplate an occasion or time when it might need publication without losing the sacred character. Even so I do not wish to publish it without the Prime Minister's permission. May I have it, in case I need to publish it?³

I should tell you that I have shown the contents to a few friends.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY

VICEROY'S CAMP

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 15

380. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,

December 3, 1944

CHI. MIRA,

So you have the land of your choice⁴. May all your dreams be fulfilled. If I go to Delhi and get the time of course I should love to

¹ Lord Wavell

² *Vide* "A Thought for the Day", November and December, 1944.

³ In his letter dated December 21, 1944, E. M. Jenkins conveyed the Prime Minister's consent.

⁴ For the Kisan Ashram near Roorkee

drive to your place.

Do not be anxious about me. All I need is rest from the routine work, even love-letters. So till the end of the year this is my last letter. This is the final day of writing letters.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6501. Courtesy: Mirabeht. Also G.N. 9896

381. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter of 25th November and for responding to Sir Tej Bahadur's invitation¹.

You must have seen from the papers that from tomorrow, I am imposing on myself abstinence from day-to-day routine— work-fast. I see clearly that I must take rest, if I am to avoid a breakdown. The fast is to end with the month.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE METROPOLITAN
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

382. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

MY DEAR KALLENBACH²,

Manilal will give you all the news about me. I hope you are doing well. I send you these lines to tell you that the Phoenix Trust³

¹ To be on the Conciliation Committee of the Non-Party Conference

² A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji during his South African days. He placed his "Tolstoy Farm" at the disposal of the satyagrahis during the satyagraha struggle which lasted for 8 years.

³ For the original Phoenix Trust-Deed, *vide* "The Phoenix Trust Deed", 14-9-1912. The addressee was one of the Trustees.

requires complete overhauling.

There are now no settlers. Therefore the clause about them should go. There is no formal resignation or withdrawal by them. If the law requires it, a formal resignation should be secured from each one of them. Perhaps their physical withdrawal amounts to resignation.

The following new trustees may be added:

Manilal, Jalbhai¹, Medh²

Manilal should be the managing trustee and the manager of the Settlement, including *Indian Opinion*. He should draw from the Trust £100 per month for the maintenance of his family and children and live on the land free of rent with the right to use for his household the fruits, vegetables and cereals grown on the Settlement. He should maintain proper books of account in connection with the Settlement and *Indian Opinion*. He should be free, subject to its being no additional burden on the Settlement, to remove *Indian Opinion* partly or wholly to Durban.

Such changes as may be necessary may be made in the Trust-Deed. In the event of my death before the Deed is prepared and signed by me, this letter may be treated by the present trustees as authority for the changes herein suggested.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

383. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[December 3, 1944]³

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you are keeping well and fit even as I am. Don't worry over the threatened fast.⁴ If it comes, it will come from God. And where is the cause for worry when a thing is from God?

I had a discussion with Manilal and Jalbhai when he was here. This is the result.

Three new trustees should be added. Jalbhai, Medh and Manilal. Manilal should be the manager of the settlement in my place. He is managing *Indian Opinion* and everything at present and drawing his

¹ Son of Parsee Rustomji

² Surendra Medh

³ Vide "Letter to Herman Kallenbach", 3-12-1944.

⁴ Vide "Statement on Proposed Fast", 29-10-1944, "A Statement", 29-10-1944 and Gandhiji's letters of November 1944.

expenses. I think and he agrees that he should draw for himself and his family a fixed sum per month, say £100. The budget of expenses for the settlement should be prepared annually and passed by the Board.

There should be a clause added giving the trustees authority to sell the proceeds to be utilized for the objects of the trust.

If a Kasturba memorial is to be founded, on the Phoenix ground, it should be properly secured.

If you, the remaining trustees, approve of my suggestions, an amended deed may be prepared and sent to me for my signature. Should I die before my signature is taken, this letter should be used by the trustees as my wish in the matter. I hope that they will give effect to it and free Manilal from the uncertainty that hangs over him.

I feel too that those settlers who are not working on the settlement, although they may be deemed to have resigned, should formally do so, to avoid future complications.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

384. LETTER TO DR. PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DEAR DR. PANDIT,

Shri Parnerkar is a valued co-worker. His mother is in Indore. She is ailing. If you can give her the treatment she needs, I shall feel obliged. You will please pardon me for giving you this trouble, even though I do not happen to know you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. PANDIT
INDORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

385. *LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI*

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DAUGHTER SULTANA¹,

Now you are married. It is good that you found a partner within the family itself. May you both be happy and bring credit to Imam Saheb² by your selfless service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10764. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

386. *LETTER TO HAMID AND WAHID QURESHI*

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

SONS HAMID AND WAHID³,

Amina⁴ has talked to me about both of you. You should make very good progress. Wahid has become a cowherd. If he is a true cowherd he will produce pure milk and ghee for the country and will breed such bullocks as would attract universal attention.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10775. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

¹ Daughter of Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

² Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, addressee's grandfather and Gandhiji's associate since the South African days

³ Sons of Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

⁴ Addressees' mother; daughter of Abdul Kadir Bawazeer

387. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BHAI MOHANLAL,

I don't at all approve of your action. In fact you are no more worthy of anybody's alliance. But that will be difficult. You should therefore form a fresh alliance.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

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

388. LETTER TO KANAIYALAL DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944¹

BHAI KANJIBHAI,

I am deeply pained that I had to stop you from coming. But what could I do? I am helpless. The month will pass quickly and God will have me restored.

I have already spoken at length to Mangaldas, who will explain things to you. The main point is that if Congressmen and Congresswomen feel sore about it, I shall carry on correspondence with none but you as the president or with anybody who happens to be the president. I did not consider Mavalankar an outsider. You may appoint whatever committee you wish for the running of the Kasturba Trust. The rules are formulated with a view to safeguarding the Trust, the purpose being that the money should be spent according to its objectives. It may be said that all parties are, or rather no party is, represented on the Trust. Individuals have contributed on their own behalf whatever they wanted. We should, in view of this, appoint a committee comprising men of all shades of opinion. Indeed, whoever is appointed on the committee should be in his or her own right a representative of India's village women. It will be proper only when all work done in this spirit. Then alone shall we be able to utilize the one crore rupees for our village sisters. There is no place for distinction between rich and poor, Congressmen and non-

¹ *Sansmarano* however has "December 2, 1944".

Congressmen. I indeed desire that a Congressman should harbour no hatred in this heart. All our actions should be based upon love and truth.

You may read out this letter to all the men and women. Please understand it is my earnest wish that there should be no bitterness whatsoever.

Blessings from
BAPU

KANJIBHAI
SURAT

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

389. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

December 3, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Your letter. I showed it to Satis Babu. He says that you have to stay in the village itself and do what is required. The problem of water, etc., can be met; he has told you something about it and will talk to you more. You should take it that until the 31st you will not hear from me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1951

390. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

December 3, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I just now received your letter. It is full of the affection that you both have for me. However, it does not seem necessary to have a change of place right now. Let me see what happens during the [work] fast. I would enjoy spending even a little time with you, though. Hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 303

391. LETTER TO GANESH SHASTRI JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

I have been taking the little pills, which you gave me, for the last three days. I must say that they have done me some good. What is this pill?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10358

392. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. May God cure you all. Give me all the news. You would have noticed that from tomorrow I am going to stop writing letters, etc. I shall resume in January.

Blessings to you all

BAPU

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

393. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BETI,

You have done well in not coming. Today is the last day for writing letters. I am taking a reprieve from such activities from tomorrow until the 31st. I have undergone a lot of mental strain and have to get rid of it. You must be keeping well. Akbar is working hard. I shall try and send one of his letters on to you.²

Don't worry about me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 541

¹ This is a postscript to Abha Gandhi's letter to the addressee.

² The letter bears the following instruction in Gujarati, obviously for the secretary: "Please enclose a letter from Akbar."

394. *LETTER TO KRISHNARAJU*

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BHAI KRISHNARAJU,

My letter-writing activity ceases from tomorrow until the end of this month. Hence I am sending this letter to convey my good wishes for your success in your treatment of the three friends¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10357

395. *LETTER TO DHIRENDRA CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

CHI. DHIREN,

I have your letter. From tomorrow my silence starts. I shall not be writing letters till the 31st. I am happy to learn that you are doing well. By any means get rid of your constipation. Sailen has improved a lot.

Blessings from
BAPU

DHIREN CHATTERJEE
KHADI PRATISHTHAN

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

¹ Anand T. Hingorani, Gokhale and Babaji Moghe

396. A STATEMENT¹

[Before December 4, 1944]²

I have never put any ban on individual satyagraha, where self-respect is in danger.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-12-1944

397. TELEGRAM TO ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA³

December 4, 1944

ANUGRAHANARAYAN SINHA

KADAM KUAN

PATNA

BEST WAY CELEBRATE RAJENBABU DIAMOND JUBILEE IS
FOR BIHAR AT LEAST TO DO ALL HE STANDS
FOR. NEED I SAY WHAT HE STANDS FOR?

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

398. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

December 4, 1944

I will not meddle with this during this month. All of you may do what you think best. Everybody has truth and ahimsa in him. This need not have been mentioned in the last meeting of the Charkha Sangh, for the circular⁴ was drafted on that assumption. What you are doing about the kitchen must be all right. See that the men whom you engage are clean in body and mind. Their clothes, etc., should be decent. You should look after their all-round education. This should include their children. You should also go and inspect their homes. If they are well trained, we can influence the villages sooner through them. We must go deep into whatever work we do.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5808. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ & ² Gandhiji said this in reply to an 'enquiry' from some prominent Congress workers. The statement was obviously made before Gandhiji disengaged himself from all public activities on December 4; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 1-12-1944.

³ This was in response to the request of the Bihar Students' Federation.

⁴ Sent by Shrikrishnadas Jaju. It contained the gist of his discussions with Gandhiji carried on from October 7 to 14.

399. *LETTER TO G. V. GOKAL*

December 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of the 13th ult. and the remittance of £ 1,000/- which you have sent.

You must have seen from the papers that owing to health reasons he has taken four weeks' complete holiday from all work. I regret, therefore, that he cannot write to you himself.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SHRI G. V. GOKAL
MESSRS. V. GOKAL & CO.
47 MARKET STREET
JOHANNESBURG
SOUTH AFRICA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

400. *LETTER TO SHYAMLAL*

SEVAGRAM,
December 11, 1944

DEAR SHYAMLALJI,

I have your letter of 2nd inst. and the enclosures.

As desired by Bapu I have written to Dr. Dharam Prakash to send his accounts as he had offered to. His reply is being awaited. Bapu would get the accounts scrutinized when they arrive.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
[CAMP] KINGSWAY
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

401. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
December 11, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

My idea was that the khadi work should be learnt as part of the Talimi Sangh training while working for the Talimi Sangh itself, in accordance with the sincere wishes of the couple¹. The work going on in the Khadi Vidyalaya these days is very good. The work of the Talimi Sangh depends on khadi. Whether or not it depends as much or more on agriculture remains to be seen. What I mean to say is that I had very high expectations from you. And I still believe that they will be fulfilled. If there is anything else, you may join me tomorrow during my walk. I shall be taking a walk towards Sevagram [village].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4452

402. TALK WITH NARAHARI D. PARIKH

[Before December 12, 1944]

I see khadi dying. Hence if khadi, which is the main plank of the constructive programme, is to be saved, it ought to become self-supporting. Those who do not spin have no right to wear khadi. All those who wear khadi must spin so that khadi may survive.

[From Gujarati]

Sandesh, 12-12-1944

403. REMARK IN VISITORS' BOOK²

December 12, 1944

For me this is a place of pilgrimage. I wanted to visit the institution ever since it was started, but there was no opportunity. May God help the afflicted through this institution. Only He can reward Bhai Manhar Diwan for his pioneering work in this field. But the fact

¹ E. W. Aryanayakum and his wife Ashadevi

² This is recorded in the Visitors' Book of a leprosy relief society in Dattapur Colony near Wardha.

is that for him service is its own reward.

M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Maharogi Seva Samiti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

404. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 16, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I understand what you say. Obviously I expect you to become an ideal teacher in Nayee Talim. That sums up everything. Wherever you go it will be at my instance only. But you must develop the ability to get along with Aryanayakum and Ashadevi. I am in no hurry. You will yourself understand that the experience of comradeship with them is in itself a part of your training in Nayee Talim. After all you have started your own Nayee Talim, haven't you?

Yes, I consider it very essential that you acquire complete mastery of carding. Start [learning] it in the Khadi Vidyalaya after taking permission from both of them. You have already been given one responsibility, haven't you? Do you want another person besides Anantramji?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4453

405. NOTE TO CHANDRANI

December 21, 1944

I hope you will prove to be a very good *sevika*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrani Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

406. A NOTE¹

December 22, 1944

You have done the sums very well. There is room for improvement in the handwriting.

BAPU

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

407. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI²

December 23, 1944

This is good enough, but there is plenty of room for neatness. Whatever you do must be neat.

BAPU

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

408. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

December 25, 1944

It is indeed an achievement that most of the sums are correct. Take your own time to improve the handwriting. See that henceforth not a single [sum] is incorrect.

BAPU

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

409. A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

SEVAGRAM,

December 25, 1944

I had hoped that I would be able to speak a few words today. But God willed otherwise. Today is Christmas Day. We hold all religions in equal respect and all such festivals deserve respect. But our respect is different from the common kind. For us such festivals are for meditation and introspection. On such occasions we should search our hearts and cleanse it of all impurity. We should know that

¹ Presumably this was meant for Manu Gandhi; *vide* the following two items.

² This and the following note to the addressee appear in the form of remarks on the lessons done by her.

God is one, whether we call Him Ishwara or Khuda, and that His commands are the same for all. We should not harm others for what we regard as Truth or right. We should be prepared to die for Truth and when the call comes give our life for it and sanctify it with our blood. This in my view is the essence of all religions. On this day we should ponder upon this and remember that Jesus mounted the Cross for what he considered to be the Truth.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7903. Also C.W. 4271. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

410. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
December 27, 1944

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

It is natural to feel sad at Father's passing away but if we reflect for a moment we shall realize that it is futile to grieve over the inevitable. Why then should one grieve? And who is it that dies? Surely not the *jiva*¹ which was always associated with us, which is with us now and will remain with us hereafter.

Father's last words are very precious to me. I shall regard them as a blessing.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD
DISTRICT AGRA (U. P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2575

¹ Soul

411. A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY¹

November 20, 1944

Innumerable are the names of God; but if a choice were to be made of one, it would be *Sat* or *Satya*, that is, Truth. Hence verily Truth is God.

November 21, 1944

Realization of Truth is not at all possible without ahimsa. That is why it has been said that ahimsa is the supreme dharma.

November 22, 1944

The quest of truth and the observance of non-violence are impossible without *brahmacharya*, non-stealing, non-possession, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, removal of untouchability and the like.

November 23, 1944

Brahmacharya here mean control over the sense-organs—in thought, word and deed. One who, while remaining bodily chaste, is impure at heart shall not be deemed a true *brahmachari*.

November 24, 1944

Non-stealing does not mean mere abstention from theft. To keep or take what one does not need is also stealing. And of course stealing is fraught with violence.

November 25, 1944

Non-possession means that we should not hoard anything that we do not need today.

November 26, 1944

Fearlessness should connote absence of all kinds of fear—fear of death, fear of bodily injury, fear of hunger, fear of insult, fear of public disapprobation, fear of ghosts and evil spirits, fear of anyone's anger. Freedom from all these and such other fears constitutes fearlessness.

November 27, 1944

Let us respect other religions even as we respect our own. Mere

¹ At the request of Anand T. Hingorani Gandhiji on November 20, 1944, started the practice of writing 'a thought' for each day and continued it for about two years. Those written during the period covered by this volume are given here as a single item under the last date, namely, December 31, 1944. The thoughts were originally written in Hindi.

tolerance thereof is not enough.

November 28, 1944

Removal of untouchability means not merely touching the Harijans, but also looking upon them as our own kith and kin; in other words, treating them in the same way as we would our own brothers and sisters. None is high, none low.

November 29, 1944

Yogah Chittavrittinirodhah—This is the first aphorism of Patanjali's *Yoga Darshan*¹. Yoga is controlling the activities of the mind. Restraining the surging passions, suppressing them, that is yoga.

November 30, 1944

How can one whose mind passions keep surging ever realize truth? The upsurge of passions in the mind is like a tempest in the ocean. The helmsman who holds fast to the helm in a storm remains safe. Likewise, he triumphs who relies upon Ramanama when the mind is restless.

December 1, 1944

The *bhajan* "Take Thou a Lesson from the Tree"² is worth laying to one's heart. The tree bears the heat of the sun, yet provides cool shade to us. What do we do?

December 2, 1944

Let us always beware of false knowledge. That which keeps or turns us away from Truth is false knowledge.

December 3, 1944

For the realization of Truth it is necessary to read the lives of the saints and reflect upon them.

December 4, 1944

Against whom shall we harbour enmity when God Himself says that He dwells in all living beings? (Translation of today's *bhajan*.)

December 5, 1944

The great lesson that we learn from the life of Mirabai is that she renounced her all—even her husband—for the sake of God.

December 6, 1944

What can a person not accomplish by faith? He can do everything.

December 7, 1944

Man can overcome mountains by faith.

¹ Philosophy of Yoga

² By Surdas

December 8, 1944

He who concentrates on any one thing with singleness of purpose, will ultimately acquire the capacity to do everything.

December 9, 1944

True happiness does not come from without; it comes from within.

December 10, 1944

He who loses his individuality loses all.

December 11, 1944

The straight path is as difficult as it is simple. Were it not so, all would follow the straight path.

December 12, 1944

“Compassion is the essence of religion,” so Tulsidas has said. And he adds: “Abandon not compassion as long as you live.” Suppliants for compassion ourselves, all of us, how shall we take compassion, and on whom?

December 13, 1944

A sister said: “I used to pray, but have now given it up.” I asked: “Why?” She replied: “Because I used to deceive myself.” The reply is of course correct. But let her give up deceiving. Why give up praying?

December 14, 1944

Yesterday’s *bhajan* was very melodious and worth pondering over. It says in essence: God dwells neither in the temple, nor in the mosque. Neither within, nor without. If at all He is anywhere, it is in the hunger and the thirst of the humble folk. Let us spin daily in order to sate their hunger and quench their thirst, or, with Ramanama on our lips, engage ourselves in some such labour for their sake.

December 15, 1944

Why is it that even ordinarily we do not escape untruth be it out of fear or even shame? Would it not be better to adopt silence instead, or, shedding fear of one another, speak frankly what is in our mind?

December 16, 1944

Even a little untruth ruins a man, as a drop of poison ruins milk.

December 17, 1944

We are loath to devote time to things that matter, but hanker after worthless things and find pleasure in them!!!

December 18, 1944

“Man is not God; call him not that. But of Divine refulgence he

is part.”

December 19, 1944

Listen to the discourses of the sages, study the scriptures, become learned. But if you have not enthroned God in your heart, you have achieved nothing.

December 20, 1944

We all desire *mukti*¹ but, perhaps, we do not know precisely what it means. Deliverance from the cycle of birth and death is one of its several meanings.

December 21, 1944

The poet-saint Narsinh says: “A man of God seeks not deliverance from birth and death; he asks to be born again and again.” Viewed from this angle, *mukti* takes on a somewhat different form.

December 22, 1944

Extreme non-attachment is salvation, according to the *Gita*, and we find the same meaning given in the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*.

December 23, 1944

How to develop non-attachment? This can be done by regarding joy and sorrow, friend and foe, mine and thine, as all alike. Thus another name for non-attachment is equanimity.

December 24, 1944

As drops add up to make the ocean, we can be friendly and become an ocean of friendliness. The world would be transformed if everyone in the world lived in a spirit of mutual amity.

December 25, 1944

Today is Christmas Day. For us who believe in the equality of all religions, the birth of Jesus Christ is as worthy of veneration as that of Rama, Krishna, etc.

December 26, 1944

Illness itself should be a matter of shame for man. Illness betokens some lapse. Illness should not beset one whose body and mind are wholly sound.

December 27, 1944

Evil thoughts are also a sign of illness. Let us, therefore, avoid evil thoughts.

December 28, 1944

One infallible means for escaping evil thoughts is Ramanama.

¹ Salvation

The Name should come not merely from the lips but from the heart.

December 29, 1944

Numerous are our ailments; numerous, too, are physicians and their treatments. But we would be spared much bother if we regarded all diseases as one and Rama as the one and only Physician who can eradicate them.

December 30, 1944

How strange that we run after physicians who are mortals themselves but forget Rama, the immortal, eternal and never-failing Physician!

December 31, 1944

Stranger still it is that, knowing that we, too, are mortal and that a doctor's treatment can at best but prolong our life for a few more days, we still run from pillar to post to seek it.

A Thought for the Day, pp. 1-42

412. TELEGRAM TO ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA¹

Express

[1944]

ANUGRAHANARAYAN SINHA

KADAM KUAN, PATNA

HOPE SOMEBODY DEFENDING MAHOMMED YASIN'S CASE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

413. LETTER TO PRANLAL D. NANJI

1944

If you have to go to Deolali, you can have exemption from having to come to Wardha. Coming here is chiefly a matter of sentiment, whereas going to Deolali may be your duty.

From a facsimile of the Gujarati in *Pranlal Devakaran Nanji Abhinandan Granth*, between pp. 14 and 15

¹This is found in the file of documents belonging to the year 1944. The exact date of this and the following item is not ascertainable.

414. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
January 1, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is the first letter to you on 1st January in the place of speaking to you. I shall speak only at the time of opening the prayer at 7.30. My sin in playing with Ayurveda has laid me low. Now I am weak because according to the law of natural science I am throwing off the poison. Don't you be anxious for me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULLAH ROAD, THYAGARAYA NAGAR
MADRAS

From a photostat: G.N. 2100

415. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 1, 1945

CHI. DEVDAS,

Having written my first letter to Rajaji I now write this to you. Do not at all worry on my account. I am paying for my sins. I had too much of Ayurveda and I suffered. And now I am slowly throwing off the poison. I have therefore grown very weak but I am watching the developments. Hook-worm and amoeba, my old enemies, won't leave me.

All this is but flushing out the poison that I had taken. I do not know what other suffering is in store for me. I shall go on doing as God dictates. You should not worry. Ramdas¹ has come. And now Nimu² too.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEV DAS GANDHI
NEW DELHI

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

¹ Ramdas Gandhi, addressee's elder brother

² Nirmala, wife of Ramdas Gandhi

416. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
January 1, 1945

CHI. RAJKUMARI,

This is merely in answer to yours received at 4 p.m. after my 3 postcards had gone. This therefore though written today will be posted probably tomorrow.

Yes, a happy New Year to you, such happiness as you can derive from within. Happiness without there is none so far as I can see.

I have your two dhotis. I am wearing them, too. They are fine. But the real fineness comes from the knowledge that the handiwork is yours so far as yarn is concerned.

Yours with love
BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3694. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6503

417. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

January 1, 1945

You should not worry. I have fallen ill through my own sins. I indulged a little too much in Ayurveda and am paying the price. Now I am bed-ridden because according to the law of nature I am throwing off the poison. I am all right. Get well soon.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 205

418. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

SEVAGRAM,
January 3, 1945

DEAR A. N.,

I have heard that you want to take in someone sent by Akbar but want the Ashram to pay for his upkeep. This is wrong and after I am gone the whole thing will close down. It must not be so. The first 14 years may pay in the end, but altogether in the end. But the adult education and the preparation of school masters should pay from the

beginning, barring of course the expense of the permanent teaching staff. I can argue this out and prove it but I must not do so now. It will tax me unnecessarily. I hope that all those whom we have taken just now have been taken on that basis.

If they have not, the matter requires re-thinking out. I have not allowed the mind to lie quite fallow all this month.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

ARYANAYAKUM
SEVAGRAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

419. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 3, 1945

BHAI PARNERKAR,

The new gentleman who has been sent over to look after the A.[I.] Goseva Sangh must give us full service if he is strong and useful and if we need him. In that case he should draw as much as he needs for his maintenance and it should be borne by the goshala. If he is not useful he will be a burden to the Goseva Sangh and will not learn anything. If we do not adopt such a policy the G. S. S. will become just another mushroom institution which we should not allow to happen. For after my death all such ventures are sure to close down. We must never let it happen. I am not in a position to talk, hence it is better that I write out what I think.

Blessings from

BAPU

PARNERKAR
GOSHALA
SEVAGRAM

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

420. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
January 3, 1945

CHI . SATYAVATI¹,

I am sorry that your disease is getting worse. But that might be God's will. What does it matter? The body is transient. It has to perish one day. We must do as much as we can.

By all means defy all orders. Tell them plainly that you wish to go home, and if it is possible take some treatment there. Do come here if you so wish. I am to some extent an invalid; but that makes no difference. Dr. Sushila is here and there are other friends too. Now the air also is good.

I shall be content if you die in my arms. But if you live, well, what more can one ask! Chand will write the rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 10235. Courtesy: Brijkrishna Chandiwala

421. LETTER TO MOHAN PARIKH AND ANASUYA PAREKH

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI . MOHAN² AND ANASUYA³,

Unfortunately for me I did not even see the letter to which I am replying though it was read out to me. It was torn up.⁴ It was good news that you two were engaged to be married. For me, marriage is not a means of enjoyment but a field for practising dharma. It is an important ashrama dharma among the four ashrama dharmas. Hardly anybody looks upon it as such. Everybody looks upon it as a means of enjoyment. I hope that you two will bind yourselves with it regarding it as a dharma and will inspire each other to follow the path of service.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9190

¹ Granddaughter of Swami Shraddhanand

² Narahari D. Parikh's son

³ Kunvarji Parekh's daughter

⁴ Narahari Parikh however says that the letter was later found and was read by Gandhiji.

422. LETTER TO KUNVARJI S. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I had just got up from bed when I received your letter. Pyarelal read it out to me and threw it into the waste-paper basket. Then Narahari came and I was reminded of it. I also felt a little strong and sat down to write this. You have all my good wishes for this alliance. I could not imagine a better choice than this for Anasuya. The marriage has my sincere blessings. I have written¹ to Mohan and Anasuya. BhaiNarahari will send you a copy of that letter too. He will also do whatever else is necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9752. Also C.W. 731. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

423. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI. SITA²,

I have your few letters. Now that my month³ is over I am writing these few lines. Now a month of physical weakness has begun. I am reaping what I sowed. I went on taking Ayurvedic medicines without thinking and had to suffer the consequences. I am now getting rid of the poison. I am daily improving and getting stronger. There is very little cough. The pain in the ribs has also practically disappeared. After reading and showing this letter to the people there, post it to Natal so that I do not have to write a separate letter.

Chi. Manilal served me with great devotion. Let us see now when Sushila comes to take his place.

I am glad that you are studying hard. Taking care of your health you may work as hard as you can. It will not matter if it takes a

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Daughter of Manilal Gandhi

³ Of work-fast

little longer.

Blessings to everybody there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4943

424. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

January 4, 1945

CHI. SUMI¹,

Though there is no letter from you Ramdas wrote to me about you.

First, about your eyes. You should not be in a hurry to pass the examination. You may do as much work as you can, while taking care of your health and your eyes. It should be enough for you that you are not idling away.

Then, about gold bangles. What will you do with them? There can be bangles made of yarn, sea shells, glass, copper, silver, gold, pearls, diamonds, and so on. But what use are they to you? Your bangles should be in your heart. That alone is the real lasting adornment. All else is false. If nevertheless you cannot do without them you may put on any kind of bangles that you want and your parents can get for you. Consider how it will affect the poor. Do what your heart prompts you to do. Only hear what I say. Write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

SUMITRA RAMDAS GANDHI

PILANI

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

¹ Daughter of Ramdas Gandhi

*425. LETTER TO THE HEAD MISTRESS,
BALIKA VIDYALAYA, PILANI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

HEAD MISTRESS

PILANI SCHOOL

THE HEAD MISTRESS,

Please find enclosed a letter¹ for Sumitra Gandhi. Please see its contents and pass it on to her. Since her eyes are weak her diet needs some attention.

Please tell Lakshmibehn² and Chi. Mathuri³ to write to me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

426. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
January 5, 1945

MY DEAR K.,

It has cost me much trouble to see you free.⁴ You are naughty to have been so ill. Poor S.⁵ is going after you. She tried to establish connection from here. Now she and Munnalal will try from Nagpur to establish connection with you or Zaverbhai before going further. Meanwhile love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10167

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Widow of N. M. Khare, an inmate of Sabarmati Ashram

³ Daughter of N. M. Khare

⁴ The addressee had been imprisoned in the Jabalpur jail.

⁵ Sushila Nayyar

427. LETTER TO THOMAS COOK & SON

January 5, 1945

Ref. Your letter No. TT/CB2708 (Foreign Exchange Dept.),
dated 11-12-1944

DEAR SIRs,

With reference to your above-mentioned letter enclosing a receipt in duplicate of even date for Rs. 3,000 in my favour, I have to inform you that I have authorized Messrs Bachhraj & Co., Ltd., Bombay, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS THOS. COOK & SON, LTD.

P. O. BOX NO. 46

BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

428. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,

January 5, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have read your telegrams. I like them. I fell ill owing to my own folly. Now I am taking only the nature-cure treatment which I know. I am throwing off the poison of Ayurveda. I am improving daily. If I called you now I would take your full treatment. But I cannot bring myself to have faith in the experiment of milk and I have lost faith in daily or frequent enema. I have come to believe that diet and mud-packs are more beneficial. I shall not take up your time merely for the sake of the massage. I shall consult you through letters if I feel the need. Please go on doing your own work. I am of course giving it thought. I hope Ardeshir¹ is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA

POONA

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

¹ Addressee's son

429. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 5, 1945

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your telegrams, etc. I like the forbearance you have shown. You would laugh if you were here. I am paying for my folly. Ayurveda is not for me, just as doctors are not. I am getting rid of the poison with my own treatment. I shall see what is to be done about the hook-worm and the amoeba after I recover. I am improving daily.

It seems Dr. Dinshaw's trust has not yet come into being. It will be good if it takes shape soon. It has taken too long. I hope Lakshmi and the children are all well.

I have written to Chi. Sumi.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

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

430. NOTE TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

January 5, 1945³

I understand all that you say. I have trust in you. You know the parliamentary mind. You also know the minds of our people. You may, therefore, do what you think best. My own thinking runs in the opposite direction to the parliamentary one. But I know that there is, and will remain, room for both points of view in the Congress. You may, therefore, go ahead without fear. Let nobody take cover behind this note. Everybody should form an opinion independently and act accordingly. But tell them that I am not against the scheme. This note may be used.

As regards the Hindu-Muslim question, you may do what you can. I would welcome a Congress-League Ministry along the lines I

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Sumitra Gandhi", 4-1-1945.

² Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, had been carrying on negotiations with Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly, with a view to forming a Congress-League coalition at the centre and had sought Gandhiji's advice. Gandhiji communicated his views in writing.

³ From *Gandhijini Dinwari*

have suggested. I would also welcome co-operation between them in the parliamentary programme. But you should obtain authorization for it from the Working Committee. Without that I think it will be risky to come to a final agreement. The League should join in the efforts to get the Working Committee released. In my view it will be a test of its sincerity. I should not like you to let yourself be persuaded on just any terms.

This draft is for your perusal. You may suggest any emendations or additions that occur to you. I will make the changes if I like them.

I now wish to rest for a while. Meanwhile think things over and let me know.¹

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

431. LETTER TO RAGHAVDAS

SEVAGRAM,
January 5, 1945

BHAI RAGHAVDAS²,

What is this? The golden remedy is Ramanama. Recite it from the heart. Let me know what medicine the local vaidya prescribes. I also have some good vaidyas. Get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

432. LETTER TO BALVANT SINHA

SEVAGRAM,
January 5, 1945

BHAI B. S.,

I have your letter. I am quite well. Your work was sure to proceed well. I have never found you wanting in diligence. Don't leave Satis Babu's work incomplete.

By all means go to Khurja or a few days from there and then come here. There is work here too and there is not. Get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ For the steps proposed for the formation of an Interim Government, side Appendix I.

² Baba Raghavdas, a Gandhian worker from Maharashtra settled in Gorakhpur district of U. P.

433. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM,
January 7, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

I have gone through your letter.

Pray do not disturb yourself on my behalf believing that I am consciously in God's good hands. I have suffered for my sins in over-believing Ayurveda physicians. Now I am treating myself and have shed poison. I am really much better.

But you are yourself unwell. I do not mind. The same law applies to you as to me. You will be well again.

I do not mind the suggested changes. Experience will teach you and you will be right in the end. Do come when you can and you will do well and see many new things and possibly pick up workers.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6502. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9897

434. *LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, C. P.
GOVERNMENT*

January 7, 1945

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE C. P. GOVERNMENT

NAGPUR

Re: Nalwadi and Paunar Ashrams

SIR,

As my work-fast is now over I write this to remind you of my letter¹ of 20-11-1944, and ask for a reply thereto. The property in question is not only going to increasing waste but so much useful and creative labour is being lost for what may be termed want of human consideration.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy, : Pyarelal

¹ Requesting that Nalwadi and Paunar Ashrams, which had been confiscated by the C. P. Government, be returned to their trustees; *vide* "Letter to Chief Secretary, Government of C. P.", 20-11-1944.

435. *LETTER TO PARAMANAND K. KAPADIA*

[January 7, 1945]¹

This is just to give you my blessings. I shall not condole with you. Father has cast off the body and become one with the elements. What is there in it to grieve over ?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PARAMANAND KUNVARJI KAPADIA
T. BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 11589

436. *NOTE TO TARA N. MASHRUWALA*

SEVAGRAM,
January 7, 1945

What improvement can I suggest in a scheme to which Bhai Kishorelal has put his seal? The scheme, of course, has my blessings, especially because it is for women's uplift.

Blessings from
BAPU

TARABEHN MASHRUWALA
AKOLA

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

437. *LETTER TO A. N. SHARMA*

SEVAGRAM,
January 8, 1945

MY DEAR SHARMA,

Acted upon by you I have banked high on the spiritual and nature-cure attainments of our friend.² I now understand that the patients fasted well but are now unable to pick up strength. As you know the patients are from the picked ones. Of course I do not know,

¹ This is a postscript to Narahari D. Parikh's letter of this date to the addressee.

