THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXIX

(1945)

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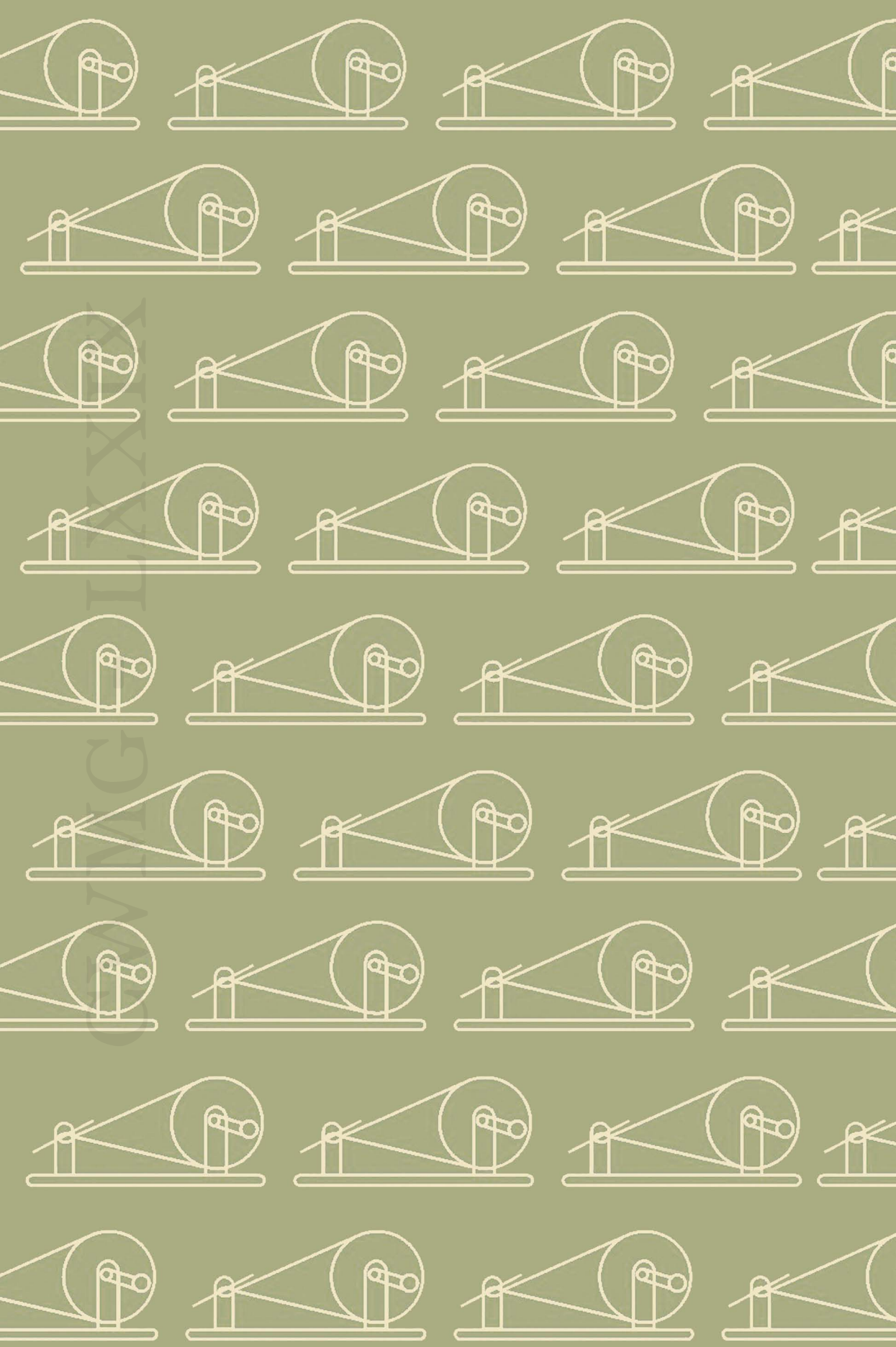


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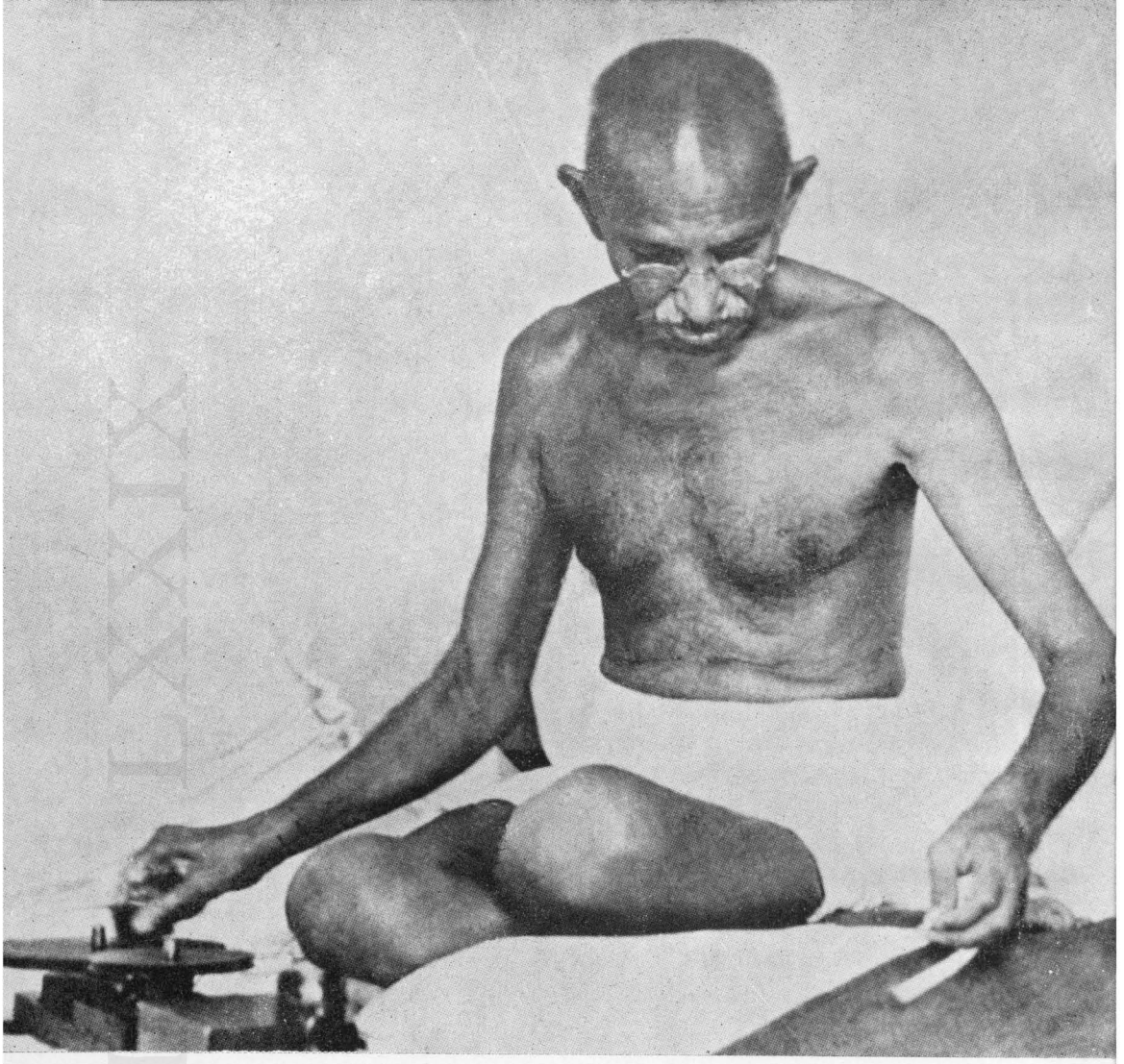

COMPLEXE

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXIX

(January 1 – April 24, 1945)

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SPINNING IN BOMBAY

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PREFACE

The period of less than four months (January 1-April 24, 1945) covered by the present volume does not in essential respects differ from the period preceding it. The Congress Working Committee, along with the thousands of active workers arrested in 1942, continued to languish in captivity. (On the Government's own admission the number of political prisoners in February was around 15,000.) Suppression of all political activity in all provinces still remained the policy. Mass repression and resort to draconian laws, especially in Bengal, Sind and to some extent Bihar, further aggravated the situation, making any initiative to end the deadlock well-nigh impossible.

The only developments of some constitutional interest were the private initiatives of Bhulabhai Desai and Tej Bahadur Sapru which in the end did not amount to much. When Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, sought Gandhiji's support for his efforts to negotiate with Liaquat Ali Khan, the Muslim League leader, a formula that would enable a coalition Government to be installed at the Centre, Gandhiji was sceptical, but he was anxious to break the political deadlock and for this purpose to gain the League's support for the release of the Working Committee members. "You may," he told Bhulabhai, "do what you think best. My own thinking runs in the opposite direction to the parliamentary one." And he added the condition that "the League should join in the efforts to get the Working Committee released" (pp. 10-11). However, under Bhulabhai's proposals the members of the Working Committee were not to be released till after the interim government had been formed. The Viceroy's advisers saw in the proposals a "right-wing move" which provided the British a golden opportunity to split the Congress. But the British Cabinet were not sure about the credentials of Bhulabhai Desai and wanted commitments from the Congress which Desai had no authority to make.

A notable event during the period was the convening on April 25 of the Conference at San Francisco that launched the United Nations Organization. Gandhiji in a statement issued on the eve of the Conference gave expression to the fear that "behind the structure of world security sought to be raised lurk mistrust and fear which breed war". He urged the Allies

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to "shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud" and to "hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations". He called for universal disarmament, with "an international police force to enforce the lightest terms of peace". Declaring that "exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars", he called for "the complete freedom of India from all foreign control" (pp. 389-90).

Gandhiji's health had suffered a set-back. This caused worry throughout the nation. When the volume opens we find him informing anxious enquirers that he had got rid of the complaints, except for the amoeba and hook-worm, "my old enemies", that he was "throwing off the poison". He attributed the ailment to his "sin in playing with Ayurveda". He rejected the advice that he should take to milk and daily enema—"I have lost faith in daily or frequent enema" (p. 9). He found diet and mud packs more beneficial. (pp. 1,2,6,9,12, 16 and *ff.*) "I am trying," he wrote, "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" (p. 26). He took keen interest in nature-cure treatment, which "means going towards Nature, towards God. Let us see where I arrive" (p. 17). His correspondence with nature-cure enthusiasts such as Dinshaw Mehta, A.N. Sharma, Kameswararao Sarma and Anand T. Hingorani brings out clearly his concern to make nature cure into an instrument for serving the poor; it made him sad that naturopaths disagreed and were also "obstinate and even lazy" (p. 51).

Gandhiji had sensed that though political freedom could not be long delayed it would not by itself bring an answer to the country's manifold problems. "Freedom is bound to come," he said, ". . . But mere political freedom will not satisfy me . . . Independence of my conception means nothing less than the realization of the 'Kingdom of God within you and on this earth'. I would rather work for and die in the pursuit of this dream though it may never be realized" (p. 300). What he envisaged was "a moral non-violent revolution in all the departments of life of a big nation, at the end of which castes and untouchability . . . must vanish, differences between Hindu and Muslim must become things of the past . . . and Princes and capitalists must live as perfect friends with the whole mass of India as the real and legal trustees of the people . . ." (p. 131). In concrete terms

this meant the regeneration of villages, which "ought to become prosperous in the real sense". This prosperity was not to come from outside; it should grow from within the villages as a result of the labour of every villager (p. 24). The task thus was that of harnessing the creative energies of the vast mass of rural India. This task, Gandhiji was convinced, could be accomplished only through a vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme, and the theme underlined in the volume is the streamlining of the constructive work of the various organizations such as the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., the Kasturba Trust and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The speeches Gandhiji made at the deliberations of these bodies form the bulk of the items in the volume, apart from the numerous letters.

These endeavours to reorganize constructive work were regarded by the British rulers with suspicion and unease. They saw in them preparations for launching a civil disobedience movement and in any case attempts to revive under other labels the Congress, which had been declared an unlawful organization in 1942. The Viceroy began sending concerned reports to London and the Administration was instructed not to countenance these activities. When in U. P. and Bihar a number of eminent leaders were arrested on flimsy pretexts, Gandhiji was forced to protest. Reiterating that "there is no plan under the present conditions to offer any form of mass civil disobedience", Gandhiji warned the Government against being too high-handed. "If things go on as they are doing in India," he said in a statement, ". . . victory won at the expense of India will mean that, out of the ashes of Fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism will have arisen a new monster that will seek to eat all it sees and in the attempt will be eaten up, leaving I know not what" (pp. 130-2).

He called upon the workers engaged in the constructive programme to "give expression to their faith not through words but through deeds" (p. 305). While they should devote their entire energies to making this programme a success, they were not to mix politics with it. "This mixing," he said, "of politics and constructive work helps neither. I entirely concur with the view that for full justice to be done to constructive work it must stand on its own feet and should not be tied to political work" (p. 297). The emphasis in the constructive programme was as ever on khadi. Gandhiji was anxious that khadi should not "end up by being merely an occupation for the poor" (p. 190), rather it should become the symbol of a moral social order free from exploitation. He called upon the workers not to be deterred

from doing anti-untouchability work, out of fear that they might come into conflict with Ambedkar's followers, Gandhiji said: ". . . we should not let ourselves be provoked or give up our work because of it. We should reach their hearts and understand their feelings . . . At the same time it will also be right if those who consider anti-untouchability work as a part of the political programme of the Congress pursue it as such." The political and social programmes were distinct, but both were equally "religious". And so it was explained : "Religious duty is a very subtle and complicated thing. It is not a commodity that can be bought and sold. Perpetual inner searching is needed in order to discover it" (p. 298).

In Bengal, the people were starving amid surplus rice stocks. The poor could find not a scrap of cloth to cover their backs. Malaria had become endemic over wide areas. The agony in certain districts, like Midnapore and Chittagong, was beyond endurance. Gandhiji was most eager to rush to Bengal and make common cause with the starving dumb masses. "I want to be with the people and touch their decaying bones" (p. 30). He could not make the visit. The Governor, on instructions from Delhi, would not permit him to visit Midnapore and Gandhiji refused to accept the condition.

Gandhiji remained at Sevagram most of the time, deeply involved in the affairs of the Ashram. "My true body," he said "is the Ashram. If the Ashram is nothing, then I am nothing" (p. 323). There were disagreements and feuds among co-workers, in which Gandhiji had to act as arbitrator. Since he was observing silence, these consultations were carried on through the written word. Thus we find him advising a co-worker not to be in a hurry to accuse anybody, as that was "a sign of impatience and irritability" (p. 59), to develop "equipoise" and live "in conformity with social norms" (p. 84), to "try and somehow learn to exercise control over your voice" in an argument (p. 121), to think before speaking and as far as possible to cultivate silence (p. 241). "The secret of good life," he tells him, "is strictness with oneself and generosity to co-workers" (p. 41). He also advises him on how best he can cultivate *brahmacharya* (pp. 44, 72 and 150) and to avoid condiments, even salt if possible (p. 73). He advises another co-worker, in view of his "state of mind" to go away for a time—"staying away at this time can only do you good" (p. 274). He goes into the smallest details of the Ashram administration. For distinguishing which utensils belonged to whom : "Instead of engraving people's names on the

utensils, they should be numbered. This is the practice in jails . . .'' By way of economy they could have cups made of leaves and each may fashion ''for himself spoons of wood'' (p. 310).

Gandhiji sometimes wondered whether the Ashram community would get on better if he were not there. To an inmate he wrote : ''My desire to run away from here also has at the back of it the consideration of the convenience of you all'' (p. 151). Another time he wrote to the same inmate: ''. . . if you decide that the Ashram should be disbanded, I would consent to that too'' (p. 84).

It had been clear to Gandhiji that a great nation such as India could not hope to make any significant progress till it could develop a language for national discourse to replace English which could at best be understood by only a small *elite*. It was apparent to him that only the language known as Hindi or Urdu—depending on the kind of vocabulary used—could serve as this common language. But the Urdu style was identified with the Muslims, the Hindi style with the Hindus and the language issue was thus used to further aggravate the tension between the two communities. In the three speeches at the Hindustani Prachar Sabha Conference (pp. 170-1, 176-7 and 178-80) Gandhiji expounds his idea of Hindustani as the common language of the Hindus and Muslims of North India, written in two different scripts. He said : ''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'' (p. 179). He called upon all to learn both the Devanagari and the Persian scripts and ''at least one of the scripts of the South also'' (p. 177).

During the period covered by the volume the active pursuit of *brahmacharya* as a cherished value came into special focus because of what Gandhiji called his ''experiment''. The experiment consisted—in the manner of athletes setting for themselves stiffer and stiffer marks to cross—in his creating conditions of maximum temptation in which to pursue *brahmacharya*. The idea is not new to Hindu tradition. It recalls the *Asidhara Vrata*, or the sword's-edge discipline, which some ancient sages speak of. In the India of these times it could only shock people, as it did so many of Gandhiji's co-workers at Sevagram, and they voiced their protest. Gandhiji tried to explain his position : ''I deliberately want to become a eunuch mentally. If I succeed in this then I become one physically also'' (p. 193). He explained how he wanted to be wholly free from passion, so that he could contribute more to the welfare of the world (p. 222). But if any of the co-workers did not agree they were at liberty to leave him.

". . . anybody," he said, "who wishes to leave is free to do so. Let nobody think that it is his duty to stay on. Nobody should remain . . . by suppressing his feelings" (p. 218).

Leprosy relief had been one of Gandhiji's abiding concerns. When T. N. Jagadisan and Dr. R. B. Cochrane sought his assistance for organizing the work in rural areas under the aegis of the Kasturba Trust, he said : "You have preached to the converted. . . . send a detailed plan with expenditure . . . No thanks needed" (p. 114). The seed that was thus sown has grown into the Kasturba Kusht Nivaran Nilayam in South Arcot District.

On the death of Romain Rolland, the French savant, Gandhiji wrote : " . . . Romain Rolland is not dead. . . . He lived for truth and non-violence . . . He responded to all suffering. He revolted against the wanton human butchery called war" (p. 18).

He was deeply moved by English religious poetry—as is shown by his advice to Munnalal Shah to read *The Hound of Heaven*, telling him "you will not be happy anywhere if you turn your back upon the 'Hound' " (p. 227).

Some stray reflections : "I don't believe in ghosts. . . . 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. . . . The planchette business is pure fraud" (p. 35).

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NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C. W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

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

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1. 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

2. 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 amœba, 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. Ramdas[1] has come. And now Nimu[2] too.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVDAS 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

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3. 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

4. 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

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5. 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

6. 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

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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

7. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
January 3, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI[1],

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

[1] Granddaughter of Swami Shraddhanand

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8. LETTER TO MOHAN PARIKH AND ANASUYA PAREKH

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI. MOHAN[1] AND ANASUYA[2],

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.[3] 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

9. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. 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 written[4] to Mohan and Anasuya. Bhai Narahari will

[1] Narahari D. Parikh's son
[2] Kunvarji Parekh's daughter
[3] Narahari Parikh however says that the letter was later found and was read by Gandhiji.
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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

10. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI. SITA[1],

I have your few letters. Now that my month[2] 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 little longer.

Blessings to everybody there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4943

[1] Daughter of Manilal Gandhi
[2] Of work-fast

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11. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

CHI. SUMI[1],

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

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12. LETTER TO THE HEAD MISTRESS, BALIKA VIDYALAYA, PILANI

SEVAGRAM,
January 4, 1945

HEAD MISTRESS
PILANI SCHOOL

THE HEAD MISTRESS,

Please find enclosed a letter[1] 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 Lakshmibehn[2] and Chi. Mathuri[3] to write to me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

13. 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

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14. 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

15. 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 Ardeshir[1] is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

[1] Addressee's son

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16. 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 amœba 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

17. NOTE TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI[2]

January 5, 1945[3]

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.

[1] *Vide* p. 7.

[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*

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As regards the Hindu-Muslim question, you may do what you can. I would welcome a Congress-League Ministry along the lines I 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

18. LETTER TO RAGHAVDAS

SEVAGRAM,
January 5, 1945

BHAI RAGHAVDAS[2],

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

19. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

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.

[1] For the steps proposed for the formation of an Interim Government, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] Baba Raghavdas, a Gandhian worker from Maharashtra settled in Gorakhpur district of U. P.

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By all means go to Khurja for 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

20. 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

21. 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 letter[1] of 20-11-1944, and ask for a reply thereto. The property in question is not only going to increasing waste but

[1] Requesting that Nalwadi and Paunar Ashrams, which had been confiscated by the C. P. Government, be returned to their trustees; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 323.

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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

22. *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

23. *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

[1] This is a postscript to Narahari D. Parikh's letter of this date to the addressee.

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24. 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.[1] 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, 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

25. 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.

[1] Krishnaraju, who was giving nature-cure treatment to Anand T. Hingorani, Gokhale and Babaji Moghe. *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 384.

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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

26. 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 handwritten 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

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27. 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 handwritten "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

28. 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 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 amœba 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.

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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

29. 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. Nature-cure treatment brings us nearer to God. Even if we give that up I have no objection but why should we avoid fasting?[1] Nature-cure 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

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to A. N. Sharma", p. 14.

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30. TRIBUTE TO ROMAIN ROLLAND[1]

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

31. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

January 10, 1945

BHAI KUNDAR,

Here are a few words[2] 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

32. FOREWORD TO "TUKARAMKI RASHTRAGATHA"

SEVAGRAM,
January 10, 1945

Dr. Indubhushan Bhingare had published earlier the first edition of *Sant Tukaramki 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*

[1] Romain Rolland died on December 30, 1944, in Vezelay, France.
[2] *Vide* the following item.

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without effort. I therefore passed on Dr. Bhingare's selection to Kundarji Diwan who took great pains to go through the whole thing.

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

33. A FOREWORD

January 10, 1945

The *Ishavasya* gripped me during my Harijan tour[1] of Travancore. All my speeches invariably included the first verse of this Upanishad: "All that is 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

[1] In January 1937; *vide* Vol. LXIV.

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34. 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 it[1]. 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

[1] The Collector of Comilla had offered one thousand rupees to the Kasturba Seva Mandir for relief work.

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35. 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

36. 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 plan[2]?

[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

[1] According to the source the conversation took place before the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali Pact was concluded on January 11, 1945.

[2] Of a Congress-League coalition at the Centre; *vide* Appendix I.

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37. 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

38. 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

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39. LETTER TO INDUBHUSHAN BHINGARE

SEVAGRAM,
January 11, 1945

BHAI BHINGARE,

I send herewith the manuscript of my foreword[1] 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

40. SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH CONFERENCE[2]

SEVAGRAM,
January 11, 1945[3]

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

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

[2] The four-day conference, attended by more than 200 educationists, was held under the presidentship of Zakir Husain, who read out Gandhiji's speech.

[3] From *The Hindu*, 11-1-1945

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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.

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

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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-boards[1] 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

41. A LETTER[2]

[Before *January 12, 1945*][3]

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 pledge[4] has become an inseparable item. It should, therefore, be retained.

[1] From *The Hindu*, 13-1-1945; the source however has 'teaching'.

[2] & [3] Addressed to a Congress worker, the letter was released to the Press by Pyarelal on January 12, 1945.

[4] The independence pledge was first drafted by Gandhiji in January 1930; *vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 384-5. In December 1939 it was amended and approved by the Congress Working Committee; *vide* Vol. LXIX, Appendix I. Gandhiji added a paragraph to it on January 11, 1941; *vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 279-80. Again in January 1943, Gandhiji, while in detention in Aga Khan Palace, prepared another pledge for "celebrating the Independence Day", *vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 54.

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

42. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL[1]

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

43. 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

[1] Dewan of Mysore

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44. LETTER TO RICHARD SYMOND

SEVAGRAM,
January 12, 1945

MY DEAR SYMOND[1],

Your good letter. I have met Sujata[2] 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

45. 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

[1] Of the Friends Ambulance Unit
[2] Indian wife of Glan Davies, a fellow-worker of the addressee

46. 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

47. 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

[1] However, Gandhiji had written to Suryakant Parikh, a student leader, on November 19, 1944 : "I . . . like the idea of students abstaining from school

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48. 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

49. 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

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on the 9th provided they devote the day to self-purification and service." *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 318.

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50. 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

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51. 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

52. 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

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53. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI[1]

January 14, 1945

We have been talking a great deal about you two[2]. When are you coming?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7150. Also C.W. 4642. Courtesy : Vijaya M. Pancholi

54. 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

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55. 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

56. 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

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57. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 15, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Dastane[1] 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

58. 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

59. 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

[1] Vithal V. Dastane

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60. 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

61. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 16, 1945

CHI. KANAM[1],

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

[1] Ramdas Gandhi's son

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62. 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

63. LETTER TO INDU MASHRUWALA

[*January 16, 1945*][1]

CHI. INDU[2],

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

[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

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64. NOTE TO INDULAL YAJNIK[1]

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

65. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1945

BAPA,

I have your letter. It is not certain that I shall be going to Panchgani. February 22[2] 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

[1] This was Gandhiji's part of the conversation the addressee had with him.
[2] Death anniversary of Kasturba Gandhi

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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

66. 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

67. DISCUSSION WITH PRAHLAD MEHTA[1]

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 programme.

[1] Of the All-India Students' Congress

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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

68. INTERVIEW TO T. V. KUNHIKRISHNAN[1]

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 idea[3].

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 choice.

[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".

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 month[1]. 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

69. 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

70. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,
January 18, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter just received. I hope you had my fairly full letter before this.

Balvantsinha is not here. He is with Satis Babu. I have no hope of his coming to you. I should encourage him, if he at all felt inclined. I know he will be the man for you.

[1] *Vide* footnote to "Letter to Lilavati Asar", p. 28, and also Vol. LXXVIII, "Letter to Suryakant Parikh", p. 318.

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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

71. 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

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72. 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

73. 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

[1] Viola Cineria

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rich people. I have to see how far I can persuade you to go to the villages.

Improve your health and come down here when you are free. . . .[1] is trying out his experiment on Balkrishna and Harichchha. He has gone to his patients for two days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Sarika*, April 1964

74. 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

75. 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* also p. 27.

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76. 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* also p. 41.

[2] The addressee had written that though he was confident of observing *brahmacharya* even staying outside the Ashram, with his wife; he bad no intention of setting up house separately.

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77. 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

78. 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

CWMG - LXXIX

79. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
January 19, 1945

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I have not yet conveyed to Gadodiaji[1] 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

80. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN[2],

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 Hannah[3].

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
JOHANNESBURG, 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

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81. 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's[1] 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 book[2] 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

82. LETTER TO JAMSHEDJI N. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
January 20, 1945

BHAI JAMSHEDJI[3],

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

[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
[3] Parsi industrialist and philanthropist

83. 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

84. 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

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85. LETTER TO K. G. SAIYIDAIN

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR 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

86. 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
BAPU[2]

From the original : C.W. 4150. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7785

[1] The rest of the paragraph has been scored out.
[2] The superscription and subscription are in Hindi.

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87. 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.[1] 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

88. 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

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 151.

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89. 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. Ranga[2] 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
SITARAMASHRAM, BIHTA, PATNA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

90. 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.

[1] *Vide* "Note to Indulal Yajnik", p. 37.
[2] N. G. Ranga

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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

91. LETTER TO MAHENDRA B. DAVE

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. MAHENDRA[1],

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

92. 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,

[1] Grandson of Kevalram Mavji Dave
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Shamaldas Gandhi", 10-2-1945.

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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 written[1] 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 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

93. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR SISTER[2],

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] *Vide* p. 1.
[2] Wife of Ambalal Sarabhai

94. LETTER TO JOYADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

CHI. JOYADEVI,

I had promised to send you my blessings on the lst 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

95. 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 Chittagong[2] 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

[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, *vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 310 and "Letter to P. C. Joshi", 5-2-1945.

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is a hitch. Anyway I declared publicly that they could not be kept out of primary 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

96. 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* Vol. LXVI, pp. 56-7, 233-4, 247-8 and 274-5 and Vol. LXVII, p. 232.

[3] A word is illegible here.

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97. LETTER TO VASANTLAL MORARKA

SEVAGRAM,
January 22, 1945

BHAI VASANTLAL,

Do you want my blessing for February 11[1]? 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

98. CABLE TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON[2]

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.

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99. 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

100. 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

101. 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

102. 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 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 nature-cure 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

[1] & [2] The meaning of the sentences is not clear in the source.

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103. 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

104. 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 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

[1] *Vide* pp. 10-1.

105. 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

106. 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

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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 fever[1] 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

107. 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

108. 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 had an attack of Malaria.

109. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

MY DEAR K.,

I have read your booklet[1] from beginning to end. You shall have the foreword[2] 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

110. 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

[1] *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*
[2] *Vide* "Foreword to *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*", 21-3-1945.

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111. 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 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

112. 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

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113. LETTER TO RAM NARESH TRIPATHI

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1945

BHAI RAMNARESH[1],

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

114. 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. Sharma[2] 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

[1] A Hindi poet
[2] A. N. Sharma

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115. 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. Therein 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

116. 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 Camp[2] 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

[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

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117. NOTE TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

[After *January 25, 1945*][1]

You understand the position about my coming, don't you? The earliest I can come is on the 23rd—25th of course certainly.[2] 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 book[3] had been of help to them.

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 303

118. LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY

SEVAGRAM,
Independence Day, January 26, 1945

MY DEAR S. SASTRY,

Deshabhakta Venkatappayya[4] 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

[1] The source places this letter after the letter to the addressee, dated January 25, 1945, the preceding item.

[2] The Hindustani Prachar Sabha Conference was scheduled to be held on February 25 and 26 at Wardha.

[3] *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India*

[4] Who was soon to be eighty

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119. 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

120. 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

121. LETTER TO VITHAL L. PHADKE

SEVAGRAM,
January 26, 1945

CHI. MAMA,

I got your letter. What you say about Shantikumar and his wife[1] 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

122. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
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

[1] Sumati S. Morarjee

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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

123. 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

124. 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

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125. 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 batch[1] proceeding mutely with pick-axes, 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

[1] Of 250 members of various institutions in Sevagram

[2] After two hours the police withdrew and the cleaning programme was completed.

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

126. 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

127. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1945

BHAI DADA,

I could finish your essay[2] on Anandshankarbhai[3] only yesterday. I also liked Chi. Purushottam's translation.[4] 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

[1] Dr. Prema Kumarappa had given up her job at the tea plantations, Nilgiris, on account of ill health.

[2] Written in Marathi for the magazine *Samajapatrika*; it was later published as a pamphlet.

[3] Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva, Gujarati man of letters and Sanskrit scholar

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 273.

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128. 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 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

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vaidya[1] 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

129. 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.

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

[1] Ganesh Shastri Joshi who had advised that diet should include the six flavours, viz., sweet, salty, bitter, pungent, astringent and sour

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130. 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

131. 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

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132. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,
January 29, 1945

CHI. JAYA,

There is no cause at all for fear of Vasant[1] succumbing. Typhoid is not a very serious matter. With proper care the patient recovers. Have courage. Cheer up Vasant.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

133. 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 title 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], [3] & [4] Some words are illegible here.

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134. 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

135. 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* p. 61.

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136. 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

137. 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

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated January 30, 1945.
[2] *Vide* "Note to Shripad Joshi", 22-2-1945.

138. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

VAHLAN BEHN[1],

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 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

139. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

CHI. RUKMINI[2],

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's[3] health is improving.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9065

[1] The superscription is in Gujarati which means 'Dear sister'.
[2] Maganlal Gandhi's daughter
[3] Addressee's sister Radha Choudhri

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140. 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 Kamalnayan[1]. He will consult me. If I go and tell him, he will not refuse me. You should either send a list of the 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 Bali[2] 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.

[1] Son of Jamnalal Bajaj
[2] Balibehn M. Adalaja, sister of addressee's mother

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

141. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 31, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

You must have seen the report of Liaquat Saheb's speech[1] at Tinnevelli. 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

[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.

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142. 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

143. DISCUSSION WITH ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA

WARDHA,
January 31, 1945

Mr. Sinha[1] 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

144. 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,

[1] Ex-Finance Minister of Bihar

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 : Pyarelal

145. 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 wedding[1] 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

[1] Of Bindu and Chandrakant; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 365.

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146. 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 Manubhai[1] and Vijaya[2] 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

147. 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

[1] & [2] Manubhai Pancholi and his wife

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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

148. 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?

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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

149. 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 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

[1] The letter is not available.

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150. 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

151. 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

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152. ADVICE TO MAHOMED BEG[1]

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

153. LETTER TO 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

154. 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.

[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* p. 80.

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(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

155. 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

156. 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

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157. 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

158. 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. Yashodhara[1] 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

[1] Yashodhara Dasappa

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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 Ramachandran[1]. 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

159. 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 a small amount. I should like to include the names of Bhiwandiwala and Fikriyar Jung. I shall write to you

[1] G. Ramachandran

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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

160. LETTER TO BAJRANG SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

BHAI BAJRANG SINGH[1],

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

161. LETTER TO LADY CHHOTURAM

SEVAGRAM,
February 3, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I am grieved that Sir Chhoturam[2] 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

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162. 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

163. 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

164. LETTER TO V. 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

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165. NOTE TO SUB-INSPECTOR OF POLICE, WARDHA[1]

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

166. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

February 4, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Yours of 26th ultimo[2] 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

[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.".

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167. 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 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

168. 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

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169. 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

170. 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. Mohan[3] 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

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] The Hindi original is not available.
[3] Mohan Kumaramangalam

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171. 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.

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

172. 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.

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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

173. 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 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

174. LETTER TO L. KAMESWARARAO SARMA

SEVAGRAM,
February 5, 1945

BHAI KAMESHWAR SHARMA,

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.

[1] *Vide* also pp. 51-2.

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,[1]

KAMESWARA SARMA
PUDUKKOTTAI
TRICHY

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

175. 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

[1] The letter carries the following note in Gujarati: "Sent after a Tamil translation had been made."

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176. 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

177. 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

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178. 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

179. 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 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

180. 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

[1] Yogic exercises

181. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

The doctor's advice is not correct. You can give Anand[1] *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 Sanatogen. 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

182. 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's son

183. 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

184. 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

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185. 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

186. 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. Krishnadas[1] 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

187. 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 and interest. That the instruction should be

[1] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi
[2] This is in Devanagari.

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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
BAPU[1]

From the original : C.W. 3695. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6504

188. 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

189. 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

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190. 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

191. 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

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192. 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

193. 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

194. 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]

[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 III.

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If it is no great trouble I should like you to put me specific 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 patient[3] is quite out of the wood.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7571

195. 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

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196. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH[1]

[*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

197. 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

[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

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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 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

198. 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

199. 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 have 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

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200. LETTER TO MADELEINE ROLLAND

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1945

DEAR MADELEINE,

My whole heart goes out to you now that the one[1] 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

201. LETTER TO JALBHAI RUSTOMJEE

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1945

CHI. JALBHAI[2],

I have your letter. I might have skipped a reply but I was shocked at the news of Sorab's[3] 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] & [3] Sons of Parsi Rustomji

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202. 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

203. 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

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204. 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

205. 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 asked[3] 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

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] The superscription is in the Devanagari script.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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206. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

Read the enclosed letter.[1] If you could bring justice to the case, it will gladden the soul of Kevalrambhai, wherever it is. In his last days 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

207. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

February 10, 1945

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

Read the enclosed[2] 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

[1] This was from Mahendra B. Dave; *vide* also "Letter to Mahendra B. Dave", p. 52.

