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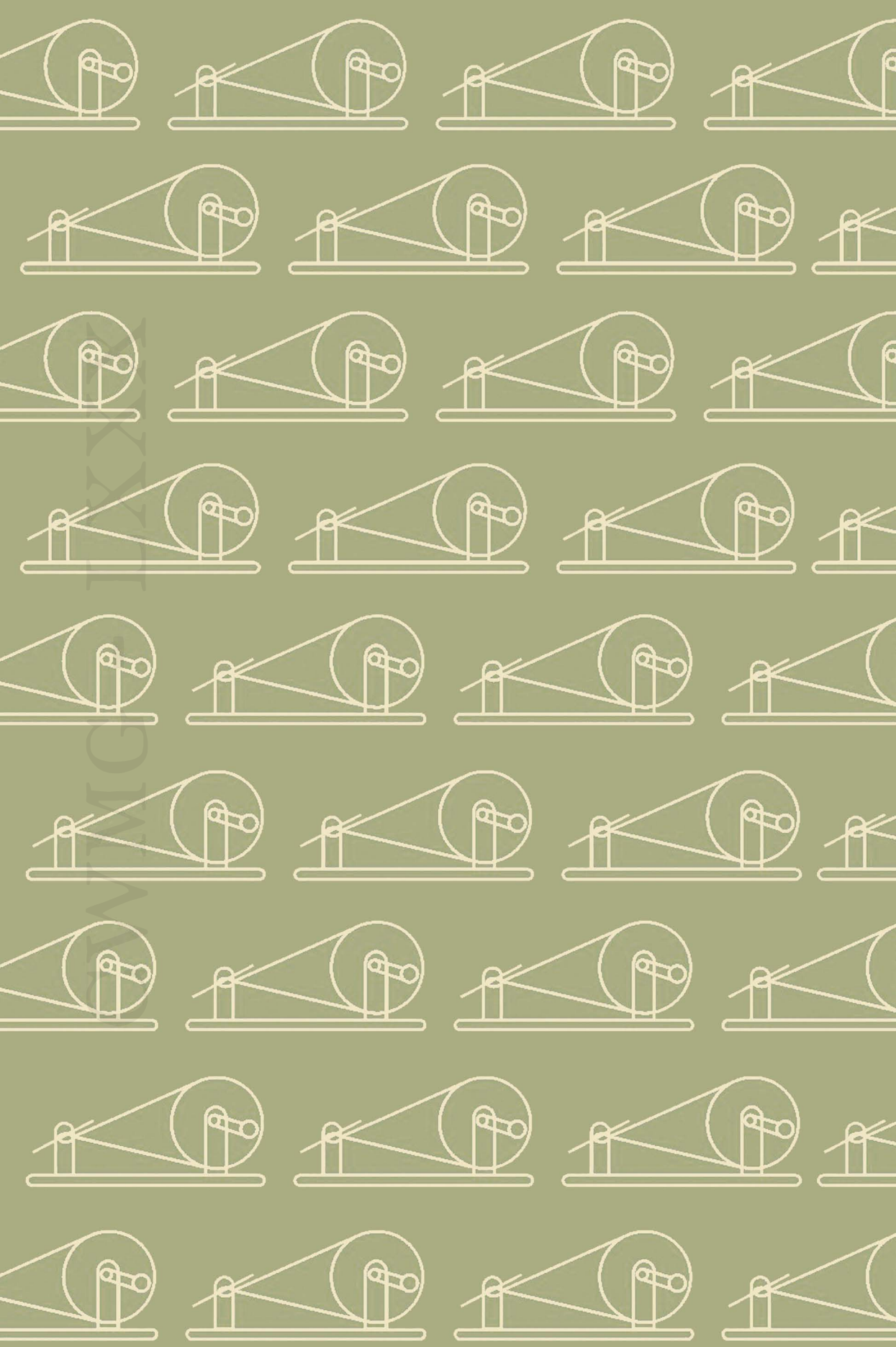
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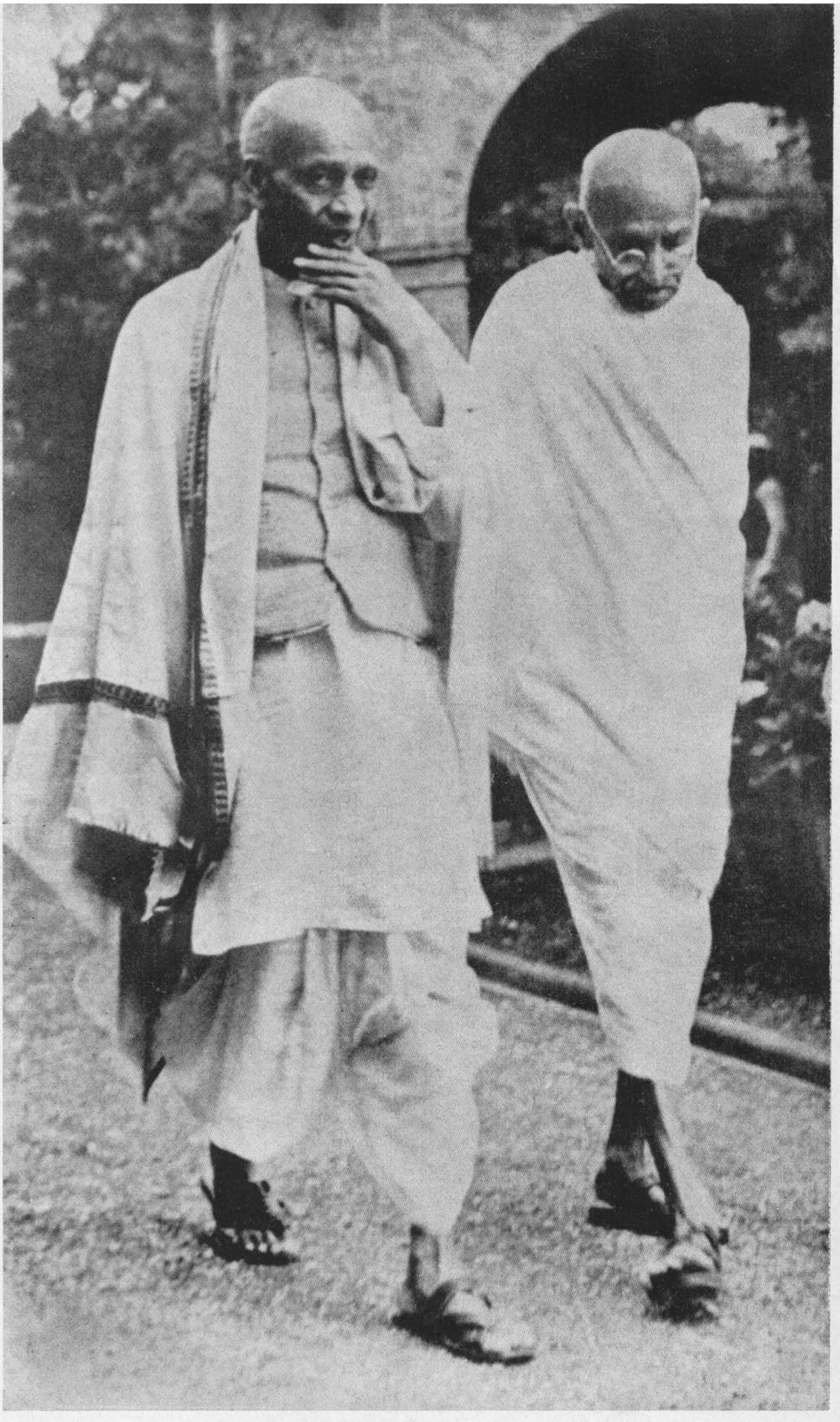
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXX

(April 25 – July 16, 1945)

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IN SIMLA WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

During the period covered by this volume (April 25–July 16, 1945) the political impasse that had persisted following the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in September 1944 was at last broken and Gandhiji was drawn once again into the vortex of constitutional negotiations. On June 14 the Viceroy announced in a radio broadcast the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee and the summoning at Simla of a conference of Indian leaders to take counsel with him "with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organized political opinion". The new government, if formed, he made it clear, would work under the existing Constitution (p. 441).

The Viceroy's initiative marked the culmination of his dogged efforts, over the past several months, to persuade the die-hard leadership in London to mend its fences with nationalist India. The Cabinet made the concession also because the Conservatives did not wish to let go the political advantage they might derive from a generous-seeming gesture to progressive British opinion on the eve of the general elections scheduled for the following July.

When the Viceroy sent his letter of invitation, Gandhiji was at Panchgani, recuperating after the physical exhaustion he had suffered in November the preceding year. Gandhiji was not too happy with the Viceregal announcement. It did not go very far. He however recognized that "it was a step towards independence" (p. 383).

What he objected to most vehemently was the principle of "parity between caste Hindus and Muslims". In the first place, "there were no caste and casteless Hindus" and the Viceroy's proposal touched "the political mind of Hindus in its sensitive spot" (pp. 329 and 332). Moreover, the formula worked out, with Gandhiji's approval, between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaqat Ali, had spoken of parity between the Congress and the Muslim League (p. 406) and the shift to communal parity would have the effect of reducing the Congress to the status of a communal organization representing only "caste Hindus".

Gandhiji was clear in his mind that India's problems could not be solved by any balancing of communal claims. To create an atmosphere of trust and harmony and work for the welfare of the masses, the Congress had to preserve its secular character. If it identified itself in any manner with the Hindus as a community

the independence so gained, Gandhiji told the Viceroy, would be "one-sided, untrue and suicidal" and he therefore wanted the Congress to "remain for ever free to choose best men and women from all classes . . ." (p. 345). Communal parity, he explained to G. B. Pant, would spread the communal poison throughout the country and they would then never be able to win freedom. He would prefer the Congress being reduced to a minority in the proposed interim government to its becoming "a communal organization by selecting as many Hindus as there are Muslims" (p. 382). The Viceroy explained that there was no such intention and that the Congress would be free to include non-Hindus among its nominees for the Council.

Gandhiji further made it known that he was not a member of the Congress and that the organization could only be represented by its president. Wavell however insisted that Gandhiji should make himself available for consultations even if he could not be a delegate. Gandhiji accordingly made the journey to Simla. He was greeted, at railway stations on the way, by crowds "delirious and deaf with love or joy" (p. 367). He could get no sleep, but even so refused to avail himself of the air-conditioned coach provided for the leaders, preferring to "melt . . . in this natural heat" and so feel "a touch of real India" (p. 363).

The Conference began on June 25 on a hopeful note with the Viceroy acting as "leader" of the delegates and not as an agent of Whitehall (p. 390). The Viceroy invited the party leaders to submit to him lists of their nominees for the Council, out of which he would make his own selection and then again place it before the Conference for its consideration. The Congress gave its list, as did some other delegation leaders, but Jinnah refused to comply. He asked for assurances that : (a) all the Muslims to be appointed to the Council would be the nominees of the League, and (b) any measure to which Muslims objected would be carried only by a clear two-thirds majority of the Council. The Viceroy refused to concede either demand and, when the Conference reassembled on July 14, announced its failure, taking the blame upon himself.

Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy : "This time you have taken the blame on your own shoulders. But the world will think otherwise. India certainly does." At the same time Gandhiji could not hide "the suspicion that the deeper cause is perhaps the reluctance of the official world to part with power . . . " (p. 426).

Gandhiji had all along been advocating the adoption of Hindustani as the country's common language, since this mixture

of Hindi and Urdu was understood and spoken by the common people of North India. When he felt that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan did not share his approach he wished to resign from it (pp. 23, 46, 181 and 317-8). He urged the Muslims also to adopt a similar secular attitude in regard to the struggle of Syria and Lebanon for independence and advised them to make it "a national issue" and "speak as Indians". India divided against itself could "have no effect on the council of the nations of the world" (pp. 250-1).

Though Gandhiji was an orthodox Hindu in his spiritual outlook, his interpretation of the system of varnas had always been critical and dynamic, as is so clearly evidenced by his life-long crusade against untouchability. His views on varna divisions remained in constant evolution. In a foreword to a collection of his earlier writings on the subject he advised the reader "to discard anything" (p. 224) in his past writings which might appear incompatible with his latest views. A man "daily moves either forward or backward." His views had changed and might change in future; one should not even wish that one's views should not change. His vision of truth and ahimsa was, he believed, "becoming clearer every day" (p. 222).

This change was marked particularly in his attitude to intercaste marriage, more especially marriages between *savarna* Hindus and untouchables. Such marriages he now advocated with an insistence not shown before. He told a correspondent that he did not "at all approve of marriages within the same caste" and that he attached "the highest importance to marriages between Ati-Sudras and caste Hindus" (p. 77). He gave it as his "latest thinking" that "there should be no difficulty even about marriages between persons of different religions. . . . The offspring may choose either religion" (p. 78). He even went so far as to refuse to bless marriages unless they were intercaste (p. 99).

With the British political authority in India inexorably weakening, and with the Indian capitalists suddenly finding themselves flush with capital accumulated from war contracts, it became necessary for the British industrial circles to work out a new *modus vivendi* with their Indian counterparts for their joint future operations. Ardeshir Dalal and others worked out an industrial plan and a deputation of Indian capitalists embarked on a visit to England and America to make contacts with the industrialists there. Gandhiji felt unhappy over the move and its timing. "Big merchants, capitalists, industrialists and others,"

he said in a sharply worded Press statement, "speak and write against the Government, but in action do its will and even profit . . ." He urged them to "forgo the crumbs that fall to them from partnership with the British in the loot which British rule takes from India". The statement concluded with the stern warning : "The so-called unofficial deputation . . . dare not proceed, whether for inspection or for entering into a shameful deal, so long as the moving spirits of the Working Committee are being detained without any trial . . ." (p. 80). On G. D. Birla protesting that the deputation had no such intention as Gandhiji had assumed of harming India's interests, he offered them his "blessings and prayer in terms of famishing and naked India" (p. 94). The blessings were conditional and calculated to haunt them "like a ghost".

Even though for most of the time covered by the volume Gandhiji was "resting", his correspondence was so heavy that it hardly allowed him to "lift up" his "head from work" (p. 234). Among the things that claimed his attention was the management of the Ashram at Sevagram. With the kind of human material that made up the Ashram this had at no time been an easy task. There were differences of opinion (p. 5), differences of temperament (pp. 2, 17), so many interpersonal tensions and such sudden abdications of responsibility that Gandhiji could only hope that "the management of the Ashram will not completely break up" (p. 194). On one occasion he was driven to feel that perhaps "we should close the Ashram and everyone should settle down in different departments" (p. 43).

Gandhiji visualized the Ashram as a place where he could educate people in "institution ethics" (p. 105), learning and practising the art of collective living by effacing oneself completely in dedicated service (p. 263). For ensuring harmony he advised Manibehn Patel to regard one's own faults as "mountains" and other people's faults as "molehills" (p. 22). "One becomes oneself," he wrote to another Ashram worker, "only if one ceases to be oneself" (p. 11). This represented for him the spirit of *Ramarajya*, "the reign of the self-imposed law of moral restraint" (p. 300). Such moral democracy required the practice of non-attachment by the leaders and recognition of possible truth in points of view other than one's own. " . . . I do not wish to make everybody like me," he wrote, ". . . everybody should be true to himself" (p. 306). Adverting to his views on railways, etc., in *Hind Swaraj*, he recommended "a free and easy attitude in such matters" so that one could live with

all types of people. Non-attachment was the only proper dharma (p. 325).

Non-attachment, however, did not mean absence of feeling. "He who identifies himself with every living creature must feel every kind of woe and yet remain unaffected by it" (p. 300). How far Gandhiji had attained to such a state of inwardness and detachment may be seen from his account of an experience of the Himalayas while in Simla. As he looked at the snowy peaks, his mind was "filled with supreme peace". The spectacle made him think of Siva's Kailas. Soon, however, awakening from this what one may call aesthetic arrest he declared, "My Kailas, however, is Sevagram. The life-giving waters of my Ganga flow from there" (p. 397).

Gandhiji's ability to live with all kinds of people is illustrated by his attitude to the Communists, who had, during the War, supported the British and opposed the Quit India movement. Though the Party's Secretary, P. C. Joshi, had not responded in the right spirit to Gandhiji's letter (*vide* Vol. LXXVII and LXXVIII), Gandhiji wrote to a member of the party : "I dare not condemn you, Batliwala, Joshi or Habib of Lucknow .... I do not want to pass judgment against a political party" (p. 175), and "I have no difficulty in working side by side with Communists" (p. 238).

When Firoz Khan Noon, who had been sent by the British to represent India at the United Nations Conference in San Fransisco, issued a poisonous statement charging Gandhiji with pro-Japanese sympathies and suggesting that he should retire in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji pointed out that the British themselves had quietly withdrawn the charge and as for his retiring in favour of Nehru, "He and I are friends. But we are no rivals. We are both servants of the people and the platform of service is as big as the world. It is never overcrowded" (p. 65).

Gandhiji retained to the last the happy human contacts of his South African days. A letter from Sonja Schlesin revived in him pleasant memories and he wrote back : "I am glad about Mrs. Naidoo. What is she doing? What about his children? Could you send me a photo of the family with Thambi in it?" (p. 125).

A book of Satis Chandra Das Gupta provided occasion to Gandhiji to stress the organic methods of tillage. In a foreword to *Cow in India* he wrote : "He proves the superiority of cattle over the engine for ploughing the fields of India. He establishes the inevitable connection and interdependence between the

cattle and other animal life, the earth and man'' (p. 149). Centralized large-scale production, even when State-controlled, was bound to ''multiply the people's wants'' and destroy ''the will to work''. For that reason he doubted that ''Russia will produce something unique''. But if it did, and ''intellectual and personal freedom is at the same time secured . . . I will have to revise my present concept of ahimsa'' (pp. 152-3).

Of interest too is a discussion Gandhiji had with Rajagopalachari, who persistently advocated concessions being given to the Muslim League in order to hasten a political settlement. ''You want,'' Gandhiji told him, ''. . . power at any price. I have put a limit to the price to be paid. . . . I can afford to wait till it comes at my price, for I am making progress however slight it may be'' (p. 110).

The volume has its quota of ''memorable sayings''. Thus answering a request for a message for the Negro people of America, Gandhiji says : ''My life is its own message'' (p. 209). And to a correspondent : ''We should seek solitude among the multitudes—inaction in activity—but such activity should be without desire for fruits'' (p. 214).

Writing to Narayan Desai on learning through teaching in Nayee Talim and the significance of spinning, he said, ''Knowledge has infinite forms, but only he who knows that at the bottom all knowledge is one really knows'' (p. 146). The same idea he repeated in another letter : ''The study of one science makes the study of another science easier'' (p. 160).

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NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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the following newspapers and journals: *Bhavnagar Samachar*; *The Bombay Chronicle*; *Gramodyog Patrika*; *The Hindu*; *The Hindustan Times*; *The Hitavada*; *The Illustrated Weekly of India* and *Swarajya.*

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1. TELEGRAM TO N. G. RANGA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

PROF. RANGA[1]
PONNUR

YOUR WORK BEST MESSAGE.[2]

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

2. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

EXPECT YOU HERE. SYMPATHY CHIMANDAS. LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

3. TELEGRAM TO SINANA KRIPALANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

SINANA KRIPALANI
CARE INDIA CLUB
PORT OF SPAIN
(TRINIDAD, WEST INDIES)

HOPE DOMICILED INDIANS PROVE WORTHY OF MOTHERLAND.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] An economist; President, All-India Kisan Sabha and Andhra Provincial Congress Committee; Member, Congress Parliamentary Party at the Centre; Founder-President, Swatantra Party

[2] The addressee had asked for a message on the occasion of inauguration of training for rural work in peasants' institute which was opened by Gandhiji in 1933.

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4. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your postcard of the 14th only today. I think Ramprasad must have left by now.[1] You need not, therefore, go. Take charge of the kitchen yourself. Put up cheerfully with everybody's temperament. In that lies your victory. Servants are not servants but our brothers and sisters. It is a virtue, not a sin, to run the kitchen with their help. But one should know how to do that. The servants should be treated as one's brothers and sisters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8457. Also C.W. 5574. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

5. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I felt sad after reading your letter. I am returning it to you. Remind me about it when I return there. I cannot do anything by writing. You are weak, but if you have gained sufficient strength, write to Shri Ramprasad. See what reply he gives. Improve your health. I am writing to Munnalal. If he cannot have peace of mind there, let him come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10626

[1] To help Mirabehn; *vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 7-5-1945.

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6. LETTER TO AKBAR CHAWDA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. AKBAR,

I got your letter.

I entirely agree with you about liquor. Your job there is a difficult one, but you have undertaken it knowingly. How can you give it up now, especially when you are confronted with obstacles ?

I intend to stay here up to the end of May and after that one month in Panchgani. Whether or not I will be able to do so, rests with God. I feel better.

I should be happy if Vasumati[1] stayed on there. It will be good if she settles down somewhere.

What Badshah Khan[2] says is partially true. You went to Samau of your own accord, though it is true that I approved of your decision.

I would also approve of your going to the Frontier Province—probably, even more—but only on condition that you desired to go there. Now I would not even induce you. You yourself, therefore, should write to Badshah Khan and tell him that you would be betraying your dharma, if you were to leave Samau. If you had not settled down to work there, you would have gone to the Frontier Province. If you could train somebody for the Samau work, I should certainly like you to go to the Frontier Province. Just now, as you know, I am trying to persuade Zohra[3] to join you.

Write another letter to Badshah Khan. One to Vasumati and one to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3237

[1] Vasumati Pandit
[2] Abdul Ghaffar Khan
[3] Addressee's wife

7. LETTER TO SITARAM P. PATWARDHAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

BHAI APPA,

It is good you have sent an account of the satyagraha. Harijan brethren seem to have displayed considerable forbearance and courage. I see the conditions were favourable. That the people's support too was forthcoming is a good sign. Much remains to be done to make this success an enduring one. In order to retain public support Harijan men and women will have to go a long way in purity and cleanliness. It is not right to argue that others are not pure and clean. Harijan brethren have to go against the current and should therefore develop the necessary strength.

Make use of this in whatever way you like, so that I need not write again.

Blessings from
BAPU

SADHAKASHRAM
KANKAVALI P. O.
RATNAGIRI DISTRICT

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

8. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. You place reliance on me which, at the present moment, is not right. One does not even know whether or not I shall recover. I hope to live for 125 years but there are many obstacles in the way. Even supposing I survived, it seems to me I shall only be an adviser. It is true that if the Congress comes into power, I will suggest changes in the field of education. However, your duty is clear. Your work is to persuade your colleagues and go ahead. That is why I sent

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Narahari's[1] letter to you. You will have to be cautious, if he holds a different view. The essence of democracy is that one must move taking along one's colleagues. My help will be limited to using my influence. I can render that help only if I am in Ahmedabad and listen to all the discussions. Sitting here I can only write letters such as this.

Do you realize my limitations? Keep on writing to me as long as you do not.

Blessings from
BAPU

MAGANBHAI DESAI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD

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

9. *LETTER TO SAROJINI*

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

SISTER SAROJINI[2],

I have your letter. I advise you to do what Chimanlalji says. It will not be proper for me to say anything from here. Keep fit, keep calm and mix with others as sugar mixes with milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

10. *LETTER TO DEV*

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. DEV,

It is good that you wrote the essay for Aryanayakamji.

You must have received my previous letter.

The couple[3] want to send you to Punjab. Go, if you have confidence, but on condition that you will go there only for a

[1] Narahari D. Parikh's

[2] She had come from Orissa to stay for a few months in the Sevagram Ashram.

[3] E. W. Aryanayakam, Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and Ashadevi Aryanayakam

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short time and all the expenses will be borne by Punjab. I am of the opinion that it will not be proper for you to go, if the central office has to bear the expenses.

You may show this letter to Aryanayakamji and Ashadevi.

You must keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

11. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI[1],

Why do you say that I did not write to you? I have written to you not one but two letters. I do not do so always.

Your handwriting is very good. Never mind if the letters are large.

You are trying to keep Father happy. You are sending for the children. Now calm down. Do your work. The children should be arriving any day.

Balvantsinha will bring them.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

12. LETTER TO VAMANRAO JOSHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

BHAI VAMANRAO JOSHI,

I have your very neat and cheerful letter. I am very happy that you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Balvantsinha's niece

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[PS.]

For the time being I am here.

VIR VAMANRAO JOSHI
AMRAOTI, BERAI

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

13. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 25, 1945

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I was very happy to receive your letter. You are right. You yourself say in your letter that I cannot remove you from the position of a trustee[1]. You know our duty, don't you? Whatever we may have to say about anyone, we should let them know first. Hence even if you yourself do not say anything to Mridulabehn[2], you should let me show your letter to her. That will make your work and mine easier. Most of your grievances have been redressed. The rest, too, will be set right.

You are right that we should not act in haste.

You believe in Homoeopathy and have also found a good doctor. Why do you still continue to be unwell?

Give my regards to Mother[3]. Is she well?

Blessings to you and Saroj[4] *from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : S.N. 9678

[1] Of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

[2] Mridula Sarabhai, Organizing Secretary of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust; *vide* p. 32.

[3] Amina Tyabji

[4] Saroj Nanavati

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14. A NOTE

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

Write to the non-spinners that they must spin at least as much as one anna in a rupee. Only those who wear khadi to oblige others may not do so. One should wear khadi realizing that it is one's dharma to do so.

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

15. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DEAR DR. ICE[2],

I have your letter. Please let me know how much food and distilled water . . . would cost per leper. Why not remove the cases to be treated to Dattapur? That would be the least costly. And you and I would know what success would attend your effort. Whatever you do should be done with the Manager's consent and approval. Shastriji[3] himself will perhaps be the most willing patient if you will experiment upon him.

As to Balkrishna[4], Dr. Sushila[5] says, his heart is not weak and he has no T. B. now. All he needs is proper digestion and good food. The latter he has. He has gained much weight through the vaid's treatment. Nevertheless you may talk to him and he can write to me what he would like to do.[6] What about Chimanlal himself ?

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The note is written on an envelope bearing the postmark "April 25, 1945".

[2] Gandhiji gave this name on account of the addressee's faith in ice treatment; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 360.

[3] Parachure Shastri, a leprosy patient. He came to Ashram in 1939 and stayed there till his death on September 5, 1945.

[4] Balkrishna Bhave

[5] Dr. Sushila Nayyar

[6] *Vide* also p. 9.

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16. LETTER TO V. I. MUNISWAMY PILLAY

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DEAR MUNISWAMY,

Your letter reached me too late to overtake the wedding date. May the couple have a long and happy life of service to the motherland.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. I. MUNISWAMY PILLAY
SATH VILAS
OOTY
SOUTH INDIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

17. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

Now you have gone to Rustom Bhavan. How do you keep there? Dr. Kelkar writes to ask whether he may treat you? Do you want to be treated by him? If you do, you have to give up Chandiprasad's treatment. I would like you to decide about Dr. Kelkar's treatment.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 8.

18. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

BAPA[1],

I hope you have returned after successfully accomplishing the work among the Bhils, and with eyes and body uninjured. Write, if there is anything worth reporting. I am enclosing Swami's[2] latest letter to me. I wanted to talk to you about his demands but somehow always it got left out. It seems I shall have to write something for him. But how can I do so without informing you?

The quarrel was a domestic one, the public did not come into it. Personally you had nothing against Swami or his work; then why could not you say that his work was irreproachable or some such thing? I would say that.

BAPU

AMRITLAL THAKKAR
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
BOMBAY 4

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

19. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your three letters together. I have observed that when you write so many letters at once, you are agitated. It is so this time, too. Why is that? You are agitated when I am in the Ashram and also when I am not. Maybe, the nature of your agitation is different in the two cases, but the effect on your health is the same. This shows that your unhappiness springs from within, and that its supposed external causes are

[1] Amritlal V. Thakkar, Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

[2] Swami Anand

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nothing but imagination. How can it be that your old co-workers themselves harass you? The harassment is imagined. Differences of opinion do not constitute harassment. What is the use of my ordering you? After all it is with your co-workers that you have to work and you must, therefore, work in harmony with them. This is what is meant by public opinion, "democracy". Work of this nature can be done only by accepting the majority opinion or the decision of the person who has been selected as the leader. Why should one feel unhappy about this, or think that one's self-respect is being offended? This is the only way of serving other people—not in the manner we like, but in the manner that they desire. Only if you do this cheerfully you will gain wisdom, rise higher and do the utmost possible service. My advice, therefore, is that you should remain there and go on working patiently and cheerfully. I should, of course, like you to deal with the so-called servants as you would with your own brothers and sisters. That will bring credit to you, and if you succeed, the results will be excellent. Servants have always been with us in their capacity as servants. The only difference is that now we wish to draw them nearer to us and give some time to them. If you do not show discretion in this, you will fail. But even if you fail, what does it matter? Success lies hidden in failure. He who fails will one day succeed. One who does nothing for fear of failing will achieve nothing. If you start re-counting from the point where you went wrong, you will get the figure right.

By losing yourself you will gain yourself. One becomes oneself only if one ceases to be oneself. Why, then, need you fear losing your individuality? Let it be lost.

I had a letter from Kanchan[1] today, which I am sending for your perusal. Let her stay where she is. She will get trained there. Amtussalaam also mentions her in her letter. I am, therefore, sending that too.

I tear up your letters. You should never preserve your letters. They contain your sarcasms on the impulse of the moment. There is no point in re-reading or recalling them.

All of you have been kept fully informed about ourselves. We shall be here up to the end of May, then June in Panchgani and then Sevagram. This is my intention. Only His will be done. Our hosts here are Premlilabehn[2] and

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] Premlila Thackersey

Shantikumar[1], and in Panchgani it will be Nanji Sheth[2]. In addition, Bachchharajbhai[3] is of course at both the places.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8456. Also C.W. 5575. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

20. A LETTER

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. . . .[4],

I got your letter. Chi. . . . likes what you have done. You need not, therefore, think about it any more. I examined your doings not as those of a near relation, but as an educated woman's. Though you were not guilty, even then I regard it as a great error on your part to have kept the knowledge of his marriage in childhood a secret. I did like, of course, your marrying outside the caste. That neither . . . nor you treated the childhood marriage as marriage seems altogether improper. . . . seems to be a very good man. However, according to me he has done no service to the lady. You certainly have not. How would you have felt, if you had been in that woman's place? There are numerous cases in Hindu society like. . .'s. If everybody did what he had done, what would be the condition of the girls married to them? . . .'s duty was to live with that girl and be her teacher. You were tempted by the thought of doing social service, and he was infatuated with you. You need not accept this analysis. Both of you believe that you have followed dharma in what you did. That is enough for you. One's dharma is what one believes to be so.

I am not writing separately to. . . . Treat this as meant for you both.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Ba Bapuni Shili Chhayaman, pp. 226-7

[1] Shantikumar N. Morarjee
[2] Nanji Kalidas
[3] Bachchharaj Sheth who had adopted Jamnalal Bajaj
[4] Omissions as in the source

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21. LETTER TO SAHEB MOHAMMED

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

BHAI KHWAJA SAHEB,

I have gone through your letter to Pyarelalji. I read your translation bit by bit. I do not get time but of what use is my opinion? It is Dr. Mahmud's[1] opinion that is important. I have only a working knowledge of Urdu. The only thing I can say is that according to me you have done well in doing the translation.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

KHWAJA SAHEB MOHAMMED
RETIRED PRINCIPAL, ISLAMIA COLLEGE
OUTSIDE DELHI GATE
LAHORE

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

22. LETTER TO DIPTI DAS GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. DIPTI DAS GUPTA,

May you live long and serve the country.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI DIPTI DAS GUPTA
C/O SHRI KHAGENDRANATH DAS GUPTA
JALPAIGURI, BENGAL

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

[1] Syed Mahmud, Education and Development Minister in Bihar, 1937-39

23. LETTER TO SUBHADRA KUMARI CHAUHAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Convey my blessings to the newly married couple. May they render great service to the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUBHADRA KUMARI CHAUHAN
569 RIGHT TOWN
JABALPUR

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

24. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I have received your second letter, written in a neat hand. It is good that you have received a letter from Uncle. Your son[1] may also come with him. In case he does not, Balvantsinha will certainly bring him. Your pure conduct and diligence will also have an effect [on him].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Gajaraj

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25. LETTER TO TOTARAM SANADHYA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

BHAI TOTARAM,

I was very happy to have your letter. Your *tapascharya* is great. You have done much service. Now it is time for you to take service. Rest yourself and pray. Sincere prayer in itself is service for an invalid person.

I have been having news of you regularly.

You have given the right suggestion about Chi. Hariprasad[1]. It is his duty to visit you. I shall be reaching Sevagram in July. It is no part of Hariprasad's duty to visit me. It is a difficult journey and also pretty expensive. I am writing to him.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2534

26. LETTER TO HARIPRASAD

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. HARIPRASAD,

Panditji[3] has given me a vivid description of you. It is better that you go to Sabarmati to meet him. You need not come to Sevagram. It is far off, and the fare is also more. I will spend two months away from Sevagram. That is my plan at the moment.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Addressee's adopted son
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] Totaram Sanadhya

27. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. Do not work if you are not paid. Money will not be coming from Maganwadi. It will have to come from P. Babu[1] or Bhagirathji[2]. Do not strive for money. It is all right if it comes of itself. If there is any help available for the oil-press, you will be able to manage it. If not, abandon it. Your duty is to serve. If P. Babu relieves you, isn't there plenty of service to be done in the Ashram?

I shall be spending one month in Mahabaleshwar, the next month in Panchgani and then I shall be in the Ashram.

You must improve your health. Lavanyalata[3] must be well. You have done good sale of khadi.[4]

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed is the letter to Hayat's doctor. Read it and write what you want to me or to Hayatullah or to the doctor.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 474

[1] Presumably, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

[2] Bhagirath Kanodia

[3] Lavanyalata Chanda who was later appointed Agent, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Bengal

[4] The addressee was working at Borkamta in Bengal.

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28. LETTER TO OM PRAKASH GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. OM PRAKASH,

Unless you scrupulously follow all the Ashram rules, you will gain nothing by merely staying in the Ashram. You will have to get a certificate from the inmates of the Ashram. If you are hot-tempered, cure yourself of it. The Ashram is the place to overcome temperamental shortcomings. Not everybody can do so. But you must. You have to provide an ideal. If you do not like the Ashram, it would be futile for you to stay there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 5896. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

29. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

There is no reason to feel unhappy over having brought Om Prakash with you. What can one do if such persons get in? You did not bring him deliberately. I have written to him.[1] Let us hope he will understand.

Hoshiari is getting along well.

Dr. Kelkar has written about teaching you English. I have dissuaded him. We can acquire all knowledge through our own language. But if you are particular, I shall not stop you, nor shall I encourage you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1959

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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30. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I was sorry to read about Ram Narayan's[1] illness. Keep me informed. Let us hope he will recover.

Balkrishna has lost a lot of weight. Are not dates available in the Ashram? Look in my room. If there are any, give them to him; if not, let Chimanlal write to Rameshwar Das Birla. You will have the dates.

I understand about Om Prakash. Put up with him as long as you can.[2]

Speak again to Ashadevi. You should do what you can easily do.

The discharge will stop. It is not anybody's duty to sleep on hot sand. You can use my wooden divan. If you sprinkle some water over the sand, the heat will disappear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4511. Also C.W. 5897. Courtesy : Krishnachandra

31. LETTER TO GANGI A. HINGORANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DAUGHTER GANGI,

Your letter is very good. It was good that Anand[3] wrote a letter. The doctor's treatment should continue. This is the meaning of the letter. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Ram Narayan Chaudhary's
[2] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[3] Addressee's husband

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32. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

April 26, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

How can I forget? Do I not have to write for you daily?[1] I do not like your illness. There is danger in treating oneself. Do as I have written to Gangi. Now, when you go to Dr. Raju[2], take his treatment. Recover now with the doctor's treatment. What about Mahadev[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

33. LETTER TO D. RAMASWAMI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

MY DEAR RAMASWAMI,

Your postcard. I don't think Ch. told me anything special about you.

I am glad you are doing well and spinning regularly on the *takli*.

What is your speed and count? Do you make your own slivers ?

BAPU

SHRI D. RAMASWAMI
C/O THE EASTERN DRUG CO.
MASULIPATAM, KISTNA DISTRICT
ANDHRA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "*A Thought for the Day*", 16-7-1945.
[2] Dr. Krishna Raju
[3] Addressee's son

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34. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have made the corrections which occurred to me. Observe them. I don't wish to think more. Bombay also is all right. Kaniya's[1] name is in connection with Bombay. It means that he will have to stay in Bombay for those months. I shall not object. Think over it, both of you. He will acquit himself well wherever he is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8623. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

35. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I like the scheme[2]. There are two tests in it—of yarn contribution and pice contribution. In both what matters is the number of donors. Yarn is a source of strength, as is evident from the very saying: "Many threads mean strength." One thread of yarn may snap, but a rope made up of many threads would pull much heavier weight depending on the number of threads. . .[3] Therefore yarn, from a single individual, however much it may be, is of no consequence. There will be many who will be ready to give more than seventy-six pice. . . It is good that you have decided not to accept more. Similarly [even less than that][4] cannot be accepted. Otherwise the account will not be clear. Only a little .... There are millions in this poor country who

[1] Kanu Gandhi, addressee's son

[2] For celebrating Gandhiji's 76th birthday. It was that every one should present to Gandhiji at least one hank of yarn and 76 pice.

[3] Omissions as in the source

[4] From *The Hindu*, 15-7-1945

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can offer no more than a pie. There are also likely to be millions who do not have even one pie. Those of them who are eager to contribute may offer 76 pice in the name of one of them as their representative. Similarly a family may contribute 76 pice for each member. Even after saying all this, I would say that my preference is for the yarn.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part 2, p. 304

36. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. MANI,

I got your letter. Immediately after reading it, I tore it up. It had been kept aside by mistake, but it came to me as soon as it was discovered that it was personal.

But what is there so personal in what you have written? I myself opened it just to respect your wishes and to reassure you and will post this in the same way.

As for fasts, perhaps I must have undertaken more of them than anyone else in the group. In South Africa I used to fast on any pretext. I must have taken only one meal a day for more than a year. But I am of the opinion that moderation in eating is more difficult than fasting. Fasts have a place in our life but the death of a relative is certainly not an occasion for them. Why shouldn't they be undertaken on the occasion of birth? I have done that also but gave that up on further reflection. From this you can judge your fasts.[1] The human body is the temple of God, and should be taken care of as such.

It is not that I do not know of your regular habits. Motilalji[2] gave you first rank in that. But you should be charitable to co-workers. You fail in your duty to your neighbours because you are not so. Moreover you admit your shortcomings. People admit their shortcomings either because they wish to stick to them or wish to cure themselves of them. Don't you wish to get rid of your shortcomings ? You should infect others with your regularity and at the same time must preserve yours. You should act as I do

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 411.
[2] Motilal Nehru

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and keep your own surroundings clean. Didn't you learn this much even after being so many times in jail? What have you learnt from Mahadev[1]? Did you observe his generosity?

This should be more than enough for you. If all your questions have been answered, come over here. But do not come simply to please me. Come only if you feel that it is your dharma to do so, and with a charitable heart or with the aim of making it generous. If you are resentful, what will you gain by coming here? Let us magnify the molehills of our faults into mountains and see the mountains of others' faults as molehills. Only then can we live in harmony.

If you decide not to keep back anything from others, make a copy of this letter and send it to me. It is worth pondering over by many.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI PATEL
C/O DR. KANUGA
AHMEDABAD, B. B. C. I. RLY.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 133-4

37. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your postcard. You will only have bitter experiences here. The reason is that the country is poor. Ba was a lifelong companion and so, of course, I feel her absence. Then again she had merged her life in mine.

I had a letter from Manilal[2]. He will be going to Ahmedabad tomorrow. He will think of coming here after he gets back. I believe you and the children will accompany him. Mother[3] will have recovered. Kishorelal[4] wrote to me she had fever. Chi. Gomati[5]

[1] Mahadev Desai
[2] Addressee's husband, Manilal Gandhi
[3] Vijayabehn Mashruwala
[4] & [5] Kishorelal G. Mashruwala and his wife

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too will have recovered. I am well. Today it is pretty cold. Tell Sita[1] not to stop writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUSHILA GANDHI
NANABHAI'S BUNGALOW
AKOLA, BERAR

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

38. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. MOHANLAL[2],

Your letter is good. It is candid. This is my opinion. Those who have not taken up Hindustani, or do not know it, learn only half the *rashtrabhasha*. That is why I am partial to Hindustani. When we speak of the national language we do include those whose script is Urdu. This definition, which I had given at the Sammelan[3], has been accepted. Hindi is a language which Hindus and Muslims speak and is written in the Nagari or Urdu script. If that is so, you and I have to know both the scripts and be familiar with the vocabulary of both. That being the case, you have to revive the Urdu script and always keep in touch with it. Besides, in order to remove the feeling of hostility you should join the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. If everyone does so, the hostility will be removed.

I do not yet fully see eye to eye with Tandonji[4]. However, we keep exchanging views.

Indu[5] must have grown up beyond recognition.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

MOHANLAL BHATT
25 NUTAN SOCIETY
ELLISBRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

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

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Secretary, Hindi Prachar Samiti, Wardha; ex-Manager, Navajivan Press
[3] Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Indore, in 1935; *vide* Vol. LXI, pp. 31-3.
[4] Purushottamdas Tandon, proponent of Hindi language and literature; Chairman, U. P. Legislative Assembly, 1937-46; President, Indian National Congress, 1950-51
[5] Addressee's daughter

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39. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I have your letter. I remember you had come to see me in Bombay. It is true that I was very busy. This is the only message:

Everyone in South Africa should live in harmony and bring credit to India. Everyone should be dedicated to service.