² Krishnaraju, who was giving nature-cure treatment to Anand T. Hingorani, Gokhale and Babaji Moghe. *Vide* "Letter to Krishnaraju", 3-12-1944.

but you should know the reactions here and do the needful.

You know that Chakrayya is being suited, according to his letters.

For me I am apparently flourishing on my own nature cure.

Love.

Yours,

BAPU

DR. A. N. SHARMA
PRAKRITI ASHRAM
BHIMAVARAM (ANDHRA)

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also Pyarelal Papers.
Courtesy: Pyarelal

438. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,

January 8, 1945

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I shall hear what you have to say but my faith in your ability is diminishing. I find that you do not meet any naturopaths. You now fight shy of coming here. I have been of the opinion that a naturopath should be so endowed that he can mix well with others and be completely free from pride and anger. I feel you have both in good measure.

Still, you should go on doing your work. Produce results and remove my doubts and fears. The money you have been paid, you have been paid. From now on I am not going to beg for donations for you. You are quite capable of raising funds. So collect the funds and carry on your work. Win the trustee's confidence. I am observing silence.

Blessings from

BAPU

HIRALAL SHARMA
KHURJA, U. P.

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

439. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
January 9, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I should be no cause of worry. I am in God's hands and that should be more than enough. I am daily gaining ground.

So Beryl is fixed up. She has sent me a hand-written book "Khalil Gibran" and handspun.

I have not written hitherto. If you think I now can, you may hand her the enclosed.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Don't worry about yourself either, come what will. I envy you your snow.

This is supposed to be the best part in Simla. So said Valji Desai.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

SIMLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

440. *LETTER TO BERYL*

SEVAGRAM,
January 9, 1945

MY DEAR BERYL,

So you are at last fixed up. I hope the choice is good. Do write everything to me.

I prize your khadi and more so your hand-written "Khalil Gibran". I have commenced reading it.

Do write to me all about Mother. She has suffered. R. K. has told me all about her.

Love and kisses.

BAPU

BERYL

C/O RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

SIMLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

441. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
January 9, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I read all your letters or have them read out to me.

I have not got myself involved in Ayurveda in an unscientific way. Such as it is all we have. It would therefore be well if we could take Ayurveda to the villages. I had faith in Pandit Shiv Sharma and I took this treatment. There was no other way of knowing his limitations. Having realized his limitations, I felt I should retrace my steps from the point where I had erred. So I took recourse to my naturopathy. There is very little room for going wrong in naturopathy. Every day I only gain something. If you come here and see it for yourself all your fears will be dispelled. I am feeling very much better indeed. As for the hook-worm and amoeba I have told the doctors that I will take their treatment. I shall be in a better position to think about it after I get rid of whatever little weakness I still feel.

I do not need any change of place. If I do, I shall go to Bombay or Panchgani or, maybe, Poona. I would like to go to Delhi and yet I feel hesitant. I shall not insist, though. I shall go to Delhi if you take me there in connection with the Kasturba Fund. I shall go wherever you take me.

It is absolutely necessary to have a deed about Dinshaw.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8063. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

442. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
January 9, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. What does it matter whether your ear heals or not? The more we trust in God the happier shall we be. The vaidyas, etc., are there, but they keep us away from God. That is why I preferred to send you three there. Naturecure treatment brings us nearer to God. Even if we give that up I have no objection but why

should we avoid fasting?¹ Naturecure treatment means going towards Nature, towards God. Let us see where I arrive. I shall do as I feel prompted.

*Blessings to all of you from
BAPU*

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

443. LETTER TO S. H. PANDIT

[After January 9, 1945]²

let you know if anything worthwhile strikes him to add.

Gandhiji is grateful for your assurances and your reminding him of old acquaintances. He is glad to hear of your work and he will read the report when it comes, and From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

444. NOTE TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[After January 9, 1945]³

Write to him a nice letter : “Gandhi will be only too pleased to meet you whenever you can come. His health is improving.”

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

445. LETTER TO T. S. S. RAJAN

January 10, 1945

DEAR DR. RAJAN,

On my return from Bombay on the 1st inst. I read out your letter of 15-12-44 to Bapu.

With regard to the action you have taken about the Bharadwaja Ashram, I am to say that you have Bapu's approval.

*Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL*

DR. T. S. S. RAJAN
TRICHINOPOLY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* also “Letter to A. N. Sharma”, 8-1-1945.

² This reply by Pyarelal was in response to the addressee's letter of January 9, 1945, wherein recalling his acquaintance with Gandhiji, he gave him his assurance regarding the eye-treatment of Parnerkar's mother.

³ The note is written on a sheet bearing a letter dated January 9, 1945 from John Sargent to the addressee.

446. TRIBUTE TO ROMAIN ROLLAND¹

WARDHA,
January 10, 1945

Having been once bitten, I am too shy to believe in Romain Rolland's reported death. But it seems that this report is true. And yet for me as for many millions, Romain Rolland is not dead. He truly lives through his famous writings and perhaps more so through his many and nameless deeds. He lived for truth and non-violence as he saw and believed them from time to time. He responded to all suffering. He revolted against the wanton human butchery called war.

The Hitavada, 12-1-1945

447. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

January 10, 1945

BHAI KUNDAR,

Here are a few words² from me. Call them what you will and print them if you want. Your preface of course is good. Let it stay.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

448. FOREWORD TO "TUKARAM KI RASHTRAGATHA"

SEVAGRAM,
January 10, 1945

Dr. Indubhushan Bhingare had published earlier the first edition of *Sant Tukaram ki Rashtragatha*. The present edition is the revised one. My knowledge of Marathi is very slight. I like Tukaram very much. But I could read only a few of his *abhangas* without effort. I therefore passed on Dr. Bhingare's selection to Kundarji Diwan who took great pains to go through the whole thing.

¹ Romain Rolland died on December 30, 1944, in Vezelay, France.

² *Vide* the following item.

The *Gatha* needed a fitting picture. Dr. Bhingare had selected a cheap one. It hurt me very much. I sent it to Shri Nandalal Bose, the renowned Santiniketan artist. He has been kind enough to send me four pictures of Tukaram to go with the *abhangas*. I sent the one that I thought the best among them to Bhingare and it will be published in this edition.

I hope this edition will command the respect of people.

M. K. GANDHI

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

449. A FOREWORD

January 10, 1945

The *Ishavasya* gripped me during my Harijan tour of Travancore. All my speeches invariably included the first verse of this Upanishad: "All that is pervaded by God. It all belongs to Him, therefore nothing belongs to you. But in a way it is yours too. But why get caught in the argument? Renounce all, and all is yours. Nothing will remain in your hands if you regard anything as yours." This was the note with which I concluded my Travancore tour and I felt that I had come by a treasure. I told Vinoba and requested him to give me a simple Hindi rendering of the *Ishavasya*. As is his wont he granted my request. The result is this translation.

M. K. GANDHI

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

450. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,

January 10, 1945

CHI. DAUGHTER A. S.,

I have read your letter to Sushilabehn.

If you must come here, come when you find the time.

Your falling ill is not good and is contrary to our pact. Dying is not an ideal. Indulging in such things is false attachment. You must free yourself from that.

Do preside over the meeting if you wish. But your giving a lecture on the basis of a note sent from here is pointless. You should give to the meeting what you have digested.

If the officer has sent you the money without attaching any

conditions, I see no harm in your accepting it¹. It is different that having gone into the matter further I may suggest something else. Your worrying about my health shows that you know neither God nor me. If you knew God, you would realize that you, I and everyone else are solely in His hands. If you knew me, you would know that I take every possible precaution. There are lapses nonetheless, but what can one do about it. However, I am maintaining good health. Under any circumstances you need not worry.

I repeat you may come any time you wish.

You have nothing to do with the 26th of January. You are all the time doing that work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 489

451. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 10, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your two letters before me. Enclosed please find some letters. Parnerkar's sister's son passed away. It is a sad thing. I understand about Anantramji. It would be good if he could grow leafy vegetables. Find out how much land Aryanayakum requires and where. In my opinion he should be given whatever he wants. I may have left something unanswered; but only this much for now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4454

¹ The Collector of Comilla had offered one thousand rupees to the Kasturba Seva Mandir for relief work.

452. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

[Before January 11, 1945]¹

[QUESTION]: If it is possible to meet the Working Committee, will you try to persuade the Working Committee to accept this plan²?

[ANSWER]: Yes.

Q. What are your arguments in favour of this plan?

A. After my talks with Jinnah, Jinnah told many people that Gandhi had not even mentioned Interim Government. Bhulabhai's effort is a reply to this. But if the intentions of the League are not genuine, nothing will come out of it.

Q. What happens if the Viceroy uses his veto over the head of the Congress and the League?

A. In that case there will be an agreement between Bhulabhai and Liaquat Ali that the Government will resign.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, p. 119

453. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,

January 11, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read the whole thing. It is good. There are many instances of repetition; these can be avoided. A few things have been left out, but that does not matter.

I am sending Ramjibhai's letter on to him. It seems good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4455

¹According to the source the conversation took place before the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali Pact was concluded on January 11, 1945.

²Of a Congress-League coalition at the Centre; *vide* Appendix "Guidelines for Proposed Interim Government", 5-1-1945.

454. LETTER TO RAMJIBHAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 11, 1945

BHAI RAMJI,

Owing to my illness I could not answer your letter sooner. Your resentment is not justified. You are an indefatigable worker; therefore, you will certainly go on working and that is good. Still I am sending you the frank letter from Chi. Krishnachandra. You may come if you feel like it after you have read the letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMJIBHAI

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

455. LETTER TO INDUBHUSHAN BHINGARE

SEVAGRAM,
January 11, 1945

BHAI BHINGARE,

I send herewith the manuscript of my foreword¹ and a picture. Please send me the proofs of my foreword.

I have other pictures. If you want to publish them at appropriate places write to me. I shall send them.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BHINGARE

MAHAL

NAGPUR

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

¹ *Vide* "Foreword to *Tukaramki Rashtragatha*", 10-1-1945.

456. *SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH
CONFERENCE*¹

SEVAGRAM,
*January 11, 1945*²

DR. ZAKIR SAHEB, ARYANAYAKUMJI, SHRIMATI ASHADEVI AND BROTHERS
AND SISTERS,

I had hoped to speak a few words while opening this Conference, but God had willed otherwise. I had to observe silence because of a cough, and other things. Therefore I have written down what I wanted to say.

Although we have been working for Nayee Talim all these years, we have so far been, as it were, sailing in an inland sea which is comparatively safer. We are now leaving the shoals and heading for the open sea. So far our course was mapped out. We have now before us uncharted waters, with the Pole Star as our only guide and protection. That Pole Star is village handicrafts.

Our sphere of work now is not confined to Nayee Talim of children from seven to fourteen years; it is to cover the whole of life from the moment of conception to the moment of death. This means that our work has increased tremendously. Yet workers remain the same. But that should not worry us. Our guide and companion is Truth which is God. He will never betray us. But Truth will be our help only if we stand by it regardless of everything. There can be in it no room for hypocrisy, camouflage, pride, attachment or anger.

We have to become teachers of villagers; that is to say, we have to become their servants in the true sense. Our reward if any, has to come from within and not from without. It should make no difference to us whether in our quest for Truth we have any human company or not. Nor does Nayee Talim depend on outside financial help. It must proceed on its own way, whatever critics might say. I know that true education must be self-supporting. There is nothing to feel ashamed of in this. It may be a novel idea if we can make good our claim and demonstrate that ours is the only method for the true development of the mind. Those who scoff at Nayee Talim today will become its ardent admirers in the end and Nayee Talim will find universal acceptance.

¹ The four-day conference, attended by more than 200 educationists, was held under the presidentship of Zakir Husain, who read out Gandhiji's speech.

² From *The Hindu*, 11-1-1945

Seven lakhs of our villages, which are today the symbol of our poverty in every sense, ought to become prosperous in the real sense. This prosperity will not come from outside; it will grow from within the villages as a result of the labour of every villager. Whether this is a mere dream or a practical reality, this is the goal of Nayee Talim and nothing short of it. May the God of Truth help us to realize it.

I have gone through the balance-sheet of the Talimi Sangh. It shows that whatever we have spent has been spent with due care and consideration. It is a brief document. I hope everyone will go through it carefully.

The question of language as such does not fall within the scope of Nayee Talim but the question of the medium of instruction does and that must always be the mother tongue. This point cannot be over-emphasized. Equally important is the question of a national or all-India language. It can never be English. English is undoubtedly the language of the rulers and of international commerce. But Hindi-Hindustani alone can be our national language. At present it has two forms. In order to understand both the forms of the national language, viz., Hindi and Urdu, and for their natural synthesis we must learn the Devanagari and Persian scripts. I find this lacking even in my immediate surroundings. All our sign-boards¹ must be written in both the scripts and there should be none amongst us who cannot easily read and write either.

I want to draw your attention also to another thing. I consider the Sevagram centre to be an ideal centre for conducting the central experiment in Nayee Talim, as it is here that the Charkha Sangh is carrying out its main experiments. Wardha is the centre for the other village industries. Experiments for the improvement of cattle, which is service of the cow in the true sense, are also being conducted here. Sevagram does not stand alone; there are nearly 20 villages lying about it in close proximity. Therefore if experiments in Nayee Talim in its most natural form can be carried out anywhere, it is here. The various institutions mentioned above are not rival organizations; they are complementary and are calculated to supplement one another's efforts. That is the hallmark of a revolution of love.

[From Hindi]

Samagra Nayee Talim

¹ From *The Hindu*, 13-1-1945; the source however has 'teaching'.

457. A LETTER¹

[Before January 12, 1945]²

I have no partiality for any militant programme for 26th January. According to my idea, the constructive programme is the programme. Therefore, it should be prosecuted with redoubled zeal. Flag salutation with the reading of the independence pledge³ has become an inseparable item. It should, therefore, be retained.

But I would avoid mass gatherings and processions. My advice should be followed only if it appeals to the head and the heart. However, if the significance of the constructive programme has been properly understood, I am sure my advice will not fail to find a ready response.

The Hindu, 15-1-1954

458. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL⁴

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate your cordiality. I hope some day we shall be able to meet. Meanwhile please do not worry. I am trying to put myself under the unfailing Chief Medical Officer and to act under His guidance. If I err in interpreting His guidance, He is generous enough to correct me. Read me in that light and you will find that I have not acted unscientifically.

Love to you all.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2187

¹ Addressed to a Congress worker, the letter was released to the Press by Pyarelal on January 12, 1945.

² *ibid*

³ The independence pledge was first drafted by Gandhiji in January 1930; *vide* "Draft Declaration for January 26", 10-1-1930. In December 1939 it was amended and approved by the Congress Working Committee; *vide* "Letter from Dharmandrasinh", 3-3-1939. Gandhiji added a paragraph to it on January 11, 1941; *vide* "Instructions for Independence Day", 10-1-1941. Again in January 1943, Gandhiji, while in detention in Aga Khan Palace, prepared another pledge for "celebrating the Independence Day" *vide* "Independence Day Pledge", 25-1-1943.

⁴ Dewan of Mysore

459. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

MY DEAR GURUBAX,

If you both must come, do; only know that I am not speaking during the whole day. But you will see the whole place and inhabitants and decide what part you can play.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. GOPE GURBAXANI
17 HASAN BUILDING
NICHOLSON ROAD
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

460. LETTER TO RICHARD SYMOND

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

MY DEAR SYMOND¹,

Your good letter. I have met Sujata² and listened to her and Written out things to her. I am silent the whole day long. This for reasons of health. It suits me.

Davies has 'stolen'. He has to prove worthy of the 'stealth'. Never mind comments. I know you will act as the Spirit guides you and it will be well with you. You can do what others may not and must not. I have explained this to you.

Do come whenever you can.

Love to you both.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

FRIEND RICHARD SYMOND
THROUGH SUJATA DAVIES

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Of the Friends Ambulance Unit

² Indian wife of Glan Davies, a fellow-worker of the addressee

461. LETTER TO ABDUL MAJID KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Fortunately you have sent me a Copy of my previous message.

I cannot improve upon it. You should boldly stand and win. They will choose you for your work as a man.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. ABDUL MAJID KHAN
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

462. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. You must not worry about me. Trust me to God's mercy. He will do as He wills. Come soon.

You are a strong-willed woman. Is it not God's grace that you have the strength to look after so many children? For you look after them, feed them, and so on, while doing your other work.

Sita is getting along very well indeed. She feels perfectly at home. She is very sociable and therefore has made several friends.

The rest from other letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4944

463. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

CHI. LILI.

I have your letter. I am daily getting stronger. I was glad that this time you felt satisfied. You served me with great devotion and have gone there well in time. It does not matter if you have lost a day; you have not missed your lessons. Even where you are, it is me you are serving. Do your work in that faith. You are then bound to pass. You are violating dharma in desiring to leave before I do. What would happen if all the workers did that?

I never said that the students should observe a strike on the 9th.¹ On the contrary they should devote themselves all the more to service on that day. That would please the teachers, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9599. Also C.W. 6571. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

464. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I have your letter. Even the little improvement in your condition is a matter of consolation to me.

Do write the story of Ba, Mahadev and others if you wish. Is your health all that good? Your writing will not be coming from your own heart if you ask for material from others. This is my opinion. Now do what you like.

My letter was for you alone. Why give a father's letter to his daughter to the papers? But if doing so benefits you in any way give it to the Press by all means.

Others will write the rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

SATYAVATI DEVI
LAHORE

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

¹ However, Gandhiji had written to Suryakant Parikh, a student leader, on November 19, 1944: "I . . . like the idea of students abstaining from school on the 9th provided they devote the day to self-purification and service."

465. *LETTER TO ANATH NATH BASU*

SEVAGRAM,
January 14, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have gone through your paper. It reads well on paper but it appears to me to be largely unpractical. I feel that the new type is made of sterner stuff and is revolutionary in the true sense of the term. I should like you to think deeper and in terms of the starving millions of the villages.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ANATH NATH BASU
C/O SHRI ARYANAYAKUM

From a photostat: G.N. 9248

466. *LETTER TO DR. NIROD MUKHERJEE*

SEVAGRAM,
January 14, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have gone through every bit of what you have given me. It has caused me great pain. Though your Association's work is humanitarian on your own showing, it touches hardly the fringe. The problem is medical only in a very small measure. The deterioration will continue in spite of your medical effort. You have to act humanely and boldly as men and not as mere medical volunteers. You have to be of the masses and tell the rulers the truth. The disease is starvation appearing as malaria and what not. Outsiders will bring little relief, money will bring less. Give the people milk and other food, their dwellings and their boats and I am positive that no medicine will be needed.

Your report makes me more and more eager to rush to Bengal and make common cause with the starving dumb masses. But I know I cannot rush. I do not want a palace like jail. I want to be with the people and touch their decaying bones.

This is my reaction to your paper. That just now I am weak adds to my sorrow.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. NIROD MUKHERJI
C/O SHRI ARYANAYAKUM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

467. LETTER TO BARBARA

SEVAGRAM,
January 14, 1945

DEAR BARBARA,

Since you undertake to remain here, at least meanwhile, there should be no difficulty in the Nayakums going for a change. I am with you.

Love.

BAPU

BARBARA
C/O NAYAKUMJI
SEVAGRAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

468. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

January 14, 1945

CHI. ARYANAYAKUM,

Read the letter from Barbara. If she herself wants to stay here, it will be good if the two of you go to Hoshangabad for a few days. I am of course here. If the two of you keep indifferent health all the activities will suffer.

Blessings from
BAPU

NAYAKUMJI
SEVAGRAM

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

469. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

January 14, 1945

We have been talking a great deal about you two². When are you coming?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7150. Also C.W. 4642. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

470. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

SEVAGRAM,
January 14, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

I know that if a true worker goes to any village he will become self-supporting within a short time. When we pay his personal expenses nothing else need be given him. We shall provide him no paraphernalia because the villagers themselves will supply the things. The worker will keep a *takli* with him one made from bamboo will be the best. He will of course carry a knife with him. If nothing else he will at least teach the children. They will make *taklis* from bamboo and spin. If no cotton is grown in the village he will choose another occupation. But we shall start with a village where cotton is grown. I feel I have given you enough for a beginning. Ask me more questions if you want. I realize it is a new thing but I know also that if one has faith it is no difficult task.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAJUJI
KHADI VIDYALAYA
SEVAGRAM

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

¹ This is a postscript to Kisan Ghumatkar's letter to the addressee.

² The addressee and her husband Manubhai Pancholi

471. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 15, 1945

CHI. SITA,

I like your letter. It is clear and to the point. Your presumption is correct. In that case Sushila should arrive soon.

I am glad, too, that you are making good progress in your studies. Make as much progress as you can, but see that your body is strong.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4945

472. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

January 15, 1945

When I go to visit the sick in the evening, I notice that the so-called servants needlessly throw away water and people leave vegetables, etc., in the dishes. You should look into this. You can tell the guests without being discourteous. You may show them the notices put up for the purpose. They can also be told when being served. I do not like Kanchan continuing to be ill. Yesterday again she had fever. You should find out the cause of the fever. There ought to be perfect cleanliness and peace all over the Ashram.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 5812. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

473. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 15, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Dastane¹ writes that if you are willing to go you should let him know. Surely you will consult the people here before you go, won't you ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4456

¹ Vithal V. Dastane

474. *LETTER TO SATYAVATI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 15, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

Your letter is good. Indeed you will have won a victory if you recover. Yes, it goes without saying that you will come to me when you feel like it.

The rest from Khurshedbehn and others.

Blessings from
BAPU

SATYAVATI DEVI

T. B. HOSPITAL, LAHORE

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

475. *LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

January 16, 1945

DEAR DESHABHAKTA,

I have your two letters. I have given full satisfaction to Shri Sitarama Sastry. He will tell you all about it. The wonder to me is that you are showing, at your age, so much interest and energy. Of course I met your daughter.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3228

476. *LETTER TO GLADYS E. SUNWANI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 16, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Yours is a case in which I shall value your letter in English before I can usefully reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

GLADYS E. SUNWANI

C/O D. E. DEAN

RAIPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

477. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 16, 1945

CHI. KANAM¹,

I have your letter. As desired by you, I am returning it. I am glad that Father has now got dentures. Now he should not misuse them by eating indiscriminately.

Your preparation seems all right. What little was taught to you here seems to have borne fruit.

Write an essay comparing Nagpur and Sevagram and send it to me. My health is all right, but the pressure of work is fairly heavy. I shall, therefore, correct the essay when I get the time and return it to you.

I don't believe in ghosts. I have had no such experience. It is all right if Bhansalibhai believes in them. That does not detract from his saintliness. But there is no reason to believe that everything a saint says must be true. No one is omniscient. The planchette business is pure fraud. Do not get involved in it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9515. Courtesy: Kanam Gandhi

478. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
January 16, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

I read your postcard addressed to Father and Mother. You have lost your common sense. It is fair neither to Vallabhraibhai nor to you that he should send you medicines by post. You have tried homoeopathy. We have an allopath here, as also a vaid. A homoeopath also may join. I am also here. If, therefore, you can summon up courage, come over. Resolve that you will return only when fully recovered or when I admit defeat. But don't come merely because I ask you to. Come only if you are fully convinced that my advice is correct, for only then will you benefit.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10050. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

¹ Ramdas Gandhi's son

479. LETTER TO INDU MASHRUWALA

[January 16, 1945]¹

CHI. INDU²,

Are you asking my blessing? I have already refused it to Gomati. She understood. What is so novel about your marrying within your caste? Still, if you want my blessing you have it. Never mind if you both belong to the same caste; both of you should break the barriers of caste. Make your own rules. Observe them and do work of service. Be good.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

480. NOTE TO INDULAL YAJNIK³

January 16, 1945

1. I shall see about Sahajanand.

2. I understand about you. Thakkar Bapa, Kanjibhai, Mavalankar and others are at your back so nothing remains to be said. If they all have some misgiving or other you have to put up with it and remove it by your conduct. All good work has my blessing. I have had confidence in you ever since I knew you. I have been seeing you since 1915. I have worked with you and learnt from you. There have been sweet and bitter experiences. I have noticed your virtues as I have also experienced your unsteadiness. I am therefore a little wary of you. But you must not be afraid of me, a satyagrahi. For I will never interfere with your good work. It is also my experience that a noble act carries with it good wishes of the whole world. You should therefore shed all fear and go on doing your duty.

3. I like what you say about youths. I shall think over it although I see practical difficulties. I have not asked for a hundred thousand. I would consider myself fortunate even if I could get a thousand young people. I am looking for them.

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

¹ The source has placed the letter at the end of the letters dated January 16, 1945, and before those of January 17.

² Niece of Kishorelal Mashruwala

³ This was Gandhiji's part of the conversation the addressee had with him.

481. NOTE TO H. C. DASAPPA¹

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1945

1. As for my coming, I would love to go to Mysore. But there has been so much tyranny everywhere that I shirk going anywhere for health. I have made an exception in favour of Panchgani for it is so near Bombay and especially Poona. But I want to avoid even Panchgani if I can. Thus if I do not go to Mysore or anywhere else you know why.
2. As to the election I am not enamoured of them. The more you avoid them the better. The more you silently follow the constructive programme the nearer you are to swaraj. But after all I have said, you must follow your own mind. You may weigh, if you like all I say. But my saying should never replace your mind.
3. As to Yashodara² she should stay till cured and till she has good command over Hindi. She should not hurry. Ramdas³ of course is a fixture. As to Dr. M[ahmud], you have done your part; you need not worry now.

I have given you my mental state. Now let us leave it to fate. I shall not pull.

About the Maharaja you should make no overtures but of course you should lose no opportunity of seeing him, if he will see you.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

482. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1945

BAPA,

I have your letter. It is not certain that I shall be going to

¹ Dasappa; President, Mysore Congress Committee, had met Gandhiji and invited him to spend the summer in Mysore State.

² Addressee's wife and son

³ *ibid*

Panchgani. February 22 will have passed. That dismisses the question of inauguration. I have to suit everyone's convenience. Therefore I shall present myself wherever the meeting is held. You ought to give up considering my convenience. You should consider everyone's convenience as my convenience. In this lies the good of the memorial, and my own too. If you do not wish to carry the responsibility you may consult others and do as the majority wishes.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
POONA

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

483. LETTER TO RATILAL M. VORA

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1945

BHAI RATILAL,

Your letter dated 5-10-1944 has been lying around and came into my hands only today. Such things happened while I have been ill and moving about. I hope your son-in-law is there and has recovered too. I would be happy if you could give me his news. I have sent the photograph along with my blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

RATILAL MAGANLAL VORA
2ND FLOOR, ROOM 62, 47 GOSWAMI BUILDING
PINJARAPOLE LANE
BOMBAY 4

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

484. DISCUSSION WITH PRAHLAD MEHTA¹

January 17, 1945

PRAHLAD MEHTA: What should the students and Congressmen do at the present juncture?

GANDHIJI: They must find out ways and means to achieve freedom as soon as possible and devote themselves to the constructive

¹ Of the All-India Students' Congress

programme.

P. M. What should the students do to strengthen the Congress?

G. The students must identify themselves with the aims and ideals of the National Congress and, by being part and parcel of it, they must continue to struggle against the foreign rule.

P.M. Should the students' organizations have a separate identity or should they align themselves with the different political parties?

G. Students should do in this case what they think proper and advantageous for their organization and if experience proves otherwise, they must give up party affiliations. Students should not indulge in unnecessary abuse of students belonging to a different ideology. However, they must strengthen the Indian National Congress and prepare it for the final fight for freedom by doing silent service.

The Hindu, 19-1-1945

485. INTERVIEW TO T. V. KUNHIKRISHNAN¹

January 17, 1945

T. V. KUNHIKRISHNAN: You know the Communists took an attitude of hostility to the political activities of students in 1942 and afterwards. The Indian Students' Congress embodies to some extent the faith and aspirations of students who are opposed to the attitude of the Communist section. Here are some of our questions:

Have we the right to exclude Communists and oppose their attitude and tactics? Please do not tell us that this is a minor provincial question. We want your guidance in this matter.

GANDHIJI: I dislike the idea of excluding anybody because of his label. But use your independent judgment.

T. V. K. Are we right in building up a new all-India organization for students?

G. You [are]², if it fits in with the Congress idea³.

T. V. K. What particular item of the Constructive Programme do you think can best be done by students?

G. So many items to choose from. Students must make their

¹ President, Kerala Students' Congress. Gandhiji gave written replies to the questions put to him.

² The source has 'have'.

³ The source has "India".

choice.

T. V. K. Can the Indian Students' Congress have a flag of its own? Can you suggest some flag for us?

G. I cannot suggest a better flag than the Congress flag. It is all-sufficing.

T. V. K. You had said that Congress workers should take charge of students below 12. Can you amplify the statement?

G. Quote my exact words and you will know the meaning.

T. V. K. You had asked students to observe the 9th of every month¹. This has been characterized as an advice for 'back-door satyagraha' by Communists. Would you allow students to abstain from classes on the 9th?

G. I must see my own statement. I do not think I have said any such thing. There must be something else. As a student and newspaperman you should be quite accurate. Send my own statements.

From a photostat: G.N. 5678

486. TELEGRAM TO CHANDRAPAL SINGH DATTA

January 18, 1945

CHANDRAPAL SINGH DATTA

PILLARS

SIALKOT

WIRE RECEIVED. HOPE FATHER BETTER. REPORT PROGRESS.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

487. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,

January 18, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter just received. I hope you had my fairly full letter before this.

Balvant Sinha is not here. He is with Satis Babu. I have no hope

¹*Vide* footnote to "Letter to Lilavati Asar", 12-1-1945.

of his coming to you. I should encourage him, if he at all felt inclined. I know he will be the man for you.

Anyway you should come and see if you can pick up anyone permanently or even for a time. There are many people here. Therefore you should come whenever you can.

There seems only a small chance of my coming to Delhi towards the end of February. If you come, the sooner the better. For the weather is daily becoming hotter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6503. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9898

488. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

January 18, 1945

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have an unfinished part of your letter of November 4, 1944. The other part cannot be had.

From your letter I gather that you are correctly reported. And that is, in my opinion, damaging.¹

I do not recall your previous letter or letters. But there was no intentional negligence. In any event I never said anything against you publicly. On the contrary, on suspicion arising, my first approach was to you. But if you think that it was unnecessary for you even to refer to me before attacking me, of course I have nothing to say.

Love to you all.

BHAI

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.

11 HARTFIELD ROAD

LONDON S.W. 19

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Agatha Harrison", 15-10-1944.

489. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

January 18, 1945

I have read the whole thing. You have poured out your heart in it, which was the right thing to do. You are still unsteady. For the unsteadiness to go you must remain in the institution and give yourself wholly to it. So it should be the same to you whether it is Jajuji or Chimanlal or I. You should obey the head whoever he be. Therein lies your training. If, however, that is not possible for you, I shall not mind if you two live together away from the Ashram. I doubt, though, whether you will then be able to observe *brahmacharya*. But what even if you cannot? It will be no crime. You two are married and should be free to do as you like. Whatever you do, you should do together and with deliberation and determination.

Even while remaining in the institution you will continue to serve the people. In fact you will then do it better. But even here you must do as you think best. If you wish me to guide you, you will of course have my guidance whenever you ask it.

If you can be more specific about the difficulties you mention, I may perhaps be able to solve them. The irregularity you mention cannot be tolerated. Give me the details. If something is unavoidable we shall put up with it, but we will do that with our eyes open. I can understand about Nanavati. He is ill, but he is a tried worker. I believe that one should not eat for the pleasure of the palate.

Chimanlal is an old-timer. Well or ill he has stuck on. He goes on working silently. You should have regard for his services. The secret of good life is strictness with oneself and generosity to co-workers. Why need you keep anything private?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5814. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

490. LETTER TO VASUMATI D. PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
January 18, 1945

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I had your previous letters too. I am giving this to Zohra.

I am all right. Do not at all worry about me.

It is good you went. You will get a lot of experience. Akbar will no doubt look after you. It is all the better that you have not carried with you a lot of medicines. A number of ailments disappear with very slight treatment. It is superstition to insist on drugs. Local herbs are a different matter. For stomach-ache one should fast, drink hot water and take hot water fomentation. If there are loose motions fasting is imperative. If the patient insists he may be given a pinch of soda bi-carb or powdered *neem* leaves. If anybody has a headache, he should have a mud-pack on the head and drink lots of water and so on. This is just to point the way. Have patience, think for yourself, repeat Ramanama and persuade others to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

VASUMATIBEHN PANDIT
SAMAU
P. O. OLD DEESA, NORTH GUJARAT

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

491. LETTER TO SHIV SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 18, 1945

BHAI SHIV SHARMA,

I read your letter to Khurshedbehn. Let me tell you that I cannot lose faith in you or Ayurveda because of *banafsha*¹ or the *baramula* preparation. Ayurveda for me has a value independently of everything. I am in search of a true practitioner of Ayurveda. You are one of those few but your field is among rich people. I have to see how far I can persuade you to go to the villages.

¹ Viola cineria

Improve your health and come down here when you are free. . . .¹ is trying out his experiment an Balkrishna and Hari-chchha. He has gone to his patients for two days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: Sarika, April 1964

492. ASHRAM NOTE

January 19, 1945

The thing is that we should bring deliberation into our lives. If we want to work less, we may work less. But what we do should as far as possible be perfect. That is why I have said that if we could mould our lives as we sing in the *bhajan* and make Sevagram an ideal village, we would have done everything.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 388

493. LETTER TO ABDUL MAJID KHAN

January 19, 1945

MY DEAR PROF. ABDUL MAJID KHAN,

You should boldly stand for the coming Panjab University Fellowship elections.² They will choose you for your worth as a nationalist. My hearty blessings to you.

Since you have the support of all the eminent Congressmen, if you are defeated it will be because the majority of graduate voters are not Congress-minded. It will also show that in your province at least the Congress hold on the educated men is not as great as it should be.