[2] This was a letter written by Rathindranath Tagore from Santiniketan.

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208. 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*[1].

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4469

209. ADVICE TO LEPROSY RELIEF WORKERS[2]

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.[3] I would like you to send a detailed plan with expenditure to go to the Board. No thanks needed.

The Hindu, 12-2-1945

[1] One of steadfast understanding. *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 55 *et seq.*

[2] 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.

[3] *Vide* also Vol. LXXVIII, p. 387.

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210. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM

February 10, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi addressed a few words to the gathering.[1] 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.

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.

[1] 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.

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

211. 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

212. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1945

It is with some purpose that I have asked you to give it up. It 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

[1] Omission as in the source

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213. 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

214. 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

215. 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,

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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 enemies[1] 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

216. 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

217. 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

[1] The six enemies, viz., desire, anger, greed, attachment, pride and envy

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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 otherwise.

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*

218. 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.

म् 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

219. INTERVIEW TO GOVIND SAHAY[1]

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

220. 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

[1] Member of A. I. C. C. who had sought Gandhiji's advice regarding the attitude to be adopted towards the Communists

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221. 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

222. 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

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223. 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

224. 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

[1] Presumably Gandhiji meant the expression *wuzoo* which means the ceremonial washing of hands and feet before offering *namaz*.

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225. 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

226. LETTER TO BALTHUSNA[1]

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

[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.

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227. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM[1]

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 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 healthy man fall sick.

[1] Gandhiji Addressed the Secretaries of the Provincial Committees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

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

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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

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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

228. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 16, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

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

229. 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

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230. 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

231. 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

232. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
February 17, 1945

I have delayed giving my opinion on the Bihar Government's challenge to Congress workers[1] in the hope that the storm was an isolated mistake and that it will correct itself. I find I was

[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, Murli Manohar Prasad, Editor, *Searchlight*, and Prajapati Mishra on the charge of open preparation for another struggle.

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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 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-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,

[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.

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

233. 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 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

[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."

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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]

Amaran Ba

234. 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

235. 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

[1] Shawl

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236. 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 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

237. NOTE TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA[1]

[*February 18, 1945*][2]

We are sure to meet in April. Ask Gulbehn[3] 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

[1] & [2] 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.

[3] Addressee's wife

238. 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 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

239. 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

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240. 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 Kasturbhai[1] 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

[1] Kasturbhai Lalbhai of the Lalbhai Group of Mills

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241. 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

242. 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

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243. INTERVIEW TO N.W.F.P. DEPUTATION[1]

[*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

244. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

Express *February 20, 1945*

AMTULSALAAM
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BARKANTHA

BLESSINGS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[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

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245. 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

246. 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 Mehrtaj[2].

I am glad Yunus is with Badshah Khan[3]. 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

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247. 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

248. 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", pp. 129-32.

[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."

249. 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 Kher[1] is undoubtedly a priceless jewel. If your body cannot stand the strain do not take a leading part.

Prabhu[2] still keeps indifferent health. He is going to Nagpur tomorrow to get himself examined. He should, therefore, be spared at present. Kanaiyo[3] 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

[1] B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay
[2] Addressee's nephew Prabhudas Gandhi
[3] Addressee's son Kanu Gandhi

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250. 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 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

[1] The two had taken up a university course in medicine.

[2] A quotation from Manibhai Nabubhai Dwivedi

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251. 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.[1] 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

252. 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

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sumitra Gandhi", p. 134.

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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

253. 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

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254. 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 परीक्षा[1] and not सिहत but सेहत[2]. 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

255. 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.[4] 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.

[1] Examination
[2] Health
[3] The introductory chapter of *Japji*, a Sikh scripture, which is a condensation of the *Granth Saheb*
[4] *Vide* also p. 54.

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You have to be there for the time being. Come here when things there are cleared up. Speak to Bhagirathji and P. Babu[1]. 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

256. 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

257. 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

[1] Profulla Chandra Ghosh

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258. LETTER TO SHRIRAM PODDAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

CHI. SHRIRAM[1],

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

259. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 21, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

The programme on the 22nd[2] 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

[1] Son of Rameshwardas Poddar
[2] Kasturba Gandhi's death anniversary

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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 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

260. 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.

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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

261. 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

262. 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 to mean 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.

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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 Gujarati : C.W. 5831. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

263. NOTE TO SHRIPAD JOSHI[1]

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.

[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 today they have to take to

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 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

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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?

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264. 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

265. 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.[4] 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 Balvantsinha'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

[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.
[4] *Vide* "Speech at Sevagram", pp. 115-6.

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.

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 span, 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 not withstanding 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

266. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

February [*23*][1], *1945*

RT. HON. SASTRIAR
SWAGATAM
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

YOURS JAGADISAN'S[2] POSTCARDS. THANK GOD YOUR RECOVERY. MUST KEEP YOUR RESOLUTION. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

267. 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

[1] The source has "24", obviously a slip; *vide* the following item.
[2] T. N. Jagadisan

268. 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

269. 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

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270. 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

271. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

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

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272. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 23, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

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

273. 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

[1] Namely, hearing, reciting, remembering, waiting upon, worshipping, doing obeisance, serving, companionship and surrendering

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274. 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

275. 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* as real *brahmacharya.*

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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.

BAPU[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5850

276. 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 ऱे 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.

I have come to Madalasabehn's to spend five days. Blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

SITA GANDHI
AKOLA

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

277. 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

[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'.

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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

278. 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

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279. 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

280. LETTER TO CHANDI PRASAD 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-ichchha? (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 about H. I. to Vaidya Shiv Sharma.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

BIRLA MANDIR
NEW DELHI

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

[1] Up to this the letter is in Gujarati.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Shiv Sharma", p. 158.

281. NOTE TO RISHABHDAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
February 25, 1945

Send the list of contents.[1] 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

282. 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] The addressee had written that he had received from Ganeshshastri the list of contents of the latter's "*Gramvaidyaka*" in Marathi.

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283. CABLE TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT[1]

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

284. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 26, 1945[2]

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.

285. LETTER TO DR. NIROD MUKHERJEE

As at Sevagram,
February 26, 1945

DEAR MUKERJI,

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

286. 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* p. 30.
[2] *Vide* pp. 129-32.

287. ANSWERS TO T. B. SAPRU'S QUESTIONS

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
February 26, 1945[1]

Q. In your letter[2] 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 Resolution[3]". 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

[1] From Gandhi-Sapru Papers
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 99-100.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VIII.

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understand Quaid-e-Azam's exact position. 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.

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 be 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

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, Appendix IX.

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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. Formula[1], 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?

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 Resolution[2] 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?

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, footnote 3, p. 23.

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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 statement[1] 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 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 hereinbefore.

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

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, "Interview to the Press", pp. 136-41.

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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

288. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA CONFERENCE–I[2]

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.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 142-3.

[2] Gandhiji presided over the conference and since he was observing silence, his speech was read out by Shriman Narayan.

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As a result of the efforts of Sjt. Tandon the Congress at Kanpur[1] 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 Jamnalal 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 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

[1] In December 1925

289. TELEGRAM TO DR. KHAN SAHEB

[*February 27, 1945*][1]

DR. KHANSAHEB,

WHAT ABOUT HUNGER-STRIKER AMIR KHAN[2]?

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

290. 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.

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291. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 27, 1945

DEAR BHARATANAND[1],

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

292. 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

[1] A Polish Engineer interested in village reconstruction movement. Gandhiji gave him this name.

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293. 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.[1]

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

294. 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

[1] *Vide* p. 173.

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295. 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

296. 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

[1] Omission as in the source

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297. *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 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 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

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

298. SPEECH AT 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 Indore[3] 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.

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.

[1] This sentence is from *The Hitavada*.
[2] The rest of the paragraph is from *The Hitavada*.
[3] In April 1935

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[1], 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

[1] In April 1936; *vide* Vol. LXII.

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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

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299. 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

300. 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

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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

301. 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

302. 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

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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

303. 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

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304. LETTER TO RAMA C. JOSHI

February 28, 1945

CHI. RAMA[1],

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

305. 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 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

[1] Wife of Chhaganlal Joshi

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306. LETTER TO INDIRA GANDHI

February 28, 1945

CHI. INDU,

Shall I write to Dr. Katju[1]? I shall write about the Committee too. If you can go to Kashmir, it will be good for you and Rajiv[2]. I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 9804. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

307. 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

308. 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

[1] Kailash Nath Katju
[2] Addressee's elder son

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309. LETTER TO M. C. DAVAR[1]

SEVAGRAM,
February 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Yours of 15th inst. Gandhiji writes in reply to your questions[2] :

1. "Quit India" resolution[3] 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.

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.[5] 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.

[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* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix X.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 54-6 and *passim*.

[5] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix V.

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

310. 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

311. 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.

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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 go on doing your work.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10433. Also C.W. 6872. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

312. 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

[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* footnote 2, p. 10 and footnote 2, p. 141.

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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

313. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 1, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

If you cannot honourably take the money for Chi. Purushottam's[1] 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 Abha[2] 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. 8620. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] Addressee's son
[2] Kanu Gandhi's wife

314. 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 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

315. 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 8th[2] 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.

[1] *Vide* "Note to Shripad Joshi", pp. 151-2.
[2] Of August 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI.

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

316. 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

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317. 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

318. LETTER TO DEVI PRASAD

SEVAGRAM,
March 1, 1945

CHI. DEVIPRASAD[2],

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

[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*.

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 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

319. 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

320. 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

[1] It is not clear which particular article Gandhiji is referring to.

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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 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

321. TELEGRAM TO URMILADEVI[1]

March 2, 1945

URMILADEVI
2/1, 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

322. TELEGRAM TO VACHCHHRAJBHAI DOSHI

March 2, 1945

VACHCHHRAJBHAI DOSHI
PANCHGANI

WRITING. NEED NOT COME.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Sister of C. R. Das

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323. 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 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

324. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

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

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325. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

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

326. 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 letter[1] (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

[1] This is not traceable.

327. 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 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

328. 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.

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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.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VIII.

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(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.

(6) 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.

(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.

From a photostat : G.N. 5120

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329. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

MY DEAR SINGER,

Herewith is a line[1] of magic or no magic for Randheer[2] 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

330. 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

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] Addressee's son who died on April 30, 1945

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331. 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

332. 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

333. 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.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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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 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

334. 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

335. 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

336. 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?[2]

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

[1] *Vide* p. 203. The quotation marks are, however, from the source.
[2] The letter is unsigned.

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337. 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

338. LETTER TO VENKATESHWAR RAO

SEVAGRAM,
March 3, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,[1]

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] This is in English.

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339. FOREWORD TO "AHAR ANE POSHAN"[1]

When Dr. Kumarappa has given such an excellent introduction, what more is there for me to say? But Shri Jhaverbhai's[2] love would not leave me alone. For his sake I have gone through the pamphlet from beginning to end. I was not inclined to argue over technical details. Dr. Sushila was with me. I made her read out to me the entire thing. She made a few suggestions which occurred to her. Jhaverbhai made the necessary improvements. This means that this pamphlet bears the stamp of Dr. Sushila and Dr. Manu Trivedi[3]. I liked the pamphlet. Its language is simple and lucid. I hope that this pamphlet will be read by thousands.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 4, 1945

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1358. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

340. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI[4]

March 4, 1945

Conscience has to be awakened. There are rules and observances for the purpose. Not everyone can be said to have his conscience awakened.

From a photostat : G.N. 1320

[1] "Diet and Nutrition". This was, however, not used in the book. Another foreword which Gandhiji wrote in Gujarati was published instead; *vide* "Foreword to *Ahar Ane Poshan*", p. 218.

[2] Jhaverbhai Patel. He was in charge of the oil-presses in Maganwadi.

[3] Manshankar

[4] The addressee who was staying at the Sevagram Ashram had asked : "Truth is God, but what is Truth? Is it a thing which appeals to our conscience?"

341. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 4, 1945

CHI. MU.,

See my revised [statement] and then speak to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5838. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

342. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI[1]

March 5, 1945

Why is it easier to go down or slip down than to rise up step by step? By subduing the flesh, i. e., the beast.

From a photostat : G.N. 1321

343. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

BAPA,

Herewith the statement on Orissa. Whatever changes it was possible to make have been made. Ramabehn intends to take the responsibility. We have therefore to place it before the committee. Chi. Mridula most probably knows about it. The medical part of it will have to be shown to the doctors.

BAPU

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

[1] The addressee had asked : "Why is it easier to pick up vice than virtue? How should one rise from the grossness to which the flesh is prone?"

344. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter. You did well in writing to Kaleswara. My visit to Bangalore is not going to come about. And if it does, it will be for those people to decide where I put up. But you simply reply to them : "His going there unlikely."[1]

It seems I have forgotten to write about, the teacher-student relationship. I am not worthy to be anyone's teacher. But if you consider yourself my student and conduct yourself accordingly, how can I stop you from doing so?

You should certainly not feel disappointed if your expectations are not fulfilled. You have had glorious success. And where I am, there cannot be disappointment. Let us see what happens in April.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

345. LETTER TO GULBEHN D. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

CHI. GULBEHN,

I was happy to have your letter. Had Sushila not seen Dinshaw, I would not have known about his distress. In fact there was no cause at all for him to be distressed. Nothing had been lost. Now you have to give him courage. How can you afford to lose heart?

You will bring Ardeshar with you in April. Won't you? One may say he is now fairly grown up. It is beginning to be quite hot during the day here.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] This is in English.

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346. LETTER TO JHAVERBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

CHI. JHAVERBHAI,

On the reverse is the Foreword.[1] I wrote it yesterday. I remember having written something like it before. Are you sure it is not in your note book?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1368. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

347. LETTER TO MANZAR ALI SOKHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

BHAI MANZAR ALI[2],

I have gone through the whole thing. Here the question is one of principle. I am sure that an intellectual can do better than an artisan. If he does not, then he cannot become an administrator. The entire history of England bears testimony to this. But I will not interfere. If your experience tells you to do otherwise, do so. The Trust is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* "Foreword to *Ahar Ane Poshan*", p. 206.
[2] A Congress worker of U. P.

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348. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 5, 1945

Brahmacharya plays an important role in subduing the brute within us. This is my definition : *Brahmacharya* is that path by which we realize the Brahman. This path lies in completely controlling the five sense organs, the five motor organs and the eleventh, the mind. I have deliberately replied in Hindustani.[1]

From the Hindi original : G.N. 1322

349. INTERVIEW TO ORIENT PRESS

March 5, 1945[2]

When asked by the representative of the Orient Press on what he had to say about the recent warning given to local Congress workers by the District Magistrate, Nagpur,[3] Gandhiji said :

Congressmen who have associated for the fulfilment of our constructive programme need not be agitated over what local governments say or do. Whether their policy is merely local or represents the Centre, they should learn to shed fear.

The District Magistrate's strictures if they are properly reported are undoubtedly revealing. They need not alarm us.

In reply to another question as to how without any political action and only by social and economic improvement the country could reach its destined goal as revealed by him in his statement published on 20th February,[4] Gandhiji replied :

[1] The addressee had asked : "What part does *brahmacharya* play in the subjugation of the flesh and what is your definition of the word *brahmacharya* for married people?"

[2] *The Hindu*, 6-3-1945, however, reports this under the date March 4, 1945.

[3] The Additional District Magistrate, Nagpur, had told Congressmen that activities banned in the name of the Congress could not be carried on in the name of any camouflaged Congress organization. He had mentioned such organizations as the Nagpur Provincial Congress Representative Committee, the Political Prisoners' Aid Committee and Congress Ward Committees and warned that action could be taken against them under the Restrictions and Detention Ordinance.

[4] *Vide* pp. 129-32.

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I must refer you to my statement and you may ask yourself whether, if the programme is universally responded to, it will not lead to swaraj. Indeed the Muslim League and even the Government should join in its prosecution if they are honest about independence.

When asked what he thought about anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America by Britishers Gandhiji replied:

Anti-Indian British propaganda should not matter if we are truthful.

The Hitavada, 6-3-1945

350. A LETTER

March 6, 1945

My guidance is of no use for you. I do not know your staying capacity or your father's. Hence you should act as you think proper. You know my general advice as I see from your letter.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 10520. Courtesy : Government of Assam

351. LETTER TO ADRIENNE

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1945

DEAR ADRIENNE,

Your sweet note. You will be doing well if you will never swerve from the truth you have found with sufficient labour.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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352. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

What do you mean when you say, "Leave aside the question of sleeping together" ? I do not know how to solve your difficulty. Why don't you explain it to me more clearly? There is no need now for Balvantsinha to go to Nathji[1]. But if there is, let him go with such other persons as you choose to send. Come over at 3.30

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10618

353. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 6, 1945

CHI. MU.,

Why need you feel embarrassed? This problem cannot be solved in that way. Ask me any question you wish without the slightest hesitation. My statement has undergone some revision and may undergo more. I don't wish to exclude anybody. I have mentioned four. Perhaps they will say, "We were not objects of your experiment; we slept with you as with a mother." I would not contradict them. It is enough here to mention that such a thing has happened. I don't consider Abha, Kanchan and Vina as part of the experiment. If we distinguish between sleeping together and the experiment, the difference between the two in my view is a big one. Abha slept with me for hardly three nights. Kanchan slept one night only. Vina's sleeping with me might be called an accident. All that can be said is that she slept close to me. If Abha had continued, her case would have been an altogether different one. Kanchan's case was rather tragic. I didn't understand her at all. What Abha or Kanchan told me was this; that she had no intention whatever of observing

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni

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brahmacharya, but wished to enjoy the pleasure of sex. She, therefore, stayed only reluctantly and undressed only for fear of hurting me. If I remember rightly, she was not with me even for an hour. I then stopped both the women sleeping with me, for I realized that Kanu and you were upset. I myself advised them that they should tell you both and also Bhansali. You will thus see that these three names cannot be included in the experiment. Lilavati, Amtussalaam, Rajkumari and Prabhavati are not here. I have deliberately included Pra. in the experiment. Maybe I should not. She often used to sleep with me to keep me warm even before I was conscious that I was making an experiment. I used to draw her to me when she lay on the floor, shivering, for my sake. This is an old, old story. I think I have now told you everything. If you have any more questions, you may ask me. Kanchan's labouring under a misunderstanding pained me, but I was helpless.

I formed no judgment regarding Sushila and you. I did not get sufficient material for doing that, either. If she herself wishes and you too wish it, I would spare some time and hear you both. I will examine witnesses and try to weigh the evidence. But let me repeat that if you two feel as brother and sister to each other, you should not ask even your father to examine you and pronounce judgment. But do as you wish.

I understand about a separate kitchen. I shall try. Will the purchase of provisions for the hospital and the Ashram kitchens be under one account or two? I see that a catering service can be run only if it is managed by a third party. I think this is enough for today. About the third party and going to villages, etc., later on. I have not revised this. If you feel that anything needs correction, ask me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5841. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

354. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN NARAYAN,

I have made a few changes.[1] There is no need to explain them. I have deleted clause eleven. If it is necessary to have it, we shall give it elsewhere. Remember we have decided that we shall strive to become one nation but the movement for swaraj cannot remain in abeyance till we have succeeded in that. The question of language should be removed from that area. It is true that greater unity will be achieved if the two forms are combined.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRIMAN NARAYAN
MAHILA ASHRAM
WARDHA

[From Hindi]

Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 304

355. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 6, 1945

You have raised a pertinent question. I am dealing with it patiently. Asha Devi, Aryanayakum, etc., are looking after this. All the papers are with them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4496

[1] In the scheme for propagation of Hindustani which the addressee had submitted to Gandhiji

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356. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[1]

March 6, 1945

This discussion is somewhat out of place because at present nothing is happening. For this too friends are responsible. I have gone as far as I could to satisfy them. It will not be proper for me to do anything until I have satisfied my co-workers. I am as much against compromise as I am for it. For this very reason my elder brother remained my enemy for 13 years. He asked my forgiveness five or six months before his death. My caste also became my enemy in the same manner. Now it does not show any feeling of animosity. But quite a few sanatanists are still opposed to me. On this account I let myself be deprived of lakhs of rupees. I used to be a friend of the Empire. Today I have become its enemy. What more need I say? I showed the door to a wife like Ba. Thus, I am what I am. There is therefore no point in talking about the welfare of society. What else may I give up? I cannot give up thinking. As far as possible I have postponed the practice of sleeping together. But it cannot be given up altogether. You can say that ever since I went to England I have been pursuing the idea of *brahmacharya.* It has not harmed anyone. It is true of course that I should do what others too can be permitted to do. If I can restrain myself and sleep beside a woman, others can also do so on the same condition. They can fulfil that condition if they so wish.

The same applies to non-violence. If I completely give up sleeping together, my *brahmacharya* will be put to shame. It is not that I would do anything for the mere pleasure of it. I have not done it for years, and I shall not do it now. It is true that people may indulge in licentiousness by imitating me. Who can stop it? Is there any place where *asatyagraha*[2] has never been practised in the name of satyagraha? In any case, the thing has been postponed because it calls for consideration. But since there is need for a halt let it be so. You can ask any questions. I sug-

[1] Gandhiji wrote this for the addressee when the latter met him at 3.30 p. m.

[2] Opposite of satyagraha

gest that you should not ask questions individually. You may all discuss it among yourselves and then ask questions. Let it be understood that right now everything is postponed. Manu has been left alone by the others. Hence there is scope for a mature deliberation. I claim that whatever I have done I have done in the name of God. I go to bed reciting His name. I have got up with His name on my lips. So it is in my dreams, whether alone or with some woman. What God will make me do in days to come He alone knows.

Such restrictions should not be imposed on me. Kishorelalbhai's business should be left to him. Do not drag him into this matter. My advice is that everybody should join hands and stand by him. There is no need to plead his case before me. I am glad that I have answered your question but I am not in a position to listen.

I have said that right now everything stands postponed, leaving aside Manu. But Kishorelal is not satisfied with this. It is your duty to understand him. He is right when he says : "I was not consulted at first. Now I shall not create any confusion." In the present situation whoever has any doubt in his mind should follow him. I would in any case do that. I would not create difficulties for him. You should consider his delicate health when you bother him. If you do this you will be serving him, no doubt, but you will also be serving me. My love for him is certainly no less than my love for my brother. What more can I do?

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 5891. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

357. FOREWORD TO "GANDHIJI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT"

I have read the introduction as also the originals. The introduction may be good enough for the hasty reader, but the publication is not designed for the hasty reader. It is designed for the serious worker who can affect the politics of his country and even the world affairs. To such my advice is that he must read the originals. The introduction may be used as such and as an aid to memory. I want the readers I have in view to take me at my word. I have written as I felt at the moment as a seeker of long standing of Truth and Non-violence. I have written without reservation and without embellishment.

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After my accidentally premature discharge from detention[1] and convalescence I studied from reliable witnesses the happenings of the two years after the incarceration of principal Congressmen and myself. I have heard nothing to modify the opinion expressed in my writings under review.

I know first hand what has happened, since my discharge, in the various spheres of life. And I have found bitter confirmation of what I have said in the following pages. Indeed, the whole of India is a vast prison. The Viceroy is the irresponsible superintendent of the prison with numerous jailers and warders under him. The four hundred millions of India are not the only prisoners. There are others similarly situated in the other parts of the earth under other superintendents.

A jailer is as much a prisoner as his prisoner. There is no doubt a difference. From my point of view he is worse. If there is a Day of Judgment, i.e., if there is a Judge whom we do not see but who nevertheless is much more truly than we exist for a brief moment, the judgment will go hard against the Jailer and in favour of the prisoners.

India is the only place on earth which knowingly has chosen Truth and Non-violence as the only means for her deliverance. But deliverance to be obtained through these means must be deliverance for the whole world including the jailers otherwise described by me as tyrants and imperialists. I need not mention Fascists or Nazis or Japanese. They seem to be as good as gone.

The war will end this year or the next. It will bring victory to the Allies. The pity of it is that it will be only so-called if it is attained with India and the like lying prostrate at the feet of the Allies. That victory will be assuredly a prelude to a deadlier war, if anything could be more deadly.

I know that I do not need to plead for non-violent India. If India has the coin with Truth on one face and Non-violence on the other, the coin has its own inestimable value which will speak for itself. Truth and Non-violence must express humility at every step. They do not disdain real aid from any quarter, much less from those in whose name and for whom exploitation is practised. If the British and the Allies aid, so much the better. Deliverance will then come sooner. If they do not, deliverance is still certain. Only the agony of the victim will be greater, the time longer. But what are agony and time if

[1] On May 6, 1944

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they are spent in favour of liberty, especially when it is to be brought about through Truth and Non-violence!

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, March 7, 1945

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44, pp. xiii-xiv

358. FOREWORD TO "AHAR ANE POSHAN"

Bhai Jhaverbhai has ever been undertaking new studies and adding to his store of useful knowledge. He easily finds use for this increased knowledge in disseminating it. He thinks in his own language or the national language, so that his ideas are understood by thousands with the utmost ease. If he carries on in this manner, the knowledge he has gained will soon become common possession.

Bhai Jhaverbhai has written a beautiful essay and given information about food, etc., in simple language. I hope that the knowledge will be widely used and the suggestions made in the essay implemented. The author's aim is to impart knowledge so that it will be put to use and not merely add to learning.

M. K. GANDHI

March 7, 1945

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1359

359. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 7, 1945

CHI. MU.,

If you read my previous letters carefully, you will see that I have answered all your questions. If there is anything remaining, wait and watch. What I mean to say is that anybody who wishes to leave is free to do so. Let nobody think that it is his duty to stay on. Nobody should remain, out of false regard for me or by suppressing his feelings. I will have a talk with Sushilabehn and find out. I should like you to present your case and then I shall ask Sushila to answer. If you wish, I will follow the opposite procedure. I may then call any witness I consider necessary. I am thinking about a separate kitchen. If I can I will arrange that.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5843. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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360. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

March 7, 1945

CHI. MAGAN[1],

Jekibehn[2] says that the sisters must get a share of their mother's jewellery.[3] Personally I should like that. I had a letter from Mayashankar. I should like you to meet him and satisfy him. He has served your father very faithfully. There is no news about Ratilal[4]. We may get some news if we announce a reward. Most probably I shall go to Bombay at the beginning of April.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have just heard that Ratilal is in Ahmedabad, safe and sound.

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVANDAS
BARRISTOR
ANDHERI, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1032. Courtesy : Manjula M. Mehta

361. LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR M. DOCTOR

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1945

CHI. JEKI,

I have your letter. Where should I look for Ratubhai? Sometimes we have found him after six months. We can get a photograph of him published in the newspapers and offer a reward. However, I do not feel like doing that. What can we do if he has left? It will certainly be good if he is found.

[1] Dr. Pranjivan J. Mehta's son
[2] Jayakunwar M. Doctor, addressee's sister
[3] *Vide* the following item.
[4] Addressee's brother; *vide* also the following item.

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I am making inquiries about the jewellery. I had forgotten about it. I am all right. I just heard that Ratilal has safely arrived in Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
BAPU

JEKIBEHN
35 JUHU LANE
ANDHERI

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

362. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1945

BHAI PARSHOTTAMDAS,

Just now I heard that you have fallen ill again. How is that?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PARSHOTTAMDAS
NAVSARI CHAMBERS
BOMBAY

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

363. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

March 7, 1945

Blessings from Bapu. Pyarelal will be seeing you now. I hope it has not snowed further.

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4205. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7841

[1] This is written as a postscript to Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee.

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364. LETTER TO SHIV SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1945

CHI. SHIV SHARMA,

The news of your ill-health makes me unhappy. Under such circumstances I will not give you the trouble of coming here. I hope Ramsarandasji is well. You on your part must become perfectly healthy. Hari-ichchha is in mid-sea. She is a girl to be pitied. She does not want to go anywhere to have her rib taken out.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT SHIV SHARMA
CURZON ROAD
NEW DELHI

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

365. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 7, 1945

In my view you should continue to take garlic in spite of the unpleasant odour. Throughout the world its benefits have been recognized. Try to avoid being involved in an argument.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4497

366. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 7, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

There is no discourtesy in your question. Your question shows how imperfect a medium language is.

If I stop sleeping together for all time it will mean that I have been mistaken. Otherwise why should I stop it? There is a

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limit to abstaining from it for the sake of friends. Sleeping together came with my taking up of *brahmacharya* or even before that. Can you understand it now?

The dangers you have pointed out are certainly there. But for that reason, a good act should not be avoided. Only we should be vigilant.

The experiment is not meant to be imitated. But if I can become a perfect *brahmachari* thereby, would I not be able to contribute more to the welfare of the world? Even if there is a single person who can train himself that way, he should do it. I was not out for an experiment, but when the situation presented itself before me I did what I felt was necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4498

367. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 7, 1945

Ordinarily we can distinguish between good and evil, but on occasion we cannot. If we always seek God's help it becomes a habit to know the distinction. Remember that God is within us. Let us keep Him awake.

Why have you both signed in English? Let Hindi-knowing persons sign in Urdu and Urdu-knowing persons in Hindi. I hope I have not left out any question.[1]

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1323

[1] The addressee had asked : "How can man find divine guidance to distinguish between good and evil ?"

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368. LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR M. DOCTOR

SEVAGRAM,
March 8, 1945

CHI. JEKI,

I have written to him about the jewellery.[1] Try to find out why he gave up his job. It will not take him long to find another. He is clever.

Blessings from
BAPU

JEKIBEHN
35 JUHU LANE
ANDHERI

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

369. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 8, 1945

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

It is good you wrote. I shall write to Sharma on hearing from you. But it is your duty first to have a full talk with him yourself. If he does not come, write to him and then write to me also. In the meantime do not spend anything on your house. Spend the very minimum on the arrangements. Meet the Harijans also.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal P. Mehta", p. 219.

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370. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 8, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Do not give up the quern. You can give up talking. Keep your body and mind engaged in good deeds so that you can observe *brahmacharya* in the Ashram. Do not indulge in idle talk with any man or woman and do not touch anyone without reason. Consider every woman as your mother or sister.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4499

371. LETTER TO RAMDAS GULATI

SEVAGRAM,
March 8, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS[1],

I feel that it is useless for you to run away from there and come here. And if the climate there also suits you, you should suppress the desire to come here.

I will certainly accept machines which can be operated by hand and can be made here. For example I accept the Singer sewing-machine even though it is of foreign make. This much I shall say : in all the Kisan Charkhas so far made there is very little of iron. They make do with a string instead of a spring and Nandlalji has invented a technique of doubling. Both the things you must see and introduce them there. Krishnachandra should send its description and the diagram.

It is good that Viyogiji is giving a lecture.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMDAS GULATI
HARIJAN ASHRAM
DELHI

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

[1] The addressee, an engineer, had given up Government service in 1934 and joined Gandhiji's Ashram, devoting himself to the study of weaving.

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372. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 8, 1945

Forgetting East and West we should consider everything on its own merits.[1]

from a copy of the Hindi : G.N. 1324

373. A NOTE

[After *March 8, 1945*][2]

Write to Bapa whatever seems right to you and send a copy to Purushottam. Chhaganlal too should be appointed on the Committee. It should have on it only persons who work. No one should be there for show. If everyone refuses then Chhaganlal alone should carry on the work. But everyone will not say no. It is enough if all do not refuse. But some are going to refuse, are they? For example Parikshitlal.

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

374. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM,
March 9, 1945

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

P.[3] is in Simla today, probably with Rajkumari. This letter of greetings will be presented to you by Shri Narahari Parikh, one of the oldest Ashramites.[4] You may trust him with any message you like. I hope you are keeping fit.

[1] The addressee had asked : "What should be our attitude towards Western civilization?"

[2] This seems to be a draft reply to Purushottam Gandhi's letter of March 8, 1945, regarding the Committee of the Kathiawar Harijan Sevak Sangh.

[3] Pyarelal

[4] The addressee was to pass through Wardha on March 9, 1945, on his way to Madras from Delhi.

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Please do not forget your promise about Hindustani, though you said you could not become a member.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N.7569

375. LETTER TO V. VENKATASUBBAIAH

SEVAGRAM,
March 9, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your estimate. Now let me have your qualifications in detail and references. Is Rs. 60 per month meant for you? Is it to be devoted merely to women and children?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

VENKATASUBBAIAH, M.L.A.
ASHRAM
NELLORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

376. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

March 9, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

Here are a couple of lines for your perseverance. It is good you passed. If the bangles fit and you want to wear them, you may do so. Don't leave anything from fear of me. Sacrifice without renunciation cannot endure. You should only give up things for which you no longer feel attachment.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SUMITRA GANDHI
C/O HEAD MISTRESS
BIRLA HIGH SCHOOL
PILANI, RAJPUTANA

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

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377. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 9, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You seem to have written the above in haste. Try and see if you can steady your mind. Read *The Hound of Heaven*[1], think over it and understand its meaning. You will not be happy anywhere if you turn your back upon the "Hound"[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5845. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

378. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 9, 1945

I suggest only this in this connection.[3] In the interest of work you may relieve anybody and accept whoever may be available as substitute. I am asking them to change the arrangement regarding milk.[4] Please do not lose patience if I proceed slowly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8462. Also C.W. 5572. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] By Francis Thompson (1859-1907), English poet and critic

[2] Gandhiji uses the English word.

[3] Ramachandra Rao had discontinued shredding the vegetables and Prabhakar and Sushila Nayyar had offered themselves for the work.

[4] This used to take up so many utensils that the addressee could hardly find any for cooking.

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379. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

March 9, 1945

BHAI JANAKDHARI BABU,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. He has gone to Simla. My health is all right. You can ask me whatever you want to. I will answer as best I can. I trust you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 57

380. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 9, 1945

If you have the slightest doubt you should consult an authority and when in doubt abstain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4500

381. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 9, 1945

God is not a person. He is the Law and also the Law-giver. Hence He is not like a human being. It means that man would reap as he sows. God neither does anything nor prompts one to do anything.[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1325

[1] The addressee had asked : "Why should there be so much evil and unhappiness in the world in spite of God?"

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382. INTERVIEW TO ANDHRA DEPUTATION[1]

SEVAGRAM,
March 9, 1945[2]

(1) Q. At present there are only provincial Congress organizations functioning. Is it not essential to have an all-India Congress organization to enunciate a common policy and common programme?

A. A common all-India Congress organization is an impossibility while the President and other members of the Working Committee are in detention.

(2) Q. What is the definition of a *kisan*? We hope that you agree that we can have an independent Andhra Provincial Kisan Congress as a part of and under the discipline of the Andhra Province Congress Assembly [*sic*]?

A. For me a *kisan* is one who actually works on land belonging to himself or another. In every case, I have pointed the way of relief. You should read what I have written.[3] Local difficulties should be solved locally. For the right answer, accurate knowledge of local conditions is necessary. I lack this. Hence my answer may even mislead. All organizations may be independent and yet a part of the Congress and subject to its discipline.

(3) Q. We think it is better to have for the Kisan Congress also a tricoloured national flag without any additional class emblem.

A. I had full discussion with Prof. Ranga.[4] I agree generally about the points you have raised.

(4) Q. There are many *kisans* in villages who have helped in war efforts under the official influence. They are not entitled to be members of the Congress organizations at present. But they are, all the same, sympathizers of the National Congress. Shall we bring them into Kisan Congress? Both classes of members can have equal voice in the matter of redress against the landlords and the Government. But the first class of members only should decide all questions of a political nature.

[1] The deputation consisted of Congress workers from Andhra, including Chandramouli, Kaleshwar Rao, Prof. Ranga and others.
[2] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 10-3-1945
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 218-21.
[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 246-52 and 356-8.

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A. Those who are real sympathizers will remain so even if for technical reasons today they may not join you. By all means take them if you so wish.