Manilal and Sushila have not come so far. They may come. Convey my blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

40. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

BHAI AMRITA LAL,

I have your letter. After the Borivli work is over, Chi. Abha[1] will go to Rajkot with Kanubhai[2]. The girls should not have lost weight. If it is necessary I shall send for Veena[3]. Give up worrying on account of the two girls. Do take Sailen[4] to Calcutta if he keeps well there. I feel that Sailen has been guilty of some lapse. He was completely cured with Sushilabehn's treatment. Anyway do what you feel is proper.

Send the paper with Shantikumar if you got my letter from Bengal.[5] I see no need for your coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10402. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] & [2] Addressee's daughter and her husband Kanu Gandhi

[3] Addressee's elder daughter who along with Abha Gandhi was undergoing training at Borivli training camp

[4] Addressee's son

[5] The reference is to a report the addressee was expecting about the military personnels who forced young girls to lead immoral lives; *vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 325.

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41. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

BHAI RAMACHANDRA RAO,

Altogether I have received three letters from you all. If all of you have benefited from your stay in Sevagram, the credit goes to you all, even though only those who have the will have benefited. I have known people who have gained nothing. Keep writing to me.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

PROF. G. RAMACHANDRA RAO
ATHEISTIC CENTRE
MUMUNUR P. O.
KISTNA DISTRICT
MADRAS PRESIDENCY

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

42. LETTER TO RAMBHAU BHOGE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

BHAI RAMBHAU,

I have your letter. Never mind whatever punishment has been given to you. I trust that your wife and child will be looked after. Keep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. RAMBHAU BHOGE
DISTRICT PRISON
DHULIA, KHANDESH

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

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43. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF CEYLON[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 27, 1945

Gandhiji said that India and Lanka were one, the latter being a pendant of a long chain which was India.

He said that he had felt that people in Lanka sought to be separated from India, although the culture and problems of both were similar. He was glad, however, to learn that there were people in Lanka who realized this unity. Such people, he added, needed no message from him. They have only to understand the message of the charkha, khadi and the constructive programme, including village uplift and fostering of a national language. He referred to his tour of Ceylon 15 years ago[2] and his embarrassment then to notice European and alien habits and customs of the people there, and wished that the Ceylonese had known more about India and the message of the charkha.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-4-1945

44. LETTER TO DESAIBHAI PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

BHAI DESAIBHAI,

May the marriage of Chi. Sumanbehn and Chi. Satyakam be fruitful. May both of them become true servants.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA DESAIBHAI
VITHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

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

[1] The message was given to N. A. F. Meemanage, a former President of the Ceylonese Union in Mysore.

[2] In November 1927; *vide* Vol. XXXV.

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45. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI V. PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

I have your letter. Father[1] will continue to be like this. If what he says is literally true, we should not worry about him.

I am persuading Mani[2] to come here.

My health is good. The weather here is refreshing.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

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

46. LETTER TO INDU N. PAREKH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

CHI. INDU,

I was glad to have your letter. Chi. Kanti[3] had given me the news. Now stick on and be successful. What machinery are you using? Do you only cure the hides? Do you use only the hides of dead animals or whatever you can get? Do you make anything from the leather?

Blessings from
BAPU

INDU PAREKH
DEENABANDHU ENGINEERING
ITOLA

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

[1] &[2] Vallabhbhai Patel and his daughter Manibehn Patel; *vide* also pp. 21-2.

[3] Addressee's brother

47. LETTER TO V. P. LIMAYE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

BHAI LIMAYE,

I have your letter. My blessings are certainly with you in your work of Nayee Talim. The success of this venture is full of significance.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. V. P. LIMAYE
PIPANE
SASWAD P. O.
POONA DISTRICT

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

48. LETTER TO I. H. SONAVANE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

BHAI SONAVANE,

What you have written to me is correct. Give up the job if you are not satisfied with the work and if the salary is inadequate, and start some business. Seek Mathuradasji's[1] advice before giving up the job.

Let me know the development.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI I. B. SONAVANE
ROOM NO. 78, SECOND FLOOR
197-A LADY HARDINGE ROAD
BOMBAY 28

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

[1] Mathuradas Trikumji's

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49. LETTER TO BHAGALPUR DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE

April 28, 1945

BROTHERS,

I have your letter. I feel that you should let the strike continue. If the prisoners are dying, let them die. How can we know the internal conditions ? If we do not learn how to live, we must learn how to die. Or we must learn both. If it was within my power, I would have found out what all this was about.

Blessings from
BAPU

SECRETARY
DISTRICT CONGRESS CONSTRUCTIVE DEPARTMENT
ADARSH BHOJANALAYA, SUJAGANJ
BHAGALPUR, BIHAR

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

50. LETTER TO OM PRAKASH GUPTA

April 28, 1945

CHI. OM PRAKASH,

I have gone through your letter and also the accompanying one. It is about the books. It seems to me all right. I have written quite a lot about how you should live in the Ashram.[1] Be friendly with all.

It is good that Kanu has arrived.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* p. 17.

51. LETTER TO GOVIND DAS

April 28, 1945

BHAI GOVIND DAS,

I have your letter. You must get rid of the fits of giddiness. Think over nature cure treatment. There is someone in Allahabad. Otherwise there are doctors.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHETH GOVIND DAS
JABALPUR

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

52. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDEVI

April 28, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMIDEVI,

I had kept your letter to think over. I am of the opinion that in this connection what Vichitrabhai and Dhirenbhai say should be done.

Look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

LAKSHMI DEVI OF HARDOI
KASTURBA NIDHI CAMP
BORIVLI

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

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53. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 28, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA

I have read all your letters. I have written enough and so will write no more. My work too has increased.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You are right about the visitors. It will of course be a good thing if somehow or other the Ashram becomes a real Ashram and everybody follows the rules.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4512

54. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

April 29, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

If Chi. Ramdas[1] wishes to go to Mysore for a few months, let him go. I have already dictated a letter regarding a store-room for jaggery. It should belong to the Ashram. I assume that you will incur the expenditure only if Parnerkar[2] desires. You may also put up in the Ashram the building you speak of.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10627

[1] Son of H. C. Dasappa
[2] Yashwant Mahadev Parnerkar

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55. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I have already said it and I say it again that your continuously getting fever and taking medicines is not good. That way you can't render service.

I am enclosing Raihanabehn's letter. I am sending it to you after obtaining her permission.[1] I understand that the situation has changed after the letter was written. Nevertheless the letter deserves to be read and pondered over by you. Write to Raihana if you feel like it and have the time. Do write to me whatever you want. Do not be in a hurry.

There is talk of shifting the whole office to Wardha. Bapa wants it. So do Shantikumar and Shyamlal and from what I understand, Ghanshyamdas[2] too. As for me, I was of that opinion from the very beginning. Now you must let me know your view. I could not help noticing that the scheme shown to me would not create the village atmosphere. The task is both difficult and easy. It is easy if we can understand it and lay the foundation accordingly; otherwise it is difficult and will become more so. In a large measure it depends on you. I do not wish to take any work from you without your first understanding the thing. That will be making wrong use of your services. Let me know your views when you have time.

Blessings from
BAPU

MRIDULABEHN SARABHAI

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

[1] *Vide* p. 7.
[2] G. D. Birla

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56. LETTER TO CHHOTUBHAI SUTHAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

BHAI CHHOTUBHAI,

I have your letter and the map. I am going through your note. It will help me [in understanding your viewpoint]. You have to write something original. In Marathi, there is a very good book by Jerajar. I have heard that there is one in Bengali too. In the United Provinces, a gentleman is doing very good work. It appears from *The Hindu* that there is something of the kind in the South also. Now we have to see what you will do. You need not reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHHOTUBHAI SUTHAR
TARAK MANDAL, ANAND

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

57. LETTER TO DAULATRAI DAVE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

BHAI DAULATRAI,

Who are my attendants? Without knowing my plight you get angry with those who look after me. It is because of them that I am able to do some work. If you want to be angry, let it be with me because I am not able to cope with the work and am not able to satisfy everyone. I have done whatever I could for you but there is no limit to your needs that I could never meet them. That is no doubt my fault; but I am helpless.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAULATRAI DAVE
MADHUKUNJ, CHITTARANJAN ROAD
EAST VILE PARLE

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

58. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have gone through your letter. I agree with everything you say but I have already given my blessings to Omkarnath[1]. He introduced himself as a pupil of Vishnu Digambar[2]. He got the blessings of Malaviyaji[3] and Radhakrishnanji[4]. He made the changes I suggested. He did not even mention his differences with you. He also told me that he had met you and took from me a letter of blessings. His is an all-inclusive Vidyapith and so is yours. How can this be possible? Think over this, leaving aside my blessings. How can you involve yourself in this quarrel?

Why should your institution be called Vishnu Digambar University of Music? What is wrong with Vishnu Digambar Sangeet Vidyapith? Do you find the English name more attractive? I had raised this point with Omkarnath also. I suggested to him to use Hindustani for all their work. He agreed. I do not know what has happened now.

For the birthday : Make great progress.

I had replied to the original letter of Narandas on that same day.[5] So there is nothing to write this time.

PURUSHOTTAM NARANDAS GANDHI

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

[1] Omkarnath Thakur; *vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 356.
[2] Vishnu Digambar Paluskar
[3] Madan Mohan Malaviya
[4] S. Radhakrishnan
[5] *Vide* pp. 20-1.

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59. LETTER TO GAJANAN NAIK

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

My views on palm *gur* are firm. People should have permission to make palm *gur* or toddy wherever there are palm trees. Our requirement can be met with this *gur* and sugarcane *gur*. I am of the opinion that palm *gur* is better than sugar-cane *gur*.[1]

CHI. GAJANAN[2],

This is for you. I did forget about palm *gur*. I had to write in a hurry. That was the last day. You could have added that and wired me. I had written "etc.". That includes *gur*. *Gur* has lost nothing. When was it bitter?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GAJANAN
MAGANVADI
WARDHA

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

60. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have your letter. Pyarelal is going through the original letter. Even if Tandonji sends a reply, it is not going to come very soon. We must go on doing our work. What has to be will be. I have sent you a copy of Dr. Tarachand's letter. I am awaiting your reply.

[1] What follows is in Gujarati.
[2] Of the Gur Department, A. I. V. I. A.

Take Chi. Ramdas with you. How can I keep Yashodharabehn[1] or Ramdas against their will? On my part I have looked after him as one does after a flower. I am firmly of the opinion that if he makes anything of himself, he will be able to do so only in the Ashram. But if he does not like to stay there, it will not be possible to train him. If he returns, he should do so of his own free will and not because of any coercion. You should get well and come.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

61. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

If Chi. Ramdas wants to accompany Yashodhara Devi and Nanavati to Mysore, let him. We shall take care of him when he returns. How are you getting on with doing your own massage.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9026. Also C.W. 9150. Courtesy : Prabhakar

62. LETTER TO YASHODHARA DASAPPA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. YASHODHARA,

Chi. Nanavati has written to me about Chi. Ramdas. Since Ramdas wants to go to Mysore and since he is not keeping well,

[1] Yashodhara Dasappa

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let him go with you and if he feels well, he can come back later. I am writing to Sevagram. Hope you are calm.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI YASHODHARA DASAPPA
C/O SHRI N. S. GULABI
SUNNYSIDE, GYMKHANA ROAD
MATUNGA, BOMBAY

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

63. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. KAMALNAYAN[1],

I have your letter. I remember Mother[2] had given me Varma's letter. Now I can't find it. Perhaps I left it behind in Sevagram. Do you remember what it was about?

Come whenever you and Satyanarayan want to. I am getting along well. The treatment has not begun yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ
51 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

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

64. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

DR. ICE,

I have your letter. One can stay for a month in the Birla Dharmashala. I can't say anything about Wardha. In Sevagram a hut can be built. I will be more than happy, if Hari-ichchha[3]

[1] Son of Jamnalal Bajaj
[2] Janakidevi Bajaj
[3] Hari-ichchha Patel

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is cured. Arrangements for ice can be made. The leper has to be kept somewhere in the village. It is difficult to keep him in the Ashram. My advice is that in this connection you should do whatever Manoharji[1] says. He has devoted his whole life to this work and therefore we must have his permission.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

65. *LETTER TO SHANTA*

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. SHANTA,

I have your letter.

I have written[2] to Chimanlalbhai about the store for jaggery. I want your path to be clear. The thing is that it will be cleared by your own work. Isn't that true adult education? The work can be accomplished by calmness and introspection. Keep on asking yourself : 'Why can't I get this work done?' You will get the reply. I am not with you all. It hurts me, and does not hurt me. In a way it is good that I am away from you. See what you can do about the grain bank. What I could suggest would not be from experience. So from your own experience try to find a way out. I have shown you the royal road; never leave it. Give education to people, not money. There is no harm if educating people takes some time. Once the work is started, it will go on.

I am returning Chimanlalbhai's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHANTABEHN
HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH
SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA

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

[1] Manohar Divan, who founded the Maharogi Seva Mandal for the service of lepers at Dattapur in 1936, while doing village work with Gram Seva Mandal under Vinoba Bhave's scheme of rural reconstruction

[2] *Vide* p. 31.

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66. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. SATIS BABU[1],

I have your letter. My blessings you already have. Is not everything you do done for me? Your compilation[2] about the cow and your original writing show the same thing. Now that you are coming here in a few days, we shall talk about the medicines then.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1942

67. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. You will have received mine. Now I shall not so much as mention Bhimavaram. You got fever, the doctor came; now there is nothing to say. Do as the doctor advises and get well. I am in correspondence with Jivanji[3]. I am not free [to do what I like]. Whatever is done will be done with deliberation.

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

[1] Founder-President of Bengal Khadi Pratishthan
[2] *Cow in India* to which Gandhiji wrote the Foreword on May 20, 1945.
[3] Jivanji D. Desai of Navajivan Press. It was about publishing *Thought for the Day*; *vide* also p. 19.

68. MESSAGE FOR "JAWAHAR JAIN JYOTI"[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

The Jain sadhus in the country should understand *yuga dharma*, that is, the religion of the age, and their duty towards it; otherwise their preachings and teachings would be useless.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1945

69. TESTIMONIAL TO JAISHANKAR P. TRIVEDI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

I can claim to have known Prof. Jaishankar Trivedi personally for a good many years. During all these years, I knew him to be ever ready to help people without any thought of gaining name or fame. He was a silent worker and his home had become a dharmashala.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 47

70. TELEGRAM TO SAROJINI NAIDU

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

SAROJINI DEVI NAIDU
HYDERABAD DECCAN

TELEGRAM WORTHY OF YOU. DEATH[2] IS DELIVERANCE. LOVE.

SPINNER[3]

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The report said that the message was given to Bachharaj Doshi of Panchgani for the book on the "Life and Teachings of the Late Acharya Jawaharlalji". The Jain sadhu followed Gandhiji's teachings.

[2] The reference is to the death of the addressee's younger son Ranadheera.

[3] The addressee had given to Gandhiji the epithet 'Spinner of Destiny'.

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71. LETTER TO MUHAMMAD AHMAD SAID KHAN

Personal

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB[1],

I cannot do better than send the accompanying[2] to you. If the facts are correctly set forth, they are terrible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE NAWAB SAHEB OF CHHATARI
HYDERABAD DECCAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

72. LETTER TO AMIYA NATH BOSE

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

DEAR AMIYO,

Have you worked out the problem of electricity for every home? What is the cost? My remark quoted by you is a poser for the time being. It will cease to be one, if it is a possibility. It has not penetrated every home in the villages even of Mysore. Since you believe in it, I want you to work it out and demonstrate the physical and economic possibility of electrifying every home of the seven hundred thousand villages of India.

It is a torture to suffer from fever for years. Has the medical profession declared bankruptcy?

Love to all.

BAPU

SHRI AMIYA NATH BOSE
1 WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] President, Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad

[2] A cutting under the caption "Police High-handedness at Gulbarga" from *Bharat Jyoti*, 29-4-1945

73. LETTER TO G. V. NARAYANA MURTI

April 30, 1945

Your information is incomplete. How did you get the piles? Do you eat hot foods such as chillies and do the piles bleed? Meanwhile drink plenty of boiled water, take orange-juice and juice of raw vegetable such as carrots, *palak* and snake-gourd. You can drink not more than three pounds of milk and take three ounces of fresh coconut well chewed. Drink the water of the coconut. If the piles bleed, take rest, omit one meal and apply oil to the affected part.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

74. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

CHI. GULZARILAL[1],

Read the enclosed and return it to me. If what it contains is all right, I intend to write in Gujarati. It will be proper if I write only for your journal. If there are any factual mistakes, point them out in such a way that I can explain them to Ambalalbhai[2].

I hope you are well.

There is no news from Dr. Chugh. I shall have to start on a drug (allopathic) tomorrow. Dr. Chugh can also treat us, if he wants to.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA
MAJOOR MAHAJAN
MIRZAPUR ROAD
AHMEDABAD

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

[1] Ahmedabad labour leader who helped to organize the labour movement on Gandhian lines; acted as Prime Minister after Jawaharlal Nehru's death in May 1964 and also after Lalbahadur Shastri's death in January 1966

[2] Ambalal Sarabhai, an industrialist of Ahmedabad; *vide* also pp. 113-4.

[3] *Vide* also pp. 98-9.

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75. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have sent a wire to the Santiniketan friend asking him not to go there while I am away.[1] It is certainly a sorry state of affairs that when I am there we cannot welcome people for fear of overcrowding and, in my absence, because of internal quarrels. Doesn't this indicate what I had initially suggested, viz., that we should close the Ashram and everyone should settle down in different departments. This is worth seriously thinking over. Those who stay separately may continue to do so and go on doing their work, and I would pass the rest of my life touring. This seems to me to be the best thing to do. Do not discuss this with too many people. First you yourself should think, and do what seems best to you. You need not even show this letter to anybody. You are the Chairman. You should, therefore, think independently for yourself.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10628

76. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Chairman means Chimanlal. Inability to come to a decision immediately is no shortcoming, if he is otherwise able to come to a correct decision and express his view in time. Chimanlal is the Chairman because he is the most qualified of all. But the inmates of the Ashram have a right to appoint another person as Chairman. Decide first on who are Ashram inmates.

If you think it beyond your capacity, the question of majority vote, or for that matter even of one vote, does not arise. If all the inmates regard themselves as incapable of running the

[1] The telegram, however, appears to have been sent on the following day; *vide* p. 47.

kitchen, the joint kitchen should be closed. In that case everybody will have to run his own kitchen. I do believe, of course, that the Ashram cannot be run in that way. It would then be something different.

I had accepted the suggestion that you should be requested to leave. Now I withdraw it fully. Remain where you are and prosper.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8455. Also C.W. 5576. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

77. LETTER TO T. N. SHARMA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

BHAI SHARMA,

I have your letter. I do not like it. The circumstances keep changing. If Chakrayya wants to do nature-cure work, why does he insist on that particular place? Why not Bhimavaram? Anand Niketan should be given up. I do not like to spend money on the building. The money should be returned.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI T. N. SHARMA
C/O CHEMICALS LTD.
NIDADAVOLU

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

78. LETTER TO GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAMSINH,

I have your letter. It is sad as well as surprising. I have done what I could.

Blessings from
BAPU

GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA
DRUG

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

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79. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 30, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI,

You must have received my telegram.[1] You and the child will be well. It is quite some time now. Will Rajaji and Devdas[2] be coming together or will Rajaji come a little earlier? Is Papa[3] also there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2000

80. LETTER TO SAROJINI

April 30, 1945

CHI. SAROJINIBEHN,

I keep receiving many complaints against you. You do not even pay for your expenses to the Secretary. Pay for your expenses and leave the Ashram. You are not likely to benefit from staying in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 5870

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 413.
[2] Addressee's husband
[3] Addressee's elder sister, Namagiri

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81. FOREWORD TO "RASHTRABHASHA VISHE VICHAR"

Bhai Jivanji has brought out at the right moment a collection of my writings and speeches on the subject of our national language. I have not found it possible to go through all the writings collected here but I have read the first twenty pages. I made the first speech[1] on this subject in 1917. And I hold the same views today as those expressed in the speech or thereafter from time to time. The only difference is that they are now stronger, clearer and more definite than before. Hindi and Urdu have always been inseparable to me. I have also quite freely used the word Hindustani. I am saying the same thing today that I did in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan session at Indore in 1918.[2] Hindustani is not Urdu but a happy amalgam of Hindi and Urdu which people in Northern India may easily understand and which may be written either in the Nagari or Urdu script. That alone is the perfect national language; all others are imperfect. For the present, those who desire to learn the national language fully and not partially must learn both the scripts and know both the forms. It is a duty demanded of us by our love for the nation. Those who learn it will gain, those who do not will lose.

MAHABALESHWAR, May 1, 1945

[From Gujarati]

Rashtrabhasha Vishe Vichar. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

82. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

May 1, 1945

CHI. JIVANJI,

I received the collection only today and this very day I am writing the "Foreword"[3] at the back of this. This should suffice.

Blessings from

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

[1] At Broach; *vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 8-36.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 292-7.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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83. TELEGRAM TO BASUDEO NARAIN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

BASUDEO NARAIN
COLLEGE
SANTINIKETAN

ABSENT TILL END JUNE. USELESS YOUR GOING SEVAGRAM DURING [MY] ABSENCE.[1]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

84. LETTER TO L. N. GOPALASWAMI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

DEAR GOPALASWAMI[2],

You have been so good and so wise that I am tempted to write to you regarding your letter to Bapa of 24th ultimo. If you cannot endorse what I write below, you may carry out your proposal set forth in the above letter.

Why should you feel so poor about the Harijan fund there? You are able, your work is sound and your Harijan treasury should always be adequate. A labourer is worthy of his hire. You are that labourer. So far as I am concerned, I would like you to draw the whole amount from the Kasturba Fund. But the objection is to the male secretary being anything but honorary so long as a woman is available as in the Tamil Nadu case. I would like you to be an example to the others in having the whole of your Kasturba staff consisting of paid women workers and males being honorary and guiding hands to the necessary extent only. Men's merit will consist in being displaced by equally efficient women workers, if not better. God has given us a great chance

[1] *Vide* also p. 43.
[2] Secretary, Tamil Nadu Harijan Sevak Sangh

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when we are about to have a footing in the villages on a wide scale. Therefore do what you can. I ask no more.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI GOPALASWAMI
KASTURBA TRUST
S. I. S. BUILDINGS, ROYAPETTAH
MADRAS

From a photostat : C.W. 10548. Courtesy : Government of Tamil Nadu.
Also from a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

85. LETTER TO GOPAL GURUBAXANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

DEAR GOPAL GURUBAXANI,

Your letter makes strange reading. I do not suppose you or your father has ever met me. Are you in any way related to Gope Gurubaxani[1] who with his wife was the other day in the Ashram and is now in Sind ? In any case, both of you have my blessings for a happy life of service to the country in the place of a life given to pleasure and self-gratification. I have your cheque of Rs. 200 for any public service of my choice.

Yours,
BAPU

[C/O] PRINCIPAL N. D. GURUBAXANI
DHARAMDAS BHOJ RAJ LANE
SANTINIKETAN
JACOB ROAD
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In *Reminiscences of Gandhi*, p. 109, Gope Gurubaxani explains that he and his wife Vimala Rani came to Sevagram on February 8, 1945, after he had relinquished his post of "Honorary War Propaganda Officer attached to the National War Front at Simla" as he was "disgusted with that work, having seen how our own people were made to suffer". Gandhiji received him, saying : "I know that a change of ideas could take place in your case, as it did in mine, for I too helped the Government in the first World War."

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86. LETTER TO BARBARA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

MY DEAR BARBARA,

I like your cheery letter. I hope you will be better still by the change and return hale and hearty.

You know Hindustani. Try to write to me and to those who understand it in Hindustani.

Yes, the climate here seems to suit me.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

87. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

CHI. KANAM[1],

I was happy to read your letter. I had already got the news of your arrival. Secure the same marks there also as you did in your examination at Nagpur. In Sevagram, marks are given for goodness—isn't that so? One must get mixed in society as sugar does with milk.

You seem to have done very well in the examination. One day you will come first. Do you know that Valjibhai's Nanu[2] stood first out of thousands of students ? He is as good as he is intelligent. Your handwriting cannot be said to be good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 5874

[1] Ramdas Gandhi's son
[2] Vimalchandra V. Desai

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88. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

CHI. SHRIMANNARAYAN,

The March issue of Humayun Kabir's *India* carries a review of your book[1] by Sikander Chaudhary. Read it.

I hope Madalasa[2] is well.

The pen moved in Gujarati and I let it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 305

89. LETTER TO JAYANT S. TILAK

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 1, 1945

CHI. JAYANT,

How strange that Lokamanya's[3] grandson should write to me in English. If you cannot write in Hindi you can at least write in Marathi. I never go anywhere to attend weddings. However, it is good you remembered me. May you both be happy and serve the country as Lokamanya did.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI JAYANT SHRIDHAR TILAK
LOKAMANYA TILAK MANDIR
GAEKWAR WADA
528 NARAYAN PETH
POONA CITY

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

[1] *Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for Free India*, published in 1944
[2] Addressee's wife
[3] Bal Gangadhar Tilak

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90. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI[1],

I saw the cutting sent by you. Tandonji will say the same thing. You must realize that ahimsa moves at a snail's pace. It is ever moving but its pace is slow. We should go on doing our work. Can't Nadvi write a book? We have to bring out new books. The examination can't be stopped. I had written to Purushottam telling him to work for both. He did conduct examinations. However, if the Hindi [Sahitya] Sammelan claims that it is otherwise, I will have to leave it. I do not want to do it in a hurry. But at the same time I do not want to give up what is correct. Write to Purushottam. Take Kosambi[2] for the work.

Blessings from
BAPU

MAGANBHAI DESAI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
ELLISBRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

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

91. LETTER TO TARACHAND

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

BHAI TARACHANDJI[3],

My three colleagues here strongly object to your estimate of expenditure. The Navajivan Press is a large establishment. We

[1] Chancellor, Gujarat Vidyapith

[2] Dharmanand P. Kosambi (1876-1947); a scholar of Buddhism from Goa; taught Pali in National College, Bombay, and Fergusson College, Poona; joined civil disobedience movement in 1930 and was jailed.

[3] Member, Literature Board of the All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha

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can get them to do all the printing work.[1] I think even the committee of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be startled. We shall place this issue before the committee after I reach Wardha. It will be good if in the mean time you can send manuscripts of a few text books. That Dr. Abdul Haq will not be able to come is also a matter of concern.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. TARACHAND
HINDUSTANI ACADEMY
ALLAHABAD

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

92. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. Mohanlal's letter is good. I have of course written to him. As suggested by you, I am making the clarification regarding the Hindustani Sahitya Sammelan. There is bound to be some delay.

I have already written[2] to Dr. Tarachand. We certainly cannot incur such a huge expenditure. What you and Amritlal say is right.

I am enclosing Mohanlal's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

MAGANBHAI P. DESAI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

[1] The reference is to the "Hindustani Kosh" about which the addressee had been writing to Gandhiji.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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93. LETTER TO KUSUM NAIR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

CHI. KUSUM,

I like your frankness. You did well in writing to me.

I started on the medicine only yesterday. It is a new medicine for me and while I am taking it I have to take as much rest as possible. It has to be taken for ten days. During this time I will not send for you. Then there is a meeting[1] of the committee of Kasturba Nidhi. After that you can come.

In the mean time you may send me questions and I will reply to them. This time the replies will be only for you. I want you to understand me. Then you will have your own answer to the day-to-day questions and you will consult me only if you want my approval for something. That is what Mahadev used to do. That is what Pyarelal does. And, you will be surprised to know, that is, what the late Saunders of *Englishman* used to do with me. Parameshwaran Pillay and Subrahmanyam did the same. It will not be too much for you to find time to understand my views fully. Accepting them after having understood them is a different question. You can differ, and in that case you can bravely oppose me. I like genuine opposition.

About the phone call. When you were informed that I was in the bathroom or busy otherwise it was really so. There was no thought of deceiving you. You must know that from 7.30 to 11.30 I am busy with my routine. The work I do during that time is all the work I am able to do. After that I have a nap. As a result I am ready to see visitors only at 2.30 p. m. This is my normal routine. Those who are with me while I am taking my food ask me a few things there and then. Bear in mind that the telephone in the house where I live is almost wholly for my use. You can ask me further in this connection.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUMBEHN NAIR
74 LAKSHMI BUILDING
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD, BOMBAY

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

[1] From May 17; *vide* also p. 58.

94. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

DEAR ICE,

I love your Hindustani. You should go on writing like this. Leave space at the top and enough margin.

Choose the leprosy patients [for your treatment] and keep them somewhere in Sevagram. I shall manage the expense for both milk and ice needed for that. A big thing would be accomplished if Hari-ichchha gets well after some time. Try to learn the art of making ice in Sevagram. When will your [equipment] for making distilled water come? Balkrishna's ... [1] to the Vaidya ...[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 5875

95. LETTER TO RAGHUVIR SAHAY

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

BHAI RAGHUVIR SAHAY,

Why do you write to me in English? Your daughter is getting married in your own community, isn't she? Why do you seek my blessings for such a marriage? You know—don't you?—that I am a votary of inter-caste marriages. I like this marriage but please spare me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAGHUVIR SAHAY
ADVOCATE
BADAUN

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

[1] & [2] A few words here are illegible.

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96. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

I have your letter. Your staying at Anand Niketan seems pointless to me. So tell Sharmaji. Return the money which has been sent to you.[1] Repairs of Anand Niketan cannot be carried out with that money.

I think you should acquire a thorough knowledge of nature-cure during your stay at Bhimavaram. I hope there is no trace of untouchability in Bhimavaram. If there is, you can be of help to Dr. Raju even there. I expect you to keep spinning and weaving while you are there. Improve your health. Then we shall see what to do. Read books on nature cure also. You will have to spend at least a year in Bhimavaram.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chi. Chimanlal should read this and pass on.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 9116. Also C.W. 9185

97. LETTER TO ANJANA CHAUDHARY

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

DEAR ANJANA,

I have your letter. I do not worry about Ram Narayan[2]. He is brave and will recover. It is good that you have written to me, and I am happy to know that the children are well. They must have grown up. Let me know of their progress in their

[1] *Vide* also p. 44.
[2] Addressee's husband, who had heart attack in jail

studies. You have not given your address in your letter. How are you? I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, p. 185

98. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

AMRITLAL
CARE M. L. UDESHI
BOMBAY

UNNECESSARY COME VISITING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

99. TELEGRAM TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB[1]
CUTTACK

HOPE WELL. COME ANY DAY AFTER TWENTY-FIRST.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Congress leader of Orissa

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100. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. MANI,

I got your letter. It is clear.

As regards your fasts, I suggest that you should undertake them only for reasons of health. You will then come to know about yourself, profit from it spiritually too and be emancipated from superstition or insincerity. It is quite absurd to think that we should at least fast in memory of Ba or Mahadev if we cannot do anything more. They would surely be distressed at this if they could know about it. When we lose a dear one, we should do something difficult and at the same time dear to them. We might cultivate a sweetness of temper like Mahadev's or faith like Ba's. I have cited these as two illustrations which readily come to my mind. We can think of more. If only we realize that the body is the temple of God, or rather the instrument of God-realization, all will be well with us. Then the fraud which now passes for religion will cease. I take all this trouble to explain things to you because you are simple in habits and have resisted many temptations. I know that you would be able to achieve much more if you could rise higher in all respects.

And that is why I wish to draw you here or to the Ashram. Father too feels that way, and that makes me all the more eager to attract you. If Father was out of prison neither you nor I would desire that even for a single moment you should be anywhere else but by his side. If you are near me, you will grow in tolerance, for this is a place where one has to cultivate detachment in spite of having to adjust oneself to different temperaments. This means that we should always be ready to learn from others. We should observe people, emulate their virtues and bear with their weaknesses for that is the best way of curing them. And, therefore, come soon.

You did well to give me news of Nandubehn, Diwan Master[1] and [Dr.] Kanuga.

[1] Jiwanlal Diwan

It is nearly morning now and I am about to put out the light. I will, therefore, stop here.

Blessings to everybody there.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL
C/O SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
MARINE LINES, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 134-5

101. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

DEAR JOSHI,

I have your kind note[1].

You need not await the *finale* of our correspondence for answering untrue reports that may appear in the papers. That, however, apart Mohan[2] may come on the 24th instant, if Thursday is the only day he can spare. I am taking medical treatment at least till 10th, and on 17th I have a meeting[3] which may last three days.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, p. 41

[1] Dated May 1, it *inter alia* read : "As you must know, a number of untrue statements concerning our correspondence have appeared in newspapers hostile to my Party. I have not answered these as we are still exchanging letters, but. . . we should come to some understanding as soon as possible. I would therefore like to send Mohan to discuss this matter . . . on the afternoon of either Thursday May 10 or Thursday May 17."

[2] Mohan Kumaramangalam, son of Dr. P. Subbaroyan

[3] Of Kasturba Memorial Trust Committee; *vide* also p. 53.

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102. LETTER TO RANGACHARY

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

DEAR RANGACHARY,

I have gone through your letter. Your wife can remain in the Ashram to do hospital work, provided you and she do not live as husband and wife [and] live at least for a fixed number of years. Otherwise your present mood would be counted as one of fleeting emotion worthless for any lasting good.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 9107

103. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I am sending herewith the original as revised and a copy of it for your convenience. If it is too late, you can discard it. I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND
SCINDIA HOUSE
BALLARD ESTATE
FORT, BOMBAY

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

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104. LETTER TO GAJANAN NAIK

May 3, 1945

CHI. GAJANAN,

Kumarappa and others will be glad if Dhiren Mazmudar goes there. But how can he go? Everyone is busy in his own work. Do bring him if you are sure that he will come. I am of the opinion that only a new person should be brought in.

What does Jhaverbhai say? He has managed to bring in two persons. Will not one of them do?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

105. LETTER TO AMIN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. AMIN,

You do have compassion and devotion in you. In fact the two words designate the same attribute. But since you lack firmness, the two virtues become mere feelings. You lack firmness because although you know the *atman*, you do not have *paramatma* standing before you. And how can there be *atman* where *paramatma* is not? And how can we exist if there is no *atman*? In the end, however, it is a matter of faith. Have that and everything will be all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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106. LETTER TO ANANT RAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. ANANT RAM,

Your Urdu writing is very good. Continue to write like this. If Ramanama can do so much how much more can you? If things will continue like this, I shall be very happy indeed. I do not desire any change in your time-table.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : S.G. 131

107. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. SURU,

Your letter is good.

I would consider it a great triumph if you can win over Harilal. Do not leave him and do not bring him this side. He is so stubborn by nature that he relapses into his old ways again and again. Maybe, the love of you two or, you may say, the innocent love of the kid Shanti[1] will hold him. I shall be happy.

I am glad to hear that, though Prithuraj[2] is earning so much, Vali[3] continues to be as simple and innocent as she was. Has Vali improved in health? My blessings to both of them. Now even Velanbehn[4] and Anandi[5] will have arrived there.

What can I say about Ramachandran[6]? It would please me to have him with me but I would not like to take him from Travancore to have him here. I think his work in Travancore is

[1] Addressee's son
[2] & [3] Prithuraj Asar and his wife
[4] & [5] Wife and daughter of Lakshmidas Asar
[6] G. Ramachandran, addressee's maternal uncle

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over now. He is at present in the Madras Presidency. You will probably meet him. We shall know more from him.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6187. Also C.W. 3461. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

108. LETTER TO GOVIND REDDY

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. GOVIND,

I have heard that you have become very naughty. It is shameful, if true. You have been kept for a special purpose. You have to be an ideal child. You will become one, won't you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 5873. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

109. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

You have fallen ill again. This is sin. You overworked and did not care about food and sleep. Why? The body is meant for service. How can we render service, if we do not keep it fit?

You did not exert yourself too much in giving yourself the massage, did you? Take rest and recover. Take quinine if it is necessary. Eat well. Take fruit. Sleep well. Use a mosquito-net. I have written[1] to Govind. Read the letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9027. Also C.W. 9151. Courtesy : Prabhakar

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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110. TALK WITH D. N. BALAVENKATARAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 3, 1945

Mr. D. N. Balavenkataram, former President of the Salem Taluka Congress Committee, asked Gandhiji whether the Press reports that he would not think of entering the temple of Mahabaleshwar as long as they were not open to the Harijans were correct. Mahatma Gandhi remarked :

Yes, the Press reports are true. As long as the doors of the temples are not open to the Harijans, I shall never enter them.

Replying to a question whether a visitor should go on a fast unto death to see that the temples were open to the Harijans, Gandhiji said :

No. That would be an act of violence.

Asked when a fast was violent and when it could be construed as non-violent, Gandhiji replied that it would depend on the circumstances of each case.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-5-1945

111. LETTER TO HARJIVAN KOTAK

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 4, 1945

CHI. HARJIVAN,

You believe that I have more influence than I actually have. That is not right. Everything is done at its appointed time and depends also on one's inner urge. Come to the Ashram in July. Write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARJIVAN KOTAK
C/O MESSRS VRAJLAL & CO.
JEWELLERS
66/3 BEADON STREET
CALCUTTA

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

112. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 4, 1945

These are the remarks attributed to Sir Firoz Khan Noon[1] as having been made by him at San Francisco.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon claimed that while the Japanese were overrunning Burma and heading towards India, the agents of Mahatma Gandhi's party severely damaged or destroyed 332 railway stations and 945 post offices. He also alleged that Gandhiji himself encouraged disobedience because "he was convinced that Britain had been defeated and he did not want to displease the Japanese. Gandhiji is in the hands of the reactionary and orthodox Hindus. He would be doing a great service to the country if, at this moment, he were to retire in favour of a younger man. I feel Nehru would be an excellent successor to Gandhi. He has quite a large support among the Muslims and is not so bigoted as Gandhi, who is at a dead-end. The only solution is for Nehru to come to the forefront. But Nehru respects Gandhi so much that he would not come forward."

Assuming their authenticity, I beg to offer the following remarks:

Time was when I was considered by the British rulers as pro-Japanese, but they quietly withdrew the remark. There was not the slightest foundation for it. It comes somewhat as a surprise that Sir Firoz should make such a statement at this juncture. It may interest him to know that even when the British had suffered severe reverses, I told the masses that the British were fighters who were never dismayed by defeats, delighted in bungling and never learned except by making and even repeating mistakes.

I commend my writings before the August of 1942 to Sir Firoz. He will find in them my answer[2] to the *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. I stood for unadulterated Indian

[1] Defence Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council from October 1943; he was one of the three members of the Indian delegation to the San Francisco Peace Conference; the other two were A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and V. T. Krishnamachari. Noon was answering questions in an interview to Indian journalists attending the Conference.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 105-99.

independence and, therefore, could not afford to be lukewarm about Japanese or any other Power's success against the British. My purpose was to end British or any other foreign rule in India as a whole through non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance.

I had never any party of mine in the Congress. I ceased to be its member from December 1934. Whenever my services were needed by the Congress, it had every right to call me in for my special training in non-violent resistance. Neither the Congress nor I had anything to do with civil or other resistance in and after August 1942. I alone was armed with authority to start it when in my opinion the time for it came. But I was arrested before I could take any action or even issue any instructions. Therefore neither the Congress nor I could be saddled with any responsibility for the disturbances of 1942. Apart from that fact, the figures quoted by Sir Firoz are utterly unproved, the Government, though often challenged, never having taken the trouble to prove before a competent court of law the charges made by them with surprising lavishness.

Next, I come to Sir Firoz's statement about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me. He should know that I have called the Pandit my successor. He does not need to come to the front. He is in the front. The Government of India would not let him work as he would. He and I are friends. But we are no rivals. We are both servants of the people and the platform of service is as big as the world. It is never overcrowded. On it, there is always room for more, and as on the point of independence we have no differences, we are always brothers in arms. He has undoubtedly the advantage of youth over me.

Let Sir Firoz ask his Government, on pain of resignation, to release Pandit Nehru and his fellow-prisoners, and he will see his wish fulfilled. I shall give him my hearty co-operation in its fulfilment.

Let him make no capital out of my supposed bigotry or orthodoxy. He may not know that I have never been a bigot or known as such since my youth. And orthodoxy would not have me for my uncompromising and radical attitude on untouchability and general social reform. Sir Firoz is on safer ground when he accuses me of being out of date. For no one knows what or who is out of date. I confess my ignorance on the point.[1]

[1] In *Mahatma*, Vol. 7, p. 5, D. G. Tendulkar says : "George Bernard Shaw stepped in to defend Gandhi : 'Gandhi's politics is half a century out of date. His tactics like all tactics are subject to error and readjustment,

I notice too a remark made that "the Cripps Mission would have had a greater chance of success, if Mr. Gandhi had not interfered at the last stage". It is astonishing how a lie, once it gets a start, persists. I left Delhi long before the Mission had commenced its talks with the Working Committee. I then ceased to interest myself in the Mission, having more important work on hand.

The Hindu, 6-5-1945

113. TELEGRAM TO GOPAL DEO

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

GOPAL DEO
UNDER SECRETARY
ARYAN CONFERENCE
GULBURGA

NEEDLESS COMING. WRITE FULLY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

114. NOTE TO MURIEL LESTER[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
[*May*][2] *5, 1945*

I have time only to send my love to you and our friends.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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but his strategy is sound, as it was fifty or five million years ago.' As for Gandhi's retiring, he added: 'Retire from what? His position is natural, not official. The Mahatma cannot hand over anything. Leadership is not a plug of tobacco that can be passed from one man to another.' "

[1] This was a postscript to Pyarelal's letter to the addressee. She was Gandhiji's hostess during his stay in London in 1931 at Kingsley Hall, founded by her for the service of the poorer people of the East End in London.