I hope you will win.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. ABDUL MAJID KHAN
6 B KAPURTHALA HOUSE
LAKE ROAD, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Illegible in the source

² *Vide* "Letter to Abdul Majid Khan", 12-1-1945.

494. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

January 19, 1945

It was good you wrote. You could have said all that in one paragraph. Brevity is an art. If you cultivate that art you will have a means of achieving steadiness of mind. Of course, if you cannot be brief, you have to say what you must, even if you are long-winded.

I understand about privacy.¹ The reason you give does not appeal to me. Let critics say what they like. I shall, however, respect your wish so long as it remains your wish.

I do not wish that you should hide Chimanlal's defects as long as you see any in him. I only expressed my opinion. It may perhaps be of some help. The same about Nanavati. What you say surprises me. I would ask him further if he were here. I do think he will come back.

It would be good if you addressed brief notes to those who make mistakes or shirk work. I only wish to help. But would it not make it difficult to improve things if I did not mention what you wrote, did not know the names nor what lapses had occurred?

You should have definite work. I assume you have. But if that is not so, I am willing to give you whatever help you ask for.

You should welcome any new suggestions I make. They may seem new, but in fact they are not new. They are at the very root of our way of life. If I am not to make such suggestions, my presence here is useless. How many of the suggestions I make can be implemented is of course another matter and that is for you to decide.

I was indeed very happy to read about *brahmacharya*.² I believe it applies to both of you. What you say is news to me and I rejoice at it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5816. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", 18-1-1945.

² The addressee had written that though he was confident of observing *brahmacharya* even staying outside the Ashram, with his wife; he had no intention of setting up house separately.

495. *LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 19, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

There has been delay in writing to you.

Chi. Manu is getting along well. She is learning nursing with great diligence. There are two other girls with her. She likes the work very much. She is taught by Sushilabehn and Prabhashanker. Along with nursing, she also takes lessons in English, etc., from Bhansalibhai and others. But she is still careless, I am not fully satisfied. I had her sleep with me for three nights. I wanted to continue the practice. I would then have been able to correct her sleeping posture. But she caught cold. Now she goes and sleeps with Mataji. Let me see when she comes back to me. There is no cause for worry, though. She still suffers from constipation. I am watching how she progresses.

Do not send any dried fruit till I ask for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

496. *LETTER TO MANGALDAS*

SEVAGRAM,
January 19, 1945

BHAI MANGALDAS,

I have your letter and the cheque. It is good that your blood-pressure is cured. How did it happen? Hereafter try to avoid it.

Blessings from
BAPU

MESSRS MANGALDAS & SONS, BOOKSELLERS
BHAGA TALAO
BOMBAY

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

497. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 19, 1945

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I have not yet conveyed to Gadodiaji¹ all that you had said. The reason was lack of time. But do you wish to place yourself under him in spite of everything? Is it not better that you should stay as you are and not let them interfere? You can continue to earn money from your wealthy patients, you can do your work there and move forward.

Do come here if you so wish. But I think it is unnecessary. We can manage everything through correspondence.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 326 and 327

498. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN²,

I do not think there is any chance of my coming to S[outh] Africa or going to America. But whether I do or not, of course I expect you one day to drop in here and pass the rest of your days in India. Of course it may be that the climate here does not suit you as it did neither Kallenbach nor Hannah³.

I quite agree with you about Manilal and his wife. Sita is working hard for her examination.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS S. SCHLESIN
P. O. BOX 2234
JOHANESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Lakshminarayan Gadodia

² A Jewish woman; she worked as Gandhiji's steno-typist and private secretary in South Africa

³ Niece of H. Kallenbach

499. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

MY DEAR GREGG,

Your letter makes me glad and sad. Glad because of your faith and enthusiasm and sad because of Radha's¹ illness which you say is beyond recall. I am hoping that in this at least you will prove wrong. Nevertheless you and I can say, "His will not ours be done." I believe also that what passes for misfortune is not always really so. Of these things, in spite of scientific advance, we know so little.

When your revised book² comes, of course if I do not read it Pyarelal or others will and I shall know.

Love to you both.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6760

500. LETTER TO JEHANGIR PATEL

January 20, 1945

DEAR JEHANGIRJI,

Bapu had your letter of 11th inst. He is glad you enjoyed the charming scenery and climate of Ooty.

Thanks for the honey and the eucalyptus which you have sent. The parcel was received yesterday.

Bapu was very sorry to hear about the demise of Zabair's wife. He hopes Zubair will take the bereavement bravely. So-called adversities are sent to us to test our faith. Is not life itself a discipline and a probation ?

Bapu is very much on the mend as you guess. The illness is all gone. The weakness is still there but he is slowly regaining lost strength and the whole day silence is serving as his strong shield. Without it one wonders how he would have fared.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevil Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Gandhiji used to call the addressee and his wife Govind and Radha.

² *Economics of Khaddar*, the second edition of which came out in December, 1946

501. LETTER TO JAMSHEDJI N. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

BHAI JAMSHEDJI¹,

Yesterday I was shown what you had written to Khurshedbehn. What you say is correct. The matter took a turn for the worse because the Government of Sind interfered. They ought to withdraw the ordinance. Only then can people like you and me work. For my part I have talked to the Arya Samajists on the subject at great length. But it was not the business of the Government. We have therefore to consider the development.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAMSHEDJI NUSSERWANJI
BONUS ROAD, KARACHI

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

502. LETTER TO RAMKUMAR BHUWALKA

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

BHAI RAMKUMAR,

Of course my blessings are with the bride and the groom. May both be true servants of the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

R. K. BHUWALKA
CALCUTTA

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

¹ Parsi industrialist and philanthropist

503. *LETTER TO KAMALA BENKEL*

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

MY DEAR KAMALA,

I see you are taking a further course. I am satisfied so long as you fit yourself for full service and settle down.

I did see Donald and he knew all about me.

Hope you will keep well. Love.

BAPU

KAMALABAI BENKEL

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

504. *LETTER TO K. G. SAIYIDAIN*

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR E FRIEND,

I had your note. I missed you at the conference which was a good success. I know the worth of your word.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. K. G. SAIYIDAIN
HEAD, ED. DEPT.
SHRINAGAR
KASHMIR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

505. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Got your letter today and I reply. A copy of letters is being made for you. Your letter has been seen by K. and S. Really it does

not matter who sees it here. It is altogether worthy of you. . . .¹

You have gone through suffering during the snow-time. I envy. Although it was bad while it lasted, the experience was worth having. The attendants were also marvellous. That is human nature at its best. The more you suffer bravely and smilingly the stronger you will become. You will meet me in God's good time. Meanwhile cart-loads of love.

Blessings from
BAPU²

From the original: C.W. 4150. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7785

506. *LETTER TO J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR PILLAI,

I have your letter of 13th instant. I can only repeat what I have said.³ I cannot go further. I have no authority. I would therefore dissuade you from bringing a deputation. You should know too that my silence continues. Therefore I do all my work by writing which necessarily must be as little as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI, M.A., M.L.A.
EX-MAYOR OF MADRAS
LAKSHMI VILAS, KUTTY STREET
NUNGAMBAKAM, MADRAS
S. INDIA

From a photostat: G.N. 9256. Also C.W. 5066. Courtesy: J. Sivashanmugam Pillai

¹ The rest of the paragraph has been scored out.

² The superscription and subscription are in Hindi.

³ *Vide* "Letter to J. Sivashanmugam Pillai", 4-10-1944.

507. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I have your chatty letter filled with news. Most of those you mention are in prison and beyond me even through letters. But of course such is the lot of satyagrahis.

Of course Doris is a tower of strength to you. I can well picture her standing to her post in all weathers.

I am fairly well.

The rest from Pyarelal.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

508. LETTER TO SAHAJANAND

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR SWAMIJI,

Many thanks for your letter. Indulal has seen me.¹ He had nothing new to say beyond giving your letter. I have known Prof. Ranga² for a long time. When he mentioned the *kisan* work in Andhra in co-operation with Congressmen I had no hesitation in approving of his project. Of your activity I know nothing except through papers. You would please put yourself in touch with the Bihar Congressmen.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SWAMI SAHAJANAND SARASWATI
PRESIDENT, ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA
SITARAM ASHRAM, BIHTA, PATNA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Note to Indulal Yajnik", 16-1-1945.

² N. G. Ranga

509. LETTER TO L. KAMESWARARAO SARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR KAMESWARA SARMA,

I have read the whole of your letter. You can come here when you like. I am silent but you will see Dr. Sushila Nayyar and the patients. You may try your remedies.

I adhere to all Dr. Nayyar has said of me. What I have said is a result of hard experience. I had the pleasure of meeting your father. I had sent for him for Sardar Vallabhbhai. He could not help. His admissions were revealing. I have met most naturopaths. They do not agree and they are obstinate and even lazy.

You will now see why I cannot preside or be at your conference even if I was able to do all that work. Nor can I send you any helpful message. It will be critical. But you may make what private use you like of this. I want naturopathy to make real progress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. L. KAMESWARA SARMA, M.A., B.SC.
THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF NATURAL THERAPEUTICS
PUDUKOTTAI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

510. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR,

Bapu had your letter of 18th inst. He has also received the typescript of the *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* and will certainly go through it¹. For the rest, more when the prodigal returns.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

PROF. J. C. KUMARAPPA
C/O SHOORJI VALLABHDAS
CUTCH CASTLE
SANDHURST BRIDGE
GIRGAON, BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. C. Kumarappa", 25-1-1945.

511. LETTER TO MAHENDRA B. DAVE

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. MAHENDRA¹,

I have your letter. Send me Bhogibhai's full name and address so that I can write to him. What do you do? How many brothers and sisters are you? You should not rush to a court of law. I will do what I can. How far have you studied?²

Blessings from
BAPU

MAHENDRA BHOGIBHAI
KEVALRAM MAVJI'S BUILDING
RAJKOT

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

512. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter. I am all right. I observe silence during the day to conserve my energy.

I have not yet come to have faith in milk therapy. But if I had an opportunity to stay with you I would certainly take it, watched by you. At the moment I have no wish to leave this place. I am also attending to the work here. I shall come to you when God takes me there.

There are some differences between us. But that does not worry me. That I can take work from you is enough for me.

Your letter to Devdas is sharp but you did right in writing it. You could only have written what you did. In fact I had written³ to him before you did. The trust will be formed. But whether it is formed or not, we propose to start the work if we can have just enough land

¹ Grandson of Kevalram Mavji Dave

² *Vide* also "Letter to Shamaldas Gandhi", 10-2-1945.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Devdas Gandhi", 1-1-1945.

for it. Even otherwise you are not sitting idle.

Ardeshir will be making good progress. I understand what you say about Jinnah Saheb.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
6 TODDYWALLAH ROAD
POONA

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

513. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR SISTER¹,

I read both your pieces from beginning to end. I like them. They show how careful and neat you are. If you have worked on it all by yourself one can see how much time you must have devoted to it. Of course I know sister Montessori very well although I may say I have not read any of her writings.

Your writing would be more useful to Ashadevi and Nayakumji and so I have given it to them. Afterwards I shall send it to Bapa.

Get a Hindustani version made, if you can, and send it to me. Otherwise I shall get it done here.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SARALADEVI SARABHAI
[THE] RETREAT
SHAHIBAGH
AHMEDABAD

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

¹ Wife of Ambalal Sarabhai

514. LETTER TO JOYADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. JOYADEVI,

I had promised to send you my blessings on the 1st but it slipped my mind. The girl whom I had asked to remind me did so only today. I hope you are all well.

Blessings from
BAPU

JOYADEVI
8 EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

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

515. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM,
January 22, 1945

DEAR MAHMUD,

I do not mind your long letter. It opens out your heart. That is good enough for you.

No Leaguer need come to me. Sir N.¹ has but to write that I could enter Bengal including Midnapore and Chittagong² and that no one would interfere with me and I would go, weak or strong. But he has sent me the message that he could not welcome me and that he had no influence with the Government.

As to the Communists, you should see the papers. I went out of my way to meet them and to befriend them. But Joshi wrote peremptorily that I should not write to him any more.³ He wanted me to speak to him thro[ugh] Bhulabhai, Mrs. Naidu or C. R. The latter declined. Bhulabhai has the case. There is a hitch. Anyway I declared publicly that they could not be kept out of primary

¹ Khwaja Nazimuddin, Premier of Bengal since April 1943

² Midnapore and Chittagong had been among the districts worst affected by famine and consequent breakdown of economic order.

³ For Gandhiji's discussion and correspondence with P. C. Joshi, and "Letter to P. C. Joshi", 5-2-1945.

membership if they signed the Congress pledge. Personally I would have here any of them as I have Habib.¹ They can convert me. Some of them have come here and stayed. Can I do more? Must I?

As to Nariman, you do not know what I have done.² I must not give you the whole story. You may get it from P. Now I can do nothing. Working Committee alone can act. I think N. has himself the remedy in his hands.

I think this is all you want to know from me. If there is anything left over please ask. Write or speak. Tonight has been given to Hiralal Sastri of Jaipur State.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5067

516. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
January 22, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read your letter. I am not at all disappointed. You are giving me what you can. . . .³ You must certainly work in the Sangh. Your account is good. Do whatever you can in the Talimi Sangh. I think you must put in some reading and spare some time for it. Do spare some time for weaving for yourself. This is all that you should try to do. There is scope for improvement in the quern, but that is beyond your province for the present. What you are doing is enough. Keep writing to me. Ask me whatever you want to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4457

¹ Addressee's son

² For the details of the Nariman case, *vide* "Statement to the Press", 20-8-1937, "Note in Nariman-Sardar Case", 14-10-1937, "Statement to the Press", 16-10-1937 and "Letter to K. F. Nariman", 29-10-1937 and "Letter to Perinbehn Captain", 7-8-1938.

³ A word is illegible here.

517. LETTER TO VASANTLAL MORARKA

SEVAGRAM,
January 22, 1945

BHAI VASANTLAL,

Do you want my blessing for February 11¹? Anything done for Jamnalalji has my blessing. Do whatever you can yourself or get it done by others.

Blessings from
BAPU

VASANTLAL MORARKA
NAVAJIVAN SANGH
1321 HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA

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

518. CABLE TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON²

Express

January 23, 1945

KRISHNA MENON
INDIA LEAGUE, 165 STRAND
LONDON, W. C. 2

INDEPENDENCE ESSENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE AS ALSO
FOR INDIA'S. IT MUST COME BUT EARLIER IF
ENGLAND AND OTHER POWERS SEE THE OBVIOUS.
INFORM MOHIUDDIN PULIN SEAL.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 26-1-1945

¹ Death anniversary of Jamnalal Bajaj

² This was sent in connection with the observance of Independence Day (January 26) in London.

519. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
January 23, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

The matter about newspapers has been brought to my notice. It seems they are being bought and sold. It is, therefore, very necessary that they should be returned according to instructions. Here, of course, I watch the time of their arrival. Explain the matter to me. I will do as you advise. Everything should be above board. This is a matter which can be quickly set right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8467. Also C.W. 7182. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

520. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
January 23, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

What you say is correct. Nevertheless I would certainly pay some attention. And Shakaribehn is bound to look after you. I know, however, that the right place for you is where Chokhawala lives. And I can have nothing to say if you keep good health. After knowing my mind, therefore, you may do as you wish. But please bear in mind that whenever you wish to come here you can do so without hesitation. You need not feel hesitant about coming to me.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10051. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

521. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 23, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your letter. I am opening the Superintendent's letter. We will now see what Sumi wishes. A letter from her is due. I have no trace of cough at all. I cannot say, either, how weak I am. I observe silence the whole day just to save time. And it agrees with me. I speak at night.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

522. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 23, 1945

Go on giving. Keep me informed. The Talimi Sangh should go on. I mean I shall not send you away from the Sangh. Having started work in the Sangh, you cannot leave it so soon. It could not be done now but you should restrict your activities only after explaining things to them. Under all circumstances we must direct all our efforts towards Nayee Talim. This is how I view the loom too. Every activity should fit into the framework of Nayee Talim. Great. . . .¹ If it is available whenever required, it will be all right. I understand from your letter that it is only for eight hours. . . .²

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4458

523. LETTER TO A. N. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 24, 1945

MY DEAR SHARMA,

You are going to pick up Hindi soon I hope. I understand what you mean. I want our friend to treat all patients equally in the sense

¹ The meaning of the sentences is not clear in the source.

² *ibid*

that each should be treated according to his wants. None can have special care because of his status, therefore our friend ought not to go beyond his capacity even in the matter of assistants and attendants. I want some naturecure man to show that perfection which is humanly possible. Describe to me at your leisure the whole of his treatment. My own nature cure has proved quite efficacious for me.

Love.

Yours,

A. N. SHARMA
BHIMAVARAM

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

524. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
January 24, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am returning the accompanying with some lines underlined. Those portions are bad in both. One must not be in a hurry to accuse anybody. That is a sign of impatience and irritability. This I write in the few minutes I have free. Come and see me in the evening or before 8.15 in the morning. We shall discuss the matter then and clear up other things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8645

525. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 24, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

Newspaper reports startle me. Jinnah says one thing and Liaquat Ali another. About me also it is reported that bypassing the Working Committee I want a coalition government to be formed. What do these reports mean? I have complete trust in you. Please see that nothing is done without the approval of the Working Committee. I go by what I wrote to you in Gujarati.¹ It contains nothing which would support the

¹ *Vide* "Note to Bhulabhai J. Desai", 5-1-1945.

newspaper reports.

I can understand everything happening together. But please make it clear that we cannot go a single step without the consent of the Working Committee.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

526. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,

January 24, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. My cough was cured a long time ago. The weakness persists, but that too is slowly going. This time I have been taking only nature-cure treatment. I do not have much urge for a change of air. If it becomes necessary I shall go.

I do not insist on any particular place for the meeting of the Sangh. I shall go wherever it is held. I am in touch with Bapa and Mridu.

I shall hear your views about Nayee Talim when we meet. I have discussed the subject with the teachers. Education through crafts has to be self-supporting.

Why wait for the details from Dinshaw? It was evident from what you said. It would be a matter of only a thousand rupees. It will be increased to the extent necessary.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8064. Courtesy: G. D. Birla. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

527. A NOTE

January 24, 1945

Tell Kakasaheb to make himself thoroughly fit. There should be no ulcers in the mouth. Let him report the effect of the medicine sent by the vaidya from here. Bring full details of his ailment.

I like the study he is engaged in; but I want him to have a full grasp of the Urdu script and to learn the Urdu language. Amritlal is

doing good work only in Kaka's name and regarding it as Kaka's work. So when he comes out he will have to work for Hindi and Urdu. But he should not think about it in jail. I am not in a hurry. The Government will release him when it wants. It is a different matter if it does so under the pressure of the peaceful non-violent power of the people. I see no such possibility for the present. But a satyagrahi has nothing at all to do with the question of his release. If he is released, well and good; it is the same to him if he is not. I find that Vinoba and Kaka have worked hard. I am also glad that they are both together. I do wish them both to keep well and come out refreshed when they are released. I feel sorry that I could not remain so. I am ashamed of it. Let this not be the lot of others I had expected seven years for all, in any case certainly for me. But the fever¹ brought about my release. I do not wish this to happen in the case of Kaka and Vinoba.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5611

528. LETTER TO VITHAL V. DASTANE

SEVAGRAM,
January 24, 1945

BHAI DASTANE,

I have gone through your programme. I like it and it has my blessings. You must have received another letter of mine.

Blessings from
BAPU

DASTANE VAKIL
BHUSAVAL

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

529. TELEGRAM TO CHANDI PRASAD VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

CHANDI PRASAD VAIDYA
BIRLA MANDIR DISPENSARY
N[EA]R BIRLA MANDIR
NEW DELHI

YOU HAVE OVERSTAYED. HARI-ICHCHHA NOT IMPROVING.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Gandhiji had an attack of Malaria.

530. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

MY DEAR K.,

I have read your booklet¹ from beginning to end. You shall have the foreword² or whatever you call it. I like it very much.

Get quite well quick. How is Bharatanand?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10168

531. *LETTER TO WILLIAM Q. LASH*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

MY DEAR FATHER LASH,

I am so glad you came. Please tell all our English friends that we all do our duty regardless of result. Has not an English divine said that “duty will be merit when debt becomes a donation”? Non-violence, translated ‘love’, is the supreme law for human beings. It knows no exception. I have tried all these years to live by that law and hope to die in that state.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 41

532. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You want my blessings for your success in the future, don't you? That you will attain success implies my blessings. On the one hand you are rendering great service to the *avarnas*, on the other you

¹ *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*

² *Vide* “A word”, 21-3-1945.

are serving the *savarnas*, that is, you are trying to make *avarnas* of them. What face have they to brag? Have they set out to bury Hinduism?

Blessings from
BAPU

CHHAGANLAL JOSHI
RAJKOT

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

533. *LETTER TO RAJDEV*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

BHAI RAJDEV,

You have my blessings of course. Ours is to make the effort. Whether finally you are sent to the gallows or are released is something over which we have no control.

M. K. GANDHI

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

534. *LETTER TO RAM NARESH TRIPATHI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

BHAI RAMNARESH¹,

Why should I bless you on your daughter's wedding? For you and me birth, death and marriage are just different forms of the same thing, are they not? Still, if you want my blessings you have them.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAM NARESH TRIPATHI
SULTANPUR

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

¹ A Hindi poet

535. *LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Let us hope that in the end you will all benefit by having gone there. I am not able to make out anything. Sharma¹ has written a long letter. He is very confident. But if the doctor says that you can leave him and can continue the treatment at home then by all means come in February. You may do what you think proper. I am not going anywhere in February, but it is another matter.

I am well. You three are in my thoughts.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

536. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You are more closely connected with Talimi Sangh. You can relieve yourself to the extent they allow you to do. There in lies your good and theirs. From the spiritual point of view you must decrease not increase your commitment. But do it after consulting them.

I shall give instructions when necessary. Maintain a diary. You must stop worrying. You have to get complete mastery of Nayee Talim.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4459

¹ A. N. Sharma

537. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN,

The love of you two is indescribable. I feel like coming to you if only for the sake of that love.¹ However I cannot leave this place while the Camp² is on. Silence is welcome for I can spare myself. You can take it that I have resumed work. Nevertheless I would like to come.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 303

538. NOTE TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

[After January 25, 1945]³

You understand the position about my coming, don't you? The earliest I can come is on the 23rd—25th of course certainly.⁴ Then I shall see how long I can stay. There is a lot to be done here. I want to go to your place for its own sake. I like it that way.

Discuss things fully with Sunderlalji. Some names were tentatively suggested but I asked them to be referred to you and said that I would accept only those approved by you. Somebody mentioned that your book⁵ had been of help to them.

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 303

¹ The addressee and his wife Madalasa had invited Gandhiji to their house in Wardha for a change of air.

² Samagra Gramseva Shibir organized by Kanu Gandhi

³ The source places this letter after the letter to the addressee, dated January 25, 1945, the preceding item.

⁴ The Hindustani Prachar Sabha Conference was scheduled to be held on February 25 and 26 at Wardha.

⁵ *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India*

539. *LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY*

SEVAGRAM,
Independence Day, January 26, 1945

MY DEAR S. SASTRY,

Deshabhakta Venkatappayya¹ is older than I am. But he shows the same intellect and energy as before. May he live long and die in harness. He deserves it.

Love,

Yours,
BAPU

SITARAMA SASTRY
VINAYA ASHRAM
DIST. GUNTUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

540. *LETTER TO RANGANAYAKI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. RANGANAYAKI,

Your good letter. I wish you could be your daughter's first and apt pupil. Then you would write to me in Hindustani.

I am glad you have lost your gloom.

I do think that a woman has the same civic rights as a man and [may] still enjoy the leave when she is carrying. A good woman carries not for herself but for the world; hence the leave will be no privilege.

I return the photo with my blessings on it.

Amtul Salaam is in Calcutta doing great service.

When you come, you will see the place much extended. Love.

BAPU

RANGANAYAKI
SRIRANGAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Who was soon to be eighty

*541. LETTER TO JAIL SUPERINTENDENT,
GORAKHPUR*

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

SUPERINTENDENT
JAIL, GORAKHPUR (U.P.)
DEAR SIR,

Persistent letters are being received that Baba Raghavdas is in your custody and is suffering from insanity. I shall be obliged if you will kindly inform me of the true situation and if I may be allowed to send a physician or a vaidya.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

542. LETTER TO M. NARAYANAN

January 26, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 19th inst. You should see the two letters he has written to Shri Sivashanmugam Pillai, copies of which are enclosed herewith.¹

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

Encls : 2

SHRI M. NARAYANAN
NUNGAMBAKKAM UNITED CLUB
15 NUNGAMBAKKAM HIGH ROAD
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹*Vide* "Letter to J. Sivashanmugam Pillai", 4-10-1944 and "Letter to J. Sivashanmugam Pillai", 21-1-1945.

543. LETTER TO VITHAL L. PHADKE

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. MAMA,

I got your letter. What you say about Shantikumar and his wife¹ is correct. God alone can reward his services. Neither you nor I can.

You may come when you wish. You may do as you wish.

All watches are costly. I would be glad if you gave up the desire for one. Andrews managed without a watch.

There are other workers also like him. One can easily tell when it is morning, noon and evening. If, however, you cannot overcome your craving for a watch, write to me. I shall procure one for you. If you do want it please let me know what type.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3846

544. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

VAGRASEM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Why do you have so much attachment? How nice it would be if you entrusted everything to Harkishan and stopped worrying! Why should you take it upon yourself to translate the *Shakuntala*? What will Jyotsna do with it? And how? After all it is but a play. A lot of it is very sweet. Plays are of no use for the kind of life we are living these days. This life is the real thing. At the most you should ask her to read the relevant portion from the available translations. But you have taken pains over it, so now I shall only say that it may bear fruit. And there can be no doubt that I should like Jyotsna to learn from it. And that is my blessing for her. Get well. I am all right. How can Pyarelal or Sushila attend the wedding? Both of them are immersed in work. We are having a camp.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Sumati S. Morarjee

545. *LETTER TO GAJANAN NAIK*

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. GAJANAN,

Are you concerned with ownership or use? What if we could have the use of the building for a certain rent? I hope you have not assumed that I can do or get done anything that I fancy.

Blessings from
BAPU

GAJANAN NAIK
GULWADI
SEVAGRAM

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

546. *LETTER TO SHEELA*

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. SHEELA,

I have your postcard. Your description is good. Today is Independence Day, do you remember? Do you write Urdu? If not, learn it. You will not have letters from me for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHEELA
C/O NIRMAL SWARUP
PREMPURI, RAILWAY ROAD
MEERUT, U. P.

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

547. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING*

SEVAGRAM
January 26, 1945

With the independence of India is bound up freedom for the whole of exploited humanity in the world—for even exploiters i.e.,

imperialist England and other imperialisms.

Referring to an incident that occurred that morning in front of the Ashram, when the police attempted to interfere with the normal village cleaning programme of the workers, Gandhiji said that it had been repeatedly announced that there was to be no militant programme on the Independence Day and after that it was not possible for anyone to offer civil resistance. Members of the various institutions in Sevagram worked under his guidance.

Gandhiji said he had placed the Constructive Programme before the country years ago and it was the only way of attaining swaraj, i.e., full freedom through truth and non-violence. While he did not want a militant programme he had also said that if anyone interfered with the execution of constructive work, he expected the people to die rather than turn back. One such occasion arose that morning when a batch¹ proceeding mutely with pickaxes, shovels, broomsticks and baskets was stopped. They were not carrying fighting weapons and yet the police would allow them to proceed only if they broke up file. In such circumstances, non-violence would be sheer cowardice if they yielded and bent before authority. Their hymn for that evening was exceptionally appropriate, Gandhiji continuing said, and its central theme was, that true happiness lay only in the womb of unhappiness. For the hearers it meant that true happiness, i.e., swaraj, came only through unhappiness, i.e., self-suffering. The volunteers did right in refusing to break up file and at the same time not breaking through the police cordon. Though the police had fire-arms they were rendered useless through the dignified and yet firm attitude of the volunteers.² They were neither to invite firing nor avoid it and for them real authority was the dictate of their hearts which Gandhiji would call God or Truth.

For me, true independence is convertible with God. Tilak has given a *mantra* that “Swaraj is our birthright”. It is a simple one. I will only add that the way to realize the *mantra* is through truth and non-violence and I claim that that way is possible only if millions work the Constructive Programme.

Concluding, Gandhiji warned the volunteers not to gloat over their success, for, if they did so, that very pride would prove their destruction. Humility, he said, should be their touchstone.

The Hindu, 29-1-1945

¹ 250 members of various institutions in Sevagram

² After two hours the police withdrew and the cleaning programme was completed.

548. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
January 27, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

Your doctor sister has done well in giving up her post.¹ Do please stay as long as is necessary to put things in order. Yes, I seem to be improving.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3598

549. LETTER TO JAGJIVAN RAM

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 22nd inst.

Gandhiji says you can come and see him at your convenience. But you should know that he maintains silence during daytime these days. You will please send intimation of your arrival in advance.

Regarding Gandhiji's correspondence with Shri Sivashanmugam Pillai of Madras, it will be necessary to obtain his permission first as his letters were marked personal.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM
KADAM KUAN
PATNA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Dr. Prema Kumarappa had given up her job at the tea plantations, Nilgiris, on account of ill health.

550. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1945

BHAI DADA,

I could finish your essay¹ on Anandshankarbhai² only yesterday. I also liked Chi. Purushottam's translation.³ It is only on reading your tribute that I realized how greatly you admired him. I trust everything is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GANESH VASUDEV MAVALANKAR
SPEAKER, ASSEMBLY
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of Gujarati: G.N. 1718

551. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

January 28, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have gone through your letter from beginning to end. I have made some arrangement for the newspapers. You want other newspapers besides the Bombay papers. Even among the Bombay papers you do not get the *Chronicle* on the same day. Many persons want it, and it is not possible to refuse them. The same is true about the *Patrika*. You will get both of them but late. And if you get the Gujarati, Hindi and Marathi papers, you ought not to insist on the English ones.

If I could have your whole letter shown to the persons concerned it would have made my task easier. Since you have forbidden it I have not shown it to anybody.

I do understand your problem, but I cannot offer you much guidance unless I go deeper into the matter. What took place before me today was a spectacle worth watching. Both of you had lost your tempers. You were not aware of it, either of you. Each could see the other party's error, but neither his own. This is true of everyone of us

¹ Written in Marathi for the magazine *Samajapatrika*; it was later published as a pamphlet.

² Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva, Gujarati man of letters and Sanskrit scholar

³ Vide "Letter to P. G. Mavalankar", 6-11-1944.

and that includes me. I do not ask you to go and live in the village. The atmosphere in Sevagram having become vitiated I do not wish that you should go there. I myself am waiting and watching. I have already suggested that it would be enough if someone from the Talimi Sangh goes. He must be given the first place. He may do what he can. If he does not, then we shall see. But I see that co-workers have not been able to put up with your nature. They cannot fully appreciate your worth. I, therefore, do wish that since you both are now capable of observing *brahmacharya* even though living together and alone with each other, you should select a village within about four miles from here, settle down there and take up some work. I will continue to guide you in whatever matters you wish. So much for my wish. The decision will have to be made by you two on your own, even if it should go against my wish.

You can use turmeric and salt. I am not sure about pepper. If anybody wishes to add it later, he may do so. What the vaidya¹ says is for ordinary men and women. In my view, a *brahmachari* should shun all these things, including even salt and turmeric. If absolutely necessary, he may take them as medicine but not for the pleasure of the six flavours. But I do not insist; I do not forbid them. My observation may even be erroneous. I have lived for more than forty years without condiments, and for nearly thirty without salt. It might have been a mistake on my part.

What is the matter with Ramdas ?

Let me know if I have left out anything.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5818. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

552. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 28, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Keep this pin. Take the letter. You should not spend so much time in chewing sugar-cane. As much as you can easily chew in 15 minutes should be enough.

Why do you have to evacuate the bowels three times in a day? I hope it does not take long every time.

¹ Ganesh Shastri Joshi who had advised that diet should include the six flavours" viz., sweet, salty, bitter, pungent, astringent and sour

Do learn the Malayalam script. If you feel inclined learn all the scripts. You have of course to study Urdu thoroughly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4460

553. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1945

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. If you want to hand over everything to Gadodiaji, you may do so. But in that case do not involve me in the matter. I can write to him only on the lines I have indicated. But I shall not write anything now. Do what pleases you. I shall certainly write if you permit me. And then he will give up the management. I shall do as you say.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 326 and 327

554. LETTER TO J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 29, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Some Harijan M.L.A.s in Bihar have asked Gandhiji for copies of the correspondence you had with him¹. Gandhiji would like to know whether you have any objection to the copies in question being supplied to them. It was necessary to ask for this formal permission because one of your letters is marked personal.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

J. Sivashanmugam Pillai
Madras

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

555. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

January 29, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have gone through everything. I have also made an inquiry. I understand your letters but others may not. Therefore it is as well that ordinarily they should be only for me. Remember that improvement in the behaviour of persons whom we have engaged as friends, though on wages, depends entirely on ourselves, i.e., principally on you and Chi[manlal]. This deserves to be given thought. I am not writing anything more. Nor have I the time. If you ask me anything, I shall reply.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5820. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

556. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,

January 29, 1945

CHI. JAYA,

There is no cause at all for fear of Vasant¹ succumbing Typhoid is not a very serious matter. With proper care the patient recovers. Hate courage. Cheer up Vasant.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

557. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 29, 1945

There is something wrong if you have [to go to the privy]² three [times]³ even as a matter of habit. I too once thought as you do. The vaidyas pointed out my mistake. Let me know . . .⁴ the little of the book you have read. I do not believe in those who want to save time. But, about this, later.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4461

¹ Addressee's son

² Some words are illegible here.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

558. *LETTER TO KAMALA LELE*

SEVAGRAM,
January 30, 1945

CHI. KAMALA,

I have your letter. Since the patient here, who was under Chandi Prasad's treatment, had also become very ill I wired him.¹ He was due yesterday. Let us see if he comes today. His address is: Lakshminarayan Mandir, New Delhi. Get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

KAMALA LELE
MAHILA ASHRAM
WARDHA

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

559. *LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

SEVAGRAM,
January 30, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I read your letter to Chi[manlal]. Why should you write in Hindi only to me? It is unnatural. You have time. Write in Hindi to those who know Hindi, in Sindhi to Sindhis and to others in English if you so wish.