The Deputation asked Gandhiji whether Congressmen could see local officials in grave and emergent cases of food and other economic difficulties of people for immediate redress and Gandhiji replied that it was not an absolute evil to see officials but there should be no seeing to flatter or please them.

Asked as to whether Congress bodies could apply to officials for permission to hold public meetings, processions or training camps, in any district where prohibitory order by the District Magistrate is in force, Gandhiji replied that no such permission should be applied for.

Winding up the discussion, Mahatmaji said that generally while he made himself available to all friends, they should try to act on their own even though they may make mistakes.

The Hitavada, 13/14-3-1945

383. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

March 10, 1945

CHI. SUNDARAM,[1]

Your letter from the train. My blessings to Pushpa[2] and hers. May they fructify your dream.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 3184

384. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

March 10, 1945

MY DEAR RATHI,

I was glad to have your letter and learn that you were putting up a home for destitute women.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From C.W. 10521. Courtesy : Vishvabharati, Santiniketan

[1] This is in Tamil script.
[2] Addressee's daughter

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385. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

March 10, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

Your sweet p. c. Short of denying myself I am doing all I can to prevent disruption. Even though it may take place, I feel that the end will be well.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI C. R.
CARE "HINDUSTAN TIMES" BLDGS.
NEW DELHI

From a photostat : G.N. 2103

386. LETTER TO APAJI AMIN

March 10, 1945

BHAI APAJI AMIN,

I have the postcard bearing your signature. I wish you success. I knew Bhai Karunashanker well. He was a gem of Gujarat. His services were matchless.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Vipravar Karunashankarne Shraddhanjali

387. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I read your statement from beginning to end. I liked it. Learn from somebody how instruction can be given through craft. You have many persons to guide you and, therefore, you are bound

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to progress. Real guidance however has to come from within you. I approve of your having admitted only the local girls, and only a few of them. You two teachers are enough. The key to success lies in you two also becoming learners like the girls. If you do so, the girls will never lose interest and the work will steadily progress. You will progress in your own work also. It will be good if you can bring about some improvement in the food. One hardly sees anything besides *rotli* and *dal*. It is a difficult task. Do you grow any vegetables there? You have learnt carding, I am sure.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9421

388. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

BAPA,

I have your note. You should get the eye operated upon. Gurupadam will do it skilfully. Get well and come. Leave behind whatever suggestions you want to make. Write to me if you wish to. We will do whatever we can in your absence.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
SCINDHIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

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

389. LETTER TO RUPAVANTI

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

CHI. RUPAVANTI,

Why should you grieve over the death of your husband? Why should you cry? If you do so, the departed soul will be unhappy. Your duty is to imbibe your husband's virtues and

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do as much good work as you can, as he did, so that he lives on in you.

Blessings from
BAPU

C/o JAYANT MULJI CHAVDA
MUTHEGANJ
ALLAHABAD, U. P.

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

390. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

March 10, 1945

BHAI BALASAHEB,

I can understand your difficulty.[1] You have done right in writing to Narandas. Let me see what he decides now.

Blessings from
BAPU

BALASAHEB
JEHANGIR WADIA BUILDING
51 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2775

391. LETTER TO BABA MOGHE

March 10, 1945

I thought that the question related to the inmates of the Ashram and hence it would be better to restrict the answer to them. If however other people too follow it in action I see no [harm] in it.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5849

[1] *Vide* "Letter to B. G. Kher", p. 202.
[2] *Vide* "A Note", pp. 159-60.

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392. LETTER TO CHIMANDAS ISARDAS

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

BHAI CHIMANDAS,

I hope you will be able to read this. What is there to write in English? I heard about Jairamdas. God will guard him. Hope your mother is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. CHIMANDAS ISARDAS
10 AMIL COLONY
HYDERABAD — SIND

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

393. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

CHI. PROFULLA,

I have your beautiful letter. If you can conveniently reach Bombay on April 2, then do come. It is Amtul Salaam's duty to leave in good shape what she has begun. Retain her. Relieve her only when you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. P. C. GHOSH
14/8 GARIAHUT ROAD
CALCUTTA

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

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394. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

BHAI BALKRISHNA,

I have your wire. Today I have received your letter too. It is good that you have been released. Kumari Sarala always has my blessings for her health. There is no reason why she should not recover after sufficient rest and proper diet.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT BALKRISHNA
"PRATAP"
CAWNPORE, U. P.

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

395. LETTER TO SHANTABAI KALE

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

CHI. SHANTABEHN,

The letter is all right. Forward it and send me a copy so that I can take necessary action.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHANTABAI KALE
WARDHA

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

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396. LETTER TO SUBRAMANIAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 10, 1945

CHI. SUBRAMANIAM,

I have your letter. All noble endeavours have my blessings. May your camp be a success.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUBRAMANIAM
GANDHI ASHRAM
ANJEUR, ANDHRA

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

397. TELEGRAM TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

[On or after *March 10, 1945*][1]

RAMESHWARI NEHRU
FAIRFIELDS
QUEENS ROAD
LAHORE

YOU HAVE LOST GREAT MAN AS FATHER. NO CAUSE GRIEF. HE WROTE DR. MAHMUD LONG LETTER THREE DAYS BEFORE DEATH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

398. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
March 11, 1945

A conference of Congress workers, limited in number and by special invitation, was recently banned in Akola by the District Magistrate. The order is reported to say that "discussion will take place among other subjects on the work and programme of

[1] Raja Narendranath, addressee's father, died on March 10.

the Congress, particularly in villages''. Considering the influence of the invitees, he was of the opinion that this conference would ''hamper the successful prosecution of the war''. It passes comprehension how a conference, where only discussion could take place, can hamper the prosecution of the war or how the constructive programme, no matter how influentially worked, can hamper the prosecution of the war. Does the Magistrate say one thing and mean something else when he says that a successful working of the constructive programme can and will make the present war with the Japanese impossible ? This may need proof, but no proof is needed to show that the constructive work cannot and is not designed to hamper in any way whatsoever the prosecution of the war. What it can do is to bring work and bread to villagers in their own homes, besides making illiterates literate and happy. Or does Government, if the order is prompted by them, want to prevent influential Congressmen from serving the people in any way whatsoever? If so, why have they released Congressmen at all? Anyway Congressmen whose only calling is service of the people will serve mutely and without caring for the consequences that may befall them by reason of their service. That is the true meaning of do or die.

The Hindu, 13-3-1945

399. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

March 11, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

Why should you fall ill? Do you observe rules of health? You want to learn much and rise very high. You will not do anything if you start falling ill from now. ''First happiness is keeping the health of the person.'' We get the full meaning if we interpret ''the person'' to cover the physical, mental and intellectual. Now I receive Sumi's letters regularly. Sita is flying.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. KANAM GANDHI
C/O RAMDAS GANDHI
KHALASI LINE
NAGPUR, C. P.

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

400. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 11, 1945

1. Of course one has to pray in solitude. It is rather disturbing that you find more interest in it.

2. What I mean is that I have done it naturally. Almost all of them would strip reluctantly. I have written—haven't I?—that they did so at my prompting. If I wish to be a *brahmachari* under all circumstances and want the women also to be such this is the one way. Now leave this matter alone and watch what happens.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4501

401. LETTER TO DR. RAMBHAU BHOGE

SEVAGRAM,
March 11, 1945

CHI. RAMBHAU,

Your application is all right. Send it. Secure bail. I met your wife once. I will do what I can if she comes again. She continues to be unwell.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. RAMBHAU BHOGE
C/O JAILOR
JALGAON, G. I. P.

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

402. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 11, 1945

Whatever elevates everybody in society is social service. Its nature varies according to place, time and circumstances. I have shown how it can be done in India.[1]

BAPU

From the Hindi original : G.N. 1326

[1] The addressee had asked: "What is social service and how should it be pursued?"

403. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[On or after *March 11, 1945*][1]

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am a little tired now of talking about myself. I have said much, I shall say more. But not in this manner. I do not wish to publicize Kanchan's name. Even you do not have the right to do so. You are not Kanchan's owner, as she is not yours. But after all these years I have not been able to make you understand this. I read your letter regarding Sushilabehn. If you say that both of you lost patience and swerved from the path, then that should be enough. You need no one else's opinion. I therefore advise you to forget the incident. If Sushila should say that she had not swerved, I should have to hear her but it would serve no useful purpose. If, nevertheless, you insist on an impartial judgment, I am ready to hand over all the papers to Narahari. Let him go through them and give his verdict.

Is not your advice to me futile? In practice there is nothing now. As for the thought, how can I change it so long as I feel that it is pure?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5847. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] This is written on the back of the addressee's letter dated March 11, 1945.

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404. LETTER TO DURGABAI

SEVAGRAM,
March 12, 1945

DEAR SISTER[1],

Prof. R. Rao says he is not to produce a detailed plan. It has to be produced by the Committee. Unless I have it, nothing can be placed before the Board. Please therefore make haste.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

G. DURGABAI
ANDHRA P. COMMITTEE
89 VEERBHAVAN
MYLAPORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

405. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 12, 1945

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

If you can keep Purushottam, please do keep him. He has written a letter to Bapa. See it. I understand about his complaint against you. What can be done? It is for you to impress people by your work. Engaging yourself in all the activities will no doubt impress but will not the work suffer ? Isn't that my lot ? How have I managed so far? I am a thinker as much as I am a doer and can derive a kind of satisfaction by expressing original views. Many others are not able to do that. I shall be in Bombay in April. It will be good if Rama[2] meets me there then.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHHAGANLAL JOSHI
HARIJAN SEVA SANGH
RAJKOT

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

[1] Durgabai Deshmukh
[2] Addressee's wife

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406. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 12, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I can find the time, but it seems pointless. Since you want it I give my decision. Both of you are hasty. Both of you first say whatever occurs to you and think afterwards. If Sushila had not intervened that evening, the outcome would have been quite different. But she is unable to restrain herself. Moreover, she believes she cannot hurt you since you are more than a brother to her. There is nothing more left for me to say. What has happened has happened. Sushila could not have removed Chand to quarters reserved for other people, and she assumed that since she had come with a suggestion about the sick, you would readily offer your room. The thing is we ought to have special facilities for the sick, which we have not provided. It will be enough if we take a lesson for the future from this incident. Say to yourself again and again : "Think before you speak." As far as possible one must cultivate silence. And even if we have to work very hard for it, we must have a separate room for the sick. Like a fire bucket, it must not be put to any other use. Sushila's statement is attached, as also yours. I have not shown her this letter, nor your statement.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5849. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

407. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 12, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

We have had enough of this. You may not do anything for Sushila but you should do everything for the hospital. If we have one, we must put up with a good many things. Shushila cannot see any other point of view, but ignore that. You should endure what you can easily endure and leave what you cannot. It is a

condition for a peaceful life. *Gita* which at one place says "what then will restraint avail"[1] teaches restraint elsewhere.[2] If you understand this, your path will be easy.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5851. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

408. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 12, 1945

If we adopt a pure-minded attitude towards the experiment we shall remain calm and the mind will not become restive. The result will be good and there will be no involuntary emissions. But if there is curiosity it will give rise to desire and there will be involuntary emissions. That is why I have said that curiosity should now stop.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4502

409. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

SEVAGRAM,
March 13, 1945

DEAR BHARATANAND,

I won't be happy until you are out of the wood.
Love.

BAPU

78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] III. 33
[2] II. 61, 68

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410. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM AND KANCHAN M. SHAH

March 13, 1945

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM AND CHI. KANCHAN,

I quite followed your letter. P. Babu again writes to say that you should be allowed to stay on for six months and then he will send you back. Isfahani[1] writes nothing at all. You have done all you could. Kanchan is just as you have described her. She does everything that she can possibly do. It will be a great thing if her health improves. You should both keep on writing. Let Kanchan not be in a hurry to come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. AMTUL SALAAM BIBI
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BORKAMATA
BENGAL

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 492

411. LETTER TO KEDARNATH CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
March 13, 1945

BHAI KEDARBABU,

Will you on my behalf place flowers on Deenabandhu's tomb on April 5?[2] Benarsidas has reminded me. Please tell him that I have acted on his suggestion.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

KEDARNATH CHATTERJEE
"VISHAL BHARAT"
CALCUTTA

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

[1] An office-bearer of the Calcutta Muslim League
[2] C. F. Andrews died on this date in 1940

412. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

WARDHA, SEVAGRAM,
March 13, 1945

CHI. SURU[1],

My blessings are always with you. You are certain to pass. All children are unruly. Shanti[2] is no exception. However much you grow, unless you stop losing your temper you will remain crazy.

To both of you, oh no, to all the three of you,

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. SARASWATI GANDHI
C/O KANTILAL GANDHI
GANDHI SEVA SANGH
MYSORE

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6183

413. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 13, 1945

Children should sleep longer.

If you are not going to do as I wrote to you, you should forget it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4480

[1] Wife of Kantilal Gandhi, Gandhiji's grandson
[2] Addressee's son

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414. LETTER TO UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

DEAR UTTAMCHAND,

There has been some delay in sending you a reply. Please excuse the delay. I hope you can understand the enclosed[1]. There is no loss of capital as you suggest and no loss of interest. We are getting more than the original amount. Nevertheless the writer admits his mistake in neither referring to you nor to me. Knowing you as well as I do, I would have sought your permission. But the manager who is an old trained man used his discretion when there was no loss and much bother was saved. The money is being well used. But I shall carry out your wish, if you still so desire. Only realize how difficult it is to deal with promissory notes.

Hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM
BOMBAY BAKERY
HYDERABAD—KARACHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

415. LETTER TO ATULCHANDRA M. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

DEAR ATUL BABU,

The questions you have asked should be answered by the people on the spot, regard being had to their will and capacity for suffering[2]. At this distance, I can say I cannot submit to

[1] This is not available.

[2] In spite of the restrictions against the hoisting of the national flag in public places in Bihar, the addressee had decided to hoist it on April 6 at Kanapasu—a constructive work centre—and had sought Gandhiji's advice about it.

CWMG - LXXIX

any of the prohibitions, lathi or no lathi. These prohibitions are meaningless except as trials of strength. We may not stop the flag nor the purely constructive programme. But do, not as I advise or say, but as you and people really feel.

Love.

BAPU

ATULCHANDRA M. GHOSH
DULMI
PURULIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

416. LETTER TO ALLADI K. KRISHNASWAMY IYER

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

DEAR SIR ALLADI,

I thank you for the pains you have taken.[1] May God cure you quickly and spare you for many years to come. Yes, Vaidyanath Iyer has a heart of gold. He is a rare servant of the people.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMY IYER
ADVOCATE
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

417. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

CHI. GULZARILAL,

I came to know only today that you had a home. I had always thought you were a homeless person. Well.

I think the reply you have given is all right. I have read everything about the new organization. The proper reply to the objection is that it is not a new institution. Now that it has the

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Alladi K. Krishnaswamy Iyer", p. 196.

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required number of members, efforts are going on to keep it functioning as far as possible. The institution has come into being to give advice and maintain uniformity in all the activities, so it does not require any sanction. Those who will listen to its advice will benefit and those who will not will lose. The institution is not going to prevent the activities of anyone. Moreover, most of its members are Congressmen. It functions and will continue to function in order to render help to the Congress.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

GULZARILAL NANDA
LABOUR OFFICE
LAL DARWAZA
AHMEDABAD

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

418. LETTER TO DR. B. B. YODH

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

BHAI YODH,

What you wrote about Sir Purushottam made me happy. I am sure under your treatment he will be fully restored.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. YODH
RAVAL BUILDING
WELLINGTON ROAD
BOMBAY

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

419. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 14, 1945

Three pounds will be digested in a whole day.[1]

No home work should be given as far as possible. They may read what pleases them or may not read at all. They may be asked how they spend their time. They should be advised in this regard.

[1] This is in Gujarati.

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Asha Devi said you were taking interest in the children. In that case it is worth considering whether you should stay on with them and have your food with them or they should be put up with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
Did I not write about the 14th?

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4481

420. LETTER TO JAINARAYAN VYAS

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

BHAI JAINARAYAN VYAS,

If you must see me then let me know the date before you come. Make it before the 23rd. Do not call the conference.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAINARAYAN VYAS
ALL-INDIA STATES PEOPLES' CONFERENCE
JODHPUR

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

421. LETTER TO RISHABHDAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
March 14, 1945

CHI. RISHABHDAS,

I thought that I had conveyed to Madalasa my suggestion regarding the name. I must have been mistaken. Let the name be Rohitashva[1]. It will be a great thing if he has the qualities associated with the name. I got your letter of the 3rd today.

Blessings from
BAPU

RISHABHDAS
BAJAJWADI, WARDHA

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

[1] Rohitashva was the son of king Harishchandra of mythology who underwent great sufferings in upholding truth.

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422. LETTER TO J.R.D. TATA

SEVAGRAM,
March 15, 1945

DEAR JEHANGIRJI,

I have just heard from Bapa that you are recouping your health in Ooty. I should like a line to know how you are. Of course I shall not expect you at the Trustees' meeting in Bombay if you are at all unwell. I write this purposely in English as you might not have all your staff there.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI J. R. D. TATA
OOTY, SOUTH INDIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

423. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 15, 1945

DEAR DR. ICE[1],

Your usual budget of complaints.

You are a rolling-stone ever since I have known you. That I like you notwithstanding is a different thing altogether. Your milk-and-distilled-water treatment I have tried how long? But I was not cured. You have been to Aundh and you had all the facilities. You could not stick there. What will you do now by coming here? You say your treatment is expensive. How can you serve villages? I have asthma cases, others, and I have a consumptive. If you still want to try your hand come and see. It is very hot here just now. I am likely to be away in April. If you would stay here in heat and try, come and stay as soon as

[1] Gandhiji had given this name to the addressee on account of his enthusiasm for ice treatment.

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you like. There is a fair quantity of milk here. I shall pay you 3rd class fare on your coming here. No return fare if you feel disappointed. You might, if you prove your worth, get one or two cottages for your hospital work. But you have to carve your way for all this, i. e., prove your worth to the people round you.

I shall inquire about your manuscript.

Love.

BAPU

DR. M. S. KELKAR
C/O R. J. PATKAR
15 MANORAMAGANJ
INDORE
C. P.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

424. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 15, 1945

CHI. JAYA,

I have your letter. If we remember God, we have to forget good and bad, happiness and unhappiness. And all of us have to take that road sooner or later. According to an expression in English that is the path trodden by the majority. Life is only a short spell of moonlight. In the end all is dust.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

425. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

March 15, 1945

CHI. LILI,

I have already written one letter to you. The fruits of patience are sweet. I have already taken the step that you expected. Sweet are the fruits of patience. For the present those that are here will stay on. Why should you worry about me? There is

CWMG - LXXIX

Almighty God to worry about everybody. I shall reach Bombay on the 31st. Why are you in a hurry, then?

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. LILAVATI UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
WOMEN STUDENTS' HOSTEL
[BOMBAY]

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10205. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

426. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 15, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You must not have Kanchan living separately. If it is necessary, you two may certainly have a separate establishment. Do what will make both of you happy.

It would be good if you could treat Shantabehn as a member of the Ashram and look after her. But I would not wish to foist her on you against your wish.

About the work, if you can arrange things as you want them, do so.[1] I am myself not persuaded, but if you feel confident you may go ahead. Don't you wish to have a separate kitchen for the hospital?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5854. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] The addressee had suggested entrusting kitchen work to hired staff.

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427. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 15, 1945

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

I understood your letter. The misunderstanding was on your part. It is good that it has been cleared up. There is no need for any other atonement.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHAKRAYYA

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

428. LETTER TO TARACHAND

SEVAGRAM,
March 15, 1945

BHAI TARACHANDJI,

I may write in Hindustani, may I not? What I say is clear. If all the leaders are agreeable, I will not insist on a plebiscite. They include independent Muslims, Sikhs and others. Everything can be done if all of them will be happy.

If there is a trace of suspicion, it is better to give a reasonable interpretation[1].

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. TARACHAND
C/O SHRI RAJENDRANARAYAN
CHANDNI CHOWK
DELHI

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

[1] These two words are in English.

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429. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 15, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I heard from Bapa today that you had fever. Your fever worries me. Why should you get fever ? If you need Rameshwardas there, keep him. Even so, I will stay only at the Birla House. I will leave here on the 30th[1]. The programme after the meeting is indefinite. If you cannot come because of weakness I shall manage.

Blessings from
BAPU

SETH GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA HOUSE
ALBUQUERQUE ROAD
NEW DELHI

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8066. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

430. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

March 15, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have just learnt that G[2]. is unwell. I have written to him. This is just to tell you that all is well. Mridula and Bapa came here. More probably from them or later. Love to you all. Hope L.[3] is well.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2104

[1] For Bombay, to attend the Kasturba National Memorial Trust meeting
[2] G. D. Birla; *vide* the preceding item.
[3] Lakshmi Gandhi

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431. LETTER TO ALUBEHN MISTRI

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

You are taking good care of Bhai Dinshaw. God certainly gives him the help he needs. If there is any such provision in the Kasturba Memorial Fund, he will certainly get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

ALUBEHN MISTRI
JAL CHAMBERS
OPPOSITE RAILWAY HOSPITAL
CHURNEY ROAD JUNCTION
BOMBAY

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

432. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

March 16, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

Beware of the boy who is with you. Get some translations done so long as you do not receive something from Bhai Jivanji.

How are you?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
UPPER SIND COLONY
KARACHI, SIND

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

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433. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

BAPUJI ANEY,

You send me a nice Sanskrit *shloka* for the New Year and the greetings in English . . . If you wanted to send them in English, then why not in Hindustani or in Sanskrit also? A Hindustani translation of the *shloka* was necessary. I hope you are well.

Greetings for the New Year from
BAPU

BAPUJI ANEY
COLOMBO, CEYLON

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

434. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

March 16, 1945

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

Do not worry about me. Do not believe the newspapers. I have your letter. You must completely recover. Khurshed-behn is with her sisters. My blessings to all the brothers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2491

435. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 16, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You must either take full responsibility for the children or leave this work. Leaving it now would not be proper. Do as you think best after consulting Asha Devi.

CWMG - LXXXIX

There are two causes for involuntary emissions: over-eating or eating wrong kinds of things and impure thoughts. Sometimes the two causes may combine. It was no doubt negligence. That you did not know of it till the morning, what does it show? Are you reciting Ramanama?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4482

436. LETTER TO CHAUNDE MAHARAJ

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

CHAUNDE MAHARAJ,

I have your letter. I do advise you. What is the point then in including me in the Mandal? Take work from me. Keep my name out.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

CHAUNDE BUA
C/O GOVARDHAN SANSTHA
SADASHIV PETH
POONA

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

437. LETTER TO KRISHNA IYER

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

CHI. KRISHNA,

Complete your studies. Even after that if you want to come, write to me. How can you be tired of studies? You can do a great deal of my constructive work while studying.

Blessings from
BAPU

KRISHNA IYER
HANSRAJ MAHILA MAHAVIDYALAYA
LAHORE

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

CWMG - LXXIX

438. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

CHI. PROFULLA,

Dr. Mitra's scheme is not for the villages. Probably he does not even know the villages. This shows that merely being clever is no use to us. I will reach Bombay on the 31st. It will be good if you come there. It has become very hot here now.

Blessings from
BAPU

P. C. GHOSH
1418 GARIAHUT ROAD
CALCUTTA

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

439. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

Bring the girl before the 24th. What will Balasaheb be able to do? Explain to me when you come. Remember my time is 3 o'clock.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
MAHAL, NAGPUR

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

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440. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

SEVAGRAM,
March 16, 1945

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I have here with me a married Punjabi woman. She will stay in Delhi so long as it is cool there. She is a teacher. In Delhi, too, I want you to put her up in a girls' hostel or with you. She is not to be paid anything, though of course she will have to be fed. If she can go to any place, please write to me or send me a wire. Her name is Vimalabehn Gurbuxani.

Blessings from
BAPU

VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN CHHATRALAYA
DELHI

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

441. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 16, 1945

Fate is the fruition of karma. Fate may be good or it may be bad. Human effort consists in overcoming adverse fate or reducing its impact. There is a continuous struggle between fate and human effort. Who can say which of the two really wins? Let us therefore continue effort and leave the result to God.[1]

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1327

[1] The addressee had asked : "What is fate and how is it related to human effort ?"

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442. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, BHAGALPUR JAIL

SEVAGRAM,
March 17, 1945

THE SUPERINTENDENT
BHAGALPUR JAIL
BHAGALPUR

DEAR SIR,

Here is a cutting from the *Aj* of 14th instant. It contains disquieting news about Shrimati Prabhavati Devi, your prisoner. I shall thank you to tell me what truth there is in the news.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

443. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
March 17, 1945

BHAI GOPICHAND,

I have gone through all your articles. They are good. I do not propose to make any changes in them. Do you intend to get them published ? If you do, then go through them carefully. Will it be in the three Punjab scripts and not in Hindustani?

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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444. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

March 17, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Knowing you as I do I can say from your remarks that at least for some time you must leave Sevagram. Write a sweet letter to Totaramji. I see no need of your going there. The same goes for Surendraji. But you may go to your own village. Or, to Mirabehn or perhaps to Manzar Ali. In any of these three places you will do at least something. Yes, Bengal is a vast field for your *goseva* work. But now that is out.

Now about Sevagram. It is my belief that Sevagram will never break up. It may undergo transformation, as was the case with Sabarmati. As long as I am alive and active, there will not be much change at Sevagram. I do not wish to make any. If I survive, a new order will come in course of time. Those who are attached to Sevagram will not give it up for good either now or after I am gone. Who can say that after I am dead even Vinoba may not possibly make the place his own? If he survives me, his loyalty and his non-violence will not permit him to leave Sevagram.

I am sure that even though all the organizations are independent, they are unknowingly dependent on Sevagram. This is just as well.

When you become meek like a she-goat, you will again come to like Sevagram as you did in the beginning. What does it matter if today the cow has been taken away from you? At least you have not been taken away from the cow? What does it matter if today you and Munnalal do not feel one as before?

I am not saying all this in order to make you change your mind. My advice to you stays. Go where I have suggested. After that you may come here when you feel the urge.

What more can I say?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1955

445. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 17, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You are not going to be cured of involuntary emissions by being upset about them. Find out the cause and remove it and keep yourself fully engaged in your work.

Do what pleases Asha Devi. That alone will please me. It would not be proper to give up the work of Nayee Talim having once taken it up. Still, it is for you to consider.

What will apply in the end is the *Gita* maxim "What then will restraint avail?"

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4483

446. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 17, 1945

Asceticism in the English sense is not needed at the present time. But there is all the need for renunciation. Read the *Isha-vasya*[1] and reflect on it. Realize the inner meaning of renunciation. It has been explained in the *Gita*.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1328

[1] The reference is to verse 1 of this Upanishad.

[2] The addressee had asked : "How far are asceticism and renunciation beneficial in life?"

CWMG - LXXIX

447. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

I have heard about your proposed recommendations[1]. I do hope the report will not be weak in any place. *Verb. sap.*

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7568

448. LETTER TO FRANY TALYARKHAN

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I got your yearly bulletin. I hope you do not expect me to read it. I just turned the pages for a few minutes.

Blessings from
BAPU

FRANY TALYARKHAN
SHAHARUKH SABAWALA
SIR P. M. ROAD
BOMBAY

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

[1] The Sapru Committee's proposals about the future constitution of India were made public on April 7, 1945. The proposals envisaged, *inter alia*, parity between Hindus and Muslims in the constitution-making body, the central legislature and the executive, rejected the demand for Pakistan and the right of any province to secede and the transfer of paramountcy to the Indian Union, with a minister in charge of functions in relation to Indian States.

449. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

BHAI MUNSHI,

I read the whole of your book[1] on the deadlock[2] too. I liked it. My basic opposition remains. But you have given the reader quite a lot of material to think about.

I hope Sarala[3] and her daughter are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 7686. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

450. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

You form opinions on incomplete information and feel unhappy. This has been your old habit. You must get rid of it. What wrong notions you have formed on the basis of Su[shila]behn's letter! I am not a person to waste myself physically and mentally. I do my work and am happy. I put my idea of education into practice in my own case. My fast—it could not really be called a fast because I took fruit juice—was purely physical. I did not find it unbearable. I did not agree to take glucose and so had the feeling of fasting. But that was only for a short time, as later on I had to take glucose. I can tell you more but this should suffice. Bear in mind that I take all possible care of myself. I hope Kanam is well. He wrote to me that he would be coming to Bombay but would be able to do so only after his

[1] *The Indian Deadlock*
[2] Gandhiji has used the English word.
[3] Addressee's daughter

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examinations. I do not know whether I shall be there then. We shall see. I hope Ushi has recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMDAS GANDHI
KHALASI LINES
NAGPUR

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

451. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 18, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Has it not been proved that in your case proximity to me does not help in observing *brahmacharya* ? Otherwise, after so many years, your *brahmacharya* should have been perfect. It is necessary for the sake of *brahmacharya* that one should engage oneself in ennobling work. Nayee Talim is one such work and when children are there what more can you ask? If you stay with the children instead of being here, you will not lose contact with me and you will be kept away from idle talk.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4484

452. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your long letter betrays your state of mind. Is it not right that I should write to you taking what you say to be the complete truth? The others who are here do not feel very intensely about *brahmacharya.* You do and so I write about it. But in the end you must do as you feel. If you do something I say without your heart being in it, you may take it that it will be futile. It will be no good at all if you mechanically do what I say. What you have written is of course true. What does it matter ? I do consult people after all. What is the harm even if the boys leave?

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There is a lot of work to do. After all our principle is just this : whoever is available is fit to be taught and fit also to teach. You must not become disheartened.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4486

453. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 18, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I received your telegram just now at 6 o'clock. I do not like it. Go to Mussoorie if you have to. Stay on there for a while. Give up the idea of going to Bombay. Rameshwardas too may stay there. I shall manage.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8068. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

454. LETTER TO GANESH SHASTRI JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

BHAI GANESH SHASTRI JOSHI,

Sushilabehn showed me your letter. She is doing as much as she can. The course is not easy. The votaries of Ayurved have to cut a path for themselves. They will need courage, a spirit of sacrifice and knowledge. I have not come across a single vaidya who would sacrifice everything for this work. I am not worried that there are too many doctors on the committees. When the need arises we can have vaidyas on every committee. I shall never let a good suggestion pass. But what am I to do if I do not come across any. Do as much as you can. Give as much as you can.

I am happy that you are teaching Rambhau.

Blessings from
BAPU

GANESH SHASTRI JOSHI
28 SHUKRAVAR [PETH]
BEHIND TULSI BAGH, POONA

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

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455. LETTER TO SHRIPAD JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

CHI. SHRIPAD,

I think my reply is contained in my articles. But forget it. "Those" refers to the private householders.[1] The Government has made good the loss caused to it a hundred times over. We can make good our loss in one way only : by winning swaraj.

In my speech of the 7th[2] I had indicated what was to be done after my arrest. There was of course the fourteen-point programme. Success or failure is in the hands of God. It is my belief that if everybody had followed that programme we should have won freedom by now. I have written enough about the parliamentary programme.

You can show my letters to any of your friends. I am not writing for the Press. There is nothing secret in my letters but it is not every reader who can understand them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5615

456. TELEGRAM TO SHYAMLAL

POONA,
March 19, 1945

SHRI SHYAMLAL
BAJAJWADI
WARDHA

IT APPEARS I NEED NOT MOVE BEFORE FIRST APRIL. THEREFORE IT SEEMS MEETING AS ORIGINALLY FIXED POSSIBLE BUT I STILL THINK INADVISABLE. BUT YOU CAN RECONSIDER IF YOU WISH.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 191.
[2] i.e., August 7, 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 377-81.

457. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I am so glad Pyarelal was with you for two days. As soon as I get your manuscript[1] I shall look through it and advise.

If Shummy and Maude have to go to Bombay you have to swallow your pride (which would be false) and go to Bombay even under conditions. But you must feel the call from within, not from me.

You must feel happy and at peace under all circumstances. That is the meaning of the *shlokas* we sing daily.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4151. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7786

458. LETTER TO MAUDE

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

MY DEAR MAUDE,

Of course I have had all about your operation and your bravery. Purposely I refrained from writing to you. I now learn that you will appreciate a line from me. Well, all I have heard fills me with admiration for you and joy that you have come out of the ordeal so splendidly. Let us hope you will have no more to go through.

Love.

BAPU

SMT. MAUDE
C/O RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Of the addressee's booklet *To Women*

459. LETTER TO SHUMSHERE SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

MY DEAR SHUMMY,

So you have passed through the fire in a threefold manner. You can surely shout "God is great and merciful." Have you not had this double demonstration?

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

460. LETTER TO DR. SUBODH MITRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

DEAR DR. MITRA,

I must confess your scheme staggered me. It is after the Chrowringhee style, not the village style. You have to study your villages anew.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

DR. SUBODH MITRA
3 CHOWRINGHEE TERRACE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to P. C. Ghosh", p. 257.

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461. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

March 19, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

I was glad to learn that Anand was well again. Be careful and the cough also will disappear. Sushila and Pyarelal will of course be with me. But if you also come, you will no doubt serve in some way. I hope to reach Bombay on the 31st.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10054. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

462. LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

BHAI JIVRAJ,

As is your custom, you have given me a perfect reply and have satisfied Chi. Indu too. Listen to Hansabehn[1]. Do not take upon yourself any extra work and render greater service to the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA
22 CURZON ROAD
NEW DELHI

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

[1] Addressee's wife

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463. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. It is good that you met Mathuradas. I have gone through the speech for the Association. It is good. If all the three think it proper, you too may write. I have done what I had to do. Look after your health. There is a letter from Mummy also. I do not write to her separately.

Blessings from
BAPU

MRIDULA SARABHAI
KASHMIR HOUSE
94 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

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

464. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

This is only for you. If you can explain to me, Jajuji will be saved much trouble. If you cannot, then read this out to him. What I have marked with a cross cannot be the responsibility of the Charkha Sangh. The Sangh may have to contribute to what is intended for women. If it is exclusively for village women then the Kasturba Fund should bear the burden. Whose sanction does Lakshmi Babu want? Any responsibility which falls on the Charkha Sangh can be borne by it only when it conforms to the new course I have suggested. There are other problems no doubt, but I will not raise them just now. The work is a little complicated but we should not use force.

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May be Lakshmi Babu intends to place the whole thing before the general body which has been formed!

Blessings from
BAPU

NARAHARI PARIKH
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

465. LETTER TO SHANTILAL

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

CHI. SHANTILAL,

I was happy to have your letter. I hope to reach Bombay on the 31st. To begin with I shall be at the Birla House. Probably I shall not be able to keep you with me all the twenty-four hours, but certainly you will be with me most of the time. I will try to read your new writing, so please bring it. Is it *vitaraga* or *veetaraga*?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHANTILAL
ANAVIL ASHRAM
SURAT

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

466. TELEGRAM TO M. S. KELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

DR. KELKAR
CARE PATAKAR
15 MANORAMAGANJ
INDORE

COME QUICK SEVAGRAM.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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467. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHAGANJ,
March 20, 1945

GHANSHYAMDASJI
BIRLA HOUSE
NEW DELHI

REPORT INCOMPLETE[1]. UNCLEAR IF YOU TAKE MILK. STATE VEGETABLES. ANY CASE ADVISE HALF OUNCE BUTTER DIRECT FROM MILK WITH TOAST AND SALAD WELL CHEWED. DRINK HOT WATER HONEY SODA. PRACTISE REGULATED DEEP BREATHING ON EMPTY STOMACH. REPORT. LOVE.