[2] The source, however, has "April", which is obviously a slip of the pen.

115. LETTER TO APA PANT

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

MY DEAR APA,

I do not want to write to you in English. You must pick up enough Hindustani. Of course you will come when you like after 20th instant. Don't bring the charkha friend with you. Let him show me the charkha when I descend to Poona.

Love.

BAPU

KUMAR SHRI APA PANT
264 NARAYAN [PETH]
POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

116. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. LILI,

Your letter is both good and bad. It is good, you do not wish as a point of honour to go anywhere without work. But it is bad that you are not engrossed in your studies and still feel hurt that I have not taken you with me. You should know that I know you better than you do yourself. I also know better in what lies your good. Therefore, after you have argued the matter with me, you should quietly and gladly agree to do what I say and act accordingly. You have to get through at the first attempt.

Blessings from
BAPU

LILAVATI UDESHI
S. G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
LADY STUDENTS' HOSTEL
PAREL, BOMBAY

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

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117. LETTER TO KANAIYALAL N. DESAI[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

BHAI KANJIBHAI,

You are drowned in a sea of miseries. After all it is Manibehn who gives me the news! A man is tempered through adversity, in adversity. So do not consider your miseries as miseries. Forgetting God is the real unhappiness. So keep Him in your heart and remain cheerful.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL
C/O DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE BOMBAY

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

118. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. MANI,

You did well to write. No one could have given the news which you gave. Go and deliver the enclosed letter[2] to Kanjibhai. I will not say anything more as you are coming here. Narahari, Manilal, Kamalnayan and Satyanarayan[3] arrived yesterday. Munshi is coming today. Kamalnayan and Munshi are here only on a flying visit.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL
C/O SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4 : Manibehn Patelne, p. 136

[1] This was an enclosure to "Letter to Manibehn Patel", the following item.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] M. Satyanarayana, Secretary, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha

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119. LETTER TO PARMANAND DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. PARMANAND,

I have your letter. Come whenever you want to. The place will be full when there is a meeting of the Kasturba Smarak Nidhi from the 15th. You are not concerned with that.

Blessings from
BAPU

PARMANAND DESAI
C/O RAMAN BHATIA
170 BARA IMAM ROAD
NULL BAZAAR, BOMBAY

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

120. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your postcard. I have faith in your treatment and that is why I suggested that Madhavdas[1] should be sent there. Give him whatever treatment you find necessary without any hesitation. I want him to be cured. While that will make me happy, what is more important is that Ba's spirit will have peace. Chi. Manilal will bear all the necessary expenses. You are not to do this work free. Your agreeing to take this case is itself a great thing.

Tell Chi. Madhavdas on my behalf that he should resolve to be there and get cured and that he should do whatever you tell him to do. Let me know what the approximate expenditure will be.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KRISHNAVARMA
NATURE CURE HOSPITAL
MALAD

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

[1] Madhavdas Kapadia, brother of Kasturba Gandhi

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121. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. VALJI,

I have preserved your letter. You can't expect anything else from Beverley Nichols[1]. If you feel like, you may write on it in a newspaper. Please read what has been written about village industries in the pamphlet that is published from Maganwadi. Count how many years we have been working to make Sevagram a model village and, if you can predict the future, say how many more will pass. But the attempt itself is a worthy and sincere one, and, therefore, why need we hope for any fruit? Or let us say, rather, that it is a universal law without exception that the fruit of anything good is always good and, therefore, we need neither worry nor hope. Keep on repeating Ramanama, for that is the *kalpavriksha*[2]. "The two syllables will take the whole family across; all the other gods are only after cash."

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. VALJI G. DESAI
GANESH VADI
FERGUSSON COLLEGE ROAD
POONA 4

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10226. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

[1] Chief contributor of *The Sunday Chronicle*. He was sent to India in 1942-43 to write articles on Britain's attitude to India and to publish a book on India. According to *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, Nichols was doing anti-India propaganda and made derogatory remarks about Gandhiji, Hinduism and the Indian Press in *Verdict on India*.

[2] Mythical wish-yielding tree

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122. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. KAKUBHAI,

Read the enclosed postcard[1]. What does it mean?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAKUBHAI
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
KHADI BHANDAR
BOMBAY

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

123. LETTER TO LAKSHMI DEVI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI DEVI,

I am not in my own house. Please do not come here. Be satisfied with letters. You can go over to Sevagram when I go there.

Blessings from
BAPU

LAKSHMI DEVI (OF HARDOI)
KASTURBA SHIBIR
BORIVLI

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

[1] From S. S. Ayyar who had complained that in the Dadar Khadi Bhandar cotton was being carded by two electrically operated machines

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124. LETTER TO M. SATYANARAYAN

May 5, 1945

SATYANARAYANJI,

If you understand individual self-reliance, you should understand the self-reliance of a society or an institution. If an individual believes that he will get his bread if he puts in earnest labour, then the same is true of an institution. That is to say, if it renders service, it will get bread without asking, meaning thereby that it will get the money to meet its expenses. In fact, it should get the money from its neighbours. If it does not get it, then it should realize that no one cares for its services. Such a thing can happen while dispelling ignorance in a land of blind faith. Then the expenses will be borne by the reformers. The same rule will apply here too. The reformers in the beginning will starve, a few of them will even die. We must have faith that God will sustain them in some way or other. If you don't fully understand this, we shall discuss it. We won't go further than that. I will discuss it only if you want it. However, I would love it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

125. LETTER TO ROMEN CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. ROMEN[1] (OF ASHRAM),

Your letter is good. You have got to appear for the examination. Attend to the Ashram work properly. Learn both the Hindi and Urdu scripts. Exercise is necessary. Do it when it is cooler. The body should be as steel. The mind should be firm and work should be done in the spirit of service. Attend

[1] Son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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prayers both morning and evening. Read the *shlokas* and *bhajans*, etc., with commentary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10396. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

126. LETTER TO SAROJINI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. SAROJINI DEVI,

I have your letter. Your handwriting is worse than mine. I can hardly read it. If you want to learn Hindustani and improve your handwriting, you have got all the time at your disposal.

You must meet all your expenses and follow Chimanlalbhai's instructions or leave the Ashram. I cannot build quarters for you. Live in a rented house.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 5878. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

127. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

The meeting is on the 17th. I have gone through the agenda. I want that at least the four of us should be of one opinion and finish the work soon. So, if possible, let me have the opinions of the three of you on all the topics or of those available.

Why is the agenda in English? When shall we arrive at Hindi?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHYAMLAL
KASTURBA NIDHI OFFICE
SCINDIA HOUSE
BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

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

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128. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. Yes, health and everything else depend on the mind. The saying "If the mind is pure, the Ganga is in the house" is always true. Whatever the kind of work one gets, if it is done willingly, one shall surely succeed.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

129. LETTER TO HARIRAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 5, 1945

BHAI HARIRAM,

Why do you write to me in English? In *Bharat Tek* only Bharat's language should be used. Write in Nagari or Urdu. On paper your work seems good. I will not call anyone here. Continue sending me your journal. If anyone goes over to Segaon after I return there, I might allow him to come. Write to me then. Meanwhile I will continue perusal of your journal.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

HARIRAM ADVOCATE
"BHARAT TEK" PRESS
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

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

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130. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

CHI. SITA[1],

I suppose this time I should excuse you for writing in pencil. Don't say cleaning duty—say cleaning work or dharma to clean up. Duty means dharma. It is not '*bheen*' but '*bhinna*'. It is '*sunvu*' and not '*shunvun*'. It is '*bauddhik*' and not '*baudheek*'. It is '*farvun*' and not 'trip'.

We are all well here. Manu is still weak. She is not completely free from fever. Kanu left on Sunday. He will take Abha to Rajkot. Manilal has arrived. The weather here is good. It is a pleasant thought that by now you are feeling quite at home there. It will help you a lot, if you preserve your health.

Convey my blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

SITA GANDHI
RASHTRIYA SEVIKA CLASS
OMARI, AKOLA (BERAR)

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

131. LETTER TO SITARAM P. PATWARDHAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

CHI. APPA,

I have gone through your whole letter to Chi. Hemantkumar[2] twice. Consider my opinion as useless. When you act upon something that you honestly regard as truth, it is as good as satyagraha. It does not cease to be satyagraha because of my criticism. There will be no progress if we do not act in such a

[1] Daughter of Manilal Gandhi
[2] Joint Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh

manner. I have not criticized anything. It will be all right if what I write is taken as a guide for the future. I smell untruth in what your co-worker has done. The impression he had made on Gangaputra did not last. It is worse than the equivocation : "It could be a man, it could be an elephant"[1] was in itself falsehood.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI APPASAHEB PATWARDHAN
KANKAVALI P.O.
RATNAGIRI DISTRICT

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

132. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

You gave me a prompt and full reply. It is well and good if you have not done it at the cost of your sleep. You must have met Raihanabehn. She should be satisfied by your reply.

I will not write more as you will be seeing me in a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

MRIDULABEHN
C/O SHETH AMBALAL SARABHAI
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

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

[1] The equivocation from the *Mahabharata* was by Yudhishthira who was asked to confirm that Ashwatthama had been killed.

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133. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 6, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Instead of tearing this up, I am sending it for all of you to read.

I hope you yourself are well. Prabhakar should take all the necessary treatment and get well. If he wishes to go to Bhimavaram he may do so. But I am quite sure that he can get well there if he is regular in food and other habits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9108. Also C.W. 9179. Courtesy : Chimanlal N. Shah

134. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

Not revised *May 6, 1945*

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have gone through your book *Kanyane Patro*. The letters seem to have been written with great care but you have not been bold enough.

Your views about mixed marriages are not expressed clearly. Since I believe that we cannot have too many of such marriages, I do not at all approve of marriages within the same caste. I do not find you advocating mixed marriages on an extensive scale even within the same province. You accept inter-provincial marriages only as exceptions. I would encourage them and they ought to be encouraged. Reformists, being indifferent to religion, may do that, but their example will have no effect. We, however, who keep religion in the forefront should make up our minds how far we are prepared to go. If Hindustani becomes the national language and castes and sub-castes as we know them disappear—as they should—we should unhesitatingly accord the highest importance to marriages between Ati-Sudras and caste-Hindus. The question of provincial boundaries will not even

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arise then. Where parents are wise, there should be no difficulty even about marriages between persons of different religions. Do we not look upon all religions as equal? It is with some purpose that we have accorded a place to other faiths in our prayer. The offspring may choose either religion. The couple of our conception will give the children liberal education in that regard. In my view this should be quite easy. In 'letters addressed to a girl', such things should be stated firmly and clearly.

Mahadev's article is a little out of focus. Vanamala's doubt is correct. What do our Jain nuns do? And what about Swaminarayan nuns? It will produce indigestion in the children if we give them so much from English literature. Comparisons should be made only between equals. Our culture is free from the extremes of Western culture. We may know that culture after we have grown up and compare it with ours. Growing children should first understand and assimilate their own heritage. But I will not make this too long.

I was forgetting one point. You have written with people of our category in view, i. e., the upper three castes, and even among them Brahmins and Banias. What about Rajputs? And Sudras? Also Ati-Sudras? They permit divorce and remarriage. There are also communities among whom there is no such thing as marriage ceremony. Even then purity is observed. This thing must be mentioned.

Accept from this only what you can assimilate. This will give you a glimpse of my latest thinking. This is an important letter. Make a copy for record in the office or ask Hemantkumar to make one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9131

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135. LETTER TO GIRIRAJ KISHORE BHATNAGAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

CHI. GIRIRAJ,

It is good I got your postcard. It is not a matter for worry that you are not able to meet me. It is enough for me that you are doing the work which is dear to me. Advance your knowledge of Hindi and Urdu so that they become one. It does not matter if it takes time. You did well to send me news of Hari[1] and Vimala[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8773

136. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I hear that you have decided to go on the 12th.[3]

Bhai Dinshaw is here. He is agreeable to all other conditions; but wants an undertaking that the Trust village will continue to be available for nature cure for at least five years after the document is signed. Later, if the attempt fails, the movable or immovable property of the Trust may be used for educational purposes.

I feel we should agree to this.

You will be in good health.

Is it right about the 12th?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Reply by wire.

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8070. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] & [2] Addressee's son and daughter

[3] The addressee was planning to visit England and America; *vide* also p. 94.

137. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 6, 1945

What do you think of the future plans now being made by the Government to dispose of Indian industries under high-sounding phrases, through the nationalist-minded Sir Ardeshir Dalal[1] and through the visit of capitalists reported to be presently despatched unofficially to America and England, under the auspices of the Government of India?

This question has been put to me.

Nothing said by those outside the Government ring seems to matter. They have come to know that the best of us will speak loud and give it the lie by our action. Big merchants, capitalists, industrialists and others speak and write against the Government, but in action do its will and even profit—through it—though the profit may amount to, say, five per cent against the Government's 95. Circumstances alone may be to blame for the condition in which the country has been weltering since the advent of British commerce backed by British guns.

The bright spot in the situation, however, is that all the big interests proclaim with one voice that India wants nothing less than her own elected national government to shape her own destiny free of all control, British or other. This independence will not come for the asking. It will come only when the interests, big or small, are prepared to forgo the crumbs that fall to them from partnership with the British in the loot which British rule takes from India. Verbal protests will count for nothing so long as the partnership continues unchecked.

The so-called unofficial deputation, which the protestants fear will go to England and America, dare not proceed, whether for inspection or for entering into a shameful deal, so long as the moving spirits of the Working Committee are being detained without any trial for the sole crime of sincerely striving for India's independence without shedding a drop of blood save their own.

The Bombay Chronicle 7-5-1945

[1] Managing Director, Tata Iron and Steel Company, Bombay; Member, Planning and Development, Viceroy's Executive Council

138. ADVICE TO BRAHMACHARI MAHAVIR[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
[On or before *May 7, 1945*][2]

My only advice to you is to go to your own neighbouring villages and serve the villagers there. My fifteen-point programme is before you. Choose any of them and work on it. Learn Hindustani, either in the Devanagari or in Urdu script and teach the same to them. Learn to clean cotton, spin and weave and teach the same to others. No speeches are required but there is the necessity for actual service through work.

The Hindu, 9-5-1945

139. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

AMRITLAL
CARE M. L. UDESHI
BOMBAY

WRITING. INTERVIEW NEEDLESS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] & [2] The advice was reported by United Press of India under the dateline "Mahabaleshwar, May 7" as "sought" by Brahmachari Mahavir of the Ramakrishna Ashram, Madras, who saw in Gandhiji a greater Vivekananda as Vivekananda used to say fifty years ago, "India required great Vivekanandas to serve the poor and the downtrodden and bring about their liberation, both political and spiritual."

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140. TELEGRAM TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

MRIDULABEHN SARABHAI
KASHMIR HOUSE, NEPEAN SEA ROAD
MALABAR HILL
(BOMBAY)

COME WITH TARABEHN.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

141. TELEGRAM TO "VIRBHARAT"

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

DAILY "VIRBHARAT"
LAHORE

THEY MUST DECIDE LOCALLY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

142. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

DEAR AGATHA,

This[1] is a full letter. I simply add my love and say I am flourishing as well as circumstances permit.

BAPU

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD
LONDON S. W. 11

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The reference is to Pyarelal's letter to the addressee.

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143. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

I got yours last night. I am sorry you are or were ill again when you wrote. The weather here is superb. If Ramprasad can look after your work for some time I would like you to come here and be with me till the end of June.

Do not worry about Ramprasad's returning quickly. He can be easily spared till I return to Wardha. Indeed if the weather there agrees with him and he likes the work, he can stay even beyond June. He is a very capable man. He has done hard work. But he had illness and has been pulled down. Teach him to take care of cattle if he will learn it. He is quite able to learn new things. The question is whether he is strong enough.

Parmeshwariprasad is the likeliest man to send you a man for animals. I shall ask Kamalnayan to write to him. He is in Gaziabad.

I wish Balvantsinha could come. But he can't leave his niece unless I am in Sevagram. She won't let him go during my absence.[1]

Pyarelal has a staff of his own—shorthand typist and another assistant. Narahari is also here to assist him. Dinshaw of course attends to me. Manilal of Phœnix is also here and so is Dr. Sushila. Shanti Kumar of course.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6506. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9901

[1] *Vide* also p. 118.

144. NOTE FOR NARAHARI D. PARIKH

May 7, 1945

1. There can be one Inspector.
2. One kind of food.
3. Uniform pattern of moral education, e. g., teaching of non-violence and truth. Prayer according to religious persuasion.
4. Basic principles of fifteen-point programme.
5. General information about the institutions.
6. Students should spend at least fifteen days in such institutions.
7. The leading workers should have the ability (in general) to run such institutions so that they can render help in any joint institution when the need arises.
8. [The institutions] should keep with them the surplus money if they can.
9. All the workers should learn Hindustani (Hindi-Urdu).
10. Such notes should be circulated among the members asking them which points mentioned therein they like and which they do not. They should add new points. Suggest the date of meeting after June.
11. This note should be sent to others also.

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

145. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. VASUMATI,

What I said, did not mean what you have understood it to mean. All I meant was that you should not lose balance of mind. But now I should also like to mean what you have inferred. Free yourself from outside involvements and dig yourself in at Samau whether you live or die. The hope I have cherished of you will flower if you can do so. Have a frank talk with Chandubhai. Clarify things about Surat. But if you lack the necessary strength and do it only for my sake, then it will

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not be becoming and it will not endure. Whatever dreams I may cherish, how are you concerned?

Do whatever you do, only after measuring your own strength.

I want to see your body glow as copper. I have sent a letter[1] to Akbar. It will have reached him.

Blessings from
BAPU

VASUMATI PANDIT
VILLAGE SAMAU, *via* OLD DISA
NORTH GUJARAT

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

146. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your two letters. It is not good that you strain yourself and write at twelve o'clock. You should go to bed by ten and get up at four. During day-time you should have one hour's nap.

Democracy need not be dismissed wholesale. It is based on ahimsa. There is profound truth in the saying "The voice of the *Panch* is the voice of God". But the *Panch* should be worshipper of God.

For you and me and everybody else, the way to peace is silent service and generosity of heart.

I understand about Kanchan. Let her move towards self-perfection in the way she wants. If she is discontented, nobody will be able to stop her, neither you nor I. How, then, can Amtussalaam?

If we wait till the hearts of all become one, we shall have to go on waiting for ever. We should follow the dictum "The whole world is good if we ourselves are good" and try our utmost to live in harmony with everybody.

I know Hiramani very well. I should certainly like it if she were to come and stay in the Ashram and get experience. When she wants to marry, she will find the man. But why need she

[1] *Vide* p. 3.

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think about that at all? She is a girl who wants to be useful and can be useful in many ways. She may write to me if she wishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8454. Also C.W. 5577. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

147. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter and I am answering it at once. You are perfectly right in sending a man to be with Madhavdas, to keep watch over him and make him eat regularly. Do not worry at all that he may say something or disobey you. He has lost grip over himself. That is why I have entrusted him to your care. Make him read this letter so that he knows what I think about him. Let him feel that this letter is addressed to him also. You must accept money for expenses.[1]

Let me know about it.

Please keep on writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KRISHNAVARMA
NATURE CURE HOSPITAL
MALAD

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 69

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148. LETTER TO BHAGWANLAL R. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. BHAGWANLAL,

I have received your draft for Rs. 303 from Chi. Jaisukhlal. I hope you are getting on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHAH BHAGWANLAL RANCHHODDAS
MEHTA MILL STORES, KARACHI
C/O JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
SIND MARKET, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
KARACHI

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

149. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I am enclosing a draft for Rs. 303 drawn on Vachhraj Co., Wardha. Please credit the money in my account. The details are at the back of Chi. Jaisukhlal's letter. I have sent an acknowledgment to Bhagwanlal. So you need not write to him.

You must do what Dr. Ice suggests for you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

He says that you will certainly regain your strength if you take rest and the treatment as he suggests. Do take rest. You need not walk much. Eat what he permits you to. Tell Chi. Shakaribehn[1] to write to me. It is your duty to get well. I

[1] Addressee's wife

stick to my advice that you should do all this if you do not want to leave the Ashram.

We shall not be able to clean the Birla well by manual efforts. We must blast[1] it out. I had told Rameshwardas about it. I do not know what we can do for the time being.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHIMANLAL
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM
WARDHA

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

150. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

May 7, 1945

I remember having replied to one of these letters in Sevagram. I am familiar with the case. I am of the opinion that since Vashi[2] has obeyed the order for so long, he should wait for some time more. However, if he is truly inspired with zeal, he should sacrifice everything, give a clear notice and resort to civil disobedience. He should not be guided by my opinion but by his own inner zeal.

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

151. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD

May 7, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I have your letter. It will be very nice if your health remains good. Mirabehn has fallen ill. If you can look after the cattle and manage the other activities and if Mirabehn agrees to take rest, then send her here.[3]

There was a letter from Chi. Kanta. She did not look after her health and so she suffers. For a woman carrying a child it

[1] This word is in English.

[2] Bapubhai Naranji Vashi who, after his release from jail on grounds of health, was prohibited from leaving his village

[3] *Vide* also p. 83.

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is doubly sinful to be careless about her health. Does she not know that there is neither virtue nor greatness in such carelessness—but only foolishness? How can one make her understand this?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

152. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI[1],

I have received your postcard and that of Chimanlal also. It will be a great thing if you are cured even with penicillin. Chand's[2] coming there to you, I have left to Chand herself. If she comes she will stay in Harijan Nivas. She has done good work in Borivli and she is interested in getting training as a nurse. She is a dutiful girl.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SATYAVATI DEVI
T. B. HOSPITAL
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

153. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. VIYOGI HARI[3],

Chandrani might go there to help Satyavati Devi. If she does, please put her up somewhere in Harijan Nivas. She is a

[1] Grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand, she was a social worker who became Gandhiji's close associate from 1930. She was interned during the "Quit India" movement, developed tuberculosis in jail and was released on grounds of health.

[2] Chandrani's

[3] Hariprasad Dwivedi

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good and simple girl. She is learning nursing at the Ashram. She is from the Punjab. I am well. Convey my blessings to all the Harijan children.

Blessings from
BAPU

VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN COLONY
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

154. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

May 7, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I have your letter. It is good. Everyone says, one must take leafy vegetables and fruit. You say, no. Please let me have your reasons. Don't you take those things? Is milk alone sufficient diet?

You can certainly cook separately. I on my part want to give you two rooms for your patients. As I am away you may take those from the Secretary. If you can cure any patients I refer to you, I shall be very happy and can then fix your monthly salary.

Make use of whatever utensil is necessary for distilled water. Such water will be of use to us.

Do treat Balkrishna if he himself consults you. His condition has remained unchanged by Dr. Sushila's treatment.

I am constantly worrying about Hari-ichchha. My faith in you will greatly increase if you can cure her.

I have answered all the questions, haven't I? Write to me if anything has been left out.

BAPU

[PS.]

Leave space at the top and enough margin.

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

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155. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

BHAI JOSHI,

It will be all right if Mohan comes on the 24th.[1] If he comes any time between 2 and 4, I will see him.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI P. C. JOSHI
COMMUNIST PARTY
RAJ BHAVAN, SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY 4

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

156. LETTER TO VIDYA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. VIDYA,

Your husband went and then your son too. But what does it matter ? All of us are destined to go the same way. Everyone pays his debt and is gone. Some go early, some late. Let the rest of your life be a life of service. Then happiness or sorrow is all the same. May God prosper you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIDYABEHN
RAMJAS BUILDING
4 PARK ROAD
LUCKNOW

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 58.

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157. LETTER TO PARACHURE SHASTRI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

BHAI PARACHURE SHASTRI,

I have your beautiful letter in Sanskrit. You have risen from the death-bed. Recover fully. Achieve complete victory over the mind. I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PARACHURE SHASTRI
MAHAROGI SEVA MANDAL
DATTAPUR
NALVADI P. O., WARDHA

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

158. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 7, 1945

CHI. SAILEN,

Father asked me if he might take you to Calcutta for treatment.[1] What could I do except to say, 'Yes'? If you could be treated here I would send for you. But it is not possible. I would advise you to go to the Malad Nature Cure Hospital. If you are agreeable I can send you to Dr. Krishnavarma. But you will have to pay the charges there. It would be good if Rishabhdas could give his consent. The climate of Malad is good. It is a suburb of Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Learn to write in Hindustani.

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10391. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] The addressee had been suffering from gastritis. *Vide* also p. 24.

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159. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

May 7, 1945

CHI. AMRITA LAL,

Let them write what they want. I do not wish to send for them here. I have not the time either.

I have advised Sailen to go to the Malad Sanatorium.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10403. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

160. TELEGRAM TO G. V. GURJALE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

NIRMALANANDA
CARE APPLIANCE
BOMBAY

COME SEVAGRAM WHEN I REACH THERE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

161. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
15 COLLEGE SQUARE
CALCUTTA

SORRY ABOUT EYES. DO NOT STRAIN. IF YOU COME YOU WILL STAY JUHU WITH SHANTIKUMARJI[1]. SOMEONE WILL MEET YOU DADAR STATION ON RECEIPT YOUR WIRE SHANTIKUMARJI CARE JALANATH BOMBAY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Shantikumar N. Morarjee

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162. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

SHETH GHANSHYAMDAS
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE.[1] MY STATEMENT[2] WAS NECESSARY. IT DEALS WITH HYPOTHETICAL CASE. NO HASTY OPINION. STATEMENT EXPRESSES VIEW WHICH I HAVE ALWAYS HELD. YOU HAVE NOTHING TO REGRET SINCE YOU TATA KASTURBHAI PROCEEDING WHOLLY UNOFFICIALLY. YOU HAVE MY BLESSINGS AND PRAYER IN TERMS OF FAMISHING AND NAKED INDIA.[3] HANDING PRESS BOTH WIRES.[4]

BAPU

From a copy : C.W. 7871. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] The addressee in his telegram of May 7 had, *inter alia*, said : "I am very much pained . . . that you could have given a public expression of distrust in the *bona fides* of myself, Tata and Kasturbhai whom you have so well known, and thought that we were going for entering into a deal on behalf of India, shameful or otherwise. . . . we know that we have no authority to enter even into a good deal to say nothing of shameful. The industrial delegation is going purely as a non-official body at its own expense with its own secretariat to England and America with a view to meet people and study the latest methods of production and scientific achievement. . . . Your statement is sure to be construed as a strong denunciation of our motives. . . . I am leaving Karachi on May 14 and count on your blessings and prayer. . . ."

[2] *Vide* p. 80.

[3] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 107, Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji defended himself, when objected to by a friend for "giving his conditional blessing to the industrialists", saying "that is the only way in which ahimsa can act. . . . My blessings will haunt like a ghost anyone who contravenes the condition attaching to it." According to Pyarelal, "Gandhiji explained, he had put all concerned, including the British Government, on their honour and made it easier for the industrialist friends to put up a fight against any reaction whether within their ranks or without and resist any plan detrimental to Indian interests. . . ."

[4] In a telegraphic reply dated May 10, the addressee expressed his sense of relief and said he would go "with a happy heart". *Vide* also p. 102.

163. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 8, 1945

BAPA,

I have your letter. My work is going on according to my ways. The Government's reply has come today from Hyderabad. I shall see what can be done. Go through it when you come here. Take rest.

BAPU

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

164. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Your suggestion is good. How we can get away[1] has to be considered. I will send for you if necessary.

Madalasa was not right in giving up hip-bath. She can fill the tub with river water and use it.

Blessings to all of you. A sweet kiss for Rasagulla[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 305-6

165. TRIBUTE TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE[3]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

Tagore is not only unquestionably the Poet of India or of Asia, but of the whole world. It has become the custom among

[1] From the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

[2] Pet name of Bharat, the addressee's son

[3] Gandhiji was speaking at the evening prayer on the occasion of the 85th birth anniversary of the Poet.

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us to pay homage to the memory of the great dead not by observing the day of the death anniversary but by observing their birthday. The simple reason, perhaps, is that they never die with the dissolution of their bodies. Their memory becomes immortal in their works. Rama and Krishna were avatars. We celebrate their birthdays. Similarly, though Gurudev is no longer in flesh among us he will continue to live through his immortal poetry. The memory of the Poet will grow richer as years roll by.

The Hindu, 13-5-1945

166. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I have read your letter to Pyarelal.

Gurbuxani's wife has sunk herself in him. Therefore she would do what he says. But never spoil them by giving them more than their worth in our cause and according to our scale. Again no more than your public work can cope with. All I want you to do is to extend your sympathy and advice to them.

Yes, Agatha's letter that M. brought was duly received by me. He wanted no acknowledgment and I spared myself.

You must keep yourself fit. I am glad Shummy[1] is better. Love to you all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4155. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7790.

167. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

BHAI MAHMUD,

I had been awaiting your letter. It came today. I was very happy. I notice that you are having a good deal of success.

Yes, do go to Ceylon.

[1] Shumshere Singh, addressee's brother

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Come over any time you feel like it. I hope to be here or at Panchgani (which is the same thing) till the end of June. It is cool here, but not very.

Take what treatment you can for your eyes. Do not try just any remedy suggested by anyone. But do take treatment from a person you can trust. Rajaji is with me. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu : G.N. 5095

168. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

I have your letter. I will say, your handwriting is all right this time. Still there is room for improvement. You will form a good hand if, whenever you write to anyone, you do so in a neat handwriting. You are learning well there too. Show this to Krishnachandraji so that he will teach you if he has time.

Come to me whenever you want to. You will be accommodated here. Up to the 20th I shall be a little short of time. After that I hope to have some leisure.

Dr. Mahmud will have gone to Ceylon. Address his letter to Delhi, C/o Dr. Shaukat Ali Ansari.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

169. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

May 9, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter. I take it that Madhavdas is getting on well. I do wish that you should at least accept the amount you actually spend on him. You may not take anything when I send someone who really can't pay. I did not pay for Ba's

treatment, did I? If you do not accept anything I shall have hesitation in sending you other cases.

If you cannot write yourself, you should not hesitate to ask others to write to me. The only thing is that all sections of the Nature Cure Clinic should be functioning well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

170. LETTER TO GAJANAN NAIK

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

CHI. GAJANAN,

I have your letter. Even if you go to Dhiren, you can go only with their permission and with money taken from there. You are not going there on your own. After all you are working, are you not, for the Gramodyog [Sangh] ?

It is your duty to write to me the things which you now hesitate to write. You should not care whether it will make me happy or unhappy. If a person dedicated to public work has not acquired the capacity to hear unhappy things it may be said he has not achieved anything. Therefore write to me without any hesitation.

Blessings from
BAPU

C/O SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

171. LETTER TO CHUGH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

BHAI CHUGH,

I have your wire. I have written to you that you should treat me when I come down, haven't I? The main treatment will be for shivering, blood-pressure and hook-worm. The climate here is congenial. So if there is an improvement it will be

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difficult to say whether it was due to the climate or the treatment. If the climate here does not do any good I shall see what your treatment does. Besides, in Sevagram you will also treat other patients.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. CHUGH
RAVAL BUILDING
LAMINGTON ROAD (SOUTH)
BOMBAY 4

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

172. LETTER TO KAMALA LELE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

CHI. KAMALA[1],

I have your postcard. I am glad that you have fully recovered. It didn't matter that you could not meet me. So you have named him Jyotirmaya[2]. Why this craze for such Sanskritized names? It is a futile trend. Remember this for the future. If the marriage[3] is in the same community do not ask for my blessings, however deserving the girl may be. I send my blessings if she is from another community.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6111. Also C.W. 3425. Courtesy : Kamala Lele

173. LETTER TO MUSHTAQ AHMED

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 9, 1945

BHAI MUSHTAQ AHMED,

I have your letter of the 2nd instant. The replies to your questions are given below :

[1] A social worker; she was teaching in Mahila Ashram, Wardha.
[2] Addressee's new-born son
[3] Of the addressee's brother-in-law

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1. Communal representation is in itself bad.
2. No one today has the right to enrol members for the Congress.
3. The committees you mention have not been formed constitutionally. They just set themselves up. Everyone can therefore refuse to recognize them.
4. So far as I am aware there are no restrictions in this regard laid down in the Congress Constitution. Even a hooligan can enter the Congress.
5. Yes, provided they sincerely work for the Congress.

The above answers should be considered tentative. They represent my personal view. From a legal angle my view could be wrong and, even if it was not, it could be rejected for the simple reason that I do not possess any authority. You may therefore assume that it is not to be taken into account.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MUSHTAQ ALI
34 PREM HOUSE
CONNAUGHT PLACE, NEW DELHI

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

174. LETTER TO J. R. D. TATA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 10, 1945

BHAI JEHANGIR,

I have your angry note, if you can ever write anything angry.

If you have all gone not to commit yourselves to anything, my note[1] protects you. My answer is to the hypothetical question. If the hypothesis is wrong, naturally the answer is wrong and is therefore protective of you all. There was no question of my referring to any of you, as I was dealing with an assumption. I hope I am clear.[2]

Yours,[3]
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 80 and 94.
[2] *Vide* also pp. 102-3.
[3] The source has this in Gujarati : "*Tamaro*".

175. LETTER TO S. K. PATIL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 10, 1945

BHAI PATIL[1],

I am not satisfied with the report you have sent to Pyarelal. I wanted the published public programme of the Party. Still it is something. I hope all the efforts being made will bear fruit and the constructive activity will progress.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI S. K. PATIL, M.L.A. (BOMBAY)
HIRA HOUSE
381 SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY 4

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

176. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 10, 1945

BHAI HIRALAL SHASTRI,

Enclosed are two letters from Ku. Bagale. You must have seen the newspaper. If you wish you may send a reply. Her letters have not made a favourable impression on me. But why was Ratandevi a party to it? I was under the impression that she did not know English and I always respected her. I was taken aback when I read her letter in the Press. It is immaterial whether she herself wrote it or had someone else to write it. If women themselves kiss these fetters instead of breaking them, what is the good of an institution such as yours? All the girls will write in English and raise a controversy in the Press. This

[1] General Secretary of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for 17 years, he became its President in 1946; Minister, Government of India, 1957-63 and 1964-67

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complaint is my own. It has nothing to do with Ku. Bagale and others. She is steeped in English.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Hiralal Shastri Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

177. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 10, 1945

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I have read it twice.

I like your enthusiasm. I am doubtful about the benefit. However, there is no harm if you merely observe and do not commit yourselves. You have sent a telegram. Tata writes that you are going only to have some experience and not to bind yourselves to anything. It is just as well.

It was absolutely necessary to answer[1] Noon.

I have published your telegram and also my reply.[2] The sharp replies provoked by my statement[3] show how thoughtless we generally are. My statement is in defence of those who are going, provided they are not proceeding in order to work for the Government. The Government of course want it and are ready to help. They also know its intention. What is the point in going if you will not serve their interests ? I told them clearly that so long as they do not expect any orders and till the political prisoners are released, there is no harm in going. Even if there is some gain, it has to be given up till there is no popular authority or popular rule.

Convince your colleagues that my statement was quite proper if they prove themselves staunch.

Preserve your health and improve it during the journey.

You must have received my letter[4] regarding Dinshaw. I am enclosing a copy of the letter I had sent at Delhi. There

[1] *Vide* pp. 64-6.
[2] *Vide* p. 94.
[3] *Vide* p. 80.
[4] *Vide* p. 79.

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is no harm in coming out of the Trust if there is even the slightest hesitation. Dinshaw's mind is still set on it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you find my statement harmless, pacify Tata[1] and others.
[Enclosure :] Copy of the letter about Dinshaw.

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8071. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

178. LETTER TO SOPHIA WADIA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 11, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your usual gift for the White Lotus Day to be used for any of my various constructive public activities.

Love to you both.

BAPU

SHRI SOPHIA WADIA
ARYA SANGHA
22 NARAYAN DABHOLKAR ROAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY 6

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

179. LETTER TO TARACHAND

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 11, 1945

BHAI TARACHAND,

Pandit Sunderlal is here. It is good he came. I have had talk with him. As a consequence we all feel that there is a danger of being misled if the committee functions at Allahabad. Panditji said that those working on the Board[2] will be afraid of going to Wardha and may refuse to go there. The implications of this are obnoxious. The Sabha was born in Wardha. It

[1] *Vide* also p. 100.

[2] The Literature Board of the All-India Hindi Prachar Sabha; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 26-6-1945.

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functioned in Wardha. The work on the dictionary should be carried on in Wardha and, if I am to do this work and supervise the dictionary, the office of the Board should be in Wardha. There will be nothing to worry about if, for the sake of convenience, some work is done in Allahabad. A building was constructed in Wardha for this work. Kakasaheb's place is in Wardha. I am, therefore, of the firm opinion that the headquarters of the Dictionary Board should be in Wardha. If Akhtar works for us he should stay in Wardha. It will be all right if your own share of work is for the most part sent on to you in Allahabad. From this point of view, consideration of expenditure becomes secondary. We should now make public the names of the members of the Board we have decided to form, shouldn't we? Panditji is writing to the persons concerned. We have to have someone take the final decision about the work and then get it approved by the executive committee. Isn't that so? According to the rules it should be like that. Let me know your opinion. I am here and in Panchgani till the end of June.

Panditji is of the opinion that I should be the constitutional head of the Board. But I don't think it is necessary.[1]

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

180. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

May 11, 1945

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. What you write about Purushottam is right. A man belonging to the Urdu Anjuman can also belong to our organization, can't he? Therefore those working for the Hindi Sammelan can also work for us. I should maintain that policy as long as I am associated with the Sammelan work. However, if that is against the policy of the Sammelan then I must leave. I am considering this.

Please welcome Kosambi on my behalf.

I am in correspondence with Dr. Tarachand.[2] We have formed a special committee at Wardha, haven't we? We shall do everything after consulting it and the General Body, shall we not?

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

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My views on the future activities of the Vidyapith are as follows. We must start implementing the ideas I have expressed on Nayee Talim. That covers everything. So there will be a revolutionary change in the existing schemes of the Vidyapiths. The entire structure will change. However, these changes won't be effected artificially. Whatever you wish to take from my speeches or discussions should be acted upon. Can you understand from this what I have in mind? Come to Panchgani if you want to know more.

It is your duty to persuade Narahari and take him with you. You will have to take many in this way. That is what is called institution ethics. If that is not done only individual work will be done. Now I have replied to all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

MAGANBHAI DESAI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

181. LETTER TO RAMJI GOPALJI BADHIA

May 11, 1945

BHAI RAMJI,

I have your letter. The day of the hearing is over, so we may say that the purpose has been achieved. Do not seek my advice in this thing. Parikshitlal[1] is there. Do whatever is needful after consulting him. You should keep me free from personal affairs. I am no longer in a position to cope with such work.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMJI GOPALJI
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

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

[1] Parikshitlal Majmudar

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182. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 11, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Give Chandrani whatever amount she needs for the journey to Delhi. See that she reaches safely. Tell her, I have already written[1] to Viyogi Hari and that she should go straight by tonga to Kingsway [Camp]. Let her stay at the Harijan Colony. Tell her to write to me. Tell her to take care of her health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10629

183. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 11, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

You seem to be very dear to God. Something or the other always befalls you. So a heavy weight fell on Anand[2]? He was lucky to survive. Was the accident caused through any of his pranks? Learn to train him. God is testing you; see that you pass.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10057. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

[1] *Vide* pp. 89-90.
[2] Addressee's son

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184. LETTER TO UMADEVI AGRAWAL

May 11, 1945

CHI. OM,

I like your Urdu very much. The handwriting is also neat. If my letter gives you peace, happiness and food for the mind, then it is something to be thought over. You should have such strength that once having understood me, you should not need a letter from me, nor should it be necessary to consult me. That is to say, you should be able to digest my views.

I am happy to know that Kanam is getting on well.

What do Chimanlal and others say about exercise? Saman is there, isn't he?

You have the equipment, don't you?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

185. LETTER TO VIRBALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 11, 1945

CHI. VIRBALA,

You mention my old letter. But the assurance I gave you then I cannot give you today. I have a place for you because my desire is the same as before. But I do not have the strength. Write to me if you want to, after I return to Sevagram. At the moment it is almost impossible to call you.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VIRBALA
C/O LALA RADHAMOHANJI
227 WEST STAND ROAD
KEDAR KUTIR, MEERUT

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

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186. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

May 11, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I have your letter. How nice it will be if Hari-ichchha recovers completely. The entire credit will go to you. More than that, flowers will be showered on you from above.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Do something to make the heat there bearable.

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

187. DISCUSSION WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May [*11*/][2] *12, 1945*

RAJAGOPALACHARI : The people, who are now saying they are doing your constructive work, are really parliamentarians but only one branch of it and they seek power through your unofficial influence, whereas other parliamentarians are seeking it through constitutional channels. On the other hand, the only man who understands and can do your constructive work is myself.

GANDHIJI : Yes.

Are you thinking of dividing Congress work into functions?

I am not thinking of division of functions. But there is a natural division. But I have not thought (of)[3] compartments lower and higher.

[1] & [2] The discussion is extracted from "Rajaji : Gandhiji's Alter Ego" by Pyarelal, who says that the talks continued for two days. However, only the last paragraph, under the date-line May 12, 1945, is available in the G.N. source. According to Pyarelal, Gandhiji wrote out his answers on slips of paper as he was "observing silence for a greater part of the day, under medical advice".