I have written to you that you may come by all means. And in my opinion it would be better if Gokhale and Babaji also came. Since it is all the same, why should we leave those two there? They also look upon that place as a prison. I have not sent them to jail. All three of you should come. Probably Amtul will arrive tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Chandi Prasad Vaidya", 25-1-1945.

560. LETTER TO SHRIPAD JOSHI

WARDHA,
[After January 30, 1945]¹

I have read what Kakasaheb wrote. I like it. I have read this letter just now. I thought that the typed matter was a copy of it. Ask me whatever doubts come to your mind. You will write to me. Won't you? I will also reply only in writing.²

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Gandhiji: Ek Jhalak, p. 49

561. LETTER TO GAURI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

DEAR GAURI,

I know you only through your father. He informs me of your forthcoming marriage. May you and yours be happy and jointly serve the country.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

GAURIBEHN
81 VIVEKANAND ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

562. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

VAHLA BEHN³,

Your two letters. Of course you will stay as long as is necessary but no longer. I agree with you. There is and should be no question

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated January 30, 1945.

² *Vide* "Note to Shripad Joshi", 22-2-1945.

³ The superscription is in Gujarati which means 'Dear sister'.

of compromise by us. But letting others go their way is part of ahimsa. I think we agree here. I am well. Love to you and all the sisters.

BAPU

SMT. KHURSHEDBEHN
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. courtesy: Pyarelal

563. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

CHI. RUKMINI¹,

I got your letter only today. At last you have come. You write about Dr. Jussawala. I am glad to learn that. You have enough money for it. By all means put yourself under Jussawala's treatment in Bombay and get well. I follow your argument. We want your health to improve, no matter whether in Bombay or Poona.

I shall be happy if you write to me regularly.

I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

I am also glad to learn that Radhika's² health is improving.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9065

564. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I understand your need. I should advise you to write to Devdas about the books, too. If you are positively disinclined to do that, you may write to Kamalnayan³. He will consult me. If I go and tell him, he will not refuse me. You should either send a list of the

¹ Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

² Addressee's sister Radha Choudhri

³ Son of Jamnalal Bajaj

books to Kamalnayan or tell him the amount you need. A list of books with their prices will look more respectable. I would like you not to take any help from Amritlal Sheth. He will certainly send you whatever you ask for. Your present need shows that this is not going to be your last request. This is significant for me, for it shows how costly present-day education is. And at the end of it, you won't earn anything more than your livelihood. I have heard of many doctors who are unable to make both ends meet. Only a few have made good on their own strength. A good many have had to resort to influence even after passing their examination. In writing this it is not at all my purpose to persuade you to give up your study. You must finish it now. I do wish to suggest, though, that the knowledge you acquire at such a great cost should be used for service of the people.

I am glad that you are keeping Suru from the lure of ornaments, etc. It remains to be seen how long you will succeed.

Let Bali¹ pay a visit to you, though I cannot bring myself to approve of it. It will mean unnecessary expenditure over a long journey, with no benefit except momentary satisfaction. But she has done a great deal for you. She is a very affectionate woman. Do, therefore, welcome her. I tried to dissuade her by suggesting, instead, that she should come here. I have, however, permitted her to go to you.

You may come whenever you wish and live here as long as you like.

You have been doing excellent work as regards spinning, etc. Keep up your strictness. Sincere men, however few, are the best.

I should certainly like to go there, but somehow I do not feel the urge.

If Kanu wishes to go there, I will let him. I do not know, though, what help he will give you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

I am well. I observe silence the whole day.

Give up the idea of going to Bombay. Personally I should like you to remain where you are and learn all the four languages of the South. You will perhaps be the only one from the North to have done so. But what if there are others too?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7370. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

¹ Balibehn M. Adalaja, sister of addressee's mother

565. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

You must have seen the report of Liaquat Saheb's speech¹ at Tinneveli. How can we reach an understanding with him? In public he speaks as he likes and then talks to you in a different tone altogether. And you are obliged to hold your tongue. This is just to inform you and caution you. Do what you think best. I may only let you know what I observe from a distance. I can see nothing else, and what I see frightens me.²

Blessings from
BAPU

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

566. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 31, 1945

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I received your letter in three languages. Hindi would have been sufficient. May Chi. Annapurna and her husband be happy and may they continue to render sincere service to the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8019

¹ Wherein he had denied that there had been any 'pact' between himself and Bhulabhai Desai

² The addressee replied that he would again have a talk with Liaquat Ali and then see Gandhiji.

567. *DISCUSSION WITH ANUGRAHA NARAYAN
SINHA*

WARDHA,
January 31, 1945

Mr. Sinha¹ discussed with Mahatma Gandhi the qualifications of constructive workers whether they choose to work among the labour or among the students. The following appear to be the minimum qualifications for such workers:

- (1) Spinning of certain quantity of yarn regularly each month.
- (2) Giving preference to such articles for personal consumption as are locally manufactured on the basis of cottage industries.
- (3) To have full and active faith in non-violence and truth as understood by Mahatmaji.

Mahatmaji, it is understood, told Mr. Sinha that the above test was good and it could easily be made stiffer.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-2-1945

568. *NOTE TO BHULABHAI DESAI*²

[January 1945]³

BHULABHAI DESAI,

I understand that the steps would be somewhat as follows :

The League agrees with us as to the composition of the interim Government at the Centre. (The agreed nominees will be responsible to the elected legislature.) The League agrees that if the proposal is accepted by the G[overnor] G[eneral] the first step to be taken by the new Government will be to release the Working Committee. On this being done, the G. G. will be requested to accept the composition agreed upon (with the addition of members representing the elected parties or elements). On the G.G. agreeing, an interim Government would be formed and when the Working Committee is thereafter released, you will be good enough to tell them that this step was taken with your approval.

¹ Ex-Finance Minister of Bihar

² (1877-1946); Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly; President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee; Member, Congress Working Committee.

³ Bhulabhai Desai initiated the move for a Congress-League coalition at the Centre in early January 1845; *vide* "Note to Bhulabhai J. Desai", 5-1-1945 and Appendix "Guidelines for Proposed Interim Government", 5-1-1945.

QUESTIONS: Is the agreement of the League to release the Working Committee as the first step of the new provisional Government (preliminary) proof of their *bona fides* ?

ANSWER : Yes.

Q. If the new provisional Government is formed while the Working Committee is still in detention and if the new Government releases them, why do you see danger in the way of a permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim question ?

A : The danger lies with the Quaid-e-Azam being equivocal and two-faced.¹

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

569. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

MY DEAR DESHBHAKTA,

I do not appreciate your appeal. There is no hurry. It should be revised. Give the assets of the ashramam, the liabilities, yearly donations, the concrete activities, the income therefrom. Then give the prospective expenditure in detail.

Has the ashramam enough workers for the different tasks? Who is the doctor for general work, who is the veterinary surgeon, who is the matron? Are all these experts to be brought in? The thing reads visionary. It must be businesslike. If the burden cannot be borne, the appeal should wait. You will get the funds. Let them not be a curse. Money won't produce men. The latter will produce as much as you need.

Love.

BAPU

DESHBHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarela

¹ Vide also "Silence-Day Note to Bhulabhai Desai", 11-6-1945.

570. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

CHI. JAYA,

I got your telegram. Does it not seem like a dream that Vasant has passed away? However, I feel nothing. I have seen many deaths and many births. They are two sides of the same coin. If on one side there is death, on the other side there is birth. Both the sides are equal in worth. They always, therefore, go side by side. Why then rejoice at one and grieve over the other? Moreover it is certain to happen to all. Besides getting married and rejoicing is nothing but a part of the game of life. You may resume this game. Will the wedding¹ be put off? If it were in my hands, I would not put it off. I would let the ceremony take place, but drop the celebration part completely. But you know better what is proper. Keep up your courage.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

571. LETTER TO NRISINHPRASAD K. BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

CHI. NANABHAI,

I have your letter. I understand what you say regarding Bachu. The sea is close to Ghogha and to Bhavnagar. Will not its cooling effect be enough?

I shall consider how much I should leave over for you after Manubhai² and Vijaya³ arrive. I shall do my utmost to lighten your burden.

Blessings from
BAPU

NANABHAI BHATT
AMBALA, KATHIAWAR

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

¹ Bindu and Chandrakant; *vide* "Letter to Jaya", 1-12-1944.

² Manubhai Pancholi and his wife

³ *ibid*

572. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 1, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You tried to be brief but failed. I am sure you have omitted something. To be brief means that you should say everything you want to in as few words as possible. I will show you how to do this when I have the time and the opportunity to do so.

It was not in anger that I wrote what I did about Burhanpur. I was not happy about you or Kanchan going there. But knowing your limitation, I agreed unreservedly. After you had gone there, I saw from your letters that your going there had been fruitful. You made your family happy and you could also improve things to some extent. Besides, there is certainly work to do in the town. Hence, in order to see you become steady and have the proper environment, I also suggested your taking up work there. My intention of course is that you should stay on here and learn through experience. But even for doing that, you must have equipoise and you must live in conformity with social norms. If you do not do that, you will not mature. I, therefore, included that also in my suggestions.

You may forgive Gopalrao and others, but you must know their mistake. I saw sarcasm in Pandurang's letter. I did not like the letter. Their explanation for all this lies chiefly in what you two, perhaps four, namely, you and Kanchan, Chimanlal and Shakaribehn, are by nature. These two women cannot be considered different from other women. Perhaps you do not know how many of my plans came to nothing because of Ba's limitations. I exercised as much strictness as I could. But the limitation would always show itself. You may be sure it will be the same in this case. I have explained the rule to you. If, after understanding it, you come to the conclusion that you two should run the Ashram, I would consent to your doing so. Even if you run it in a way different from the way it is run at present, I would let you do so. Or if you decide that the Ashram should be disbanded, I would consent to that too. The correct and best thing would be that all four of you should wake up now while carrying on your present work, and do the best you can. You may seek from me whatever help I can give you.

If Chimanlal also did not understand about Prahlad, ask me when I have free time and when both are present; I will tell you. Writing about it will make the letter too long.

I will see about the newspapers.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 5890. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

573. LETTER TO DAMAYANTI

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

CHI. DAMAYANTI,

I have your letter. It is good you wrote. I should like to invite you but I am not doing so. Why undertake hardships of a journey and spend money when you can achieve your aim through correspondence. So cancel the trip.

What does your husband do? How many children do you have?

Pass on the enclosed letter to Bhogibhai.¹ I do not have his address. If the letter will not produce any result, you and your brother should act as you think proper.

Look me up when I happen to go to Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

DAMAYANTIBEHN
GANDHI NIWAS
GHODBUNDER ROAD
SANTACRUZ, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

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

574. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

A letter of authority is one which is duly signed by both the parties. Perhaps it requires a stamp also. I shall give the verdict if I get the claim of the T. M. E., your reply and the claimant's rejoinder either in the national language or the State language or even in Marathi. Out of the six months some time has already passed. I want everything in writing. No one need personally appear before me. I am sorry about your daughter. My silence continues. Though I have no

¹ The letter is not available.

time I can yet offer some suggestions if I see the girl. It is a difficult task.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
MAHAL
NAGPUR

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

575. LETTER TO E. S. PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I have your letter. Send me the letter of authority duly signed by both the parties, as also your claim, Anna's reply, your rejoinder and the necessary evidence. Out of the six months quite a few days have already passed. Send the documents either by post or through someone. There will be no need for you to come. I have said that I shall give the verdict in writing on the basis of the written documents, haven't I? Why should Bhai Mahalkar take the trouble? My silence, of course, continues. Time passes somehow. Still, do come if you want to.

Blessings from
BAPU

E.S. PATWARDHAN
"TARUN BHARAT", NAGPUR

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

576. LETTER TO SANKARAN NAIR

SEVAGRAM,
February 1, 1945

CHI. SANKARAN,

I have your letter. Tell me your views whenever you feel like it.

It is enough that you visited the *samadhis* of Ba and Mahadev once. Your duty is to immerse yourself in your studies.

Keep yourself fit.

The boy is happy. He lives with Shakaribehn and goes to the T[alimi] S[angh].

Blessings from
BAPU

SANKARAN NAIR
ROOM 30, THIRD FLOOR
MORARJEE GOKULDAS SANATORIUM, POONA

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

577. ADVICE TO MAHOMED BEG¹

SEVAGRAM,
[Before February 2, 1945]²

If you really desire to serve the Muslim masses, my only advice to you is that you should totally abstain from being in touch with communal bodies.

The Hindu, 3-2-1945

578. LETTER FO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
February 2, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

What you say is correct. Come whenever you wish. I have no fear. It is the newspaper reports that impelled me to caution you.³

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ A Congress leader from Kheda who had a prolonged discussion with Gandhiji

² The report appeared under the date-line "Surat, February 2, 1945".

³ *Vide* "Letter to Bhulabhai J. Desai", 31-1-1945.

579. LETTER TO BHOLA NATH

February 2, 1945

(1) You are free to do anything, but should do nothing at my instance. My advice is that you should make your own decision in the context of the situation prevailing there.

(2) Sarojini Devi has fallen ill. Take the help of somebody else.

(3) Launch a pure satyagraha against the landlords if there are people who can offer satyagraha. If they are not ready for it do whatever is possible.

(4) I shall certainly meet the people of Alwar if I am able to go to Delhi.

(5) There is nothing at all to prevent our meeting the rulers if they are ready to help us.

Nothing of this is meant for publication under my name. It is meant only for your understanding.

BHOLA NATH MASTER

PRAJAMANDAL

ALWAR, RAJPUTANA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1312

580. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 2, 1945

The incident of sugar-cane shows how we should be generous towards others and strict with ourselves and what should be the right qualification for handling child education.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4463

581. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA

SEVAGRAM,

February 2, 1945

BHAI SHRIKRISHNA SINHA,

You ought not to need comforting. Death inevitably follows birth. Why grieve over it? Your wife is released from suffering. Now

you have only service to devote yourself to. So do it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRIKRISHNA SINHA
PREMIER
PATNA

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

582. LETTER TO KAMALESH

SEVAGRAM,
February 2, 1945

BHAI KAMALESH,

I have your letter. I can't help it if my article has caused a commotion. I am not satisfied with your work. I do not wish to go into the reasons. The Rashtrabhasha Sammelan is narrow in its scope since it does not teach Urdu. Had Urdu continued to enjoy the place which it deserves and which I tried to give it, the propagation of Hindustani would have become redundant. To me this is self-evident. But why should I argue? If everyone does what he likes where is the room for contention ?

Blessings from
BAPU

KAMALESH
GU[JARAT] PRA[DESH] RA[SHTRABHASHA] PRACHAR SAMITI
KHADIA, AHMEDABAD

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

583. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

Unrevised

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I didn't follow your story about Dwarkanath. Explain it to me.

I understand your difficulties. They are all unavoidable. Find your way patiently through them. You can talk to everyone politely.

Yashodhara¹ is a very good woman. You can speak to her. She has supported many of our workers. For instance, she has been helping Narayan and Kanti. Her house is open to any of our workers who goes there. They are big people. It is very good indeed that Dr. Mahmud is there as also Ramachandran². You may request them and even if they are not able to help, you may find some other way. If you do not know how to broach the subject to them, do not embark upon the venture. It is surprising that Kanchan does not help as much as she can. Is that intentional or is there some other reason? If you tell me which members of the Ashram refuse to help, I may do something about it.

The only remedy for all the difficulties is patience. Forget about Sevagram for the time being. Assume that Shantabehn has taken over responsibility from today. You may, if you can, give her whatever help she asks for.

I intend to write separately regarding Mahadevi. I hope Vatsala helps you. If you have anything more to ask me, you may.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8466. Also C.W. 7181. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

584. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter, the cheque, the photograph, etc. I shall return the photograph with my next letter. No one prevents me. I just cannot bring myself to believe in the efficacy of milk therapy. For the rest I would certainly like to stay with you.

Our differences, such as they are, will disappear of their own accord.

The contribution from Ghanshyamdas at any rate ought to remain anonymous. We may not even identify it by some name. He will continue to pay us till the figure is reached. The amount will not come to us in a lump sum. The records will of course show

¹ Yashodhara Dassappa

² G. Ramachandran

a small amount. I should like to include the names of Bhiwandiwala and Fikriyar Jung. I shall write to you about it. I can't think of anything more to write at the moment. I think I am working a bit too much.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

585. LETTER TO BAJRANG SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

BHAI BAJRANG SINGH¹,

I have your letter. May God save you. If you have to go to the gallows, face it cheerfully.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

BAJRANG SINGH
CONDEMNED CELL, CENTRAL JAIL
NAINI, U. P.

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

586. LETTER TO LADY CHHOTURAM

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I am grieved that Sir Chhoturam² has passed away. Only a few months back he had written to me. He had love for me. What consolation can I offer you? Let us live as God ordains.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

LADY CHHOTURAM
C/O DR. GOPI CHAND
LAHORE

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

¹ The addressee was involved in the Kanpur Central Station bomb case.

² A prominent Unionist leader and Revenue Minister of the Punjab

587. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 3, 1945

It would be best if you gave up sugar-cane altogether for two or three days.

Select some book for reading. I can choose one for you if you wish. Your acquaintance with Malayalam will be of great help in Nayee Talim. Do not resort to English under any circumstances. It is surprising you do not understand this simple thing.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4569

588. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

February 4, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

I have heard from both of you simultaneously. Do stay as long as your sister needs you. You will be working for A.I.V.I.A. wherever you are.

My love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3597

589. LETTER TO Y. VENKATASUBBAIAH

February 4, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your letter only today. Please send me your detailed budget and if it commends itself to me, I shall submit it to the Trust. As to the scheme for an institute, will naturopaths agree? If you are young enough I would like you to come here by appointment and treat patients according to naturopathy. Naturopathy here works but I am sorry to confess that only allopathy flourishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. VENKATASUBBAIAH, M.L.A.
KASTURIDEVINAGAR
NELLORE (ANDHRA)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

590. NOTE TO SUB-INSPECTOR OF POLICE, WARDHA¹

SEVAGRAM,
February 4, 1945

He (the wanted person) came and said he believed in me and my teachings and had decided to surrender himself. Hence the note he wrote. I must add that even if he had admitted his guilt to me I would be bound not to disclose it to the police. I could not be reformer and informer at the same time.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 40-2

591. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

February 4, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Yours of 26th ultimo² to Gandhiji. He was very much pleased to read that even in jail you were able to renew the pledge and the oath of allegiance. As regards his going to Bengal, though he would very much like to go there, the circumstances are such that he does not think it advisable at present to venture to go to Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
NARAHARI PARIKH

SHRI ARUN CHANDRA GUHA, SECURITY PRISONER,
SPECIAL RESERVE JAIL

P. O. BAKSADUAR (DT. JALPAIGURI)

From a photostat: G.N. 8671

592. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
February 4, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have your letter. You are scared for nothing. Let all the people come together. I do not think it proper to change the programme after everything has been decided. On my part I have no misgivings. After all we only want to do our work. You and Maganbhai should

¹ According to the source an underground worker wanted by the police had met Gandhiji and left a note. The police learning of this wanted the note.

² The source has "inst."

come over. Hope you have completely recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

AMRITLAL NANAVATI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

593. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
February 4, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is well that you have taken a vow about sugar-cane. If you were to take it for the sake of your health, it would not be necessary to give it up for good. If it were to control the palate you would have to give it up. In this case, both health and palate are involved. That is why I suggested a time-limit.

As for the books, you can read Marx's *Das Kapital*, all my articles on economics and also Shrimanji's and two books by Sampurnanand. The rest I shall tell you later.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4464

594. LETTER TO CHANDRAPRAKASH

SEVAGRAM,
February 4, 1945

CHI. CHANDRAPRAKASH,

I have your two postcards. Although Father is still not out of danger, it is good that he has survived the crisis. May God cure him completely.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

CHANDRAPRAKASH
PILLARS
SIALKOT

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

595. *LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI*

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

BROTHER JOSHI,

Received your letter.¹ Shall I reply in the national language?²

I did not write to you because you yourself had asked me not to do so. Yes, you are right, complaint was mine. I wanted to come near you. To clear up that I asked, I wrote. In that there was no reason for anger.

I have given everything to Bhulabhai. There was some difficulty about one thing. Rajaji refused, because he is considered a partisan. I have already expressed my view. You must have seen it. I want to come still nearer to the Communists. But complaints continue coming to me. I have told everything to brother Habib. Mohan³ need not come. But if he wants, he can come.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, PP. 39-40

596. *LETTER TO MANU GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

CHI. MANU,

I am very much worried about you. You are always crying and seem restless. You do tell me that you regard me both as your mother and father. Will a child be ever afraid of talking to her parents, or feel shy? You do both. I, therefore, wonder what your real feelings are. Why should you have any secrets? You should not object to others reading your letters. Therefore while I have returned them to you, I did not like doing so. You should have the courage to say whatever you wish in front of everybody. One hides one's guilt even when it is small. He who has acted truthfully hides nothing. If there is any suspicion that truth is being kept back, it comes out.

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Letter from P. C. Joshi", 1-2-1945.

² The Hindi original is not available.

³ Mohan Kumaramangalam

Tell Sushila whatever you wish to say. Why should you be afraid of her? Tell her boldly whatever it is. She tells me that she has not stopped you from attending the class because you share the bed with me. She told you for your own convenience that you might take leave if you wished and get well. She will help you to make up for what you miss.

You may show this letter to Pyarelal, Sushila or anyone else you wish. Get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

597. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter written from Mombasa. You worry too much about me. Stop doing that. Leave me in God's hands. At present I am all right. I am active as usual and take my normal food. The blood-pressure is not measured daily now. Khurshedbehn has been in Bombay for the last ten days. She will be there a few more days. Neither she nor anyone else will ever disappoint you. Just now Chi. Kishorelal also is here, and so is Narahari. Narahari's son has got engaged to Anasuya, Rami's daughter. It was a mutual choice.

I should like it if all of you could make proper arrangements for your work there and then come here, but I do not think that will be possible. It can be done if Sita gets herself trained and goes there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4946

598. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I did not ask for the balance-sheet. I only wanted to know the names of those who lived in the Ashram including the servants and the others and the expense per head. This should not be difficult. What I

have written about Mahadevi is one-sided. If you or the others know anything that goes against her, I should like to know that too. You need not believe as perfect truth all that I say. It may be that I know only one side of the story.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10615

599. LETTER TO L. KAMESWARARAO SARMA

SEVAGRAM,

February 5, 1945

BHAI KAMESHWAR SARMA,

I have your letter of January 31, 1945.

My complaint remains. Your letter has, if anything, aggravated it.¹

All your office-bearers are your own men. So must be the members. This is not the way to unite people.

All your work will be carried on in English. What has this got to do with nature? You have dug up the very foundations of nature. Why inflict English on poor Tandonji who is an advocate of the Rashtrabhasha ? If you did not want the Rashtrabhasha it would have been better if you had chosen one of the South Indian languages.

Father's letter is full of wisdom. What could Dr. Sapru do? There is nothing to obstruct a nature-cure practitioner in India.

*Yours,*²

KAMESWARA SARMA

PUDUKKOTTAI

TRICHY

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

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to L. Kameswararao Sarma", 21-1-1945.

² The letter carries the following note in Gujarati: "Sent after a Tamil translation had been made."

600. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

Dinshaw has sent the draft to De[vdas]. He wants Bhiwandiwala, who had helped him and who has faith in nature cure, as also Fikriyar Jung, who was Finance Minister to the Nizam and believes in these remedies, to be included among the trustees. I think there is no harm in it. About the rest I have written to Dinshaw. If you will show this to Devdas I shall make do with this one letter.

If you take me to Delhi I shall have to visit Pilani, Mira's place and also Dharmadev's. I shall stay at the Harijan Nivas.

Blessings from
BAPU

BIRLAJI
N. D.

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

601. LETTER TO BRIJLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

BHAI BRIJLAL,

I have your affectionate telegram. Keep me posted in this way. So far I have not taken anything. But what is to be done if the Ayurvedic as well as the nature-cure people are not able to do anything? That is the question. Allopathic doctors take no less time. Tell me, what should we do?

Blessings from
BAPU

BRIJLAL NEHRU
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL
KASHMIR

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

602. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

February 5, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

This is foreign—certainly mill-made. Why should you have it? You ought to have a notebook of hand-made paper. You can keep this. You could use it for some other purpose or give it away. Anyway, you should do only what you wish, not what I suggest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrani Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

603. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 5, 1945

The very fact that Malayalam appears distant is the reason why it should be learnt. There is no difficulty after one learns the grammar of a language, *Asanas*¹ and water are the remedies for constipation. Instead of sugar-cane, try taking sugar-cane juice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4466

604. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 5, 1945

An intelligent man will not stop with just learning a script. He who stops there will be defeated. However, a script can certainly be of great help in learning a language. The opposite of it is also true. It is proper to write everything in Hindi. But we want to be practical in our

¹ Yogic exercises

approach. As we want to achieve unity we should learn as many scripts as there are languages here. By doing so we would be moving nearer the goal. Considered from even this point of view all these things fit into the scheme of Nayee Talim.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4465

605. LETTER TO P. SRIRAMULU

February 6, 1945

DEAR RAMULU,

You are right. By mistake your letters were not shown to me. I am glad of the reformed remarriage. I hope both are happy and doing well. Do report about your progress. I know you have difficulties to contend with.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 111

606. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

The doctor's advice is not correct. You can give Anand¹ *mosambi* juice in warm water. Or you can warm it by putting the vessel containing it in hot water and give it to him. You can give him honey mixed in hot water, or pure jaggery. Honey would be better. You can give him vegetable soup. This will clear the bowels and normalize motions and then he may drink milk with relish. The cough and the cold must disappear. There was no harm in giving him Santogen. You will soon observe its effect. All children fall ill. You should not worry. You should not give him just any medicine. All children are endowed with the power of self-recovery. Watch what he eats.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10052. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

607. LETTER TO ZABAKBEHN

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1945

CHI. ZABAKBEHN,

There is a letter from Chi. Rasik. Trambaklal has passed away. I had not been in much contact with him. But Popatbhai moved a lot with me and so I remember him well. What Consolation shall I offer you? God looks after everybody and protects everyone. We are all subject to our karma. We should patiently submit to whatever happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

I am not writing separately to Chi. Rasik. I got his letter only today.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10218

¹ Addressee' son

608. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1945

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

Bhai Gokuldas is gone. Condole with the family on their loss. Truly speaking, what is there to condole about such a death? He has done a lot of work. I knew him well. He will certainly be missed. It is the duty of those whom he leaves behind to fill the void.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI MANIBHAI PATEL
VITTHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

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

609. LETTER TO ABHAY KUMAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1945

BHAI ABHAY,

I have heard enough of such wise talk. I do accept its general purpose. But it does not mean that we may have no difference of opinion or see no faults in anyone. I have learnt to love people in spite of their faults. I do it and I feel satisfied.

Is it not enough that I dwell on truth? I follow truth as I see it. We do not all see truth the same way. Outlooks differ.

Blessings from
BAPU

ABHAY KUMAR
P. BOX 85
NEW DELHI

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

610. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 6, 1945

Where is the swelling? Change the time of working on the quern; do not give it up. There is much to be gained by doing the work methodically. You will find wonderful nuances in Malayalam. It is easy to understand. Learn Grimm's Law if you are not already familiar with it.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4467

611. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

SEVAGRAM,

February 6, 1945

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

Your letter. Do not give in to difficulties. You are a little distance away but there are advantages in this too. It is certainly good to collect some children and train them. Acquire some knowledge about Nayee Talim. Your way will be clear if you increase your skill in weaving. Krishnadas¹ has evolved an easy process of double twisting. Learn it through letters and then follow it in practice. Then hand-spun yarn can compete with mill yarn. You can overcome all your difficulties by patience, knowledge and diligence.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9114. Also C.W. 9183

612. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,²

February 7, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I wanted to write to you in Urdu. I was crowded out for want of time.

Now I have your question in English. I am quite of opinion that the children of mixed marriage should be taught in the male parent's religion. This seems to me to be self-obvious for common happiness

¹ Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

² This is in Devanagari

and interest. That the instruction should be liberal goes without saying. I am considering merely the question of the choice of religion. The children cannot profess two religions. They must respect the female parent's religion. If the female parent has not that much discretion and regard for her husband's religion, the marriage becomes superficial. Of course it is another thing where the husband is wholly indifferent. I know such a case. Am I clear? Tell B. she should not be silent.

Love.

Blessings from
BAPU¹

From the original: C.W. 3695. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6504

613. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

It seems the *jowar dalia*² was not cooked well. I ate it for two days. Though it was put in the cooker again, I didn't find it soft enough. I found it even hard. I suggest that all food should be cooked so well that even a person like me with false teeth can eat it. My second suggestion is that you should cook *jowar ghensh* instead of *dalia*. To cook *ghensh* the *jowar* should be turned into flour and the flour should then be cooked. I wish to try it. In prison they serve such *ghensh* and it is easy to digest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8465. Also C.W. 7183. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

614. LETTER TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1945

CHI. JAYAPRAKASH,

It is a pleasure to read your letters. Be happy and keep yourself in perfect health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2220

¹ The subscription is in Devanagari script.

² Gruel made from milk

615. LETTER TO RAMASWAMI

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1945

CHI. RAMASWAMI,

Why should I now write to you in English? You ought to know Hindi by this time.

So you have resolved to go. If the Government don't send you, you will adopt other means. That too is a way. By all means go. Keep whatever links you can. Be a true servant.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMASWAMI
TALIMI SANGH
SEVAGRAM

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

616. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I have gone through what you wrote about the Mahila Ashram. It is good.

You can explain the objective in two or three lines. Do so.

In doing it keep in mind the promise made by Jamnalalji. So far as possible we should consider and implement it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 304

617. A NOTE

February 7, 1945

I am surprised and sorry that such questions are being repeatedly asked and that workers spend money to come here and take up my time which is valuable. They should look up the answers to all their questions which have already been covered in some form or other.

M. K. GANDHI

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

618. NOTE TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

[After February 7, 1945]¹

I like it.² It is good to divide the Mahila Ashram into sections. I do not know whether or not there will be somebody, man or woman, at the head of every section. If all sections are under you and if you remain responsible to Shantabehn, I think everything will be all right. Let the three-member committee stay, but Shantabehn should consult only you and you should take up the entire responsibility. Everything will then run smoothly.

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 304

619. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1945

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

Though I am supposed to be resting and silent between 8.15 a.m. to 8.15 p.m. I am working intensely. Hence the delay in sending you a reply.³

If it is no great trouble I should like you to put me specific

¹ In the source this note is placed after the letter to the addressee dated February 7, 1945.

² Addressee's scheme for the Mahila Ashram

³ For the addressee's letter, *vide* Appendix "Letter from T. B. Sapru", 13-1-1945.

questions about my talks with Q[uid-e] A[zam]¹. I would like to confine myself to that question alone.

I see you have entered upon an ambitious programme.² I wish you all success and full strength for the work.

I hope the patient³ is quite out of the wood.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7571

620. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,

February 8, 1945

CHI. LILI,

I have already written to you; nevertheless, since a letter of yours is lying before me, I am writing this. Do not under any circumstances give up your studies even if you should find them tedious. I have purposely sent you there for studies. If you succeed, I shall not grudge the expense and the time spent. Having started a thing one may give it up only if it is found to be basically wrong. That is not so in the present case. We knew what it would involve. You should not have any attachment about serving me, nor any for the Ashram. If afterwards you again merge in the Ashram, what you are doing just now is for the Ashram as well as for me. Now do not give up. Stop thinking and engross yourself in your studies. I am well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9600. Also C.W. 6572. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

¹ In reply the addressee sent a set of questions along with his letter dated February 16, 1945. *Vide* "Answers to T. B. Sapru's Questions", 26-2-1945.

² The reference is to the Conciliation Committee formed under the chairmanship of the addressee to examine "the whole communal and minorities question from a constitutional and political point of view, putting itself in touch of different parties and their leaders including minorities interested in the question and present a solution within two months to Standing Committee" of the Non-party Conference. The other members were Jayakar, S. Radhakrishnan, Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Maharaj Singh.

³ Addressee's son

621. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH¹

[February 8, 1945]²

. . . then it should be available in the account-books. That is why I thought it should be possible, and easy, to get that figure.

Let me know about any inconsistencies you find in Mahadevi's character. There is a reason why I should know them.

You are likely to lose the money which Sarojini owes you. You may let the thing go and write it off. Read the letter I am writing to her.

Credit to the hospital account the sum of Rs. 5,000 received from Anupama and sent to you from here. Only now I came to know that the money was earmarked for that purpose. I was told about it, of course, but probably I was thinking of something else at the time. It is good that the money has been credited to my account, for now it can be easily transferred to any other account.

Sharda and Anand seem to be unlucky. They always suffer from something or other.

Kanu has written [to you] about the money received from the Bajaj Company.

I have now replied to all the points raised in your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10616

622. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

I could not reply to your letter at once. If you are convinced that ghosts do not exist, then the article in the *Times* should have no effect on you. There are some good things in newspapers but there is a lot of nonsense too. The readers of newspapers, therefore, should be always on their guard. Your method of doing algebra is good. This

¹ This appears below a statement of accounts of the Charkha Sangh under Prabhudas Gandhi's signature. The earlier part of the letter is not available.

² From the G.N. Register

shows that your intelligence is developing. That method is actually used in arithmetic. You should develop the habit of assuming 'x' as a quantity. You will realize the value of this as you go on.

Improve your handwriting still further.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9516. Courtesy: Kanam Gandhi

623. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 8, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You can easily obviate disappointment among the teachers. Their main fault or handicap is that they are not hard-working craftsmen, nor do they have faith in craftsmanship.