BAPU

From C.W. 7870. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

468. LETTER TO URMILADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

MY DEAR URMILA[2],

I hope you got my wire in reply [to] your first letter. Now I have your second letter. I have seen Dr. Mitra's scheme. I have written to him and also Profulla about it.[3] Dr. Mitra has to revise his scheme in terms of the villages whom he must see in their dangers [*sic*] before he can write anything useful.

As for yourself, you need not worry. The first thing is for you to be fit for nursing. Will you ever be? Mere wish is of little use. When the wish is backed by fitness, you will be wanted by all.

[1] The addressee had wired : "Fever left but cough still persisting. Am taking toast, vegetable and milk no butter. Would you suggest any change in diet?"

[2] Sister of C. R. Das

[3] *Vide* pp. 257 and 268.

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Hope all is well there.
Love.

BAPU

URMILADEVI
2/1B HINDUSTAN PARK
P. O. R. B. AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

469. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 20, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read all that you have written. Give up the notion that I have no trust in you. That you are unmethodical is shown by your writing and your behaviour. What can you do about it? First the realization, then the endeavour, then the time. That is the order.

I do wish that there should be a separate kitchen. I am considering what to do now. I will write nothing now about Sushila. There was no question of my selecting anybody for my office. I employ in it only those whom I cannot fix up anywhere else. Others who joined did so by accident. If I had to start a new office altogether, I should know very well how to do it. You do not know with what type of persons I have run an office in the most difficult circumstances. But can I not run the Ashram also in that manner ? Why did I not appoint Vinoba to run the office? You should be able to draw the appropriate conclusions from this. If when I have some free time you ask me for work, I will tell you. Do you really feel like doing some work in the office?

Personally I should like to return from Bombay in about four days' time. But I shall be in the doctors' hands. Maybe, I shall have to go to Panchgani if they insist. I don't know. We shall see what happens.

I do not say, or wish, that you should go to Kanchan. But if she or you feel such a desire, I would encourage you. If you tell me your reasons for not going, or write them down, I might consider. I have to be away for two months. In that time there is a chance that the kitchen arrangements may improve.

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I am not satisfied with this letter. The circumstances themselves are unsatisfactory. Whom can we blame for that?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5857. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

470. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

March 20, 1945

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. What a narrow escape you have had![1] I hope Lavanyalata is doing well. Kanchan's postcard to Munnalal came today. I see from it that she is very ill. Why? I am asking Munnalal to go there. Let us see what happens. I am all right. I am working regularly. I shall have to go to Bombay towards the end of this month. I am not writing separately to Kanchan.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 493

471. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

March 20, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

There is no need to think about your state of mind. It seems to me that you should go to your village. Go to Mirabehn and also to Dharmadev Shastri. Staying away at this time can only do you good. No doubt the Ashram remains full because of me, but it has proved its independent existence during my absence, be it here, at Sabarmati, at Kochrab or at Phœnix. The *Autobiography* gives the story up to Sabarmati. It is astonishing. Ask somebody or ask me. It is good to learn veterinary science. There is no hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1956

[1] Lavanyalata and the addressee had met with an accident while travelling by a cycle rickshaw.

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472. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have sent you an express telegram[1], a copy of which is enclosed. What are you taking, how much and when? What leafy vegetables are you taking, and are you taking them raw or boiled? You do not throw away the water, do you? Will not *khakhara*[2] be better than toast? Does the flour include the bran? If you are taking milk, how much? Whatever happens you must take half an ounce of butter well spread over the toast or *khakhara*, together with the salad. If you have indigestion, reduce other things, but continue the butter. Deep breathing is essential. Close one nostril and breathe deeply through the other. You can gradually increase it to half an hour. Utter Ramanama with every breath you take. When doing breathing exercises, you should have fresh air on all sides. It would be better to do it in the open. You should do it every morning without fail and afterwards at least four times after the food has been digested. Breathe in and breathe out. This exercise should be taken slowly. Do your bowels move properly? Are you able to sleep? If you do all this carefully you will soon get rid of the cough.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8067. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to G. D. Birla", p. 272.
[2] Thin, crisp chapatis

473. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI[1],

I do have news of you. Pyarelal also gave me some. It is good that you are in Harijan Nivas. You must get well. Chand is somewhat agitated. She has received so much from you. Must she not now serve you? The thought is noble. If you need Chand's services, I will send her immediately. She is learning to nurse the sick here. But nursing you will be the proper training. However, if you do not need Chand's services, then I do not see any point in sending her merely so that you can look at each other. Let me know your mind.

Khurshedbehn left a few days ago. She is in Poona with Nargisbehn.

The heat has started here. I do not therefore have the courage to send for you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

474. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

March 20, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

Those who spin should wear khadi and those who wear khadi should spin. Spinning means picking the cotton bolls from the field, separating the seeds with a rolling-pin, ginning the cotton, making the slivers, spinning the yarn of the required count and doubling it.[2]

It was good as it was. But since I was asked I have put down my ideas. Have a look at it and then I will write down whatever you want me to.

BAPU

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

[1] Granddaughter of Swami Shraddhanand

[2] This was a draft for the message to the Charkha Sangh; *vide* "A Message", p. 319.

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475. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

Again the same thing has happened. Although I sent you a telegram, Vimaladevi will not be going to Delhi now.[1] She will instead go to Simla with her husband. So forget about her now.

Blessings from
BAPU

HARIJAN ASHRAM
DELHI

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

476. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI[2]

March 20, 1945

Read my article on the subject.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1329

477. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

SEVAGRAM,
March 20, 1945

[Q.] Mr. Amery[4] told Karaka, *Bombay Chronicle*'s war correspondent, in the course of an interview, that you could give a lead. He stated that you had spoken for the Congress party before. In the context the suggestion seems to be that you can deal through Congress members in the legislatures. What

[1] *Vide* p. 258.
[2] The addressee had asked : "Why is the cow worshipped in the Hindu religion and not in other religions?"
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXI, p. 248, and Vol. XXXVII, pp. 432-3.
[4] L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, had given an interview to D. F. Karaka on March 16, 1945.

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are your views on these suggestions? In view of the statement made by Mr. Amery that "the Government of India would no doubt need also to be satisfied that nothing would be done to impede or injure war efforts by direct opposition or by attempts to dislocate the economic situation", will you be pleased to make things absolutely clear on the point?

[A.][1] Wish is often father to the thought. I see nothing new in Mr. Amery's statement to Shri Karaka. All talk of resolution of the present deadlock is useless so long as the members of the Working Committee and other Congressmen are under detention. Obstruction of war effort is a mere bogey. But if it means that there will be fierce criticism of the bungling and corruption that has gone on in the name of war effort it is true—not that there is no criticism now. When the principal Congressmen are free there will be real national war effort if they are allowed to have an effective say.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-3-1945

478. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[2]

SEVAGRAM,
[On or before *March 21, 1945*][3]

QUESTION : What is soul force? How is it related to satyagraha?

ANSWER : Soul force is nothing but a manifestation of His power or strength. Satyagraha cannot be practised nor is it possible without it (soul force). Hence satyagraha is directly connected with soul force.

Q. What is the value or worth of independence?

A. The direct or straight road to independence is non-violence. We can or shall be immortal or live in death by dying non-violently (or by sacrificing ourselves for a noble cause) but not by killing others (or by perpetrating violence).

The Hitavada, 28-3-1945

[1] Gandhiji gave this in writing.

[2] The questions were asked by Gope Gurbuxani on different dates. The Hindi originals are not available.

[3] The report appeared under the date-line "Sevagram, March 21, 1945".

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479. *FOREWORD TO "PRACTICE AND PRECEPTS OF JESUS"*

Having carefully gone through these chapters, I can recommend their careful[1] perusal to every believer in God be he a Christian or a follower of any other religion.

The booklet presents Professor J. C. Kumarappa's views on Christian teaching in a nutshell. It is a revolutionary view of Jesus as a man of God. It is none the less revealing and interesting. The interpretation of the Lord's prayer is novel and refreshing as are many other interpretations.

If all believe as Prof. Kumarappa does there will be no religious feuds and rivalries between sects and sects and different religions. Anyway, this reading of the Bible must bring solace to the Christians of India. If they will read the Bible as Prof. K. does, they need not be ashamed[2] of their forefathers or their ancient faith. What is bad and superstitious in the old they are able to throw off by means of the liberal teaching presented in the following pages but it helps one to see that there is much of the old which is imperishable and worthy of being treasured.

Indeed, Prof. K. has a message beyond the confines of India. He speaks with confidence born of a living faith in the belief that the West, though nominally Christian, has not known the true Jesus of the Gospels.

As I was going through these pages, I was reminded of the late Advocate F. A. Laughton of Durban. I was then no student of Roman or Dutch Law nor of the case law of the four States of South Africa. In difficulty, therefore, I used to go to Mr. Laughton for help. But, after I had done with my work, he would proudly bring forth from his drawer a green cover book with his father's annotations from the Bible. It was Edwin Arnold's *Song Celestial*, and had Mr. Laughton's father's parallel passages from the Bible showing that there was much in common between the New Testament and the *Gita*. I was then a novice trying to find out Truth in all its aspects without then knowing that I was so doing. Prof. Kumarappa's interpretation with copious quotations from the Bible reminded me of what I used to believe even as early as 1894-95. I can therefore speak from

[1] This word is omitted in the printed source.

[2] The printed source has "apologetic".

experience of the truth of the interpretation of the Gospels given in the following pages by Prof. Kumarappa.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, March 21, 1945

From a photostat : G.N. 10173. Also *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*

480. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
March 21, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

See if this is what you want.[1] If not tell me what you do want. Hope you are flourishing.

Love.

BAPU

Later

Come tomorrow night after 8 p. m. or tomorrow morning at 7 a. m.

From a photostat : G.N. 10172

481. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 21, 1945

MY DEAR ICE,

Your letter. Never mind Aundh. I have wired you[2] to come at once as I am in Bombay in April. I hope to present you with some patients. Give me satisfaction, the rest will follow as day follows night.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. M. S. KELKAR
R. J. PATKAR
MANORAMAGANJ
INDORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to M. S. Kelkar", p. 271.

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482. LETTER TO P. W. SEBASTIAN

SEVAGRAM,
March 21, 1945

DEAR SEBASTIAN,

Sorry for the death of your wife. But there should be no grief. You, I and all of us have to go where she has gone.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

P. W. SEBASTIAN
PARIS HALL
TRICHUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

483. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
March 21, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I have gone through your booklet[1]. It is good so far as it goes. Do you see that you have begun with your own experiences? You could not do otherwise. The central disease of India is its deep poverty and deeper ignorance. You have dealt with both but as items. But I do not ask you to rewrite anything. If you touch up anything, you may do so. If not, as it is good enough reading.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4152. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7787

[1] *To Women*; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 267.

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484. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 21, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You should never conclude from anything that I write that I must have examined every aspect. That is for you readers to do. I would of course relieve you and put up with whatever hardship follows. But the truth is that you ought not to abandon the work you have taken up. Man may not abandon his duty any more than the ant can abandon the pot of jaggery. We, however, look upon duty not as a pot of jaggery but as a burden. Otherwise how dare A. S. so much as suggest that you should leave? But that is what happened. I like what you say. By all means cling to the kitchen and make it a model one. It will bring you all the joy and you will get training along with the others. The gods will shower flowers and it may be I shall be there to watch. Make it an ideal kitchen. Run it with the help of servants, so called, but let them feel that they are not servants but masters or trustees. What more could you desire?

You now know my ideas fully. Forget Kanchan if possible. Write to her plainly that you are to get tempered here and she there. After both of you have become tempered, you will meet again. If you can do this, you will have brought down many fruits with one stone. The saying is about killing many birds with one stone. That is a wrong one, ours is the right one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5859. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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485. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 21, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Why should you have even a piece of wood under the head? Sleep in *shavasana*[1], as I do. If you must have something, have a stone or a brick.

Do not give up carding and spinning. This one thing has become part of our life. Devote one hour regularly to this. You will acquire speed.

Why should you feel disappointed if you have to give up Nayee Talim? But some work has to be taken up.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4487

486. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

VAHALAN BEHN,

I have your letter per friend. I answered all your previous letters. I do hope you had my replies. I can assure you that not a moment is wasted and taken away from the constructive programme. I am dealing with the post as it is brought to me without leaving any arrear.

Love to you all.

BAPU

SMT. KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI
DUNLAVIN LODGE
POONA 5

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] A corpse-like posture for relaxation of the body

487. LETTER TO BISWANATH DAS

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

DEAR BISWANATH DAS,

Let the young man you mention write after the hot season, i. e., after June. I am likely to be away about 10th April. Hope you are well.

Love.

BAPU

BISWANATH DAS
BELLAGAM, P. O. PULSORA
DIST. GANJAM, ORISSA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

488. LETTER TO J. R. BHALA

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

BHAI BHALA,

I read carefully your letter to Pyarelal and your article. I hope to reach Bombay on the 31st. Make an appointment and meet me there. I will make further inquiries so that I can guide your Association.

M. K. GANDHI

BHAI J. R. BHALA
OVERSEAS STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
9 FORJETT HILL, BOMBAY 26

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2335

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489. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

BHAI JINNAH,

Having read that you are ill, I am writing this. I trust the illness is a minor one and that you have recovered by now.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Q. A. JINNAH SAHEB
PRESIDENT, MUSLIM LEAGUE
NEW DELHI

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

490. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

CHI. SITA,

I am very happy to have your letter. May you go on making progress. Manilal and Sushila will come when God wills. You should not worry. Look after your health and engross yourself in work. Sumi writes to me every week. I will send you—all of you—her next letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

SITA GANDHI
AKOLA

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

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491. LETTER TO KULWANT SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

SARDARJI,

Why should you write to me in English? The simple answer to the question you have put to me is that those who are in the Congress remain in it as its servants. I am not even a member of it. However I am its servant.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR KULWANT SINGH
P. O. MOGHAPURA
LAHORE

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

492. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 22, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

There is a Sanskrit party and a translation party. Both equally command my allegiance.[1] Because we are social animals we ought to find joy in collective recitation. Ultimately an individual should choose whichever way helps him to rise higher.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4488

[1] The reference is to the recitation of Ashram prayers.

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493. LETTER TO VINAYAK D. SAVARKAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

BHAI SAVARKAR,

I write this after reading the news of the death of your brother. I had done a little bit for his release and ever since I had been taking an interest in him. Where is the need to condole with you? We are ourselves in the jaws of death. I hope his family are all right.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

VIR SAVARKAR
RATNAGIRI

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

494. NOTE TO BALVANTSINHA

March 22, 1945

Ba's interpretation of the Ahalya[1] episode is correct. But it is one of many. There can be as many interpretations as there are devotees and their attitudes.

BAPU

[From Hindi]
Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 366

[1] Wife of Gautama in the *Ramayana*. She had been turned into stone for adulterous conduct and then regained her human state when Rama touched the stone with his feet.

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495. LETTER TO HAFIZ ZAFFAR HUSSAIN

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

BHAI SAHEB,

I have your letter. Have patience. Remain quiet. You will see that the Congress will not abandon freedom-loving Muslims.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MAULVI HAFIZ ZAFFAR HUSSAIN

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

496. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1945

BROTHERS,

I am surprised to see your letter in English. Why don't you write in Hindustani? I have already expressed my opinion. Whether to follow it or not is for each person to decide. I advise you to come to your own decision.

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

497. LETTER TO K. S. GOPALASWAMY[1]

[Before *March 23, 1945*][2]

Gandhiji, in his reply, has asked the handloom weavers of Tamil Nad to follow the instructions, issued by him to the handloom weavers and suggested that the weavers' families should begin spinning also and adopt a process of doubling so that handloom weavers may not be idle.

The Hindu, 25-3-1945

[1] The addressee, General Secretary of the Tamil Nad Handloom Weavers' Association, Karur, had sought Gandhiji's help in improving the condition of the handloom weavers who were undergoing hardships because of the scarcity of yarn.

[2] The report which carries the item bears the date, March 23, 1945.

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498. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI[1]

[Before *March 23, 1945*][2]

Do what is best, cost what it may. Kill corruption. Adopt that alternative which is best under the circumstances. I know difficulties will be many but we have to cut our way through.

The Hitavada, 24-3-1945

499. LETTER TO P. B. CHANDWANI

SEVAGRAM,
March 23, 1945

MY DEAR CHANDWANI,

You can come when you like. But these are very hot months and I may be away. Come during the monsoons, or even in November. Of course work can be done in towns. But not out of K. B.[3] funds. You want right teachers, but we must discuss when we meet.

Love.

BAPU

P. B. CHANDWANI
OLD SUKKUR
SIND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

500. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 23, 1945

The cotton seeds are not separated properly. The method is wrong and slow. The hand should barely touch them. The seeds must separate with one stroke. The hands must move very fast.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4489

[1] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice on the constitutional position.

[2] The report which carries the item is date-lined : "Shillong, March 23, 1945".

[3] Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund

501. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

March 23, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. How is the boy sent from here? Does he work? How is it about your food? How do you feel? How are Father and Mother? I am all right. How is Bharat?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

502. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 23, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I said what I recollected. Is it not true that at first you had wanted to be a teacher and desired a salary? It was even suggested once that you should be taken in the Wardha school. If this impression of mine is wrong I shall not repeat what I said. But I am certain that you have slowly been progressing. It is beside the point that you had not wanted the money for yourself. Have not these seven years been another journey for you?

It is all right about Nayee Talim. I am not going to let you off.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4490

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503. LETTER TO MANAHAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 23, 1945

BHAI MANAHAR[1],

I discovered only today that the money for Shastriji's[2] maintenance was being sent from here. The expenditure in my opinion is too high. All expenditure should be channelled through you. I find even rent included in the expenses. The amount of Rs. 100 was sent to cover four months but almost the whole amount was spent in three months. I am also enclosing Shastriji's letter. Tell me after looking into everything how much should be paid. I do not have any private money of my own. Whatever I have is from donations. Surely I cannot make donations out of donations. I can spend money only for the purpose for which the donations are meant. The money paid to your account depends on donations. Please let me know how much I should give for Shastriji. Whatever is done should be through you. Consider Shastriji to be your patient. He can see this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am not talking about the past. I say that there should be some restriction now. Shastriji is ill. He cannot even think properly. Whatever has to be done must be done either by you or by me. I can do nothing from here and so it becomes your duty. You must tell me how much should be sent to you. Shastriji has to be placed under your control.

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 5894. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Of Dattapur Lepers House
[2] Parachure Shastri

504. LETTER TO RAMKRISHNA BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
March 23, 1945

CHI. RAMKRISHNA[1],

Occasionally I read the letters you write to your mother. I keep getting news of your progress. It pleases me. Today I realized that I too could write to you. So I am writing. I learn from your letter that you have asked for underwear. I suggest you give up the use of underwear. We do not require it in our climate. But of course if you have got used to it and cannot do without it you may continue with it. You do see that it is our duty to minimize our expenses voluntarily and raise our life to the utmost. Develop yourself in every way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3065

505. LETTER TO VENKATESH BHATT

March 23, 1945

BHAI VENKATESH BHATT,

Why do you write letters in English? Write in Hindustani or in your mother tongue. Damodar is brave. Money should not be collected by undertaking fasts. Money can be collected through work and service. A fast can often take the form of coercion.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3628

[1] Son of Jamnalal Bajaj

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506. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 23, 1945

Fighting for peace is a contradiction in terms. How can there be peace for those who fight? There certainly is conflict between peace and restlessness. But this is welcome to the lover of peace for he finds his peace in restlessness.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1330

507. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 23, 1945

One meaning of education is knowledge of the Self and it is perfect in itself. But today it is wrongly interpreted. Hence I would say it is the all-round development of man and a true teacher is one who helps in such development[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1331

508. TELEGRAM TO HANUMANT RAI

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

HANUMANT RAI
1267 CHAITPURI
DELHI

GIVEN NO PERMISSION ANYONE UNNECESSARY COME.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had asked : "Why is man fighting for peace and how can lasting peace be established?"

[2] The addressee had asked : "What is the aim of education and who can be described as a teacher?"

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509. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

You cannot hurt me without hurting yourself. I laugh and invite you to share my laughter. "O ye of little faith!" You lose patience quickly because you misread me. Have I not said 1945 is not 1942. Yet I have not changed because you find that I am not covering myself with woollen shawls or even at all.[1]

Wait, watch and pray.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : Aruna Asaf Ali Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

510. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

VAHALAN BEHN,

I am so glad you are going for a change to Panchgani. Work there but don't descend till you are really well. I treasure your caution to think of nothing but the constructive programme. You have also done well to tell me that I must meet the co-ordinating committee.

BAPU

SMT. KHURSHEDBEHN
DUNLAVIN LODGE
POONA 5

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In her letter of March 23, the addressee had expressed her grief at what she considered the changed attitude of Gandhiji towards the British.

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511. LETTER TO V. VENKATASUBBAIAH

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter. I must see the naturopath face to face before I move.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

V. VENKATASUBBAIAH
KASTURIDEVI NAGAR
NELLORE
S. INDIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

512. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

With children fever comes and goes. After Anand recovers come and stay with me. Do not get nervous.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10055. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

513. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 24, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You should not have lost the four-anna coin like that. About the Talimi Sangh I am sure I am right but I shall not force you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4504

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514. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 24, 1945

Personality, i.e., the quality of being oneself, can be good or bad. If it is in conformity with the Self it is good and if it disregards the Self it is bad. It becomes good and develops by meditating on the Self and understanding its attributes.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1334

515. SPEECH AT A. I. S. A. MEETING–I[2]

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1945

I regret I shall not be able to be present throughout the entire proceedings. The reason is that I wish to live for 125 years, so that I can serve the country longer. I was not joking when I said so at the August meeting of A. I. C. C., for a satyagrahi never utters a word that he does not mean. I earnestly endeavour to fulfil this wish of mine and to this end I try to conserve as much of my energy as I can.

Whether I succeed in my desire to live to 125 years will not depend on doctors or medical science, though in my own way I have used the aid of both a good deal. It will depend on my ability fully to translate into practice the principles of truth and ahimsa. My experience of ahimsa has taught me that even in the work of service the pace should not be too fast. I confess that in this I have been only partially successful. I cannot regulate my pace sufficiently. Old, settled habits are not overcome all at once. I know undue haste is bad; it impedes work instead of facilitating it.

I have been asked whether it is desirable to mix politics and constructive work. At present some people are doing constructive

[1] The addressee had asked : "What is meant by personality and how can we build it up?"

[2] The meeting, attended by the Trustees, Provincial Secretaries and workers of A. I. S. A., was held in the Khadi Vidyalaya Hall.

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work in order to strengthen the Congress organization. This mixing of politics and constructive work helps neither. I entirely concur with the view that for full justice to be done to constructive work it must stand on its own feet and should not be tied to political work. I fear this advice of mine will not have any effect. But as the author of the *Mahabharata* says, 'You must continue to proclaim the truth irrespective of whether anybody listens to you or not.' This comforts me.

Since I first presented through the Congress the constructive programme to the country in 1920, my faith in its efficacy has become stronger. In the light of experience and knowledge gained, its scope has been enlarged. It is my claim, and I have proclaimed it from the house-tops, that my 15-point programme is comprehensive and if it is pursued throughout the country we shall gain swaraj without any other programme.

Mahatma Gandhi referred to the formation of the Congress Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province and the reported efforts of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai to end the political deadlock and said :[1]

I prefer to keep silent on these points for the present. The Parliamentary programme may result in political swaraj; but non-violent swaraj is possible only by fully implementing the constructive programme.

If only the constructive programme was worked in the right spirit, there was no need either to incur the wrath of the ruling race or even to enter the Legislatures. But Gandhiji urged that even if parliamentary work was permitted, the special importance of the constructive programme would always remain and through it alone the freedom of the country could be achieved.

It may be asked whether the people will take up the constructive programme and pursue it in the way I want it pursued. My answer is that whether they do so or not does not take away from the merit of the remedy I advocate which is both good and practicable.

In this connection I have been asked whether, since carrying on of the movement against untouchability and organizing of peasants and workers in the name of the Congress provides a chance to Ambedkar and others to raise opposition and thus impede anti-untouchability work, it would not be better if these programmes were pursued independently of the Congress.

[1] This and the two following paragraphs are from *The Hindu*.

It is my view that if the followers of Ambedkar oppose us we should not let ourselves be provoked or give up our work because of it. We should reach their hearts and understand their feelings. If we had gone through the experiences that the Harijans have gone through, there is no telling how embittered we might not have become and how little our ahimsa would have endured. Therefore on such occasions we should look inward and if there is the slightest vestige of untouchability left we should purge ourselves of it. It is my firm belief that if Hinduism is to survive, untouchability must go. If untouchability lives, Hinduism is bound to perish and will deserve to perish. The tragedy is that those who should have especially devoted themselves to the work of reform did not put their hearts into the thing and only played with it. What wonder that Harijan brethren feel suspicious, and show opposition and bitterness?

The removal of untouchability root and branch thus becomes a religious duty for me and for other Hindus like me. If we want to achieve swaraj through non-violence then untouchability will have to be eradicated. We cannot attain swaraj without that. Not all Congressmen share this view of mine. The Congress is a democratic organization and it can have in it people representing many points of view. No one has the right to thrust his own view on others and expect them to work in pursuance of those views. It will be right if those who consider eradication of untouchability a religious duty give themselves up exclusively to this work with single-minded devotion. At the same time it will also be right if those who consider anti-untouchability work as a part of the political programme of the Congress pursue it as such.

Religious duty is a very subtle and complicated thing. It is not a commodity that can be bought and sold. Perpetual inner searching is needed in order to discover it. In essence it is the same for all times and all places but its form and its translation into practice changes from individual to individual and from time to time. If we can but grasp this secret of the many-sidedness of truth we shall be able to see any differences between principles and practice in their proper perspective. I therefore welcome both those who work for the eradication of untouchability independently and those who do so in pursuance of the Congress programme.[1]

The same argument, he said, applied to the question whether Congressmen could organize the *kisans* and workers. Congressmen could not do it

[1] The following paragraph is from *The Hindu*.

and yet remain Congressmen. He said he had already informed Mr. N. G. Ranga that it would lead to conflict if there was a separate organization for peasants and workers and consequent weakening of both the organizations.

He himself had ceased to be a four-anna member of the Congress and yet he claimed that he was rendering more service to the Congress by remaining outside. Everyone could do like him but no one had the right to lay down the rule for others or expect them to fall into line with himself. To find fault with those whose angle of approach to constructive work was different would be like cutting the very tree on which they were sitting.[1]

Gandhiji concluded the first set of questions by repeating what he had often said before that he was there merely to advise. No one was bound to accept his advice unless it appealed to his head and heart.

The other question asked is whether the funds of the Charkha Sangh can be used for giving training to khadi workers in other branches of constructive work, such as agriculture, animal husbandry and Nayee Talim, in order to equip them for all-round village service. My answer is no. Funds collected for one institution cannot be spent on another. According to the constitution of the Charkha Sangh its funds cannot be used for any purpose other than khadi. Therefore expenditure on training in agriculture and animal husbandry should be borne by the institution concerned. Otherwise it will lead to confusion. If money belonging to one institution has to be advanced as loan to another institution, it should be done on proper security and on a reasonable rate of interest. The job of a trustee is difficult and delicate. I have been a trustee of various institutions for over fifty years and every institution under me has flourished. The secret of my success is not my Mahatmaship but my business sense and the meticulous care I show in maintaining accounts. The success or otherwise of a public institution ought not to depend on the brilliance of an individual or individuals but on the purity of its management and the soundness of its business policy. If you cultivate these money will come to you of itself.

A friend has suggested that khadi work instead of being carried on through the various branches of the Charkha Sangh should, within a specified time, be entrusted to workers engaged in all-round village work who understand the scheme. I agree with the suggestion, but I am not in favour of laying down a time-limit for winding up all khadi production activity. I am however very keen that all the khadi consumed in the villages should be produced in the villages by the villagers themselves.

[1] This and the following paragraph are from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

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That will eliminate all incidental and overhead charges and put khadi beyond commercial competition. This is the work which can very effectively be done through Nayee Talim. Nayee Talim is all-embracing in its scope. That means it has to be like a magnet that attracts all, young and old.

So long as it does not develop this power it will be a body without soul.

If the Charkha Sangh is to free itself of the burden it carries, workers of the type needed will have to be produced. These are lacking at present. I therefore want that none of you should leave Sevagram till you have understood the principles of Nayee Talim.

I am as impatient as any of you to reach our goal but I realize that the task is an uphill one. India has been enslaved for so long—its slavery dates since even before British rule—that all initiative and originality in us has been killed and we are paralyzed with despair. Constructive work cannot make headway without a resuscitation of these lost qualities in us, and the attainment of independence through truth and non-violence must remain an empty dream unless constructive work can be carried through to success. Freedom is bound to come. It is coming. But mere political freedom will not satisfy me. It will certainly not satisfy the world which expects much greater things from India. Independence of my conception means nothing less than the realization of the "Kingdom of God within you and on this earth".[1] I would rather work for and die in the pursuit of this dream though it may never be realized. That means infinite patience and perseverance. If India is satisfied with the mere attainment of political independence and there is nothing better for me to do, you will find me retiring to the Himalayas leaving those who wish to listen to me to seek me out there.

Gandhiji then offered to answer the remaining questions the next day[2] and before winding up his talk for the day he said that they need not be disheartened at the present state of the country. He was happy that with infinite patience they had achieved something in spite of their slavery and other obstacles, and he was really proud of the achievement.

[From Hindi]

Charkha Sanghka Navasanskaran, pp. 104-9; *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-9-1945, and *The Hindu*, 27-3-1945

[1] *The Hindu* here has : "I want real freedom, *Ramarajya*, for India in every respect and that can be obtained only through the constructive programme."

[2] *Vide* "Speech at A. I. S. A. Meeting–II", pp. 303-5.

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516. MESSAGE ON DEATH OF HERMANN KALLENBACH[1]

SEVAGRAM,
March 25, 1945

South Africa has lost a most generous-minded citizen and the Indians of that subcontinent a very warm friend.

In Hermann Kallenbach's death I have lost a very dear and near friend. He used to say to me often that when I was deserted by the whole world, I would find him to be a true friend going with me, if need be, to the ends of the earth in search of Truth. He used to spend at one time £75 per month on his person alone. But he so revolutionized his life that his monthly personal expenses amounted to under £8. This lasted while we lived together in a cottage seven miles from Johannesburg. When I left South Africa, he reverted in large part to his original life though mostly eschewing the things of life he had deliberately left.

He came in close touch with the late patriot Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who held him in high esteem. It may be noted that together with Henry Polak, Mr. H. Kallenbach was arrested for marching with me from Natal to Transvaal[2].

The Hindu, 27-3-1945

517. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 25, 1945

CHI. MIRA,[3]

Better a p. c. than no letter. I am glad you are making progress in the face of difficulties. Am glad too that P. came and kindled hopes in you of taking Godward path. Hope for my coming to you in October. Of course the allowance per month is meant. Nothing certain about my movement except that I go

[1] Hermann Kallenbach died in Johannesburg on March 25, 1945.

[2] On November 10, 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 268 and 518, and Vol. XXIX, p. 247.

[3] The superscription is in Hindi.

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to Bombay on 31st instant. Am keeping well in spite of the heat which has begun in right earnest.

Love.

Blessings from
BAPU[1]

From the original : C.W. 6504. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9899

518. LETTER TO UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 25, 1945

MY DEAR UTTAMCHAND,

Your letter. Many thanks for not insisting on re-conversion. The capital will be left untouched. Do please supplement the interest from time to time. The interest will not be allowed to fall below 3½ p. c. If it does, you shall be consulted. Unless things go topsyturvy, it shall not go below 3½%.[2]

I do hope you will keep better. Have you consulted any naturopath? If Mahadev were alive and you had sent him money, he would have instructed me and done according to my wish. I shall see if anybody can make anything of the puzzle.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM
BOMBAY BAKERY
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

519. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 25, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Why the despair? If you cannot find work here where there is so much work, where else will you find it? One may not succeed in finding a needle in a haystack, but does one have

[1] The subscription is in Hindi.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Uttamchand Gangaram", p. 245.

to search for the hay? There is work right before your eyes. It is another matter that you should ignore it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4505

520. SPEECH AT A.I.S.A. MEETING–II

SEVAGRAM,
March 25, 1945

Jajuji says that the quantity of yarn tendered in partial payment for khadi should be increased from two pice to $2\frac{1}{2}$ as., or a hank of yarn per rupee. This is too mild. I would go further. Some days back Bombay had become the Manchester of khadi. Khadi was brought from far and wide and sold there. The credit for this went to the salesmanship of Shri Vithaldas Jerajani. It was thanks to his efforts that first swadeshi goods and then khadi entered Bombay. But now I see that that was not the right way. Khadi, in the first place, should be consumed where it is produced. If in a particular place khadi in excess of the requirement is produced the surplus should be sent to the nearest place where it is needed. The district should be the limit or at most the province. Indeed I would not go even as far as the province. A district is a large enough area for this sort of transaction. The aim of course is that the khadi produced in a village should be sold in that village. But out of the seven lakh villages in India how many are there which can make this claim about themselves ? In the villages where khadi is produced the spinners and weavers, for all the efforts of the Charkha Sangh, use very little of the khadi they produce. This is against the ideal of khadi. The condition of two pice per rupee to be tendered in yarn for the purchase of khadi does not apply to villagers. They must sell khadi only in exchange of yarn. Do you fear that if you enforce the yarn condition the sale of khadi in cities will suffer ? If you do not get rid of this fear you will kill khadi.[1]

The rule of giving half an anna worth of yarn for one rupee of khadi purchased is generally meant for big cities and I would desire that all should spin and produce their khadi. Khadi is

[1] The following paragraph is from *The Hitavada*, 27-3-1945.

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the emblem of truth and non-violence. Such exchange of yarn may result in reducing the number of khadi wearers but we should carry on our work in that direction and ultimately we shall succeed.

Khadi has won a place of honour in society. The rich feel proud of buying khadi produced by the poor. But this is not enough. If you limit the role of khadi to providing bread to the poor, it cannot be an instrument for securing swaraj through non-violence. I do not want this. Even if I were the only one left to buy khadi on condition of yarn being tendered I should not worry. You have accepted khadi as the symbol of non-violence. You have also accepted it as the means for securing swaraj. If it is the will of God that khadi should die I would rather it died a natural death than that your timidity and lack of faith should be the cause of its demise. Those who for some reason cannot themselves spin can get their wives, mothers, sisters or servants to spin. Failing that they may get yarn from their neighbours but not on payment.[1]

Next he produced some figures[2] which Shri Aryanayakum and Smt. Asha Devi had given him. He considered those figures to be most revealing. They were proof positive of how quickly khadi could be introduced in the villages through Nayee Talim. Cloth produced by the children during the period of their training would be sufficient to clothe the entire village and it would be the cheapest cloth possible.

We should increase our love for khadi and serve the villages. You should make all your dependents khadi wearers.

I have compared khadi to the sun and the other industries to the planets in the solar system. Agriculture is a planet in this solar system but it cannot be the sun, for agriculture is not free. Those who till the land do not own it. The Government controls it through petty officials. The people have lost self-confidence. Harmful customs have led to fragmentation of land. If I am alive fifty years hence and if by that time people have gained control of the land I shall reconsider its place in my solar system. I can say that agriculture by itself cannot develop the intellect as much as khadi and other village industries can. As the late Madhusudan once said, constant company of bullocks turns men into bullocks.

[1] The two paragraphs that follow are from *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hitavada*.