[3] This and other parentheses are as in the source.

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It is like *varna vyavastha.*

Horizontal, never vertical. But my conception certainly is that we can come to our own if all take up constructive work.

Parliamentary work will help constructive work. But (constructive) work need not necessarily be our whole care.

It replaces armed activity. But we can never come to our own through parliamentary activity (alone).

If, on the one hand, no one outside can act on behalf of the Congress and, on the other, the British Government will not release the Working Committee members unless a basis of reconciliation has been authoritatively agreed to, there is an insoluble tangle. Someone must some time or other act on behalf of the Congress and accept a scheme of settlement and, as a part of that scheme, the prisoners must be released. You must, therefore, act on behalf of the Congress. You know you are competent to do it. You say that every Congressman may act on his own authority as if he were president. But this is chaos. Suppose now, there are a number of president-candidates, the best man must win. That is you. The man who is in fact the best man to take up authority should take up responsibility at some time. There is no use asking others to negotiate without committing the Congress. There is no force behind Bhulabhai's[1] efforts because you have not given[2] open and unreserved approval to his proposals. It is only if you take up the authority like a dictator, can reasonable scheme of settlement have success. You must take up authority on behalf of the Congress some time.

That point may be reached some time, but not now.

It may be that parliamentary activity will advance constructive work and that will help.

Then you hold my view or I yours.[3]

[1] Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, he was trying to end the political deadlock in the matter of Congress-League coalition for the formation of a national government through talks with Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the talks, however, failed.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, pp. 10-1.

[3] Pyarelal explains, rest of the discussion took place on May 12 and it was about the Ashti-Chimur prisoners, which Gandhiji "made the acid test of British sincerity". *Vide* also "Silence Day Note to Bhulabhai Desai", 11-6-1945.

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As Churchill (was it Pritt[1]?) has said, the courts are not beyond political influence. This he said some years ago about Judge Granville over a heated political case involving judicial points. In my case (in South Africa) it was a franchise question. I lost because it was political. I had engaged Asquith.[2]

If Colville[3] (the Governor of Bombay) means it, he can say, 'withdraw legal proceedings and exercise clemency.' I have done all these things in South Africa once through Hertzog[4]. Clemency has now a greater chance of success. Let us hope that Bhulabhai is on the *qui vive*. I don't mind if the examination is started. . . .[5] I simply feel that we shall have to go through these things, if the rulers are bent on crushing us. The difference between you and me is not great, but (it is) vital though (it seems) small. You want, if you do, power at any price. I have put a limit to the price to be paid. You think if you do that nothing will come, if we don't take power. I say, I can afford to wait till it comes at my price, for I am making progress however slight it may be. . . .[6]

If you feel like talking about any other thing, I am prepared and will gladly set apart the time. I simply do not worry you for I have nothing to ask. Your presence gives me solace and strength. What more do I want? I understand you and you me.

Swarajya, 11-12-1971; also from a photostat : G.N. 2105

188. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

May 12, 1945

CHI. SHYAMLAL,

Now I understand why you wrote in English. We cannot remove the ignorance of years unless we persist.

It is 6.45 in the morning, so I am working under a light. I am reading the papers sent by you. As the Hindi typing is not clear, I have difficulty in reading it. But switching over to English is not the remedy. What you want is a Hindi copyist.

[1] D. N. Pritt, Q. C., a noted English lawyer
[2] Then Rajaji asked him to suggest a *modus vivendi*.
[3] Sir John Colville
[4] James B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa, 1924-39
[5] & [6] Omissions as in the source

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The copyist should do the writing in a neat hand and copies when required can be chromographed or Roneoed.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHYAMLAL
KASTURBA HOUSE
SCINDIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

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

189. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

May 12, 1945

CHI. SITA,

Your handwriting is good. The letters are clear but too small. Cultivate the habit of writing a bigger hand. You will then get into the habit of writing uniformly either in small or big handwriting. I am glad that you are now fully engrossed in work.

I desire the very same thing that you do. This is a very good opportunity indeed for Arun[1] and Ila[2]. They will not find it easy to bear the heat of that place. But they have not learned to stay without Mother[3]. Her first duty is to stay with her ailing mother. If and when Tari[4] takes Mother's[5] place for a while, she may come here with the children.

You should learn to preserve excellent health in any climate. It is possible to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4979

[1] & [2] Brother and sister of the addressee

[3] & [5] The source has 'behn' meaning sister. In Gujarati, mother is sometimes addressed 'behn' by the children.

[4] Sushila Gandhi's sister

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190. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 12, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Can you keep the accounts? This will not imply any responsibility for running the Ashram. The expenditure will be the responsibility of the Secretary. You should look after the accounts. You may take it easy the rest of the time.

"Who would practise the difficult vows of *yama*, *niyama*, *shama* and *dama* which even the minds of seers cannot grasp?" This is easy to sing but difficult to practise, as the poet says. Doesn't *agama*[1] in the line stand for *agamya*[2]? Self-discipline embraces the whole life. How can a man who has achieved freedom from desire or control of desire suffer from any disease or any laxity? Think over this. The responsibility of running the Ashram should be borne by Munnalal and Krishnachandra by turns. Make a list of the jobs to be attended to by them. Other things should be looked after by Jajuji[3]. The Ashram should not be closed, nor should its name be changed. If you don't want to leave the Ashram, I shall not make you do so. One can work according to one's ability, but ability may either increase or decrease. You should see to it that yours increases.

I understand about ice [doctor].

You will find the rest in the other letter, which please read.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10631

[1] & [2] Beyond comprehension
[3] Srikrishnadas Jaju

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191. LETTER TO RAMANLAL ENGINEER

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

BHAI RAMANLAL,

I have your frank letter. Your handwriting is so good that I excuse you for writing in pencil. Otherwise writing in pencil is uncivilized. It is violence.

There is frankness in your letter and it should be so. It is not impolite at all. It should be like that.

I do not agree with some of your suggestions but I do not have the time to go into them. I wish I were proved wrong and what you write should turn out to be true.

I note your inclination. What you like would be best. The book arrived yesterday. It has still to reach my hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMANLAL ENGINEER
BHARATIYA SAHITYA SANGH
SECOND FLOOR, BHIMRAJ BUILDING
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY 2

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

192. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. GULZARILAL,

I have your letter. We should understand what Ambalal Sheth says. He says, "You do make efforts. But the labourers listen to you as long as it serves their purpose and when it comes to their doing their duty, they do not listen to you so that our scheme must fall flat." It is beside the point whether the Sheth himself fulfils his part of the bargain. What he does is of secondary importance to us. Even so what you wrote to me about

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his shortcomings, you should write to him also very frankly. I am certainly with you.

I find immediate relief through allopathic medicine. I have written to Dr. Chugh[1] that I shall watch what the climate here can do, and when I descend from here I shall see what his treatment can do. Tell me if you have to say anything in this.

Blessings from
BAPU

GULZARILAL NANDA
MAJOOR MAHAJAN
MIRZAPUR ROAD
AHMEDABAD

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

193. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 12, 1945

SHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have gone through your long letter to Bapa. He suggests that I should see you. I have written to you that I am always ready to see you. So come and see me whenever and wherever you want. Remember that whatever difficulties we imagine are created by us.

Convey my blessings to everyone there.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHHAGANLAL JOSHI
ANAND BHAVAN
RAJKOT
KATHIAWAR

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 98-9.

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194. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 12, 1945

BAPA,

That we should be having such a beautiful Hindustani translation brought out by the Servants of India Society and not using it! You are a member in name (officially) and in fact. I am not one in name but am certainly one in fact. I wanted to do it just for fun. The main reason for writing this is to reply to your letter. I am certainly prepared to meet the gentleman from Dharwar. Where should I meet him? After getting down from here or somewhere here itself? I have given time to Chhaganlal.[1] I know about his unhappiness. I will see him again as you advise. I am writing to him. . . .[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA 4

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

195. LETTER TO RAMALAKSHMI AND PRAVINBALA

May 12, 1945

CHI. RAMALAKSHMI AND PRAVINBALA,

I have the letter signed by both you sisters and a money order for Rs. 49. One can say that all the girls have done very well. I am depositing the money in the fund for Harijans.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMALAKSHMI ASAR
C/O SHRI VALLABHDAS RAMDAS
VIYOG SADAN, HABIB ROAD
KANDIVALI

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

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] A sentence is unintelligible here.

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196. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

I received your letter only today. You do not get the time I do. Your handwriting is good. Continue to write with the same care. You should consider it a crime to be hasty because you are too taken up with your examination.

Tell Lakshmi to get well soon. Tell Papa that if Lakshmi cannot write, then she should. I hope Narasimhan[1] is well. Manilal is here. Sushila, Arun and Ila have not come.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SUMITRA GANDHI
"HINDUSTAN TIMES" BUILDING
NEW DELHI

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

197. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

May 12, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

Are both of you too lazy or only showing pity on me? This is for you to read. I am well. Manilal is here. Sushila and the children have not come. How are you? How is Nimu[2]? I receive letters from Kanam. He may come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
How is Usha[3]?

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI
TOMCO SALES DEPARTMENT
KHALASI LINES, NAGPUR

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

[1] Son of C. Rajagopalachari
[2] & [3] Nirmala (wife), and daughter of the addressee

198. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Balkrishna has done the correct thing. Does it not mean that the vaidya's medicine did not give permanent relief? If he is inclined that way, why must he wait for my also being so inclined? Dr. Kelkar's treatment after all will do no harm. Keep me informed about the effect of the treatment.

You have done well about Sanskrit. Learn the grammar properly. Let Balkrishna also study Grimm's law[1]. It will help considerably. Learning of the script will also become easy if it is kept in mind.

It is good to study the science of khadi. Do not do any reading while walking. Only think. Do not strain your eyes. Vinoba's discourses are good. Since you have learnt the art of reading newspapers, 45 minutes is not too much. Understand where this art lies.

Do as much carding as is necessary for making slivers.

I forgot about weaving. See both the spinning and the weaving in the Nagpur Mill. Observe both these processes at Savli where too they are carried on.

It is all right to meet at night, but not for discussion. Work in silence. Or everyone may read what they like in silence. The thing is that in spite of diversity of opinions all are working on the same thing. It is your duty to give your whole-hearted co-operation in that work.

The lines on the palm are not without significance. But do not get caught in palmistry.

Urdu diction is used by Muslims in writing. Hindi diction is used by Sanskrit pundits. Hindustani is the sweet mingling of the two.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4570. Also C.W. 5877. Courtesy : Krishnachandra

[1] Formulated by the German grammarian Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), it is on the regularity in the correspondences of consonants in the Germanic and other Indo-European languages.

199. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 12, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Don't torment Hoshiari now. Wait till I come. Write to Mirabehn. I can understand Hoshiari's sorrow. I have already written[1] to Mirabehn about her.

The experiment which Munnalal is conducting in regard to the 'servants' is good. That is what should be done. If it fails, it will show that our ahimsa is as yet very incomplete. The error is one of understanding. Let us not treat servants as servants but as brothers. Even if they spoil things or steal or the expenses go up, it will not be in vain if we can consider them as members of the family. Think it over.

I have instructed Chimanlal about the question of management. Give thought to it and, if possible, appoint a new manager every month.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1960. Also C.W. 5876. Courtesy : Balvantsinha

200. LETTER TO SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

SWAMIJI,

I have your letter and also that of Vinayakrao. It is a sad chapter.[2] I am doing what I can. The ultimate remedy is in the hands of people like you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTH
NANDED, HYDERABAD DISTRICT

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

[1] *Vide* p. 83.

[2] The reference is, presumably, to police atrocities in Gulburga; *vide* also the following two items.

201. LETTER TO VINAYAKRAO KORATKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

BHAI VINAYAKRAOJI,

I have your letter. I am pained to hear about all that has happened. I am proceeding after my own style. Two activities cannot be carried on at one and the same time.[1]

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI VINAYAK K. KORATKAR, BAR-AT-LAW
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

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

202. LETTER TO DAMODARDAS MUNDRA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. DAMODAR,

It seems you have maintained your health. I have seen your programme. I had of course immediately started work about Gulburga. Let us see what happens. It is very sad.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

SHRI DAMODAR
MAHILA ASHRAM
WARDHA

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

[1] *Vide* p. 140.

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203. LETTER TO VINA CHATTERJEE

May 12, 1945

CHI. VINA,

I have your letter. It is good you wrote to me. Keep your body and mind healthy. Write to me in Hindi, whatever its quality. Tell me all your experiences of Borivli. How much progress have you made in Urdu?

Zohra has not written. Tell her also to write : what she has learnt, how she is, and so forth. Each one should set down her experiences separately.

Manu has gone to Bombay. Her health has not improved.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

204. LETTER TO KAMALA AND VASANTI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. KAMALA[1] AND VASANTI[2],

I have letters from both of you. They are good. You are doing good work. There is no need to feel unhappy. Donald Greene will get well.

Keep fit and render lots of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAMALABEHN
FRIENDS' SETTLEMENT, RASANIA
HOSHANGABAD DISTRICT

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

[1] Margaret Jones, a friend of Mary Barr; she was working in Khedi during the latter's absence in South Africa. She was also undergoing training in midwifery to help villagers.

[2] Barbara

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205. LETTER TO SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

I have your letter. I approve of Dr. Rajan and Gopalaswami (of Harijan Sevak Sangh). Let me know if there are any others.

Blessings from
BAPU

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU
AKHIL BHARATIYA CHARKHA SANGH
SEVAGRAM P. O., *via* WARDHA

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

206. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I received Chandrani's letter yesterday. She is going there tomorrow for Satyavati Devi's sake. Put her up in Harijan Nivas. Give her this[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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207. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 12, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

I have your letter. Your decision is good. I had written to Viyogiji before I received your letter. Do what Satyavati says. She should get well. If Satyavati agrees, you can come back earlier. Show this letter to her. I had received her post-card. Satyavati is always in my thoughts. If she is a soldier, she is a great one. Khurshedbehn[1] is in Panchgani.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

208. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

May 12, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I see from your letter that you think it would be good if I took only milk. I tried that too but lost weight immediately. I consider it a crime to take fruit, or leafy vegetables or anything just for the taste. However, if one finds taste in what one ought to eat, I won't reject it. For the present things are being discussed purely from the medical point of view. I have seen no book recommending giving up of leafy vegetables and fruit. It will be a great gain if what you say is true.

It will be a great thing if Hari-ichchha is cured.

I hear that you have started Balkrishna's treatment. May you be successful.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Khurshedbehn Naoroji, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

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209. LETTER TO IFTIKHARUDDIN[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
[Before *May 13, 1945*][2]

DEAR IFTIKHAR[3],

Give up the habit of writing and speaking in English, if you want to be free.

I have read your letter. It is my view that no one has the right to speak in the name of the Congress, not even members of the All-India Working Committee who are out of jail. They can do so only when the whole Committee is out. Neither you nor anyone else has the right to work in the name of the Congress. This does not mean that you should sit idle and not exercise your influence. Nobody can deprive you of your individual position. The same applies to members of the Congress Workers' Assembly. Everyone is his own leader. Everyone is free to lead those who follow him. This to my mind is the constitutional position. Let no one therefore use my name. I have not issued any circular.[4] What was attributed to me must have been taken from an opinion expressed in a letter I wrote to someone in Ahmedabad. All that it meant was that no one can issue orders in the name of the Congress.

Now as regards your restrictions. So long as you do not regard yourself under control of the Government, whatever you wrote (in reply to the restriction order) was correct. We must never yield.

Blessings to you both[5] *from*
BAPU

The Hindu, 15-5-1945

[1] & [2] The letter was reported under the date-line "May 13, 1945" as "sequel to a dispute between two groups of Congressmen in the Punjab who nominated two rival candidates to contest the bye-election in the Lahore City Constituency of the Punjab Assembly".

[3] President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

[4] The reference is to a telegram from Raghunandan Saran of Delhi to C. Rajagopalachari seeking clarification on an alleged circular by Gandhiji which appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2-5-1945. Gandhiji's denial of the circular was reported by Pyarelal in a statement published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 11-5-1945; *vide* Appendix I.

[5] The addressee and his nominee, Virendra, who, according to the source, withdrew his candidature "in view of Gandhiji's letter", letting

210. TELEGRAM TO MANUBHAI K. BHIMANI[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHIMANI
CARE VAHLOVALAN
CALCUTTA

YOU HAVE MISUNDERSTOOD MY WIRE[2] BIRLA. REREAD.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

211. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

May 13, 1945

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN[3],

Your letter. I value it for its contents.

You did well to send me the ticket. There is no Khalifa family in Kathiawar requiring relief as far as I know.

Matriculation here is not simpler than yours. But for Sita it would be somewhat easier here. She is getting on well and gaining the experience she would never have got there. She wants to fit herself for service. There is no restraint upon her freedom.

Manilal will shape himself at will. Of course he has come for a year only and that to serve me. There is not much for him to choose from.

I agree about Thambi Naidoo[4]. Anything can be named after him here. It will mean nothing. Something worthy should

---

Kedarnath Sehgal of the Punjab Congress Workers' Assembly to contest against the Hindu Mahasabha candidate.

[1] This appears along with a note in Gujarati, presumably Gandhiji's instructions to Pyarelal, which reads : "Today being Sunday we have to pay more. Therefore send it tomorrow. If tomorrow is a holiday with regard to telegrams also, send it day after tomorrow."

[2] *Vide* p. 94.

[3] A Jewish girl who was Gandhiji's secretary in South Africa; she was ardently interested in the Indian cause.

[4] A Tamil cartage contractor from Mauritius whom Gandhiji described as "lion-like". He was one of the most eminent satyagrahis of the Transvaal.

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be done there. You must shape things there. Thambi must have many admirers besides you and me. I am glad about Mrs. Naidoo. What is she doing? What about his children? Could you send me a photo of the family with Thambi in it?

So you see, San Fransisco was managed without you and me.[1] But you are dropping in here one of these days. Yes, Kallenbach's[2] niece did give me a long letter after K's death. A truly good man has left us.

I hope to write the story of 125 years.[3] Hold yourself in patience till I write.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I am at a hill station. My address must be Sevagram, Wardha.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

212. LETTER TO AMRITLAL DOSHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI AMRITLAL,

I got your letter. Though you have given up khadi work as your means of livelihood, you still take interest in it and that is a good thing. I am taking all the measures I can think of. Meet Kakubhai[4] and give him such useful help as he

[1] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 101-2, Pyarelal explains that the addressee had written to Gandhiji that she was expecting to meet him at San Francisco Peace Conference, and thence to accompany him to India. She had also suggested : "If you are short of secretaries to accompany you to the Peace Conference, call here on your way and I shall come along."

[2] Herman Kallenbach's. A German Jew who was with Gandhiji in South Africa, he died on March 25, 1945, in Johannesburg. *Vide* also Vol. LXXIX, p. 301.

[3] Alluding to the reports on Gandhiji's illness, the addressee had said : "I was not greatly perturbed when you were ill (I regret your suffering, of course) because I felt confident that you would not depart hence until India was free . . . I have not the slightest doubt that you will live until you are 125, if only you desire it."

[4] Purushottam K. Jerajani; *vide* p. 127.

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asks for and you can give. As far as I know, people working in the insurance line get plenty of spare time.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL DOSHI
INDIAN GLOBE INSURANCE CO.
315-321 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6316

213. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS[1],

The enclosed is from your paper. I feel that an advertisement which is immoral or is against the recognized or declared policy of the management should never be accepted. No registered bhandar can sell khadi without yarn being tendered. It should not escape your notice. Therefore you should not accept this advertisement. You should outright refuse this person. For doing so you must impose restrictions on advertisements. That involves some sacrifice and some scrutiny. However, in the long run, you won't lose anything but if you do it, it will be nothing more than the dirt on your palms[2]. Do lose it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed is a cutting of the advertisement by a shop which announced sale of khadi without yarn being tendered.

CHI. SHAMALDAS GANDHI
EDITOR "VANDEMATARAM"
BOMBAY

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

[1] Gandhiji's nephew
[2] A Gujarati phrase meaning money

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214. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

CHI. KAKUBHAI,

I got your prompt reply to my previous letter. I am sending other things herewith. I have sent[1] a cutting of the advertisement to Shamaldas and have written[2] to Amritlal Doshi to see you. That man is clever, no doubt. He has done quite a lot of khadi work. I have written to him that he should give you such occasional help as you feel he can give.

Make the bhandar an institution for learning. Some should go there to learn the work and to spin also. Others should pay for the lesson. The poor should pay in the form of labour. The entire material should be good. There is no need of telling you all this but my attachment impels me to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10854. Courtesy : Purushottam K. Jerajani

215. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

CHI. LILI,

I read your letter just now. They handed it to me without opening it. But I am going to give it to Narahari, Pyarelal, Munnalal and Hemantkumar to read. That letter is a mirror of your soul.

You have always been, and still are, silly. Remember the verse : "Dwelling in thought on *vishayas.*"[3] Here *vishaya* does not mean merely what it does in Gujarati, namely, immoral sex-pleasure. All objects of desire are *vishayas*, as for example, desiring what appeals to the eye, hearing with the ear, smelling

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* p. 125.
[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 62

with the nose, and other similar objects of sense. Your object of desire is to come to the hills. If it didn't materialize you should forget about it. But you would not be Lili if you could forget anything. And that is why you suffer. Otherwise there are few other women as fortunate as you. Though married in the prime of your youth, you have remained a virgin all these years so that all the desire in you for that momentary pleasure has been burnt away. You like service and get opportunities for it. The best service you rendered was to Bhansali, then to Ramprasad and then to Krishnachandra. I will not consider your services to Ba, Mahadev and myself as there was attachment in that.

You are educating yourself to be a doctor entirely with the aim of dedicating yourself to public service. What purer happiness than this could one have? If you are still discontented, does it not mean that you are silly?

Hoshiari wishes to come to me, and so does Vina. And there is no limit to the number of men who wish to come. If they cannot come, does it mean that they are unfortunate? You should completely burn up this desire of yours. Hence, though from one point of view your letter is good, from another point of view it is one that you should withdraw, and that too, cheerfully. You must pass, and do so with credit. Afterwards you will be serving to your heart's content. And you do get opportunities from time to time, such as serving uncle. Sushila is there. Pyarelal is leaving tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9601. Also C.W. 6573. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

216. LETTER TO SAVITRI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

CHI. SAVITRI,

You are a coward. You let the engagement take place. Then you ran away from the house and are now staying with your paternal aunt's son. That is not right. You have done a virtuous thing. Haven't you? What is there to run away from?

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I shall go to the Ashram only in July. Write to me, if you want, when I go there. I can't say for certain that I shall be able to keep you even then. The management of the Ashram is not in my hands. I can do something only after consulting them.

Do you spin? Do you wear khadi? You don't observe untouchability, do you? Are you studying?

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SAVITRIBEHN
C/O PURUSHOTTAM BIJLANI
MANAGER, ANJAR SPINNING-WEAVING MILLS
ANJAR, CUTCH

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

217. LETTER TO R. K. NANDKEOLYAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI NANDKEOLYAR,

I know you refrained from coming so as to save me trouble. I will lovingly use the tumblers when they arrive. You and Priyamvada have asked for my blessings for Mohandas and his bride. My fear is, theirs may not be an inter-caste marriage. Has the bride given up *purdah*? Will both of them give themselves up to service? Will Priyamvada keep the bride engaged in household work or give her time to do work of service? I hope the bride's parents do not keep her like a slave. If you can give satisfactory replies to all these questions, then here are heaps of blessings for the bride and bridegroom.

Blessings from
BAPU

BARRISTER NANDKEOLYAR
NAND VILAS
GAYA (BIHAR)

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

218. LETTER TO HARIBHAU JOSHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI JOSHI,

I have your letter and also the book. I shall read it and do what is necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARIBHAU JOSHI
"LOKSHAKTI"
291 SHANIVAR PETH
POONA 2

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

219. LETTER TO S. V. VENKATARAMAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI VENKATARAMAN,

I have your letter. I hope you will understand my Hindi.

On paper your work seems good. I hope in fact it is so. Assuming that it is, I give you my blessings. Is ginning done differently? The spinners themselves separate the seeds, card the cotton and make the slivers, don't they?

How is the cotton grown? In how many acres?

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. V. VENKATARAMAN
A. I. S. A. KHADI VASTRALAYA
MAYAVARAM–SOUTH INDIA

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

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220. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI GOPICHAND[1],

You did a good job in the matter of the Dukhaidi Harijans. They should have full relief. You must persuade the Rajputs. The courts alone cannot do the thing. A sad thing has happened. I was under the impression that the Dunichand who died was the Dunichand[2] we know. How is the deceased related to him? I couldn't have written to him. Please find out. If there is anything I have to do, I will do it.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAJPAT BHAVAN
LAHORE (PUNJAB)

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

221. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI DUNICHAND,

I learnt from what you did about the Harijans of Dukhaidi that you are still alive. How wonderful! I even wrote a letter of condolence to your wife. The poor woman must have laughed. What could she have written in reply? Is it my fault or yours if Dunichand continues to live? I think the fault is mine. As a punishment I must die before you. I want to live

[1] Congress worker of the Punjab since 1919; elected to Punjab Assembly in 1937 and again in 1946; Chief Minister of Punjab, 1947-51

[2] Leading Congressman of Ambala; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly; *vide* also the following item.

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up to 125 years. Since you are older than I you must live even after 125 years. My apologies to Deviji.

Look after the Harijans.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 5587

222. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI KATJU,

I read your letter addressed to Pyarelal. About *Dehati Pragati* you will be happy to know that I started reading it long ago. I have kept it along with my papers. It is taking time because I have to read other things also. I will read the whole of it and then write to you.

My blessings to Prakashnarayan and the bride. Normally I do not bless marriages contracted within the caste unless there is a special reason. My fear is, this marriage will be one such. Anyway, there is a special reason for my sending blessings for this marriage. I have met Purnima. She made a good impression on me.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. K. N. KATJU
ADVOCATE
9 EDMONSTONE ROAD
ALLAHABAD (U. P.)

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

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223. LETTER TO KUSUM NAIR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

CHI. KUSUM,

I have received your letter written in beautiful Hindustani. I shall be a little free after the 20th. You may come then. I will try to answer your questions. Do not go about shouting that you are coming to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUMBEHN NAIR
N. I. P. & I. BUREAU
74 LAKSHMI BUILDING
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD
BOMBAY 1

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

224. LETTER TO JIVAJI RAO SCINDIA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

MAHARAJA SAHEB,

I congratulate you on what you have done for the Harijans. I am confident that you will be taking the necessary steps to see that your decision is implemented. It is in your hands to educate the people to get rid of their superstitions. Otherwise your decision will remain confined to the *Gazette* only. As you may know I have said that Hinduism will perish if any kind of untouchability persists.

May God grant a long life to the son on whose birth you have done such a good deed, and keep him healthy physically and mentally.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR
GWALIOR STATE

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

225. LETTER TO N. G. RANGA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

BHAI RANGA,

I have read what you have written about the tribes in the Nilgiris. I wanted to write to you about it but in the mean time your letter came.

The article about the Nilgiris is good. I congratulate you. There should have been a glossary of the Indian words. There should have been figures concerning their numbers. You should have said something about their language. You should have described their habits and customs in greater detail.

Do not drag me into the quarrel with the communists. It concerns you people. Before I say anything, it is necessary that I talk to them. Going as far as that will be a waste of my time. My place is to advise in more important matters.

Now I write in Hindustani even to South Indians. But this is not without exceptions. I hope you do not find it difficult to read letters such as this. Do write to me in English, if you can't write in Hindustani. However, you should cultivate the habit of writing in Hindustani.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. N. G. RANGA
NIDUBROLU
ANDHRA DESH

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

226. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

May 14, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

I can see no difference between your handwriting and Yukti's[1]. Instead of myself telling you not to go to Karachi, I told Sushilabehn to tell you lest you think I was ordering you.

[1] Addressee's elder sister Sanyukta's

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If you wish to go either to Karachi or to Porbandar, by all means go. What I am concerned with is that you should become strong in body and mind. If you can do it there, I shall be pleased. Because of your negligent habits, I thought that, if you could overcome your fear, you would be able to benefit fully and for long from the mountain-air. However I am not enamoured of hill-stations either. Wherever you stay with a free mind, you are bound to benefit. You may, therefore, do what your sisters desire. I give my consent for it.[1]

Why should we observe anybody's face? We may even make a mistake in judging a person from his face. We are not God. We might even do him injustice. And moreover, when one has made up one's mind not to fear anybody, why need one know the other person's mind? The rest from Pyarelal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

227. LETTER TO VINODINI GANDHI

May 14, 1945

CHI. VINOD[2],

It is good that you wrote. Take Manu off to wherever you can, whether Karachi or Porbandar.[3] The only conditions are that you must not allow her to work; and see that she sleeps properly and teach her to masticate thoroughly.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

228. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

May 14, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

Following is the reply to your letter sent to Ghanshyamdas at Calcutta :

[1] *Vide* also the following item.
[2] Manu Gandhi's elder sister
[3] *Vide* also the preceding item.

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Your letter about Dinshaw's trust. I think his demand quite reasonable, but leave matter to you.[1]

Therefore, after getting the necessary changes made about the aims as suggested by you, I intend to write to Pakvasa[2] to have the Trust Deed drawn up.

Mavalankar, who was your patient, has written to me about your administrative abilities. His complaint is quite justified.[3]

Blessings to all the three of you from
BAPU

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

229. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

May 14, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

Read this letter carefully. You should live most of the time in Poona. I would not like it at all if you remained out of it for my sake. Attend to dirt, carelessness, massage, etc. Patients should not find you severe. There is always an answer to every kind of charge. Our duty is to take the essence and throw away the rest which is waste matter. Send the papers back.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

230. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA MAVALANKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 14, 1945

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

I am glad that you wrote. I have read everything. I have sent the papers to Dr. Dinshaw. That is the only way I can bring about change, if any change is necessary. There is no

[1] This paragraph is in English; *vide* also letters to G. D. Birla, pp. 79 and 102-3.

[2] Mangaldas Pakvasa, Solicitor from Bombay; President, Bombay Legislative Council, 1937-47; was appointed Governor of Central Provinces and Berar in 1947

[3] *Vide* also the following two items.

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discourtesy in your letter. You may write more if you wish to. I will let you know the result.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1253

231. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 14, 1945

BAPA,

I have your letter. The registered post will arrive in due course. You are coming here on the 16th, but as you want me to write I am writing this.

BAPU

SHRI BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA 4

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

232. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 14, 1945

CHI. SAILEN,

I have your letter. I hope you have a place to stay in Bombay. Go to Bombay. There is a Nature Cure Clinic in Malad. It is owned by Dr. Krishnavarma. He will admit you. I am writing to him. Follow his instructions. You will be cured. You must also learn everything. Give whatever help you can, if your health permits. Keep me informed. Leave Wardha only with Rishabhdas's permission. Show this postcard to Dr. Krishnavarma.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SAILEN CHATTERJEE
INSURANCE COMPANY
BAJAJWADI
WARDHA

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10391a. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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233. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

May 14, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

What I wrote to you has happened. Sailen Chatterjee is an employee of an insurance company. He lives on whatever he earns. I have advised him to go to your clinic. The doctors say he keeps getting well and falling ill again. He has agreed to go to you. The matter of expenses has to be considered. Madhavdas's case is entirely different. In any case, Sailen must give something. If you run a free hospital, it will get filled up and no one will be benefited. That can be discussed when we have the time. I have written to Sailen to go to you and show my postcard. He lives in Wardha.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KRISHNAVARMA
NATURE CURE CLINIC
MALAD, *via* BOMBAY

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

234. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

May 14, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARDAS,

Read this and then reply if there is anything you want to say. I have replied saying that I shall pursue the matter if he sends me something to support such allegations.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA
BIRLA HOUSE
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

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

235. LETTER TO OMKARSINGH SENGAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 14, 1945

BHAI OMKARSINGHJI,

Your daughter Premlata is distressed. She has chosen a husband belonging to a different caste and you are preventing her from marrying him. He is a deserving man. This talk about castes has become outmoded. Ability alone should count today. Premlata wants to go on a fast. Show her this post-card and stop her from undertaking the fast. Write to me if there is anything else.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

THAKUR OMKARSINGH SENGAR
MADAN KHADI KUTIR
KAROLI STATE, RAJPUTANA

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

236. LETTER TO L. N. GOPALASWAMI[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

MY DEAR GOPALASWAMI,

I have your generous letter. You will do as Bapa bids you. I must not abuse your good nature. Push forward good women for all you are worth.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI L. N. GOPALASWAMI
KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND
S. 13 BUILDINGS
ROYAPETTAH
MADRAS

From a photostat : C.W. 10549. Courtesy : Government of Tamil Nadu

[1] The letter was redirected to : 3 Gopapuram, Tennore, Trichinopoly.

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237. LETTER TO MUHAMMAD AHMAD SAID KHAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I thank you for your kind note of 5th instant. I have been besieged with letters and cuttings of newspapers from Hyderabad. Some of these make sad reading.[1] I have heard from Shri Vinayak Rao too.[2] Their fear is that justice will be defeated. Whatever may have happened in the past, I feel sure that you will allow no such thing to happen.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. NAWAB SAHEB OF CHHATARI
HYDERABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

238. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

It was good of you to have written to me on my remarks about the industrialists and to have sent me a copy of the *Indian Social Reformer*[3] containing your note on them.

How I should love to write to you in Hindustani of which your long residence in Bombay should have made you a scholar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. NATARAJAN
KAMAKSHI HOUSE
BANDRA, BOMBAY 20

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The reference is to the police excesses; *vide* p. 41.
[2] *Vide* p. 119.
[3] The addressee was its editor from 1892 to 1940.

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239. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 15, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have not fully answered[1] one of your letters. It does not seem proper to me to send for the Santiniketan gentleman now. We have said "No" to him, and we should stick to it.[2] Jajuji is a king. He may relent in response to a request. How can we take advantage of that?

Do not mind if Sarojini has gone.[3] She is bound to return. We cannot control her mind.

I have already suggested one remedy for Shakaribehn. Another is to take the treatment of Dr. Ice. He can easily deal with such a complaint.

There is no harm in your having detained Saroj. You may detain anyone whom you wish to and can. Do not detain anybody just to please me and that too in my absence.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10632

240. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

Your letter to Manilal was read out to me.

You stayed for a very short time at the place Swami had chosen for you. I hope the improvement in your health will continue. Gomati's[4] health may go on as it is.

Examine the views I have at various times expressed on *varnavyavastha*. If there have been changes, do let me know.

[1] *Vide* p. 112.
[2] *Vide* p. 43.
[3] *Vide* also p. 73.
[4] Addressee's wife

I am not taking the trouble myself because I must let people know where I stand today and be satisfied with that. If there is anything contradictory in the views I expressed earlier, they should not be taken into consideration. Some of what has been written is meant only to malign me. Some show a lack of understanding, some ignorance. Then again some of it is written with a view to publication and largely for money. It is immaterial whether people are convinced by my reply or not. Those, with whose criticism I have dealt, have certainly been convinced. Some would like it more if I dispensed with the distinction I have laid down in my article. But how could I do that? *Varnavyavastha* will not cease to be beneficial by our not being aware of its benefits. That the meaning of varna needs to be properly understood is another question. The difference pointed out by you seems correct.

It would certainly be good if my articles on varna, etc., are published. No omissions and additions should be made before getting them published. Even if I had the time I would make no changes. However, I would explain[1] my present stand in detail. Study them if you have the time and the will. I shall be ready to go through your work. But do not at all think that it is your duty to do this work. Ask me whatever you want.

Blessings from
BAPU

KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA
VASANT NIVAS
BABULNATH ROAD
BOMBAY 7

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 222-4.

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241. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

May 15, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I have your letter. You have done well. I shall go on keeping a watch if you allow me to do so, and if I have the strength.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHAMALDAS GANDHI
"VANDEMATARAM"
FORT, BOMBAY

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

242. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL TRIVEDI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

BHAI CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. Sir Radhakrishnan's letter is clear. You should arrange a suitable programme. You have already received my blessings, haven't you?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHIMANLAL TRIVEDI
MEHERVILLA
OPP. SUPER TALKIES
GRANT ROAD, BOMBAY

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 126.

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243. LETTER TO KEDARNATH SANDILYA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

BHAI KEDARNATH,

You alone should decide the matter about which you write. I have explained the general rules. You should follow them as much as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KEDARNATH SANDILYA
C/O SUB-POST MASTER
JEHANABAD
GAYA (BIHAR)

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

244. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

CHI. AMRITA LAL,

Dhiren has arrived today with Satis Babu. It appears from your letter of the 8th that Bhai Bhimani wanted to send information about the women. If so, let me say that I do not regard him as a reliable person to give such information. He can send me written evidence even from there. I have not forgotten what you said. But of what use can it be if it is not fully supported?

I have arranged to send Sailen to Malad.[1] I hope he will do as Romen has written.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10404. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] *Vide* p. 137.

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245. LETTER TO SITA CHAUDHARY

May 15, 1945

CHI. SITA[1],

Your letter is good. Subhadra[2] will now recite the *Ramayana* to me. You also seem to have made good progress. Pratap[3] has done very well indeed! Where did Jugalkishoreji study? What treatment is to be given to your mother? Whether I reply or not, you should write to me. As far as I remember, Parnerkarji has not given me anything. Convey my blessings to your father. I trust he will recover[4] and be quite fit once again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha Kya Samjha, p. 185

246. TELEGRAM TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1945

JAJUJI
CHARKHA SANGH
SEVAGRAM, WARDHA

KRISHNADAS[5] WIRES YOU FOLLOWING : "BRANCHES REFUSE SENDING MORE ADVANCE. KASHMIR'S CAPITAL POSITION BELOW SANCTIONED AMOUNT. KINDLY ARRANGE REMITTANCE AT LEAST FIFTY THOUSAND TELEGRAPHICALLY. WORK COMPLETELY STRANDED." MY OPINION IS I SHALL ENDORSE YOURS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] & [2] Daughters of Ramnarayan Chaudhary
[3] Addressee's brother
[4] *Vide* p. 55.
[5] Of Kashmir Khadi Bhandar

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247. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNADAS

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1945

KRISHNADAS
KHADI BHANDAR
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

HAVE REPEATED YOUR WIRE TO JAJUJI WARDHA ADDING I SHALL ENDORSE HIS DECISION.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

248. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1945

CHI. BABLO[1],

I have your letter. You are learning a lot whilst teaching. That knowledge is part of Nayee Talim. It has become your profession and your mission to transform the art of spinning into a science and make it interesting. May that remain so. When spinning comes to be recognized as true knowledge, it will become the centre of many other branches of learning. Knowledge has infinite forms, but only he who knows that at the bottom all knowledge is one really knows.

According to the present programme, I shall be spending the whole of June in Panchgani at 'Dilkhush'[2]. Go over there. Shantabehn will arrive there on the 20th. Vanamala and Manibehn are here. Describe your experiences.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. NARAYAN M. DESAI
C/O DINKAR SANKARIA
KHALSA COLLEGE
MATUNGA, *via* BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9192

[1] Son of Mahadev Desai
[2] Of Nanji Kalidas

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249. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

I have your postcard. I had at once answered[1] your letter. What can one do if there is delay in the post? You have achieved your purpose. You will have got the accommodation in Harijan Nivas. I had written[2] to Viyogi Hari. There has been no change in my health. However, the climate is very good. You will come here only when Satyavati relieves you. You will not be going directly to Nagpur in June, will you? . . .[3]

You and Satyavati have to think over all this. You do not want to see your parents, do you? Convey my blessings to everyone in Harijan Nivas.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHANDRANI
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY CAMP
DELHI

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

250. LETTER TO GOPE GURUBAXANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1945

CHI. GURUBAXANI,

One of two things has happened; either it was my impression that I had written to you or you had written saying that it was not necessary for me to reply. I sent your letter on to Sevagram because I thought it was good. Now it appears that I did not write at all. But now it is to be understood

[1] *Vide* p. 122.
[2] *Vide* p. 121.
[3] A sentence is illegible here.

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that you are to write, whether I write or not. Vimala must be well. It is not right that she does not write. I must know if it is because of illness. But if it is because of laziness, she is guilty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1316

251. TELEGRAM TO B. SHIVA RAO

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 18, 1945

B. SHIVA RAO[1]
ASSOCIATED PRESS
SANFRANCISCO (U.S.A.)

RAMAN[2] NEVER PERSONALLY ASSOCIATED WITH ME ON STAFF OR ENTOURAGE. STATEMENTS THIS EFFECT ON JACKET RAMAN'S BOOK[3] WHOLLY WRONG. YOU HAVE AUTHORITY CONTRADICT ALL HIS MANY MISSTATEMENTS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

252. TELEGRAM TO KUSUM NAIR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 18, 1945

KUSUM NAIR,
CARE "LOUDTALK"
BOMBAY

COME AS ADVISED.[4] STAY CASTLE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Labour leader, journalist; correspondent in Delhi of *The Hindu* and of *The Manchester Guardian* since 1935

[2] T. A. Raman of the Indian Information Office in Washington. He was speaking and writing in America against the Congress and its political demands.

[3] *Report on India*

[4] *Vide* p. 133.

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253. DRAFT AMENDMENT TO RULE 72 OF KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 19, 1945

The travelling expenses shall be third-class fare provided that it will be open to the local chairman to sanction second-class fare owing to sickness or other valid reason which he shall record in the minute-book.