Tell Dr. Mahmud that you have no time to spare. Why does he at all want to talk to anyone? Why does he not engage himself in some craft? He can certainly do something. He may do some carding and spinning and clean the vegetables. Along with this he may teach Urdu and acquire a good knowledge of Hindi. He may read Tulsidas.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4468

624. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM,

February 8, 1945

BHAI MAHMUD,

Why did you write to me in English? From now on write in Hindustani. Why do you hate to apologize? We are all members of the same family. Do not be unhappy; be cheerful. Regain your health.

Yours,

GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 5093

625. LETTER TO MADELEINE ROLLAND

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1945

DEAR MADELEINE,

My whole heart goes out to you now that the one¹ for whom you seemed to be living has gone. Nevertheless the true position is that you should work ever so much more than before assuming of course that your physical condition makes work at all possible.

Love.

BAPU

Mlle. ROLLAND

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

626. LETTER TO JALBHAI RUSTOMJEE

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1945

CHI. JALBHAI²,

I have your letter. I might have skipped a reply but I was shocked at the news of Sorab's³ illness. This illness comes on through carelessness. It is sure to disappear if he observes the rules. My blessings are of course with him. Manilal's work is going on well.

Blessings to you all from

BAPU

JALBHAI RUSTOMJI
74 VICTORIA STREET
DURBAN, NATAL

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

¹ Addressee's brother Romain Rolland

² Sons of Parsi Rustomji

³ *ibid*

627. LETTER TO RASIKLAL U. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1945

CHI. RASIKLAL,

Go to S. A. and do as much public service as you can. You should not hanker after money.

Blessings from
BAPU

RASIKLAL UMIYASHANKAR MEHTA
G/20 SIKKANAGAR
VITHALBHAI PATEL ROAD
BOMBAY 4

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

628. LETTER TO HARSHADA DIWANJI

February 9, 1945

CHI. HARSHADABEHN,

I got all the yarn as well as your letter. Only today it was discovered in the bag. My blessings are always with you. Why do you make the servants spin? If they spin willingly, and with proper understanding of the meaning of spinning, then it is a different matter. It is enough for me that you yourself spin regularly and with both hands.

I spin on Diwanji's spinning-wheel daily. I like it. It has a few defects, but I get them repaired or repair them myself. If I got more time, I should examine it more carefully.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
15TH ROAD, KHAR
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10222

629. LETTER TO BABA MOGHE

February 10, 1945

BHAI BABAJI,

Sharmaji writes,¹ that doctor Rajuji also wants that you should stay on there. There has been some improvement and there will be more. All three of you are dear to me, you are sensible. I have no doubt given you permission to come here but since Gokhaleji is there I shall be glad if you also stay on there and are cured of your complaint. You will not always get such an opportunity. Anand alone may come.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

630. LETTER TO A. N. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,

February 10, 1945

CHI. SHARMAJI,²

I hope you have made some progress in Hindi.

In accordance with your advice, I have asked³ Babaji to stay and give himself and nature-cure a full chance.

Yours,

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

631. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

February 10, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

Read the enclosed letter.⁴ If you could bring justice to the case, it will gladden the soul of Kevalrambhai, wherever it is. In his last days

¹ *Vide* the following item.

² The superscription is in the Devanagari script.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁴ This was from Mahendra B. Dave; *vide* also "Letter to Mahendra B. Dave",

he had been in touch with me over spiritual matters, as had been your father. They were both prepared to go to [South] Africa but they passed away. I had even prepared the ground for them to reach S. A. But isn't fate always a couple of steps ahead of us?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHAMALDAS GANDHI
C/O "VANDEMATARAM"
BOMBAY

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

632. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

February 10, 1945

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

Read the enclosed¹ and act upon it. Already there has been inordinate delay. Return the paper to me after you have acted on it. I have to send a reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ
WARDHA

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

633. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 10, 1945

It is surprising. Those who have had Western education or those who are not craftsmen will not be inclined or eager to become craftsmen. I have seen quite a number of such cases.

2. Things will continue to happen sporadically. They will not follow any sequence. That is all right.

3. You should not in any case despair. Remember [what the *Gita* says] about a *sthitaprajna*².

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4469

¹ This was a letter written by Rathindranath Tagore from Santiniketan.

² One of steadfast understanding. *Bhagavad Gita*, II 55 *et seq.*

634. ADVICE TO LEPROSY RELIEF WORKERS¹

February 10, 1945

You have preached to the converted. My interest in leper work is as old as my residence in South Africa. I take it that you have seen the institution (Dattapur Colony run by Manhar Diwan) here.² I would like you to send a detailed plan with expenditure to go to the Board. No thanks needed.

The Hindu, 12-2-1945

635. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM

February 10, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi addressed a few words to the gathering.³ He told them he had accidentally seen the address which they had presented to Shri Kanu Gandhi, the organizer of the camp. They had said some very nice things in it, but if, as it often happened, it all began and ended with the presentation of the address, without their carrying back with them something of enduring value from the camp, theirs would be merely love's labour lost. He expected them to develop what they had gained during their month of training a hundredfold and become true *gramsevaks*, servants of the villagers in deed as well as in name. They had been selected for training out of a large number of applicants. It was for them to vindicate their selection by going back as messengers and torch-bearers of *samagra gramseva* to their respective provinces. They should go to villages as scavengers and sweep them and clean them and serve the villagers as their humble servants. They should teach those who wished to learn spinning and other village handicrafts in the best way they could. They should never feel helpless in the absence of outside help. In their work, if they had really assimilated the spirit of the teaching that had been imparted to them, it ought to develop their intellect and heart no less than their bodies. Therefore it should develop their character. Their success would depend more on the purity of their hearts than on their skill and knowledge. If they lacked moral purity they would prove a blight instead of a blessing to the villagers among whom they might settle.

¹ T. N. Jagadisan, leprosy relief worker of Madras, and Dr. M. R. G. Cochrane of Vellore met Gandhiji and presented to him a proposal for organizing under the Kasturba Memorial Fund rural leprosy work for the benefit of women and children. Since Gandhiji was observing silence he wrote out his reply.

² *Vide* also "Remark in Visitor's Book", 12-12-1944.

³ On the death anniversary, according to the Indian calendar, of Kasturba Gandhi, a twenty-four-hour spinning *yajna* was organized in which Gandhiji participated. Kanu Gandhi's Samagra Gramseva Shibir also concluded on this day.

He was glad to note, Gandhiji went on, that though they came from different provinces, they had all been able to take and flourish on the same diet. It should lead to a better realization of our oneness as a nation. Customs, dress, food and language were bound to be to a certain extent different in different provinces, but the essential unity underneath this apparent diversity had to be fully grasped and a working uniform standard evolved if they were to realize their destiny as a nation.

Lastly, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted them all to learn Hindustani and acquire proficiency in both the Urdu and the Hindi scripts. Hindustani meant not a highflown Sanskritized Hindi or Persianized Urdu, but a simple dialect which both Hindus and Muslims spoke in the villages of the North. The villagers did not understand highflown Hindi or Urdu. Their language was either simple and plain Hindustani or a provincial dialect irrespective of their caste or creed. Highflown and sophisticated style in Hindi and Urdu were the disease of cities, bred of mutual distrust. So long as that state lasted it was incumbent on them to learn both the Hindi and Urdu scripts. The third party was there no doubt to accentuate and exploit their differences, but, if they really felt that Hindus and Muslims were kith and kin, blood brethren, no one on earth could divide them or keep them divided. There was a popular saying that it needed two to start a quarrel. He was there to tell them that true ahimsa did not need to wait for a gesture from the other side. If they understood their own part of the duty and acted accordingly, success would assuredly be theirs.

The Hindu, 14-2-1945

636. ASHRAM NOTE

February 11, 1945

I learnt yesterday that Nagu, who has been working in the Ashram for the last six years, has no knowledge of the directions or of the geography and history of India. If this is so, it calls for serious reflection on our part. . . .¹

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 388

637. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,

February 11, 1945

It is with some purpose that I have asked you to give it up. It

¹ Omission as in the source

does not mean that you should give up your work. But it does mean that you are free if you find your promise burdensome. That is to say faith gives us greater strength every day, never diminishes it. This is what discipline means. The teachers have not entered the hearts of the pupils. They have not been able to give up their old ways. If there is concentration in work, discipline follows automatically. Discipline should not be regarded as something apart.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4471

638. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

February 11, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Why this panic? I only wrote something generally acceptable. I protected your freedom. But it does not mean anything more. Go on doing what you are doing and improve upon it. Become a good scientific weaver. I think what you are doing in the Ashram is sufficient. Take my writing in its plain meaning. It can have no other. Wake up.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4470

639. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

February 11, 1945

CHI. KUMARAPPA,

Come on the 15th at 5 p.m. Then we shall see about the rest.

Ask me about Mrs. Hoffman then. I hope you don't mind my writing in Hindi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10169

640. LETTER TO MRS. DAS

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Only yesterday Mahesh showed me the telegram saying Dasji had passed away. Do not grieve over it. His mission was over and he cast off the body. But though the body has perished, he lives on. We can keep him alive if we carry on his work. Take it that this responsibility rests mainly on you. You cannot bring him back into your life by grieving over his death or by donning white. You can do so only by leading a simple life by learning nature-cure treatment and vanquishing the enemies¹ in the form of anger, etc. Write to me what you are doing and how things are. What does Nimai do? I had a letter from Das recently.

Blessings from
BAPU

MRS. DAS

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

641. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

S[ushila] has gone to Nagpur for a patient. She is likely to return tonight. If you want to catch her at the station, you can do so.

I know the remedy. But let the doctors speak. Then if necessary, I shall put in my word.

I had your note about your book. I hope to produce something worth while.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10170

¹ The six enemies, viz., desire, anger, greed, attachment, pride and envy

642. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

After reading the enclosed, pass it on to Krishnadas. After reading he should return it to me.

1. In regard to myself, I have taken the position that even when [a particular form of personal service] may not be necessary a person may be allowed to offer it after he has been told so—just for his satisfaction. That is why I let the girls massage my legs. I would not let any others do so. I don't mind what Bhansali does, for I have complete faith in him. Nobody is privileged. Nobody can be privileged. This must be clear.

2. The responsibility for anything that you may permit Champa to do will be yours. I will not guide you. You are free to be as strict as you like. I have told Champa that she may secure from you whatever liberty she wants, but must not ask for my permission, since the daily supervision over her is not mine.

3. The Ashram manager should be a *sthitaprajna*, a *gunatita*¹ and a *bhakta*. For this see Chapter II, XII and XIV [of the Gita].

4. For learning English, why should anybody want to hear it read by someone else? One may read it for oneself. Bhansali may read from Ramakrishna and explain in Gujarati. Nobody is forbidden to read English by himself. One may learn any Indian language, and Bhansali may teach it. I would never say that those who knew English should forget their knowledge, except perhaps sarcastically. I myself know English and love the language. But the language must be used only when necessary and not other wise.

5. Omprakash should hand over his watch to the Ashram. I think I shall be able to get Rs. 30 for it. This would be the right thing to do. But if O. prefers to pay that sum to the Ashram and keep the watch himself, he may do so.

6. Certainly, it is one's duty to learn an Indian language, i.e., one's mother tongue.

7. Ordinarily it is desirable that the class should be conducted at the place fixed for the purpose.

This has been written in Gujarati unconsciously. I hope you will follow it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4576

¹ One who has transcended the three *gunas*, viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*

643. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 12, 1945

Read about Grimm's Law from the grammar book in the Library. Ask Pyarelal or Shriman.

A machine does not go wrong so soon. Learn to repair it.

₠ is right.

It is not necessary to chew sugar-cane after seven days. If your body does not need it a twig of *neem* or *babul* should do for the teeth.

Come and sit with me. The best thing would be to come and sit when you do your spinning. Do have a talk about labour.

You must not fall ill.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4473

644. INTERVIEW TO GOVIND SAHAY¹

February 12, 1945

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi was not able to give an opinion without proper investigation of allegations and without a definite proof. So he advises everyone to act according to his judgment. He said:

This may create some confusion but there is no harm.

The Hitavada, 13-2-1945

645. LETTER TO MAULANA SULEMAN NADVI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 13, 1945

BHAI SAHEB,

A Conference of Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be held on February 26 and 27.² I should like you to attend it and make your contribution towards finding a solution to the problem. I hope you

¹ Member of A. I. C. C. who had sought Gandhiji's advice regarding the attitude to be adopted towards the Communists

² *Vide* "Speech at All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha Conference-I", 26-2-1945 and "Speech at All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha Conference-II & III", 27-2-1945.

will come. Inform me about the time and date of your arrival.

M. K. GANDHI

MAULANA SULEMAN NADAVI
SHIBLI MANZIL
AZAMGADH (U.P.)

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

646. TELEGRAM TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

Express

February 14, 1945

DINSHAW MEHTA
CARE NATURECURE
POONA
COME ANY TIME.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

647. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

A discussion was going on between Shakaribehn and you when I was in the bathroom. Both of you were talking at the top of your voices. Why? The discussion was between you two only, and was not meant for anybody else to hear. How can this be tolerated? You should try and somehow learn to exercise control over your voice. It is a matter of common sense how loudly one should talk on what occasion. Please bear in mind that others will do what you do. What you preach will be like so much writing on water.

You were to send me the *dalia* cooked at your place. Did you forget to do so, or was the *dalia* not good enough to send? Why not try to *make ghensh* or *raab* of *jowar* flour? Are you afraid that nobody will like it? Are all the people so fastidious?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS]

I have still to write about one thing more. But that next time.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8464. Also C.W. 7184. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

648. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 14, 1945

Sitting and talking with me would depend on your and other people's convenience. Come any time you feel like it. Withdraw yourself when somebody wishes to be alone [with me].

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi; G.N. 4474

649. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,

February 15, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I tasted the *dalia*. I had asked for a sample only from what was cooked in the kitchen. What was sent had been left in the cooker for two hours. It had puffed up but even then it tasted half-cooked. There were hard grains, and bran stuck-in the mouth. I think we cannot cook *dalia* from *jowar* as we can from wheat. After the flour has been removed, no nutrient is left. The *jowar*, therefore, should be turned into fine flour and soaked in water, and then *ghensh* or *raab* should be prepared from it. Your reading of the Gita is too slow. This also is an art. You should read it faster.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8463. Also C.W. 7185. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

650. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 15, 1945

You must write and tell me why the Paunar [programme] was postponed.

I think it is not *auza* but *auz*¹. Find out from some Muslim friend studying there.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4475

¹Presumably Gandhiji meant the expression *wuzoo* which means the ceremonial washing of hands and feet before offering *namaz*.

651. A NOTE

February 15, 1945

Celibacy is obligatory only for the inmates of the Ashram. It is not meant for others and it would not apply to servants. It should apply to Ram Prasad; he is not an inmate of the Ashram. Our Ashram is no more an ashram in the real sense. But wherever I stay becomes a kind of an ashram. I had even objected to calling it an ashram; but everybody started referring to it by that name and I acquiesced. This does not in any way mean that those who have taken the vow can break it.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 5903. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

652. LETTER TO BALTHUSNA¹

February 15, 1945

BALTHUSNA,

I have your letter. I am sorry I cannot come. I cannot support Urdu or Hindi exclusively. I want them both to progress. Indeed I like them both. I hope you will understand.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

653. LETTER TO SIBTE HASAN

SEVAGRAM,

“VIA” WARDHA (C.P.),

February 15, 1945

BHAI SIBTE HASAN,

I have your letter. I just cannot attend the Anjuman². I cannot promote exclusively either Urdu or Hindi. I want both the languages to develop. But I certainly want that both should blend together. I

¹ This was in reply to an invitation to attend a conference of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu which was to begin in Bombay on February 23. Later it was read out by Allama Kaifi at the Conference of All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha on February 26.

² Presumably, Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu

hope you have understood my viewpoint.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

654. NOTE FOR ANJANA CHAUDHARY

[After *February 15, 1945*]¹

Write to her that Ram Narayan should make a confession in writing, exactly describing his role. If doing so invites greater punishment, he should accept it. That will be his atonement. But he should do it only if it is acceptable to his mind and heart.

Notwithstanding what is said above, if there is any legal loophole and he can be acquitted, he should take the opportunity. In his statement he should say that the statement is by way of atonement. If there is a legal escape, he will certainly be freed. The Government will not misinterpret his statement. Ram Narayan's confession should not be taken to mean that because he admits his offence he should be detained or given stricter punishment. This cannot be done, at least legally.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

655. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM²

February 15, 1945

Referring to the amount of one crore and twenty-four lakhs that had been collected, Gandhiji remarked that though he was impatient to speed up the work, he was not going to allow the Fund to be squandered away or loosely handled. It had been collected in the name of an illiterate and simple-hearted woman. He had his detractors, not so Ba. Therefore, the work done in her memory must be cent per cent honest. He

¹ The addressee in her letter dated February 5, 1945, had mentioned that her husband, Ram Narayan Chaudhary, had in 1942 advised a student that sabotage activities would be in conformity with non-violence and had now discovered, after Gandhiji's clarification of the matter, that he was mistaken. He was anxious to atone for the mistake.

² Gandhiji Addressed the Secretaries of the Provincial Committees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

did not care for numbers of workers. If he could find even two capable men or women in the meeting he would begin work with their help and expand it as more suitable workers came forward. So far as he was concerned he would like to exclude men altogether from the various Provincial Committees formed under the Trust and fill them with women. But he would not have them unless they were at least as capable if not better than men. Otherwise he would be exploiting them. He had never done so. One crore and twenty-four lakhs was a mere drop in the ocean when distributed among seven lakhs of India's villages. India was spending more than a crore a day on the war, but one crore and twenty-four lakhs for the service of women and children appeared a big sum in the eyes of everybody. That gave only a measure of the topsyturvydom to which they had got used.

Referring to the way in which the money was to be spent, Gandhiji divided it into three heads. The first in order was medical relief for women and children in the villages. From the schemes that had come everybody seemed to think in terms of maternity homes and free hospitals for women and children. He recognized the need of this kind of work but he frankly confessed that he had yet to feel his way to it. What kind of medical institutions they were to have and what system of medicine they were to adopt was a ticklish question. It was taxing his mind and he requested them all to give their serious attention to it. So far as he was concerned, "prevention is better than cure" was his motto. If he had his way he would make sanitation and hygiene work the principal activity under this head. It did not matter if in doing so they had to exclude a certain class of hard and difficult cases. Some of the patients might even die. He could steel his heart to lose them. But it broke his heart to see even one healthyman fall sick. Our village folk must be taught to look after their health. The root causes were poverty and ignorance. In order of importance these two came first.

Education was to be along the lines of Nayee Talim. As a matter of fact, everything else was included in and was an essential part of Nayee Talim as he conceived its scope.

They had to better their economic condition through khadi and village industries. Today, the sole occupation of woman amongst us was supposed to be to bear children, cook for her husband and otherwise drudge for the household. This was a shame. Not only was woman condemned to domestic slavery, but when she went out as a labourer to earn wages, though she worked harder than the man, she was paid less. Children were forced to go to work at an early age. Some of them worked often as much as the men but were paid even less than women. This state of affairs must be put an end to. He had received no scheme for this kind of work so far. The children in the villages began to earn at an early age. Their parents could not afford to send them to school and spend on their education like the city folk. Their education should fit them for some useful industry or other and it should help to put them on their legs.

The work outlined by him was original and difficult. There were very few men fit to carry it out. Many of them even lacked the desire to train themselves for it. Such men should not come on the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund Committees and if they were on them already they should resign and make way for others.

At the end, he invited questions but appealed to the audience to spare him as far as possible. His energy was limited. He observed silence, he told them, practically for the whole day these days from 3.15 a.m. to 8.15 p. m. He broke it for a short time during the meeting days.

A friend asked what should be considered the maximum population of a village. Gandhiji replied that for the present he would set the outside limit at 2,000. This was subject to adjustments later on. He knew an overwhelming majority of villages in India had a population between 500 and 1,000 or even less. He would like them to begin with the smallest village and then work upwards. He knew of some villages in Gujarat which were miniature towns. Rich towns folk had gone and settled there with their wealth. The money of the Fund was not to be spent on such villages.

Q. What means would you suggest for the economic-uplift of the villagers?

A. True all-round uplift of the villages cannot but result in their economic betterment. Except maternity work, all the other items outlined by me would directly result in their economic uplift as well.

Q. If you were in charge of a district how would you set about the work?

A. A district is too big a bite for me. If I can successfully organize work in one village I would be satisfied. It will serve as a model for the rest of the seven lakhs of villages to follow. We have not set about village work in right earnest so far. We have only tinkered with it here and there amateurishly. I myself was an amateur. But now we are determined to do better.

Q. Some people engage in constructive work only as a side line to their political work. The result is that they can do justice to neither. There should be proper supervision to prevent it.

A. I entirely agree that constructive work and political work should not be mixed. To me constructive work done properly is all sufficient. It leaves no necessity for any other programme. As for supervision, there is the old man who is your Secretary and the young woman, the Organizing Secretary of the Trust—I mean Thakkar Bapa and Mridulabehn.

Q. Today the Provincial Committees have an overwhelming majority of men. In how much time do you hope to be able to replace them by women?

A. I would, if I could, turn out all the men today and myself follow suit. But I would take women on their merit, not merely because they were women. If we could find suitable workers I would certainly wish to spend the money in our hands fairly fast. Anyway, I do hope and expect that by the time the present fund is expended, women would have become capable of managing their own affairs.

Q. If you do not find suitable women workers, why should not the Fund be used

to train them up?

A. That is exactly our object and it is for that purpose that you are all here. But everything must be done in a way befitting the memory of her in whose name the Fund has been collected.

Q. What is to be done in a province like Sind where it is too unsafe for any woman to venture out and work in the villages?

A. So long as women do not come forward, it goes without saying that men have to work in their place. But I have no doubt that you should be able to find women to go to work in the villages. Muslim women at any rate should have nothing to fear in Sind. Anyway the worst that can happen to a woman is that she might lose her life. I am convinced that no one can molest a woman if she has the determination and will to resist and is not afraid of dying. I know of a young missionary girl who went all alone in the midst of Negroes in the wilds of Africa. Yet she was not afraid and no one ever cast an evil eye on her. We have such women amongst us also. One of them was with me only two days ago. She went to Dacca all alone when Hindus and Muslims had run amok. No one dared to touch her. To enable women to shed their cowardice and to face danger undaunted should in fact be one of the results of our activity under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund scheme.

Q. If we take up work just in one village the pressure of the surrounding area would swamp our work. We can't make any headway unless we tackle the whole area at once.

A. My experience is different. If we put off taking a necessary step till everyone else is ready for it we shall never make a move on. We must have the courage to take the plunge even if we are all alone. There are certain difficulties in the way but we have to overcome them. Many of the difficulties that deter us are imaginary. For instance, no one hinders my work here in Sevagram.

If I can only move the hearts of the people of Sevagram that is all that I need to do. If we cannot succeed in one village we cannot possibly do so in a hundred. Even if we can get a certain law passed by the State, who is going to enforce it in the villages unless there is awakening among the people themselves. For that we have to begin with one village and then extend our field farther and farther.

Q. Those that are already doing constructive work are being drafted for work under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund. There are no new workers forthcoming. In order to do justice to the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund work those who take up work under the Trust should not be burdened with other preoccupations.

A. It is true that for many years we have not been able to draw sufficient fresh workers but Mridulabehn tells me that there is no dearth of women workers, if only the men folk remove the stranglehold. I have told her that I would take her side and help her to produce as many women workers as she can.

Q. Many people who have collected large amounts for the Fund or have contributed substantially to it want to be included in the Provincial Committees. Should we take them on?

A. The golden rule is that collecting money or contributing money should neither qualify nor disqualify a man from becoming a member of the Provincial Committee if he is otherwise fitted for it. But if anyone thinks that he has a right to be on the committee because of what he has contributed or collected, such a claim cannot be entertained and he should be excluded. We must not have unwieldy bodies and we must not draw men who are already engaged in one sphere of work into another. There are some men who are good at parliamentary work. I would not like them to be stigmatized for it. But if they leave it for something for which they have no aptitude merely because it is the fashion of the hour, I would take them to task for it just as I would take them to task if they sought to advance their parliamentary ambitions under cover of constructive work.

Q. The custom of slavery of women is still prevalent in some States. Can't the Fund be used to do something for them? Anyone who tries to help these women is clapped into prison under trumped-up charges.

A. Send these women to me and I shall look after them. They can all perform an exodus from the States where their elementary rights are denied.

The Hitavada, 20-2-1945

656. *LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI*

February 16, 1945

CHI. MRIDULA,

Since I have nothing to say now, I wish to take advantage of the freedom I have secured. Tomorrow we shall be meeting at Sevagram, shan't we? My presence in Durgabehn's room between 3 and 4.30 should be sufficient. But if Bapa and others wish something else, please let me know. The Mandal can meet for a longer time and carry on routine business.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 11231. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

657. *LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN*

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1945

BHAI LAKSHMI BABU,

We cannot accept even one of the three conditions even though we concede that the speech was provocative. The constructive programme of today has nothing to do with any movement such as that of 1942. Even if we are opposed to the violent activities of Shri Jayaprakash, we cannot accept any of the three conditions. In other words, we shall not get those things done by coercion. If freedom of India is common cause between us and the Government, why this discrimination ? The truth of the matter is that the Bihar government has committed a mistake in arresting people¹ and instead of admitting the mistake, it wants to throw the responsibility on us. We shall not accept that responsibility even if they destroy us. Even if they seek to prevent us from carrying on our peaceful work, we shall march ahead.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

658. *LETTER TO BALVANT SINHA*

February 16, 1945

CHI. BALVANT SINHA,

I am not going to Delhi. I shall have to go to Bombay, and that too towards the end of March.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1952

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 17-2-1945.

659. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 16, 1945

(1) Do not give up your work among the children. It will be a test of your understanding of Nayee Talim

(2) You are not dull but slow. The reason evidently is that you have not done much thinking or useful reading. You have to come out of yourself, and get immersed in your work. That is to say, you must put in the reading required to attain perfection in it.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4476

660. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,

February 17, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

I read Gordhandas's letter. Since Anand is very ill Shakaribehn is going there. She has been crying. Let her come. I do hope that Anand will get well. Neither you nor Gordhandas should worry.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10053. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

661. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 17, 1945

When it is closely woven, it is beautiful. And then it is straight. The first roll is not normally straight and is close in some places and loose in other places, because the cross threads are not straight and even.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4477

662. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
February 17, 1945

I have delayed giving my opinion on the Bihar Government's challenge to Congress workers¹ in the hope that the storm was an isolated mistake and that it will correct itself. I find I was mistaken. On top of the happenings in Bihar comes news that Shri Purushottamdas Tandon has been rearrested. The workers in Bihar are well known, and of them one is an ex-Prime Minister and another is ex-Finance Minister. Tandonji is the Speaker of the U. P. Assembly. Now comes news that Shri Gopabandhu Chowdhury of Orissa, equally well known too, has been rearrested.

This is one picture. The other is, the Viceroy holds talks with Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai. The air is thick with rumours of big changes. The rumour hardly squares with the news I have summarized and which the public knows already.

Congressmen in Bihar were busy devising concerted measures to give effect to the fifteen-point constructive programme sketched by me and in a manner suggested by me when the principal men were arrested though the programme has no political flavour, using the term politics in its understood sense. I have not hesitated to say that the universal adoption in practice in India of the programme must lead to the attainment of complete independence without either civil non-violent disobedience or even a parliamentary programme. There would then be no necessity for either. The British would not find it worth while to stay in India to rule. They would stay, if they do, as full citizens. In the language of 1942, as rulers they would quit India; for their soldiers would be without occupation, their huge industries without use. That day may not come, but it should be the non-violent soldier's dream which he must try daily to realize and if in its pursuit he is thwarted, he has his non-violent resistance to fall back upon, otherwise called civil disobedience and non-co-operation. Mass civil disobedience is nobody's responsibility except, as yet, mine. It was not offered in 1942. Nobody who has not permeated the masses can

¹ On January 28, 1945, the Bihar Government interned Srikrishna Sinha, ex-Premier, Bihar, Anugraha Narayan Sinha, ex-Finance Minister, Prof. Abdul Bari, Dy. Speaker, Bihar Legislative Assembly, Murlī Manohar Prasad, Editor, *Searchlight*, and Prajapati Mishra on the charge of open preparation for another struggle.

shoulder it. Indeed, the masses simply will not move. That is my conviction based on the experience I have gained. Hitherto the action in Bihar is defended on the ground of an alleged speech by Shri Prajapati Mishra. The text of that speech has been suppressed.

There is no question of his or any Congressman making exciting speeches in the prosecution of the constructive programme or about non-violent resistance or much less about resorting to violence or even approving of it. That there is no plan under the present conditions to offer any form of mass civil disobedience has been clearly stated by me and I know that Congressmen all over the country are acting on the advice I have offered. But abstention even from referring to the theoretical possibility of resistance and the like cannot be forced or even made a condition of prosecuting the constructive programme. It has undoubtedly independence—political, social and economic—as its aim. It is a moral non-violent revolution in all the departments of life of a big nation, at the end of which caste and untouchability and such other superstitions must vanish, differences between Hindu and Muslim must become things of the past, enmity against Englishmen or Europeans must be wholly forgotten and Princes and capitalists must live as perfect friends with the whole mass of India as the real and legal trustees of the people for all the wealth they may possess. Is there anything wrong in the attempt? What are Government protestations about Indian independence if they will not tolerate the movement I have sketched except on conditions impossible of acceptance? Are they not satisfied with the extraordinary power they possess? Must they keep without trial the best known as well as the least known Indians in their custody, lest the latter should preach independence from one end of the country to the other and non-violent acts in pursuit thereof? Must they rearrest released persons the moment they speak and act as free men, if their speech or act does not please the authority?

Another painful experience I am undergoing which I must share with the public is the number of reports of assault and torture resorted to for purposes of extorting confessions from prisoners. Some cases are already before the public, such as the notable one at Kolhapur.¹ Many other instances of comparatively recent occurrence have been brought to my notice. One particular case I have in mind related to a young lad who, on my advice, gave himself up to the police because he had been wanted. If some of the reports that one hears are not well

¹ It was alleged that Kashibai Hanbar was stripped and tortured by a police officer of Kolhapur State to extract information about her son who was declared a political absconder.

founded, I am satisfied several others are perfectly genuine. Is it not time this practice of torture and ill-treatment of people held in captivity is firmly discountenanced and put an end to by the powers that be?

In August 1942, instead of needlessly precipitating a quarrel with the people, if the authority had listened to the pleading of the Congress, India would have enjoyed independence and the war would have already ended with honour for the Allies and happiness for the suppressed peoples of the earth. That is my retrospection. If things go on as they are doing in India, the victory that the Allies will have will be only so called, because they will also have India and other nations in the same plight bleeding at their feet. Such a victory can only lead in the near future to a bloodier war if possible than the one that will have closed. For, as I have said elsewhere, victory won at the expense of India will mean that, out of the ashes of Fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism will have risen a new monster that will seek to eat all it sees and in the attempt will be eaten up, leaving I know not what.

It has given me no pleasure to pen this statement. There is much more I can say but I shall say no more for the present.

The Hindu, 19-2-1945

663. FOREWORD TO "AMARAN BA"¹

Narahari Parikh is one of those who joined the Satyagraha Ashram when it was first founded at Kochrab. Whatever, therefore, Chi. Vanamala has learnt, she has learnt at the Ashram. She is untouched by any Government school and the education imparted there. It can therefore be said that she knows how to work hard. She has however gone out to collect material for Kasturba's biography. In this she has also secured contributions from others. Up to the time of writing I have not been able to look at these. It was Chi. Vanamala's wish that I should go through what she has written. Poor girl, she would write about Kasturba but how could she forget me, with whom she romped around and played as a child? I see she has painstakingly collected her facts and ordered them neatly. Her language is homely and simple. I see no artificiality in it. Whether Chi. Vanamala has been successful in this her first effort is solely for the readers to judge.

Chi. Sushilabehn, sister of Chi. Pyarelal, has written about Ba's

¹ This is also available as a draft under C.W. 3069 and G.N. 5946 under the date December 3, 1944, and bears the following note by Gandhiji: "I have not revised the above. This should be sent only if Narahari passes it. In any case Vanamala must pass it."

experiences in jail. Chi. Vanamala thought of taking something from this. But on reading Sushilabehn's account she found that Sushilabehn's writing had a natural flow which she could not disturb. The original is in Hindi and its Gujarati translation is reproduced in this collection. Sushilabehn after all holds a doctor's degree. She has besides an interest in vocal and instrumental music, painting and literature. She takes interest in public affairs too. The late Mahadev noticed these qualities of her and took a keen interest in them. But he has departed from us. His life is ended. Readers should keep this in mind when they read Sushilabehn's article.

So much for the authors.

But they both assert that if I myself do not say something about Ba the work will remain incomplete. Since I am writing this foreword to the book perhaps it will be appropriate if I say something about Ba. I certainly intend to write more fully about Ba when I have the time. Here I shall only answer the question, if I can, why Ba was able to attract people to her. Ba's chief virtue was her voluntary identification of herself with me. I did not draw her forth. The quality blossomed in Ba on its own when the time came. I never knew that Ba had this thing hidden in her. My earlier experience showed her a very stubborn person. If I tried to compel her in any way she would do exactly what she herself wanted. This led to bitterness between us—short or prolonged. But as my public life gradually developed, Ba blossomed more and more and freely merged herself in me, that is, in my work. In time no distinction remained between me and my work—which was service. Ba too became one with that work. This quality perhaps most naturally arises from the Indian soil. At least that seems to me the chief reason for Ba's sentiments.