[2] Of yarn produced by students during the first five years of their training at the basic school at Sevagram

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The gist of what I have told you during the past two days is that if you have faith in my ideal you should put your whole effort behind it. The Shastras proclaim that Truth ever triumphs. This is a universally valid principle. If sometimes in life it is seen to fail the reason is not that the principle is at fault. It shows the imperfection of the man who is applying the principle. Once you have understood the principle you will have developed that detachment and that freedom from fear which is as important for the realization of an ideal as is faith in that ideal.

[From Hindi]

Charkha Sanghka Navasanskaran, pp. 109-12; *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-9-1945, and *The Hitavada*, 27-3-1945

521. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

March 25, 1945

Q. 1. Some members of the Charkha Sangh took a leading part in sabotage activities. . . .The Government became suspicious and took repressive measures against such organizations. In such a situation, is it not a mistake to put the entire blame on the Government?

A. Just because some worker went astray, it was wrong to punish the Charkha Sangh. I blame the Government entirely for its high-handedness.

Q. 2. Some Congressmen whose faith in non-violence was not very strong . . . are full of ideas regarding sabotage. . . . How can these people be weaned away from these ideas?

A. Those who have lost faith in non-violence will recover it through the work of the people who have retained their faith. They will never recover it through reprimands. They are following their own convictions. Let us be perfect as they are imperfect. Darkness is dispelled by the rising of the sun.

Q. 3. These days the committees for constructive work appointed by the Congress are full of people with the ideas mentioned in question No. 2. There are some devoted people too. Do you believe that the constructive work can make progress with the help of such committees?

A. The constructive work will proceed if the people having faith can give expression to their faith not through words but through deeds.

[1] The questions were from Pundalik Katagde.

Q. 4. Under such circumstances, would it not be better that the people having faith in non-violence should carry on their work independently of others?

A. The answer is contained in the previous answers and also in my speech.[1]

Q. 5. Those who have no faith in non-violence and, for that reason, are not able to contribute to the programme based on non-violence are in a very uncomfortable position in the constructive work committees. This has a demoralizing effect on them. In such a situation would it not be proper to let their efforts find scope in Parliamentary activities?

A. Do we restrict anyone from going into the Parliament? It is enough that we do not go ourselves.

Q. 6. Will there not be greater scope for basic education, stopping corruption, improving the food situation, removing the difficulties of the villagers and so on, if the Congress assumes power?

A. It may or may not happen. It will depend on what type of people come forward and on the state of public opinion.

Q. 7. . . . Can I give my opinion in favour of bringing electricity to the villages, particularly in Hudli? . . .

A. I am strongly opposed to it.

My answers are not meant for publication. Yon can show them to friends.

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this. Correct the slips yourself or get them corrected.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5227

[1] *Vide* "Speech at A. I. S. A. Meeting–I", pp. 296-300.

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522. TELEGRAM TO HANNAH LAZAR

March 26, 1945

HANNAH[1]
CARE MANILAL
PHŒNIX (DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA)

NO SORROW OVER UNCLE'S DEATH. HE DID HIS DUTY. CONTINUE HIS SERVICE. SYMPATHY WITH ALL. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

523. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

SEVAGRAM,
March 26, 1945

DEAR SISTER,[2]

I was glad you stayed away for Manekji's sake. I do hope he will pull through his illness and be up and doing. You need not worry about coming to me in Bombay if you cannot. Just write and I shall attend. I had not fainted. I was simply starved for the moment.

Love to you both.

BAPU

GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
122 MARZBAN BAD
ANDHERI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Hermann Kallenbach's niece
[2] This is in Gujarati.

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524. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

March 26, 1945

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I shall be presently off to Bombay. By all means come and pass a few days with me on my return to Sevagram.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
99/2, BALLYGUNJ PLACE
P. O. BALLYGUNJ
CALCUTTA

From a photostat : G.N. 10067

525. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[*March 26, 1945*][1]

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Here is for your guidance. There must be rules, and they must be obeyed. Manage somehow during these five days. Then after my return we shall see. I am in favour of two kitchens. If I were in your place, I would attend to everything you mention and do it well. I have done that. But that does not mean that, your doing what I would have done will necessarily bear fruit. There is no such rule. You may act as you like, but on one condition, namely, that you must be absolutely sure that you are following truth and ahimsa. If the persons you have named do not observe the rules, you should talk to them one by one and find out why. If a person admits the fact, you may make an exception in his favour, and if you find that the exceptions are so many that they defeat the rule you should revise the rule. I understand from what you write that the exceptions do defeat the rule. This

[1] The addressee's letter, to which this is a reply, was delivered to Gandhiji at 5.15 a. m. on March 25, and this letter was acknowledged at 6.15 a. m. on March 26.

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is indeed a hotel. But it is more than that. A hotel is a place where people pay for boarding and lodging. They order and get whatever they want, and feel no embarrassment. It should be so here also. Here, too, we must have some rules, as every hotel has. For instance, we would serve no non-vegetarian food or cater to people's taste in regard to spices. Let Shakaribehn start a separate kitchen. Anybody else who wishes may also do that. Meet every permanent resident and know from him or her their wishes, then frame rules and get them passed in the presence of all and see that everyone observes the rule which he himself has accepted. I knew about Kamle today by chance. He is suffering from dysentery. I have asked him today to go immediately. He should have gone earlier. It was only from your note that I came to know that Gurbuxani and Vimalabehn have made separate arrangements for their meals. You ought to have complete information as to which persons do that and why. Instead, you permit anarchy to reign. Is it right? I think I have given all the guidance you need.

Now think over Sushilabehn's advice. A plate, a cup for water, two bowls and one spoon. The plate, the cup and the bowls should be nickel-plated. About the spoon I am not convinced. Two bowls may be all right, though I am not sure. Serving ghee with the vegetable will not do. Perhaps it will not do even to put it on the chapatis. If the vegetable is served in a bowl, ghee may be added to it. But I have seen only one bowl in many places.

I am giving no ruling in this matter. Personally, I would provide only one bowl. But I give no ruling.

You had told me that you would take out from your notebook and give me the portions regarding myself. Do that before my departure.

The decision to talk to every permanent resident in private, to frame rules and discuss them in the presence of all is for immediate implementation. About the separate kitchen it should be postponed till my return. Show me the rules. Those who wish to have separate arrangements from today may be permitted to have them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5861. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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526. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 26, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

It would be better if the thing was done before I left for Bombay.[1] But do not sacrifice your sleep for that.

I was glad that the problem about Sushilabehn had been solved. My success holds no lesson for anybody, but it may give one hope. There may be many reasons for my success. According to me, the chief reason is my ahimsa. From your point of view it is true that your training has not fitted you for managing a kitchen. When you learn non-attachment you will not say that. We are fit enough for any duty that comes to us unsought. The secret is that we do not run after any task; the task comes to us unsought. If you look upon a servant as your own brother or sister, you will never fail. Yesterday the kedgeree was not well cooked. Manu refused to eat it and so I examined it with my fingers. Finding that it was insufficiently cooked I made her a sign that she need not eat it. If I had insisted, she would have consumed it and suffered from stomach-ache in consequence. If everybody had eaten it that would have been no evidence that it was well cooked.

I explained to Kalukhan himself about Magandeep. I understand about Aundh. I think nothing remains now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Instead of engraving people's names on the utensils, they should be numbered. This is the practice in jails, as also in institutions. Instead of purchasing additional utensils, find some way out. In the last resort, we can always have [leaf cups][2]. If you can have inexpensive earthen ones you may have them. Everybody may make for himself spoons of wood. We can teach them. It is quite easy to learn. Think what the poor would do and find some way. Discuss the matter with the permanent residents. Mohan Singh will probably suggest

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] The source is not clear here.

something. Moreover, now I shall be leaving, so you will have no difficulty during that time. Think over the matter before I return. You can certainly make wooden ones. We used to do that in S. A. The wood and the knife were supplied by the jail authorities.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5863. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

527. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
March 26, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

I do not like it at all that you have fallen ill. But I am glad that you have been showing courage. Keep on writing to me. Recover fully and do as much service as you can. It is quite warm here. At present meetings are going on. I am all right. I shall be leaving for Bombay on the 30th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8267. Also C.W. 7186. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

528. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 26, 1945

CHI. AMTUSSALAAM,

I have regularly written to you and also to Kanchan. What can I do if you do not get the letters? It is a pity your health has deteriorated so much. You have got to get well somehow. And both of you should stay there till you get leave. Keep writing to me. Lavanyachanda is brave. I hope she has recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 494

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529. LETTER TO KANTILAL AND SARASWATI GANDHI

March 26, 1945

CHI. SURU AND KANTI,

I have letters from both of you. It is good that Harilal has arrived there. You have to serve him in any case. Whatever he may be he is your father. It will be good if he recovers. [Suru,] you will pass the examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kanti can stay in the Ashram, [if not] with friends. I cannot say what will happen if I go somewhere.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6184. Also C.W. 3458. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

530. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 26, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Disappointment cannot come anywhere near a worshipper of non-violence. Your indecision comes from your fear of committing mistakes. We must quickly take decisions even if they should turn out to be mistaken. Mistakes can be rectified.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4506

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531. LETTER TO TEJWANTI

SEVAGRAM,
March 26, 1945

CHI. TEJWANTI,

Read the two letters sent herewith. Sohanlalji is here. You get a scholarship there. There are so many women with you. It is therefore your duty to stay there and give satisfaction to your seniors. At this time it is very hot here and it will continue so for at least two months. If you do good work there, I shall have you here later on. I have to go to Bombay now. I do not even know how long I shall be there. I would advise you to work with full devotion. Also learn to read and write well.

Blessings from
BAPU

TEJWANTIBEHN
A. I. S. A. BRANCH
ADAMPUR
PUNJAB

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

532. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 26, 1945

Prayer is a cry of the heart. It can be fruitful if it comes from within. But those who pray for an object do not know the meaning of prayer at all.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1332

[1] The addressee had asked : "What is prayer and how can it be made fruitful ?"

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533. LETTER TO NARGISBEHN CAPTAIN

SEVAGRAM,
March 27, 1945

DEAR SISTER,[1]

Your letter. Whether I go to Panchgani or not will be decided in Bombay. I hope all of you are doing well.

Love to you all.

BAPU

NARGISBEHN
DANLAVIN LODGE
POONA 6

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

534. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 27, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

One must try to get rid of whatever bad habit one recognizes in oneself. Your pen runs independently of you. Discipline it and then let it climb a hill.

I can only indicate the ideal. It is for you to reach it or not. How can I say that you can do so much and no more? I shall try to adjust myself to you as much as I can. Perhaps there is no spare pair of sandals. You will get the loin-cloth. It cannot be called a *lungi*. A *lungi* cannot be tucked up from behind. Bhansali and Balkrishna wear *lungis*. Give up hope of sandals. I have no spare pair at all.

About the books, after my return. Use the ones which are lying with me. Make notes from them and give me a copy. Wooden sandals are inexpensive and easy to make. You may use leather or webbing or cloth for the strips. You should train people one by one to join in the prayers. If they are not prepared to give that much time, only those who can sing in tune may join. The truth is that even after so many years people have

[1] This is in Gujarati.

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developed no deep interest in the prayers. The attendance at morning prayers is practically nil. But don't exert yourself about this just now. If nobody joins the [*Gita*] recitation, drop it. It will be enough if you keep up the other items of the programme. Since you do not know the beauty of joint recitation, you have not been able to describe it. Everybody gets breathing time and yet they all seem to be singing in unison. I am saying this from experience. Don't write to other institutions now to make any inquiry. Will there be a shortage of rooms after I leave? I will see about Hari-ichchha. It is easy to turn steam into water. We should learn to do that. Take Mohan Singh's help.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5866. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

535. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

March 27, 1945

CHI. SITA,

Only this much for today. Why are you afraid of dreams? You must not cry. We get dreams owing to indigestion. Sometimes dreams are due to our impatience. Many a time we worry unconsciously and then we get dreams. In such cases we should keep repeating Ramanama. Remember that it is an unfailing remedy.

Teach me how to row.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4947

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536. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

SEVAGRAM,
March 27, 1945

Too much greed is the root of sin. Keep this in mind and then expect me always to write something. True friendship or true love demands nothing and expects nothing. See the Bible which also has similar statements.[2]

Love.[3]

BAPU[4]

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4204. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7840

537. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

SEVAGRAM,
March 27, 1945

CHI. ARYANAYAKUM,

This letter is for both of you. Dev's studies will be completed in April. He asks me, since I shall be away then, what he is to do. If you let me have your opinion, I can give him definite advice.

When is the meeting of the representatives of all the institutions? There is going to be one I suppose.

I see from today's telegram that if you do not go to Bombay the quorum will not be complete. Even so if you have work here, I shall not insist that you should leave it and go.

Blessings from
BAPU

TALIMI SANGH
SEVAGRAM

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

[1] This is written as a postscript to Sushila Gandhi's letter to the addressee.

[2] Presumably the allusion is to *I Corinthians*, XIII.

[3] & [4] These are in English.

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538. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 27, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

Enclosed is the letter to Amrit Kaur. Why do you need a certificate? For a follower of truth, truth is certificate enough. Asking for certificates is a very bad habit. I showed interest in it for some time; but it is 55 years since I gave it up. Do not take any from me or from anyone else. Do not [ask for favours][1] but strive hard on the strength of your truth and non-violence. Keep writing to me. Write in Hindustani. If Vimala can write, both of you should write.

You will know the rest from my letter to Rajkumari.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi : C.W. 10579

539. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
March 27, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

This letter will be given to you by Dr. Gurbuxani and his wife Vimalabehn. Both are educated. Both come from affluent families. They have given up Government service and also luxurious living in order to be with me. The wife cannot stand this heat. Perhaps she is pregnant too. They have lived in Simla. They are coming to Simla. Put them on to some public work if you can. They will have to be given some salary. Be frank if they cannot be useful. There is no question of favour in service. Here they had started with the cleaning of latrines.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4272. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7904

[1] This is illegible in the source.

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540. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

March 27, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

The mind must be concentrated during these two minutes and in the second half of the prayer. This does not mean that we cannot concentrate on some spiritual thing. That is bound to happen.

What is the meaning of concentrating on Ramanama or Aum? Yes, let us not deceive the mind with regard to spiritual things. That is why I asked why you had not familiarized yourself with the *Gita*. About the hospital, some other time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9021. Also C.W. 9145. Courtesy : Prabhakar

541. NOTE TO GOPE GURBUXANI

March 27, 1945

He can serve by writing a true and original history of the people. If there is progress he will describe the progress; if he finds there is decline he will record that decline.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1333

[1] The addressee had asked : "How can a historian best serve the country and how can he write a progressive history of India?"

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542. DRAFT CABLE TO JALBHOY RUSTOMJEE

WARDHAGANJ,
[On or after *March 27, 1945*][1]

JALBHOY RUSTOMJEE
74 VICTORIA STREET
DURBAN

BLESSINGS NAVJOT.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

543. A MESSAGE

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

Spin. Spin with full understanding. Let those who spin wear khadi. Let those who wear khadi compulsorily spin. Full understanding means the realization that spinning symbolizes non-violence. Reflect on it. It will become apparent.

Spinning means picking the cotton, ginning, carding, preparing slivers, producing yarn of the desired count and doubling and twisting and winding.[2]

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Charkha Sanghka Navasanskaran*, p. iii. Also C.W. 9897. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable dated 27-3-1945, seeking Gandhiji's blessings on his brother's daughter's *navjot* ceremony.

[2] For the draft, *vide* "Letter to Shrikrishnadas Jaju", p. 276.

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544. TELEGRAM TO VIYOGI HARI

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

VIYOGIJI
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY
DELHI

WIRE SATYAVATI'S[1] HEALTH. DOES SHE REQUIRE CHANDRANI'S SERVICES ?

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

545. LETTER TO SHAMDAS P. GIDWANI

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

DEAR SHAMDAS,

I have your wire and two letters. I cannot interfere. Congressmen must decide for themselves.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHAMDAS P. GIDWANI
NEW TOWN, KARACHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Wife of Brajkrishna Chandiwala

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546. LETTER TO THE METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Sudhir has given me your sweet note. I agree with you when you say that insistence should be not on rights but on duties and that we should love our neighbour as ourselves.

With love,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

METROPOLITAN
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

547. LETTER TO D. L. BANNERJI

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

DEAR PROFESSOR,

I thank you for your two articles. I had the previous one, too.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. D. L. BANNERJI
BAKSHI BAZAAR
DACCA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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548. LETTER TO AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Gauribai's passing away must have grieved you more than everyone else.

But where is the need to console anyone? One can say that Gauribai went after rendering much service.

Blessings from
BAPU

AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE
KUTCH CASTLE
BOMBAY

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

549. LETTER TO DADUBHAI

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

BHAI DADUBHAI,

Why should I appoint the Durbar or anyone else as arbitrator ? It was my duty to send your son's letter to you. I have indeed no reason to disbelieve your letter.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

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550. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I cannot take Omprakash with me. Nor should he wish it. His duty is to serve in the Ashram during the summer and live quietly. My true body is the Ashram. If the Ashram is nothing, then I am nothing. His test lies in living there in my absence.

Blessings from
BAPU

BALVANTSINHA
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

551. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 28, 1945

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

Kanubhai has told me everything. What I want is that you should leave that place and stay and work with Subramaniam and make your health perfect. If you want to stay at Bhimavaram for a brief period and gain proficiency in nature-cure treatment, do so. Return the money I have sent. I gave that money thinking that you were fully agreeable. Since no construction is to take place what is there to spend the money on? Show this letter to Sharmaji so that I do not have to write to him. The girl is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9115. Also C.W. 9184

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552. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 28, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Stay in the Ashram and do whatever work there is to do. I am happy with the new man. You should not be upset by my insistence. My insistence is really no insistence because I have placed the entire responsibility on your shoulders.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4507

553. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

March 28, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARI,

I have your beautiful letter. So Father won ultimately.[1] He was short of temper but he had a heart of gold. He was equally generous. I have already received a cheque for Rs. 1,000. I shall see what can be done with it.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMESHWARI NEHRU
LAHORE

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

554. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1945

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN
CHARSADA

BOMBAY SATURDAY. COME THERE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Rameshwari Nehru", p. 236.

555. TELEGRAM TO BISWANATH DAS

March 29, 1945

B. DAS[1]
"SAMAJ"
CUTTACK

CAN COME. EARLIER THE BETTER.

GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 10446. Courtesy : Government of Orissa

556. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

March 29, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have read your statements. How can I endorse them? How many naked women did you see?[2] Are there no naked men?

How many wealthy men there are who are responsible for misguiding women!

Those who are damaging the trains are not doing a good thing. But this is my view today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10398. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Orissa Congress leader who was Premier of the province in the first Congress Ministry

[2] The addressee had written about Indian girls having been forced to satisfy the lust of military personnel in India, how some political workers had rescued some of them by damaging railway lines and coaches, and how these workers were being helped by some rich people of Bombay and Calcutta.

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557. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 29, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

This will not do. If you cling only to the letter, the letter will be your undoing. You should insist and yet it should not be insistence. After all, there has to be a compromise between detachment and insistence.

The responsibility is. . .[1] but at some point you would also have to assume it. A true worker would take upon himself the complete responsibility of rendering service, would he not? Keep in mind the *shloka* कर्मण्यकर्म यः पश्येत्[2]. Why should you be scared of everything? And why should you have been startled? Why do renunciation and sacrifice mean the same thing? How is it that day and night are different and yet the same? A human being is a body and a soul and yet he transcends the body. Understand all these things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4508

558. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

March 29, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

The reply I sent you was also meant for Om Prakash. Still I am sending one. I am trying for Hoshiari[3]. People will stop being angry if she stays on without being afraid. Do not leave till she is quiet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1957

[1] One word is illegible.
[2] "One who sees inaction in action". *Bhagavad Gita*, IV. 18
[3] Addressee's brother's daughter

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559. LETTER TO LADY KAUL

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have received your cheque. I shall of course deposit it. The acknowledgment is enclosed. But I have not been able to decide so far whether I should issue the appeal about the Fund. Will you approve if I use this money in the way the late Rajasaheb had wished even if I do not issue an appeal?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

LADY KAUL
SANGSAR
JIND STATE

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

560. LETTER TO MADHAVENDRAPRASAD SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1945

CHI. KUMAR MADHAVENDRA,

My blessings are always with you in your good work. I may say I am well enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUNWAR SHRI MADHAVENDRAPRASAD SINGH
VARANVA, KARAGHANA
DIST. ALLAHABAD

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

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561. LETTER TO RANGANAYAKI

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1945

CHI. RANGANAYAKI,

I have your postcard. Both of you may come. How long I have to be in Bombay I shall know only when I reach there. Keep me informed.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

RANGANAYAKI
SRIRANGAM

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

562. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

March 29, 1945

BHAI SATISBABU,

What I told you is correct and what I told Kaviraj is also correct. It would be best if the villagers could manage with the herbs available locally. Your work is stabilized and your question is good. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1641

563. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

[On or before *March 30, 1945*][1]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Have you read my letter to Krishnachandra? One cannot observe one dharma by violating another. I have not at all given a one-sided decision. Krishnachandra should come to a

[1] This seems to have been written in Sevagram and before Gandhiji left for Bombay on March 30.

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decision after full consideration. I remain neutral. All of you should arrive at a joint decision. And you should do it promptly without fear of going wrong. A mistake can always be corrected.

It is all right if Prabhakar looks after the girl. It is, however, not at all desirable. Some woman ought to look after her. It is not a burden. It is a matter of duty.

I think it will not be possible for me to accommodate Ramprasad. R. P. is an absolutely independent-minded person. Besides, I must have Sushila's consent too. We should act under the assumption that it is her responsibility.

I consider it a serious defect that you could not frame the rules.

Now this covers everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10664

564. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

March 30, 1945

CHI. AMRITALAL,

You must have received my reply of yesterday.

Now Vina[1] says she does not intend to get married. The problem about Sailen[2] does not arise just now. What you wish is only proper.

Was not Romen[3] to be kept in the Talimi Sangh?

Let Mother not come for the sake of living separately. It will be in her own interest if she does not come.

You must stay here till Sailen arrives. After he comes decide about Ronu, etc. Consult Chimanlalji.

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10399. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] & [3] Addressee's sons

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565. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

March 30, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

Shantabehn wants to live in the jaggery room.[1] Do what is proper in this regard. Gajanan will have to be consulted. . . .[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 5871. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

566. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

DEAR DR. ICE,

I wish you success in your handling of cases. Keep yourself well. I heard about your fever. "Physician heal thyself".

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

567. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL RAINA

March 31, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have sent "New Kashmir". But I can give no guidance. I have not even seen Kashmir. You must be your own judge.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SHYAMLAL RAINA
P. O. RANBIRGANJ

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] This sentence is in Gujarati.
[2] Omission as in the source

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568. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

ON THE WAY,
March 31, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I do not like to leave the Ashram any time, and this time I like it the least. But why should one cling to anything?

I read your papers. I had a talk with Jajuji. I think I shall be able to cope with the matter. Let us see what happens.

You should be alert. Understand your responsibility. Give up what your body does not accept. Shakaribehn can do much, but that depends on you. If Hoshiaribehn opens up she can go far. Anasuya cannot be kept with Prabhakar. But if nobody else takes charge of her, there will be no alternative. Do what you think best. Since I shall not be there, some accommodation must be available. Have a frank talk with Ashadevi. Remember the dictum: "Speak the truth, speak gently", and understand its meaning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10619

569. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

March 31, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

I have your letter. I am writing this on the train. I shall certainly be in Bombay for about a week. I cannot say anything about the programme later. However, when it is finalized you will see it in the papers. Nanavati tells me that Ramdas is ill. It is good if he has taken leave and is going to Poona. I am all right.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

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

570. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

This time I did not like leaving you behind. I cannot bear to see you so frail. Go[1] to Kelkar. He is a good man. He knows a good deal. When one has knowledge one can use that knowledge. He knows well the use of ice and steam. I am of the opinion that your health can certainly be restored. He should also examine Gomati. If Durga can be persuaded, he should treat her also. If you observe fixed hours of silence, it will do you much good. I certainly derive much benefit from it.

We have got a nice compartment in the train.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also C.W. 10725. Courtesy : Gomati Mashruwala

571. LETTER TO NANDLAL PATEL

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

CHI. NANDLAL,

Take care of the house as you would of jewellery. Never have others do the work which you can do yourself. I hope Chi. Hari-ichchha is well and happy. You must not lose heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9252. Also C.W. 2717. Courtesy : Nandlal Patel

[1] The C.W. source has "write".

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572. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

On the train I am only thinking of the Ashram. Stay on if you can bear the heat without discomfort. Be friendly with all and do whatever Ashram work you can do. Finish all the pending work. Write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

573. LETTER TO CHANDRAPRAKASH

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

CHI. CHANDRAPRAKASH,

Take part in all the activities of the Ashram, including the administration. Improve your knowledge of the language. If it is necessary to go to Bhimavaram for health reasons, do go.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

574. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

You may open your mouth but only when necessary. Be true to your name. Take part in all the activities of the Ashram. Keep your body fit and let Balvantsinha go for a few days. Write to me. Practise writing every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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575. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
March 31, 1945

The National Week[1] will be presently on us. We began to observe the Week in 1919[2]. We had the unexpected and spontaneous manifestation of the villagers all over India. Seven days after, Jallianwala Bagh massacre, also unthought of, took place. We have observed the Week ever since in triple expectation of achieving communal unity, full establishment of khaddar and swaraj. We seemed to be at one time within an ace of the triple achievement. But today we seem to be very far. I advisedly use the verb "seem". The goal ever seems to recede from us but if we have honestly worked for it, it really comes nearer. Anyhow I feel so. We were never nearer the goal than now in spite of our many blunders. It is as well that we remember our blunders and fail to notice the successes lying underneath. Only our blunders must never dishearten us. We must learn to profit by them and correct them. Then every blunder will hearten us, for we shall mount a step higher by unlearning each blunder. Thus it becomes a cleansing process.

Let it be noted that khaddar has attained a wider connotation than before. It has become the central sun round which other village industries revolve like so many planets. Moreover it now represents the fifteenfold constructive programme. Khaddar itself has after much experience got its proper value and thus has received a dignity never before given to it. Everyone is now able, with the introduction by Vinoba of '*tunar*'[3] to make his or her '*punis*'[4] and spin with ease. The wheel too has undergone radical improvement and the new process of doubling yarn has made it as strong as one could wish for weaving. Would that every lover of freedom of India will remember these things during the Week and bring freedom nearer than ever before without parliamentary programme and even civil disobedience unless the Government drive workers to it by talking of India's freedom without meaning it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-4-1945

[1] From April 6 to April 13
[2] *Vide* Vol. XV.
[3] Carding-brush
[4] Slivers

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576. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
March 31, 1945

If the news is correct that the Ashti and Chimur petition has been rejected, it is disturbing.[1] I am opposed to State hanging in every case, but most so in cases like these. Whatever was done by the people on and after August 9, 1942, was done under excitement. If these hangings are now carried out, it will be cold-blooded, calculated murder and worse, because it will be done ceremoniously and under the name of so-called law.

It will leave behind nothing but a great increase in the already existing woeful bitterness. How I wish that the threatened hangings were given up. They can be if there is the united voice of India against the impending sentences and such other contemplated sentences.

The Hindu, 1-4-1945

577. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

BOMBAY,
March 31, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You have now an opportunity to set everything right. Use it. Take some work from Mohan Singh and Ramprasad if you can. See how he makes biscuits and bread with tomato juice in them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8458. Also C.W. 5573. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Seven, out of thirty persons originally sentenced to death for violence at Chimur and Ashti on August 15/16, 1943, and whose sentences had not been commuted had petitioned the King for mercy. The petitions were rejected. Later on, however, the sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. *Vide* also "An Appeal", p. 339.

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578. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

BOMBAY,
April 1, 1945

MY DEAR MASANI,

The step you suggest is good but it cannot be taken in the manner suggested by you. It must be deliberate and calculated. But they must associate themselves in the appeal.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 4132. Also C.W. 4890. Courtesy : M. R. Masani

579. LETTER TO L. M. GOPALASWAMY

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
April 1, 1945

MY DEAR GOPALASWAMY[1],

The Executive sat today and among other things considered your budget. The correspondence between you and Bapa was read. Your letter was finished and I saw at the end that you had meant it to be confidential. There was no reason for it. There was nothing to be ashamed of in it. Your own part was creditable to you and so was Kamlabai's and her husband's. Her salary should be drawn to the extent of her needs. She must not be a burden on her husband.

Since Bapa agrees that you can have the furniture, your estimate is right. But I question the necessity of all furniture. You should squat on the ground. Then you don't need chairs and tables at all. Mats are quite enough. You may need a ground desk for the typist. That would be cheap. You may have open racks. You have provided for a safe.

You can draw Rs. 150 and divide between the two institutions as occasion requires. Please redraw your budget in the light of what I have said and send. I shall have the power to sanction your budget if I approve of it.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

[1] A Harijan welfare worker

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[PS.]

You need only a Tamil typewriter. Your correspondence with the head office should be in Hindustani and handwritten. We must learn to manage cheaply.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

580. LETTER TO MANZAR ALI SOKHTA

BOMBAY,
April 1, 1945

BHAI MANZAR ALI,

What I have been told about women seems right. The thing is that they should do something or other and they should not lag behind men in doing any work for the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAI MANAZR ALI SOKHTA
SEVAKUNJ
GANGAGHAT, UNAO, (U.P.)

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

581. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

BOMBAY,
April 2, 1945

BHAI BALU KAKA,[1]

I have gone through your letter from top to bottom. Your writing is very clear.

I would admit any error I may commit.

But I do not own the error ascribed to me by you. I have defended no malpractice. Trust of the wealth owned I have advocated. I still defend it. You evidently have not followed my writing. When did I negotiate with high Government officials for "concessions" in the Aga Khan Palace?

Satyagraha cannot come by argument or fasting.

I am employing the means I know for saving the lives of the condemned prisoners[2]. Fasting in this case is no remedy.

[1] This is in Devanagari.

[2] Of Chimur and Ashti; *vide* also "An Appeal", p. 339.

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I omit the other parts of your letter.
You won't enter into correspondence with me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 973. Courtesy : Gajanan Kanitkar

582. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

BOMBAY,
April 2, 1945

DEAR SISTER,[1]

Your letter. I do hope you are better.

I knew all about Satyavati. She wrote to me. She wants to see me. I have stopped her unless she can't contain herself. Chand is with me. With the others she is going to join the Borivli camp. Prabhudas and his wife are also to be with the class.

Kamaladevi met me yesterday regarding Chimur prisoners.

Badshah Khan is likely to be here in a day or two. He wired.

My movement beyond 8th is uncertain.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI KHURSHEDBEHN
DUNLAVIN LODGE
POONA 5

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

583. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

BOMBAY,
April 2, 1945

DAUGHTER RAIHANA,

I hope you will be able to read this. Let Yashvantrai write out his story and give me permission to show it to Shantikumar. I will then do what is necessary.

[1] This is in Gujarati.

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Dr. Yodh may, if he wishes, examine me and take up my case. If, however, he wishes to take on some other patients, he may do that. Whomsoever he takes on, he should do after careful thinking and not act on the impulse of the moment, for I should not like him to fail and be ruined. If he succeeds, I would consider it a great achievement. But it is a difficult job.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9679

584. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

April 2, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

I am here till the 8th at any rate. You can hardly come during that time. Anand[1] cannot be put to the strain of a journey, nor can you leave him and come. You will know about my programme after the 8th from the newspapers or I will write. I want Anand to get well soon. I hope you are well.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 10056. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

585. AN APPEAL

[Before *April 3, 1945*][2]

In places where unanimity of public opinion can be recorded and there is no danger of dissent arising, the 3rd of April should be observed as an all-India day by suspension of business as a mark of protest and prayer.

Mahatma Gandhi–The Last Phase, Vol. I, p. 109

[1] Addressee's son

[2] Gandhiji sent this round to be issued by the editors of various newspapers for mobilizing public opinion against the death sentence passed on the Chimur and Ashti prisoners.

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586. LETTER TO N. C. VAKIL

BOMBAY,
April 3, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I have not a moment to spare. Please, therefore, send me your concrete scheme in a nutshell and if necessary I shall make time for you during my stay in B[om]bay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. N. C. VAKIL
CHAIRMAN, B.H.A.
311 TARDEO ROAD
BOMBAY 7

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

587. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
April 3, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Your faith will cure you. It seems Nimu is not with you. Dinshaw is with me. But you must be getting your treatment. I will arrange to send him. I am well. My programme is uncertain.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI
DR. MEHTA'S AROGYA BHAVAN
OPP. STATION
POONA

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

588. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

BOMBAY,
April 3, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

What a woman you are! If I write something for you in a letter to Amtul Salaam, is it not as good as a letter to you? Now have this and write to your heart's content. Hope you are keeping good health. I do not think we can pay A. S.'s doctor's bill. Was the doctor sent for? I hope A. S. is in fine condition. Live there in peace and help A. S. For the present I am here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANCHANBEHN
C/O AMTUL SALAAMBEHN
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BURKAMATA, DISTRICT TRIPURA
BENGAL

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7187. Courtesy : Kanchan M. Shah. Also G.N. 8266

589. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

BOMBAY,
April 3, 1945

Gandhiji said that it was a matter for shame that they had come to pray to God but failed to conduct the prayer peacefully. People shouted and did not allow the prayer to go on, as it should go on.[2]

[1] The meeting was attended by about 30,000 people. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was among those present.

[2] The crowd attending the prayer had become unmanageable at one stage and a number of people including Sushila Nayyar and Krishna Hatheesingh had got hurt in the rush.

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Continuing, he said that he had been told by a friend that the people of Bombay would derive no benefit from his prayer. They would throw a few rupees for the Harijan Fund, but if he thought that it was going to produce any effect on them or that they would embrace the Harijans as their own kith and kin he was mistaken.

"If you want, you go to Bombay. You will get money but as far as prayers are concerned, it is better to stay at home and pray," the friend had warned him.

Gandhiji said that he was not entirely convinced. They could not see God with the naked eye. They could not touch Him with their hands. He had become an untouchable. And no wonder, considering that there was so much sin abroad, such violence, drinking and gambling. Forty crores of people were in serfdom. This was because they only talked of freedom but they did not know what freedom was really worth. But he told this friend that he had always conducted prayers for a long time. He was a firm believer in prayer. Every religion had taught that man was no man if he did not pray to his Maker. Therefore he had told this friend that though there was not much chance of his advice being followed, he could not give up his principles. If he did not trust the people even that much, he would be worth nothing. If he gave up prayer the next thing for him to do would be to give up the struggle for freedom, the striving for truth and non-violence.

He told the people that they should let him come and go without rushing towards him. They should keep silent during prayers.

In conclusion, Gandhiji asked them how, if they could not control themselves, they could wield the reins of power. He would come there the next day and every day thereafter as long as he stayed in Bombay. He would watch how far his words had gone home. He would find out how far they were fit to govern themselves. The man with God in his heart would know how to control himself.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-4-1945

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590. LETTER TO PARNAM JEWANAM

BOMBAY,
April 4, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter.

I have no doctor in view for you. You should seek Rajaji's assistance or Shri Jagadisan's who is deeply interested in the leper problem.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PARNAM JEWANAM
MADRAS HINDU SEVAK SANGH
MADRAS, S. INDIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

591. LETTER TO DR. SUBODH MITRA

BOMBAY,
April 4, 1945

DEAR DR. MITRA,

Your letter. You should make a concrete proposal and present it to the Trust Board through the Bengal Committee.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. SUBODH MITRA, M. D. & C.
3 CHOWRINGHEE TERRACE
112 GOKHALE ROAD
ELGIN ROAD P. O., CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also p. 268.