This is my suggestion.[1]

From a photostat : G.N. 1258

254. FOREWORD TO "COW IN INDIA"

One of the first and best pupils of the late lamented Dr. P. C. Ray, Shri Satis Chandra Das Gupta is a fit person to bring under one cover all the available literature on the cow rightly called the 'Mother of Prosperity'. By convincing arguments based on copious reading of which he has reproduced the relevant parts in the volume, the author has dispelled the belief held even by learned men that India's cattle are a burden upon the land and divide its production with the people to the latter's detriment. He shows the usefulness of the cow as the giver of milk, the producer of draught-bullocks, the manurer of our fields and after death the giver of her hide and bone. He proves the superiority of cattle over the engine for ploughing the fields of India. He establishes the inevitable connection and interdependence between the cattle and other animal life, the earth and man. Lastly, he proves the superiority of the cow over the buffalo, not so that the latter should be killed off or starved out but so that the buffalo should not be favoured at the expense of the cow as is done at the present moment. I commend the volume to the lover of the cow as also to everyone who would learn that the slaughter of cattle for food is a pure economic waste and know how he can turn the cow into a giver of plenty instead of being the giver of scanty which, owing to criminal negligence, she has become today.

[1] This sentence is in Gujarati.

It will interest the reader to know that the author wrote the whole volume during his recent imprisonment.

M. K. GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR, May 20, 1945

Cow in India

255. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 20, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have a letter from Amtul Salaam. She has sent a message for you to the effect that you should go and bring back Kanchan. She has become very weak. In these circumstances, you must either go yourself or send someone. If A. S. herself accompanies her from Borkamata, nothing like it. But I cannot decide about all this from here. You yourself should decide. Kanchan also is tired of the place. She must, therefore, return. A. S.'s letter is enclosed. I am writing to her as above as also to Kanchan. If she has already left, you need not worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8453. Also C.W. 5578. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

256. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

May 20, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

I do not like it at all that you have really fallen ill. You have become restless too. So run away from there without delay. I have written to Munnalal. He should go there and fetch you or send somebody. Or ask somebody there to accompany you. Write to me after you reach the Ashram. It will be better still if you write before leaving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8265. Also C.W. 7188. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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257. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 20, 1945

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,[1]

I have your letter. In the circumstances, Kanchan must go. You may accompany her or send somebody or let Munnalal come or send somebody. Is this not the only way?[2]

How can I decide about Akbar and Zohra? Akbar is doing good work in Samau. He would go if I were to order him. But I have left it to him. Zohra is still studying. You should consider this also if possible. It is a very difficult situation.

You cannot go anywhere leaving the things in the middle there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 495

258. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 20, 1945

CHI. SATIS BABU,

Since all your activities are devoted to furthering my policies, they always have my blessings. I very much hope that you won't be careless about your health. Being careless about one's health is also against my policy and there is a subtle pride in it. Write to me on reaching Calcutta.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] This is in Gujarati.
[2] *Vide* also the preceding two items.

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259. *HOW TO IMPROVE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES*

May 21, 1945

I have distinguished other village industries from khadi and called them planets and the charkha or the spinning-wheel the sun. As a matter of fact there is no real reason for such a distinction, for khadi is also a village industry. But it has acquired a special position, and it is because of this special position which it has acquired that we can now talk about the other village industries.

Today we are not required to demonstrate the special position acquired by khadi but we are required to discover ways and means of putting it and other village industries on a firm footing.

One of the ways is to resort to centralized production of necessities through machinery worked by power and requiring the minimum of human labour. This results in increasing the number of the rich few and making it a dharma to multiply the people's wants. Even if all such centralized industries were to be State-owned, it would make no difference to me. For the obligation to increase wants will not only not decrease, but may be strengthened where such industries are owned by the State. Only the task of increasing wants will pass from the hands of small capitalists to the bigger capitalists, or the State, whose action will secure the seal of public support. This is how things are going in England and America. I am purposely leaving out Russia; because their work is still continuing, I shall not at this stage dare to assess the result. I hope that Russia will produce something unique. But I must confess that I have my doubts whether it will truly succeed. I shall consider it a great success if, through it, all the wealth really goes into the hands of the poor, and intellectual and personal freedom is at the same time secured. In that case I will have to revise my present concept of ahimsa.

Now I come to the main point. In England and America, machinery rules supreme. On the contrary, in India we have village industries, symbolizing the resurgence of human labour. In the West, a handful of persons with the aid of mechanical power rule over others. In India, on the other hand, the great

task of bringing out what is best in every individual is being attempted by the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A. and other allied institutions. From this point of view the growth of Western civilization seems to be an easy thing, but to develop and organize the latent capacities of individuals through village industries appears to be a very difficult task.

Looking at it from another point of view, it may be said that, for a handful of men to rule over other men with the aid of steam and other power will be harmful in the end, as it is bound to multiply injustice. By using the human power available to us by the million, injustice is reduced. And there is no room for failure. For here, along with human power, we rely on divine Power. In the other method, no value is attached to divine Power. In short, if in the case of village industries we do not truly obtain God's help, we are bound to fail. The Western method only appears to be successful, but in truth there is nothing but failure in it. For it destroys the will to work.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Gram Udyog Patrika*, June, 1945, Part-I, pp. 344-5

260. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

HOPE REACHING PANCHGANI END MONTH. STAYING THERE JUNE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

261. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

I am sending you my article[1] written after some thought, but in the midst of much other work.

[1] *Vide* pp. 152-3.

Your letter just to hand. You should give the names of those who have accepted. Consult Jajuji for the other names. I shall think about them. You can certainly ask [A.] Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madura. If he refuses he will suggest some other name.

So you have been travelling much. I am glad.

So send me the typed copy of your forthcoming book[1]. Of course I have to give you a word for it.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

262. LETTER TO DR. P. SUBBAROYAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

MY DEAR SUBBAROYAN,

I was glad to have your letter. Regard me as partner in your joint joy on the restoration of your son to liberty. May he soon join you! Mohan ought to see me this week. I like him. The para about Rajaji was redundant as you say. He left on 19th.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will come when I return to Wardha.[2]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism*; for Gandhiji's Foreword, *vide* Vol. LXXXI.

[2] *Vide* also p. 228 and p. 238.

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263. NOTE ON LETTER FROM SEVAKRAM KARAMCHAND[1]

May 21, 1945

Write a postcard congratulating him. If the reform stays, there is no need to publicize it. They are no doubt Hindus but it is necessary to use the appellation to identify them. (What about the previous letter?)

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

264. LETTER TO SANYUKTA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

CHI. YUKTI,

I have your letter.

I am sorry that though I had thought that Manu had gone there after having recovered, she still gets fever. All the same Sushilabehn is going there today—just to meet the sisters. She will stay there as long as she wishes. Is not Umiya[2] also going? So all the four sisters will get together. If Manu wishes, she may go to Karachi also. And after spending her holiday as she pleases, she will return to me. See that she gets well soon. She is a brave worker but she gets frightened as soon as anything happens to her. I try to reassure her, why should she be afraid when I am with her? I have not succeeded, may you the elder sisters succeed.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

[1] Sevakram Karamchand had informed Gandhiji of the opening of Sadhubela temples at Sakkur to Harijans, and also suggested that henceforth they should be known as Hindus only.

[2] Addressee's elder sister, Umiya S. Agrawal

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265. LETTER TO ANNAPOORNA C. MEHTA

May 21, 1945

CHI. ANNAPOORNA,

I got your postcard yesterday. How can I believe that you are 25? I saw you as a mere child. You have yet to live for many years and do much work.

I will wear the khadi dhoti when I get it. There is no hurry. Is the word *prandai* or *prandayi*?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9437

266. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

We cannot answer the question by merely quoting Sanjana's name. Do so only if the questions arising call for a reply. We shall lose nothing if for the time being you leave things alone.

I have an impression that I have written to Surendraji. If he does not want to wait till I reach Wardha, he can come to Panchgani. However I should prefer Wardha. But I leave it to him to decide. Guide him. He is not going to lose anything if he spends some time in Wardha. Khadi Vidyalaya, Goshala, Village Industries and other such activities can take up considerable time.

I should like it very much if Gomati could take some treatment. It will be better to take Chugh's advice. Raihana writes highly about him.

I would like you not to go to Sevagram before June.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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267. LETTER TO SARAYU DHOTRE

May 21, 1945

I got your letter yesterday after 5 o'clock. I could not have got the reply posted then. I have written to Rameshwardasji today. Let us see what happens. Never forget that we are poor. We have no right to behave like the rich. Our right comes from our duty. Do you understand that we must "renounce and enjoy"[1] the things we easily get?

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SARAYU (DHOTRE)
KHADI VIDYALAYA

From Hindi : C.W. 839. Courtesy : Sarayu Dhotre

268. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 21[2], *1945*

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have no idea why in particular I should write to you today. But since there is an envelope with your address on it, I am writing this. Sarayu Tai has given her address c/o Khadi Vidyalaya. So there is a letter[3] enclosed which has to be passed on to her.

You are always in my thoughts. You should force yourself to take rest, whether there or elsewhere. I should like you to do it there. You know that is what I have always done. Now I may be said to have risen high, or, maybe, descended lower. So I have learnt to go to hill stations like Panchgani, Mahabaleshwar, Nandi, etc. This is just for your guidance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also G.N. 10633

[1] The reference is to the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*.
[2] The G.N. source, however, has "25".
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

269. LETTER TO V. N. APTE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

BHAI APTE,

In Poona too there is Godbole. He has been to America. He gives nature cure treatment. However, what you are doing is all right. My faith was the main thing in the treatment I gave. Everyone would say that such a major case should have been taken to a doctor. May your son get well. How can I give three or four hours to your father-in-law? I do not have even a moment's time. He can ask me if there is anything. I shall reply when I have the time.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

V. N. APTE
SHRI GAJANAN MILLS
SANGLI

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

270. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 21, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have gone through your two lines. You will certainly find work wherever you go.

Blessings from
BAPU

[C/o] SHRIMATI YASHODHARA DASAPPA
VONTICOPPAL
MYSORE

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

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271. LETTER TO YASHODHARA DASAPPA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

CHI. YASHODHARA,

Tell Dasappa[1] that the climate here is in no way inferior to that of Nandi. We are certainly being looked after.

I hope you are getting on well.

Is Dasappa calm now? If not, he should write to me or you should. The work of Kasturba Smarak Nidhi is difficult. Do it and have it done very carefully.

You will of course work for Hindustani [Prachar Sabha].

Let Ramdas stay as long as he likes.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

272. LETTER TO RAMDAS DASAPPA

May 21, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

It is good that you wrote. Though there are slips, do not worry about it. Improve your Hindustani as well as your health. Do not hide anything. If you have the slightest pain, let me know immediately. Come back whenever you want. You have written about your birthday. May you live long and render plenty of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Addressee's husband H. C. Dasappa, President, Mysore Congress Committee

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

273. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 21, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

1. You are right about Balkoba[1]. Along with milk let him take vegetables and fruit. Let him regularly take hip-baths during the day. He should talk as little as possible. If he feels like it and walks a little in the morning, his weight will become stabilized. It can even increase. I am not writing separately to him.

2. If you study Grimm's law you can discover the laws of variations of script. The study of one science makes the study of another science easier. The same applies in this case. The chart of the scripts is being used here. Wait till I come.

3. If you have a clear idea with regard to newspapers, you will be able to read everything in a short time.

4-5. I have noted what you say about carding.

6. I have fixed periods of one month for the management of the Ashram. Make it two or three months in the light of experience or even right away. Balvantsinha's name has been kept out because he will have to go to Mirabehn for the next two or three months. We will have to take more trouble if we regard servants as brothers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4571. Also C.W. 5879. Courtesy : Krishnachandra

[1] Balkrishna Bhave

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274. LETTER TO ABDUL GHANI DAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 21, 1945

BHAI ABDUL GHANI,

If you sent me a wire about the Lahore riots, it is possible I did not reply to it. I did not want to interfere. My silence did not mean I was displeased. On the other hand, it was good that precious lives were laid down for the sake of the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

ABDUL GHANI DAR
LUDHIANA (PUNJAB)

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

275. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

May 22, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

I got your postcard today. Manilal and Devdas left for Bombay this morning. You may come whenever you wish to. I will leave Mahabaleshwar for Panchgani on the 31st of this month. It will, therefore, be better if you come on the 1st of June to Panchgani. Nevertheless, if you wish to come to Mahabaleshwar, do so. I hope you are keeping good health. It is cool here, but it cannot be described as chilly. One feels pleasant in the sun. The difference in altitude between this place and Panchgani is 500 ft. But here it rains so heavily that one cannot stay on after the rains start in June.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 9517. Courtesy : Kanam Gandhi

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276. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 22, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

So Manu has returned there at last, not restored in health but broken both in body and mind. The two react on each other. She is of course responsible for the weakening of both. The atmosphere also may be responsible, but man's strength lies in overcoming his surroundings. I could not teach this to her fully. She is consumed by fear. She herself is the cause of that fear. It has become an occupation with her to listen to others, then get upset and jumpy and start crying, and she studies only when she gets some free time from this. She is filled with the highest spirit of service, is interested in learning and is of loving nature. Like me, she also suffers from amœbiasis and hook-worm. I keep the infection under control, but she does not. Do now whatever suggests itself to you as best. She can always come back to me. I will never leave her. But she is free. I trust you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

277. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

May 22, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

I have your letter. I had got your previous one also. I did not get the time to answer it. I am answering this at once. It is all right that you have gone to Karachi. But you must get rid of the amœba and hook-worm. But how can you manage to do so, if you are returning on the 4th? In any case, do not take that vaid's treatment. If you decide to stay on there, do so with a firm resolution to get rid of your illness. Do not be anxious to appear for the examination. If you can easily manage to read a little, it will be all right.

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I can see from your letter that you are consumed by the fear of the surrounding atmosphere. The world will always frighten those who let themselves be frightened. You would, therefore, do well to cast all fear into the sea. The best medicine for that is Ramanama. Why need he who worships Rama, fear anything else? But this is only a suggestion from me. You did not regain peace of mind even after meeting your sisters. You may come whenever you wish. You need have no fear on that score.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

278. LETTER TO SUMATI S. MORARJEE

May 22, 1945

CHI. JAMNA ALIAS SUMATI,

Why should a woman be given a different name when she goes to live with her husband and why not a man? This custom irks me very much. I think I came to know only here that your real name is Jamna.

The reason for writing this letter is the accompanying letter. Give it to the two women if they are there or, if they have left, post it to them. Read it yourself. There is nothing private in it. You made the girls very happy. Were they of any help to you or did they merely treat themselves to the tasty food you offered them? Is it true that you pamper your guests' palate?

How can you now leave Mother ? I can, therefore, see you only in Bombay. I like your being so very devoted to service, but I don't like your being delicate in body.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 846

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279. LETTER TO KAILAS D. MASTER

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 22, 1945

CHI. KAILAS,

I have your letter. I will go to Sevagram either by the end of June or the beginning of July. Write again to ask me. If possible I shall arrange for your stay there. In the mean time have Prabhubhai explain to you everything you must do to prepare yourself for the Ashram life. Learn all the processes of cotton right from separating the cotton from the pods. Spin the finest yarn possible. Observe cleanliness in everything you do. Learn Hindustani, that is to say both the Urdu and Nagari scripts. Learn as much Hindustani as can be understood by everyone.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAILAS DAHYABHAI
C/O DAHYABHAI V. MASTER
MANDLESHWAR ROAD
BORIVLI

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

280. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 22, 1945

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I saw your note at the bottom of the letter from Kailas. Mridulabehn is still here. A few days back I received your letter to Bapa and also that of Chimanlal. Both the letters are good. There is a different version also. I have already received it. If I have the time, I shall find out more. I have noted your programme. You have made the right decision. Amba[1]

[1] Addressee's wife

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will like it there and only there will she be able to look after her health. You will shine wherever you go and you will be in demand. So your place is wherever there is work. However, you should think about your family also.

Read the letter[1] I have written to Kailas.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

281. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 22, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

Keep in mind the Chimur prisoners.[2] They must live. It will spoil everything if they are hanged.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

282. SPEECH AT HINDUSTAN SCOUT ASSOCIATION TRAINING CAMP[3]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 22, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi said that the national song which they had sung to welcome him praised 'Bharatmata' and struck a victorious note but the present time was not the one in which one could indulge in joyous celebrations. India was now in the same plight as Draupadi was at one time and it was a matter to be seriously considered whether that should be an occasion to celebrate. In the song they had sung, there occurred the motto "Do

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] In the Central Provinces, a number of persons had been sentenced to death in a case of rioting in which some policemen were killed in the villages of Ashti and Chimur during the Quit India movement. The King had rejected their mercy petition; *vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 335. But a lacuna in the order was discovered by the defence counsel, and the executions were stayed. Later, owing to Gandhiji's efforts, on August 16, 1945, the Viceroy commuted the sentences to life imprisonment.

[3] The camp, organized by Shivaji Troop Boy Scouts of Poona, was addressed by Gandhiji in the evening.

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or Die". That should encourage them to carry on the fight for the liberation of the motherland without rest. It was the natural duty of the young to carry on the fight for freedom but at the same time they should not allow the old to take rest.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-5-1945

283. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

May 22/23, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI,

I have your letter. I was very glad. Let the new grandson be named Govind and also Madhav. If you want to keep only one name, let it be the one suggested by Anna[1]. Ba has gone, her love remains. The body has got to perish, but even if it does so the love of Him who dwells in the body cannot die.

Anna left on the 19th. Papa and Narasimhan have got to reach Madras. They are Anna's hands and feet in Madras. Devdas left yesterday.

What will happen to your studies now? Let one of the boys at least occasionally write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2002

284. LETTER TO GULBAI D. MEHTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

CHI. GULBEHN[2],

I received your letter too late yesterday to write a reply to catch yesterday's mail. So I am writing this now in the morning after the prayer. You can come here with Ardeshar. However, it is getting quite cold here. If you don't mind that, do come. I will have to go to Panchgani latest by May 31. Do what you think proper.

If Dinshaw has not come knowingly he has done well. I am well. I will certainly call him if there is need and he will

[1] C. Rajagopalachari
[2] Wife of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta

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have to come. Otherwise Dinshaw's place is there. He should certainly come whenever he feels like it. In view of Ghanshyamdas's telegram, we have to consider what we must do.

Blessings to all the three of you from
BAPU

SHRI GULBAI DINSHAW MEHTA
NATURE CURE CLINIC
POONA CITY

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

285. LETTER TO S. SALEMNA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

The case you relate is very sad. You should do all you can locally. My capacity is too limited to cope with things I used to.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. SALEMNA
DEPRESSED CLASSES LEAGUE
VANIVILAS
MANGALORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

286. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

May 23, 1945

CHI. AMALA[1],

What sort of a person are you? How did you manage to return so soon? You can no doubt get a teaching job.

[1] Worked in Sabarmati Ashram for two years from May 1933, after having been dismissed from Government College, Berlin, being a Jewess; teacher at Santiniketan; Lecturer in German, Elphinstone College, Bombay; Principal, Maharani High School, Baroda

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Khurshedbehn is not with me at present. She is in Panchgani.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. M. SPIEGEL
3 WODEHOUSE ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

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

287. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

May 23, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

I have your letter. One should not work too hard for examinations. One can study well only if one does not have such infatuation. A student sometimes forgets the things in which he is to be examined if he studies only for the examination. Are you studying for the examination or for knowledge? An examination is only yardstick, but knowledge is the end [the reality]. Many sit for examinations only to make money—that is a very mean thing to do. Knowledge develops intellect. Your letters sometimes suggest that you learn things by heart only for the sake of an examination and then later on forget them. For the development of intellect you should think over what you have read.

Manilal left yesterday with Devdas. After thinking for a long time he has realized that there would be one guest less if he kept himself away when there were others to look after me while I was out of Sevagram. Many persons can't stay with me if this argument is correct. He is coming here with Kanam. I have given him the permission. . . .[1]

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

[1] Incomplete in the source; *vide* also the following item.

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288. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

CHI. NIMU,

I have received your long letter just now. I will not say that you have been lazy and so have saved yourself from writing to me. Today you had no escape from writing. That is as it should be. I love to have letters from all of you but I will not expect them from anyone.

I have a letter from Sumi which I am sending you. I have lovingly rebuked her about the examination.[1] Ask her to send you the letter. Do not send for her there. Her eyes will be harmed. Everything can be done in Delhi. If you want to go and take Usha with you, you may go. Kanam will look after himself. However, I want you not to leave Ramdas. My advice is that you should entrust Sumi to Devdas and Lakshmi. If Sumi can manage without you, let her do so. If you people go, Devdas will certainly have to bear some burden. Lakshmi is very good-natured and affectionate. But her health is delicate. She has just left childbed. It will be a different thing if you go there and take charge of cooking, etc. You will not be able to do that; so your place is in Nagpur with Ramdas. It will be enough if you can make Sumi give up her infatuation for reading. It is not through reading that one can think. What is the advantage of mere cramming? Devdas will manage. Lakshmi can also manage. The doctors in Delhi are good. It is a consolation that Sumi likes being there.

You have to persuade Ramdas. He should continue with Mehta for a long period. That was what he decided when he was here with me. If you wish, you can win him over and make him do what you want. No one else has that power. I had it once. But not now, because I am not able to pay much attention to him. My attention has been divided these days.

Kanam will come and see me either here or at Panchgani. I have a letter from him. I have given him the permission.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

Manilal and Devdas left yesterday. Most probably Sushila will not come to the hill station. She will come only to Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI NIRMALABEHN GANDHI
[C/O] RAMDAS GANDHI
TOMCO SALES DEPOT
KHALASI LINES, NAGPUR

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

289. LETTER TO USHA GANDHI

May 23, 1945

CHI. USHI,

What you wrote to me is all right. The handwriting is also fairly good. Keep on writing to me. No more now.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

290. LETTER TO RANJIT ASHER

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

CHI. RANJIT,

You must know Gujarati. However, you have written good English. What you write, I did not know. My advice is the same as I have already given. You should humbly try to persuade your father. I have not the least doubt that your true happiness lies in accepting my advice. The times are to be thanked for what has happened. There is no need at all for you to lose your head over what has happened or is happening. Do what is proper and that will certainly give you peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI R. K. ASHER
ASHER ESTATE
NASIK ROAD

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

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291. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

BAPA,

What you decided was right. I am not waiting to consult Mridula.[1] How can I remember what I told her and why should I? This I know I said : "I will not give my decision without knowing Bapa's opinion." I certainly will not be a party to keeping a large number of persons as paid employees. Therefore I shall comply with your decision.

The doctor has left today.

I would like it if Amba and Prabhudas stayed there. Only yesterday I received a letter from him. His preference appears to be for staying at Hapur. If you can draw him into your work, do so. He is a very useful man. But he has become weak. So for the two together you may have to pay as much as Rs. 200, because Prabhudas will need plenty of milk, fruit, ghee and green vegetables. He has gone through a pretty hard time. In view of his state of health you will have to permit him to go somewhere else in extreme summer. It is possible that Prabhudas will agree to accept a little less. But I would not consider it proper. His daughters too are sensible and, in my view, quite capable. So between all of them I would not consider that salary too high. It is necessary that he should be free of anxiety about the money.

Do not neglect your eyes. Do not spoil your health. I know that you are more careless than I. You have so far got along. You may even be tempted to do more. But you will not benefit by that. "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."[2] Jesus had said this on a different occasion. I do not recollect at the moment its Hindustani or Sanskrit equivalent.

I have filled one sheet of paper.

BAPU

SHRI BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA

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

[1] *Vide* p. 32.
[2] *St. Matthew*, IV. 7

292. LETTER TO AMIYA NATH BOSE

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

BHAI AMIYA,

Your letter suggests that the power scheme according to my calculations is useless.[1] How can I therefore form a committee?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMIYA
1 WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

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

293. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

Your letter of the 17th. Bapuji has seen it. He says that if you are not in a hurry, you may come after he has settled down in Panchgani. We have to leave Mahabaleshwar on the 31st at the latest. We shall have to leave earlier if it rains. So you may take it that your coming to Mahabaleshwar will be useless.

Yours,
PYARELAL

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
CUTTACK, ORISSA

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 41.

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294. LETTER TO GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAMSINH,

What should we write to Sidhwa[1]? We should wait a little.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA
SPEAKER
DRUG

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

295. LETTER TO TEJWANTI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 23, 1945

CHI. TEJWANTI,

Do not ask me hypothetical questions. You may ask me if there is something concrete.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TEJWANTI
CHARKHA SANGH (PUNJAB BRANCH)
ADAMPUR DOAB
PUNJAB

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

[1] R. K. Sidhwa, leader of the Congress Party in Sind Assembly

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296. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 24, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have been looking forward to your coming. I have now your note deferring coming for I come there on 31st. So I am sending you letters I kept for you.

On getting the news you have given me I said to myself: "Beware of the Greeks especially when they bring gifts. This may be all unjustified; the relief may be genuine." Let us hope so.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

297. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 24, 1945

I was glad to meet you any time and so I said 'Yes' to Joshi. But these two questions could have been answered in two lines. My correspondence with Joshi was never confidential. In any event it can be published at once. I think I have said as much in one of my letters. I can't hasten Bhulabhai. I have sent him the papers I could. He could give his opinion any day he chose.[2] My fear is that it won't be an award. It would be the opinion of a distinguished lawyer on the papers in my

[1] This was in reply to a request from Mohan Kumaramangalam on P. C. Joshi's behalf to publish the correspondence that had passed between Gandhiji and P. C. Joshi.

[2] Bhulabhai Desai, who was preoccupied and also not keeping well, was one of the members of a tribunal suggested by the communists to have the charges against them examined. Giving his opinion on August 20, 1945, Desai said that P. C. Joshi had admitted that the war which has ended was a 'people's war' and that since August 9, 1942, the Communist Party was propagating views contrary to that of the Congress.

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possession. But my own opinion is not formed. I want to pass no hasty judgment. Many honest Congressmen come to me or write to me from the various provinces that communists have no principles save of keeping their party alive and beating their opponents with any stick that came to their hands. I am not going to base my opinion on this evidence either. I dare not condemn you, Batliwala, Joshi or Habib of Lucknow. He was with me for over a month I think. He came for his father[1]. I like him very much. On the whole I agree with Rajaji that you should refuse to put yourself in the dock. I do not want to pass judgment against a political party. I tell friends to be guided by their own knowledge and not by my judgment which may be erring for want of complete evidence.

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, pp. 41-2

298. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 24, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

All the letters received today suggest that you wish to continue as secretary. Well, then, do so. But divide the responsibility and do only such work as you can without having to move about. Look after the accounts and such supervisory work as you can. If anyone wishes to be the Manager, let him, and help him. A day has to come when it will be necessary for someone to be the Manager, for I must some day die and so must you. After that someone will have to become the Manager. Your wisdom and, if you wish, mine, also lies in training a person for it while we are still alive. Manage things somehow during our lifetime. . .[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10634

[1] Syed Mahmud
[2] Incomplete in the source

299. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 24, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your two letters together. If the position is as you describe it to be, it is your duty to cling to Chimanlal,[1] and to go on doing your work silently without entering into argument with anybody. Silence has been described as possessing nine merits. I go further and say it has nine hundred and ninety-nine. You should not get angry, or if at all you want to, you should be angry with yourself. I will arrive there in July. If you need to write to me, send me a slip.

There is another letter from Amtul Salaam regarding Kanchan. Read it. I am, therefore, of the view that if Kanchan has not already arrived there and is keen on staying on where she is, she may certainly do so.[2]

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8452. Also C.W. 5579. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

300. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM AND KANCHAN M. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 24, 1945

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. How wonderful Kanchan was so ill all of a sudden, and is now recovered and does not want to leave the place. I am happy that she is well and wants to stay there. You want to know when I shall be going there. Your wish and mine are the same in this matter. But I cannot go over on my own. If God wills it, I shall certainly do so.[3]

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* also the following item.
[3] What follows is in Gujarati.

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CHI. KANCHAN,

Amtussalaam's second letter is very good. Be firm. I wish that both of you sisters should return only after finishing your work. How nice it would be if you were fully restored to health.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

BIBI AMTUSSALAAM
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BORKAMATA, BENGAL

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

301. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 24, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. I understand about Surendraji. I should like it if he pays me a brief visit. But in a religious or spiritual sense, what is there in such a visit? Why should we spend even one cowrie or one minute on the journey?

How nice it would be if some treatment could do a little good to Gomati. No one has worked for twenty hours at a meeting of the trustees or elsewhere, then why should I do so? Do all the legends spread in this way? No doubt, I did plenty of work. I sat at a stretch for four hours at a meeting of the trustees. But that was enough for me. There is such a difference between four hours and twenty hours. Doctors or no doctors, I should find it impossible to sit that long. Those days are gone.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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302. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 25, 1945

CHI. LILI,

Your letter lacks spirit and is worthless. It is only a time-table of your work. I am sending it after signing. You must get rid of your pride. There was nothing to feel shy about in your letter. You explained to me your condition in a simple manner and that is why I used my prerogative. Whatever I think worth keeping confidential, I keep confidential. But a person who has faith in God should never keep his personal matters confidential. Confidential means most personal. "Renounce and enjoy" includes "confidential" also. We may enjoy [a thing] only after renouncing it. If you can't understand this, then I can say that your education has been in vain and without any thinking.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

303. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

BAPA,

I have your letter. You did not strike out "Bombay". This escaped going to Bombay, as I saw "Poona" in the corner. There is no need to write in Hindi if you write in Gujarati. My advice is that you should get the things read out to you and dictate whatever you want to write. For the time being you should not read or write.

Now about Hariji. Your opinion is correct. Even if he has acquired complete mastery, we should let Rameshwaribehn[1] come in. You can write even now. Prabhudas's address :

[1] Rameshwari Nehru, Joint Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh

Dahyabhai V. Master, Mandaleshwar Road, Borivli. He had written to me from there about Dahyabhai's daughter[1]. His address was also the same.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA 4

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

304. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

May 25, 1945

CHI. MANILAL,

It is good that you wrote a postcard. Naraharibhai will see about your luggage. Dinshaw is very gentle, sensitive and quick to take offence. In the course of time that weakness will disappear. At present, there is no need for you to remain absent for my sake. Just now Pyarelal does the massage and bathes me. When he is busy, there is Sushila[2]. I am well. You need not worry about me. Go and see Sushila[3] and do whatever you think proper. I see no harm in your coming to Panchgani. We may assume that, by the time you come, Kanu and Abha also will have come. But you are not a person who would be a burden to anyone. Sushila and the children can certainly come. But do what you think right. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANILAL GANDHI
C/O MESSRS BACHHARAJ & CO. LTD.
5 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4950

[1] Kailas; *vide* p. 164.
[2] Dr. Sushila Nayyar
[3] Addressee's wife

305. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 25, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. Let Hoshiari live in peace now and let her busy herself with her work and studies.

What Munnalal is doing about the servants is my idea. Though the cause is good, if we do not act accordingly, we are to blame. The purity of the cause remains unblemished. Munnalal has a number of faults, but he never spares himself. The task is difficult. I want that we should all help him. Let us show the servants by our conduct that they are but our brothers and sisters. Let us do our work. Let us not shirk work through laziness. There has been no change in this teaching. Try patiently to understand it. Write to me again and yet again if you do not understand.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1961. Also C.W. 5880. Courtesy : Balvantsinha

306. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

May 25, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I have your letter. You will do the child good by not going to him. The duration of my absence is very short. In any case I shall reach there in July. Learn much and regard everyone as a member of your family.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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307. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

BHAI TANDONJI,

I keep receiving letters in Urdu, Hindi and Gujarati all asking me how I can be both in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Hindustani [Prachar] Sabha at the same time. They say that according to the Sammelan Hindi alone can be our national language and the Nagari script alone can be given national status, whereas I concede national status both to the Nagari and Urdu scripts and to a language that is neither too Persianized nor too Sanskritized. When I do not accord exclusive national status to the language propagated by the Sammelan and the Nagari script, I ought to get out of the Sammelan. It seems to me a valid argument. Does it not then become my duty to leave the Sammelan? By my doing so people will not be in a dilemma and I shall know where I stand.

Kindly reply early. It being my silence day I myself have written this letter. But since people find it difficult to read my hand I have had it copied to be sent to you.

I trust you are well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhashake Prashnapar Gandhiji aur Tandonjika Mahatvapurna Patra-vyavahar, p. 1

308. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

BHAI CHOITHRAM,

I am doing what I can on the basis of your letter. I hope your health is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. CHOITHRAM GIDWANI
P. B. 26, KARACHI

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

309. LETTER TO TULSI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

CHI. TULSI,

Your Hindi is not good. The handwriting too is not good. Improve both. Be regular in your food habits and improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

310. LETTER TO SHEIKH FARID

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

BHAI FARID,

I have gone through your letters. How can I write? Dr. Patel whom you mention is dead. Now there is one Dr. Jesudasan at the hospital. He is a good man. There is no need of a letter of introduction to him. You may go there. My son Manilal is in India these days. May you get well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

311. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I received your letter just now in the evening. I understand about Mavalankar. Our duty is to pick up a gem even if it is lying in garbage heap and to cherish it. I have seen with my own eyes how thousands of maunds of rubble is dug up from

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the bowels of the earth in order to extract a few ounces of diamond. The question of money is different. Mavalankar joined us because his father is very generous and also very particular.

You have given a correct reply to Shah. You will have kept the money from him as fees. I have of course written to him that he should send you the money. I was glad you did not come. If I fall ill, I will call you; but if I am all right I can do with any sort of massage I get. Rather than have massage from you I should prefer your staying there to look after the patients and perfect the institution. I do not want to eat up the plant to its root because it tastes sweet.

I had right away written[1] to Gulbehn that she could come. Now the weather here has also improved. It is always so at the end of May. However, she may come either here or to Panchgani.

Would it not be better if I dealt with the matter of Ghanshyamdas after you came?

Blessings to all the three of you from
BAPU

DINSHAW MEHTA
NATURE CURE CLINIC, POONA CITY

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

312. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Unrevised *May 26, 1945*

CHI. AMRIT,

So the restrictions are removed! I am for making speeches! Nothing much and the sting is still there. However, you are free to come to me when you are disengaged from the tasks there of which I learn from your letters to Pyarelal and Sushila. Of course you could not have Manu in the circumstances you mention. Anyway she has gone to her father in Karachi. I do not know how she is faring there. You need not worry.

Why must you break the diet rule you know? Beware! ! !

Am well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Letters from Pyarelal and Sushila are enclosed herewith.[2]

From the original : C.W. 4156. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7791

[1] *Vide* pp. 166-7.
[2] The postscript is in Gujarati.

313. LETTER TO MANIBEHN NANAVATI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 26, 1945

CHI. MANIBEHN,

I have your letter. It is good that Aruna came and saw you. Both of them are grown up now. You must lovingly give them your advice and then be content with whatever they do. Charity begins at home. Our generosity outside is bound to be deficient if we are miserly with our own children. This is only by way of advice. Bring both of them to Panchgani when you return. We shall meet. Do not worry if I am observing silence then. We shall see when you come.

I understand about Swami.

I have known Mridula ever since she was a child. She is hard-working. She is full of the spirit of service. But she has no regard at all for her health. I consider that wrong.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN NANAVATI
PAHALGAM, KASHMIR

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

314. LETTER TO MANJULA M. MEHTA

May 26, 1945

CHI. MANJULA,

You have fallen ill and . . .[1] it is this that makes me unhappy. Why should you fall ill here? I don't like it either that you are going away. But I know that I cannot keep you with me. That hurts me.

You plead Magan's[2] case before me. He has got education, but learnt no wisdom. He will learn by and by. Why need I be

[1] A word is indecipherable.
[2] Maganlal P. Mehta, addressee's husband

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displeased? But his lack of understanding pains me. It will gradually disappear. You should help in that. He is the only one among the brothers who can bring credit to the Doctor[1].

All of you should soon get well and stay well.

I read your poems. The thoughts are good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1033. Courtesy : Manjula M. Mehta

315. LETTER TO GULBAI TATA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 26, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I was very sorry to learn that you had a fall. Get moving about soon. I too do not go out for walks. I take a walk in the plain stretch in the courtyard. I may go out today. I thank you for your gift. I cannot read either English or any other musical notation. You have not sent the words.

Dr. Sushilabehn will give you this letter.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SISTER GULBAI TATA
FOUNTAIN HOTEL
MAHABALESHWAR

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

[1] Dr. Pranjivandas Jagjivandas Mehta, addressee's father-in-law

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316. DISCUSSION WITH G. J. M. LONGDEN[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 26, 1945

It is understood that Maj. Longden, among other things, raised the questions of Dominion Status *v.* Independence, the Hindu-Muslim question, responsibility for the August 1942 disturbances and possibility of Congress co-operation in the war effort.

Mahatma Gandhi is said to have replied that the question of Dominion Status *v.* Independence could be decided after the principle of independence for India had been accepted by the British Government.

On the Hindu-Muslim question, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have said that Hindus who had been converted to Islam could not claim separate nationhood by virtue of a change of religion.

As regards the August 1942 disturbances, Mahatma Gandhi is said to have declared that the Government themselves have absolved him of charge of "treachery" and of trying to assist the Japanese.

Mahatma Gandhi had informed Maj. Longden that though he had no objection to the publication of the questions and answers he thought it would be inadvisable to publish them at this stage and Maj. Longden agreed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-5-1945

317. FOREWORD TO "GITAGITMANJARI"

I have discovered no easy way of enjoying the music of songs. I cannot, therefore, easily drink in the joy that they are capable of giving. It has happened sometimes that when a song was sung in a manner I found sweet, I fully enjoyed it and also understood its meaning. Sometimes I myself have been able to hum the tune of a song, and then I have both fully enjoyed the music and understood the meaning.

[1] Conservative Party candidate for the Parliamentary Division of Morpeth (Northumberland) in the British general elections. According to the A. P. I. report, Longden "was told by Gandhiji that his vow of silence prevented a discussion but that written answers could be given to written questions".

Jugatram[1] has requested such a person—with much hesitation—to say a few words by way of blessings. "With much hesitation" because he knows the value of my time, as also my limitations.

If, in spite of that, he has requested my blessings, the reason is that I look upon the *Gita* as a lexicon of the soul. I have not been able to read the *Manjari* from beginning to end. But I have carefully glanced through it. I liked the work. The author's labour is evident. Jugatram has, in his own manner, put into song what he has liked in the different chapters of the *Gita*. The glossary following the Preface in the *Manjari*, the selected passages from *Gitabodh*[2] and *Anasaktiyoga*[3], which are relevant to the context, and the relevant verses from the *Gita* are likely to prove useful to a serious student of the work. Jugatram has not come to the end of his journey. He has come as far as Chapter 12. Let us hope that he will be able to complete the journey. He has done well also to include, after the 60th *manjari*, the songs written for Kakasaheb's *Be Keri*[4].

The student should also know that Jugatram practises the teaching of the *Gita* as he has understood it, and is one of the few who draw from the fountain of milk unceasingly flowing from it. Hence anybody who wishes to enjoy the fragrance of this *Manjari* should touch it only if he wishes to practise the teaching of the *Gita* and work in the spirit of non-attachment, or derive strength for such work.

MAHABALESHWAR, May 27, 1945

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19336. Also *Gitagitmanjari*

[1] Jugatram Dave

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLIX, pp. 111-49.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLI.

[4] Literally, "Two Mangoes"; a Gujarati play written by D. B. Kalelkar; *vide* the following item.

318. LETTER TO JUGATRAM DAVE

May 27, 1945

CHI. JUGATRAM,

You have given me a good job indeed. Here is the Foreword[1], or whatever you care to call it. It took more than four hours of my time to write it. For me that is too much. But I had no choice. I like such jobs, but I am no longer fit for them. The work which I have planned to do here takes most of my time, or rather all the time that I get. My purpose in writing this is not to reproach you for giving me a job like this but, through you, to stop others from doing the same. How can I reproach you? And then you have written *Manjari* only to help me in my work. Isn't that so? This is no mere rhetoric. You have called the ninth *manjari* "Samata Yoga" and the 40th "Samata". You will observe that the word 'samata' bears two different meanings in the two places. I would call the ninth "Samata", dropping "Yoga", and the 40th "Samatva" or "Samabhava". The reason is plain. The discussion of Chapter 12 ends at the 60th *manjari*. I see from the contents that you have included something from *Be Keri*. There should be some mention of it, on p. 152[2]. Think over it. If something can be done about it, do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19336

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] The first song from *Be Keri* occurs on this page of *Gitagitmanjari*.

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319. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

"MORARJI CASTLE", MAHABALESHWAR,
May 27, 1945

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
HOME DEPARTMENT
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I refer you to my letter[1] of 6th May, 1944, written from the Detention Camp.

Up till recently there has been no hitch about friends and relatives going to the *samadhis* of the two departed ones, my wife and Shri Mahadev Desai. But a hitch occurred recently. Tactful handling made devotion fairly possible during fixed hours. Now comes the rumour that H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace is about to be occupied by the Military and in that event, devotion may not be permitted at all. I can only hope that the fear is wholly unjustified.

In my letter of 6th May, 1944, to the Government I reduced my contention to writing to the effect that

> by reason of the cremation of the corpses of Shri Mahadev Desai and then my wife, the place of cremation which has been fenced off becomes consecrated ground. The party has daily visited the ground twice and offered floral tributes to the departed spirits and said prayers. I trust that the plot will be acquired by the Government with the right of way to it through H. H. the Aga Khan's grounds so as to enable those relatives and friends who wish to visit the cremation ground whenever they like.