The reason why this virtue reached its pinnacle in Ba is to be found in our *brahmacharya*. It came more naturally to Ba than to me. In the beginning Ba was not even aware of it. The idea came to me and Ba took it up and made it her own. In the result the relationship between us was as one between true friends. Since 1906—in fact since 1901—all the time Ba was with me, she had nothing outside of my work. She could have lived apart. There would have been no difficulty in her living apart from me. But being a friend she yet considered it her duty as a woman and a wife to merge herself in my work. Ba gave the paramount place to the service of my person and till death never ceased from the task of attending on me.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, February 18, 1945

[From Gujarati]

664. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

February 18, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I duly received a khadi *chadar*¹ whose yarn was spun by you. For this many thanks.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8672

665. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 18, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

I will not say that you wrote the letter; Nimu did it because you wrote it at her instance. What is the point in writing a letter unless you are prompted by the heart? If you are happy why should I need any letters from you? When I get the urge I shall write to you without waiting for a letter from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUMITRA GANDHI
PILANI

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

666. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
February 18, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your note today. I tasted the wheat [*dalia*]. I find a great difference between wheat and *jowar* [*dalia*]. I stick to what I have said about the latter. The wheat *dalia* didn't seem half cooked. You may certainly add jaggery to *jowar ghensh* or *raab*. The jaggery should be added only after the *ghensh* or the *raab* is ready and is being

¹ Shawl

removed from the fire.

I follow what you say about the *Gita*. If you do not know the rules about where the stress should fall, learn them from somebody. Pyarelal and Sushila know them. For correct pronunciation, it is absolutely necessary to learn to read fast. Without that the tongue does not move smoothly. Don't suppose that your voice can never improve. If you don't know the story about Demosthenes, ask Pyarelal. If you do not follow it, ask me.

About *rotlis* it is like this. One great disadvantage of folding them is that they do not then require to be properly chewed. Crisp *rotlis* are preferable. It should be made a regular practice to serve a fixed quantity to everybody.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8461. Also C.W. 5569. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

667. NOTE TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA¹

[February 18, 1945]²

We are sure to meet in April. Ask Gulbehn³ to continue to write till then. Kisses to Ardeshir.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8461. Also C.W. 5569. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

668. LETTER TO BABA MOGHE

SEVAGRAM,
February 18, 1945

BHAI BABA,

I have just read your letter. In my view your decision is faulty. In my view it would be wrong for you to go to Khandesh now. Your duty is to improve your body. If the body is the temple of God it is sacred. Spinning should not be taken literally; its implications should

¹ This is written in the margin to the letter to Munnalal G. Shah dated February 18; *vide* the preceding item. From the contents it is obvious that this must have been addressed to Dinshaw K. Mehta.

² *ibid*

³ Addressee's wife

be understood. This is my view. If this does not appeal to you, you are entitled to your view.

What I said on your return was only a joke.

Blessings from

BAPU

C/O PRABHAKAR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9020

669. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,

February 19, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

You can have the meeting on the date mentioned. I have not commenced the foreword or whatever you call it. I will return the book as soon as I am ready. It is good you have not to go to Bombay in March.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10171

670. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

SEVAGRAM,
February 19, 1945

CHI. GULZARILAL,

I can say that I have carefully read your letter to Narahari and the papers enclosed with it.

The English pamphlet contains comments and suggestions. Go through it. Revise where necessary. Reject anything I say if it does not appeal to your heart or mind.

How and when did the system of arbitration come to be discontinued? However it be, if it is necessary to fight for it, you must do so. Estimate your strength. Consult Dada Mavalankar about it. Maybe you have already done that. If you want I am prepared to write about this to Kasturbhai¹ and the other mill-owners.

I understood that the necessary figure was reached with the release of Profulla Babu.

My health is not so bad that I cannot attend to the urgent work that daily comes up. It is true that I continue to observe silence. I do most of my work through writing. It is no trouble.

I hope you are well. How are Shankerlal and Anasuyabehn?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

671. LETTER TO KANTA R. VYAS

February 19, 1945

CHI. KANTA,

I think of you often. Only today I have come to know that you have not been keeping good health. I did not like letting you leave this place but I was helpless. May God protect you and your child. Write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

KANTA RAMPRASAD VYAS
DOHAD

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

¹ Kasturbhai Lalbhai of the Lalbhai Group of Mills

672. LETTER TO BALBHADRA

SEVAGRAM,
February 19, 1945

BHAI BALBHADRA,

I have your postcard. It is good that you wrote. Of course Satyavatibehn has my blessings. Let us see what happens now. Keep me informed. Chand is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

BALBHADRA
6 PYARELAL BUILDING
KASHMIRI GATE
DELHI

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

673. INTERVIEW TO N.W.F.P. DEPUTATION¹

[February 19, 1945]²

Gandhiji told the deputation that whatever might be the case with other provinces, he was firmly of opinion that in the Frontier Province Congressmen should form an alternative Ministry if the no-confidence motion was successful. They could make their full contribution to the struggle for freedom without creating a deadlock. He would have asked them—and all Congressmen—to withdraw from the Assembly and resort to total non-co-operation if they had made greater progress in non-violence than he judged they had. As things stood, such a course was fraught with grave risk. There was no atmosphere for it. They could, therefore, go ahead with the no-confidence motion and form a Congress Ministry.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, p. 122

¹ A deputation from the Frontier Province, headed by Mehar Chand Khanna, came to Sevagram and told Gandhiji that a majority of the members were ready to support a no-confidence motion against the Aurangzeb Khan Ministry. The Governor had promised that he would allow the no-confidence motion to be brought in if Dr. Khan Saheb was prepared to form an alternative Ministry.

² From *The Hindu*, 21-2-1945

674. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

Express

February 20, 1945

AMTUSALAAM
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BARKANTHA
BLESSINGS.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

675. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

As D.¹ is going to you I send you this love letter. With this intention I went to the bathroom and P. put yours in my hands. I know you thoroughly. I know you are not touched by what the crowd says or does not about you. We two must go on as we are till we see alike. That is what real love demands. Keep well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2101

676. LETTER TO LAJ RALLIA RAM

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

MY DEAR LAJ,

I was pleased to have your letter. Are you the daughter of the Rallia Ram I know? You have made a fine choice or has Yunus?

I know about Mehrtaj².

I am glad Yunus is with Badshah Khan³. I am writing to Yunus.

Love.

BAPU

KUMARI LAJ RALLIA RAM
5 MASSON RD.
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Devdas Gandhi

² Daughter of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

³ Abdul Ghaffar Khan

677. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD YUNUS

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

MY DEAR YUNUS,

This is to greet you and to express my pleasure at your engagement. Laj writes to me about you and Mehrtaj. Hope you are well and so is Badshah Khan. Do come when you are married, i. e., when you are free.

Love.

BAPU

MOHAMMAD YUNUS
CENTRAL JAIL
HARIPUR
HAZARA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

678. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

Devdas has talked to me fully. He will report to you in detail. Liaquat Saheb's performances and things going on in the country frighten me.¹ They should frighten you too. Do what is just and proper. It does not matter if the thing fizzles out.² Once the consent of the Working Committee is obtained, the form you want to give it shall be all right. Your English should harmonize with my Gujarati. Don't you agree?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 17-2-1945.

² Earlier, Gandhiji had remarked in the course of his talks with a friend: "Arrests have again started and that is a bad sign. Bhulabhai must take a firm line and tell the Viceroy that this will not do."

679. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

Your statement is good. Yes, organize a camp. Everybody must pay the full amount, and that in advance. That is what was done here. Those who cannot pay may not come. Don't mind that. If such persons have influence with anybody in their areas, the latter may send the money. If you permit outsiders to join, they will feel uncomfortable. If any such persons turn up though not invited through a notice, consider at that time what to do. You have not sent the conditions, etc., to be fulfilled by the candidates. I should like to see them. Bhai Kher¹ is undoubtedly a priceless jewel. If your body cannot stand the strain do not take a leading part.

Prabhu² still keeps indifferent health. He is going to Nagpur tomorrow to get himself examined. He should, therefore, be spared at present. Kanaiyo³ is busy trying to finish his own work. The speeches made are to be printed. I have also suggested to him that he should take charge of the kitchen here. He will be involved in that, too. It will, therefore, be difficult for him to go there in the immediate future. If a camp is started, I assume that Khersaheb will spend a month there. Show the statement to him before printing it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8619. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

680. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. You should follow my advice. I had not expected that the expenses incurred on you and Lilavati would come

¹ B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay

² Addressee's nephew Prabhudas Gandhi

³ Addressee's son Kanu Gandhi

to as much as they do.¹ But what even if I had known? I am confident that you will prove your worth. If you do I shall be happy.

There are many other instances like the two you have mentioned. There is no limit to my disappointments. But “a ray of immortal hope lies hidden among hundreds and thousands of disappointments”.² And so I am still sanguine in spite of the disappointments. There may be more in store.

Whether or not what you write about Kanu and Narayan is correct, only experience will show. I don't cling to that hope, either. What if they too decide to go in for modern education? I am prepared for all that. It will be enough for me if I myself am not carried away. Go on doing your work without worrying. If Kanu wishes to go there, I am certainly not going to stop him. Blessings to you all.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS]

Ramachandran's mother has come. Sundaram too is here. Tomorrow they will all leave.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7371. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

681. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

February 20, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

The enclosed letter is for all of you to see and then pass on to Sumi. How well written it is! Sita is making progress.

I have a letter from Sumi but I regard it as one from Nimu because although in Sumi's hand it was written at Nimu's instance.³ Sumi is bound to me by a promise. But being a child she has forgotten about it. I have not a minute to spare or I should have written separately to her. I have Kanam's letter. I don't have the time to write to him separately. Dr. Mahmud has fever. Kanam should write to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The two had taken up a university course in medicine.

² A quotation from Manibhai Nabubhai Dwivedi

³ Vide “Letter to Sumitra Gandhi”, 18-2-1945.

682. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

Of course I could see your unhappiness. But Sushilabehn made me realize that you were even more unhappy than I had thought. There is no cause for it. Nothing has been spoilt. The matter has been talked out, which is only to the good. We have got to look for the land. All that has happened is that the matter has been somewhat delayed. We are meeting in Bombay. If our talks there are doomed to break down let it be so. We don't want to keep anyone by force. And would a forced association bring credit? It is a stupendous task. I am not at all scared even though it is mainly my work. What you have created will of course go on. I am not so much interested in it. But I am certainly interested in what is being done in Andhra, because it is like village work. Now I learn that even that has defects. But if the finding is correct it is a great discovery. I don't like your drawing conclusions so hastily. If you persist in it you will not be able to achieve anything great. Certainly you will not be able to serve the villages.

Please bear in mind that as from today you are in possession of the Sevagram land. It is not to be thrown away. That experiment is to be conducted directly under my supervision. You should understand the work being done and bring credit to it. Only then can you be said to have made an advance. However, for this you will have to take to simplicity.

I think the Bangalore venture is no good. We must not break up our establishment in Poona. It is impossible to build up in Bangalore without breaking up in Poona. Gulbai must write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
TODDYWALLAH ROAD
POONA

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

683. *LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH*

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

CHI. PROFULLA,

I have your letter. Get well. I shall not send for Bibi A[mtul] S[alaam] unless you all relieve her. It is your duty not to detain her longer than it is necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

684. *LETTER TO MAHADEV A. HINGORANI*

February 20, 1945

CHI. MAHADEV,

I was glad to read your letter. There are some mistakes in it. Never mind. It is not प्रीक्षा but प्ररीक्षा¹ and not सिहत but सेहत². It is good to read *Jap Saheb*³ at night. I have seen your photograph. I wrote my blessing on it too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

Your legs have no muscles. Do some exercise. You seem to be weak.

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

¹ Examination

² Health

³ The introductory chapter of *Japji*, a Sikh scripture, which is a condensation of the *Granth Saheb*

685. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

DAUGHTER A. S.,

Your letter. I am sending the telegram. Sir Nazimuddin is quite right, isn't he, when he says that he will carry out the orders of those above him.¹ Whatever has been left out is immaterial, because there is no room for it now. It is for him to say: "Gandhi is my friend and I want to invite him. Will there be any objection from your side? If he goes to Midnapur or Chittagong, I shall let him go." This is how he should put the matter.

You have to be there for the time being. Come here when things there are cleared up. Speak to Bhagirathji and P. Babu². You can think of leaving Bengal only when they permit.

I cannot write to Kanchan today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 491

686. LETTER TO CHANDI PRASAD VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

BHAI CHANDIPRASAD,

Chi. Balkrishna showed me your letter. He is getting a bit fed up with milk. He fasted. He will perhaps lose some weight also. Come if you have faith. B. K. is going on with it. He takes 7 lb. Of milk. Also a few dates. Chi. Hari-ichchha's condition has deteriorated. The treatment has brought no improvement. Now I am sending her to Nagpur for artificial pneumothorax. It would have been better if I had sent her earlier.

Blessings from
BAPU

VAIDYARAJ CHANDIPRASAD
BIRLA MANDIR
NEW DELHI

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Syed Mahmud", 22-1-1945.

² Profulla Chandra Ghosh

687. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 20, 1945

Shall I talk it over with Shantabehn? You did well in speaking out frankly.

I do not wish to drag you into the management of the Ashram. Carry on the work you are doing.

Do not simply glance through books. Think rather of what you can get out of them.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4478

688. LETTER TO SHRIRAM PODDAR

SEVAGRAM,

February 20, 1945

CHI. SHRIRAM¹,

Your letter is clear enough.

Should I ask a person who is fond of drinking to drink? I shall not suggest what you should do. Do what your heart prompts you to do. Do not listen to your father, or to me or to anyone else. Follow only the promptings of your heart. Perhaps in that alone lies your good.

It is not at all necessary for you to come here. I shall however say that when even the educated are resorting to artificial therapy who is going to find fault with you?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 812

689. TALK WITH DEVDAS GANDHI²

SEVAGRAM,

February 20, 1945

I told Bapu that Sjt. Bhulabhai has received his letter regarding consultations with the Working Committee members. I drew his attention to the fact that the above was there in his Gujarati draft, but was not there in Bhulabhai's latest English draft. Bapu said that the Gujarati draft only could be considered correct because the English version followed as an explanatory one.

¹ Son of Rameshwardas Poddar

² As reported by Devdas, Gandhiji's fourth and youngest son

However Babu's independent opinion was that to meet and consult the Working Committee should be considered as an inevitable condition to act upon.

QUESTION : But if the new government releases the Working Committee immediately and at that time if the Working Committee is free to give its independent opinion, and at present as prisoners if they don't give any opinion, will it not be more beneficial ?

ANSWER: No. In that case Bhulabhai will not be able to carry public opinion with him. And also it will not be fair to the Working Committee.

Q. If it is possible to meet the Working Committee, will you accompany Bhulabhai or not ?

A. If Bhulabhai wishes so, I am prepared to go with him.

Q. Will you try to persuade the Working Committee to accept this plan ?

A. Yes.

Q. What are your arguments in favour of this plan ?

A. If the League is prepared to work together with the Congress in any way it is desirable. After the Bombay talks, Jinnah has told many people that Gandhi did not even mention about the interim government. Bhulabhai's efforts are in themselves a reply to him. But if the intentions of the League are not genuine, nothing will come out. I am surprised at the Statement of Jinnah and Liaquat Khan. In case Liaquat Khan has not even asked Jinnah, then it is a question how far we can rely on Liaquat's talks. Arrests have again started and that is a bad sign. Now Bhulabhai must talk in a firm tone and tell the Viceroy that this will not do.

Q. Do we keep aside the question of the Viceroy's veto ?

A. Bhulabhai says that it is a question of procedure and I have accepted it. However, it means that the Government will not act with Viceroy's veto against the vote of the Assembly.

Q. But if the Viceroy uses his veto and function ?

A. In that case there will be an understanding between Bhulabhai and Liaquat that the Government will resign. Even now this fact must be made perfectly clear between them.

Q. On the basis of 4-4-2 will you even include the nationalist Muslims amongst the four of the Congress ?

A. No. But Bhulabhai should tell Liaquat that amongst his four he should take nationalist Muslims.

Q. Hindu Mahasabha ?

A. Viceroy will create Hindu Mahasabha and other such parties. But we are not accepting them. There are two parties—Congress and League. Sikhs and Harijans, we have accepted as a concession.

Q. Can we include persons like Shyamaprasad Mukherji amongst the four ?

A. If Bhulabhai wants to take them, then I would not raise any objection.

Q. If previous consultation with the Working Committee which is in jail is essential, then why should not the Working Committee members in jail form the Government ?

A. That time has not yet come. At present the talk is only limited to Assembly members.

Q. But what about the Whites ?

A. The white, black, all-only those who are appointed by the Congress and League can come, except the Commander-in-Chief. Others will be responsible to them.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

690. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 21, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

The programme on the 22nd¹ must be carried out. They have already consulted me. The *Gita* and spinning in the morning is the right thing, also the *Ramayana*. I have never believed, let alone saying, any such thing about Kanchan as you attribute to me. I did explain to you what I believed, and you have also accepted its truth. Kanchan told Sushilabehn that she wants to live with you and have children. I asked her on the very day she left and my impression is that she admitted that it was so. If this is true, what you write is not correct. My own view is that after having slept in the same bed with me once it was wrong to discontinue it through ignorance. I did not know who forbade her. I spoke neither to you nor to her about this. I am mentioning this for the first time to you. This is all I wish to say. My experiment, as you know, has been suspended. If any woman comes to me now, she will do so not for the sake of my experiment but in order to receive from me the spiritual strength I possess. I think I have such strength, though I am not sure whether I am right or wrong in my belief. I have no fear at all that I may take unworthy advantage of anybody or violate my cherished vow.

You are wrong in believing that you are gaining nothing here. But if such be your belief, now or later you must leave the Ashram.

To depend on servants for anything will be the fall of you both. But we may engage for service a person whom we look upon as a brother or sister, with the object of helping him or her to advance in

¹ Kasturba Gandhi's death anniversary

life. If he or she leaves us, we should do without him or her and carry on our work as best as we can. I should welcome such a situation for myself. We would then have neither money nor so-called servants, but that would be a real test for us. I have already been tested in this manner. I have been discussing this with Kanubhai and trying to tempt him. If he can give us the benefit of his recent experience and do something for us, all of you should welcome it.

I understand *about* the dalia. If you send some, I will examine it. I am still of the view that *jowar* grain should not be ground coarse and flour removed.

I think I have now said practically everything I wished to say. Nor have I the time for more. If there is anything left out remind me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5833. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

691. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 21, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I did not talk to Shantabehn. I shall do so now for your sake. It is as well that while living in the Ashram we do not get involved in troubles. Do participate in the discussions. You have to do many other things for the Ashram,

Do not buy books as long as you can manage with the books from the Library. If books have to be bought it is another matter. About the children we shall see.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4479

692. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

February 22, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

From tomorrow morning I intend to stay for five days at Madalasa's place. May I go? Ask Munnalal, B. and others.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10617

693. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 22, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I understand about Kanchan. My judgment approves of her opposition. For you have observed no limit in harassing her and now you yourself tell her that from the social point of view your reason does not approve of the thing. Kanchan is bound to interpret that you are opposed. You also desire children, and that is why you cannot regard either yourself or Kanchan fit for *brahmacharya*. You have tested yourself much. I should advise you now to set up house-separately so that both of you can be happy. If you give up the thought of *brahmacharya* and live as a householder no harm will follow. If you wish later to observe abstinence, you will be able to do so. It seems to me that a separate establishment for you two and *brahmacharya* go ill together. However, do what your heart bids. Chi. Kanaiyo tells me that you like his suggestion. I have made a few suggestions. For two days he is going to Wardha. When Sushila comes from Nagpur, he will return here. Meanwhile, all of you may think things over. In my absence you are bound to be under less pressure.

I understand about servants. In this matter also you should regard my view only as a suggestion. You should do whatever all of you like and think. About newspapers, Ramprasad tells me that these days he himself gets them at half past one. It would be better if you discussed the matter further with him. If you can take charge of the newspapers, you may do so. I would not at all advise you, though, to take it up. However, have a talk with Pyarelal.

My desire to run away from here also has at the back of it the consideration of the convenience of you all. But we need not think about this matter. If it is to happen it will happen in the natural

course. And then neither I nor you nor anybody else will be able to stop it.

Are you satisfied now?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gajarati: C.W. 5831. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

694. NOTE TO SHRIPAD JOSHI¹

February 22, 1945

1. There is no need to make confessions to the Government or anybody. One should certainly confess to friends. If reparation can be made to those to whom damage was done, it should be made. The institution in which they work should be informed. In specific cases this advice can be modified.

2. I must say as to this I am doubtful. The above may be taken to apply here too.

3. They can carry on constructive work on the above condition. But if I am asked I shall still say that what they did was not right. It is purely a moral question.

4. I am afraid we cannot stop them. Of course it would be good if they kept out.

5. My answer is the same as above.

6. In a way it remains the duty of the Congress to secure their release.

7. The critics have not read my statement carefully. I have condemned the deeds not the doers. Violent acts have to be

¹ The questions answered in this note were forwarded to Gandhiji by the addressee in his letter of February 11. The questions were, briefly, as follows: (1) Some constructive workers who had indulged in sabotage in 1942 have repented and taken up constructive work. Is it the duty of such workers to volunteer confessions to the police and be ready to accept punishment? Or should they confess only to their friends and acquaintances? (2) Some say they had been carried away into doing what they did and it is enough to regret it in their own hearts and get on with work. Will this not be deceiving you? (3) Some say they had acted in the belief that what they were doing was right and though the futility of it has become clear to them they see no reason for regretting what they did. Can such workers take up constructive work? (4) There are some people who have become too fond of violent activity. They think if and when the people are ready for it, it should be taken up. Since that is not so

condemned. This should not be an obstacle to help being rendered to the concerned families.

8. How can I stop ridicule? The best way to stop it is to ignore it.

If this is inadequate, ask again—but only if it seems inadequate even after repeated readings.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5232

695. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,

February 22, 1945

(1) This pen belongs to Ba.¹

(2) I like it but the question is how I can do it.²

(3) For you and Sarojini.³ She too is unhappy.

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

today they have to take to constructive work to reach the people. Can such people be taken into organizations doing constructive work? (5) Some want to use constructive work to mobilize people for violent revolution. Will they have a place in such organizations? (6) Is it the duty of the Congress to try and secure release of those convicted on charges of violence even if such people have not given up faith in the ways of violence? (7) Some feel you were hasty in condemning acts of sabotage, that you have in a way disowned workers who had indulged in these acts, with the result that people have stopped giving help to their families. What do you have to say? (8) Some so-called Gandhians in Maharashtra not only condemn violent activities but even make fun of them which hurts the dignity of young men who were involved in these activities. Would you not want to stop them being ridiculed?

¹ The addressee explains that Gandhiji had selected one particular pen to autograph for him a photograph of himself and Kasturba Gandhi.

² The addressee had requested Gandhiji to translate into English the "Daily Thoughts" he wrote for him.

³ The reference is to an appointment for talks.

696. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

SEVAGRAM,
February 22, 1945

This day marks the end of a solar year since Ba's departure from the earth. According to the lunar calendar, the anniversary fell on Mahashivaratri Day.¹ This is no occasion for mourning. On the contrary, it should be celebrated with the same joy as a day of birth. I do not make much distinction between birth and death. The *atman* has neither birth nor death. We loved Ba's *atman* which is immortal.

We spend days like this outwardly in religious rites. We had 24 hours' non-stop spinning. To me it was a religious observance. At Balvant Sinha's suggestion, we also have had the reading of the *Ramayana* which lasted throughout the day. In the morning we recited the *Gita*. But these outward acts do not satisfy us. We should go through these rites with full consciousness and understanding and invoke God. God is not somewhere up above or down below. He is in our hearts. In fact He is everywhere. When scientists say that they can create a vacuum, what they mean is that a vessel can be emptied of air but something still remains. Physical scientists have discovered that there is something subtler than air. Those with religious leanings realize that God is everywhere and is witness to all our acts.

Yesterday, I said that we must first wipe out our sins. There was a marriage celebration yesterday. Five minutes before [the function] I went to inspect the latrine. It smelled. I found excreta uncovered. Is this not a sign of our outer sin? We are guilty of a great error in keeping the latrine thus. We might have committed other sins as well. We have, therefore, to see that our latrines and kitchens are absolutely clean. We have to see that the kitchen runs smoothly; we must ask why we hurt one another, why the flies and mosquitoes breed. All these are indicative of our sin. I have not yet succeeded in finding out the cause of their growth but that does not absolve us of our sin.

On this sacred day we plied the charkha and observed many other religious ceremonies. Now the test, whether we deserve to undertake it or not, lies in the fact whether we observe cleanliness or not. You may not call it a sin, only a shortcoming. But to me the two are the same. We are punished for these sins not in the life to come but in this very life. Viewed thus, life becomes simple and full of joy.

¹ Vide "Speech at Sevagram", 10-2-1945.

I had a letter from Kanti. He has mentioned what two learned persons said to him. One of them said that he did not consider spinning to be a religious duty. If he spun, it was because it had become a convention to do so. It is obvious that spinning in imitation of others cannot be termed a religious act. Such spinning will not win us swaraj. We will win it only if we understand its science and appreciate its potentiality. Spinners who spin imitatively and therefore mechanically should not be found, of all places, in the Ashram. Everyone here does not ply the charkha and I put up with it. I cannot forbid those who spin just because others do. But I may as well tell them that this is not going to help them achieve their aim.

The other learned person said that he did not believe in prayer. It is not his fault. The blame lies with us, for we, who believe in prayer, do not make our prayers manifest in our lives and actions. He has warned that those who have gathered round me are not all genuine believers and that I am doomed to despair. But I do not find any particular signs of despair in me. I do my duty and speak of it to others. But if they do not care to act on it, it does not affect me. This learned friend gives discourses on the Gita, attends the prayer but he does so only because it is a convention.

If one's mind wanders during prayer and does not lose itself in meditation, it is clear that one does not fully participate in prayer notwithstanding the physical presence. There is in that case a conflict between the body and the mind in which the mind is the winner. What I mean to say is that if we consider this to be a sacred day then we must with all our heart do all we can in the name of an old woman who, though unlettered, was an embodiment of purity. Let all our actions be sincere.

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, pp. 360-2

697. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

February [23]¹, 1945

RT. HON. SASTRIAR

SWAGATAM

MYLAPORE, MADRAS

YOURS JAGADISAN'S² POSTCARDS. THANK GOD YOUR
RECOVERY. MUST KEEP YOUR RESOLUTION. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The source has "24", obviously a slip; *vide* the following item.

² T. N. Jagadisan

698. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

SEVAGRAM,
February 23, 1945

DEAR BROTHER,

I never read newspapers. Pyarelal reads extracts. Someone did say yesterday that an accident had happened. Hardly had I time to see what it [was when] I got your most thoughtful p. c. and one from Jagadisan to Sushila. I have wired. This is to confirm and to beseech you to keep to your promise. You can't afford to give your voice to the public. Your written word should satisfy them.

Love.

LITTLE BROTHER

RT. HON. V. S. S. SASTRIAR

SWAGATAM

MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

699. *LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE*

February 23, 1945

MY DEAR RATHI,

I hope the money matter is entirely fixed up.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

SANTINIKETAN P. O.

BENGAL

From C.W. 10519. Courtesy: Visva-Bharati

700. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

WARDHA,
February 23, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I find even five days away from the Ashram too much.

Gurbuxani and Vimalabehn seem to me to be real jewels. The latter has resigned her post in the school where she was teaching. She is ready to take up everything gladly. Only we should know how to

deal with her gently, i. e., in the spirit of ahimsa.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8460. Also C.W. 5570. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

701. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

WARDHA,

February 23, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have been worrying ever since you fell ill. Both of you should think over the matter. I think both of you can be cured with treatment. The first thing is sufficient rest, some nature cure treatment and proper yogic exercises. Hip-bath plays a very important role in treatment. Try it.

Blessings from

BAPU

K. MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM

SEVAGRAM

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

702. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

WARDHA,

February 23, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

I understand about Anand Hingorani. I think he is a very straightforward man. He will write anything you say. He will do what we say. I have known him from his childhood. He has also worked for *Young India*.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

703. LETTER TO JAGGANNATH

WARDHA,
February 23, 1945

BHAI JAGANNATH,

I have your letter. You are sure to do well. What do you get now?

Something might be possible if I see the girls, I shall consult Sushilabehn. The girls should write to me. What does the eldest boy do? He should write to me. Write to me in the Devanagari or the Persian script.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAGANNATH
CLOTH MILLS
DELHI

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

704. LETTER TO BALVANT SINHA

February 23, 1945

CHI. BALVANT SINHA,

I have started with Chi. Ki. since yesterday. Let us see what happens.

You have to do your duty by reflecting on the nine ways of *bhakti*¹. Lavatories and kitchen are crucial to our lives. The rest follows if we look after these too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1953

¹ Namely, hearing, reciting, remembering, waiting upon, worshipping, doing obeisance, serving, companionship and surrendering

705. LETTER TO SHIV SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
February 23, 1945

BHAI SHIV SHARMA,

It appears Hari-ichchha is nearing her end. Today I sent her to Dr. David. He says her lungs are no longer fit for artificial pneumothorax. Her condition was not so bad at the time she was put under your treatment. On top of your medicine Chandi Prasad made her take a lot of milk. Her condition further deteriorated. Now a rib may have to be removed. Perhaps Hari-ichchha does not have the patience required for this treatment. This is the position. Do you have any treatment to suggest? I hope you are all right now.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

706. LETTER TO MEGHADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
February 23, 1945

CHI. MEGHADEVI,

I heard about your illness. Shri Ishwar D. has written to me. You must not lose heart. Even incurable diseases are cured. If you are destined to live, your illness is bound to go. And even if it does not, what does it matter? Life and death are not in our hands, are they? Be cheerful. Reassure your elders too.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI MEGHADEVI
C/O SETH RAMKISHORE
DEHRA DUN, U. P.

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

707. A NOTE

February 24, 1945

With women men should behave as they would with men. Two men would not deliberately embrace or kiss each other, or sleep together. But if there is a reason, one man would touch another, sit by his side, or sit on the same seat. We must behave with women in the same manner. We must forget the distinction of sex as far as possible. There is distinction between men and women but it should have no place in our normal dealings. The consciousness of this distinction arises either in the case of carnal desire or outside it in that of a genuine desire for progeny. Let us forget this second category. Probably one in a million may be resorting to intercourse for purposes of procreation. I have not come across any such person so far. I do not consider association with women or keeping away from them in conformity with the conventional restraints of *brahmacharya* asreal*brahmacharya*. My relationships are covered by this explanation. Whatever you may hear to the contrary must be rejected offhand. Think of this instead of being curious about my relationships.

BAPU¹

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5850

708. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

February 24, 1945

CHI. SITA,

I have your letter. You draw your *matras*² too long, as I illustrate with js here. Draw them as I do or if you must have a knot at the end make it very small. Consult your teacher. It will be very hot by 20th April and hotter still in May. I don't know where I shall be then. I should like you to spend the hot season in a cool place. I am very happy that you are getting along nicely.

¹ The following instruction is added to the note: "Make a copy of this and pass it on to Baba Moghe."

² Marks over letters to indicate the vowel sounds 'e' or 'o'.

I have come to Madalasalabehn's to spend five days. Blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

SITA GANDHI
AKOLA

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

709. LETTER TO HARSHADA DIWANJI

February 24, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I received yesterday the packet containing the skein of yarn and the letter. Today I have another letter and a cheque for Rs. 54. I can never remember birthdays. I have no idea how old Diwanji is. Now I send him my blessings. And he has many more years still to live. He has to serve with this very body.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
15TH STREET, KHAR
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10223

710. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

WARDHA,
February 24, 1945

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have just finished the book *Zonal Divisions* sent by you. I managed to read it piecemeal during the time for massage every day. The very basis of your argument is brute force. How can I, therefore, reason with you? According to me, the instances which you have cited may go against you. But I won't enter into that argument. Your dharma lies in following the dictates of your conscience. We need not, therefore, argue what is right and what is wrong. For everybody what the conscience says is the truth. Real truth is known only to the God of Truth.

Haven't I already replied to your letter? I have still not seen the

rules drafted by Mavalankar. It is your right as well as your duty to say what you have said. I, therefore, told everybody the substance of it. Continue to point out fearlessly what you think to be right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7685. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

711. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 24, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

I shall not express grief. It was time for Mother to go and she went. She had completed her work. You may go whenever you can. Look after yourself and do your duty well.

Blessings from
BAPU

Y. M. PARNERKAR
C/O B. G. KARPE
12 KRISHNAPURA, INDORE

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

712. LETTER TO CHANDIPRASAD VAIDYA

WARDHA,
February 24, 1945

BHAI CHANDIPRASAD,

I wrote to you about Chi. B. K. Chi. Hari-ichchha came back from Nagpur yesterday. Her lungs have grown extremely weak,¹ so much so that a rib has to be removed now. Three months were lost in trying the Ayurvedic treatment. What grieves me is: why must we take up a case about which we do not have full knowledge. [At the same time] we cannot forsake the poor girl. I have two questions: (1) Can you, i. e., Ayurveda, do something for Hari-chchha? (2) Why do not the vaidyas realize their limitations?

Write to me fearlessly whatever you think right. Do come if you want to, for the sake of H. I. or B. K. I have written a similar letter

¹ Up to this the letter is in Gujarati.

about H. I. to Vaidya Shiv Sharma.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

BIRLA MANDIR
NEW DELHI

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

713. NOTE TO RISHABHADAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
February 25, 1945

Send the list of contents.² I can read Marathi. Bring the child. I shall think of a name.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 10390

714. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

SEVAGRAM,
February 25, 1945

BHAI RAMACHANDRA RAO,

The enclosed is a rough draft of the scheme along with details as to its estimated budget. Give it shape and return it to me. It will be placed before the Committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Shiv Sharma", 23-2-1945.

² The addressee had written that he had received from Ganeshshastri the list of contents of the latter's "*Gramvaidyaka*" in Marathi.

715. CABLE TO VIJAYLAKSHMI PANDIT¹

February 26, 1945

VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT
CARE JOHN DAY COMPANY
40 EAST 49 STREET
NEW YORK

NOT INTERFERING. NOTHING TO DISTURB YOU. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

716. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 26, 1945²

CHI. MIRA,

You can have Kisan Ashram.³ But if that, why not Mazdur or its equivalent? A *kisan* can be a millionaire, not so a working man, a labourer. But I do not mind *kisan*, if you prefer it.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
ASHRAM, MULDASPUR
P. O. BAHADRABAD
Via JWALAPUR, NEAR HARDWAR

From a photostat: C.W. 10518. Courtesy: Mirabehn

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's cable of February 22 which read: "Friends consider my presence necessary San Francisco during April conference. . . . Friends have cabled Ghanshyamdas Birla requesting him finance. . . . work under my direction. Please endorse. . . . Recent statement disturbing. . . ."