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592. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

BIRLA HOUSE,
April 4, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

You see I am in Bombay and am fixed here up to 14th. God knows the next, if He allows freedom up to 14th. I am well. What about Lahore sister-in-law? Is she getting better? Shummy must get well quickly.

Sushila hurt herself on trying to enter the prayer compound[1]. Her arm is in a sling. There is no fracture. Krishna is also well. Badshah Khan is here as quiet as ever. He is sitting by me as I write this.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4153. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7788

593. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

April 4, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. I met Pushpa[2] and I have sent her home. If Sarojinibehn[3] wishes to go, let her go. I think it will be harmful to allow her to cook for herself.

I am not happy about Ronu's[4] [coming]. But we have to put up with him. It is good that Durga is looking after him. It is necessary to have a plain talk with Ashadevi. Don't attempt what you cannot do, regardless of what I may wish.

I understand about Hari-ichchha.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10620

[1] On April 3; *vide* "Speech at Prayer Meeting", pp. 341-2.
[2] Pushpabehn Desai
[3] An old lady from Orissa who had come to stay for a few months in the Sevagram Ashram
[4] A ten-year-old Bengali boy. The addressee wanted to know whether he should be allowed to stay in the Ashram.

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594. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS GANDHI

BIRLA HOUSE,
April 4, 1945

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

(1) Your first view is correct.

(2) My view about propagation of music is that that alone is real music which uplifts the soul. This contains everything I should like to suggest.

(3) I have already explained that music is a constructive activity, but that it is not included in the Congress programme. Swaraj can be conceived without it. It cannot, therefore, be one of the objects for which Narandas is collecting a fund. That is why I have said that, if we do not demand a salary for you, you should take the money from me. It would be all right if you took it from the Satyagraha Ashram money lying with Narandas. If there is any difficulty in doing even that, I would find the money in some other way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 913. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

595. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

BOMBAY,
April 4, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

If Kelkar treats you even for a few days and the treatment is effective, you can continue it wherever you go, can't you?

What I told you about silence was from my experience. You will practise it and can practise it only when it grows from within the heart.

Tell Durga that both the girls and Mahadev's mother came to see me yesterday. Paramanand[1] was with them.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

[1] Mahadev Desai's brother

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[PS.]

Pushpa came to see me yesterday. I have sent her home.

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

596. LETTER TO LADORANI ZUTSHI

BOMBAY,
April 4, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Haven't I told you I have not interfered in this work? I wouldn't know anything about it.

M. K. GANDHI

LADORANI ZUTSHI
C/O MANMOHINI SANYAL
ALCAZER, 3RD FLOOR
GAMDEVI ROAD, BOMBAY

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

597. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

BIRLA HOUSE,
April 5, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Nonsense! No reason for apology. I must simply have said I might not be expected to write always. I forgot to tell you yesterday that your letter paper with the edges unsmooth is better than with edges smoothed. You must keep well. I must be here for some time for work and medical attention by way of precaution.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4154. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7789

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598. LETTER TO KANTA

BOMBAY,
April 5, 1945

CHI. KANTA,

Just now I got the news that you have given birth to a son and both of you are well. Both should keep well and you should bring up the child in a way that will make him a true servant.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

599. LETTER TO LILAVATI MUNSHI

April 6, 1945

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have gone through your letter. Why should I feel hurt? But I am not prepared to go to Chembur. Taking me there will be disastrous. I would like to go there for Munshi's sake and for your sake. But I would not knowingly transgress the limit I have laid down for myself. Do not compel me to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. LILAVATI MUNSHI
26 RIDGE ROAD
BOMBAY

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

600. LETTER TO SHASHIBHUSHAN SINGH

BOMBAY,
April 6, 1945

THAKUR SAHEB,

I have your letter informing me of the death of your elder brother. May God give fortitude and peace of mind to the sons

of your widowed sister-in-law. The late Thakursaheb has won the battle of life.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

THAKUR SHRI SHASHIBHUSHANJI
ZAMINDAR, MANEGAON
P. O. MEKH, TEHSIL NARASINGHPUR

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

601. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

BOMBAY,
April 6, 1945

CHI. MALKANI,

I had your telegram. Today I have received the letter. I have sent a telegram to Jairamdas.[1] You must have seen it. I am here till the 20th. Come over. We shall talk over the whole thing. So I shall not write more. You have done good work in jail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 944

602. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

BOMBAY,
April 6, 1945

Gandhiji began by asking people to keep silent and listen patiently to whatever he had to say. Nobody should clap hands. He wanted their ear; he wanted their heart. If his words reached their hearts through their ears, he would be satisfied.

He congratulated them on their disciplined behaviour since Tuesday. On that day two women had been hurt. They had been perhaps touched by the incident and had decided to maintain discipline and allow the prayers to go on as usual. On that day, there was a large crowd—not lakhs but a few thousands. Whether it was because of the fact that there were fewer people

[1] The telegram is not available.

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or for any other reason, he was glad to find that they had learnt discipline. If they wanted to live together the first lesson they should learn was one of discipline.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he was a Gujarati and should normally speak in Gujarati. But it had been decided that whenever there was a cosmopolitan gathering they should speak in the national language. He was responsible for that decision as much as others. They had also to learn both the scripts, namely, Nagari and Urdu. And they should learn to speak in such a simple way that everybody would understand it. He had now realized that Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani were all the same language. If they learnt that language they could deal with members of any community and people from any part of India. It served him when he went to the Punjab. It would serve him if he were to go to Kashmir—he had not been there, but he had some Kashmiri friends—Jawaharlal was one of them. Gandhiji said that it was wrong to refer to a Muslim language or a Muslim script. Both Hindus and Muslims wrote that language and if they wanted to steal the hearts of these people, they should be able to speak the same language and write in that script.

Adverting to the National Week, Gandhiji said that they had been observing the Week for the last 26 years. Its observance was meant for the purification of their thoughts and their language. In the beginning, the Week commenced with a fast. He had since abandoned that. He had also abandoned hartal. The Week, however, had not become less holy on that account. The fifteen-point programme was there. It began with khadi. From that followed other items. On such a holy day the people should begin to observe the fifteen-point programme. He was not asking them to observe it only for the Week but for all time. They should not only follow it themselves but induce other people to do so. If they wanted to make India free and not wait for others to free her, if they wanted to get freedom by truthful and non-violent means, there was no other way. But if it was to be by violence and revolution, that was another thing. He had not known that method; he had not learnt it. Freedom would not fall from the skies nor would it rise from the deep. If they wanted to get it from their own efforts, there was only one way.

Some people thought in terms of Parliament. He did not want to utter its name. He wanted to forget Parliament but to think only of the constructive programme. An important item of this programme was Hindu-Muslim unity.

Concluding, Gandhiji said:

Freedom is in our hands. When we breathe, we cannot take other people's help. If we resort to artificial methods of respiration, it means that we are on the brink of death. Freedom is like our breath. Having lost it for a long time we do appreciate

it. But I know the nature of freedom. I have fully experienced freedom. And if you regard it as holy and worthy of achievement, this is the only way.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1945

603. TELEGRAM TO G. B. PANT

BOMBAY,
[*April 7, 1945*][1]

GOVIND BALLABH PANT
CARE DOCTOR JOSHI
DELHI

HOPE YOU PROGRESSING.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

604. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your long and welcome letter. I am making a desperate effort to send you someone—either Ramprasad or Munnalal. Do not be quite certain about me. I have expressed my wish. But 'there is many a slip between the cup and the lip.' Who knows but He? Your love of animals, among them of the cow, is boundless. I agree mostly that there should be personal attention if we are to get the real response. I am here till 20th, then to Mahabaleshwar.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM, MULDASPUR,
P. O. BAHADARABAD, *via* JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR, U. P.

From the original : C.W. 6505. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9900

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. B. Pant", p. 356.

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605. LETTER TO POTTI SRIRAMULU

BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

MY DEAR RAMULU,

Your letter is informing but too long. You could have said your say in a p. c. Untouchability has to go. Truth must be repeated till it becomes universal. You go on with your propaganda whether the others do or do not do it. No fast but taking only from day to day what others give unsolicited is sound.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 109

606. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

BHAI BARDOLOI,

I hope you can read Hindustani. I have your letter. I am glad you were successful. Take care of your health. Write to me whether you can read or have someone to read my letters. I am in Bombay till the 20th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GOPINATH BARDOLOI, M.L.A.
GAUHATI, ASSAM

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

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607. LETTER TO HARIBHAU JOSHI

BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

BHAI JOSHI,

I have your letter. What can my blessings do, especially when I am somewhat against it. Even so I wish you success. Write to me and to others in Hindustani.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

HARIBHAU JOSHI
LOKSHAKTI
POONA

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

608. LETTER TO ARAKSHAN SINHA

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

BHAI SINHA,

I was distressed to read your letter. Have faith not in me but in God. How can I help a boy belonging to a big family? The boy will not need anyone's help if he is brave, simple and village-minded. I am passing on your letter to Anugraha Babu. May God help you.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ARAKSHAN SINHA, PLEADER
VILLAGE KEHILO
P. O. JAINTPUR
DISTT. MUZAFFARPUR
BIHAR

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

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609. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

BHAI JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have a feeling that I have replied to your letter. But no one seems to know, so I write this. The remedy for your difficulty is very simple. Do only what is proper. Give Nayee Talim to the boy and the girl. Nayee Talim is self-sufficient and gives an all-round training. Why worry about what will happen after your death? Have faith in God Who is the support of all. Do not spend even a cowrie on the marriage of the girls. They will find husbands for themselves when they grow up. In Nayee Talim that worry has no place. It is a matter of changing the ways of life; but that is the sort of thing you have to expect from me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 58

610. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 7, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

I have the letter from you two. I remember both of you at least while spinning. I am here till the 14th, maybe till the 20th. Then Mahabaleshwar. Let us see what God makes me do. It is good that you have met Mother.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1313

611. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

DEAR SISTER,[1]

Your letter. You will hear from me at once if and when Satyavati comes. I am here till 14th, probably till 20th. The latter depends upon the doctors. Narahari went last night and returns at the latest on 5th proximo. Khan Saheb will be with me for days more.

Blessings to both sisters from[2]
BAPU

SHRI KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI
OOMRA HALL
PANCHAGANI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

612. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

If, after all that has happened, the Chimur prisoners are to be hanged, I cannot see how a national government can be formed. What can we expect from such a government ? Will you consider only your own interests in what you do and give no thought to the interests of the masses ? Both you and I need to ponder deeply over this. Please consider what can be done while the prisoners are still alive. If you can do something with the League's co-operation do it, otherwise do what you yourself think proper.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] & [2] The superscription and subscription are in Gujarati.

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613. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

It is not good that you often get headaches and dysentery. With such health you should not exert yourself too much. You should study less. Everything will be ruined if your health is ruined. I am here at least till the 14th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUMITRA GANDHI
C/O LADY SUPERINTENDENT
BIRLA HIGH SCHOOL
PILANI

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

614. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

BHAI OMKARNATH,

My Hindustani letter is enclosed.[1] You should scrupulously follow Malaviyaji's instructions about the Fund. Collect money from as many places as you like by engaging reliable persons but the entire collection should be credited to the special account of the University opened for the purpose. It will be well if they get receipt books printed. The work will progress and shine only if the account is maintained meticulously.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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615. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

BHAI OMKARNATH,

It is good that Bharat Bhushan Malaviyaji and Sir Radhakrishnan have signed the statement. I believe that if what the statement says is put into effect, you and the University will have rendered much service to the cause of music without any discrimination. In fact that is how it should be in music. True music lifts up people. There is no place in it for communal differences and hostility. You tell me that you also hold the same opinion.

I wish your endeavour success.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

616. LETTER TO G. B. PANT

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

BHAI GOVIND PANT,

How surprising—yesterday I sent you a telegram and today I receive your letter. Undergo the operation and then come here when doctors permit you. I may be here till the 20th. Then Mahabaleshwar. Let us see where God takes me. Get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT
DR. JOSHI'S HOSPITAL
KAROL BAGH
NEW DELHI

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

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617. LETTER TO KUSUM NAIR

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I hope you will be able to read my hand. I have shown you the way to true success. Work hard, be unpretentious and self-reliant. That is the secret of success in work.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUM NAIR
N. G. P. P. BUREAU
73 LAKSHMI BUILDING
SIR P. MEHTA ROAD
BOMBAY 1

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

618. LETTER TO LILAVATI R. BHOGE

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I am doing what I can. Yes, go to Poona and get ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

SAU. LILAVATI RAMBHAU BHOGE
P. O. RAVER
EAST KHANDESH

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

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619. *INTERVIEW TO B. E. S. T. WORKERS' DEPUTATION*[1]

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1945[2]

In reply to the request of the deputationists for advice Gandhiji said:

My advice in this matter may not be of much use as, with the exception of Abidally, I am not acquainted with any of you. Nor have I any direct, intimate knowledge of the conditions in Bombay. I would therefore say to you that you should consult such leaders as enjoy your confidence and are sound and you should do as they say.

Pressed by the deputationists to give a word of guidance on the strength of his own experience of strikes which he had led, Gandhiji observed :

I have conducted many strikes. I can, therefore, give you the conditions of a successful strike. The first is that the cause should be clear and just. Secondly, the strikers should be firm and not be afraid of starvation, physical assaults or even death. Thirdly, they should never deviate from the path of truth and ahimsa in whatever they might do. Fourthly, the strikers should have public support behind them. If you can satisfy all these four conditions you should stand firm, but if you fall short in any of these respects you should boldly retrace your steps. I cannot give you further guidance. The details are for you to decide.

In answer to their further request that he should address an appeal to the Directors of the Company, most of whom were Indians, Gandhiji said :

It is not my practice to interfere in a matter with which I am not fully acquainted. I do not even know who are on the Board of Directors. If, as you say, the Board is composed predominantly of Indians your task ought to be easy. My function ceases with the advice. The time is perhaps past when I could lead strikes myself. If you understand this limitation of mine you

[1] The B.E.S.T. workers had been on strike and had sought Gandhiji's advice. As it was Gandhiji's silence day he gave his remarks in writing. The report given here was contained in a statement issued by Pyarelal in view of the fact that the Press had earlier published an unauthorized translation.

[2] From *The Hindu*, 10-4-1945

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will save my time as well as yours. Time in your case is the very essence. You have therefore to act promptly. If you carefully ponder over what I have said you will find that I have told you everything.

The deputationists finally asked whether Gandhiji would not appeal to the public to support them. Gandhiji replied :

It is not my word but your conduct that can win for you public support.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1945

620. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

April 9, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

Can you read my handwriting? If you find it difficult, I shall in future dictate my letters.

Days pass and there is no time left for a heart-to-heart talk. I shall, therefore, put down in writing what I have to say. That way I should be able to have my say. You can reply in a few words. This does not, of course, mean that I am withdrawing what I have said. I will not leave here till I have given you time but I do not wish to postpone what I have to say. Profulla Babu said to me : "Krishnakumar and Madhav Prasad have now become so big that they could not even come to see me in my illness. Formerly they did visit me occasionally and also asked me questions." It seems to be a case of negligence. There is no question here of big and small. I had asked Profulla if I could bring this matter up.

2. My work has increased. My endeavour now is to see that no one expects any money from me and the institutions I have created become self-supporting. This will, of course, take some time and meanwhile I shall have to find money for them. The institutions are All-India Spinners' Association, Village Industries Association, Nayee Talim, Hindustani Prachar and the Ashram. The second, third, fourth and fifth need the money now. So far as the fifth, the Ashram, is concerned it will never be self-supporting. I am doing my best of course. The Ashram also includes the hospital. The monetary provision for the hospital is separate. Efforts are being made to secure funds for it from various sources. Still the annual expenses of the Ashram alone are in the neighbourhood of Rs. 100,000. I am quoting the

figure from memory. The Ashram is not in need of funds at present. Rameshwardas[1] sends the needed money. As for the second, third and fourth, they need the money. I believe Rameshwardas has sent some money. Money is needed for the propagation of Hindi and for Nayee Talim. Probably I shall want Rs. 200,000. Are you disposed to take this burden on your shoulders? As for the "Sufferers' Fund"[2], Rameshwardas's letter mentions it. I have also given my opinion.

3. Now for my relationship with women and my experiment. I have suspended the experiment for the sake of co-workers. I did not see anything improper in it. I am the same who took a vow of *brahmacharya* in 1906 and have been observing *brahmacharya* since 1901. Today I am a better *brahmachari* than I was in 1901. What my experiment has done is to make me more firm in my *brahmacharya*. The experiment was designed to make of myself a perfect *brahmachari* and if God so wills it will lead to perfection. You wanted to talk to me and question me on the subject. You may do both. Please do not hesitate. It will be unbearable if there is any hesitation in one with whom I have such intimate relations and whose money I have been so freely spending.

It is good that two of your brothers are together. This letter is certainly for both but you may take it that it is indeed for all the brothers and the entire family.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I had thought of writing a short letter, but it has become somewhat lengthy. After ail it covers three points.

I forgot to mention one thing. You have given Rs. 50,000 for the Ashram land which has been transferred to the goshala. Now the list that Chimanlal has sent mentions the Ashram field and some land with a well in it. If that is so, then all the houses go too. This cannot be so. It must have been an oversight. Though letters were sent to Janakidevi and others there was no result. Now, if you think that the entire land with the well has been given to the goshala, then a certain amount will have to be deducted from your Rs. 50,000. Do what you think proper.

BAPU

From Hindi : C.W. 8069. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] Addressee's brother
[2] Gandhiji uses the English words.

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621. LETTER TO HOMI TALEYARKHAN

"BIRLA HOUSE",
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
April 10, 1945

MY DEAR HOMI,

I am washed out and there is plenty of 'planned' work in front of me. Hence is it not the duty of friends like you to save every minute of mine? Really I should not have to write even this note. Karanjia has written to me too. Both of you should have patience and it may be rewarded.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI HOMI TALEYARKHAN
AHMED MANZIL
WARDEN ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

622. LETTER TO R. K. KARANJIA

BOMBAY,
April 10, 1945

BHAI KARANJIA,

I am now tired of meeting people. Even now I have to meet them in the interest of work but I try to avoid it as far as possible. Women meet me at the prayer time. I would request Mrs. Karanjia to do that. You certainly have a heart in the Kamala Nehru Hospital. Why should you need my blessings? Let me do whatever I can.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAI RUSTOM KARANJIA
APOLLO STREET
BOMBAY

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

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623. LETTER TO ANUPAMA

BOMBAY,
April 10, 1945

CHI. ANUPAMA,

You are true to your word. As you had said you sent the money. I have received the bank draft for Rs. 501.

I see that many girls have the deplorable habit of writing in pencil. How is that? Keep your word.

Blessings from
BAPU

ANUPAMABEHN
KARACHI

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

624. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR SAKHALKAR

BOMBAY,
April 10, 1945

BHAI PRABHAKAR,

You cannot resort to satyagraha for everything. A thing that rests on truth will succeed on its own. In any case therefore blessings are unnecessary. Harijans should have the permission.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PRABHAKAR SAKHALKAR
SAKHALKARWADI
RAJAPUR
DISTT. RATNAGIRI

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

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625. INTERVIEW TO K. R. NARAYANAN[1]

April 10, 1945

Q. Do you still hold that the Harijan problem is only religious and social and that it has no great political significance?

A. It has political significance but indirectly.

Q. The Congress as an organization has not taken up the Harijan work. Will it not be better if that work is taken up by the Congress and not by the Harijan Sevak Sangh?

A. It is wrong to say that the Congress has not taken it up.

Q. But it seems that leaders like Jawaharlal and the Rashtrapati are not keenly aware of the Harijan question?

A. Those two are immersed in that work.

Q. The Harijan Sevak Sangh after years of work had not yet produced even a dozen leaders from among the Harijans themselves.

A. That charge is only partly true.

Q. All great men have a passion for simplification. You have simplified the nature of human conflict as between violence and non-violence, truth and untruth, right and wrong. But in life, is not the conflict between one right and another right or between one truth and another truth? How can non-violence deal with such a situation?

A. That is a matter of application.

Q. In the Hindu-Muslim question where the conflict is between the rights of the Hindus and the rights of the Muslims, what technique of non-violence can be employed to solve the problem, especially when these rights seem to be irreconcilable?

A. That awful situation can only be dealt with properly through satyagraha.

Your questions show that you have not studied it. If I am right, P[yarelal] will give you a list of the books. My advice to you is that you should seriously study the literature on the subject.

Q. How can a Harijan who goes abroad[2] best serve his country and community from abroad?

[1] K. R. Narayanan was on the staff of *The Times of India*. Gandhiji gave his answers in writing.

[2] The interviewer later joined the Indian Foreign Service.

A. He cannot serve the one without serving the other. Abroad you will say it is a domestic question which you are determined to solve for yourselves.

From a copy : C.W. 10547. Courtesy : K. R. Narayanan

626. LETTER TO MAHMUD YASIN

[After *April 10, 1945*][1]

BHAI MAHMUD YASIN,

When have I ever taken interest in elections ? Please excuse me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MAHMUD YASIN
LUDHIANA

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

627. SPEECH AT BORIVLI CAMP[2]

April 11, 1945

Gandhiji began his remarks by requesting them[3] to give him a little respite. There was a time and place for everything in life, he told them. He had trained himself to listen to the inner voice irrespective of his surroundings. But in that he had succeeded only partially. He could not keep himself absolutely unaffected by his surroundings. Therefore he requested the photographers to spare him while he was trying to express his deepest feelings. Photography out of time and place was not art but vulgarity.

Dealing with the question of prayer, he said that he had learnt that common prayers had been excluded from their routine lest anyone should feel that religion was being imposed upon her or him. Speaking for himself, he could say that he could do and had often done without food for days on end, but he could not do without prayer even for a single day. Individual prayer was there but no one should fight shy of collective prayer. Man is a social being. If men and women could eat together, play together and work together why should they not pray together? Why should anyone feel the need to pray

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated 10-4-1945.

[2] The camp was organized by Mridula Sarabhai under the auspices of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

[3] The cameramen who had been clicking continuously

away from everybody's gaze? Was there anything sinful or shameful in prayer that it should not be said in public? For close on fifty years he had been a believer in public prayer. From his earliest days in South Africa he had among his associates and co-workers men and women of every religion. Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis, all used to join him in prayer. In India men and women in crowds attended his prayers wherever he went. He had been told that they did not come to attend the prayers. They came just to have his *darshan*. Even if it was so, they came because they wanted to join him—a man of prayer. He was aware that he had not come as near to God as he wanted to. His realization of truth and ahimsa was still far from perfect, otherwise there would be no need for him to use speech. His very being would radiate truth and ahimsa so that they would be able to see it on his face and feel its presence. He had often said that the perfect ahimsa of one individual was quite enough for the whole world. Whatever measure of success he had attained in the realization of truth and non-violence was the result of prayer.

Prayer should be a spontaneous welling up of the heart. One should not pray if one felt that prayer was a burden. God was not hungry for man's prayer or praise. He tolerated all because He was all Love. If they felt that they owed a debt to Him who is the Giver of all things, they should remember Him and pray to Him out of sheer gratitude. The fear of incurring anybody's ridicule or displeasure should never deter one from performing one's elementary duty towards the Maker. To illustrate his remark he told them the story of Prophet Daniel.

Answering next Shrimati Mridulabehn's question as to what were the good and bad points of Indians as a nation, he observed that he was convinced that in the sum the former far outweighed the latter. Indians had many defects. India was a slave country and her slavery dated much farther back than the British conquest of India. Slavery of evil customs and superstitions, he knew, was the worst form of slavery. Yet the solace that he could find in India he could find nowhere else. He had lived in England and he had spent the best part of his life in South Africa. Yet he could not adopt those countries as his home. In reply to a friend's query years ago, he had said that he wanted to die in the lap of his mother. His own mother, who was a frail little woman, had died years ago. But Mother India with her 80 crores of hands 80 crores of feet and 40 crores of mouths had beckoned to him from across the seas and he could not resist that call.

What did it matter if that venerable mother appeared sick and paralysed today? It was not for him to proclaim India's virtues. As for her shortcomings he had been proclaiming them from the house-tops ever since his return to India. But if he were pressed to name only one shortcoming of Indians he would say that the worst was cowardice.

Another friend asked how women could go into the villages and work under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund scheme handicapped as

they were by so many restrictions. Gandhiji's reply was that he had expected that their first lesson in the camp was to learn to break all social restrictions that cramped or degraded them. He, however, warned them that this did not mean throwing off of all moral restraints. There was at present a woeful deterioration of moral standards in society among men. Even those who talked loudly about enforcing monogamy through law did not practise it themselves. The same tendency was beginning to manifest itself among women. He had known educated girls who thought nothing of marrying men having a living wife. He called this degradation of womanhood. Such views could not be defended under the pretence of banishing social superstitions or vice. Did the emancipation of women mean that they should imitate men in that respect? Certainly not. India could never win swaraj, certainly not the swaraj of his conception, by following that path.

Uttermost moral purity was the first requisite for establishing social freedom. No one who lacked moral purity was qualified to lead a crusade against evil social restrictions.

The next question was how they were to deal with the question of untouchability in the villages. He agreed that the problem of untouchability in the villages was very acute. But those who went there should go with the grim determination to destroy it root and branch or perish in the attempt. They should begin with the scavengers. Unfortunately, there was untouchability even among the so-called untouchables. They should mix with them and eat and drink with them, provided they observed the rules of cleanliness and sanitation. They could inculcate these habits upon them by cooking for them and cleaning up their homes for them.

Another question expressed the fear that since capitalists had contributed the bulk of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund and since they were taken on committees their influence would dominate the organization and vitiate it.

Gandhiji dismissed the apprehension as groundless. He maintained that in endorsing the acceptance of donations of the rich he had not in any way accepted their dictation nor did they seek or expect any such thing from him. Moneyed men were in a majority only in the Board of Trustees, but that did not mean that they dominated or wanted to dominate the organization. In fact they had offered voluntarily to retire from the Board after the fund had been collected and would have gladly done so had he expressed such a desire. But he wanted not only their donations but their talent, goodwill and services for the cause and so they continued to be on the Board.

He refused to believe that the capitalists were necessarily a bad lot or worse than members of any other class. In this world everyone was imperfect. He was too well aware of his own imperfections to presume to judge others. His ahimsa required him to be rigorous in viewing his own shortcomings but to be charitable in judging others. It was enough if he could eradicate his

own. If, therefore, instead of cavilling at the faults of others we turned the searchlight inward and concentrated on self-purification, the world would become a better place to live in and the general social purification would be reflected in the capitalist class too. He could not therefore say to the capitalists that unless they renounced all their riches he would have nothing to do with them. Complete renunciation of one's possessions was a thing which very few even among the ordinary folk were capable of. All that one could legitimately expect of the wealthy class was to hold their riches in trust and use them for the service of society. To insist upon more would be to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-4-1945

628. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

BORIVLI,
April 11, 1945

Gandhiji said he was reminded by Balasaheb Kher that he had visited Borivli after twenty years. He did not think it was such a long time. He was glad to be able to renew their acquaintance after such a long period. On them rested a great responsibility owing to Shrimati Mridulabehn's *shibir* in their midst. They should interest themselves in it. He then turned to Khan Saheb and said, if he was to be friends with Khan Saheb was he to expect him to learn Sanskritized Hindi or was he, the speaker, bound to speak and write to him in Urdu? But Khan Saheb was everyone's friend. Therefore it was the duty of the audience to learn the national language in both the forms and both scripts. Thus and thus alone could the All-India language permeate the whole of India. In this at least there should be no Pakistan and he who wished to make common cause with Hindus and Muslims was bound to learn the two scripts and two forms. A time would then come when the two forms of speech would become one. If they felt it a burden to learn the scripts, he could only say swaraj was not to be had easily and without toil. Where there was love toil was no trouble but pleasure.

The speaker then alluded to the evening *bhajan* sung at the prayer. Its burden was that the way to God was for the valiant, not for the timid. But God was not to be reached by slaves. Therefore the *bhajan* was also for those who wanted to throw off their slavery.

The speaker then concluded that slavery must be the lot of those who hugged untouchability and that too in the name of religion. He wanted therefore to repeat what he had said so often, namely, that Hinduism must perish if untouchability lived.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-4-1945

[1] At the end of the meeting a collection was made for the Harijan cause.

629. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

MY DEAR ICE,

You are right. It is perhaps shameful on my part to exile myself for three months for coolness' sake. My consolation is that they have all driven me out. But very little temptation will hurl me back to Sevagram. You should convert the people there to your view. I did try. . .[1] not for me but for Ba and others. You try his remedy and treat him and others. I won't desert you.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

630. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

MY DEAR BULBUL,

Your letter. Here is a note for Maina[2]. You must sing in the midst of personal sorrow. Why should it be all joy? My love to you and the whole family.

I for one shall not trouble you while you are undergoing this purifying bath. I had many temptations to send the Singer to the frontier, to Sind, to the States, etc. My answer was an emphatic 'no'.

Love.

SPINNER

SAROJINI NAIDU
HYDERABAD DN.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Omission as in the source
[2] Randheer; *vide* the following item.

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631. LETTER TO RANDHEER NAIDU

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

MY DEAR MAINA,

I see Mother was able to give you my message.[1] I do wish you would recover but if you must leave before us all, I know you will be brave and be full of faith in God.

Love.

BAPU

C/o SAROJINI NAIDU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

632. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. I have a little leisure today. If I were you I would be considerate enough to keep Sarojini with me and strict enough to recover every pie from her and make her eat in the kitchen regularly.[2] If that should make her want to leave I would let here leave. But do whatever seems proper to you. From this distance I can only give you advice. It is Ramprasad's duty to go to Mirabehn. The work there is light, the air is good and he will be there only for two months. If he does not go let him do whatever he likes.

The problem of the Ashram land has been solved. Ghanshyamdas does not want the money back. Jajuji has decided that since the land which you did not want to give would not be given, Ghanshyamdas could deduct something if he so desired. He does not want to deduct anything. So that work is over.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chimanlal N. Shah", p. 344.

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I enclose Dr. Ice's letter. We should build a house for him as he asks. Consider all the changes he wants to make for us. I feel that if we can have some relief from heat by building a suitable house, we should do that.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

633. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I am always thinking about you all. Today I had a letter from Dr. Ice. He is keen on treating you. Do not run away from there if you can put up with the heat and undergo Dr. Ice's treatment. I hope Gomati is well. She should also consult Dr. Ice about her treatment. He is a nice man.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

634. NOTE TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

April 12, 1945

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the scientific views of Madame Montessori. However, if they are propagated in their Western garb in Indian villages they are more likely to prove useless and might even prove harmful, because in that garb they will be too expensive for Indian villages and ill-adapted to the village atmosphere. It is possible the cities may not feel the expense so much and women influenced by Western ways may be receptive to the ideas presented in Western garb; but even so it will be of no use because India lives not in cities but in its seven lakh villages. Besides, scientific education with Western trappings might prove poisonous to the city-dwellers because here education begins the moment the child is conceived and ends no one knows when. These days the cities are created by the

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foreigners to serve their ends and so they do not represent the villages. They do not protect the interests of the villagers but are becoming their exploiters.

SARALADEVI SARABHAI
THE RETREAT
SHAHIBAGH
AHMEDABAD

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

635. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 12, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Twenty-five rupees for the distilled water, and that to be paid by the hospital! We certainly can't take that from Harijichchha. There appears to be some misunderstanding. Please explain. I hope you are well. Yes, Sushilabehn was injured,[1] but no bones were broken. There is no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

MUNNALAL
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

636. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I was surprised as well as grieved to read your letter to Mamasaheb[2]. I was even more surprised to read your letter to Pyarelalji. There is no mention in it of my suggestion. It could not be that you have not received it, because Chi. Chimanlal writes that you would not like to go to Mirabehn. How is that? It is work you like and the place is also cool. Can you get what

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 341.
[2] V. L. Phadke

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you desire if you are not willing to go? All this wants thinking over. Please correct me if I am wrong.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

637. LETTER TO KUSUM NAIR

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I find your Hindi very sweet. The handwriting too is good. Read the reply I have given. I did not say I would give the article soon. However if you keep on reminding me you will get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

638. LETTER TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR

BOMBAY,
April 12, 1945

CHI. DEV,

I saw one of your letters. The importance of Nayee Talim is that we become teachers of all. However one who does not also become a student is not fit to be a teacher. Being a student one daily learns something new. You should not be afraid of anyone.

You will win over everyone by ahimsa. The heat there is stifling. You have to overcome that also. Everyone cannot go to a cool place. You must make that place itself as cool as you can. Take Dr. Kelkar's help. He is a nice man and he has written to me about this. Make one house cool with his help.

Take ghee if it is necessary for your health and keep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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639. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Express

BOMBAY,
April 13, 1945

DEVDAS GANDHI
CARE TIMES
NEW DELHI

KHANSAHEB DETAINED MEDICALLY. REACHING MONDAY EVENING. INFORM PURI. HOPE LAKSHMI WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

640. LETTER TO KAMUBEHN

BOMBAY,
April 13, 1945

CHI. KAMU,

I have your letter. Beyond meeting face to face what more do you desire? It is more than enough if there is a meeting of hearts. It is good that there is no customary lamentation over your sister-in-law's death. It is wrong to grieve over a death. Everyone has to go that way—the only difference is some go early, some late. Mourning over it is futile.

I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

KAMUBEHN
VORA HARIDAS'S BUNGALOW
BEHIND HIGH SCHOOL
RAJKOT

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

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641. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

BOMBAY,
April 13, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have understood about 1:12. I have made the change deliberately. There is no time to write a letter. Swami will write to you. What you say about interest I have been accepting as an ideal for many years now. However it seems to me that it is not practicable.

You have done well in prolonging your stay for some more time.

You must have received my letter of yesterday.

You should let Dr. Ice examine Gomati's tooth. I expect he will suggest something. Otherwise Dr. Manubhai is there. It is good that Durga will be leaving with you.

I am quite well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

642. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
April 13, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have read this letter[1]. Speak to him about his habits and irregularities and warn him. If he does not listen, then it is only right that he goes. Nevertheless tell him frankly if you all feel that he is incorrigible and relieve him.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee about Majidbhai

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643. LETTER TO JANAKIBEHN SOMAN

BOMBAY,
April 13, 1945

DEAR JANAKIBEHN,

I was happy to have your letter. I have sent it on to Brajkishorebhai. Your letter reminds me of the old times. May you all keep well. Please tell Totaramji to write to me a few words occasionally.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI JANAKIBEHN SOMAN
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

644. LETTER TO VIMALA C. MEHTA

BOMBAY,
April 14, 1945

CHI. VIMALA,

I read your interesting story. My blessings to you both. Both of you are rising. I hope it is not to fall again. Falling does not mean losing your job; it means leading a life of luxury and licence. I knew the late Kikabhai. He was close to my father. But I knew him more as the author of the dictionary, which was considered very good at that time. I shall most likely be in Mahabaleshwar after the 20th. Come and see me some time after I go up there.