To this the following reply was received :

> I am to inform you that it is legally impossible for Government to acquire the site compulsorily under the Land Acquisition Act. Government considers that the matter is one for private negotiations between you and His Highness the Aga Khan. I am to add, however, that your request has been communicated to His Highness the Aga Khan and is now understood to be under his consideration. Government

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 263.

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understands that he has no objection, in the mean while, to the relatives of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai and any other persons suggested by you going through the Palace grounds to the place of cremation on the understanding that this is by his leave and licence.

I do hope that, no matter who occupies or owns the palace, the consecrated ground on which the two *samadhis* stand will be protected and reserved for devotion by the friends and relatives of the families.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3940

320. LETTER TO HARSHADA DIWANJI

May 27, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. It is a very good practice to give money for Harijan work or some such cause on occasions such as a birth or an engagement or a dear one's death. I have received your cheque. I will go to Poona at the end of June or around that time. If you come then you will be able to keep your vow. If possible we shall go to the *samadhi* together.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
KHAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10224. Courtesy : Harshada Diwanji

321. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 27, 1945

CHI. PRABHA,

You were released and the restrictions on Rajkumari were lifted. I got news of both together. But that did not make me happy. The reason is exactly what you write. I received your wire yesterday and the letter today. How can you be blamed

if you wrote in pencil because there was no other help? Even so your handwriting is very good and well-formed. It was your duty to go to Father. It was good you went there. Come here after you are able to leave the place. If you get permission to see Jayaprakash only during that time—it is your duty to go there. Your next duty is to come to me. You will stay here only as long as it is necessary. So come soon. I will reach Panchgani on the 31st. Mahabaleshwar is only a little higher up. Why do you feel shy of spectacles? Khurshedbehn is at Panchgani. More when we meet. Is Father all right? Convey my blessings to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PRABHAVATIBEHN
[C/O] VISHWANATH PRASAD, BIHAR BANK
LAHERIA SARAI P. O.
DARBHANGA, BIHAR

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

322. LETTER TO GIRIRAJ KISHORE BHATNAGAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 27, 1945

CHI. GIRIRAJ,

I had given you a prompt reply[1]. This is the second letter. What you are doing is good. I was happy to hear about the children. I had made a few more inquiries. I hope your health is perfectly good. I shall go to Panchgani on the 31st. Nanavati has reached Mysore.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GIRIRAJ
HINDUSTANI PRACHAR CLASS
ENGLISH SCHOOL
NAPAD, *via* ANAND

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

[1] *Vide* p. 79.

323. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

May 28, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

Your letter and the book.[1] Appasamy came, left the book and went away. I have not met him. I wonder if he will seek me out and meet me though I am silent the whole day till evening prayer!

You need not apologize for sending me the book. I must read it. I glanced at it, as it came into my hands. How does it differ from your description of socialism which you say centres round society and its needs and villagism which you say centres round the village and its wants? Do you mark any difference? Is not village and its welfare the same as society and its needs? Is not the difference this : socialism includes violence as a measure to achieve it, villagism excludes it?

My English is not perfect. It may be relatively better than Hindustani. I must try to make it equal to my English, if it is not. I reach the masses only through Hindustani however imperfect it may be, never through English, however perfect it may be. If you admit this, the *Patrika* would be only in Hindustani and the provinces will render it in the provincial languages, the people thereof will understand. You may have an English translation of necessary extracts for the foreign reader. This can happen only when both of you see the point and resolve to write in Hindustani however imperfect it may be. I migrate to Panchgani on 31st May.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 153-4.

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324. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter came on yesterday.

Both Pyarelal and Narahari had been to the place. They do not think much of it. The work done is make believe. It is a poor house giving charity. And from what I understand Mahabaleshwar owing to its heavy rainfall is not the place to hold such an institution. Able-bodied poor may live in the place and even thrive. More when we meet.

There was no letter from Bul yesterday. Of course, she will be with me, if and when she likes.

Love to you all.

BAPU

[PS.]

Tell B. I have just had a letter from her. It does not require an immediate reply.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

325. LETTER TO RAMANLAL SHAH

May 28, 1945

CHI. RAMANLAL,

I got your letter only today. The description you have given is good. I like your taking charge of the kitchen work. Be steady. Gradually learn everything about the prayers, etc. I have known you as a silent worker. You can shine wherever you live. I am of the view, however, that for making one into a true servant in spite of one's shortcomings there is no institution which can equal the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Ramanlal Shah Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 5882

326. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 28, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. You may do what you like regarding Kanchan. I have done all I could, and have written and explained everything. You seem to have given up your 'charge'[1]. Do what you can now. I hope the management of the ashram will not completely break up. I shall not be able to give any more guidance from here. The work has become very heavy. I must, therefore, select only what is absolutely necessary and attend to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8451. Also C.W. 5580. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

327. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

May 28, 1945

CHI. AMALA,

Your letter is very good. Never again be so foolish. You are quite a grown-up person. Be calm and collected. About farming and cattle, write to Satis Babu, Sodepur Khadi Pratishthan, *via* Calcutta. He knows much more than I do.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. MARGARETE SPIEGEL
3 WODEHOUSE ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

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

[1] Gandhiji uses the English word.

328. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have received a complaint that the wood from which cupboards and other things for the hospital were made was of inferior quality as well as costly. Is there any truth in it?

I was sorry to read about Munnalal. He is a very good worker but is not able to control his temper. Do what you can. I sometimes feel that it would be good if I returned there soon. But then I persuade myself otherwise.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

329. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS ASAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I was pained to read your letter dated May 19, 1945, to Jajuji. How did your health get so bad? You must never take too much work upon yourself. Get well. You can. It will be good if you suggest more than one name for the post of secretary. Write to me at Panchgani. I shall be there on the 31st.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMIDAS ASAR
GRAMODYOG KHADI HAAT
BHADRA, AHMEDABAD

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

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330. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

I have your letter. What can I say about your getting married? I can only indicate the path. I have not the right, nor has anyone else, to do anything more. This is a matter of the heart. Even you yourself cannot go against it. No woman can at one and the same time both bear children and be of service. Of course bearing children can also become a kind of service. I am returning Father's letter. You will certainly go to him. Hear what everyone says and then obey the dictates of your heart.

It will be all right if you reach Sevagram on the 9th June. Sushilabehn will write more. You are not a small girl at all. So, in everything, you do whatever seems proper to you.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

CHANDRANI
[C/O] VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

331. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I have your letter. I feel happy even if I hear that you are just a little better. Chand can stay there as long as she

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

wishes. You can detain her. See the letter[1] I have written to Chand about her marriage. I need not repeat it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving for Panchgani on the 31st. In fact the two places are much the same.

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

332. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

CHI. JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. The house in Panchgani is too small for my large family. I am therefore happy when members of my family make their own arrangements. This does not mean that you, Devi[2] or Premi[3] are not to come. What I mean is that if you can accommodate yourselves with someone in Panchgani, you should do so. I hope all are well.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
JNANGHAR
15TH STREET, KHAR
BOMBAY-21

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

333. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I have your letters. Balkrishna is not satisfied. Dev has borrowed a little from you. For the rest he is carrying on on his own. Hoshiaribehn too is not wholly satisfied. I merely

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and daughter

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caution you. A doctor who finds fault with his patient is not a doctor at all. . . .[1] I shall be very happy if Hari-ichchha gets well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

334. LETTER TO GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAMSINH,

I like your letter. I am also going on with the work. The important thing is whether the local people can hold out or not.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GHANSHYAMSINH GUPTA
SPEAKER
DRUG

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

335. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 28, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter. What you have sent to Lala Ramswarup by way of donation is all right. Send it to the Trustees.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA SMARAK
SCINDIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

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

[1] A sentence here is obscure.

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336. LETTER TO SHANTA

May 28, 1945

CHI. SHANTA,

Your beautiful letter is lying before me. It may not be so in appearance but the account it contains is indicative of your success. One can say that true adult education is being imparted if the wells are kept in good order, houses are fitted with windows and there is light in the rooms.

The new economics you have indicated is quite good. If we succeed in labour banks, then the success of grain banks, etc., is within our reach.

You must maintain your health. You will be able to do that if you do your work with detachment. It is your primary duty to act in this manner. You can never give to the people what you do not have.

May God give you strength and success.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

337. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

May 28, 1945

CHI. SAILEN,

Write to Dr. Krishnavarma intimating the date. Vina is not needed at Malad or anywhere else. She must go to Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10392. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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338. LETTER TO SARAYU DHOTRE

May 28, 1945

CHI. SARAYU,

I have your letter. It was proper that I should have written to Rameshwardasji.

I told you your duty. It is a matter of the heart for everyone. It did not mean that I would abandon you and not do what I can and I, though a pauper, would live like a rich man. The path of duty is a razor's edge.

It is just as well that Vatsala[1] is with you.

Keep writing to me. It will be good if Mohan[2] recovers.

I suppose for the present you will be staying on there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi : C.W. 838. Courtesy : Sarayu Dhotre

339. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 28, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Do not worry about Balkoba's discharge. It is an old disease. Do what you can to cure it. Keep writing to me.

I have suggested[3] the use of Grimm's Law with regard to the script.

The letter from Ramdas (May 14, 1945) is nice. He can only argue thus. He will never give up khadi. But he cannot easily forget his experience. Shriman has taken his argument to the extreme. It is impossible today. Ramdas does not know the whole of India directly or indirectly. It is not his fault. One must be acquainted with the situation in India in order to make a scientific study. The situation about which he is talking is due to the invasion from the West. There can only

[1&2] Addressee's sister and son
[3] *Vide* p. 117.

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be violence at the root of Ramdas's statement. If non-violence has to prevail, many things will have to be carried on without steam power, etc.

That there should be big factories run by the people for big industries is a matter of regret, not of joy. In brief, Ramdas will have to think very deeply. I know that ultimately Ramdas will be able to give up his attachment.

You have got to go to Nagpur. Go there and get lots of experience.

Send this letter or a copy of it to Ramdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Send the letters of Raman and Shantabehn to them.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4572

340. TELEGRAM TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

RAMESHWARI NEHRU
WARRIS ROAD
LAHORE

IF THEY WENT FOR VACATION YOU NEED NOT GO BUT USE YOUR JUDGMENT.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

341. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

May 29, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

Yours written on the train.

I am overwhelmed with work. Hence the delay, if delay it may be called.

I agree with you about the existence of the evil. My difficulty is as to the way to deal with it. I want you to depend upon me to do so as soon as I see the way. Nothing will then stop me. Nor am I unvigilant.

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I am glad you liked your stay in Mahabaleshwar.

I hope Papa and Narasimhan came to you at once and that you are doing well.

I am on your latest pamphlet[1].

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2106

342. LETTER TO POTTI SRIRAMULU

May 29, 1945

DEAR SRIRAMULU[2],

It is more honest to sell your yarn for the required quantity of khadi and take your food from your beggings and devote the rest to the Harijan cause. Let the people know your worth.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Temple entry is not the only way to remove untouchability; it is one of the many ways all of which have to be taken.

From a photostat : G.N. 106

343. NOTE TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 29, 1945

BAPA,

This telegram has been received. I have given the reply[3] as above.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Presumably *Reconciliation*

[2] A Congressman of Nellore who worked for the cause of untouchability; he fasted unto death for the formation of a separate Andhra State in 1953

[3] *Vide* p. 201; also p. 178.

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344. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

May 29, 1945

CHI. SITA,

Your handwriting is good. Write to everybody in the same way. Equally good handwriting for everyone. *Shivir agni*[1] seems all right. You can say that on that day we had lighted *shivir agni* all over the place.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

CHI. SITA GANDHI
NANABHAI MASHRUWALA'S BUNGALOW
AKOLA, BERAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4951

345. LETTER TO JAYAKUNVAR V. DESAI

May 29, 1945

CHI. JAYA[2],

I have your letter.

You may, by all means, marry away Chi. Chandu[3]. Both seem to be worthy of each other. I cannot, however, welcome this marriage. I feel for that abandoned lady. How will she take it? Manilal is in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./23

[1] Camp fire
[2] Gandhiji's niece, sister of Jaisukhlal A. Gandhi
[3] Chandrakala, addressee's daughter

346. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter of the 20th. You can certainly let uncle read my letters. We all wish that he should get well. For that he should live under your care till he recovers completely and should do whatever you ask him to do. I hope his health is fast improving.

Sailen should come to you in a few days. He will write directly to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KRISHNAVARMA
NATURE CURE CLINIC
MALAD

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

347. LETTER TO NANJI KALIDAS

May 29, 1945

BHAI NANJI,

I have your letter. Shantabehn had been here. Now she has gone to Panchgani to make preparations. Neither you nor anyone from your family need come here for my sake. Shantabehn is quite capable of managing everything all by herself. Then, too, I have a big party with me. I leave here on the 31st. Do not worry about me. Look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHETH NANJI KALIDAS
MAHARANA MILLS
PORBUNDAR, KATHIAWAR

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

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348. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

BHAI RANCHHODDAS,

I have gone through your English letter. I do not want to get involved with the questions raised therein. Had you met me I would have spent some time in talking to you. How can I prevent you from sending to the Press the questions you have raised? What is the significance of those questions without my replies? Hope you are well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

349. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

BAPA,

1. I have your letter. I cannot fall in line with Sir Purushottamdas's opinion. The office should never be in Bombay. However, I do not insist on anything. It is you who have to think over it.

2. It will be very good if some concrete work is taken up. I have welcomed Devdas's suggestion. I have also said that he should demonstrate it in practice. I have already expressed my opinion that "impatience dose not make a mango tree bear fruit"[1]. The work is new. It is like injecting life into a corpse.

3. The farther the money is kept from the shadow of the Government, the better. I have no objection if you keep it with some good firm.

4. I do not want to interfere in small things and also in the schemes. In fact I should have bothered myself only with the principles.

[1] A Gujarati saying

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5. What you write about Kamle is correct.

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY POONA CITY

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

350. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I have received both of your letters. It is all right that you wrote to me a long letter. If the hopes you entertain are fulfilled, then mine also will be fulfilled. Your father[1] in his last letter had entrusted all of you to me. He had especially high hopes of Ranchhod[2] but he wrote quite a lot about you and Shanti[3]. I never met Ranchhod. Let us see how Shanti ultimately fares. For the present I have pinned my hopes on you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

351. LETTER TO B. JAGANNATHDAS

May 29, 1945

BHAI JAGANNATHDAS,

I have your letter. Come over to Panchgani any time you want. It will give me even greater pleasure if Diwan Bahadur also comes. You should understand of course that I shall be staying in somebody's house at Panchgani. The house is not big. You will therefore have to make arrangements for your lodging somewhere else. Continue the practice of writing in Hindustani.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 9760. Courtesy : B. Jagannathdas

[1] Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's brother
[2] & [3] Ranchhoddas and Shantilal, addressee's brothers

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352. LETTER TO PIR ILAHIBUKSH

May 29, 1945

BHAI PIR SAHEB,

I have your letter[1]. Perhaps you know that I know the Urdu script. There is very little difference between Sindhi and Urdu scripts. You must also be knowing that I call Hindustani that language which rural Hindus and Muslims of North India speak and which they write in the Nagari or Urdu scripts. So, if I may advise you, I would suggest that you teach Hindustani to Hindu and Muslim boys in all the schools in both the scripts. It is an old thing but did not make much progress. Now an association has come into being which propagates this scheme.[2]

Yours,

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

353. LETTER TO SUSHILA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

You must firmly refuse to marry the person whom your parents want you to marry.

Marry the man with whom you are so much in love after informing your parents. Do not seek my blessings. My advice and hope would be that both of you should devote yourselves to service and forget each other. I know it is difficult.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

[C/o] SHRI GURUPRASAD SRIVASTAVA
R. M. S. OFFICE
CHARBAGH JUNCTION
LUCKNOW

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

[1] Asking what language should be taught in Sind and how

[2] At the end there is the following instruction in Gujarati : "Give a reply on these lines and get my signature."

354. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have received your letter about the office. I agree. I understand Wardha to mean Wardha proper or places around it. The reason is clear.

M. K. GANDHI

SHYAMLAL
KASTURBA TRUST OFFICE
BOMBAY

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

355. LETTER TO MOHAMMED HAMID-UD-DIN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 29, 1945

BHAI MOHAMMED HAMID-UD-DIN,

I have your letter. I am very sorry to know that out of your eight children only one, Masud, now four years old, is alive. May God give him a long life. May your wish that your son Masud should render service to the country and devote his life to furthering Hindu-Muslim unity bear fruit. Why do you write to one like me in English? And why does your printed address on the letter-paper have to be in English?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI HAMID-UD-DIN KHAN
MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE
JAIPUR

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

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356. *INTERVIEW TO DENTON J. BROOKS JR.*[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
[On or before *May 30, 1945*][2]

QUESTION : Gandhiji, is there any special message you would care to send to the Negro people of America?

ANSWER : My life is its own message. If it is not, then nothing I can now write will fulfil the purpose.

When asked to comment on the probable trend of the race relations, Mr. Gandhi said :

My faith burns brighter today, even brighter than it has in the past; we are fast approaching a solution to troublesome race problems.

This he feels will be accomplished in spite of present-day discouraging symptoms. And he still feels that the best weapon for use by under-privileged peoples is non-violence.

Pointing to his recent statement[3] made at the beginning of the San Francisco Conference, he indicated that India's freedom was closely identified with the welfare of all other under-privileged peoples. At that time he had said :

> The freedom of India will demonstrate to all exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they be exploited.

The Hindu, 15-6-1945

[1] According to the source, the interviewer, a Negro journalist, was Far Eastern correspondent of *Chicago Defender*, in which the interview appeared on June 10, 1945. Brooks reported : "... in the exclusive interview given to me last week ...at... Morarjee Castle, Mahabaleshwar ... Gandhiji was observing silence, with the exception of an hour after evening prayers. ... I asked questions and he hurriedly jotted down his answers."

[2] Brooks reported that "later in the evening" he had attended the "prayers". Gandhiji reached Panchgani on May 31, 1945, in the evening.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, pp. 389-91.

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357. DRAFT FOREWORD TO "GITA ANI GITAI"

I have quite a few co-workers who are more or less exclusively engaged in doing my work and who, therefore, have a claim on me. However, such a claim should not be made in so many words; otherwise I would not be able to do the work which I ought to do. Kundarji asked me to write a Foreword for *Gitai ani Gitai* and *Gitadhyayasangati*. How could I say 'No' to him? I agreed and so it became my duty to read *Gitadhyayasangati* and Kundarji's Preface. This took away one hour of my time. The work will suffer if I let my hours go thus and the *Gita* will cease to be my spiritual dictionary.[1]

The beauty of *Gitai* is that its meaning and music are rendered[2] in Marathi in such a way that those who do not know the original *Gita* can enjoy reading it as they would the original.

M. K. GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR, May 30, 1945

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

358. FOREWORD TO "GITADHYAYASANGATI"

Vinoba has been my co-worker ever since the Ashram at Kochrab[3] was set up. He has done plenty of work that I wanted him to do or that which was dear to me. Take for instance *Gitadhyayasangati*. I had asked for a little, Vinoba gave me much. The readers should know that the idea of reciting the *Gita* in fourteen days and then in seven days first occurred to me in Yeravda Prison. I told Vinoba of what I had in mind and asked for his approval and also his suggestions. In reply he sent me *Gitadhyayasangati*. By having this before him the reader who wants to concentrate on the *Gita* and put its teaching into practice will[4] be benefited.

MAHABALESHWAR, May 30, 1945

[From Hindi]

Gitadhyayasangati

[1] Between this and the next paragraph, in the source, appears the Foreword to *Gitadhyayasangati*; *vide* the following item.

[2] By Vinoba Bhave

[3] Near Ahmedabad, in May 1915

[4] The draft Foreword here adds : "I am convinced"

359. TELEGRAM TO ASAF ALI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

BARRISTER ASAF ALI
KUCHA CHELLAN
DELHI

WIRE EXACT CONDITION. SORRY YOU ARE ILL.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

360. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

MY DEAR SUDHIR,

I have your interesting letter. I am in Panchgani till the end of June. Dr. John Everton will certainly be able to see me in Panchgani during June, any afternoon. Of course I am silent but that should not matter. Of course he will give me previous information.

Love to you both.

BAPU

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH
1 UPPER WOOD STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

361. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

This is just to ask you not to worry about help. Bapa says he won't find the man to suit you. Balvantsinha can come

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only after I reach Sevagram. Ramprasad won't leave you till B. can join you. Mean[while do as you sing "Rock of ages, cleft for me, let me hide myself in Thee"[1].

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
BAHADARABAD P. O.
JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

362. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

May 30, 1945

CHI. VALJI,

Bapa is very busy. He is not like me. If I don't get a man, I can beg for services. His eyes are weak. He would need someone to write in Gujarati and Hindi. If you or some boys or anybody else can help him, go and meet him and tell him so. At present he is in the Servants of India Society of Poona. The help is to be given there. It would be better if someone who is known was available.

Please let me know if there is any book in Marathi or Gujarati on veterinary science.

Tomorrow [we leave for] Panchgani.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. VALJI G. DESAI
GANESH VADI
FERGUSSON COLLEGE ROAD
POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10227. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

[1] A hymn by A. M. Toplady (1740-'78) included in the *Ashram Bhajanavali*

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363. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

May 30, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I saw what you wrote at the bottom of Vinodini's letter. How did you get dysentery? The ideal diet is that which improves one's health day by day. Do you think there is some defect in your diet somewhere? You yourself should discover it. I am glad indeed that Manu has gone there. She will continue to cause me worry till she gets completely well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
SIND MARKET NO. 35
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
KARACHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

364. LETTER TO NANDLAL PATEL

May 30, 1945

CHI. NANDLAL,

Your letter of the 30th April reached me on the 5th May. I am able to reply to it only today. I get news about Hari-ichchha[1] practically every alternate day. She is always in my thoughts. How nice it would be if she survives. God's will shall prevail. The remedy also will be found in the same way. Just now I can think of no one except Dr. Kelkar. He is a fine man.

I shall be reaching there only in July. Write to me again. How does Hari-ichchha herself feel?

Look after the houses there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9253. Also C.W. 2716. Courtesy : Nandlal Patel

[1] Addressee's daughter

365. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 30, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have not been able to reply to one of your letters. You did well in sending the money to Ramaswami for his parents for the months of April and May. I think nothing is left now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10635

366. LETTER TO BURJORJI F. BHARUCHA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

BHAI BHARUCHA,

I have your postcard. Please understand that it is improper to drag me into such activities.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

BURJORJI FARAMJI BHARUCHA
BOMBAY-1

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

367. LETTER TO AMIN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

CHI. AMIN,

That you make efforts is itself proof of the presence of both the virtues in you. Man's duty is but to endeavour. Success depends on the grace of God. We should seek solitude among the multitudes—inaction in activity—but such activity should be without desire for fruits. That is what you are doing. Remember

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Ramakrishna Paramahansa was not inactive. After all you do not indulge in worldly behaviour.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

368. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

CHI. VASUMATI,

I could take up your letter only today. What you write is correct. Everyone works according to his ability. You and I cannot be exceptions. Take care of your health and keep on doing whatever you have to do. We should never lose faith that God looks after everyone. Ask Akbar.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VASUMATIBEHN
C/O DAULATRAM KASHIRAM
KARELWADI
THAKURDWAR ROAD
BOMBAY

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

369. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD VYAS

May 30, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I hope you are well. Do not move from there until I send Balvantsinha or someone else.[1] It is all right even if you have to stay there for two months. It would be a different thing if you wished to do no more than what I had asked.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* also pp. 211-2.

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370. LETTER TO SITARAM P. PATWARDHAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

CHI. APPA,

I could take up your letter only today. I cannot arrive at any clear decision. I know Jajuji's difficulties. I know the value of your work there. Balasaheb and others will only do what I tell them. Knowing all this increases my responsibility. Under the circumstances, if you also are not able to decide, then draw lots and act according to the result. Doing so is not the way of ignorance. I believe it to be perfectly a way of knowledge. It certainly has its advantages.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

371. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

May 30, 1945

CHI. SURU,

I am able to answer your letter only today. You and Vali can come here any time you want. But I would not like you to incur so much expense just for the sake of meeting me. You are doing good work there. You are meeting me through letters. If you two can reform Harilal, I shall feel that you have accomplished a great thing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6186. Also C.W. 3460. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

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372. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

May 30, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

The main reason for my not answering your letter was the meetings. I am now disposing of the letters. Ask again if something is left out in my reply.

I am not sorry that you fasted. I hope you will regain the weight you may have lost. It will increase only gradually. It will be good if Madho improves. It is difficult when it is kleptomania. The person then does not even know that he is stealing. He deserves pity. On such occasions do not show mercy by resorting to a fast. Every time he behaves like that he should be warned, gently not harshly.

Tell Balvantsinha that I am on the lookout for books on veterinary science.[1] I have now gone through the whole letter. I do not see you have any particular question.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9028. Also C.W. 5883 and 9152.
Courtesy : Prabhakar

373. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

BHAI KUNDAR,

Herewith my Foreword[2]. I am no longer fit for such work. If I wish to live, it is in order that I can take part in the *yajna* of freedom by doing something original. Writing such prefaces is not that work. You will be writing so many things. Please do not ask for anything from me.

[1] *Vide* p. 212.
[2] *Vide* p. 210.

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I find the discourses on the *Gita* interesting. But I cannot say what you can. Where do I have that knowledge? You may reject my Foreword if you find it of no use.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUNDAR DIWAN
M. S. MANDAL, DATTAPUR
NALWADI, WARDHA

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

374. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

May 30, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARIBEHN,

Your letter about Father is lying with me.

I will not issue an appeal about a memorial for him.[1] It should come from the Punjab and in Punjabi. If someone issues an appeal and does not take any responsibility, then he should let things follow their own course. After all Father's services need no memorial to make them lasting. One lives on in service. Kaul's name and address will be given below.

I have received your letter regarding the Balika Ashram. I have sent a telegram.[2] It is enough. Your letter explains your telegram.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Shrimati Kaul's address :
Lady C. Kaul
Camp, *via* Sangrur
(Zind State–Punjab)

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8008. Also C.W. 3108. Courtesy : Rameshwari Nehru

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXIX, p. 418.
[2] *Vide* p. 201.

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375. LETTER TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR

May 30, 1945

CHI. DEV,

I have not replied to all your letters. I am taking out the old ones today. There is one question in that. Singing certainly has a place in *Nayee Talim*. Singing implies a knowledge of notes and this one must have.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi original. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

376. LETTER TO OM PRAKASH GUPTA

May 30, 1945

CHI. OM PRAKASH,

Your beautiful letter is before me. I am disposing of all the pending letters today. You must be getting on well. Let me know what I have to do after I return.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

377. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI BABU,

You wrote to me about Shashi's marriage on the 13th May. I received the letter on the 17th. The wedding was on the 21st. You might have received the letter in time if I had written to you the same day. But I could read the letter only today. There is so much work. However, please do not feel bad. The marriage has been solemnized. Convey my blessings to

the couple. I hope that they will lead a life of service and devotion.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Write to Panchgani.

SHRI LAKSHMINARAYAN
KHADI BHANDAR, NAYA BAZAAR
MUZAFFARPUR (BIHAR)

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

378. LETTER TO SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 30, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

I could reach your letter of the 15th only today.

I do not like to borrow money for Kashmir. The condition seems to me very strict. They refuse to give it for five years. I do not see any harm in having a look at the old yarn. However, it would be better if we could manage without a loan. This is my personal view. You can take a loan if the conditions are acceptable to you, if our workers from Kashmir are also willing and if we cannot give them the money in any other way. If it becomes necessary to take the loan, I will give my signature when it is required.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I return the papers.

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

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379. LETTER TO RAMASWAMI

May 30, 1945

CHI. RAMASWAMI,

I have not replied to two of your letters. The reason is work.

The postcard does not call for any reply. You must have received money for the months of April and May. I am sorry that there was some irregularity in sending the money. I am responsible for that. When your continuing became uncertain probably I was not able to make up my mind as to what should be the duty of the Ashram towards you. I do not remember it well. I am sorry that your parents were a little hurt.

Only the poor have true and pure ambition. That certainly lifts them high and throws them into the hands of the demon. This is the translation of "between the devil and the deep sea". What you say is not true. When you feel that you are going to fall into the hands of Satan, you should give up that work. I don't think it proper to say more to you in this connection. You must yourself realize your duty.

Do not blame the zemindar if you want the fame which you can acquire with your money. Just as among the poor, there are also good and bad among them. All poor people are not good and all rich people are not bad. Ponder over the basic things while you are entering a new life.

I hope there won't be any difficulty in understanding my language. You should learn to speak and write in Hindi. Keep on writing to me. Write to me at Panchgani.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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380. FOREWORD TO "VARNAVYAVASTHA" [1]

I do not have the time to read this book again. I do not even wish to. I have many other things to do.

In my opinion a man daily moves either forward or backward. He never stands still. The whole world is moving. There is no exception to it. I will be making a wrong statement if I say that I am today what I was yesterday and will remain the same in future. In fact I should not even have such a desire.

It is right however that my writings and utterances should not be such as to confuse others. I should not write things which can bear two interpretations. That is to say I should always have an eye to truth and non-violence while writing, speaking or doing anything. I can say that I have been doing that ever since I gave my word to my mother. In fact I became a devotee of truth ever since I reached the age of understanding.

This does not mean that I have had or even today have a full vision of truth and ahimsa. But I do believe that my vision of truth and ahimsa is becoming clearer every day. Therefore it would not be correct to say that my views on Varnashrama are the same as they were in the past. I have said that the varnas and the ashramas are the gifts of Hinduism to the world, and I still adhere to that view. But today neither the varnas nor the ashramas of my conception are in existence anywhere. They should form a part of our religion. But it can be said that these days the ashramas have disappeared altogether and varnas are found in the form of privileges. The claim of being a Brahmin, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya connotes pride. How can there be pride where there is religion? And the Shudras are not taken into consideration at all! Shudras are low and the Ati-Shudras are the lowest of the low. This is not religion but a negation of it.

Where are the four varnas of the *Gita* today? Varna is entirely different from caste. There are numerous castes. I know of no authority for caste in the *Gita* or any other scripture. The *Gita* has prescribed four varnas and they are based on one's aptitudes and karma. I am saying four just to give you an

[1] Gandhiji wrote this under the title "Key to My Writings".

example. There can be more or less varnas than that. But there prevails only one varna today, that is, of Shudras', or, you may call it, Ati-Shudras', or Harijans' or untouchables'. I have no doubt about the truth of what I say. If I can bring round the Hindu society to my view, all our internal quarrels will come to an end. That will also put an end to communal riots between Hindus and Muslims, and the people of India will occupy a place of honour in the world. Just as it is not dharma but *adharma* to believe in the distinctions of high and low, so also colour prejudice is *adharma*. If a scripture is found to sanction distinctions of high and low, or distinctions of colour, it does not deserve the name of scripture. One should approach the scriptures with the assumption that they would not say anything which is contrary to dharma.

Caste distinctions have taken such deep roots that they have infected the Muslims, Christians and others. It is true that there are class distinctions in more or less degree in all the religions, from which one has to conclude that that failing is inherent in every human being. We can cleanse ourselves of that failing only by pure dharma. I have not found sanction for such distinctions between high and low in any scriptures. In the eyes of religion all men are equal. An educated, intelligent and affluent man is no better than an ignorant, stupid and poor man. If he is cultured, that is to say, if he has been purified by dharma, he will utilize his education, intelligence and money in the service of his illiterate, stupid and poor brethren. And he will strive to give them, that is to say, the whole world, what he has got. If that is true of religion, then in our present condition, devoid of religion our dharma lies in becoming Ati-Shudras voluntarily. A man should consider himself not the owner of his property but its trustee or custodian. He will use it for the service of society. He will accept only that much for himself as he has earned with his labour. If that happens, no one will be poor and no one rich. In such a system all religions will naturally be held equal. Therefore all quarrels arising out of religions, caste and economic differences will be ended.

At this stage it is also necessary to ponder over one further point. It is the foremost dharma of a subject nation to free itself of the bondage at the very first opportunity. A subject is compulsorily an Ati-Shudra. It is immaterial whether he has been given titles, or whether he is made a judge or a peon of a judge or whether he is a king or a pauper. The more titles one has the more abject is one's condition under alien

rule. Thus by correlating freedom with dharma and making the latter widespread, we shall in the natural course of things arrive at the state described in the previous paragraph.

A man who wants to follow his dharma will not bother about the time when this may be realized. If many people do so, it will not only end our subjection but there will not be any anarchy or confusion in our freedom. This is the swaraj of my dreams. I yearn for that. I want to live for the attainment of it. I am devoting every breath of my life to that effort.

The reader is therefore requested to discard anything in this book which may appear to him incompatible with my views given above.

In order to save me labour, a friend who has digested my views and has done so with great effort, has sent me a brief note of my present views. Shri Kishorelal thought that I could save time if I could affix my signature to it. I was free to make any corrections I liked. But while going through it I found that Shri Kishorelal has, as is his wont, read through the whole book, has pondered over it and then has drafted a note as a testimony of my present views. Even if I cannot sign it, it should be published along with this. There is no incompatibility between his key and mine. Shri Kishorelal's note is based on the study of this book and therefore it would be more helpful to the readers.

May Truth alone triumph.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR, May 31, 1945

[From Gujarati]

Varnavyavastha, pp. 5-8

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381. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

May 31, 1945

CHI. MANILAL,

I got your postcard. You did not say where I should address this reply. When one is constantly moving about, one should indicate the address either at the top or at the bottom.

Since Sushila has come after so many years, she is naturally very anxious to meet relations. Maybe, she does not, therefore, bother about the heat. I feel concerned about the children. I hope they are not over-strained. I leave for Panchgani this evening. There is bound to be crowding there. But I have provided for you two, together with the children. I am planning in my mind to secure one more bungalow. However, since the breeze has started in Bombay it must be cooler now. All of you can spend a month in Bombay; the place will be cool enough.

If possible call on Jairamdas once again.

I didn't read [the article] about Rajaji carefully. You should forget it. I don't feel hurt by anything he does. He is acting according to his own lights. Everything that appears in newspapers is not true. You know my views. After all, what matters is one's actions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4952

382. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 31, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

You work wonders. I have gone through your Preface[1] or whatever you call it. It is all right. However, I do not intend to write in that way. I will not involve myself and my readers in the controversy. I will try to give the key for reading my writings. You have written on the basis of my writings, so it would perhaps be better if it is published as it is, under

[1] To *Varnavyavastha*

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your name. I would, however, know about it only after I finish writing.

I understand about *paricharya*. It is like this. I have already written—haven't I?—that words like men need growth. As knowledge grows, the meaning of a word becomes wider, which it should. Why should we stick to the meanings of the critics? Even then, what you say seems correct from the point of view of language. The pity is that I am not a linguist and therefore whatever occurred to me on the spur of the moment, I wrote down. Enough, as it is time to go for a walk.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I venture to send the accompanying[1] as Manilal has not given his address.

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

383. LETTER TO MANGALDAS

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 31, 1945

BHAI MANGALDAS,

This is my acknowledgment. I have received your draft and it will be officially credited to the account.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHAH MANGALDAS'S FIRM
PUBLISHER AND DISTRIBUTOR
BHAGATALAV
SURAT

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

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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384. LETTER TO R. V. PANDIT

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 31, 1945

BHAI PANDIT,

Your letters are not good. Why one in Hindustani and the other in English? I have never taken any interest in the allegations made against you nor have I heard much in that regard. An artist should dedicate his art to Mother India. He should not make money out of it. From the 15-point programme one should take those that are suited to the place. You should daily spin for an hour, make slivers and card cotton with the carding-bow.

Blessings from
BAPU

R. V. PANDIT
C/O DR. P. J. GHARSE
MAHABALESHWAR

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

385. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

[MAHABALESHWAR][1],
May 31, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I received your letter just now. Tell me everything when you meet me. I have written[2] to Tandonji about my intention to leave the Sammelan. I have already written to Ramdas. He should get well now. I note what you say about Mr. Sen. I know he can render very good service and he is service-minded. Have as much experience as you can have there. We shall go to Panchgani today.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI
C/O SMT. YASHODHARA DASAPPA
VONTICOPPAL, MYSORE

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

[1] The source, however, has "Panchgani".
[2] *Vide* p. 181.

386. LETTER TO DR. P. SUBBAROYAN

PANCHGANI,
May 31, 1945

MY DEAR SUBBAROYAN,

I have your letter. I understand and appreciate all you say. I thought I had told you that Mohan had come and gone, again leaving a good impression about himself. I have not even attempted to convert him to my way. I simply let him perceive the affection I have for him.

Love.

BAPU

DR. SUBBAROYAN
WHILE'S GARDEN
ROYAPETTAH
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

387. LETTER TO RAMDEV

PANCHGANI,
May 31, 1945

BHAI RAMDEV,

I have received Pandit Vinayak Rao's reply and other papers. I am going through them carefully. I am doing what I can.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAMDEV
C/O PANDIT VINAYAK RAO, BARRISTER
JAMBAG
HYDERABAD

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

388. LETTER TO DHARMADEV SHASTRI

PANCHGANI,
May 31, 1945

BHAI DHARMADEV SHASTRI,

I have your letter. Something will be done as soon as possible. The address has to come from the U. P. Committee and I remember Bapa had asked a few questions. Yes, your work[1] is difficult. May God give you success. Money is a servant to one who has dharma on his side.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DHARMADEV SHASTRI
ASHOK ASHRAM
KALSI

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

389. NOTE FOR "GRAM UDYOG PATRIKA"

May 1945

A correspondent asks me to speak about other village industries as I do about khadi.

Khadi is the only handicraft which is widespread. Besides, I have likened it to the sun, and the other industries to the planets.[2] The sun is only one, while the planets are many and new ones are being discovered.

For the present, it will be enough if you concentrate on hand-made paper, hand-ground flour, hand-pounded rice, *ghani*-pressed oil, honey from live bees, hide from dead cattle and articles made from it in villages, village walking-sticks, village-buttons, palm gur, etc.

[1] The addressee who was working among the tribes of Jaunsar and Bawer at Nagthat, near Mussoorie, built the Ashok Ashram and started a school and dispensary in memory of Kasturba Gandhi. He opened the Ashram in July 1942, but was arrested a month after. Having been released, he was developing it into a training centre for village industries.

[2] *Vide* pp. 152-3.

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As a matter of fact agriculture is a village industry, hence grains, fruit and articles made from them can be village products. In short, when villages are self-contained, cities will be dependent on them.

As you can see, the tooth-brush belongs to the cities, while *datun* belongs to the villages and is better; tooth-powder is of the city while charcoal powder, chalk or salt are of the village. When you become village-minded in this way you will find numerous village articles useful to you.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Gram Udyog Patrika*, Part I, p. 343

390. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Your slip. I gave Sushilabehn the letter regarding Chand. I am writing this after she has left. Keep Dr. Ice. Do not be obstinate. Listen to what he says. . . .

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10630

391. TELEGRAM TO NANJI KALIDAS

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

SHETH NANJI KALIDAS
PORBANDAR

PLEASE DO NOT SACRIFICE HEALTH FOR COMING HERE. SHANTABEHN[1] LOOKING AFTER PARTY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Gandhiji's hostess at 'Dilkhusha', Panchgani

392. TELEGRAM TO N. G. RANGA

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

PROFESSOR RANGA
CARE S. K. PATIL
381 SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY

WORK OVERPOWERING. PLACE CROWDED. BETTER WRITE OR COME AFTER FIFTEENTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

393. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

June 1, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have your letter. By all means go to Sevagram. There is nothing at all wrong in it. But henceforth weigh everything you say. And having said a thing one must cling to it even at the cost of one's life. A wire has been sent to you, to the effect that you should go to Khadi Pratishthan. If you keep good health there, stay on and learn. There is much to learn there. If you do not like the place, go to Wardha by yourself and take up some work after careful thinking and engross yourself in it.

Write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 618

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394. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

June 1, 1945

BAPA,

I have your long letter. It does not reveal your anger but your practical sense. However, the practical sense suggests that you should not relinquish the post you have accepted. I had often read in South Africa the letter Gokhale wrote on his return from England expressing his deep apology.[1] One of the sentences in that letter was : "How can I give up the office under duress when I have not accepted it under duress?" You are in a similar situation. The only difference is that there is no pressure at all on you. So it will be sheer cowardice to give up the post and with that the freely available opportunity of rendering service. The tongue that calls you a coward only condemns itself. Moreover, to give up doing service means putting a burden on Mridula, that is, on the women. Why should you do that? Give it up when I tell you and if what I tell you appeals to you. The fact is Mridula does not want to give up anything. I feel that we should leave only when she has become competent enough to enable us to give up.

In the mean time, we should retain her and encourage her. The words of mine you quote are the only true words. She should not consider anything as passed by me unless it has received your independent approval. However, if she does not do that, you should ignore it but should do what you want to. About Rs. 2,000 I clearly remember having told her that she should not consider anything passed as long as Bapa had not considered and approved it independently. If she has employed two or three women, I would certainly be in favour of retaining them. But if you disapprove of it, I will do the same.

[1] In 1897, before the Welby Commission in England, Gokhale made certain statements, based on letters he received from Poona on the plague operations in that city, relating to the conduct of British soldiers who were employed to evacuate compulsorily the infected houses. But when the persons who supplied him with the information refused to substantiate the allegations, Gokhale had to withdraw and apologize for the statements which caused indignation in England and in India.

I do not feel that you are giving me trouble. Whatever the trouble may be, it will end. I will see to it.

What remains now is the question about the office. It is in a large measure in your own hands.