² The date is in Hindi numerals.

³ The addressee had suggested this name for her Ashram.

717. LETTER TO DR. NIROD MUKHERJEE

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
February 26, 1945

DEAR MUKHERJEE,

I was able to go through your tale of woe only today. I have pointed the remedy.¹ It's not mere medical relief. Proper food including milk, houses and employment should be found and everything else will follow. The moral sense of the community has to be stirred up to do away with prostitution. If I was permitted free entry, I should love to enter Bengal ill or well. I may be able to do nothing. But that is nothing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. NIROD MUKERJI
1/5 FERN ROAD
BALLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 9298

718. LETTER TO SATYANARAYAN SINHA

WARDHA,
February 26, 1945

BHAI SATYANARAYAN SINHA,

I have all your letters. I have gone through Prajapati Mishra's letter. There was nothing in the speech to alarm the Government.² In discussing the constructive programme such a speech should be considered irrelevant or inopportune. But what was to be done about it? It is a different matter if the Government wants to ban even constructive work.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Nirod Mukherjee", 14-1-1945.

² *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 17-2-1945.

719. ANSWERS TO T. B. SAPRU'S QUESTIONS

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
February 26, 1945¹

Q. In your letter² of September 14, 1944, to Mr. Jinnah, you said as follows: "You, ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind." Did you never discuss even the outlines of any scheme during the course of your conversations?

A. What I told Quaid-e-Azam was the exact truth. I had no idea of what he meant, for he never told me what he had in mind. Therefore I can answer your question by saying we never discussed the outlines of any scheme of interim government except what I have said.

Q. In answering the first question, please refer to Mr. Jinnah's letter of September 14, in which he said, "You, being the sponsor of this Gandhiji Rajaji formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it so that I may understand what this part of the formula means." Did you give any reply to this? If so, what? If not, why not?

A. The foregoing answer deals with your second question.

Q. In his letter of September 17, Mr. Jinnah says that "the word (Pakistan) has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution³". Did you ask him whether in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, a scheme of Constitution, in accordance with the basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs and such other matters as may be necessary, had been prepared? Was your attention drawn to any such scheme by Mr. Jinnah?

A. No. Quaid-e-Azam's position unfortunately was that while he could come as far as seeing me and trying to convince me of his position, he, the President of the League, could not discuss details with me, a mere individual. But so far as I could gather from our conversations, he had no prepared scheme. As the correspondence shows, he had referred me to two books both of which I read, but neither of which could help me to understand Quaid-e-Azam's exactposition. One thing he insisted upon was that if I first accepted the Pakistan of his conception, he could then discuss other things with me even though I was but an individual.

¹ From Gandhi-Sapru Papers

² *Vide* "Letter to M. A. Jinnah", 14-9-1944.

³ *Vide* "Resolution passed by All-India Muslim League", 23-3-1940.

Q. Is it true that the real breakdown between you and Mr. Jinnah came about on the question of Central authority or Government? Please refer in this connection to Mr. Jinnah's letter of September 25,¹ clause (d), in which he says, "If these vital matters (suggested in the quotation from your letter with which clause 'd' begins) are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible." Did you, at any stage, indicate to him that you wanted a Central Government or a Central Legislature to deal with a limited number of subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Communications, Customs, Commerce and the like?

A. It can be said that the breakdown took place because we could not come to an agreement of the two-nation theory of Quaid-e-Azam's. As the correspondence will show I wanted to avoid a Central Government. I suggested an authority acceptable to both the parties, but he would insist first on complete partition as between two nations and then an agreement between them as on foreign affairs, etc. He would not agree to anything simultaneous.

Q. In that very clause (clause 'd'), Mr. Jinnah says, "According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any Central authority or Government." Then he says that "the matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or [any] other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States." Did you understand Mr. Jinnah's position to be that he intended that Pakistan and Hindustan should be completely independent sovereign States with no connection between them except by a treaty? If so, did he tell you what was to happen if either party broke the treaty and what was the authority which could enforce the provisions of such a treaty?

A. Of course, he wanted two independent sovereign States with no connection between them except by a treaty. If any party broke the treaty, the consequence would be what has happened throughout the world up till now, i e., war. Therefore I did not ask and he did not tell me as to what would happen if either party broke the treaty.

Q. As regards the C. R. Formula², can you explain why Mr. Jinnah was opposed to clause (2) of that formula, which demanded a plebiscite of all the inhabitants on the basis of adult suffrage or other practical franchise? Did you understand him to say that in the areas demarcated for Pakistan the minorities shall be given a chance of expressing their choice of staying in Pakistan or not being separated from the rest of the country?

¹ *Vide* "Letter from M. A. Jinnah", 25-9-1944.

² *Vide* Appendix "C. Rajagopalachari's Formula", before 5-8-1942.

A. Quaid-e-Azam would not have the plebiscite of the Muslims because he thought the League represented the Muslims of India and that the other communities should have no voice as to Pakistan which was Muslims' exclusive right wherever they were in a majority.

Q. Please refer to your proposals contained in the letter of the 24th of September in which you said "there shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Communications, Customs, Commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be the matter of common interest between the contracting parties." Please explain how that treaty would provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of these matters, and whether you contemplated any machinery which could give effect to the decisions embodied in that treaty. If so, what is the nature of that machinery which you had in mind?

A. I suggested a board composed of representatives of both the States. It was to be an arbitration board with administrative powers. For the due carrying out of its decisions, it would largely or solely depend upon the goodwill of the parties or States. But I should not object to a machinery jointly devised by the two States.

Q. Have you any objection to the provinces or States enjoying the fullest autonomy with residuary powers vested in them?

A. None whatsoever.

Q. How do you reconcile Mr. Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution¹ of the All-India Congress Committee with the line that you took in regard to the division of India in the course of your conversations and correspondence with Mr. Jinnah?

A. I depended first upon the decisive interpretation given by the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and secondly on my own, meaning that the Jagat Narain Lal Resolution should be read together with the others bearing on the question. For these latter were not cancelled by the Jagat Narain Lal Resolution.

Q. Please refer to Appendix 'C' of the pamphlet known as *Gandhi-Jinnah Talks*, and send to the Committee a short memorandum explaining any points in that summary which you may consider necessary. In this connection please refer to your Press statement² dated September 28, 1944, in the course of which you stated as follows: "In that respect the Lahore Resolution is quite sound. Where there is an obvious Muslim majority, they should be allowed to constitute a separate State by themselves, and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji Formula or my formula. . . . But if it means utterly independent sovereignty so that there is to be nothing in common between the two, I hold it is an impossible proposition. That means war to

¹ *Vide* 5th footnote of "Note to Jagdish K. Munshi", on or before 12-8-1944.

² *Vide* "Interview to the Press", 28-9-1944.

the knife.” What did you mean by saying “war to the knife”, and why did you consider that proposition to be an impossible proposition?

A. “War to the knife” is a simple English idiom. I have never known it used in the literal sense. It simply means a determined quarrel between parties. I hold that if there is nothing in common between the two or nothing which does not come in conflict with each others’ culture there can be no friendly mutual agreement.

Q. In your Press statement dated September 28, 1944, you said: “I urge that apart from the two-nation theory, if I could accept the principle of division of India in accordance with the demand of the League, he should accept it. But unfortunately it was just there that we split.” Please explain this more clearly.

A. I think I am explicit enough. I meant that apart from conceding the two-nation theory, I accepted the concrete suggestion of division of India as between members of the same family and therefore reserving for partnership things of common interest. But Quaid-e-Azam would have nothing short of the two-nation theory and therefore complete dissolution amounting to full sovereignty in the first instance. It was just here that we split as I have said herein before.

Q. Are you prepared to admit that the Muslims in India are a separate nation? If so, then why do you deny the Muslims the right of having a separate independent State? If you are not prepared to admit that the Muslims are a separate nation, then on what principle do you agree to a division of India to the limited extent to which you seem to have agreed in the course of your conversation and correspondence with Mr. Jinnah? In this connection, please refer to your interview to the *News Chronicle* on September 29, 1944,¹ which is printed at page 64 of the pamphlet known as *Gandhi-Jinnah Talks*.

A. Although I could not agree to the two-nation theory, I agreed on the basis of members of a family desiring severance of the family tie in matters of conflict but not in all matters so as to become enemies one of the other as if there was nothing common between the two except enmity.

The Hindu, 10-4-1945, and Gandhi-Sapru Papers; also G.N. 7570

¹ Vide “Interview to the *News Chronicle*”.29-9-1944

*720. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA HINDUSTANI PRACHAR
SABHA CONFERENCE-I*

WARDHA,
February 26, 1945

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I am glad to see you all assembled here at the invitation of Principal Shriman Narayan. Dr. Abdul Haq was to have arrived here today, but he is now expected tomorrow. This association and I wish to have his help. Likewise Sjt. Tandon was to come and I was feeling very happy. Shriman Narayanji had wired to him also. I am sorry that he is unable to come, being ill. Let us hope that he will recover from his illness soon.

The task confronting you is, in one way, small, in another way big. It is small because it requires only very small effort, and yet it promises great consequences. Dr. Tarachand tells us that what is known by various names today was originally one language spoken in the North by both Hindus and Muslims. It is a sad thing that those who were once one have become divided. Their language, too, has either been split or is being split, into Urdu and Hindi.

As a result of the efforts of Sjt. Tandon the Congress at Kanpur² gave the name 'Hindustani' to the language which is spoken by both the communities and decided on two scripts, Devanagari and Urdu. But the Congress could not implement the resolution. In 1942, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha took up this work at the instance of the late Shri Jannalal Bajaj but he passed away soon after. In 1942, Congress leaders and others were arrested; I was among them. I was released later on medical grounds. Even during my illness I followed the progress of the work that was being done by Sjt. Nanavati to propagate Hindustani. It gave me joy to find that it held out the prospect of success. I see no reason why what was at one time the common language of both Hindus and Mussalmans should not again become one. In Northern India, we are the descendants of those Hindus and Muslims who spoke and wrote the same language. It should not require even half the labour to revive that old common language than it would to create two different languages, Urdu and Hindi. Village folk in Northern India, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, even today speak the same tongue and some even write the same language. It is for you to decide what should be done to bring our labours to a successful completion. The function of the Hindustani

¹ Gandhiji presided over the conference and since he was observing silence, his speech was read out by Shriman Narayan.

² In December 1925

Prachar Sabha is to implement your decisions.

I am sorry that, for reasons of health, I observe silence for the whole day so far as possible. During the last three months I had to break my silence during day-time only perhaps on three occasions. Today, it being Monday, I am observing my weekly silence. I hope that it will not interfere with our work.

I now leave the conference in your hands. Shriman Narayan will conduct the rest of the proceedings.

Today's proceedings will go on in my presence till 5.30 p. m. Tomorrow our work will commence at 3 p. m. I shall then place my thoughts before you.

You will please excuse any inconvenience which, despite Janakidevi's best efforts, you may have experienced in the matter of arrangements for food and other amenities at Bajajwadi.

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhasha Hindustani, pp. 160-2

721. TELEGRAM TO DR. KHAN SAHEB

[February 27, 1945]¹

DR. KHANSAHEB,

WHAT ABOUT HUNGER-STRIKER AMIR KHAN²?

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

722. LETTER TO SITARAM SASTRI

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

DEAR SITARAM SASTRI,

May I not now begin to write to you in Hindi?³ You may get my letters read to you if you cannot read them yourself. My blessings to your son and his bride. I hope you will have an additional servant of the country and that your son will not be lost to you because he is married. Bhansalibhai described his experiences to me.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ From the postmark

² Whose son Mohamed Aslam had wired to Gandhiji on February 26 about his critical condition

³ The Hindi version is not traceable.

723. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

DEAR BHARATANAND¹,

Two lines in haste. Unless you are determined, try liver injections and hope to live to serve. But if you regard them as sinful I have nothing to say.

Love.

BAPU

BHARATANAND
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

724. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

February 27, 1945

CHI. MANI,

Chi. Dahyabhai writes to say that you will be released tomorrow and that your health is none too good. Do come and see me if you can. If you cannot come, write a detailed letter. I am looking forward to seeing you. It is long time since we met last.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro— 4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 132

725. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

I have your letter. I have written to Bharatanand to take liver extract injections if it is not contrary to his vows.²

¹ A Polish Engineer interested in village reconstruction movement. Gandhiji gave him this name.

² *Vide* "Letter to Maurice Frydman", 27-2-1945.

I do have an oil-lamp. They are made in Maganwadi. Let the friend who makes them there send me one. On seeing it I shall give my opinion.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT SATAVLEKAR
SWADHYAYA MANDAL
AUNDH, DIST. SATARA

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

726. LETTER TO KESHAV DEO MALAVIYA

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

BHAI KESHAV DEO,

If in the past the A. I. C. C. looked after the repairs of the Swaraj Bhavan it should continue to do so even now. Perhaps Chi. Kamalnayan understands this thing better. If so, consult him. I have an idea that you have with you some A. I. C. C. funds. The building is in a very bad shape and it is getting worse.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

727. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARDAS,

I did not speak to you regarding the "Indian sufferers" but I did to Ghanshyamdas. Today I hear that those people have approached you. Gosibehn has come to me.

My advice is:

(1) A substantial amount should be paid to the Committee. It should be paid annually, so that it is convenient in all ways.

(2) I would advise that the amount should be paid in such a way that at least the Government knows about it. I see no need for the amount to be published in the papers. The Government ought to know that it is the duty of everyone to give such assistance. I have of

course fixed its. . . .¹

Convey the purport of this letter to Ghanshyamdas and do as he says.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

728. LETTER TO DESHPANDE

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

BHAI DESHPANDE,

Certainly all noble efforts have my blessings. In my view your primary duty is to work in such a way as to win the approval of Jajuji.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

729. SPEECH AT ALL INDIA HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA CONFERENCE-II

WARDHA,
February 27, 1945

I am sorry I cannot give you as much time as I would wish. Please forgive me. My silence continues for the whole day. It is not that it cannot be broken. But I want to continue it for as long as I can and smoothly carry on my work. So I observe silence. If I squandered my energy, I might collapse in a month. My attachment to truth and non-violence would not permit this. But if necessity should arise I could spend this energy with both hands. I could also be a miser. These days I have adopted the latter course.

I want to explain to you what the Hindustani Prachar Sabha is. Its aim is to make as many people as possible learn Hindi and Urdu styles and the Devanagari and the Urdu scripts. There was a time when the people of North India spoke one common language. We are their descendants. Today we see that the gulf between Hindi and Urdu is widening. Protagonists of Hindi use difficult words from Sanskrit and

¹ Omission as in the source

the Urdu enthusiasts do the same from Arabic-Persian. I know this will not continue for long. Villagers care for their bread only. They will continue to speak the language which they have been used to speaking for years.

It is the task of people like me to stop Hindi and Urdu from running into separate orbits. I shall say to both sides that the way adopted by them is not proper. The villagers will not understand their bombastic words. If we learn to write both the scripts, the two languages in the long run will become one. The problem of script is not so complicated. Let both the scripts continue for ever. Or there is no objection if every province started writing the national language in its own script leaving aside these two. But the language should be one. Today we have become slothful. Today we have on our heads the burden of English. But English is also not so difficult. We can learn English in six months. But we want to learn to think in English and study the sciences. So it takes time. We waste as many as fourteen valuable years learning English and yet cannot master it. Today if we ask a teacher of English to express his ideas in Hindustani, he pleads inability. Because of his education through English, he is not able to express his ideas in Hindustani. Then how can he teach Hindustani to his students? This is our sorry plight. This also leads to lethargy.

We should not be afraid of learning two scripts. Somebody might say that there are other eight or ten good scripts. Why should we not learn them? I do suggest that we learn at least one of the scripts of the South also. There are four languages there. You should not be frightened of them.

You are living in Hindustan. If you want to serve your Hindustani brethren, why should you be afraid of the labour of learning at least two scripts? We have to learn only one language. It is our misfortune that we have to use two scripts. But I would gladly learn all the languages of India. If we have the interest, we shall not find the task too hard. Today your number is very small, but it does not matter. All of you must at any rate learn the two scripts. I do not want to speculate on what splendid consequences would follow.

It is idleness which prevents one from learning other languages.¹ If anyone comes to me, I can arrange for teaching him not only Hindustani but ten or twelve other important languages. If anyone says 'I can't study Urdu (Hindustani)', I would say 'you are unfit for staying in India as it is the language of many.' I invited you for

¹ This and the following paragraph are from *The Hitavada*.

co-operating in this language (national) task which can be achieved if we work properly and in right earnest.

Some Urdu-speaking people, while engaged in serious talks, employ words which leave me dumb-founded although I frequently talk with them. Why is it so? I have found a way out and it has been placed before you.

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhasha Hindustani, pp. 162-4, and *The Hitavada*, 1-3-1945

730. SPEECH ALL-INDIA HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA CONFERENCE-III

WARDHA,
February 27, 1945

Dr. Tarachand has poured out his heart while explaining the significance of the history of Hindustani words commonly used in the villages.¹ I was not able to ask Tarachandji to finish soon because I myself was gripped by what he said. He said things which he could have as well said at a gathering of pundits. I am not a pundit. However, I was listening with interest along with others. He did not repeat anything and that is why I did not stop him.² Later he narrated how he first joined the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and left the Bharatiya Sahitya Sammelan after the Nagpur meeting, after which he took up the Hindustani work for making it the national language. I want and desire real democracy even in this field.

I followed what Anand Kausalyayan said. He spoke hesitantly. On behalf of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan he said that the burden of two scripts should be avoided as far as possible. Even today, I happen to be in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I did not go there on my own. Jamnalalji used to drag me with him into whatever work he happened to do. He took me to Indore³ where I gave a new thing to the Sammelan. They all digested it. I said "Hindi is that language which both Hindus and Muslims speak and which people write in both the scripts." The resolution moved by me was passed. I had it included in the Sammelan's constitution. It is a different matter that it was later amended. Hence I should not feel sorry if now I quit the Sammelan.

¹ This sentence is from *The Hitavada*.

² The rest of the paragraph is from *The Hitavada*.

³ In April 1935

There are many among us who are trying to unify Hindi and Urdu. Some wonder why it is necessary. I want real democracy. Democracy degenerates into hypocrisy if people become yes-men. That is why I asked them not to follow others blindly but express their true opinion.

I don't want Hindi to die nor Urdu to be banished. What I wish is that both should become useful to us. The law of satyagraha says that one can clap with one hand. It may not produce sound, but what of that? If you stretch one hand, the other one will follow automatically. Haq Saheb had said something in Nagpur, which I could not then understand. I did not accept his "Hindi *alias* Urdu". It would have been better if I had accepted his point. He came for friendship, but was met with opposition and turned almost an enemy. But I have no enemy. Then, how can Haq Saheb be one? That is why today we are again on the same platform. An all-India literary conference was held at Nagpur, but it was its first and last session. We had gathered to come closer, but were divided. What was the use of such a gathering? It was a literary conference of all India not only Hindustani and so my speech on the occasion was full of Sanskrit words. If I were again required to speak before such a gathering, I should speak the same language.

Anandji says that everybody will find great difficulty in learning two scripts. I say there is no difficulty; and if there is, it will have to be overcome. For, if this is not overcome, how shall we be able to face greater difficulties?

I live for Hindu-Muslim unity. I know the propagation of Hindustani will bring about this unity. But I am not holding out this temptation right now.

I say, let Hindi and Urdu both prosper. I have to take work from both. Even today, Hindustani exists but we do not utilize it. This is the age of Hindi and Urdu. These are two streams from which the third will flow. Hence it will not do if the first two dry up.

The villagers will follow my language. They will not be able to follow a language which is full of Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian words. If those in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan should say that they are going to sponsor a Sanskritized language, then, as far as I am concerned, the Sammelan does not exist. The language of the villages is only one. They cannot have two languages. The champions of Hindi want me to blow the trumpet for Hindi only and to forget Urdu. But I am a satyagrahi believing in ahimsa. How can I do this? I cannot do this work all alone. I need everybody's help. I am a 'mahatma' precisely because I am aware of my limitations and never go beyond them. That

is why Moulvi Abdul Haq has come. I have no wings. The veterans are called here so that they may give me wings. If they do I shall soar high and say, "Look, it is well done, is it not?" Else I shall lie in the dust and stay there.

I am considered a big man also in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Not in that capacity, but in a general way, I would like to say that nothing will be done against the interest of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. But people will have to take the trouble to learn both the scripts. I want to take work from Anandji also.

I am told that the Muslim boys do not learn the Devanagri script. I would say if it is so you have lost nothing but they have lost something. What do you lose by learning one more script? Such a little thing brings such a great gain. I had said the same thing to Hasrat Mohani. But it did not serve the purpose at that time, because a satyagraha had started. I did not tell all of you to court arrest but I did. It is not just foolishness on the part of those who are in jail. Jawahar, Vallabhbhai and Maulana Saheb are already in jail. They are not fools. If they come out by resorting to flattery they will be dead in my eyes, and if they die during imprisonment, I shall not shed a single tear, I shall say they died a noble death. Because while there, they serve India.

If Hindi and Urdu are unified Saraswati like the Hooghly will be bigger than the Ganga and the Yamuna. The Hooghly is a dirty river, I do not drink its water. But if this one becomes like the Hooghly it will be a grand river.

Now the question of funds. Those who would like to contribute may give either to me or to Shriman Narayan. Everybody should contribute according to his capacity. Those who contribute may do so for the cause, not to gain fame.

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhasha Hindustani, pp. 164-7, and *The Hitavada*, 1-3-1945

731. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

CHI. SITA,

We are poor. We want to live with the poor, hence we should learn to put up with sun and rain. But put up with only as much as you can. Don't ruin your health. I have just returned from a meeting of the Hindustani [Prachar] Sabha; hence I happened to start the letter

in the Devanagari script. Blessings to all.

BAPU

SITA GANDHI
C/O NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA

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

732. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI PAREKH

February 28, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

You will see that I have been able to correct up to page 13. The corrections are self-explanatory.

From clause 8 onwards confusion has started. It seems as if you felt tired or wrote piecemeal and the link was broken. Clauses 8 to 12 relating to the work to be done do not seem consistent. I have taken this up in haste soon after the prayer. Maybe, therefore, I myself have got confused in my mind. But I feel that you should have a separate paragraph, with a heading, for self-purification. This can come somewhere earlier. What follows is useful but it should be said differently and arranged in a different manner. I can do all this for you. But I would have to spare more time for that, which I do not have. Nor is it right that I should do your cooking for you. It should be enough for me to tell you whether what you have done is done badly or indifferently. Please, therefore, revise the whole of that portion and, if you wish, show it to me. But it will be all right even if you don't. Reject what does not appeal to you from among the suggestions I have made. Kishorelal is ill. I myself will not trouble him. I advise you also not to do so. Do what you yourself can. I am in better health than Kishorelal just now and so I have managed to do this much. Otherwise I should have refused and also dissuaded you from approaching Kishorelal. I have not revised this.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9067

733. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

Ramchandran read your p. c. to him. It makes bad reading. This night fever, whatever its cause, must go. I suggest your coming here as soon as possible. If someone should go there to fetch you that can be done. Weather is warm and dry and is likely to be so till the middle of May. Warmer it will be day by day. You do not mind the heat I hope.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2102

734. LETTER TO GAJANAN NAIK

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

CHI. GAJANAN,

I got your letter today. It does not matter if Kumarappa does not provide you the money. But should you not have his consent to whatever you do? If you carry on your activities on the strength of money when you don't have the consent of the institution to which you belong, it is sure to cause them some embarrassment. If you cannot have Kumarappa's consent you have only to have patience and try to persuade him. Read my reply again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

In reply to yours of February 15, 1945. It is irrelevant in whose name the jaggery complex stands. There should be no problem for you since you have the custody. You should make any arrangement you want after consulting everybody. Kumarappa ought to be informed. Obtain his consent.

Blessings from
BAPU

GAJANAN NAIK
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

735. *LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

BHAI JIVRAJ MEHTA,

Chi. Indu writes to say that the Kamala [Nehru Memorial] Hospital committee does not meet at all. The local committee too seems to care little. They have run short of funds. If you can, throw some light on all this.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR . JIVRAJ MEHTA
ALTAMAN ROAD
BOMBAY

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

736. *LETTER TO RAMA C. JOSHI*

February 28, 1945

CHI. RAMA¹,

I got your letter after a long time. I was glad. The children have settled down well. Do come once when you can. Hot winds have already started here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5367

737. *LETTER TO SHANTILAL B. PANDYA*

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

CHI. SHANTILAL,

Your letter was read out to me from beginning to end. I am delighted. I am passing it on to Jajuji to read. I wish you success. Try everything. Don't lend money to anyone. Knowledge, however, cannot be lent. It can only be given. Your capital consists of your

¹ Wife of Chhaganlal Joshi

knowledge. Increase it and make use of it.

Make use of machinery only after careful thought. You will be happy and make others happy if you give up what the millions cannot use.

This time I shall not write to Chi. Kanta. Convey my blessings to her. May she have an easy delivery.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHANTILAL BALASHANKAR PANDYA
RAILWAY FARM
DOHAD

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

738. LETTER TO INDIRA GANDHI

February 28, 1945

CHI. INDU,

Shall I write to Dr. Katju¹? I shall write about the Committee too. If you can go to Kashmir, it will be good for you and Rajiv². I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9804. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

739. LETTER TO SITARAM

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

BHAI SITARAM,

I have received your money. Your sending the money in itself carries my blessings, does it not? If you still require them you have them. I had hoped that you would come and see me.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Kailash Nath Katju

² Addressee's elder son

740. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 28, 1945

You must learn weaving properly. Then alone can you become a real teacher. But it is not necessary to be always at it like a professional weaver. What the professional weaver learns from practice, you have to acquire with your intelligence.

You have heard about my experiment; what do you think of it? Why have you again stopped getting up in time for the prayers?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4491

741. LETTER TO M. C. DAVAR¹

SEVAGRAM,

February 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Yours of 15th inst. Gandhiji writes in reply to your questions²:

1. "Quit India" resolution³ so called is wholly consistent with ahimsa and truth. I hope you see nothing wrong in the phrase.

2. There was no question of success partly or wholly resulting from the mere phrase or the resolution itself.

Evidently you have not studied the correspondence that led to the fast.⁴ It was wholly aimed at the misdeeds of the Government.

¹ This was written by Narahari Parikh. The addressee was the Secretary General of the United Party of India.

² The questions, briefly summarized, were: (i) Whether the "Quit India" resolution was consistent with ahimsa and truth. (ii) If it was, did Gandhiji realize any portion of his success from it or from his historic Linlithgow fast? What was in his mind when he told Louis Fischer that he might not call off the civil disobedience movement even if there was violence? (iii) Did it not show that he was not as firm about ahimsa as before the August 1942 movement? (iv) Did it not show that freedom of the country was dearer to Gandhiji than ahimsa? (v) Could not the counter-violence of some of his associates be attributed to a decrease in his own faith in non-violence?

³ *Vide* Appendix "Resolution Passed by All-India Congress Committee", 8-8-1942.

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", 29-1-1943 and *passim*.

The fast had great results. You should study the whole event. You should also know that a satyagrahi is never attached to results. His acts, great or small, have their own worth.

My reply to Louis Fischer is complete.¹ As years rolled on people knew that my words carried what they meant. Therefore, I said I might not call off the movement in future even if there was violence. My trial never came. For, I was arrested before I could start the movement.

3. Certainly not.

4. You are quite wrong. I would never put freedom or anything before ahimsa and truth.

5. It is clear to me that you have only superficially studied the movement as also ahimsa.

Gandhiji observes silence, and the above is a copy of what he has written down.
The Bombay Chronicle, 27-3-1945

742. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have your parting letter. Of course you are brave, you are simple. There you will pave your way, wherever you are. Keep good health and write from your new place. Kh[urshedbehn] is here.

Love from all.

BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

DR. M. SPIEGEL

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Interview with Louis Fischer", 4-6-1942.

743. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. PREMA,

I am able to reach your letter only today. I am helpless.

Do not trust the newspapers. I have given no decision. I have stated two views which seem contradictory. The view that there should be no enrolment is the later one and is the result of fuller thought. But nobody is forbidden to enrol members.

I have had no talk with Patil. It is possible that Khurshedbehn or somebody showed me the resolutions. But what does my consent mean? Everybody, whether Gandhian or anti-Gandhian, should act on his own responsibility. One may say there is no such thing as Gandhism. I have met Socialists more often. Much of what they say has appealed to me. Or you may say they have come closer to me.

But nobody should speak in my name. I do not like people going underground but I do not condemn those who do. It is the act of going underground that I condemn. Understand the distinction.

There was no one with me during my talks with Jinnah Saheb.¹ There were so few of us. Rajaji was one. The others didn't even know anything about it.

I understand all the rest. But I do not have the time to go into the details. Keep on the path you have chosen. Get as many sincere women as you can and go on with the work. Do not take upon yourself the burden of the whole country. Take upon yourself only what you can do. If there are any more questions you want to ask me you may.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

There has been no such thing as despair in my life and there never will be. I would not despair even if everybody died. What I am saying is right and what Bhulabhai is doing is also right.² You should

¹ The reference presumably is to the talks Gandhiji had with Jinnah from September 9 to 27, at which no agreement was reached.

² *Vide* 1st footnote of "Note to Bhulabhai J. Desai", 5-1-1945 and 2nd footnote of "Letter to Bhulabhai J. Desai", 20-2-1945.

go on doing your work.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10433. Also C.W. 6872. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

744. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 1, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read the whole thing. It seems to me I shall have to pay attention to a few things. I will not go too deeply into it. Do not expect any help from me but accept whatever help I can give. It is right that I should see my faults. It keeps me vigilant. In your view it is useless. It would be good if we could start a separate catering service. But that will not be possible. By and large we should serve to the guests the same food that we cook for ourselves. I understand about Kanchan. It will be a triumph for you if you secure her testimonial. Just now you don't have it. Do not think that she is not fully awake. To the extent that she is not, the fault lies with you and me. I do not distrust you. If I did, you would have left. It should be for me to decide what work to assign to whom, don't you think? "Forget Sevagram" means forget the village, not the Ashram. In telling you that you may have a separate establishment I have shown that such a step has my consent and my encouragement. If even then you do not do that, I shall take it as a matter of special credit to both of you. I cannot bear the thought of your refraining from having a separate establishment under the slightest pressure from me. Kanchan seems to wish to have one. I do want you to play a major role in stabilizing the kitchen. But you should do it my way. I think I have now replied to all your questions.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5828. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

745. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 1, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

If you cannot honourably take the money for Chi. Purushottam's¹ monthly expenses from there, you may obtain it from me. Let me know what it will come to per month. Take care of your health. Chi. Kanaiyo and Abha² may be going that way shortly. If they do, Kanaiyo will bring you another letter from me. Letters from him will continue as of now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II/508. Also C.W. 8690. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

746. LETTER TO VICHITRA NARAYAN SHARMA

March 1, 1945

CHI. VICHITRA,

I am answering in pencil. Later I shall have it copied out in ink.

The truth is that I want to make the beginning with the kind of person you mention. If with his help we can achieve expansion, well and good, but if we cannot it will not matter. Because in the long run only the new outlook can help us to expand the work. If we stick to the old way, the work will come to a standstill. Khadi will end up by being merely an occupation for the poor. This will not satisfy anyone. If workers have doubts in their hearts, we shall patiently have to remove them.

When I say that we should sincerely believe in the Charkha Sangh as the symbol of truth and non-violence and dedicate ourselves to propagating the idea, it does not at all mean that what we had so far been doing was a mistake. We have benefited from that too. But it would be foolish to imagine that we can continue to do so, for we have certainly gained in knowledge. If the new outlook destroys the fruits of our past work, then we have not understood the new outlook. It is like the elephant's foot that covers all other things. Yes, what will

¹ Addressee's son

² Kanu Gandhi's wife

certainly happen is that we shall not be content any more to carry on in the old way and we shall be spared the outcry for expanding it. We have some recent instances of this which I shall not go into here.

It will be false attachment if in our desire to expand the old we forget the new which is priceless. It will be unbecoming, if obsessed with the old, we lose hold of the new. If the old activity can be competently pursued by others they may by all means pursue it.

The question you ask as regards the institution I can answer only if you show me that it is not merely hypothetical but is based on facts.

We shall let the Punjab go ahead with the work if it can, provided we do not have to invest any funds. There can of course be no question of not wearing khadi.

Women spinners may continue to spin. How far we may commit funds for this is a practical question. Each case can be dealt with on the basis of its own merits. We should not invest any capital in silk and allied activities. If, however, there are funds to spare and it is found beneficial to have stocks in khadi bhandars then we may have stocks of silks and woollens. There must be the khadi spirit behind all this and we should ensure genuineness.

In the case of Kashmir, if the State does not impose upon us restrictions which we cannot accept, I should accept money from them under two conditions. All the institutions should be prepared to lose their funds. Maybe if the Charkha Sangh stakes its all nothing will be lost. But they must do so on their own responsibility. Whether the thing has my blessings or not should make no difference. One must base oneself on the situation as it is.

It is indeed the duty of the Sangh to satisfy the public as well as the workers. If however there is a higher duty, we must pursue it, too. After all, khadi and all other work we have done has been informed only by this view.

From Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

747. LETTER TO SHRIPAD JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. SHRIPAD,

What can be done if others become slack. I find that those who have somebody's backing are able to carry on. By saying "in a way"

I merely mean that a Congressman will never go and beg.¹

Even though Congressmen may also have taken part in it, it was not a Congress movement. Speeches and resolutions of the 7th and 8th² are a proof of this. I alone could have launched the movement and I did not in any manner start it. A wrong impression was created, no doubt. But what of that? See what Maulana Abul Kalam has to say. Laying down one's life was not forbidden but violence was.