Blessings from
BAPU

BEHN VIMALA C. MEHTA
HARIPURA
BHAWANI VAD, SURAT

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

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645. LETTER TO G. B. PANT

BOMBAY,
April 14, 1945

BHAI GOVIND BALLABH PANT,

I received your letter today. Dr. Jivraj told me only today. The doctors are right. The body has to be made fit to undergo the operation. I intend to leave Bombay on the 20th. Write to me at Mahabaleshwar.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT
EX-PRIME MINISTER
NAINITAL

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

646. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

BOMBAY,
April 14, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I have your letter. Serving you is serving the people because you do not live and do not wish to live for your own sake. Each breath you take is for the people. I won't remove Chand from the Camp. I saw her on the 11th. However, I will talk to her after the Camp is over and try to send her to you. May God keep you well in the meantime. Khurshedbehn is somewhat indisposed. She wants to see you. You should not be so foolhardy as to come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SATYAVATI DEVI
J. B. HOSPITAL
KINGSWAY
DELHI

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

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647. A NOTE

April 15, 1945

I am sorry to say that what appears to have been meant as a supplement to the constructive programme is its flat contradiction. And it is unworkable. If put in action, it will [not only] frustrate itself but will largely hamper the constructive programme. But this is merely a caution. Those who believe in this programme must prosecute it till they are convinced to the contrary. That is the best argument.

Hence I do not want to reason even if I had the time which I have not just now.

BAPU

From a copy : Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, Part I, Vol. IV. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

648. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

April 15, 1945

CHI. CHI[MANLAL],

I have your letter. Pass on the accompanying letters. You give fairly detailed news. Let us see if we can use a part of Durga's house during her absence. We have, of course, K.'s[1] house in the last resort.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10621

[1] Kishorelal Mashruwala

649. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

April 15, 1945

CHI. JIVANJI,

I send you with this for your perusal Anand's letter regarding the books. I am sending also the English material which he has sent. Perhaps you will have that with you. Read both and return them with your comments. I have not yet written anything to Anand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9954. Also C.W. 6928. Courtesy : Jivanji D. Desai

650. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 15, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

I have your letter. It is good. Shripat Baba should go to Bhimavaram. It may be possible to get coconuts here but the other thing also is needed.

Shastriji[1] should not set his heart on dying in the Ashram. Manahar's institution is the only proper place and Shastriji should have the discernment to see it.[2]

Set apart two minutes before नं म्यो. I was under the impression that we recite the शान्ति prayer after नं म्यो. Let it be halted for two minutes. But you should do only what you have suggested.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9023. Also C.W. 9147. Courtesy : Prabhakar

[1] Parachure Shastri
[2] *Vide* also the following item.

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651. LETTER TO PARACHURE SHASTRI

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 15,[1] *1945*

SHASTRIJI,

You have fallen ill! It is not good if it is from worry. But if it is death calling, there is no harm. "You must go with a smile on your lips." And that too from a Lepers' House[2]. Whatever it may be, remain calm and sing Tukaram's *abhangas* or Vedic *mantras*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 10668. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

652. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO SHARAYU DHOTRE[3]

April 15, 1945

In my view the question is not difficult. I shall define the ideal. It is for each individual to decide how far it is proper to depart from it. Consider also that my own conduct is not in keeping with the ideal I lay down. My coming here and then going to Mahabaleshwar is a breach of the ideal. Even so, that is what I am doing. You are similarly free to act as you wish. If the heart is inclined in a certain way the ideal is secondary.

Let us do without what everyone cannot have. I have told you that in practice we do not do it. Now you have to decide without hesitation whether or not you should take help from Saroj or Raihana or Kamalnayan. Neither I nor anybody else should take that decision.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 841. Courtesy : Sharayu Dhotre

[1] The copy from Pyarelal Papers, however, has 16.
[2] The addressee was in Dattapur Lepers' House near Wardha.
[3] Only the second sheet of the letter is available.

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653. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

April 15, 1945

CHI. ARYANAYAKUM,

What is the harm if I arrange to get another room for Ramachandran in Rustom Bhavan itself ? After all he is here for six months. Isn't he? Pyarelal needs all the rooms. He has a lot of papers and books.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

654. LETTER TO UMA AGRAWAL

BOMBAY,
April 15, 1945

CHI. OM[1],

If you keep your clothes in the room on getting up, does it mean the room is yours ? The ideal thing would be that we consider it more than enough if we have a corner to keep our things in. Do you throw your clothes about anyhow or do you fold them and keep them neatly arranged ? Do you wash your mouth and face before going to the morning prayer? You have described the schedule from lunch to 3.15 p.m. as cleaning and ginning of cotton, newspaper-reading and writing. You ought to mention specifically the time each activity takes. Working eight hours is compulsory. In an institution given to non-violence, taking work from others is coercion. Why should we exact work? Everything we do is work. We should not keep our diaries secret. It is our ideal not to keep anything secret. It is better to get the diary signed by the manager.

Any work given to us is our study, or should be. Prof. Shriman Narayan's school should not have English. It will be discontinued. I do not know the price. You must find out. Do not send the diary to me. Show it to me when I come.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj's daughter

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655. LETTER TO P. B. CHANDWANI

BOMBAY,
April 15, 1945

CHI. CHANDWANI,

I was very happy to have your Hindi letter. Learn Hindi thoroughly. I will try to go to Mahabaleshwar on the 20th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI P. B. CHANDWANI
OLD SUKKUR
SUKKUR
SIND

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

656. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

BOMBAY,
April 15, 1945

BHAI HIRALAL SHASTRI,

I have your letter. Keep on doing your work unperturbed. Do not involve me. Do what your heart bids you—those are the true blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HIRALAL SHASTRI
PRAJAMANDAL
KHEJADA KA RASTA
JAIPUR CITY

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

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657. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

BOMBAY,
April 15, 1945

Gandhiji wanted to refer to a conversation he had with a friend. He was asked to define who was a Gandhi-ite as there was confusion in the public mind. He could safely say there was no Gandhi-ite in India. He was himself not one. He had founded no cult. He claimed to be a satyagrahi and, therefore, he was also non-violent, or was trying to be and he invited everyone in the audience to do likewise.

When the odds were heavy against them in South Africa, where they were in a hopeless minority, he had discovered satyagraha in 1906 in the place of parliamentary programme. He had never been a member of any parliament or even a local board. He saw that non-violent non-co-operation was the most powerful thing instead. The constructive part was his 15- point programme which they had seen. There was swaraj in it and much more.

Satyagraha was not a mere policy with him, it was his creed. He hoped to see God face to face through it. If that was the power of satyagraha surely political swaraj was a simple matter if all took to it.

But his satyagraha told him that he was to bear with those who did not see eye to eye with him but sought to go through the parliamentary programme. They had known him closeted with Dr. Khan Saheb and his friends as also with Advocate Bhulabhai Desai. He told them to follow their belief. He owned no enemy—certainly not Englishmen and not even English officials. But that did not mean that he should follow them. He went his own way. The official way was to rule India, his was to serve India. The official was all for power, he was all for service and that in the name of God. Therefore he could afford to face the whole world's opposition, for God, he believed, was with him and He was a never-failing, all-sufficing companion and infallible Guide.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-4-1945

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658. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

[*April 16, 1945*][2]

Instead of undertaking the thankless task of going through the jumble of my writings to find out what I have said or have not said about caste, you have done well in sending me the following questions.

1. Do you still adhere to the views you have expressed on the caste system in your writings?

2. Do you still believe that the caste system is the best social order and that the world should adopt it?

3. Do you still believe that the thousands of existing sub-castes will disappear and merge so that in the end only the four varnas will remain? In the last twenty-five years how many sub-castes have thus disappeared and merged into bigger castes?

4. Whatever castes we find in history are all based on birth and the inequalities arising therefrom. Do you think that the equality and brotherhood you preach is consistent with that kind of social order? If the Bhangis go on doing the work of scavenging from one generation to the next, what will be their future?

5. Isn't Shri Sanjana's severe criticism of the "Politics of the Cow" entirely true?

6. Will you give your consent to the bill introduced in the Central Legislature for retaining caste differences in the Hindu Law?

7. "The Congress is an orthodox Hindu organization and under the fostering care of Gandhiji it has become a missionary organization for the renewal and well-being of the orthodox Hindu religion with its caste system." What reply would you give to such allegations of Shri Sanjana? And if what Shri Sanjana says is correct, does it not repudiate the Congress claim of being a truly national organization?

8. Is the caste system consistent with democracy and democratic organizations?

[1] The questions had been submitted to Gandhiji by a correspondent and included quotations from Gandhiji's writings. Gandhiji, in answering, summarized these. Later the questions and the answers were published by Navajivan as a preface to *Varnavyavastha*. These were also published in *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindu*.

[2] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 17-4-1945

I do not need to refer to my past writings to say what I believe today, because only what I believe today counts. I wish to say that the caste system as it exists to day in Hinduism is an anachronism. It is one of those ugly things which will certainly hinder the growth of true religion. It must go if both Hinduism and India are to live and grow from day today. The way to do it is for all Hindus to become their own scavengers and treat the so-called hereditary Bhangis as their own brothers.

I say the Bhangis because they are at the lowest rung of the ladder. This answers all the questions and I need say nothing more. It is evident that the questioner has not taken the trouble to read my writings. . .[1] Everybody knows that the Congress from its inception has not been and is not even now an orthodox Hindu organization. It is a democratic organization comprising people holding different views and is daily becoming more and more so under my fostering care.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Varnavyavastha, pp. 13-4

659. CABLE TO ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

6 p.m., April 16, 1945

MRS. ROOSEVELT
HYDE PARK
NEW YORK (U. S. A.)

MY HUMBLE CONDOLENCE AND CONGRATULATIONS.[2] LATTER BECAUSE YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS HUSBAND DIED IN HARNESS AND AFTER WAR HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE ALLIED VICTORY HAD BECOME CERTAIN.[3] HE WAS SPARED HUMILIATING SPECTACLE OF BEING PARTY TO PEACE WHICH THREATENS TO BE PRELUDE TO WAR BLOODIER STILL IF POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 10-5-1945

[1] Omission as in the source
[2] President F. D. Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945
[3] Germany surrendered to the Allies on May 7 and Japan on August 14.

660. LETTER TO BISWANATH DAS

BOMBAY,
April 15/17, 1945

MY DEAR DAS,

I like your letter. I agree that those who are so inclined should follow the parliamentary activity. But the decision has to be taken by the W. C.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

661. LETTER TO SOURINDRA NATH BASU

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

DEAR SOURINDRA,

I hear from Bhupen that you have lost your brother. All my sympathy with you.

Yours,
BAPU

SHYT. SOURINDRA NATH BASU
20A SANKERPARA RD.
BHOWANIPARA
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Congress Working Committee

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662. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SENGUPTA

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have sent the condolence message.[1]

Do send me details about Dhirendra's activities. And let Dr. Indra see Profulla about medical work.

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SENGUPTA
99/2 BALLYGUNJ PLACE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat : G.N. 10065

663. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

CHI. PREMA,

I forgot whether or not I have replied to your previous letter. I got the second letter today. I leave on the 20th for Mahabaleshwar and will be spending one month there. This depends on nothing unforeseen happening in the meanwhile. We can meet only if you come there. One may go anywhere if necessary. Otherwise why should I go to Mahabaleshwar ?

I have not yet received the book mentioned by you. I will get it. It will be very fine if Acharya Bhagwat joins[2]. I seem to feel better.

I have received the book.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10434. Also C.W. 6873. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The training activities organized by the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund

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664. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 17, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. Ramprasad is to be sent to Mirabehn. You already have work in hand. One person at a time should look after the kitchen by turns. Do not go on discussing things. The President after listening to everything should decide either through consensus or a majority vote or at his own discretion. Everything is imperfect as long as the arrangement does not function smoothly.

What you say about the sum of Rs. 25 is correct. It is not for you to see under which head it is accounted. Keeping it in the Hospital account seems all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5944. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

665. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD

April 17, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I have your letter. Let Mama also write. Please go to Mirabehn. All the information is given in the enclosed letter. Say to Mirabehn : "Give my wages to Bapu. He will pay me. I have come to assist you for two months."

You can easily do this. Write to me when you arrive there.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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666. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

Narahari has sent his opinion regarding your scheme. Have a look at it. Discuss it with him and write to me about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAGANBHAI DESAI
RASHTRIYA GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

667. LETTER TO P. C. PADHYE

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

BHAI PADHYE,

I have received your letter on behalf of the Buddha Society. I am helpless. I do not go anywhere I can possibly avoid going. Even as it is I am leaving Bombay. I have not received the book you mention. Maybe it will come.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

ADVOCATE P. C. PADHYE
THE BUDDHA SOCIETY
NAIR BUILDING
LAMINGTON ROAD
BOMBAY

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

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668. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD YUNUS

April 17, 1945

BHAI YUNUS,

I have your letter. May your marriage prove good for both of you and for the country. May both live in harmony and render service to the country. You may come whenever you feel like it.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAI YUNUS
KHADI GATE
PESHAWAR

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

669. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
April 17, 1945

Though I know that silence is better than the spoken or written word, there are well-defined limitations to the application of the maxim. The San Francisco Conference is announced to meet shortly.[1] I do not know its agenda. Probably no outsider knows it. Whatever it may be, the Conference will have much to do with the world-to-be after the so-called end of the war. I very much fear that behind the structure of world security sought to be raised lurk mistrust and fear which breed war. Therefore as a lifelong believer in peace as against war, it seems well for me to record my convictions in the matter.

I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination

[1] The Conference was convened on April 25 and concluded on June 26 when the Charter of the United Nations was finally adopted.

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of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. It is only in such a world that the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation.

(1) An indispensable preliminary to peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control, not merely because it is a classic example of imperialist domination but specially because it is a big, ancient and cultured country which has fought for its freedom since 1920 deliberately with Truth and Non-violence as its only weapon.

Though the Indian soldier has fought not for India's freedom, he has shown during this war as never before that he is at least an equal of the best in his fighting qualities. I cite this to answer the charge that India's peaceful struggle is due to its lack of soldierly quality. The inevitable deduction that is drawn from this is that non-violence of the strong is infinitely braver than their violence. That India may not yet have evolved such non-violence is another matter. If it is the case, it does not detract from the statement that it has battled non-violently for freedom and that not without considerable success.

(2) Freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they henceforth be exploited.

(3) Peace must be just. In order to be that, it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. The strong are never vindictive. Therefore, fruits of peace must be equally shared. The effort then will be to turn them into friends. The Allies can prove their democracy by no other means.

(4) It follows from the foregoing that there will be no armed peace imposed upon the forcibly disarmed. All will be disarmed. There will be an international police force to enforce the lightest terms of peace. Even this retention of an international police will be a concession to human weakness, not by any means an emblem of peace.

If these foregoing essentials of peace are accepted, it follows that the camouflage of Indian representation through Indians nominated by British imperialism should be dropped.[1] Such representation will be worse than no representation. Either India at San

[1] The British Government had nominated A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Firoz Khan Noon and V. T. Krishnamachari to represent India at the Conference.

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Francisco is represented by an elected representative or represented not at all.

The following from the Congress resolution of August 8, 1942, shows clearly what free India stands for :

> While the A.I.C.C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression. An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Thus the demand for Indian independence is in no way selfish. Its nationalism spells internationalism.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1945

670. MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA[1]

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

As India holds the key to the freedom of all the exploited races and nations of the earth so do Indians in South Africa hold the key to the protection and freedom of the exploited people in the overseas. For it was in South Africa that satyagraha was fairly tried and became largely successful. Will the Indians there unite and sacrifice themselves for the common cause?

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 2334

[1] The message was conveyed through J. R. Bhala, Joint Secretary of the Overseas Indian Students' Association, who had met Gandhiji and acquainted him with the difficulties facing the overseas students. The message was also published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-5-1945, and *The Hindu*, 2-5-1945.

671. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Sushilabehn tells me that there is an understanding with Jajuji and the others that, apart from diagnosis and general treatment, the expenses on patent medicines should be borne by the patients themselves. They should not be purchased by the Hospital but should be procured by the patients as per the prescription. According to this arrangement, the cost of the distilled water should be recovered from those patients to whom it is given or the Ashram should pay if it wants. This is a matter of keeping accounts. Sushilabehn intends to make the Hospital self-reliant. It seems that the water is being distilled for Hari-ichchha, Kishorelalbhai and others. We cannot take money from them, so it seems to me that the expenses should be put in the Ashram account. Write to me if you have something different to say.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10622

672. LETTER TO R. K. SIDHWA

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

BHAI SIDHWA,

I have your letter.

I shall let you know beforehand if I write something of the kind that you fear.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI R. K. SIDHWA, M.L.A.
VICTORIA ROAD
KARACHI

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

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673. LETTER TO PRANSHANKAR JOSHI

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

BHAI PRANSHANKAR,

I have your letter. I shall be glad even if I get a single book. I do not have time to spare for you. Still you may write to me after ten days, when I have reached Mahabaleshwar.

M. K. GANDHI

PRANSHANKAR JOSHI
PHOOLWADI
JETPUR, KATHIAWAD

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

674. LETTER TO SHEELA

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

CHI. SHEELA,

Your letters are prolix and thoughtless. The briefer a letter, the sweeter it is. That I would be writing to you did not mean that I would be writing to you daily. If I write once in a year it may be said I keep writing. There was no question of writing promptly.

A friend is one who never expects a letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHEELABEHN
SHIKSHASADAN
MEERUT

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

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675. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

I forgot to answer two points. Chi. Ramdas has lost weight but it should cause no worry if he recovers and retains vitality. It is best to do your massage yourself. I used to have my own daily massage at your age. I can do it even now. Those whose limbs have gone weak must necessarily have massage. This is my view. Consider it well and do whatever seems proper to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9024. Also C.W. 9148. Courtesy : Prabhakar

676. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I was able to read your letter fully only today. It is well that Balkrishna has come. If in spite of the heat he can stay in the fields let him do so. It is not difficult to have water fetched from there.

You should not be having the discharge. Stop taking onions and garlic. Take hip-baths with an empty stomach. It will benefit you. Having taken the right treatment do not worry. Keep on repeating Ramanama. Remember the monkey teacher.[1] I have it in front of me. If you want it and can derive any benefit from it I shall send it to you. Heat could be the cause of your ailment but the chief factor is the mind. You must drink five pounds of water to stop the burning in urination. It would be good if you took distilled water. Or at least the water should be boiled. Your bed should be of planks and hard. It is good

[1] The reference is to the figure of the three monkeys.

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that you have decided about it, even if only after coming to the Ashram. Do whatever you can cope with easily. What Om Prakash says is wrong. If he cannot know the Ashram what can he know about me?

I shall send letters to others if I can manage it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You have taken good vows. My indulgence you have. I have another letter from you—of the 19th. If the children want to learn English, let it be along with our own language. But not Ramen under any circumstances. Discretion in everything.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4509

677. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

April 19, 1945

I have read this. It is good. I didn't read it as a critic. If I did, I might make some suggestions, but I will not attempt that. If you make copies, give one to Pyarelal and one each to others whom M. bhai knows. Send one to Kakasaheb. He will send his comments and make suggestions. Show it to Nadavi[1] also. The interval between every two examinations should be indicated. There is some reference to acquaintance with all scripts. It may mean that they also should be taught. Illiterates are in large number—they are in millions. They can be taught the Nagari script because it is a perfect one. That means that there will be one script for the languages descended from Sanskrit. Everybody would write his mother tongue also in that script. Let there be mother tongue—the mother script is unnecessary. The national language should be written in two scripts as long as the dispute is not settled. In words of non-Arabic and non-Persian origin, only one س and some other letters may be used. I shall not write more. I have already written more than I intended.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10807

[1] Najib Ashraf Nadavi, a professor in the Ismail Yusuf College, Andheri

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678. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

BIRLA HOUSE,
BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I am writing this about the meticulous way you do things. Your small note, the thorn pin and the daily news!!! About the snake, I have heard from many. We are surrounded by them. We are also tested on such occasions.

Please tell Dev that I am not writing to him this time.

I want this to reach you before you leave. Manilal has not gone to Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

679. LETTER TO MAYASHANKAR V. DESAI

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

BHAI MAYASHANKAR,

I have your letter. Now I cannot spare any time here. Write to me at Mahabaleshwar after eight days. I will give you time when my health permits. I will at least understand what you have to say. I want to do a great deal. The question is how much my health will permit me to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

MAYASHANKAR V. DESAI
MAHENDRA BHOGILAL'S FIRM
DIAMOND MERCHANT
DIWANCHAND BUILDING
ZAVERI BAZAAR, BOMBAY

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

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680. LETTER TO KESHAV DEVDHAR

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

CHI. DEVDHAR,

Your letter is very good. It is God's grace that Chi. Devendranath has survived. Prabhakar is industrious and intelligent. Narayan has come to this world only to help others. May God give him a long life. I do not know the other brothers. Please convey my thanks to all of them. The civil surgeon is of course very kind to us. I hope Devendra has fully recovered now.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KESHAV DEVDHAR
KHADI VIDYALAYA
SEVAGRAM

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

681. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

BHAI TANDONJI,

I am a little unhappy over yesterday's discussion. I wonder if I have wasted your time. Then again I could not explain to you a very simple thing. I had made it clear at Indore that Hindi did not mean exclusion of Urdu. You yourself do not want to give up Urdu. Then it becomes your duty and mine—and of other patriots also—to know both the scripts and their styles. We include Urdu-knowing people in taking account of the supporters of the national language. Therefore the national language is = Hindi + Urdu. Hindi will be an incomplete national language if we take it in its narrow sense. Those imbued with nationalism will easily learn two more languages. Those who do not will lag behind. Such being my views, I will popularize Hindustani whether others support me or not. I am very keen to have your

whole-hearted support because you are you and I have a great respect for you.

The poison cannot spread if supporters of Hindi put up with and take kindly to the popularization of Hindustani.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

682. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

I have received your nice letter. You have to complete your course there. In the meantime I will get some more news of Satyavati. Keep on writing to me at Mahabaleshwar. I will decide. Convey my blessings to all the girls there.

Manu[1] has again got fever with blood [in the sputum]. She feels weak but has not lost much weight.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHANDRANI
KASTURBA NIDHI SHIBIR
SURESH KUTIR
MANDA PESHAWAR ROAD
BORIVLI

From a photostat of the Hindi : Chandrani Papers. Courtesy : National Gandhi Museum and Library

683. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

Your letter is good. You have done right in writing a strong letter about the boy. Now I will not ask you to let the children go out during my absence. It is true that you are not a child now. Your curriculum is good. I see that there is a fall in the temperature there but it will rise again. Our country is hot.

[1] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's daughter

Isn't it? Your handwriting has improved a little. Improve it still further and also your language.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

684. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

CHI. SURU,

I was very happy to receive your letter. God will grant you success. The victory over Harilal, which was denied me, has come to you two. You are correct in saying that if he can get rid of the two vices he can be the best of all brothers. Let us see what you people can do. Kanti is very confident. Faith is a great thing. I am going to Mahabaleshwar tomorrow. I shall be there for a month and then one more month at Panchgani. Madhavdas[1] had taken poison but has survived. Manilal, Sushila and the children have arrived.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6185. Also C.W. 3459. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

685. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

BOMBAY,
April 19, 1945

Gandhiji spoke of the value of prayer and asked the audience to continue the habit even after he was gone. In particular he asked them to pray that the taint of untouchability might be removed root and branch and find no place in their hearts.

But he reminded them also that it was not enough if they prayed. While everything ultimately depended on the will of God they must do their duty. In the 15-point constructive programme which he had set out before them was hidden the key to swaraj. If a large majority of them pursued this programme sincerely he was confident that their efforts would be crowned with success.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-4-1945

[1] Madhavdas Gopaldas Kapadia, brother of Kasturba Gandhi

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686. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

BOMBAY,
[On or before] *April* [*20*][1], *1945*

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

GLAD ALL RELEASED. LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

687. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

BOMBAY,
[On or before *April 20, 1945*][2]

I have read the papers you have sent me about the Jaunpur prisoners.[3] I feel that they should be saved from the gallows. What I have written about the Ashti and Chimur prisoners[4] applies very well to this case. You must have seen that I have tried to save all such prisoners. My hope is that such prisoners will not be hanged.

The Hindustan Times, 21-4-1945

[1] Gandhiji left Bombay on this date.

[2] The report carrying the item is dated April 20.

[3] Seven persons had been tried and sentenced to be hanged by the Jaunpur Sessions Court. On appeal, the Allahabad High Court acquitted one of the accused, reduced the sentence of a second to three years' imprisonment, and confirmed the sentences of the remaining five. An appeal for mercy had been sent to the Governor of U. P.

[4] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", p. 335.

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688. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
April 20, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have been thinking of you ever since I came here. Do not do anything against your will. Work done whole-heartedly gives contentment and peace. Sharda may stay or leave. It will be enough if we do our duty. Take care of your health, bodily and mental.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10639

689. LETTER TO SWAMI ANAND

BOMBAY,
April 20, 1945

CHI. SWAMI,

I have your letter. I am not unaware either of Chhotubhai's work or of his sacrifice. You write that now his twenty-three-year old daughter is getting married in a simple and austere ceremony. My blessings are of course with them. May the bride and bridegroom live long and together render great service to the country.

I could not have a talk with Bapa. Now I am writing to him.

May the change of air prove fruitful to Chi. Kishorelal and Gomati. What shall I write about Durga? Will she ever be healthy? She certainly can be.

Blessings from
BAPU

SWAMI ANAND
C/O JUGAL KISHORE
P. O. KARAMBEL R.L.
B. B. & C. I. RLY.

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

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690. LETTER TO BHOGILAL

BOMBAY,
April 20, 1945

CHI. BHOGILAL,

Shevate gave me your letter. Your handwriting is neat. I like your views also. I am glad that you are conscious of whose son you are.

I shall not write more as I am getting ready to leave.

I wish the well-being of the entire family.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

691. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

April 20, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Here is Grimm's Law[1]. It is a very good guide. You can frame a law for the languages of India with its help. Ask me if you cannot. It is a very interesting study. You will see from it that learning scripts is child's play. I have received a chart which makes it very easy. There is hardly any original script. At the moment I am very busy. I can't write more than this. In a few hours I have to go to the station.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KRISHNACHANDRA
ASHRAM
SEVAGRAM

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

[1] So called after Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), a German grammarian, this postulates correspondence of consonants in the Germanic and other Indo-European languages.

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692. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

BIRLA HOUSE,
April 20, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Learn veterinary science. There is no harm in walking, but do not walk in the sun. Go in the morning. Stay in the city and leave after 6 o'clock. Do the reading and writing in the city. Hoshiari is getting along satisfactorily. You must live in amity with all. Talk little and work a lot. Now the time for departure is drawing near.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1959

693. LETTER TO GANESH RAM

BOMBAY,
April 20, 1945

BHAI GANESH RAM,

I have your letter. I advise you to follow the instructions of the secretary of the Ashram. I am not sure when I shall return.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4510

694. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

We arrived here today. Manu is here. The other girls are in the Camp. Manu is better today, though she is very weak. I hope she will get well here. Premlilabehn and Shantikumar

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have made all the arrangements. One may say it is fairly cool here at present, though the sun is very hot. But that is so even in Simla.

Ramprasad must have gone to Mirabehn.[1] Someone must go there immediately. Her need is urgent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10623

695. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL[2],

I am able to write to you only after coming here. Manu suffered quite a lot. Her nose bled all day long. She had fever also. Now it seems that her nose will not bleed and she will get no fever either. I have brought Manu here. Treatment and care were provided by Sushilabehn. Sometimes I took courage in both hands and tried nature-cure remedies. And for two days a homoeopath came who also tried his hand. There is no cause for worry. Let me see what improvement she shows in this cool weather. Liquid paraffin helps her bowel movement. I may stay in this part of the country for two months.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

[1] *Vide* p. 387.
[2] Gandhiji's nephew

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696. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

SUJNYA BHAISHREE,

This is just to acknowledge your letter. I shall write out whatever is necessary on the basis of that. I have reached here today.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHETH AMBALAL SARABHAI
THE CALICO MILLS
P. O. BOX 12, AHMEDABAD

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

697. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter of April 14. I hope Ramprasad has arrived there or will be arriving soon. He is very intelligent. Do not detain him for more than two months. Give him as much rest as you can. If he needs more I will see to it. I have arrived here today. Can you read my Hindi? I am a guest of Premlilabehn and Shantikumar. I have with me Pyarelal, Sushila, Dinshaw and Pyarelal's two assistants. Manu is ill, so I have Kanu. He will go to Rajkot for a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM, MULDASPUR
P. O. BAHADARABAD *via* JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR, U. P.

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

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698. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

BHAI AMRITALAL,

I could not write to you before coming to Mahabaleshwar. I got your letter only yesterday. I have written to Pushpa's[1] father.

I shall write about the women[2] if I have some satisfactory evidence.

I have talked to Profulla Babu regarding the Kasturba Memorial Trust.[3] It has not been finally decided whether the representatives should be province-wise or community-wise.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10400. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

699. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. It is good you wrote to Jivanji. About your health I still feel it would have been better if you had stayed at Bhimavaram. Gokhale is there, and keeping well. Babaji is not there. He should have also stayed at Bhimavaram. Go there if you can. If there is peace in Karachi and your health is all right, then I have nothing to say.

I came here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] A Gujarati girl who wanted to join Sevagram Ashram

[2] The addressee had complained to Gandhiji that members of British armed forces had been committing outrages against women.

[3] The addressee had drawn Gandhiji's attention to the criticism that there was no Bengali representative on the Kasturba Memorial Trust.

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700. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the gathering at the end of prayers, asked them to leave him alone to have peace. He said :

I have not come here for the sake of pleasure but to gain strength and improve my health so that I may work harder.

He wanted them to contribute towards the Harijan Fund if they wanted removal of untouchability. Announcing that henceforth prayers would be held earlier in the day for the benefit of those who came from a distance, he said that those who attended prayers should come with a desire to participate in the prayers and not merely to have a look at him.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-4-1945

701. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Express

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

DEVDAS GANDHI
CARE "TIMES"
NEW DELHI

ASK KRISHNADAS ABOUT MESSAGE ATTENDING MORNING POST WHEN LAXMI[1] EXPECTED.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Wife of the addressee; *vide* also p. 413.

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702. TELEGRAM TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

Express

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

ASSOCIATED
BOMBAY

NEVER WROTE BHULABHAI DESAI AS REPORTED BY MORNING STANDARD ACCORDING TO YOU NOR THOUGHT EXCEPT AS PER MY SPEECH OF FIFTEENTH APRIL. PLEASE ADVERTISE DENIAL.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

703. MESSAGE TO K. RAMKRISHNA PILLAI[2]

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

You are the best judges of what to do under the circumstances. You know also what I have done in similar situation. Beyond this I am unable to say anything.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-4-1945

704. LETTER TO CHHOTUBHAI SUTHAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

BHAI CHHOTUBHAI,

I have gone through what you had sent. It was Kakasaheb who made me interested in Tarak Mandal. My interest continues and so I have welcomed your activity. Abide by the pledge you

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Prayer Meeting", p. 382.

[2] The addressee had apprised Gandhiji of the latest political situation in Travancore and of the arrest of the President and two Secretaries of the State Congress.

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have published in the journal. May the activities of your Mandal go on increasing. Keep on sending me your literature. I would have sent the subscription if I were not a beggar.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHHOTUBHAI SUTHAR
TARAK MANDAL
THAKKAR BUILDING
ANAND

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

705. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

I have your letter. You say you get the griping pain only once in a day, as if it was something you had to get and that not once but many times. The thing is that you should never get gripes. That you get them suggests indigestion. You should never get gripes. Drink plenty of water during the day. Drink large quantity of water immediately on getting up. Eat slowly and masticate the food well. You must have green vegetables and fruit. Keep on writing to me regularly. Do not be obstinate about studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI SUMITRA GANDHI
BIRLA HIGH SCHOOL
PILANI

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

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706. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

The two things mentioned in today's letter which I have not scratched out deserve attention. Have you done anything about them?

It shows that all of us, new members and old, men, women and children, should learn Hindustani. The necessary literature for that purpose should be collected.

There is no truth as regards the bullocks. I think it is perfectly right about the dogs. Torturing is worse than killing.

In my absence, the administration must be improved.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10625

707. LETTER TO SHAKARIBEHN C. SHAH

April 22, 1945

CHI. SHAKARIBEHN,

You have the capacity to progress. You have the time. You should learn Gujarati and Hindustani in both the scripts. Marathi can also be learnt easily.

You must have first-rate health.

I have told Chimanlal the remedy. The more I think about it the more I realize its value and necessity. The only condition is that both of you should resolve to observe *brahmacharya.*

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10624

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708. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

CHI. MANI,

It is good you wrote. I am sure Father[1] will see about getting milk and other necessaries. There is therefore no cause at all for worry.

Your health should be fully restored. I have doubts as regards the wisdom of the fasts—total or partial—that you undertake every now and then. I have not discussed this point with you but that is how I feel. My purpose in writing this letter is to remind you that you are to come here as soon as you have done your work in Ahmedabad.

My blessings to everyone there. I trust the Doctor[2] is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
C/O. DR. KANUGA
ELLISBRIDGE
AHMEDABAD, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 132

709. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

I have your letter. Keep in touch with Rajkumariji and do as she says. Vimala must have fully recovered by now. Let her write to me. Let her attend to the household work but in such

[1] Vallabhbhai Patel, imprisoned in Ahmednagar Fort at the time, had not been keeping good health.

[2] Dr. Kanuga

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a way that she continues to do public service. I consider it important that both of you should be well acquainted with the science of khadi and learn all the processes. We arrived here yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1314

710. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 22, 1945

BHAI AMRITA LAL,

I forgot to mention one thing in my letter yesterday. I am aware of most of the complaints in Manu Bhimani's letter. There is no substance in them. There are other things too. If she can send me some convincing proof I am willing to investigate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10401. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

711. NOTE TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

[After *April 22, 1945*][1]

Appasaheb is able.[2] Induce him to accept the post if he comes. I have suggested only a general rule. Cancel your visit to Mahabaleshwar on the 17th. Write to Bapa.

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

[1] The note was in reply to the addressee's letter of April 22.

[2] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's opinion whether Appasaheb Patwardhan would be the right man for the post of Acharya in the Khadi Vidyalaya, Ratnagiri.

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712. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

RAJAJI
CARE "TIMES"
NEW DELHI

THANK GOD. LAXMI AND BABY HAVE MY BLESSINGS.[1] YOU CAN NOW COME. WEATHER NICE. LOVE ALL.

BAPU

From a copy : C.W. 10555. Courtesy : Lakshmi Gandhi. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

713. LETTER TO RAMANLAL ENGINEER

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

BHAI RAMANLAL,

I have gone through your letter. Please let me know what harm is caused by the eating of lemons and tomatoes. I have taken these in large quantities and made others do so. I have noticed no harm.

I take plenty of fruit. I have observed no ill effects from it. Let me know why one should not take fruit. I would like to take less fruit and more vegetables because the latter are cheaper.

Have you tried pumpkin seeds ? If that remedy should work, I would consider it very good and it is also cheap.

What can you say from your experience?

The impression Dr. Mehta has formed of you is that you have read a great deal but seem to have no experience.

I understand that you are busy translating Lindbar's book. It would be better if you gained some experience either under Dr. Dinshaw or, if you can put up with the heat, at Sevagram,

[1] Lakshmi Gandhi had given birth to her youngest son, Gopalkrishna.

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where you can stay even in my absence. If you have an extra copy of Lindbar, lend it to me to read.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMANLAL ENGINEER
RAMNIVAS BHARADAVADI
VARSOVA ROAD
ANDHERI

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

714. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. TULSI,

How is it that you again got fever? You had my blessings, you had *khakhra* from me. Will all this go in vain? You will never fall ill if you follow the rules of health. The most important rule is to utter Ramanama from the heart. The other rules are comparatively easier.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

715. LETTER TO ANANTRAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. ANANTRAM,

I hear that you have recovered and render considerable service to others. I am very happy to know this. May your life remain devoted to the service of others. Learn Urdu also and make progress in it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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716. LETTER TO BARBARA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. BARBARA, ALIAS VASANTI,

Everyone is afraid for you. The reason is that having been born in a cool place, you may not be able to bear the heat. You will perhaps be able to put up with the heat if you lead a life in keeping with the climate. You are getting on well with your work.