I will see what I can do about Bhavnagar and Kathiawar. It is good that Anantrai[1] is here. Come here only if you want change of air and not to know my mind or to explain to me. Moreover, at the moment you want to work for Servants of India Society. You may gladly do that. I might, if I wanted, come to your help. But I do not want to do that. I have to curb many such good intentions. Enough for now.

BAPU

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

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

395. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I received your letter of April 28 today. The reason is that Kanu came today after visiting Rajkot and other places. From Saraswati's letter I presume that you would all be in Travancore at present. Nevertheless I address this C/o Prithuraj. If Harilal improves, the credit will go to the love both of you have for him. May it so happen.

"That interpretation of given wrong would be most correct which is given by the writer provided that *it is consistent with the grammar and syntax of the writing*." I have added what I have underlined. The other meaning is useless.[2]

It is true that I do not encourage idol-worship but it is equally true that I am neutral in the matter.

Kanam has also arrived today. He has grown a lot.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

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

[1] Anantrai Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar
[2] This paragraph is in English.

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396. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have gone through your article. You will find a reference[1] to it in my "Key". If you approve of it then let your article be published under your name. I have changed pronouns and have deleted some portion of it—you will easily be able to find it.

I am sending my "Key" for your approval. I have been at it since yesterday and completed it just now. If you have changes to suggest I have to examine them. If I have to, then send it back to me. If there is no time, then I don't see any harm if the book is published without my "Key". I shall consider it more than enough if your summary goes. Do whatever you think proper.

Blessings from
BAPU

KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA
BHARAT BHUVAN
10TH ROAD, KHAR

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

397. LETTER TO MERCHANT

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

BHAI MERCHANT,

Do come if you really must see me. I cannot even so much as lift up my head from work. Please do not tell me to go anywhere with you. One who is supposed to be ill can go even for prayer and the like only with great difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* p. 224.

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398. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

BHAI MANGALDAS,

I hope your health is perfectly all right. I am enclosing herewith the Trust-deed of the Nature Cure Clinic. The necessary changes are already included in it. But I am having them typed separately and enclosed herewith. Incorporate them in the Trust-deed and get it signed by the Trustees who are present. Ghanshyamdas will sign it when he comes here. The changes in the aims were not covered by the talk I had with Ghanshyamdas. So I have taken his permission. If you want to see it, I shall send it.

I would like to get this Trust-deed translated into Hindi and feel that it would be better if it is registered in Hindi. If you cannot get it translated there, then send it to me after finalizing it. I shall get it translated. I would appreciate it if you did not take so long over it as I did.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANGALDAS PAKVASA
DUNGARSINH ROAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

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

399. LETTER TO NRISINHAPRASAD K. BHATT

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

CHI. NANABHAI,

What did you write to Bapa? As a member of the committee do whatever you want to. It is about Bhavnagar that there is a difficulty, isn't it? I expect to decide about it here. Pattani the junior is here. I am sending Narahari to him. If it is necessary, he will see me. The money collected in the State

should be spent in its villages according to their share. The money will be unspent if the State does not allow us to do that. At the most the State committee will ask us to return the money. So our course is straight but the work is a little confusing. If it takes some time, we can put up with the delay. There is bound to be delay where there is democracy. I do not see any harm in it. I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI NANABHAI BHATT
GRAM DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA P. O., *via* SONGADH

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

400. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Manilal has been keeping me posted with news. Sita, too, of course. It is good that she is perfectly at home there. It is also good that the other children have so far been quite patient. Come whenever you feel like it. Let Manilal make his own arrangement about the book.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

SUSHILA GANDHI
NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA, BERAR

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

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401. LETTER TO TARA N. MASHRUWALA

June 1, 1945

CHI. TARI,

After writing on the reverse, I read your letter. It made me laugh to read that of the four workers you were the hardiest. I will believe it only when you show me. How cunning Sushila is—she does not write about her fever. Sita did not want to improve. Did she take pains over it?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

402. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

BAPA,

I have already written[2] to you that leaving out the Government agencies you can put the amount of more than ten lakhs that we have in any bank or firm for six months or more.

M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I have gone through Shyamlal's letter about the office. I know that Bapa wants the office in Wardha, but what are we to do if we get a building in Nalwadi? Bearing all this in mind I had widened the choice to areas around Wardha. However, I do not have any objection if Bapa does not want such a wide choice.[3]

SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA TRUST OFFICE
SCINDIA HOUSE, BOMBAY

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

[1] The letter though written to Amritlal V. Thakkar was sent at Shyamlal's address presumably with a view to drawing his attention to the postscript.
[2] *Vide* p. 205.
[3] *Vide* also p. 208.

403. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

Addressing the gathering in Hindustani after the prayer, Mahatma Gandhi appealed for contributions to the Harijan Fund.

Referring to his second visit to Panchgani, he said that his stay at Mahabaleshwar for more than a month had done him some good and he hoped to stay at Panchgani for a month. But, he added, he could do so only if he was allowed to work undisturbed. Those who wanted to see him should realize that he did not have enough time even to carry on his day-to-day work which was of all-India importance. He had been doing this work for 50 years.

This afternoon some young boys had come to see Gandhiji when he could not oblige them. They asked what was wrong with him. His reply was that he was 76 years old and was not young like them. That did not mean that he was an invalid. He had strength and that was why he was there for prayers and for Harijan work.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-6-1945

404. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

June 2, 1945

Every Congress leader who comes to me tells the same tale (in regard to the Indian communists). I won't build judgments on what they say but the story produces on me an unconscious effect I would fain avoid. This is thinking aloud, if you please. I agree with L. in so far as he is concerned (in regard to co-operation with the communists). I disagree so far as I am concerned. For I have no difficulty in working side by side with communists. One must depend upon one's own experiences.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. 1, Book One, p. 110

[1] The meeting was held in the compound of Wadilal Arogya Bhavan.

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405. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your postcard of 27th ultimo. I hope your visit to Delhi was successful. Thank God, you are keeping well again. Hope the *vyayam*[1] teacher will give satisfaction.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
BAHADARABAD P.O.
JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR, U.P.

From the original : C.W. 6507. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9902

406. LETTER TO LADY ABBAS ALI BAIG

'DILKHUSHA',
June 2, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Many thanks for your greetings and mangoes to which I hope to do justice. I shall see to the correction of the name of the place.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LADY ABBAS ALI BAIG

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Physical exercise

407. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BAPA,

I have gone through the letters. At the moment I do not have anything to say. I have already written that Rameshwaribehn may make a small list of rules and regulations and send it to me.

BAPU

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

408. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BAPA,

I followed your criticism of the expenditure on four months' training. As far as I remember, only one person is paid a salary of Rs. 175. Let it be 110 rather than 72. If you can find a girl, you can have one. It takes into account all our departments. It seems that you have not discussed the expenditure with Mridula. I had raised an objection as regards the training instructor. It is, however, considered that one instructor will not be able to deal with such a large number. The idea behind estimating the expenditure liberally is that if the expenses grow, we shall not have to ask for more. It will perhaps not be appropriate to compare this with your experience of twenty-five years. My experience, not being of a Government department, is different. But let us not worry about it. Whatever goes to the trustees should be final from our side. It is better if you send your note to Mridula.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

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

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409. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BHAI OMKARNATH,

I have a letter from Chi. Purushottam Gandhi. He writes that the students of the late Vishnu Digambarji have expressed a desire to set up a music college at Prayag. They want my blessings for that. I have written to them that you are also his student and I have already given my blessings to your scheme. Why then should I bless another? He writes to say that an attempt was made during the lifetime of Pandit Khare to draw you into their circle but they were unsuccessful.

Chi. Purushottam was a favourite disciple of Pandit Khare. He is a true devotee of his guru. I have known some of the persons of that group for a long time but I came in close contact with you only recently. Please throw some light on this confusion.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT OMKARNATH
SANGEET MARTAND
BABULNATH ROAD
BOMBAY

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

410. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 2, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What Kanu says about you is true. I have told him that he should improve his handwriting. I do hope that in the matter of handwriting he will reach the ideal of Ramdas Swami.

It has started raining here today. It is raining right now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4513

411. LETTER TO R. K. NANDKEOLYAR

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BHAI NANDKEOLYAR,

I have your letter. In my opinion, you should clearly write to the United Provinces Government that you cannot comply with their order. You have not committed any crime. You have faith only in ahimsa. You do not want to enter the State unnecessarily but if it becomes necessary, you will enter it without giving any notice. Write to this effect and be quiet. Go to U. P. when you find it necessary. When you reply to them, send a copy to the Press also.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

SHRI RAMKISHORE NANDKEOLYAR
NANDA VILAS, GAYA (BIHAR)

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

412. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BHAI JAIRAMDAS,

I was just beginning to write to you when I received your letter. I started looking for a house for you yesterday itself. I have been successful. The help came from Dinshaw Mehta. Now that you will not be a burden, you may come. You will stay with me. You may stay outside also. We shall see about it when you come. Let Devibehn and Premi also come. It will not be necessary for them to run away. I understand that there is no room at Pandit's. Even if there is, it will not be needed. I heard that you were ill only after I reached here. You will recover here.

Blessings to all the three of you from
BAPU

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
JNANGHAR
15TH STREET, KHAR

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

413. LETTER TO SHANTABAI KALE

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

CHI. SHANTABAI,

I was happy to receive your detailed letter. Gopalrao will get well. He has faith and courage and he is simple-hearted. Keep on writing to me. Convey my blessings to Gopalrao.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHANTABAI KALE
VICTORIA HOSPITAL
JABALPUR

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

414. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

I feel that till the arrival of Sardar or for the time being you should do as Lakshmidas suggests.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

415. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIMAN NARAYAN[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 2, 1945

QUESTION : To my mind one of the greatest problems confronting us at the present moment is that of combating the systematic plan of economic exploitation by flooding the market with foreign consumer goods. This is bound to spell disaster to Indian industrialization whether small-scale or

[1] Principal, Govindram Saxeria College, Wardha

large-scale. And the pity of it is that our own businessmen and industrialists seem to be vying with one another in becoming glorified agents of foreign manufacturers. Do you not think that an urgent need of the hour is the rousing of public conscience against the matter of foreign goods? I think constructive workers should take up this programme immediately. A country-wide propaganda for the use of village-manufactured and swadeshi goods can also prove to be a very effective and economic sanction against foreign domination. What is your opinion and advice?

ANSWER : The difficulty cannot be met by carrying on propaganda, however wide and intensive. The first thing is to demonstrate its economic fallacy. Let us recognize that the industrialists are not conscious traitors. They honestly believe that their plan will bring prosperity to the masses. They are wrong. But how to show that they are wrong save by patient study and publication thereof and by working so as to show that the masses respond to the work and actually prosper?

This demands hard thinking, hard study and harder constructive work among the masses. They have to manufacture for their own use. Just picture to yourself every village producing and manufacturing everything for its own use. This must mean some surplus for the cities of India going from the villages. This means also automatic stoppage of all exploitation and prosperity without having to exploit the outer world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-6-1945

416. MESSAGE FOR BHARATI MEMORIAL[1]

PANCHGANI,
[Before *June 3, 1945*][2]

My blessings to efforts to perpetuate Bharati's memory.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-6-1945

[1&2] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 4-6-1945, reported that on June 3, C. Rajagopalachari laid the foundation-stone for the memorial building to house a library of the works of the Tamil poet, Subrahmanya Bharati, at his birth-place, Ettayapuram, in Tamil Nadu. Gandhiji wrote the message in Tamil.

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417. DISCUSSION WITH HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 1/3, 1945

QUESTION : Do you think there has been any change in the country to warrant any change in the Congressmen's attitude towards the war which they adopted in 1939? If you think there is no change, then has it not come to this that, in your opinion, Congressmen should not go back to ministries in the present circumstances?

ANSWER: You ask for my personal opinion. I give it for what it is worth. Mine can in no sense be an authoritative opinion. You should examine the Congress attitude not of 1939 but of 1942. So far as I am aware the Congress offered help in 1942 provided that certain conditions were fulfilled. It is for the Congress to lay down the conditions for the present acceptance of office. These must always be in terms of independence.

There is no civil disobedience now and you have placed your manifold constructive programme before the country. Do you approve of the following definition of the constructive programme—to tackle the immediate problems of the masses and to try to solve them on non-violent lines as enunciated by you? This definition includes the work of trying to check black-marketing, profiteering and also the inflow of foreign consumer goods by insisting upon the use of swadeshi goods.

You have only a partial grasp of the constructive programme of my conception. It is comprehensive and all-pervading. Stoppage of black-marketing, profiteering and foreign consumer goods must precede construction. They are not part of the programme, but the programme to be effective and universal has to do that weeding process. The whole programme is swadeshi.

Would you ask Congressmen to seek co-operation from other parties and even from Government agencies in the prosecution of the constructive work? How can the constructive programme be prevented from being used for the purpose of consolidating the party position for elections and for other purposes?

[1] According to A. P. I. report, Harekrushna Mahtab released "written questions and answers" to the Press after "full discussion with Gandhiji for three days".

I have been crying myself hoarse to persuade Congressmen to adopt whole-heartedly the constructive programme without party motive or any other. It is its own motive. I seek the co-operation of the whole nation and also of the Government in carrying out the programme, naturally, on our own terms.

If the latter give honest co-operation, it must mean independence without violence and without fuss. If the constructive programme is worked for electioneering purposes it will carry with it the seeds of its own disease. Men can prevent vicious people from using the best things for the worst of purposes.

What should be the attitude of Congressmen towards all those who are now building up an organization which may come in clash with Congress at some stage or other in future?

The Congress position should be of complete non-violent non-co-operation with those who will stab the country in the back.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-6-1945

418. LETTER TO T. I. KEDAR

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

DEAR MR. KEDAR,

I have kept your letter of 12th ultimo with me for answer. Much has happened since then. I need say nothing now. I wish you every success in your great enterprise about Ashti-Chimur.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.][1]

This mistake is out of old habit. I should have written in Hindustani—that too in Nagari script. But what has happened has happened. Forgive.

DR. T. I. KEDAR, ADVOCATE
CIVIL STATION
NAGPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The postscript is in Hindi.

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419. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

Take courage in both hands and do this. You know Dr. Gilder well. Go to him and, if he permits you, go to Nagpur[2]. Here you can come whenever you want. I would not advise you to go to Wardha.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

420. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

June 3, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

You have fallen ill again. Now at least take care. If you have patience, you will become a very good nurse. You cannot leave as soon as the fever subsides. Sushilabehn is of the view that you should stay in Dr. Dinshawji's clinic. Most probably Vanamala also will go there. I do not at all like your getting fever every now and then. If you learn to guard your health and become as strong as steel, everything will be all right. "Impatience does not make a mango tree bear fruit." Come over, if you wish.

Give up your desire to go to Nagpur.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] This was appended to a letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee.
[2] For joining a training course in nursing; *vide* also the following item.

421. LETTER TO GHANSHYAM JETHANAND

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAM,

I have your letter. I would not take any money while in jail and not more than Rs. 75 when out of jail. However, others will act according to their lights. No one can borrow dharma from others.

My health I should say is good.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI GHANSHYAM JETHANAND
29 AMIL COLONY NO. 1
KARACHI

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

422. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have your letter. Satis Babu will have fully recovered by now. Do give khadi to the poor without yarn. Do you take money from them and, if you do, do you charge the market rate or less? After I know this, I shall write to you if I have anything to say. I have the book[1] about the cow read out to me when I spin each day.

Blessings from
BAPU

HEMPRABHADEVI
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR, *via* CALCUTTA

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

[1] *The Cow in India* by Satis Chandra Das Gupta, addressee's husband; for Gandhiji's Foreword, *vide* pp. 149-50.

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423. LETTER TO TEJWANTI

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

CHI. TEJWANTI,

I did receive a letter as from you but it has neither your language, nor your handwriting, nor your signature at the end. This makes me suspect that the letter may not be from you at all. So, besides acknowledging it, I do not want to say anything in reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TEJWANTI
CHARKHA SANGH KARYALAYA
ADAMPUR DOAB
JULLUNDUR DISTRICT

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

424. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

It is now 5.50 p.m. I have just finished your "Appeal to the Christians of India". It is eloquent but not substantial. I do not propose to give you detailed criticism. As soon as you are free from your engagements there and are fit enough to come to me, I know you will make a dash. Therefore when you are with me, we shall together read the Appeal and decide what to do with it.

Khurshed is here. She is with Nargis. She will migrate to 'Dilkhusha' as soon as N. is gone.

Mehtab and Shriman were with me.[1] The latter went today. The former goes tomorrow. Love to all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4157. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7792

[1] For Gandhiji's discussion with Harekrushna Mahtab and Shriman Narayan; *vide* pp. 243-4 and 245-6.

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425. *STATEMENT ON SYRIAN-LEBANESE QUESTION*[1]

PANCHGANI,
[On or after *June 3, 1945*][2]

I have purposely refrained from saying anything on the Syrian and Lebanese question, not because I have felt less than others but because I have felt more. The injustice is so obvious and glaring.

It pains me to think that our Muslim fellow-countrymen feel that they can effectively ask for justice to the Syrians and Lebanese as fellow-Muslims. Syrians and the Lebanese are a mixed population.[3] Their liberty is at stake not as Muslims but as a separate nation.

The struggle of Syria and Lebanon for independence should evoke the sympathy of the whole of India, and it must be made a national issue, instead of one of a particular section or community.[4]

Muslims should speak as Indians and should invite the co-operation of all India including members of all religions. For instance the voice of Indian Christians speaking as Christians as apart from other Indians in international affairs must fall flat. This is the lesson of history everywhere, but in India, to my mind, the Khilafat issue emphasizes the lesson which we seem to have forgotten.

[1] The nationalist movement in Syria and Lebanon had come into violent conflict with France which had been ruling the area under a mandate since 1923. France had called for negotiations and at the same time despatched two contingents of troops. There were widespread clashes culminating in the French bombardment of Damascus on May 29 and 30. The statement was made in an "exclusive interview to the special representative of the Orient Press" of India.

[2] From the expression "our Muslim fellow-countrymen feel", presumably a reference to M. A. Jinnah's statement of June 3, which assured Syrians and Lebanese of the support of "the hundred million Muslims of India". Jinnah had also warned that "not only the Middle East and Muslim India but also the whole of the Muslim world will flare up" if freedom was not granted.

[3] Being predominantly Christian

[4] This paragraph is reproduced from *The Hindu*, 8-6-1945, in which it was reported independently under the date-line "Panchgani, June 6".

The Muslims headed by the late Hakim Saheb sought the co-operation of all India and the Khilafat question became a plank in the National Congress. And it drew world attention. Had the history of victorious Turkey been written differently, India would have taken an effective part in the settlement of the Khilafat question. India divided against itself will have no effect on the council of the nations of the world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-6-1945; also *The Hindu*, 8-6-1945

426. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 4, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

After the letter of yesterday was handed for the post your letter was received. I opened it and detained the letter.

It is strange that no intimation has been received by you. You are right to ignore the newspaper notice[1], unless it is confirmed. Also of course there is no joy in the removal in the manner it is being brought about. As to speech, we must see what has to be done.

Of course you are not leaving Simla so long as you are required there.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4158. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7793

427. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

June 4, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I got your letter yesterday. I have not yet received the one regarding your work.

Your health seems to have gone down considerably. Be careful.

Chi. Manu's mind is wavering whether to go to Nagpur directly or come here for a day on her way there. If Dr. Gilder

[1] About lifting of the restriction imposed on the addressee; *vide* also p. 183 and p. 280.

does not permit her, there will be no question for the present of her going to Nagpur. Manu is very impatient. Now she is obsessed with the desire to become a nurse. Let me see what happens.

As regards money, it is all right for you to keep it with you as Manu's trustee. I see no need for two names. You may insert any condition you want in the Trust. If you wish, you may show the draft to me. I have no objection to your including my name in the event of your dying earlier. If you wish to select someone else, by all means do so. If you can get six per cent locally, you need not try to make any other arrangement.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

428. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

[PANCHGANI][1],
June 4, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

I have not seen anyone so foolish as you. You are to come here in response to this letter. Bablo[2] must accompany you, so that you may not have any difficulty on the way.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Ba Bapuni Shili Chhayaman, p. 231

429. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I got your letter yesterday. I signed the photograph. May you live long and continue to serve. Why do you say that you have "lived for many years and have few more left"? Surely,

[1] The source, however, has "Mahabaleshwar".
[2] Narayan Desai

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125 years are not for me alone. That should be everybody's life-span and it should be the ideal for all to attain it through a pure life.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 4740. Courtesy : Shantikumar N. Morarjee

430. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI AND SAROJ NANAVATI

June 4, 1945

CHI. RAIHANA AND CHI. SAROJ,

I got today the postcard written by you two. I am glad that Grandmother has passed away. She has settled her accounts, but suffered much while doing so. The fact that she exacted service from you both earned you merit. But wasn't that at her cost? One should not wish to earn such merit. I, therefore, regard Grandmother's passing away a very good thing indeed from every point of view.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9684

431. LETTER TO JAMNADAS DWARKADAS

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I received your letter at 5 o'clock. You should get this tomorrow. I will be able to see Panditji if he comes at 3 o'clock on the 6th. Of course I shall be observing silence. If afterwards you want to talk to me it will be all right. Or I shall find some other time if you want. At 4 o'clock Bhole, a Harijan, is coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI JAMNADAS DWARKADAS
GLENDALE
MAHABALESHWAR

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

432. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM PATEL

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

BHAI PURUSHOTTAM PATEL,

I received your letter today. Why is it in English? You should not involve me in your candidature.[1] Do whatever you can on your own. After all you are staying there.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

433. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 4, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Those who create the political system have not come from outside; it is we ourselves. The meaning of your difficulty is that the political power should pass into our hands. But a non-violent political system can come about only through non-violent means. Hence whether we are one or many we should engage ourselves only in non-violent activities. One can become many, zero cannot.

My impression about the discharge was correct. I may have written[2] the opposite in my hurry. Anyway do not worry. It applies equally to both.

Do go to Nagpur after the bale of cotton cloth is ready. Mohan Singh should come only if he can be spared from work.

It is only from you that I have heard about the use of a pannier.

I am eager to meet Vinoba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4514

[1] *Vide* also p. 283.
[2] *Vide* p. 200.

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434. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

June 4, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

Your reply to Majid was good. What else could you have said? Your body should be strong as steel. It can be made so only with effort. Let Zohra and Vina write to me. How is your health? What has Vina been doing?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9029. Also C.W. 9153. Courtesy : Prabhakar

435. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

BHAI ASAF ALI,

As far as possible these days I write letters in Hindustani, either in Urdu or Devanagari script. The language is wholly mine. However, as my handwriting is difficult to decipher, I dictate the letters.

I received your telegram yesterday after 5 p. m. I do not like your being ill. But you are brave and you have still to serve the country. You will leave the sick-bed. Keep on sending me news through someone. May God make you well soon. I hope to remain here till the end of the month.

Blessings from
BAPU

ASAF ALI
WILLINGDON HOSPITAL
DELHI

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

436. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

June 4, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I have your letter. You are taking great pains over Harichchha. But I am not satisfied. She is not improving. In the end what is destined will happen.

I cannot bring myself to have faith in astrology. Millions of people who do not believe in it lose nothing.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

437. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

BHAI PROFULLA,

The Working Committee of the Kasturba Memorial Trust met at Mahabaleshwar. Your objection to keeping the entire fund with the Head Office was put up to it. I had told you that I would write to you and clarify the whole thing. You know that the fund raised in Bombay is kept in the Head Office. I feel that the same should be done with the money raised in Calcutta. The committee which is formed now is to consider how the money will be spent in the villages. Why should we argue over where the money should be kept? Your duty is to submit a scheme and if it is accepted, to get it implemented. You must be knowing that the committee for collecting the money and the committee for spending it are not the same. It is true that the same three persons are on most of the committees. But that is our misfortune. There are very few workers and those who give the money claim the right to have a control over the spending of it. When they are deserving, it may become our duty to have the donors on the committees. What more can I write? I would suggest

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that you explain my view to the committee and write a satisfactory letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Hope you are well now.

SHRI PROFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH
14/8 GARIHA ROAD
BALLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

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

438. LETTER TO MIR MUSHTAQ AHMED

PANCHGANI,
June 5, 1945

BHAI MUSHTAQ AHMED,

It is good that as far as possible you do not write or speak in English.

The answer to your question is covered by the opinion I have given.[1] I feel that it is not proper to enrol new members as long as the Congress is an illegal organization. The Congress Assembly is a different thing. In this matter each province can act as it likes.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

JANAB MIR MUSHTAQ AHMED
34 PREM HOUSE
CONNAUGHT PLACE
NEW DELHI

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 99-100.

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439. TELEGRAM TO GOVIND DAS

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 6, 1945

SETH GOVINDDAS
JUBBULPORE

PREFER MEETING SEVAGRAM.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

440. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

June 6, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have written to you, but if the letter does not reach you what can I do? How are you? If you do not like the place[1] you may certainly go to Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 496

441. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

June 6, 1945

CHI. PREMLILABEHN,

I got your letter.

Is it I who should thank you for looking after me and my large family or is it you who should thank me? You have always showered love on me, but this time you surpassed yourself. You stayed all these days in Mahabaleshwar along with your own people and let us suffer no inconvenience, and on top of that gave us money when bidding us farewell. I think it would be improper

[1] *Vide* also p. 231.

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for me to offer you thanks for so much love. Silence is the best course.

We are all right here. Shantabehn has put me in a prison. I have left one jail and got into another.

My blessings to Vashi and the girls, which includes Damayanti.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 80. Also C.W. 4835. Courtesy : Premlila Thackersey

442. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 6, 1945

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I have your postcard. You are strange. Must you complain if you do not receive the reply I have sent? I have answered your letters. In your last letter you had given news of Kanchan's illness. Now you are saying something else. Do send Kanchan to Sevagram or take her there. If she has difficulty in going alone she can go with somebody. If she is feeling strong enough she can go alone at her leisure. Do whatever may be proper. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

BIBI AMTUL SALAAM
KASTURBA SEVA MANDIR
BORKAMATA
TRIPURA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 496

443. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

PANCHGANI,
June 6, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

I have your postcard. You have yourself said that you do not want a reply to every letter. Even so, I have written quite a few letters. You should not have published what I have written

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to you and you should have had the English version passed by me. I have noted that you are working for an insurance company.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1315

444. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY

PANCHGANI,
June 6, 1945

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I have your postcard. I won't call you here. Your idea of going to Sevagram is good. I shall try to go through the book when I get it. I did not know that Jugalkishore was your brother. Hope you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY
ADARSH PRESS
AJMER

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

445. TELEGRAM TO MANAGER, SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

MANAGER
ASHRAM SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

RECEIVED BALVANTSINHA'S LETTER. I URGE HOSHIARI'S FATHER NOT TAKE HER BEFORE MY ARRIVAL. WRITING.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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446. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

BHAI CHOITHRAM,

I have already written to you that I have been working on your letter. I am sending you a copy of the letter Bhulabhai has written. The argument he has given is the one supported by all the eminent lawyers the world over. I can testify to it. I can understand why Bhulabhai has accepted this case. He has plenty of money. We may be sure he has not accepted the case for the sake of the money. He has accepted the case as a lawyer and has kept politics out of it. We should be proud of it and we should pray that truth alone may triumph and if Khuhro[1] is guilty he may be proved so. This does not happen in the courts of today. We often find the guilty being acquitted. But we should not give up hope on that account.[2]

I hope your health is good. Write to me what new activity Kripalani is starting. Jairamdas along with Devibehn and Premi should be coming here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

447. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

June 7, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

I have sat down to write this letter after the morning prayer, i.e., at about 6 o'clock. I saw your letter last evening.

I am writing this with the sole desire that you should retain the eminent position you occupy. I hesitate to write because I write without any official authority. There is a very big

[1] M. A. Khuhro, Muslim League member; he was charged with murder of Allah Bux, Premier of Sind, on May 14, 1943, but was acquitted on final appeal.

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

difference between your legal style and my own old-fashioned one or rather between your legal knowledge and mine. I am saying this deliberately and not through false modesty. I learnt while studying law and practising it—and I have always acted upon the understanding—that a lawyer, having accepted the brief of an untruthful case should give it up as soon as he realizes its untruthfulness, that is, ask for a verdict against his client. I know that there is a section of the bar which holds the opposite view. They ask what the function of the judge would be if an advocate himself were to sit in judgment on his case. I have always held, and hold even today, that that section is mistaken. This is my own view. I find the whole of your argument unconvincing. It should be of no concern either to you or to me whether it is the question of League or the non-League Muslims. If the case of those who hold opposite views from ours is just, I would come forward to support it notwithstanding opposition from everybody else, but if a case is unjust I would not support it even if it were my own son's. I also believe that Bhai Khuhro's brief should not be rejected merely on the ground that he is believed to be inciting the Hurs. But, if after having accepted his brief and studied it, I felt that he was guilty, my moral sense would teach me that, if permitted by the client, I should plead guilty and take the punishment. But if he should not permit me, I would request him to release me and engage another lawyer. I remember having done that for two Muslim clients. In one case I asked for a verdict against the client and in another admitted the client's guilts and got his punishment much reduced and ultimately had him released after he had undergone some years of imprisonment. I therefore do not hesitate to request you that if, after examining the papers of Khuhro's case, you feel that he is innocent, you should fight for him, but if you feel that he is guilty, you should advise him to plead guilty or ask him to relieve you. This is but a suggestion from me. If, after weighing it carefully you do not approve of it, reject it. Do not look to the person who has given advice; only think over the advice.

As desired by you, I am sending your letter to Choithram. I feel that he should have written to you. I also believe that he should not have formed prejudiced views. But that is a characteristic not only of our life but of that of the whole world. We have observed that even the most balanced men have not been able to shed this weakness. Hence, do not pay attention to Choithram's shortcomings. If you find any substance in his otherwise faulty reasoning, accept it. I have not explained to Choithram

the argument I have put before you. I am enclosing a copy of the letter I have written[1] to him.

I understand what you say regarding Chimur-Ashti. Please see to it that those prisoners are not hanged.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

448. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 7, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

It is good you sent a wire to Amtul Salaam. I hope you have sent one to Satis Babu also or written to him. Kanchan will get well there and be happy. Let her get some experience there. If, however, she is keen on returning to Sevagram, let her do so.[2]

You have assumed a fairly heavy burden. Learn to keep your eyes closed, while remaining awake, and efface yourself completely. If fortunate, you may even have a vision of God. In any case you will have guidance in the performance of your daily duties. Remember that a mango tree does not start bearing fruit in a day. Fix the tenure of office of the Manager, after which he can be changed. For the present let it be as brief as possible. Keep the accounts department separate and independent. The Ministers keep changing but the Bank of England has been going on for centuries. Its history is worth pondering over. Its Annual General Meeting lasts just thirteen and a half minutes and a few seconds. That institution subscribes to the ideal of few words and more action.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ramnarayan Chowdhary is for all practical purposes an inmate of the Ashram. We ought to find accommodation for him, whatever the inconvenience.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8450. Also C.W. 5581. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* p. 258.

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449. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

June 7, 1945

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. You are suffering from fever and tonsillitis. Do you think you will get well there? In your condition I would advise Bombay. You will not get elsewhere the help you can in Bombay, and in June the climate is not bad. However, treat this as no more than advice.[1]

I have noted what you say regarding Kasturba Memorial Office. It was Bapa's suggestion. It is a good one.

What shall one say about the climate in England!

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am hoping to reach Sevagram in the beginning of July.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 7687. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

450. LETTER TO JEHANGIR PATEL

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

CHI. JEHANGIR,

I have your letter. You are needlessly unhappy. Dinshaw's duty is to stay in Poona as long as he can. He gave me a massage. He left only yesterday. He will come again either on the 15th or 16th.

There are only three experts who can massage me—Sushilabehn, Pyarelal and Kanu. These days mostly Kanu massages me. Generally I go to sleep while taking the massage.

Mother should either recover or get relief from suffering. Please tell her that I think of her often.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI JEHANGIR PATEL
10 CHURCHGATE STREET
FORT, BOMBAY

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

[1] The Gujarati saying is, "One remembers the advice of the master only till one reaches the gate".

451. LETTER TO RASIKLAL PARIKH

June 7, 1945

CHI. RASIKLAL,

I have gone through everything you have sent me. My views are radically different from yours. The small States should straightaway and openly hand over power to the people. They should willingly meet the people. This is the only path by taking which they can survive. The steps you have taken will be in vain. You yourself will not be able to swallow this draught and, even if you do, you will not be able to persuade the princely States to swallow it. So it is better if you do not involve me in this business. Seek Khersaheb's advice and do whatever he says. I see the point of Dr. Jayakar's advice. He has given sincere advice as a lawyer. But I do not see my place in any of this. I have drawn a line. It is enough if I do not deviate from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RASIKLAL PARIKH
KATHIAWAR POLITICAL CONFERENCE
JORAVARNAGAR
KATHIAWAR

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

452. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I had a telegram from Chi. Hoshiari and then, yesterday, your letter came. My advice to Hoshiari's father is that he should not try to take her away till I come and since he has arrived in the Ashram he should await my return and share the work in the Ashram, so that he will learn something, gain some experience and at the same time not be a burden on the Ashram. Hoshiari is as dear to me as she is to her father. If Hoshiari

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had felt dissatisfied I would not have said anything. But she is quite happy there, is getting education and making progress. The Ashram is not perfect, but it is not a bad place. It has not done any harm to anyone. Many have risen by living in the Ashram. Those who are good have never felt inconvenienced in the Ashram. Hoshiari's father should therefore rest assured that Hoshiari will not be harmed by living in the Ashram. The rest when I come. Today I can but request Hoshiari's father that if he cannot stay on there for a month, he should not take away Hoshiari with him. If even in spite of my letters it is decided that Hoshiari should go she should not go with her father but you should accompany her. I hope the affairs at the Ashram are going on well. We shall talk about the servants when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1962

453. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I have your telegram. As soon as I received Balvantsinha's letter, I sent[1] a wire and also wrote to him. I have decided that you should stay on till I return. Convey this humbly but firmly to Father. Your humility will set everything right. True humility is filled with ahimsa. Learn everything thoroughly. You must have known from Balvantsinha's letter what advice I have given to Father.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* 260.

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454. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

June 7, 1945

BHAI MAHTAB,

I do not like what you have told the Press. If we must criticize Rajaji, it should be done in a straightforward manner. Do you want to serve or to appear in newspapers? You cannot do both simultaneously. In any case I want you to realize that I do not like your behaviour. This is only my opinion. You will do what you think is proper. As you have some regard for me, I thought it was my duty to write this much.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
C/O DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

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

455. LETTER TO RADHA

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

CHI. RADHABEHN,

Read this. I intend to write to you only in the national language. Dr. Mahmud gave me your English letter. It is beautiful. But we want to see beauty in the national language. Your son will have come by now. Convey my blessings to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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456. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter. You have my approval for appointing Manohar Dhotre to look after the accounts, etc., for 1½ months.

If possible copy letters in ink so that the original does not have to be written in pencil.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA TRUST OFFICE
SCINDIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

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

457. LETTER TO TARACHAND

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

BHAI TARACHAND,

I have your letter. It is very clear. It will help me. I will not be slack. I am sending the letter to Sriman Narayan. I shall take a decision after consulting him and shall write to you again.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. TARACHAND
11 CHATHAM LINES

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

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458. TELEGRAM TO BALVANTSINHA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BALVANTSINHA
ASHRAM SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

REPLIED EARLIER WIRE[1] AND LETTER[2]. HOSHIARI'S FATHER SHOULD REMAIN TILL MY RETURN.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

459. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL[3]

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter of 25th July, 1944. Perhaps you are right that after this lapse of time it would not be very profitable to enter into a detailed discussion of the various points raised by your speech in the House of Lords.

There is one point in your letter however which challenges a reply. You have adduced two passages from my writings in support of your remarks in the House of Lords that "When Mr. Gandhi called upon the British Government to quit India, he said it would be for the Congress to take delivery." This, you have argued, connotes totalitarian spirit in the Congress.

I have seen the full text of the *Harijan* articles referred to in your letter. Copies of these are enclosed for easy reference.

The passages cited by you are from the *Harijan* of June 15, 1940, and December 3, 1938, respectively.[4] You will not fail to observe that they have no relevancy to the point at issue. The Congress decision in connection with its "Quit India"

[1] & [2] *Vide* pp. 260 and 265-6.

[3] Herbert Louis Samuel, Liberal leader

[4] *Vide* LXVIII and LXXII.

demand in August 1942 is embodied in the official declaration of its President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to which I have referred in my last letter[1] to you. To that decision the Congress still stands committed and one fails to see what bearing my writings in *Harijan* have upon it.

The fact however is that the quotations given by you are incapable of bearing the totalitarian interpretation you have put upon them. The British Government have often declared that they would gladly part with power if there was a body in India ready and fit to take charge. What is wrong in the Congress trying to qualify itself for that onerous duty? That it does not want power for itself but for the whole people of India is made absolutely clear by me in the course of the same article from which you have quoted. Here is the relevant extract :

> Its non-violence forbids the Congress from standing aloof and riding the high horse as the opponents say. On the contrary it has to woo all parties, disarm suspicion and create trust in its *bona fides*.

Is it not the normal goal of every party in a democratic State to aspire to convert the whole country to its view and to become its mouthpiece? Does not the party in power in the House of Commons take delivery of the machinery of administration from the outgoing party—its predecessor? And is not the formation of coalition cabinets under the party system of government an exception rather than the rule? Then how can the refusal of the Congress to sacrifice or water down its ideal for the sake of securing unanimity with other parties be called totalitarian?

With regard to the second passage from the article on the Princes it is only necessary to point out that it was the British Government itself that called upon the Congress to secure an agreement with the States, at the Second Round Table Conference. There could therefore be nothing wrong in its inviting the Princes to treat with it.

The essential fact to remember in this connection is that the Congress has no other sanction except that of persuasion and self-suffering, any other being precluded by its creed. On the other hand, is not violence, euphemistically called physical force, the basis and backbone of the totalitarian spirit? If it is, and if you believe in my *bona fides* about non-violence and

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 84.

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also of the Congress, you cannot accuse either of the totalitarian spirit.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosures : 2

RT. HON. VISCOUNT SAMUEL, G.C.B.,&C.
32 PORCHESTER TERRACE
LONDON W. 2 (ENGLAND)

Enclosures : "Two Parties" (*Harijan*, June 15, 1940)
"States and the People" (*Harijan*, December 3, 1938)

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44, pp. 84-6

460. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

Of course I am going through your book, but I am crawling like a snail, which I hope you do not mind.

I edited *Harijan* in English as a matter of cruel necessity. I should even repeat the performance. But I know that my imperfect Hindustani would be much better understood, and would reach larger number of readers. There is force however in what you say. But I must not devote time to arguing.

Love.

BAPU

SJT. BHARATAN KUMARAPPA
THE A. I. V. I. A.
MAGANWADI, WARDHA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee's reply dated July 2, *inter alia*, read : "I am still not convinced. . . . Congress, you said, would 'take delivery'; and you urge that that is to be regarded as justifiable because Congress sincerely wishes to embrace all parties and is trying to do so. Yes, but while the taking of delivery is to be immediate and certain the other is still in the future and, it cannot be denied, is problematical."

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461. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATANAND,

You are under promise to behave yourself and be well. No thoughtless experiments allowed.

As to the 16 Poles, send me the draft you would like me to sign. Is my signature of any value in such a case? But I do not wish to anticipate my judgment. I shall know when the draft is before me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI BHARATANANDJI
JASSAWALA NATURE CURE CLINIC
CUMBALLA HILL
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

462. LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

MY DEAR MOHAN,

I have your cuttings. They are interesting and ably written. I am doing what I can in the matter.

Please make no public use of this correspondence.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM
RAJ BHAWAN
SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY-4

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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463. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS G. KAPADIA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. MADHAVDAS,

I was happy to read your letter. Dr. Krishnavarma is an obliging gentleman. He has kept you there at my request. I could not send you anywhere else. So far as I know, he is there not to fleece the patients. He loves giving this kind of treatment. In any case he doesn't wish to charge anything in your case. I have pressed him to accept the expenditure he will be incurring on your account. I am glad that Manilal showed interest in your case. I am glad also that Manilal has taken the key from you and you have given it. I have told him that he has to pay all the expenses that may be incurred whether from your account or some other account. You need not worry at all. Do what Dr. Krishnavarma says. He is competent and I have full faith in him as regards your treatment. Remember that you had tried to commit suicide. God saved you. Now make up your mind that you will stay there and get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2721

464. LETTER TO RAMASWAMI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. RAMASWAMI,

Let me at any rate reply in Hindi to your English letter. I did not even know that Lady Tata was still alive. Where does she figure in this? Where does she live? Please write to me.

You can come to the Ashram in July.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

465. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read the accompanying letter[1]. If what he writes is true, tell him this :

"Do not go to Khadi Vidyalaya for training. Stay here, do physical labour, have your daily meals and learn what you can." If he can put in sufficient physical labour and if you feel inclined, keep him. Do not give him a separate room. He will rest wherever free space is available. If we can discontinue the practice of assigning a room to each person, we shall be able to accommodate more people. Do not keep him if he does not observe all the rules. In this way we can even test whether such persons are sincere or not.

Ramaswami's letter is enclosed. Read it and show it to others and then file it.