I have written much about parliamentary work. Bari is here. Let everyone be his own leader, but only for himself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4234

748. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. My experiment can succeed; it can also fail. It can fail in the sense that I may not be able wholly to be free from passion. In satyagraha there is no room for failure causing the least harm.

If my experiment is that of a satyagrahi, no harm at all can come to anyone. I am answering in brief. You may write to me again if you do not get the meaning. I did have experiments with Ba, but that was not enough. If emission took place then, it would have been less regrettable morally than any emission occurring now. Emission was a possibility then. I feel it is not a possibility now. Occasion once came in my life when I came very near to emission. But I was saved. I have mentioned this in one of my articles.

This question gives me the impression that you do not understand the problem fully. It is surprising that you asked the question without trying first to get the correct information from me. What does it mean? What kind of trust is this? I do not have much time. If you want to know, I shall acquaint you with the facts. Then if questions occur to you that will be legitimate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4492

¹ Vide "Note to Shripad Joshi", 22-2-1945.

² Of August 1942.

749. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 1, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your letter. You should find your answer in my letter. The idea is this. I deliberately want to become a eunuch mentally. If I succeed in this then I become one physically also. That alone is true *brahmacharya*. I saw an opportunity and seized it.

If it is satyagraha it can never cause physical harm, nor even moral harm. That is to say, it can only do good. This is what experience proves. What can happen when a bad person meets a good person? If my conduct is trusted there can be no harm, whoever may be my associate. This in any case must be clear. My reference is not to 35 years but 21 years.¹ You have either not noticed it or have forgotten it.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5892. Also C.W. 5892

750. LETTER TO DEVI PRASAD

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. DEVIPRASAD²,

I deal with your letter today.

You cannot categorically say either that I would or would not come on a full moon day. My going there or not going there would be guided by considerations of duty.

Bread comes first and adornment afterwards. That has always been my belief. But since you are here, do whatever you conveniently can. Learn here what true art is.

The art teacher should first take up some work which would enable him to earn his livelihood. Later on he may paint and teach painting. Such artists alone will teach true art.

You will remember what I had said about the broom. Sweeping is a great art. Where to keep the broom, how to handle it, should there be one broom or different brooms for different jobs, should one stand erect or bend while sweeping, should one raise dust or sprinkle water

¹ The Hindi here is not clear.

² An art graduate of Santiniketan. He was later co-editor with Marjorie Sykes of the journal *Nayee Talim*.

before sweeping, does one sweep the corners, pay attention to the walls and the roof—all these questions should occur to an artist. Only then would he find beauty in sweeping.

There is therefore a place for a true artist in Nayee Talim. I have already told you who is a true artist. Nanda Babu comes very close to my ideal, though perhaps he is not the perfect ideal. However, he is so big a man that it would be highly improper for me to say anything in criticism of him. Read the article I wrote on my talks with Gurudev.¹ Write to me if you wish to ask anything more.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

751. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

BHAI KATJU,

I saw your letter about Father's illness. Your wife has gone and so will Father, some day if not today. Let us do our duty. Everything rests on that.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KATJU

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

752. LETTER TO TEJWANTI

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. TEJWANTI,

I have your letter. You should have a certificate from there. When you have that you can come here. You will have to do Ashram work and devote only the spare time to learning. Here the heat has started. It may possibly relent in June. Bear in mind that your coming here will be meaningless if there is a risk of your health being affected. It is better that you come after due deliberation. Write to me if you decide to come and start when you have my reply. I have not

¹ It is not clear which particular article Gandhiji is referring to.

asked anyone but if you wish I will do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

TEJWANTI
CHARKHA SANGH
ADAMPUR

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

753. TELEGRAM TO URMILADEVI¹

March 2, 1945

URMILADEVI
211, B HINDUSTAN PARK
RASHBEHARI AVENUE POST
CALCUTTA

FIRST LET ME SEE MITRA'S SCHEME. THEN HE
CAN COME WHEN I WRITE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

754. TELEGRAM TO VACHCHHRAJBHAI DOSHI

March 2, 1945

VACHCHHRAJBHAI DOSHI
PANCHGANI

WRITING NEED NOT COME.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

755. LETTER TO ALLADI K. KRISHNASWAMY IYER

March 2, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I enclose copies of a communication received from the Bombay Government's departmental officials objecting to the All India Spinners' Association carrying on its work under the name "Akhil

¹ Sister of C. R. Das

Bharat Charkha Sangh” on the ground that the English title of the Association registered under the Charitable Societies’ Act should alone be used and the translated name makes it an unauthorized body prohibited by the Companies’ Act from doing business without being registered as a company under that Act. It seems to me that this is a silly objection. Kindly go through the papers and please dictate a reply to be sent to the Government of Bombay on behalf of the Spinners’ Association.

I was very sorry to learn from Rajagopalachari about the unfortunate accident which has kept you in bed suffering for the past many weeks. I hope you will soon be quite well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SIR ALLADI K. KRISHNASWAMY IYER

C/O SHRI A. VAIDYANATH IYER

SANDAI PETTAI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

756. NOTE TO KISHNACHANDRA

March 2, 1945

Do not worry about inconvenience to me. You may do the weaving and look after the children side by side. Spend less time talking.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4495

757. LETTER TO BALVANT SINHA

March 2, 1945

CHI. B.,

It is good you speak about home. I did remember what I had said. If I were to be asked again I would give the same answer.

I am trying to return all your letters.

I have certainly entrusted you with work of responsibility. I value your worth. Why do you worry if it is not as you wish?

I shall give you all the time you ask for to speak about me. Which would you prefer—8 o’clock in the evening or between 7 and

8 in the morning? We shall fix the time after you let me know. Which of you will be coming? It does not matter to me who comes.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1954

758. LETTER TO GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

SEVAGRAM,

March 3, 1945

DEAR PREMIER,

I have had a copy of your letter to Lala Brij Lal. You have either misquoted me or have been misguided yourself by some garbled report. Here is my full letter¹ (translated) to a Gujarati paper in Ahmedabad. You will see that in my opinion the ban should first be removed. The question of revision can arise only then. Please make the correction yourself.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

SIR GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

PRIME MINISTER

GOVERNMENT OF SIND

KARACHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

759. LETTER TO L. KAMESWARARAO SARMA

SEVAGRAM,

March 3, 1945

DEAR L. KAMESWARARAO,

I have your good letter. Stick to the resolve you have conveyed to me. Leave all India alone, you have not even all the Southern naturopaths.

Dr. Sapru's committee is not the vehicle you need. Do not be in

¹ This is not traceable.

a hurry. A little but solid work is more than much but useless.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

L. KAMESWARARAO SARMA

PADUKKOTTAI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

760. LETTER TO TARACHAND

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

DEAR DR. TARACHAND,

I understand and appreciate the principle involved in No. 7 of your scheme. If full local autonomy is granted to Western Bengal and East Punjab as proposed in Nos. 1 and 2 of your scheme, it may overcome the objections of the Muslim League and obviate the necessity of dividing Bengal or Punjab.

This part of your scheme should be treated as an essential condition and not be considered as mere detail.

I do not follow the argument in No. 5. If, however, the people of the areas concerned are agreeable to dispense with a plebiscite, I would not insist on it. It is a matter for consideration what, apart from a plebiscite, would be a satisfactory proof of the people being agreeable to the proposal.

I presume that the step embodied in No. 4 will be simultaneous with and an integral part of the whole scheme.

Apart from and independent of these proposals I may add that if you can induce the League to accept the award of a board, say consisting of yourself and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, I would accept it.

You will mark the changes I have made in your draft, which I enclose herewith.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[ENCLOSURE]

Suggested changes shown in margin.

My interpretation of Mahatmaji's letter of 24th September, 1944, to Mr. Jinnah is as follows:

- (a) that Mahatmaji's terms are an acceptance of the claim for separation according to a reasonable interpretation of the Muslim League resolution of 1940
- (a) that Mahatmaji accepts the Muslim claim for separation as contained in the Muslim League resolution of 1940.¹
- (b) Mahatmaji is agreeable to the appointment of a commission consisting of representatives of the Congress and the League immediately for the delimitation of the boundaries of the separate sovereign States.
- (c) Mahatmaji wants that the sovereign States will immediately enter into a treaty for the purpose of
- (i) safeguarding interests of minorities,
 - (ii) establishing a machinery for the administration of subjects of common concern.

But Mahatmaji desires that the wishes of the inhabitants of the areas to be demarcated into sovereign States should be ascertained by a plebiscite.

Mahatmaji does not agree with the theory that the Hindus of the whole of India or the Muslims of the whole of India constitute two separate nations. In my (Tarachand's) opinion Mahatmaji has substantially accepted the Muslim demand and agreed to the establishment of two sovereign and independent States in India. The differences between Mahatmaji and Mr. Jinnah are:

- (1) Mahatmaji wants before separation a plebiscite.
- (2) He does not believe in the theory of religious or communal nationality.

¹Vide Appendix "Resolution Passed by All-India Muslim League", 23-3-1940.

- (3) He desires that the machinery for administration of matters of common interest should be embodied in the treaty of separation.

I suggest that the differences between Mahatmaji and Mr. Jinnah can be eliminated provided an agreement is arrived at as follows:

- (1) The sovereign and independent States in the North-West and East and in the rest of India should be federations. The units of these federations will be, in the North-West:
 - (i) Baluchistan,
 - (ii) North-West Frontier Province,
 - (iii) Western and Central Punjab,
 - (iv) South-Eastern Punjab (one or two units)
 - (v) Sind.
 - (2) These units will have certain subjects including culture, education, personal law, etc., under the control of the governments of the units. The federal government will have the usual federal and common subjects under its control.
 - (3) Similarly there may be units in Bengal, if the inhabitants of Bengal so desire and the remaining India will form one federation.
 - (4) These two federations will by treaty establish a confederation of independent and sovereign federations for the administration of matters of common interest, e. g., defence, customs, foreign affairs, communications.
 - (5) The establishment of the confederation eliminates the necessity of a plebiscite, which therefore need not be held.
 - (6) The subjects of each federation will be the full nationals and no discrimination will be made among them on the ground of race or creed.
 - (7) The establishment of federations in different regions obviates the need for any large adjustment of the present boundaries of the provinces.
 - (8) The provisions about the establishment of federations and confederations will be embodied in the treaty of separation.
- (b) The subjects of each federation will be full nationals and no discrimination will be made among them in the matter of voting or otherwise on the ground of race or creed.

From a photostat: G.N. 5120

761. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

MY DEAR SINGER,

Herewith is a line¹ of magic or no magic for Randheer² in the hope that he will pull up.

But are you well?

Love.

BAPU

SMT. SAROJINI DEVI

HYDERABAD (DN.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

762. LETTER TO RANDHEER NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

MY DEAR RANDHEER,

I see you enter upon a fresh year on 7th. That means one year less to live and serve. But you must will to live your full time for service. Do.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

763. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

BHAI BALASAHEB,

I am sure you will at any rate read the enclosed. If you can go, please do give that much time to Kathiawar. It will bear fruit. But if you really cannot go can you suggest some other name?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2774

¹Vide the following item.

² Addressee's son who died on April 30, 1945

764. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 3, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have also forwarded to Balasaheb, with my recommendation, your letter addressed to me.¹ He may not come for a month, in which case I have requested him to suggest another name. Perhaps Kanaiyo can be of help there. He is of course writing to him. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8621. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

765. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 3, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have gone through all your letters. I did not feel there was anything in them which Su. should see. If I have done an injustice, haven't I washed it off by permitting you to write without any restraint? The truth is that I have done you no injustice. Your way was clear. You should not have said anything. "We are more than even brother and sister. Why should we involve even you in this?"

I will approve of a catering service. Why should then there be any need for separate arrangements for the Ashram? Everyone can feed there. A catering service could mean that one should be served what one ordered, subject to the normal limitations of the service. The present kitchen itself may be turned into a catering service. That would solve the problem and save us all from bother.

There is no such thing as an avatar. If there is, then all of us are avatars. Aren't we, whether we know it or not, each a part of His being? Rama was not the only avatar. Narasimha also was one, and so were the Fish and the Tortoise. Weren't the monkeys partial avatars? The question you have raised ought not to have been raised at all. I do not see the Ashram as a hospital. But in any case this work serves a useful purpose. It can be organized as a separate department, with separate quarters and kitchen. Others would then be concerned with it

¹Vide the preceding item.

only when they needed medicine. I thus see no reason for bitterness.

Today I have received letters from Kishorelalbhai and some others in this connection. I should indeed like some of you to read them. If you too think like them you should leave me, or let me go. I am ready for either contingency. I am not in the least afraid of the charge against me, but I am of you all, for any step you take will depend on yourself or myself or ourselves. I had already drafted the public statement I intended to issue, before I received the above mentioned letters. I had been thinking of it for the last two days, but could find the time only today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5836. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

766. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 3, 1945

You or Sushila should have said it—either to yourselves or aloud—and then calmed down, because you two and others like you are and should be more to each other than brother and sister. I myself should have supplied the quotation marks.¹ But surely I cannot attend to all that. The best thing would be for you to come—either at 5.30 or after 3.30—and remove them.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8640

767. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 3, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Shall I tell Aryanayakum or write to him on your behalf about the library?

Be firm in not indulging in idle talk.

You have interpreted “evidence” correctly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4494

¹*Vide* “Letter to Munnalal G. Shah”, 3-3-1945. The quotation marks are, however, from the source.

768. *LETTER TO GHANSHYAMSINGH*

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAMSINGH,

I have your letter. I have written to the head. I send you a copy of the letter. There is nothing more that remains to be done, is there?¹

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

769. *LETTER TO SHANTABEHN*

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

CHI. SHANTABEHN,

What Yash has sent me is I suppose a copy. It is all right, but what have I done? Write to the Government about your health. Show me the letter before you send it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

770. *LETTER TO VENKATESHWAR RAO*

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,²

Your letter is certainly all right. I hope you will get it. You do much writing. Let me have your requirement with details. The doctors will scrutinize it and then place it before the committee. You will get the help on the same conditions as the others do.

Blessings from
BAPU

VENKATESHWAR RAO
NATUROPATH
GANDHI ASHRAM
KOMAROVOLU, ANDHRA

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

¹ The letter is unsigned.

² This is in English.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM K. M. MUNSHI¹

BOMBAY VIEW,
MATHERAN,
October 12, 1944

RESPECTED BAPU,

Received your letter dated the 9th. . . .

I too believe in freedom of speech. But the question before me on the night of 1-8-39 was to quell the dreadful riot that had just begun. It was my duty to take promptly all the measures that were imperative to bring the situation under control. And I had (also) to see that some three or four papers that fanned the (communal) passion did not add fuel to the fire. I did not think I was disregarding the principle of freedom of speech in keeping a check on it when it was misused. Even today I do think so.

My Jaipur speech was the result of my study of that problem. You will not find any contradiction in it if I put it (before you) point by point. . . .

(1) Sanskrit is our most valuable treasure. With its help alone we can make our languages as powerful as English and French. . . .

(2) The power of our language which can express thought and creative endeavour belongs in general to the Sanskrit element. And so, if we are going to evolve in India a medium for expressing our thoughts and literature there is no alternative except resorting to the use of Sanskrit words. . . . Today I have before me the problem of the technical terms for law, philosophy and psychology. Where can we have the Indian medium except from Sanskrit? . . . I do not think I have drifted away from your stand at Nagpur (and) Indore and which I had accepted.

(3) I do not also see any opposition to the Congress policy in my address. As I have understood, the Congress aims to make the colloquial Hindustani a common medium for the whole country. . . . But how can the colloquial Hindustani be the medium of thought or literature? The moment it attempts to be (any) such thing, it has got to seek the help of Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic words. . . . I cannot speak in that language unless I use Sanskrit words. There is no intentional Sanskritization; nothing else is possible.

(4) If Hindustani is to be the medium in the legislatures or the colleges, there are bound to be two forms of the language: one will be Sanskritized (and) the other Persianized. . . .

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here; *vide* "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 9-10-1944.

(5) One reason why you have not liked my address may be that in one paragraph the experiment of the 'Hindustani Samiti' (carried on) under your guidance is criticized. What the Samiti is attempting to do is not the propagation of 'colloquial Hindustani' but evolving a new style. Among its characteristics are: (1) abandoning the *tatsama* forms of Sanskrit words, (2) incorporating the *tatsama* forms of Persian words, (3) introducing an Arabic or a Persian word in the form of an Urdu word even if a *tatsama* Sanskrit word has been traditionally accepted, (4) giving preference to Persian words in cases where both Sanskrit and Persian words are current. . . .

Yours respectfully,

KANU MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 446-9

APPENDIX II

A STATEMENT¹

SEVAGRAM,

October 29, 1944

Talks about the possibility of Gandhiji going on a fast have upset many friends and co-workers. Their love for him makes them shudder at the very thought of his undergoing the ordeal of another fast at his age and in his present state of health. Although he is keeping fairly fit and is putting in a full day's work his reserve of energy is low. He is still slightly anaemic and the two intestinal parasites, hook-worm and amoebae, which are lying latent at present, can get the upper hand at any moment if his general condition is run down. Moreover, they feel that a fast on his part at this stage will add to the general demoralization and increase the popular bitterness against the Government.

Gandhiji is not perturbed by considerations of his age or his frailness. His stand has always been that if God wants to take work from him He will spare him. If his work is over, there is no point in prolonging his sojourn in this world. However, friends have a right to feel that it is not wise to tempt Providence too often.

As for the risk of increase of demoralization and bitterness as a result of the fast, he does not think it likely. A purely non-violent act cannot result in such a thing.

Asked as to why he thinks he may have to fast, he said that ever since his release from prison he had an instinctive feeling that another fast lay in store for him. Of late that feeling had taken a more concrete form. The organized violence and slaughter of Truth all over has oppressed him deeply. To take a few illustrations, the cause of millions dying of starvation according to him is not altogether scarcity of food. Food is allowed to rot in godowns while people die for the want of it. It is a sad

¹ *Vide* "Statement on Proposed Fast", 29-10-1944.

tale of mismanagement and corruption. Those who grow food have to go without it. The Government officials, instead of being their protectors, are acting as their exploiters. And it is not the Government officials alone who are to blame. Our own people, middlemen, petty traders and big merchants have not hesitated to make money at the cost of human life. It is a tragedy. Unofficial and official exploitation go on side by side. Without the former, the latter can have no *locus standi*. From top to bottom the whole system is corrupt. The Government connives at unofficial corruption. That is the way in which violence works. It organizes all the forces of evil. As against this non-violence must act by organizing all the forces of goodness. If the nation had the control of the Government, this terrible bribery and corruption, which might if at all find its parallel in the bribery and corruption of Lord Clive's days, would not take place. A national government having the confidence of the people can very largely mitigate their sufferings. But there seems to be no chance of it. He described to what lengths he had gone to woo the Viceroy. But the Government were blinded by the intoxication of power. The vision of victory, which would be no victory but merely preparation for another war, had made them indifferent. How was he to demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence under the circumstances? How could he relieve the sufferings of the dumb millions? By conducting a mass movement? He had already showed why it was not to be thought of. He could not lead or bless a mass civil disobedience movement today. Then what could he do? He had claimed that non-violence was always more than a match for violence however well organized. How could he make that claim good? At the beginning of the War, English friends had written to him asking how individual pacifists could fight spreading wave of violence and bloodshed. He had suggested fasting as one of the remedies. Some of them had laughed at the suggestion, but he stuck to it. A time might come for him to test that remedy in his own case. That was perhaps the only way to wake up the conscience of mankind.

Untouchability was another manifestation of violence. He had repeated it from house-tops that if untouchability lived Hinduism must perish. The two could not go on side by side. Though much progress was made why did it still persist?

Then, there was the question of communal disharmony. It was also a manifestation of violence. He had striven against it from his early youth.

Why did his non-violence appear to be impotent in the face of these various manifestations of untruth and violence? Was he an unworthy exponent of non-violence? Should he not again crucify the flesh in order to become a better instrument? Knowing the remedy, how could he evade it? That the fast might fail to bring about the desired result or might end in death should not be a deterrent.

Asked about the nature of the fast, he said he did not know it himself. He was still groping. He was not aware as to when it would come, if at all. All he could say was that the call was insistent.

If the fast did come, he hoped that the people would not become panicky or grief-stricken. He expected them to co-operate with him in clearing the air of

violence in every shape or form. That was the best way of ending the fast and even of preventing it.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy; National Library, Calcutta

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU¹

Personal

October 25, 1944

MY DEAR GANDHI,

I have just read in *The Hindustan Times* of the 24th of October your statement issued after the enquiry made by Mr. Horniman as to whether you are contemplating another fast to achieve communal unity. I know I have no place as an adviser in these matters and I am most reluctant to offer advice to anyone in regard to any matter which is based on spiritual considerations. I am approaching the whole thing from a secular point of view. I think it would be a great mistake to undertake a fast at this time of your life. The consequences might be disastrous. I do not think that your fast will be helpful in the solution of the communal problem. You may undertake a fast by way of penance, purification or protest, but the real question is as to what effect it is going to produce on the minds of those without whose agreement there can be no communal settlement. I do not think those who are taking a different view will be at all influenced by your fast. Indeed some of them may uncharitably suggest that you are putting undue pressure on them. Personally speaking I think that it is very necessary that you must continue to live. Your failure on the last occasion does not mean that you will always fail. Your motives are pure and I think your approach to the whole question is sound, if I may respectfully say so. What you have not been able to achieve so far, God willing, you may achieve it a few months later. I consider it my duty to write to you as plainly as I possibly can against the step which is said to be within your contemplation.

You will forgive me if I have encroached upon your time

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA, C.P.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

¹ *Vide* Letter to T. B. Sapru”, 1-11-1944.

APPENDIX IV

(a) LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU¹

Personal and Confidential

GYAN BAGH,
HYDERABAD DECCAN,
November 4, 1944

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Your two letters of the 1st and the 3rd of November were handed over to me yesterday at the Wardha station by Devdas. I also received your letter through Dr. Beni Prasad.

I have not issued any statement about an All Parties Conference but have written to certain friends and am awaiting their replies. The idea seems to me to be vague and indefinite. We must decide as to who are the persons to be invited and what will be the agenda. It is quite clear that the gentlemen whom we invite will not come there in their representative capacity. Your presence at the Conference will be a source of great strength and you can certainly make a statement telling us in plain language as to what led to the breakdown of the conversations at Bombay. You say the Conference may meet to consider the causes of the failure of the talks and to find whose fault it was which led to the breakdown. I should not advise that Conference to find whose fault it was, because once we do it will lead to interminable controversy. If we call such a Conference and hear you I think we may consider what further steps it is necessary to take to solve the problem. From this point of view the proposed conference will be an exploratory one and may thus 'inform and educate public opinion'.

I am very anxious that you should on no account undertake a fast. I know how deeply spiritual you are and I also know that in your case the call of religion means much more than in the case of 99 out of a hundred. You will pardon me if I take a matter-of-fact and practical view of the thing. I am definitely certain that although it may bring solace to your heart and you may feel that you have done the penance for what you consider to be the evils of the present day, your fast will not melt the heart of your opponents. On the contrary I feel some of them may be uncharitable enough to attribute to you unworthy motives. Never before in our history was it more necessary than now that you should live to guide the people of this country on the true path of nationalism. My own conviction is and has been for years that irrespective of what the British Government may or may not do this monster of communalism should be killed. Whatever your critics may say I honestly believe that you are the one man in the country who does not think on communal lines and it would be a disaster for the country if it was deprived at this juncture of your guidance.

¹ Vide "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 3-11-1944.

You are the one man who can withstand opposition, ridicule and even the attribution of unworthy motives to you. Above all you have the courage to take the right line. I am saying that in absolute sincerity even though I differ from you and have differed from you in regard to civil disobedience.

I have told Devdas that according to my information some changes in high quarters may be expected, but whether that information is true or not, the existing situation cannot last very long and when the time comes for practical steps to be taken towards the settlement of national differences I believe your voice will be the determining factor. I do not want that voice to be silenced. I am, therefore, appealing to you with all the earnestness I am capable of not to undertake such a fast.

As regards my coming to Wardha if I can get away on the evening of the 7th or the 8th and arrangements can be made for reservations from Wardha to Itarsi and from Itarsi to Allahabad I should in response to your message like to break journey at Wardha for a few hours. . . .

With my profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA, C.P.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

(b) A RESOLUTION¹

The Standing Committee of the non-party Conference, having considered the present situation in view of the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal issue, hereby resolves to appoint a committee which will examine the whole communal and minorities question from a constitutional and political point of view, put itself in touch with different parties and their leaders including the minorities interested in the question and present a solution within two months to the Standing Committee of the Non Party Conference. The Standing Committee will take all reasonable steps to get that solution accepted by all parties concerned.

The Standing Committee authorises the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to appoint members of the Committee and announce their names in due course.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

¹ This was sent to T.B. Sapru by Devdas Gandhi under instructions from Gandhiji. *Vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 3-11-1944 and "Letter to Vikram A. Sarabhai", 27-11-1944.

(c) *NAMES SUGGESTED FOR CONCILIATION COMMITTEE*¹

The Standing Committee of the non-party Conference should meet at Delhi on the 18th November 1944 and appoint the following committee for the purpose mentioned hereinafter:

1. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chairman;
2. Sir B. N. Rau;
3. The Metropolitan of Calcutta;
4. Sir Maurice Gwyer;
5. Sir N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar;
6. Mr. Syed Abdulla Brelvi;
7. Sir Mirza Ismail;
8. Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan;
9. Sir S. Radhakrishnan;
10. Mr. J. R. D. Tata (or Sir Homi Modi);
11. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh;
12. Dr. Zakir Husain;
13. Dr. Abdul Huq;
14. Mr. Muniswami Pillai; and
15. Sardar Sant Singh

The purpose of the committee will be as follows:

In view of the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal issue the committee will examine the whole question from a constitutional and political point of view, put itself in touch with the parties and their leaders interested in the question and present a solution within two months and take all reasonable steps to get that solution accepted by all parties concerned.

WARDHA, 9-11-1944

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

¹ *Vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 3-11-1944.

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM DURLAB SINGH¹

LAHORE,

November 12, 1944

RESPECTED BAPUJI,

. . . The Congress had promised in its Lahore Resolution of 1929 that no constitution would be acceptable to the Congress which does not give the fullest satisfaction to the Sikhs. You know a large number of Sikhs are perturbed over Rajaji's proposals. Supposing Mr. Jinnah had accepted the proposals in full, or in an amended form, what would have been the position of the Sikhs in that?

Even the Akalis feel very indignant because you did not touch the question of meeting a Sikh deputation as suggested by Master Tara Singh in his letter. Can you please make it clear why it was not considered desirable to invite the Sikh leaders before proceeding to Mr. Jinnah for the talks?

Mr. Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution clearly states that the Congress would be no party to the vivisection of the country. Is it not a fact that Rajaji's proposals run counter to that resolution? The Sikh public is made to believe that Gandhiji does not favour the idea of the Sikhs remaining in the Congress because of their belief in the sword. . . .

Master Tara Singh and other responsible Akali leaders have often declared in the Press and on the platform that the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact was enacted with the consent and blessings of the Congress High Command and Sardar Patel's special representative who was present in the Punjab throughout the negotiations and that the Sardar was kept informed of all the developments. Further, it is said that the Azad Punjab scheme was introduced with your consent and blessings. The nationalist Sikhs regard both the schemes as anti-national and opposed to the interests of the country and the community. Can you kindly guide us in the matter?

In the end I will request you, Bapuji, to give a general assurance to the nationalist Sikhs that their interests are safe in your hands and that they will not be sacrificed at any cost. The heart of the Sikh masses is with the Congress and nationalism and patriotism are their proud heritage. They cannot depart from these principles, but let them have this satisfaction at least that the Congress will do no injustice to them and . . . that they will have their proper place in free India.

Praying for your long life,

Yours sincerely,

DURLAB SINGH

The Indian Annual Register, 1944, Vol. II, pp. 221-2

¹*Vide* "Letter to Durlabh Singh", 14-11-1944

APPENDIX VI

RESOLUTION PASSED BY A.I.S.A.¹

[On or before *December 3, 1944*]

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Charkha Sangh was held at Sevagram on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd December 1944, under the presidentship of Shree Gandhiji and the following decisions were taken:

The roots of the spinning-wheel lie in the villages and the consummation of the ideal of the Charkha Sangh is to be completely decentralized among the villages of India to bring about an all-round improvement of village life. This meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Charkha Sangh therefore resolves that with a view to this end the following changes should be made in the policy of the Sangh:

(i) As many qualified workers as are ready and are selected by the Board should be sent to work in the villages.

(ii) The activities of the existing sale depots and production centres of khadi should be curtailed.

(iii) Necessary changes should be made in the curricula of the existing khadi training centres and their scope broadened. New training centres should also be opened.

(iv) If in any area (not bigger than a district) the workers ask to be made self-sufficient and autonomous in order to begin work on the new lines laid down by the Charkha Sangh the Sangh should, if it approves of their plans, withdraw from that area but continue to give its recognition and moral support so long as the work is carried on according to its policy.

(v) A Joint Board of the nominees of the Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh and Goseva Sangh should be constituted to meet from time to time and issue instructions in terms of the new policy.

The Sangh shall be represented in the Joint Board by its President, its Secretary and Shri Dharendra Majmudar, while the other four Sanghs shall have two nominees each besides Gandhiji.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-1-1945

¹ *Vide* "Resolution Passed by A.I.S.A. Trustees", 1-12-1944.

APPENDIX VII

GUIDELINES FOR PROPOSED INTERIM GOVERNMENT¹

January 5, 1945

The following were the various steps proposed to be taken in this behalf as they emerged from their discussion and the elucidations provided by Gandhiji from time to time:

1. The Congress and the League would agree that they would join in forming an Interim Government in the Centre (a) consisting of equal numbers of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature, (b) representatives of minorities, and (c) the Commander-in-Chief.

2. While the Government would be formed and would function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act, it would be clearly understood between the Congress and the League that any measure not passed by the House should not be enforced or sought to be enforced by any of the powers of the Governor-General under the Constitution. This would serve to eliminate in action the veto of the Governor-General and make the nominees responsible to the elected Legislature.

3. The European member, if one had to be included, should be the choice of the Congress and the League.

4. It should be agreed between the Congress and the League in advance that if such Interim Government was formed” their first step would be to release the members of the Working Committee. A firm and clear commitment of the League in regard to this would be a preliminary proof of its *bona fides*.

5. Bhulabhai must make sure before committing himself to anything that the agreement he had in view had the previous approval of Jinnah and the whole thing should be clarified and reduced to writing so as not to lead to any ambiguity or misunderstanding afterwards.

6. If such a Government was formed at the Centre, the next step would be to get the withdrawal of Governor’s rule in the Provinces and to form, as soon as possible, Provincial Governments on the lines of a coalition.

7. At the proper moment Gandhiji would tell the Working Committee that Bhulabhai had acted with his approval.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 117-9

¹*Vide* “Note to Bhulabhai J. Desai”, 5-1-1945.

APPENDIX VIII

LETTER FROM P. C. JOSHI¹

BOMBAY,
February 1, 1945

DEAR GANDHIJI,

My last letter to you was dated 28th September, 1944. You had promised in an earlier letter that you will refer the question of our moral *bona fides* and your what I may call anti-Communist file to your worthy colleagues. I hope they have reached their conclusions and reported to you. But I have not heard anything from you yet.

You perhaps do not know that your name is being used against us in the recent Congressmen's Conferences and even otherwise by persons who pretend to know your mind, etc. I know that most of what they attribute to you could never have been said by you. But my own lips are sealed till my correspondence with you is concluded over the questions you asked me and they were very serious questions, doubting our elementary patriotic and moral *bona fides*. I hope with the help of your Working Committee colleagues" you have reached the conclusion that we are not unworthy children of our great people.

Great things are happening in the world but our country is going to pieces. We are anxious to write to you on the big political issues but as I wrote to you before" it will be waste of your time and mine till you are convinced about our intellectual honesty and moral integrity.

I understand from Dr. Mahmud that you think that you are the aggrieved party. This is exactly the opposite of what we feel. I" of course, meant no offence but only expressed my indignation at my Party being slandered and offered to go into the dock straightaway. I do not know what else I could do. Sjt. Bhulabhai and Mrs. Naidu had promised to speed up the matter but I have not heard from them at all. Rajaji told me that he had already told you all that he had to.

May I request you for an answer as soon as you can and to get your colleagues speed up their report to you.

I could send Mohan to pick up the answer and answer any further questions he feels himself qualified to tackle. I am going to Bengal for three weeks today. Could your answer be ready by the time I am back? Mohan will be very busy in my absence and will find it very difficult to come there in February" unless you specially want him to; but any date after 7 March will be best.

With respectful salutations,

Yours sincerely,
P. C. JOSHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, pp. 38-9

¹ *Vide* "Letter to P. C. Joshi", 5-2-1945.

APPENDIX IX
LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU¹

January 13, 1945

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I hope you are better now. I have been reading the news about your health in the newspapers.

I have now much pleasure in sending you herewith a copy of the questionnaire framed by the committee of which I am the Chairman. I dare say your attention has already been called to it. I shall be extremely grateful to you if you will favour the committee with a short memorandum stating your views generally and answering the questions or such of them as you prefer to answer.

So far there has been a good response to the committee excepting in certain quarters. Mr. Jinnah has declined to recognize the committee or to meet me as Chairman of the committee though he has no objection to meeting me in my individual capacity. Dr. Ambedkar promised support when we first met in November last at Delhi but has withdrawn it because he has objection to the personnel of the committee. The attitude of the Sikhs has been very encouraging so far. I am going on the 16th of January to Lahore to see the Sikh and Hindu leaders and shall try also to meet such Muslim leaders as have no objection to meeting me.

The work of the committee is being done at great pressure. We have already collected much material and more will be ready soon. I do not wish to trouble you with details but I shall be extremely grateful if you will favour me with a short memorandum. I am also sending you separately the two pamphlets already brought out, others are in the course of being printed.

With kindest regards and best wishes for your early recovery,

Yours sincerely,

Encl. Questionnaire
MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

¹ *Vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 8-2-1945.