Can you read and understand Hindustani?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

717. LETTER TO DEVENDRANATH DEVDHAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. DEVENDRA,

I am very happy to know that you have escaped death.[1] The truth is that God has saved you. He wanted to save you and therefore the conditions became favourable. From your letters I find that yours is a life of service. And now since God has given you a new life be more service-minded and learn more for the sake of service and lead a simple life.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* p. 397.

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718. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

BHAI BARDOLOI,

I find your Hindustani very sweet. I do not find any difficulty in reading your handwriting. You must improve your Hindustani. You handwriting should also be better than Mahavir's. Make an effort.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GOPINATH BARDOLOI
GAUHATI, ASSAM

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

719. LETTER TO TARACHAND

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

BHAI TARACHANDJI,

I received your letter yesterday. I am forwarding it to Professor Shriman Narayan. I will write to you on hearing from him.

Tandonji saw me. I cannot say what support he will give us. He will certainly not become a member.

You must have read Dr. Haq's criticism. He does not have faith in me. Tandonji of course does not want it.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. TARACHAND
11 CHATHAM LINES
ALLAHABAD

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

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720. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN NARAYAN,

Enclosed is a letter[1] from Dr. Tara Chand. Read it and send me your opinion.

I feel that the expenditure is too much on the Western style.

If it is to be done in Wardha we have provision for everything. The printing can be done by the Navajivan Press itself.

I have no authority to do anything on my own. Don't we have to place the matter before our executive?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 305

721. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. DEV,

Prabhakar writes that you are losing weight and you get headaches. You must take more ghee. Have a mud-pack on the abdomen at night and sit in a tub filled with cold water for an hour as I used to do. Fill the water yourself. It will be very good if you find a solitary place near the well. You must keep a wet cloth on the head.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. National Archives of India

[1] This is not available.

722. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARI,

I have some respite here at any rate. So I am attending to the letters lying unanswered. One of the letters is from the Kauls. They have sent Rs. 1000 for the work Raja Saheb had mentioned in his letter to Dr. Mahmud. I do not now wish to issue an appeal about it. I do approve of such memorials, but the beginning should be made with the Punjab. I do not share Raja Saheb's view that it is possible to collect one crore for the Hindu-Muslim work. Even so, a decent amount can be collected if an appeal is issued. You say that a large number of Muslims had attended the funeral. Will they do some work? Can you give your view? You are not the one to desist because Raja Saheb was your father. You are objective enough to consider the matter and give your opinion.

I shall be here for a month. Then Panchgani.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8007. Also C.W. 3106. Courtesy : Rameshwari Nehru

723. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

Consult Aryanayakumji or Ashabehn about the hair of the Chimur children. Lice in the hair cannot be tolerated. Cut the hair of girls and even grown-up women if they are agreeable. It will save a lot of time. It does not spoil the face at all. After a while, if one wants, hair can be grown again.

You have acted with great alertness with regard to Devendra. Your health should improve if you do your own massage.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9025. Also C.W. 9149. Courtesy : Prabhakar

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724. LETTER TO MADALASA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. MADALASA,

How are you? Do you take sufficient care of your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 325

725. A NOTE

April 24, 1945

Write to this gentleman[1] that my reply was in response to a question from a Parsi gentleman.

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

726. LETTER TO DR. ANAND KUMARI BAMLE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 24, 1945

CHI. ANAND KUMARI,

Your letter has not impressed me much. Is the handwriting yours? Shall I send the letter to Shastriji?

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

ANAND KUMARI BAMLE
C/O. D. D. SUD
PURANI BASTI
JAIPUR

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

[1] D. Raghavachandrayya Sathsastri who had asked Gandhiji what had prompted him to write the article "Caste System—An Anachronism". *Vide* "Answers to Questions", pp. 383-4.

727. LETTER TO DEVENDRA SINGH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 24, 1945

BHAI DEVENDRA SINGH,

I have your letter. Write to me who the manager of the *goshala* is and also other details. I shall then write to him.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

VAIDRAJ DEVENDRA SINGH
AYURVEDIC AUSHADHALAYA
GAJADHAR GANJ
BUXER, E. I. RLY.

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

728. LETTER TO A. VIRESHWAR RAO

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 24, 1945

BHAI VIRESHWAR RAO,

I have your letter. What Mridulabehn has written is correct. There may be a difference of opinion about emphasizing sentences and words. Have patience. Why do you write to me in English?

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI A. VIRESHWAR RAO
C/O METAPHYSICIAN SEVASADAN
PODUR'S BUILDING
TANUKU, M. & S. M. RLY.

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

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729. LETTER TO GHANSHYAM MIRCHANDANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
[Before *April 25, 1945*][1]

In your place I would not submit even if I were to die.[2] But there is no one law for everyone. You should act solely according to your capacity. In any event seeing that you did not accept the notice, you should inform the authorities that you would not accept restrictions save of your own conscience and that you fully believed in non-violence and truth.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-4-1945

730. INTERVIEW TO RALPH CONISTON[3]

[Before *April 25, 1945*][4]

RALPH CONISTON : Why do you feel so sceptical about the possibility of a lasting peace emerging from the defeat of the Axis Powers?

GANDHIJI : The reason is patent. Violence is bound sooner or later to exhaust itself but peace cannot issue out of such exhaustion. I am uttering God's truth when I say that unless there is a return to sanity, violent people will be swept off the face of the earth . . . Those who have their hands dyed deep in blood cannot build a non-violent order for the world.

R. C. While the representatives of the big powers who would be meeting at San Francisco were what they were, the people at large, after the experience of the horrors of war, would force the hands of their respective Governments.

G. I know the European mind well enough to know that when it has to choose between abstract justice and self-interest, it will plump for the latter. The man in the street even in America does not think much for himself. He will put faith in what

[1] The news item carrying the letter is dated Karachi, April 25.

[2] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice in regard to the restraint order served upon him by the Sind Government.

[3] Of the *Colliers Weekly*

[4] From the contents it is obvious that this discussion took place before the San Francisco Conference which opened on April 25, 1945.

Roosevelt says. Roosevelt gives him market, credit and all that. Similarly Churchill can say to the English working class that he has kept the Empire intact and preserved for them the foreign markets. The people will, as they do, follow him.

R. C. So, you don't think that the average man in Europe or America cares much for the high ideals for which the war is professed to be fought?

G. I am afraid, I do not. If you hold the contrary view, I shall honour you for your belief but I cannot share it.

R. C. Then, you don't think the Big Five or the Big Three can guarantee peace?

G. I am positive. If they are so arrogant as to think that they can have lasting peace while the exploitation of the coloured and the so-called backward races goes on, they are living in a fool's paradise.

R. C. You think they will fall out among themselves before long?

G. There you are stealing my language. The quarrel with Russia has already started. It is only a question when the other two—England and America—will start quarrelling with each other. Maybe, pure self-interest will dictate a wiser course and those who will be meeting at San Francisco will say : 'Let us not fall out over a fallen carcass.' The man in the street will gain nothing by it. Freedom of India along non-violent lines, on the other hand, will mean the biggest thing for the exploited races of the earth. I am, therefore, trying to concentrate on it. If India acts on the square when her turn comes, it will not dictate terms at the Peace Conference but peace and freedom will descend upon it, not as a terrifying torrent, but as 'gentle rain from heaven'. Liberty won non-violently will belong to the least. That is why I swear by non-violence. Only when the least can say, 'I have got my liberty' have I got mine.

The conversation then turned on the issue of the treatment of the aggressor nations after the war.

G. As a non-violent man, I do not believe in the punishment of individuals, much less can I stomach the punishment of a whole nation.

R. C. What about the war criminals?

G. What is a war criminal? Was not war itself a crime against God and humanity and, therefore, were not all those who sanctioned, engineered, and conducted wars, war criminals? War

criminals are not confined to the Axis Powers alone. Roosevelt and Churchill are no less war criminals than Hitler and Mussolini.

Hitler was "Great Britain's sin". Hitler is only an answer to British imperialism, and this I say in spite of the fact that I hate Hitlerism and its anti-Semitism. England, America and Russia have all of them got their hands dyed more or less red—not merely Germany and Japan. The Japanese have only proved themselves to be apt pupils of the West. They have learnt at the feet of the West and beaten it at its own game.

R. C. What would you see accomplished at San Francisco?

G. Parity among all nations—the strongest and the weakest —the strong should be the servants of the weak not their masters or exploiters.

R. C. Is not this too idealistic?

Maybe. But you asked me what I would *like* to see accomplished. It is my belief that human nature is ever working upward. I can, therefore, never take a pessimistic view of the future of human nature. If the Big Five say, 'We shall hold on to what we have ', the result will be a terrible catastrophe and then Heaven help the world and the Big Five. There will be another and bloodier war and another San Francisco.

R. C. Would the results of the second San Francisco be any better than that of the first?

G. I hope so. They will be saner then. They will have gained their balance somewhat after their third experience.

R. C. Would you not go to the West to teach them the art of peace?

G. In the second World War some British pacifists, including Dick Sheppard and Maude Royden had written to me asking me to point the way. My reply in substance was : Even if one of you can become true in the right sense of the word, that one man will be able to inculcate non-violence among the European folk. I cannot today save Europe, however much I may like to. I know Europe and America. If I go there I shall be like a stranger. Probably I shall be lionized but that is all. I shall not be able to present to them the science of peace in language they can understand. But they will understand if I can make good my non-violence in India. I shall then speak through India. I, therefore, declined to accept the invitations from America and Europe. My answer would be the same today.

R. C. If you were at San Francisco, what would you be advocating there?

G. If I knew I would tell you but I am made differently. When I face a situation, the solution comes to me. I am not a man who sits down and thinks out problems syllogistically. I am a man of action. I react to a situation intuitively. Logic comes afterwards, it does not precede the event. The moment I am at the Peace Conference, I know the right word will come. But not beforehand. This much, however, I can say that whatever I say there will be in terms of peace, not war.

R. C. What kind of world organization would promote an enduring peace or preserve it?

G. Only an organization based predominantly on truth and non-violence.

R. C. With the present imperfect condition of the world and human nature, what means would in your opinion promote peace?

G. Nearest approach to the condition laid down in my answer to the previous question.

R. C. Would you have a world government?

G. Yes. I claim to be a practical idealist. I believe in compromise so long as it does not involve the sacrifice of principles. I may not get a world government that I want just now but if it is a government that would just touch my ideal, I would accept it as a compromise. Therefore, although I am not enamoured of a world federation, I shall be prepared to accept it if it is built on an essentially non-violent basis.

R. C. If the nations of the world were to consider world government as a means for preserving peace and promoting the welfare of all peoples, would you advocate the abandonment of India's aspiration for independence in order to join in the general plan?

G. If you will carefully go through the much abused Congress resolution of August 1942,[1] you will discover that independence is necessary for India becoming an efficient partner in any scheme for the preservation of lasting peace in the world.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 113-6

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI.

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731. A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY[1]

January 1, 1945

Thus, though we find the young and the old, the rich and the poor, all passing away before our very eyes, we do not want to sit in peace; rather for the sake of living a few days more, we try everything except Rama.

January 2, 1945

How nice it would be if having realized this truth, we relied on Rama, put up with whatever ailments came our way and made our lives peaceful.

January 3, 1945

We saw the corporeal Mahadev[2] in his physical body and in his writings—which was one and the same thing. The Mahadev, who transcends the body is, however, all-pervading. He can be recognized by his virtues which we can all share alike. No one can have a greater or smaller share.

January 4, 1945

Are not birth and death perhaps the two sides of the same coin? You find death on the one side and birth on the other. Why should this give rise to sorrow or joy?

January 5, 1945

If this be true of birth and death as it certainly is, then why should we fear death even in the slightest degree or sorrow over it and rejoice in a birth? Every man should ask himself this question.

January 6, 1945

The world is full of opposites. There is sorrow behind happiness, and happiness behind sorrow. Where there is sunshine,

[1] Gandhiji started writing "A Thought for the Day" for Anand T. Hingorani at the latter's request on November 20, 1944, and continued the practice for about two years. The thoughts for the period covered by this volume are reproduced as a single item under the last date, April 24, 1945. The thoughts were originally written in Hindi. The translation by Anand T. Hingorani is reproduced here with slight alteration.

[2] Mahadev Desai

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there is also shadow; where there is light, there is also darkness; where there is birth, there is also death. Non-attachment lies in remaining unaffected by these opposites. The way to triumph over them is not to efface them, but to rise above them and be completely free from attachment.

January 7, 1945

The foregoing shows that the key to happiness lies in the worship of Truth, which is the giver of all things.

January 8, 1945

How, then, shall we worship truth? Who knows the truth? The reference here is to relative truth, that which appears to us as truth. Experience will show that truth, even in this limited sense, is very hard indeed to observe.

January 9, 1945

Why does a person, knowing what is truth, hesitate to utter it? Is he ashamed? Ashamed of whom? Whether high or low, what matters it? The fact is that habit consumes us all. Let us reflect over this and rid ourselves of the bad habit.

January 10, 1945

Unless we are freed from this habit, we cannot tread the path of truth. Indeed, we must sacrifice all at the altar of truth. We wish to appear not as we are but as very much better. How nice it would be for us, if we are lowly, to appear lowly—but if we wish to rise, to act nobly and think nobly. If that be not possible, then let us appear lowly. Then some day we shall attain the desired height.

January 11, 1945

The more experience I gather, the more I realize that man himself is the cause of his happiness as well as his misery.

January 12, 1945

That being so, why is man happy or miserable?

January 13, 1945

The fact is that man does not like to give any thought to such things; so he persuades himself to believe that he has no time to spare for such reflection.

January 14, 1945

If we wish to live a true life, we must give up our mental laziness and do some basic thinking. Our life will thereby become very simple.

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January 15, 1945

A seer has called us wayfarers. And it is true. We are here for only a few days. Thereafter we do not die, but only go home. What a beautiful and true thought!

January 16, 1945

Hundreds of tons of earth and stone have to be excavated by means of hard labour before even one diamond is discovered. Do we give even a fraction of this labour to the removal of the rubble of untruth and the search for the diamond of Truth?

January 17, 1945

Nothing is ever achieved without toil, that is without *tapa*.[1] How, then, can self-purification be possible without it?

January 18, 1945

If all our time belongs to God, how can we afford to waste even a single moment? Likewise, if we belong to God, why should we devote even a part of our being to the pursuit of the vain pleasures of life?

January 19, 1945

Selfless action is a source of strength, for such action means the worship of God.

January 20, 1945

Jamshed Mehta has sent me one of the prayers of St. Francis of Assissi, a part of which reads : "O Divine Master! It is in giving that we receive, and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life."

January 21, 1945

Verily, the land belongs to him who labours on it.

January 22, 1945

He who is truly clean within, cannot remain unclean without.

January 23, 1945

A right cause never fails; A true word never hurts in the end.

January 24, 1945

A word uttered from a pure heart goes never vain.

[1] Penance

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January 25, 1945

If idleness gives us pain, we will not remain idle. Similarly, if impurity causes us unhappiness, we will not be or stay impure.

Independence Day, January 26, 1945

Work must come first, and then, if possible, wages commensurate with the amount of work done. To work in this spirit is to serve God. But if the wages are demanded first, that would be service to Satan.

January 27, 1945

It is well not to yield to desire. Once we give in restraint becomes difficult if not impossible.

January 28, 1945

He who is unable to rule over himself can never really succeed in ruling over others.

January 29, 1945

In order to know himself, man must come out of his shell and view himself dispassionately.

January 30, 1945

No man is worthless who lightens anyone's burden even the least bit.

January 31, 1945

Our happiness and peace of mind lie in our doing what we regard as right and proper, not in doing what others say or do.

February 1, 1945

Moral strength does accrue from the reading of scriptures; but real freedom cannot be attained without enlightenment.

February 2, 1945

To seek a favour is to barter away one's freedom.

February 3, 1945

The greatness of a person lies in his heart, not in his head, that is, intellect.

February 4, 1945

Religion is that which comprehends all. In other words, religion permeates life in all its aspects and at all times.

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February 5, 1945

Religion is not something apart from life. Life itself should be regarded as religion. Life divorced from religion is not human life, it is animal life.

February 6, 1945

Those who have the greatest measure of self-control or are most absorbed in work, speak the least. Speech and action go ill together. Look at Nature. She is continuously in action, never resting for a single moment, and is yet silent.

February 7, 1945

He who thinks of the suffering humanity, will not think of himself. Where has he the time?

February 8, 1945

A man will see and hear only that which he wishes to see and hear. A gardener will see only the flowers in a garden, whilst a philosopher will be oblivious of them. Perhaps he will not even notice whether he is inside the garden or outside!

February 9, 1945

We can see and even rectify our shortcomings through those we live with. If we maintain the highest standard of purity in our everyday life, we can hope to render real service.

February 10, 1945

Those who take the vow of Truth should practise silence. Nevertheless, we find that many a seeker after Truth is given to much talking, the obvious reason being force of habit. Let us give up this habit.

February 11, 1945

How shall we remember the dear departed? It is my firm belief that they do not die; it is only their bodies that perish. Their memory has to be kept alive by imbibing their virtues as far as we can, by taking up their good work and promoting it to the best of our ability. Flowers are placed on their *samadhis* to strengthen such remembrance. But to remain content with mere flower-offering would be idol-worship.

February 12, 1945

How wrong it is to ask others to be clean when we ourselves remain unclean!

February 13, 1945

The only difference between man and man all the world over is one of degree, and not of kind, even as there is between trees of the same species. Why then anger, envy or discrimination?

February 14, 1945

Let a man not make a good resolution at all; but if he makes one after due deliberation, let him never abandon it.

February 15, 1945

Man's capacity for self-deception is immeasurably greater than that for deceiving others. Every sensible person will testify to this.

February 16, 1945

Credit lies in restraining one's anger against one's own kith and kin. In the case of strangers, one is compelled to keep one's temper under control. What merit can there be in that?

February 17, 1945

Life means not revelry—eating, drinking and making merry but praising God, i. e., rendering true service to humanity.

February 18, 1945

What distinguishes man from animals ? Comprehensive thinking on this question will solve a lot of our problems.

February 19, 1945

When man oversteps his limits, works or even thinks beyond his capacity, he is likely to be assailed by illness and anger. Such haste is waste and can be harmful too.

February 20, 1945

In this morning's *bhajan* it was said : "God never forgets us; it is we who forget Him. And that is our misery."

February 21, 1945

When God does not wish it, neither wealth nor parents, nor the best of physicians, will save us. What, then, should we do?

February 22, 1945

Have we any right to pray so long as we have not purged ourselves of our impurities?

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February 23, 1945

A man may use a rosary because it is blessed by a saint or made of sacred *tulsi*[1], sandalwood or *rudraksha* beads. But if the user looks upon the rosary as all, he had better throw it away. If, however, the rosary draws him nearer to God and makes him alive to the performance of his duties, he may certainly use it regularly.

February 24, 1945

We exist, because God is. This shows that man, or any living being, is part of the Divine.

February 25, 1945

There is a sentence in the New Testament : Let there be no care in thy heart, nor fear of aught.[2] This is for those who have faith in God.

February 26, 1945

The same New Testament tells us that if God leads us into temptation, He also delivers us from evil.[3] This is applicable only to those who do not, of their own accord, succumb to temptation.

February 27, 1945

It is not as if Tulsidas was the only one who had sung the glory of the Lord's name. I find the same in the Bible as well. In *Romans*, X. 13, it is said: "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."

February 28, 1945

Sin stays not hid. It is writ large on the face of man. We do not fully know that book but the thing is plain.

March 1, 1945

These days I have been reading verses from the Bible. To-day I find the following : "And all things, whatever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."[4]

March 2, 1945

"God is the Help of the helpless." The same idea is also expressed in *Psalms*, XXXIV. 18, which says : "The Lord is nigh

[1] Basil
[2] *Philippians*, iv. 6
[3] *St. Matthew*, vi. 13
[4] ibid. xxi. 22

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unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit."

March 3, 1945

Isaiah, XLI. 10 has : "Fear thou not; for I am with thee."

March 4, 1945

"Trust ye in the Lord for ever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength." Isaiah, XXVI. 4.

March 5, 1945

Just as it is in the nature of water to flow downward, so also does vice drag man downward and is, therefore, undoubtedly the easy way. Virtue takes a man upward and so appears to be rather difficult.

March 6, 1945

"My grace is sufficient for thee : for my strength is made perfect in weakness." II *Corinthians*, XII. 9.

March 7, 1945

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." *Psalms*, XLVI. 1.

March 8, 1945

God's word is : "I am, was and ever shall be, I am everywhere and in everything." Knowing this, we turn away from God, seek refuge in that which is perishable and imperfect, and thus make ourselves miserable. Can there be anything more amazing ?

March 9, 1945

We must not draw distinctions between the East and the West. Everything must be judged on its merits. Thus alone can we do proper justice to things.

March 10, 1945

Why is there good and evil, happiness and misery? God is and yet He is not an individual. He is the Law as well as the Law-giver. Therefore it follows that man is what his actions make of him. He rises by good actions, and falls by evil ones.

March 11, 1945

True service of society is that whereby society, that is, all its members, are uplifted. Only by studying a particular society will it be possible to say how it can be raised.

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March 12, 1945

Man knows very well that when death is near, there is no solace but God, yet hesitates to utter His name! Why?

March 13, 1945

There is only one way of achieving independence through non-violence : by dying we live, by killing never.

March 14, 1945

How shall we die? By committing suicide? Never. To hold ourselves in readiness to die, when there is occasion for it, is to die only to live for ever.

March 15, 1945

There is nothing that cannot be attained by patience and equanimity. The truth of this can be verified in one's daily experience.

March 16, 1945

Between destiny and human endeavour there is an incessant struggle. Let us continue to endeavour and leave the result to God.

March 17, 1945

Let us not leave everything to destiny, nor be vain about our endeavour. Destiny will take its own course. We should only see where we can intervene or where it is our duty to do so, whatever be the result.

March 18, 1945

The pity is that even while knowing what our duty is, we fail to perform it! For this, let every man answer to himself.

March 19, 1945

Every moment of my life I realize that silence is the best speech. If you must speak, speak as little as possible. Avoid using two words if one suffices.

March 20, 1945

When little things upset us, let us understand that there is attachment lurking somewhere. We should find it and banish it. It is a delusion to think that we remain upright in big things, for there we are under compulsion. Surely, that cannot pass for uprightness.

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March 21, 1945

On such occasions the verse to remember is : "Contacts of the senses with their objects come and go. Endure them . . .[1]

March 22, 1945

Whatever one does, one must do well or not at all. The truth of this one observes every day. Today it was especially borne in upon me. It was Ba's death anniversary, and so there was the usual *Gita* recitation. But there was no life in it.

March 23, 1945

A wrong ceases to be a wrong only when it is righted. If suppressed, it erupts like a boil and assumes a dangerous form.

March 24, 1945

Man rises by realizing the true nature of the Self, by meditating thereon and by following its virtues. A contrary course of action leads to his downfall.

March 25, 1945

What is patience? Shankaracharya says : "Sit by the seashore and take one drop of water on a blade of grass. If you have enough patience, and there is a place near by wherein that drop can be stored, you may in time empty the ocean of all its water." This is an illustration of almost perfect patience.

March 26, 1945

He who has not in him infinite patience cannot observe non-violence.

March 27, 1945

What is the difference between a snake and a human being ? Apparently a snake crawls on its belly, while man walks erect on his feet. Things are, however, not what they seem to be. For what about the man who mentally crawls on his belly?

March 28, 1945

Every day I see the importance of silence. It is good for all, but for him who is deeply absorbed in work, silence is indeed golden.

March 29, 1945

"The hasty are ruffled; the slow and steady have composure." One sees the truth of this every moment.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 14

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March 30, 1945

How dangerous it is to fall out of routine? Since coming to Bombay, I have failed to write daily. (Written on 3-4-1945.)

March 31, 1945

Nothing can work without rules. The entire solar system would go to pieces if there were even a momentary breach of the rules governing it. (Written on 3-4-1945.)

April 1, 1945

This lesson is for all alike, big and small. We must learn it and act accordingly, or else die a living death.

(Written on 3-4-1945.)

April 2, 1945

It is sinful to multiply wants unnecessarily.

(Written on 3-4-1945.)

April 3, 1945

Hartal (general strike) is being observed today for saving the lives of those who have been condemned to the gallows. If the day's programme is carried out with understanding, we shall have taken a big stride forward on the path of non-violence.

April 4, 1945

Man knows what his duty is, yet does not do what he knows he ought to. Why is that so?

April 5, 1945

We shall be undone if we succumb to the psychological environment around us. The situation regarding the Chimur prisoners keeps changing from day to day. Let us do our duty and remain detached.

April 6, 1945

What a high degree of non-violence is needed to bear patiently with a person who is bent on misunderstanding even the simplest thing!

April 7, 1945

I strive hard to preserve my physical body. Do I take the same pains to know my soul?

April 8, 1945

When there is misunderstanding I become angry, I weep, I laugh, I feel pity. But instead of this, is it not my duty to keep calm and try to remove the misunderstanding.

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April 9, 1945

What shall we believe? Praise of us or censure of us? Both may be undeserved. Then, shall we be our own judges? Here too there is room enough for error. God alone knows what we are, but He does not tell us. It is, therefore, best neither to seek to know nor believe anything about ourselves. We are what we are. Nothing is to be gained by knowing or believing what we are. Performance of duty is the only thing that really matters.

April 10, 1945

Blind is not he who has lost his eyes, but he who hides his shortcomings.

April 11, 1945

Man's serenity of mind can be tested only in the world of men, not on the solitary heights of the Himalayas.

April 12, 1945

An ideal is one thing; living up to it is quite another.
(Written on 15-4-1945.)

April 13, 1945

A man without an ideal is like a ship without a rudder.
(Written on 15-4-1945.)

April 14, 1945

I may be said to have an ideal only when I put forth an effort to realize it. (Written on 15-4-1945.)

April 15, 1945

We may rest content with trying, provided we make the right effort and to the best of our ability. The result does not depend on the effort alone. There are other factors over which we have no control.

April 16, 1945

What shall be called the right effort? One test is that very often it yields the desired result. So the rightness is judged by the result. But experience shows that this is not always the case. Right effort is that in which there is deep conviction about the correctness of the means employed, so much so that, even in the face of contrary results, the means do not change, nor does the effort vary or slacken.

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April 17, 1945

What shall be called "the best of our ability"? That effort in which we spend all our energy without stint. Success generally attends such pure effort.

April 18, 1945

Man reaches decisions on the strength of insignificant evidence and shapes his course of action accordingly. Where such is the case, it is better not to reach a decision as far as possible and to be indifferent as regards the results. But should it become a duty to take a decision, it should be taken with the greatest possible care and should be fearlessly implemented.

April 19, 1945

An important matter loses importance if irrelevant. A relevant thing, though small, is of the highest importance.

April 20, 1945

Man's avarice reaches up to the highest heavens and down to the lowest regions of the earth. Hence, it should be controlled.

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 21, 1945

Man's joy knows no bounds when he obtains something beyond his hopes.

April 22, 1945

There is surely something wrong with a person who is supposed to be highly spiritual and yet is always physically ailing.

April 23, 1945

If we think how enormous is the amount of work we have to do, we shall panic and accomplish nothing. Whereas, if we coolly get to grips with it, we shall find that even a mountain of work becomes easier day by day and is ultimately completed.

April 24, 1945

We do not wish to see our own faults, but take delight in perceiving the faults of others. Much unhappiness arises from this habit.

A Thought for the Day, pp. 43-156

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GUIDELINES FOR PROPOSED INTERIM GOVERNMENT[1]

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* pp. 10-1.

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APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM P. C. JOSHI[1]

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

[1] *Vide* p. 95.

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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

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU[1]

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* pp. 106-7.

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GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM.

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CHRONOLOGY

(*January 1—April 24, 1945*)

January 5: Gandhiji met Bhulabhai Desai.

January 11: Attended Hindustani Talimi Sangh Conference. His speech was read out.

January 17: Gandhiji gave interviews to Prahlad Mehta and T. V. Kunhi Krishnan.

January 23: Met Profulla Chandra Ghosh. Sent message for Independence Day celebrations in London.

January 26: In speech at prayer meeting, condemned police interference with village-cleaning programme of workers that morning in front of Ashram and praised workers' dignified and firm attitude.

January 31: Had discussion with Anugraha Narayan Singh.

February 10: Kasturba's death anniversary, according to Indian calendar, celebrated. Gandhiji participated in spinning *yajna*. Samagra Gramseva Shibir concluded. Gandhiji addressed volunteers. Advised T. N. Jagadisan of Madras and M. R. G. Cochrane of Vellore regarding leprosy relief work. Met Gopinath Bardoloi.

February 12: Gave interview to Govind Sahay.

February 15: Addressed secretaries of Provincial Committees of Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund.

February 17: In statement to Press condemned Government's action in arresting Congressmen in Bihar and rearresting of Purushottamdas Tandon and appealed to Government to stop practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners.

February 18: Wrote foreword to *Amaran Ba*.

February 19: Gave interview to deputation from N. W. F. P.

February 22: Kasturba's death anniversary, according to Gregorian calendar.

February 23: Gandhiji spoke at prayer meeting.

February 26: Answered T. B. Sapru's questionnaire regarding former's talks and correspondence with M. A. Jinnah. Presided at Hindustani Prachar Sabha conference.

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February 27: Spoke at Hindustani Prachar Sabha conference.

March 3: Met C. Rajagopalachari.

March 5: Gave interview to Orient Press.

March 7: Wrote forewords to *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-1944*, and *Ahar ane Poshan*.

March 9: Gave interview to Andhra deputation.

March 11: Issued statement to Press on ban imposed on Congress workers' conference in Akola.

March 17: Announced Vinoba Bhave and Kishorelal Mashruwala as his successors in Ashram.

March 20: Commenting on L. S. Amery's statement in interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* declared that 'all talk of resolution of the present deadlock' was useless as long as members of Working Committee were under detention.

March 24: Spoke at A. I. S. A. meeting.

March 25: Hermann Kallenbach died in Johannesburg. Through Press Gandhiji paid tribute to Hermann Kallenbach.
Spoke at A. I. S. A. meeting.

March 28: Presided at A. I. V. I. A. meeting.

March 31: Reached Bombay. Issued statement to Press on National Week. In statement to Press on rejection of Ashti and Chimur prisoners' petition said that impending hangings could be prevented if there was united voice of India against them. Called on ailing Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

April 2: Issued appeal to observe hartal on April 3, for Chimur and Ashti prisoners.

April 4: Attended meeting of the Kasturba Memorial Trust.

April 6: Spoke at prayer meeting.

April 8: Gave interview to B. E. S. T. Workers' Deputation.

April 10: Gave interview to *The Times of India*.

April 11: Spoke at the Borivli Camp. Addressed prayer meeting at Borivli.

April 12: Attended meeting of Kasturba Memorial Trust.

April 14: Visited Kasturba Memorial Trust Office.
Met Manilal who had come from South Africa.

April 15: Addressed prayer meeting.

April 16: Sent condolence message on the death of President Roosevelt.

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April 17: Issued statement to Press on San Francisco Conference.

April 18: Sent message to Indians in South Africa.

April 19: Spoke at prayer meeting.

April 20: Arrived in Poona.

April 21: Arrived at Mahabaleshwar. Spoke at prayer meeting.

April 22: In telegram to A. P. I., denied having written to Bhulabhai Desai as alleged by the *Morning Standard*.

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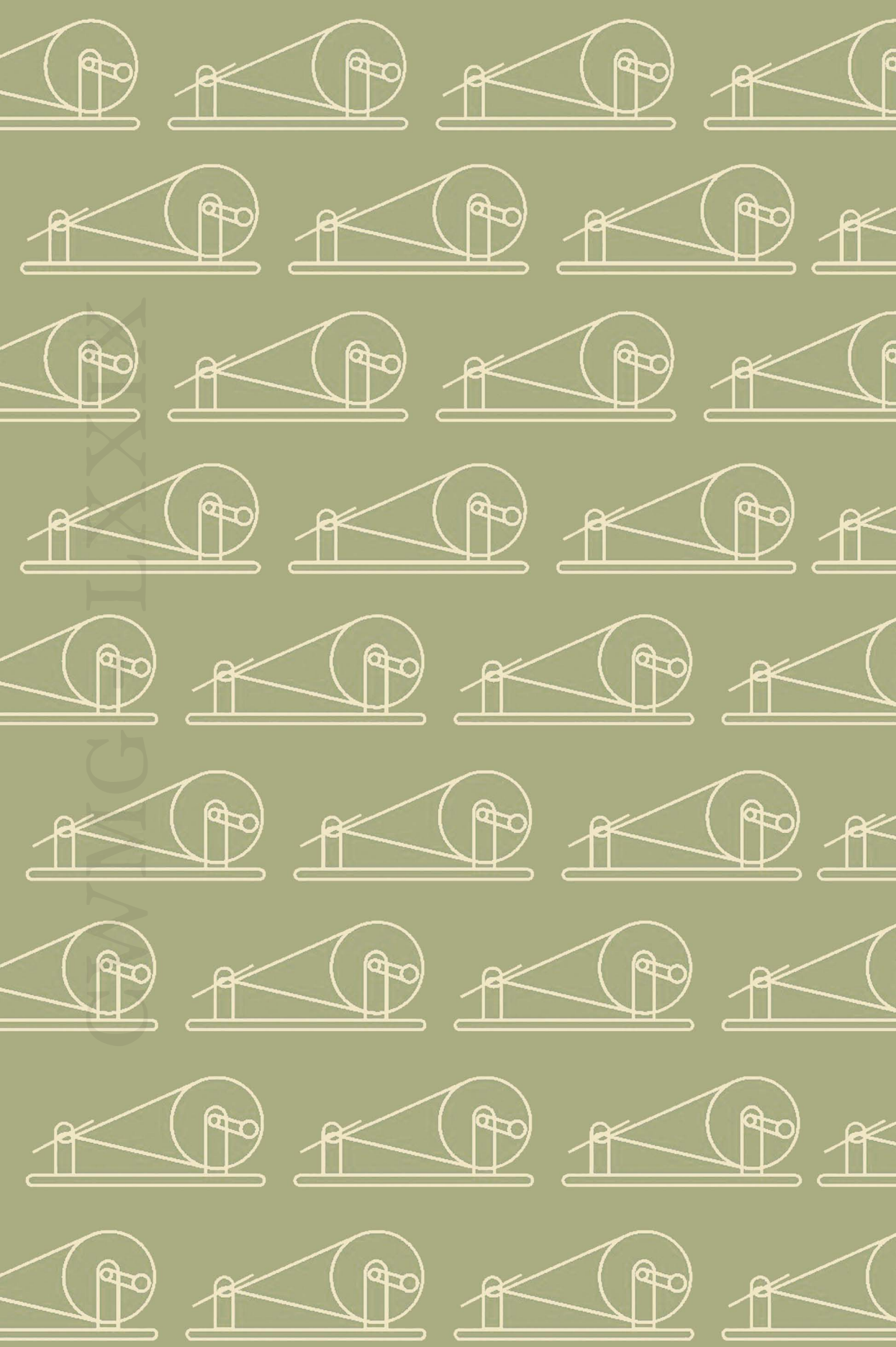
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* Due correction made.

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