I have dropped him an ordinary postcard.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8449. Also C.W. 5582. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

466. LETTER TO GOVIND REDDY

June 8, 1945

BHAI GOVIND REDDY,

I have forwarded your letter to the manager of the Ashram and have asked him to do what he thinks proper.[3] Please see him.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] From Govind Reddy
[2&3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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467. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

June 8, 1945

CHI. MITHUBEHN,

I was glad to get a letter from you after a long time. All of us will eat the mangoes as *prasadi*. The description you give of your work is very good. However, I do not like your keeping indifferent health. Where is one to lay the blame for your illness in spite of the means at your disposal—on the means or on you or on the doctors or on all? I understand about Kalyanji. He is also quite busy with his work. Is he all right?

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

SHRI MITHUBEHN PETIT
KASTURBA SEVASHRAM
MAROLI

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

468. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. NIMU,

I have your letter. I am sure you have done the wise thing in not going to Delhi [to look after Sumi]. As it is, neither you nor Usha were keen on going to Simla. Sumi is being looked after quite well. Therefore there is no meaning in your going there. Devdas's invitation [to go to Delhi] shows his love for you. True love lies in not submitting at all to such love. This increases mutual love. From time to time keep advising [Sumi] not to keep awake at the cost of her eyes.

Usha may write whenever she feels like it. It is yours and Ramdas's duty to improve in health. Kanam is well. He does

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not give trouble to anyone. He talks a lot. I have shown him the [three] monkey gurus.

Blessings from
BAPU

NIRMALA GANDHI
C/O RAMDAS GANDHI
KHALASI LANE
NAGPUR

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

469. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. SATIS BABU,

May I send a copy of your letter to the Madhukosh[1] people if you have not sent one already? Please let me know. What you write has certainly startled me. I have received both the samples of honey.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1643

470. LETTER TO DEVRAJ SETHI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI DEVRAJ,

I would certainly like to have Vidyavati[2] for the Nayee Talim work. However, I am afraid that that work demands hard labour and perhaps Vidyavati will not be up to it. I would advise her to write to Ashadevi.

[1] Apiaries near Mahabaleshwar where work was done scientifically with everything swadeshi. Gandhiji had visited the apiaries on May 2.

[2] Principal, Kanya Gurukul, Dehradun

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How can I meet the Acharya[1] in Panchgani, now that I shall be getting down from here by the end of the month?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DEVRAJ SETHI, M.A.,LL.B.
JHANG CITY (PUNJAB)

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

471. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I cannot do anything from here. I do not have that much power and authority. I have sent your letter to Purushottamdas Tandon. He will do whatever he can. See him.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI JANAKIDEVI
MIRA GOVINDPUR
RAE BARELI

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

472. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

June 8, 1945

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDONJI,

Please see the enclosed. Do what you think proper. I have written[2] to the lady advising her to see you. I am awaiting your reply to my letter about Hindustani.

BAPU

PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDONJI
10 CROSSWATH ROAD
ALLAHABAD

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

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

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473. LETTER TO KIKIBEHN LALVANI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

DEAR KIKIBEHN[1],

Pyarelalji has received your letter. Your English statements raise a big question in my mind. When you cannot yourself write in English, what is the point of getting them written and then signing them? At the most do as Ba did. She narrated her anguish over Harilal's behaviour to Devdas who translated it into English and gave it to the newspapers saying that it was almost a literal translation of what Ba had narrated to him. You must have seen it. Such writings will carry greater weight and with that the mother tongue will also gain in importance. I will go to the extent of saying that whatever ideas occur to you, express them as they are either in Sindhi or Hindi. Ultimately whatever is translated into English is as useless as fruit ripened artificially.

I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KIKIBEHN LALVANI
BHARAT KHADI BHANDAR
BURUS ROAD, KARACHI

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

474. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI DUNICHAND

I have your letter. You are doing very good work. What I wrote about 'imperialism'[2] is being proved now.

Come to Sevagram whenever you want to. I will go down from here by the end of the month.

[1] Sister of J. B. Kripalani
[2] Gandhiji has used the English expression.

It was all to the good that my message[1] did not reach your wife. This shows that whether I live for 125 years or not, you certainly are going to live long and will very soon remove the sufferings of the Harijans of Dukhaidi.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA DUNICHAND, ADVOCATE
KRIPANANDAS COTTAGE
AMBALA CITY (PUNJAB)

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

475. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI MOHANLAL,

I was glad to have your letter. You have done good work for the Harijans of Dukhaidi. You must work hard and remove all their difficulties.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MOHANLAL
LAJPATRAI BHAWAN
LAHORE

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

476. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter of the 2nd. I would keep the girls not only at a place near the Ashram but in the Ashram itself. But there is no room there. I still believe that we should have a permanent building of our own for such purposes. However, it is good

[1] *Vide* pp. 131-2.

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that you have written to Jajuji. The problem will be resolved some way or the other.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA TRUST OFFICE
SCINDIA HOUSE
BALLARD ESTATE, FORT, BOMBAY

From the Hindi original : Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

477. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. PRABHA,

I have your second letter. You are needlessly unhappy over being released. You have to work out of jail and even in jail. The truth is that for one like you there is more work outside. But what of it? You are capable of doing it. Do not worry at all. Come here, if getting permission to meet Jayaprakash is going to take time. Go from here when you have the permission.

About Father, I fervently hope that he may be relieved from the present crippled state.

My health is of course good. I will go down from here by the end of the month. If the spectacles suit you, then never give them up. I keep on receiving letters saying "Prabhavati and Rajkumari must have reached there". But neither of you is here. Rajkumari has not received the order from the Government. She saw from the newspapers that the restriction imposed on her had been lifted. Even on receiving the intimation from the Government, she will not be able to come here soon as she must stay in Simla to help her brother and sister-in-law with their work. It seems she will be able to come only in July.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

PRABHAVATI DEVI
C/O SHRI VISHWANATH PRASAD
BIHAR BANK
LAHERIA SARAI P.O., DARBHANGA (BIHAR)

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 251.

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478. LETTER TO SUMATIBAI RAI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

KUMARI SUMATIBAI,

I have your letter. If you have the strength, the knowledge and the will for it, do work for the Kasturba Trust.

Please tell Ramkrishna Jaju that I am not replying to him separately. May he get well soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SUMATIBAI RAI
JAIN SEVIKASHRAM
SHOLAPUR

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

479. LETTER TO UMA AGRAWAL

June 8, 1945

CHI. OM,

I have your letter. If I have to take a decision about you, I can do that when I reach there in July.

I follow what you say about Hindustani. There should of course be a dictionary of the words spoken in the villages. No language can survive without a dictionary. Dr. Tarachand and Sunderlalji alone will not complete the dictionary. We shall have a little discussion when we meet. The committee formed for this purpose has to evolve a composite language.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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480. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

MY DEAR SINGER,

I have kept yours of 13th ultimo just to give you a few lines of love for your great motherly affection. Your wire was good as from a philosopher, who could put her philosophy to practice at the right moment.[1] Your letter brings out a mother's affection at its best. I do not know whether to love you best as a poetess, philosopher or mother? Tell me.

Love.

SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU SPINNER
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 111

481. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

So far as possible, I want to give you something for every issue of the *Patrika*[2]. You do well therefore to remind me in time and to give me a hint as to the subject on which you will like me to write.

Love.

[PS.]

Of course J. C. [Kumarappa] will be quite well.

SHRI BHARATAN KUMARAPPA
A. I. V. I. A.
MAGANWADI, WARDHA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had lost her son; *vide* p. 40.
[2] *Khadi Gramodyog Patrika*

482. LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

MY DEAR MOHAN,

Of course I know Palme Dutt[1] both by name and fame. I do wish him success in his campaign.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM
RAJ BHAVAN
SANDHURST ROAD, BOMBAY-4

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

483. A LETTER

[*June 9, 1945*][2]

I did have that in my mind. Palme-Dutt is a well-known figure. He will be able to give a fight to Amery. Patel[3], I do not know. Nor do I wish that too many Indians should stand for election. This is going to be an important election. It does not matter if he is defeated. If, moreover, I give in this case the same opinion that I did in Patel's, it might be interpreted to mean that I am refusing to support him because he is a communist. I have no such thought in my mind. The distinction is worth understanding. If you do not follow it, ask me again.

If you don't wish to post the letter today, it may be posted tomorrow. It is more important that you should understand my idea.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9130

[1] Rajani Palme-Dutt, communist leader, who was a contestant for the Sparkbrook constituency of Birmingham against L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India. The letter appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 13-6-1945, as Gandhiji's reply to "a request for a message" to the addressee " in his election campaign".

[2] From the reference to Palme-Dutt; *vide* the preceding item.

[3] Purushottam Patel; *vide* p. 254.

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484. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. MRIDULA,

I received your letter through Bapa. Bapa has noted on it "Mridu had not given anything in writing before. She has now. It will be discussed at the next meeting". Let that be so. Your office at present is in Bombay. Let it be there for the time being. Write to me if Shantikumar has any difficulty. I take it that the assistants who are there will continue.

I hope your health is good. We are going to have a quarrel if it does not improve.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MRIDULA SARABHAI
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
SCINDIA HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY-1

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

485. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 9, 1945

CHI. A. S.,

I have your letter. I left Mahabaleshwar long ago. I shall leave Panchgani too by the end of this month. I may leave even earlier. I shall reach Sevagram in July. Do not think about the six months. Think about your work. Finish it and come back.

Send Kanchan to Sodepur.

Sushilabehn has written. You do not remember and then become impatient.

What should I do about Khan Saheb ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 497

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486. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

You must have seen Chi. Narandas's appeal. If I can find a copy here I shall enclose it with this. In my view it would be a great thing. Labour is the basis of the bank here. It can be a great thing if it can be done. In my opinion we should fully take part in it. And our part will consist only in accepting contributions. We shall not give anything. That is to say that we shall take the yarn from persons offering at least one hank of it for Narandas's *sutrayajna* and give a receipt for it. Then we have to send an account of it to Narandas every week or every month. This does not involve much work on our part and it can bring in quite a lot. This would enhance the importance of this *yajna*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 8624. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

487. LETTER TO VICHITRA NARAYAN SHARMA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. VICHITRA[1],

I have your letter. It is a difficult problem. You should fearlessly write to Gadodiaji and ask him what he wants. Let him go out if he wants. Ask Jajuji also. Find out whom Dr. Sharma wants to be appointed. I am managing with one letter to save time. Otherwise I would have had to write three.

Blessings from
BAPU

Copy to Dr. Sharma

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 330

[1] Manager, Gandhi Ashram, Meerut

488. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

June 9, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

I have your letter. Bring Babaji down to simple diet. He must get well somehow.

Money has been sent to Bhai Ramaswamy. That was meant for his parents. I do not know if he has asked for anything else.

Should I take it that your health is perfect?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9030. Also C.W. 9154. Courtesy : Prabhakar

489. LETTER TO SHANTA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. SHANTA,

Your letter is good. It is bad to use the expression "two or four". The shifting of the latrine will cost either Rs. 2 or Rs. 4. Truly speaking, we should calculate to the last anna. Only then will your account be complete. Your description is interesting and informative.

Yes, the task is one of transformation of life. We should not lose heart or give it up even if it continues for ages. You have very aptly defined the meaning of adult education.[1]

Non-attachment is the right thing. Determination to strive to achieve it is enough.

The true bank is a labour bank and its currency is yarn. This does not mean that your grain banks and money banks should not function.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 5899. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] What follows is from Pyarelal Papers.

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490. LETTER TO KASHINATH VAIDYA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

BHAI KASHINATH VAIDYA,

I have your letter of June 6. I am doing all that I can. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KASHINATH VAIDYA
1307 SULTAN BAZAAR
HYDERABAD

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

491. LETTER TO PARVATI DINDWANIA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. PARVATIBEHN,

I have your letter. About membership do what you think proper. I myself do not know much about it. I was sorry to know about your illness. Such being the case how can I advise you to disobey the order? This, too, you must decide on your own. You will have to measure your own strength. I can say this much, that if you obey the order because of your physical condition, no one can blame you. I hope you will regain your health. I cannot advise you to come here for a talk. Write to me whatever you want to say. I encourage very few people to come and see me. Your ill-health is also a reason for my refusing to let you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PARVATI DINDWANIA
[C/O] C. DINDWANIA
KASHMIRI GATE, DELHI

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

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492. LETTER TO SUDHA KULKARNI

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. LAMBUS[1] ALIAS SUDHA,

You ride while I walk. How can I make it? You wrote a letter on the 28th of May which I received on the 1st of June. You two started your Ashram on that very day. How could my blessings reach you? If this is how you calculate your timing, you will fall off the horse and will also drag down your husband with you. With this much advice, I bless you both that you may succeed. Remember that a noble person like Balasaheb Kher is the President.

Blessings from
BAPU

A. S. SUDHA KULKARNI
ADI SEVA ASHRAM
MOKHADA P.O.
THANA DISTRICT

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

493. LETTER TO RAMNATH 'SUMAN'

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

BHAI RAMNATH 'SUMAN'[2],

It is good that you wrote to me. I was under the impression that you were in Berar. Now you have joined the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It is good. You must be knowing my views. I am trying to run away from the Sammelan. From my own point of view I have broadened the definition of the national language. I had sown the seed when I presided[3] at the Sammelan for the first time. Under the circumstances it is

[1] Literally, tall
[2] A Hindi poet
[3] At Indore, on April 30, 1935; *vide* Vol. LX.

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best for me to keep silent because you are one of the office-bearers of the Sammelan. It will not be proper for me to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

494. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I had forgotten, if I had ever known, that you are Ramnath's younger brother. Now when I recollect the two faces I can see that there is much resemblance between the two of you.

I enclose herewith a letter[1] I have written to Ramnath. Send it to him. It is good that you had been to Wardha to look for a place for the office. It will be good if you get accommodation in the buildings of Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sabha or Bajajwadi or Maganwadi. According to Bapa, Bajajwadi or Maganwadi will perhaps be the most suitable. However, see it for yourself. I am only making a suggestion.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
SHRI KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
SCINDIA HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

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

495. LETTER TO VINA CHATTERJEE

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. VINA,

I have your letter. Your handwriting is good but there is room for improvement in it. Learn both the scripts well. Of

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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course your work always gives satisfaction. Keep yourself fit. Tell Zohra to write to me. Mridulabehn had asked for her. What reply did she give her?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

496. NEED FOR KHADI EDUCATION

PANCHGANI,
June 10, 1945

Soon after the khadi activity was started, the need began to be felt for the workers to have a scientific knowledge of all the processes of khadi production. Therefore, as early as 1927-'28 a school was opened in the Sabarmati Ashram to teach spinning and weaving. As the khadi activity grew and it became necessary to pay attention to other aspects such as making khadi attractive to look at and low-priced, the lack of scientific knowledge of the subject began to be felt more and more every day. A few workers were able, through their own individual efforts and experience, to gather many useful bits of knowledge. The tools were experimented on and improved. All the lovers of khadi know that the late Shri Maganlal Gandhi worked very hard in this connection. It then became clear that it was very necessary for every khadi worker to learn the science of khadi. I have from the very beginning emphasized this. I prepared a questionnaire about the various things khadi workers ought to know. In 1937, I also wrote three articles for the *Harijan*. In an article dated February 13, 1937, I wrote :[1]

> In my opinion it should be made obligatory on every khadi worker engaged in any of the production centres of the A. I. S. A. to know the elements of this science.

Following this policy, khadi schools were later opened. A khadi school was opened by the Central Office [of the A. I. S. A.]. The syllabi for the "spinning workers", "weaving workers" and "Khadi Prathama" were prepared and arrangements were made to impart instruction according to them. It was also hoped then that all the workers of the Charkha Sangh would join

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXIV, p. 365.

these schools by turns, and complete their training. In order to save workers from any kind of difficulties, it was arranged to pay them, over and above their regular salaries, travelling allowance and other allowances since it was thought that the workers would have to spend more on food in an unfamiliar place. One regrets however that the workers have not shown any increased enthusiasm for learning the khadi science.

Now that the Charkha Sangh has taken up the new work it becomes obligatory on the part of khadi workers to train themselves in khadi science. Without that it will be impossible to carry on the new khadi programme.

According to the new programme, the sales depots too will almost be like production centres. Not only that; after some time we intend to convert all khadi production centres and sales depots into khadi education centres. It will then be unnecessary to send workers to the schools for khadi training. We have to train in the science of khadi all the workers, new as well as old.

Those in charge of the branches are therefore requested to scrutinize the list of workers to assess what training a particular worker needs and to make arrangements for such training to be given. Lists of workers should in this way be made and forwarded to the Central Office. In order to make the training obligatory, we should make the rise in salary dependent on the degree of khadi education possessed by the worker. We should also accept the principle that the khadi worker has to pass an examination. Those who fail should not be considered qualified. So long as we do not seriously take up the question of khadi education, how can we hope to succeed?

I have said that if we are true khadi workers, we should have as much awareness, as much knowledge and as much alertness as is considered necessary for a member of the I. C. S.

M. K. GANDHI

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

497. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

June 10, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Now Jairamdas is with me. I have asked him to write to you.[1] It is only to console you. Do get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

498. LETTER TO HAMID KHAN

PANCHGANI,
June 10, 1945

BHAI HAMID KHAN,

I have your letter. I knew Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi[2] well. I had great regard for him. I have already given my view on the question of a memorial. You must know it. Go through it if you have not already done so. You can't raise a memorial by constructing a building or spending money. A man thinks that having given the money he has done his duty. Therefore, in my opinion, it will be a true memorial to Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi if, at least in Kanpur, and as far as possible throughout India, Hindus and Muslims should unite and instead of cutting each other's throats be prepared to lay down their lives for each other. If this comes about, let me know and then ask for my blessings. What is there in merely collecting money? Let me also know who are on the Committee? And what are the grounds for believing that what has not been achieved so far will be achieved now?

I have seen the aim of the Memorial Committee. That will not make the memory of the deceased immortal, only bring ridicule to it. Two or three rich men can jointly put up such buildings, give jobs to a few persons and thus deceive themselves and others

[1] For Jairamdas Doulatram's letter to the addressee, *vide* Appendix II.

[2] He was killed while pacifying rioters during Hindu-Muslim riots on March 25, 1931; *vide* Vol. XLV.

that they have raised a memorial to Vidyarthiji. But I will regard it as a mockery.

This letter is meant for you and your Committee and not for the Press. This does not mean that I do not want to give my views to the Press. If you want, you can give it. My aim in writing this is to awaken you and make you do real work.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

JANAB HAMID KHAN
SECRETARY
GANESH SHANKAR SMARAK COMMITTEE
TIL-KAHAL, KANPUR

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

499. LETTER TO N. G. RANGA

PANCHGANI,
June 10, 1945

BHAI RANGA,

I have your letter. You will be able to follow if I write in Hindi, won't you? I like your correspondence with Prof. Humayun Kabir. We shall talk about it when we meet. In the mean time learn a little Hindustani.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. N. G. RANGA
PRINCIPAL, PEASANTS' INSTITUTE
NIDUBROLU

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

500. SPEECH TO RASHTRA SEVA DAL MEMBERS, PANCHGANI[1]

June 10, 1945

Gandhiji congratulated the volunteers for having walked down to Panchgani from Wai in spite of the rain. He was sorry he could not invite them

[1] According to the A. P. I. report, this is "the authorized version" of Gandhiji's speech to about 300 volunteers at a function organized by Dr. B. D. Savant in Parsi Girls High School. Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani, which was rendered into Marathi.

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all to the prayer hall. The hall belonged to a school. That they allowed him, a rebel, to hold a prayer meeting in their hall was the essence of the prayer. He knew that the volunteers did not all pray. He had been in close touch with volunteer organizations in India ever since 1919. Yet he had not been able to make them prayer-minded. He had failed to create in them an enthusiasm for prayer.

Again he had explained to them right from the beginning that a volunteer must always serve the people and serve them only through truth and non-violence. Yet there were very few men and women amongst them who had accepted truth and non-violence as their creed. He was convinced that real swaraj, that is, swaraj for the rich and the poor alike, could not be won except through truth and non-violence.

They had just seen the end of a terrible war. It had made people doubt if truth really counted in this world. The Allies had won, but their victory had been the result of superior arms and superior man-power. He could not enthuse over it as a victory of truth over falsehood. At the same time he wanted to make it clear to them that a victory for the Axis would have been far worse. The Axis had accepted violence as their creed. The Allies had not done so. They at least paid lip service to peace and freedom, and truth and non-violence. It was true that their actions belied their profession. A major part of humanity today consisted of oppressed and enslaved nations. It was his conviction that, if India could win swaraj through truth and non-violence, she would be able to bring deliverance to all the other oppressed nations.

Many of the volunteers were not clad in khadi. He had called the spinning-wheel the symbol of truth and non-violence and therefore also of swaraj. That was why it had found a place in the national flag. Therefore he exhorted them all to spin and produce khadi for their own clothes. Thus they would help to combat the cloth shortage in the country and help the naked poor.

Lastly he asked them all to learn Hindustani. Hindustani was the language that Hindus and Mussalmans of North India spoke and which was written in Nagari and Urdu scripts. All those who spoke Hindustani did not know both the scripts. But those who wished to serve all should make it a point of honour to learn both the scripts.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-6-1945

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501. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO BHULABHAI DESAI[1]

June 11, 1945

Considering all that is happening around us, I see danger in this partnership with the League.

One thing is definite, namely, that until the members of the Working Committee are freed and can express their opinion, nothing can be done in the name of the Congress.

It is also definite that if the Chimur-Ashti prisoners and other such prisoners are hanged, the situation will become impossible. Unless the League's attitude shows a change without any expectation of gain I will have no deal with it even if the Congress Working Committee consents. This is for you yourself to think over and decide. You are in a better position to understand the truth than anybody else.

The distinction that is being made between the League Muslims and the others seems to me dangerous from every point of view. I don't think it safe to countenance any such position. Think carefully over what you said last night regarding this.

Will the 40 per cent Congress quota include any representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha or of Harijans? What about the Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, etc.? Whether you have discussed this with the League or not is irrelevant here. When the time for final decision comes, the Congress will have to consider all these points. The Congress will not be in the same position as the League. It will have to take into account all the interests in the country, whereas the League is concerned with the interests only of the Muslims supporting it. You will have to be ready to face all these complications. You will definitely not be able to bring the ship to port by disregarding the parties other than the League.

Please understand my limitations fully before you proceed further. As I have explained, my temper is progressively becoming

[1] "In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 120, Pyarelal explains : "The rejection of the appeal for mercy on behalf of the Ashti-Chimur prisoners at this stage hardened Gandhiji's attitude. Extremely sensitive to the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere around him, he became more and more insistent on the 'present tense'. This was very much in evidence when Bhulabhai met him at Mahabaleshwar."

more uncompromising. I use the word "uncompromising" in a good sense, so take it in that spirit. Against my indifference to the Parliamentary scheme and my increasing faith in non-violent non-co-operation, you can safely place my loyalty to you. It will not let myself go beyond the limits of what I have given you in writing. But it is difficult even for me to say where my uncompromising spirit will take me, for I am coming to put ever increasing faith in the Unseen Power and, therefore, I think very little about tomorrow.

I started writing this before 6 and it is 6.30 now. I will write more if anything occurs to me. Otherwise take this as fully representing my views.

From the Gujarati original : Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

502. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

Can Vanamala, Manu and Abha be accommodated with you? It is not yet clear which of them will be willing to go.

Why were you burdened with Rs. 1,000? Is the position there still delicate?

Is your mind at peace? You consider experiments on living animals and taking of glands, liver and so on as part of nature cure. That seems to me going too far. This needs to be considered. It will not matter if you do not reply to this. Only you must think over it. I am all right. Mangaldas Pakvasa is doing everything. He may come here. I went and saw the land yesterday. I have not been to see the land recommended by Pandit, and I don't intend to go. Gulbehn gives me a bath daily.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
AROGYA BHAWAN
NEAR STATION
POONA CITY

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

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503. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

CHI. PRABHA,

I have just received your postcard of the 6th. Your coming here goes on being delayed. Towards the end of the month I shall be going down. Then on to Sevagram. Before coming find out where I am. I do not also like your falling ill. You are sensible. So I console myself that you will not delay your coming without reason. Khurshedbehn was here. She is awaiting your arrival. I do not write anything about Father[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

504. LETTER TO ZAFAR HASAN

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

BHAI ZAFAR HASAN,

Benarsidas has sent me the essay which you read at the meeting of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. He says that I must read it. I received it on May 6. I could finish reading it yesterday. I read it with interest and liked it. I can see that you can render much help to the Sabha. I also find that our work is as important as it is difficult.

Please send me if you have written anything about making both the scripts easier.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. ZAFAR HASAN
READER, OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

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

[1] Brajkishore Babu

505. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

I could read Dr. Zafar Saheb's essay only yesterday. I am so busy that I could write to him only today. The essay is interesting and good. Let me have a few copies if it has been published in pamphlet form. I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2519

506. LETTER TO KARKHANIS

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

BHAI KARKHANIS,

I received your wire last evening. So Hanumantharao[1] has paid off whatever debt he owed to this world and has left. Please convey my condolences to his relatives. What family has he left behind? Who will look after his work?

Blessings from
BAPU

KAKA KARKHANIS
HARIJAN ASHRAM
BIJAPUR (KARNATAKA)

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

[1] Hanumantharao Kaujalgi, Congressman of Karnataka and member of Gandhi Seva Sangh; for Gandhiji's message of condolence, *vide* p. 301.

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507. TWO POSERS

[On or before *June 12, 1945*][1]

Shri Sailendra Nath Chattopadhyaya of the United Press puts the following posers before me : "Why do you wish to live for 125 years, and what is Ram Rajya?"

The questions are so apt and reasonable that, contrary to my wont these days, I want to answer them. Many visitors and correspondents put the same questions. I take this opportunity therefore and once for all, I hope, of answering them to the best of my ability.

The idea of 125 years' life flashed across my mind, while I was speaking on the 8th August, 1942, to the meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay. I might have mentioned the same thing before in private conversation. If I did, I have no recollection.

I am a constant student of the *Ishopanishad* which contains only eighteen *mantras*. The first half of the second *mantra* means : "Only doing works of service on this earth, you should wish to live 120 or 125 years." The word in the original denoting the number is translated by the word 'hundred', but I had seen just then a commentary which took the number to mean 120 or 125. I purposely used the highest figure at the meeting, as signifying the intense wish to live the longest in order to fulfil my allotted work. In expressing the wish I only followed my old habit of wishing to act according to the best of my belief.

Moreover, as a naturopath, I believe in the feasibility of living the full span of life. I know that, medically speaking, the chances are against me for I have not always followed nature's way. I began to adopt it fairly strictly in South Africa in 1903 or thereabout. Want of *brahmacharya* in early married life must also weigh against the full span.

My conception of nature cure, like everything else, has undergone progressive evolution. And for years I have believed that, if a person is filled with the presence of God and has thus attained the state of dispassion, he can surmount handicaps against long life. I have come to the conclusion, based on observation and scriptural reading, that when a man comes to that complete living faith in the Unseen Power and has become free from passion, the body undergoes

[1] The article appeared under the date-line "Panchgani, June 12".

internal transformation. This does not come about by mere wish. It needs constant vigilance and practice. In spite of both, unless God's grace descends upon one, human effort comes to naught.

Conquest of passion—passion here does not signify animal appetite; of course, it presupposes full control over such appetite—is more difficult to attain. If it were otherwise, complete non-violence would be easy of achievement. With all my knowledge of, and effort at, non-violence, I have conquered my passion only to the stage of suppression. This involves great strain on both body and mind. Subjugation is the real need. It does not involve absence of feeling. He who identifies himself with every living creature must feel for every kind of woe and yet remain unaffected by it. Action proceeding from such equableness is far-reaching, pervasive and quickest in its effect. Naturally, it is wholly non-violent.

Difficulty of attainment need cause no worry. For, being on the right track leads one nearer to the goal.

Thus, though I wish and even hope to live up to 125 years, what does it matter, if I die tomorrow? There is no sense of regret or frustration in me. And there will be no anguish in me over an early death.

Nor does the wish imply slackness of effort, in view of the prospect of a longer life. The wish, to be capable of being fulfilled, implies readiness to leave this body without a moment's notice. It connotes an easy fulfilment, from day to day, of the daily duty. All strain is an anticipation of death.

Death does not mean an end of all effort. The Eternal Law which we term God will be a mockery, if death were the end of such an effort. 'Hereafter' is a mystery into which we may not peep. We should have enough faith to know that death, after life truly lived, is but a prelude to a better and richer life.

Now for Ram Rajya. It can be religiously translated as Kingdom of God on Earth; politically translated, it is perfect democracy in which, inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish; in it, land and State belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, there is freedom of worship, speech and the Press—all this because of the reign of the self-imposed law of moral restraint.

Such a State must be based on truth and non-violence and must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities. It is a dream that may never be realized. I find happiness in living in that dreamland, ever trying to realize it in the quickest way.

The Hindu, 12-6-1945

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508. MESSAGE ON HANUMANTHARAO KAUJALGI'S DEATH[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

Hanumantharao Kaujalgi has gone. His debt is discharged. My condolences to the bereaved family. I hope his place will be worthily filled.

The Hindu, 15-6-1945

509. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYA

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

DEAR SIR VISVESVARAYA[2],

I got your kind letter of 6th instant with enclosures yesterday. I read the summary at once. The following questions occur to me :

1. Have you or your collaborators enforced the ideas given in your brochure in a village or a group of villages ? If you have, I would like full details with names, status and emoluments of workers, etc.

2. I seem to read a conflict in some clauses of the summary. Has not the present war shaken one's confidence in the stability of the economic prosperity of the leading nations, and is not that prosperity co-existent with the deep and distressing poverty of large units of the same nations?

3. The tendency, according to the summary, should be to wean the villagers from their present practice and to teach them to displace their tools with "machine tools", and handicrafts production with "mass production by the use of modern machinery".

4. If I have read the summary aright and if it reflects the nature of the brochure, is it not an invitation to me to stop my "numerous activities" whose one object is to secure the maximum benefit of the villages in the minimum of time with the minimum of expense?

[1] Gandhiji gave the message to R. K. Joshi of *Samyukta Karnataka*, a Kannada daily published from Hubli.

[2] Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya (1861-1962), Engineer and Statesman, ex-Dewan of Mysore

I have always marvelled at your zeal for and devotion to the cause you have made your own. But unfortunately our ways seem to be so different.

As I am dictating this letter I am glancing at the brochure itself and I see that you mention in Appendix I, "hand-made sugar", "hand-made paper", "hand-spinning", etc. There is some confusion somewhere surely or am I thoughtlessly and superficially generalizing ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K. C. I. E.
UPLANDS HIGH GROUND
BANGALORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

510. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 12, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your welcome letter. Tell me if it is the same thing whether I put the address in English or Hindustani, that is, for receiving the post.

I note that Ramprasad was to leave you on 11th. He must have gone.

The papers are making a lot of fuss over nothing. Let us see. You seem to have done well in Delhi. It is a hard and even bad thing that a cow should have such preferences as you describe. Is that a general rule?

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
MULDASPUR
BAHADARABAD P. O., *via* JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR (U. P.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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511. LETTER TO J. H. COUSINS

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

DEAR DR. COUSINS,

I have your letter. Though we differed so, there was not an occasion which I missed of seeing Dr. Annie Besant whenever I was nearby. But to send you something is a different matter. What is your time-limit? I am so glad Mrs. Cousins is so well.

Love to you both.

BAPU

DR. J. H. COUSINS
SEVASHRAMA
ADYAR, MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

512. LETTER TO SAVITA

June 12, 1945

CHI. SAVITA,

I received your letter yesterday. The invitation still stands. I intend to reach Sevagram in July. Write to me then and come when you have my reply. There are some changes in the Ashram. If I did not tell you about them when we last met, I am telling you now, that at the Ashram the work is principally physical labour of every kind including the cleaning of lavatories. If you do not like such work, Sevagram will not suit you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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513. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 12, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had your letter of the 6th. Since I had acted upon it, I did not reply to it assuming that Kanaiyo[1] would certainly write. I am also constantly thinking about him. As long as necessary, he will go on doing that work. Isn't that my work as well?

I liked your becoming President of the Khadi Board. I am sure you will bring credit to that office. I am enclosing a letter[2] for Savita. Give it to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8625. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

514. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

CHI. PREMA,

I have your long letter. I have explained the ideal to you. You yourself can, by keeping it before you, answer all the questions in the same way as every student of geometry can draw a line by keeping Euclid's ideal line in his mind. Now try to understand.

I know the ideal, and I will, therefore, utilize the services of educated women only for the realization of the ideal. If necessary, I will pay them enough for their livelihood. But they will give more than what they take. If they do not, they will be of no use. If it becomes necessary to run a camp to train them as teachers, I will do so. Whether I give six months or twelve months or even more to the backward class women will depend on experience. Won't it? I shall not bother about that, for, since they

[1] Addressee's son, Kanu Gandhi

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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will be learning through the crafts, they will be paying their expenses, or will be fit to do so in the shortest possible period.

What if people believe that I have failed ? My failure is not the ideal. And how can a man who is progressing towards the ideal be regarded to have failed ? Does the fact that you yourself, though you have lived in the Ashram, are not able to live up to the ideal prove that the ideal is impossible to attain or that you are unworthy?

If the admission of uneducated women to the camp makes it impossible to run it, then it will be impossible to effect progress in villages. Even if it is proved that Acharya Bhagwat has failed or even if he shares your view, I will not be deterred. Our mettle will be proved by our making possible what seems impossible today.

Sushila Pai is here. I will give her this letter. She will write further.

And now the next point. I stick to what I told you concerning Bhulabhai. He is here just now. It is 6.40 in the morning. He will leave at 10. I don't know that those who are in prison will be released. It will of course be good if they are. If people are angry with Bhulabhai, they should be angry with me, too. For he will not pursue his plan, which I know, if I disapprove of it. I do not believe what the members of the Working Committee are supposed to have said. And if they have in fact said that, they have done so without authority. What do prisoners know about conditions outside? According to my principle, they have no right even to try and know. And even if they differ from me, what does it matter? They will be free to do what they like after they are released. I have no right at all to vote. Am I not only an adviser ? Don't ever believe what the newspapers say. Of what good is it anyway? If I knew that I should die tomorrow, such knowledge of the future could only do harm. The same is true in this case. Yes, I will say this much : Bhulabhai does not know what the newspapers know. If so, how am I likely to know?

How can I or anyone else say what I would do in certain circumstances? If you can guess about the future from what I am doing today, you may do so. I cannot do even that, for I am daily coming to realize more clearly that we ruin our lives by forming views about hypothetical matters. There is meaning only in what we do concerning what is actual. All else is meaningless.[1]

[1] What follows is in Gujarati.

Don't you still know my limitations and my approach? Didn't Kumarappa resign only after consulting me? Wasn't I a party to the offer of military help in the resolution of August 1942? What does it matter if, while I do one thing, the others do the opposite and I let them? And what else could I do? I would tell you only this : that after having been with me for so long, and later staying away from me, you now behave as if you were still with me. Even then I would advise you to observe my actions and the views I express, think over them and then do what seems to you best, feeling certain that you will have my support in what you do. For I do not wish to make everybody like me. My teaching is that everybody should be true to himself. Anybody who has digested my teaching will never fall into doubt but will ever go forward.

Manibehn also is here. I have left the rest to Sushila Pai.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Read the letter carefully. Ask me again if you do not understand any point.

From a photostat of the Hindi and Gujarati : G.N. 10435. Also C.W. 6874. Courtesy : Premabehn Kantak

515. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

June 12, 1945

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. You have given fairly detailed news. I am all right. I have here Jairamdas and his family, Dr. Mahmud and his son. About the others you know. If you people come, I shall manage to accommodate you. If, however, the children are happy there and making good progress, I will not press you. A good many days have already passed. Bhulabhai left today.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

CHI. MANILAL MOHANDAS GANDHI
C/O NATWARLAL BHUKHANDAS GANDHI
P. O. KADOD (BARDOLI TALUKA)

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4953

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516. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

Strictly speaking it should not be necessary to send you the enclosed.[1] But since there is time I am sending it so that later on you or I do not have to think about it.

I have written that the third clause, which I have marked with a cross may be retained as it is because the clause about the Managing Trustee is not to be left vague.

The rest is according to the instructions. Return Pakvasa's letter and the Trust-deed along with your letter. I have also written that Hindustani may be ignored as far as the Trust-deed is concerned if the Hindustani translation takes time.

Ardeshir[2] accompanies me on my walk every evening. Gulbehn has stopped holding him in her arms while going for a walk. This is as it should be.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
AROGYA BHAVAN
NEAR THE STATION
POONA CITY

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

517. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

June 12, 1945

BHAI MANGALDAS PAKVASA,

You have sent the draft quite promptly and I have sent it to Dr. Dinshaw Mehta for his perusal. As regards the Managing Trustee, I think it would be better to adhere to the original

[1] The reference is to the Trust-deed of Nature Cure Clinic, *vide* also the following item.

[2] Addressee's son

draft which I have already sent. For the intention in that regard is that as long as he is alive and in a fit condition, he himself should remain the Managing Trustee. It is for this purpose that we are taking all this trouble.

The third clause should remain as revised by you.

It would be bothersome to send it to Allahabad for having it translated into Hindustani. Supposing we had it translated into Gujarati?[1]

For the present I will not put you to the trouble of coming here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4691. Courtesy : Mangaldas Pakvasa

518. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

It is good you gave all the details about Kamle. Bapa is not deceived but it seems to me that Kamle is deceived. He will be. In his condition we too would be deceived. We have arrived at only one conclusion. I believe that as long as he keeps indifferent health he can only be accommodated in the Ashram. He will be a burden if he keeps on falling ill. You were right in advising him to take meat. He can't give up meat under compulsion. I will write to him in a day or two even if I do not hear from him.

It is good that both of you have returned to Sevagram. I shall be very happy if both of you can keep well. I was about to write "then we have overcome the world", but it would not be fitting. Why should we put so much value on the physical body?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA
SEVAGRAM, WARDHA

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

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.

519. LETTER TO PREMLATA SANGER

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

CHI. PREMLATA,

I have your letter. Your path is straight. Why worry about what Father writes? Whatever happens you must patiently tell Father not to compel you to marry anyone else. And how can he compel you to do so? For the rest you have to wait.

I have not received Father's letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI PREMLATA SANGER
C/O SHRI OMKARSINGHJI SANGER
KAROLI, KAROLI STATE (RAJASTHAN)

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

520. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I received your letter about Sailen. It is all right about the monthly payment. But Sailen remains ill and therefore the expenditure incurred is more; he sends money to his father also. So it will be better to give him Rs. 200. At present he does not get that much. He will have to be sent for treatment to Malad for a short time. That will not be our responsibility. He can take leave for a year and go. If this does not seem right we can relieve him also. On these terms I have no objection to taking him for the book-keeping work.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
SCINDIA HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

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

521. LETTER TO GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAMSINGH,

I have your letter. I am of the opinion that now is the time to resort to pure satyagraha. You have to make a public announcement of it. But if your enthusiasm is not true and you lack the strength to sacrifice your life non-violently, you may forget it. If you want to resort to satyagraha you have to consider all this beforehand.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA
SPEAKER
DRUG

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

522. A MESSAGE

PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

The students from Sind who seek my blessings should become *Atishudras*. Will they marry among them? Do they spin? Do they wear khadi? Do they speak the truth and practise ahimsa? If they answer 'Yes', my blessings are with them.

BAPU

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

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523. CABLE TO FENNER BROCKWAY[1]

PANCHGANI,
[On or before *June 13, 1945*][2]

INDIAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN IS FOR THE WORLD'S ASIATIC, NEGRO AND OTHER EXPLOITED RACES' FREEDOM. VICTORY ON THE WEST FRONT AND IMPENDING VICTORY IN THE EAST WILL BE EMPTY WITHOUT THE CENTRAL FACT OF INDIA'S FREEDOM. I CAN HOPE ONLY FOR THE VICTORY OF THAT PARTY WHICH WORKS SINCERELY AND WHOLLY FOR THAT END.

M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 15-6-1945

524. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

DEVDAS GANDHI
CARE "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"
NEW DELHI

CONSULTATION BHULABHAI FINISHED. NONE ELSE IN VIEW. NEVERTHELESS COME FOR EVENTUALITIES IF FREE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1&2]The cable appeared under the date-line "Panchgani, June 13", as from Pyarelal who reported that it was sent in response to a cabled request from the addressee, on behalf of the Indian Freedom Campaign, for a message "for a pre-election meeting in Churchill's constituency". Fenner Brockway was Political Secretary, Independent Labour Party, and Chairman, India Freedom Campaign Committee.

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525. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

BAPA,

I have received a pile of papers from Mridulabehn. One of those is of course about her office. I am writing in that connection just now in the morning. I had forwarded your remarks about the office to her. She has raised an objection. It is justified. She says that if the minutes cannot be amended, then her office should really be shifted to Wardha for the time being. I have already expressed the opinion that it is not necessary to do so. She can keep her office wherever she wants. If this attitude is correct, and according to me it is, then it should be included in the minutes. If it is not included, then her office should be shifted to Wardha till the next meeting of the Executive Committee. It is clear to me that that can't be done. And it should also be clear to you, because I have said that Mridulabehn can keep her office wherever she likes. We must accept that her demand to get that change or addition incorporated in the minutes is justified. If she raises her objection constitutionally, I as President cannot deny what I said in the Executive Committee meeting. I want to get the work done somehow[1] because the main thing is that the work should be done. For the sake of truth it is better to incorporate the change, if Shyamlal has not already done so, and amend the minutes. Otherwise we should incorporate it at my instance when the minutes come up for signing. By doing so we can wriggle out of the constitutional requirement. Otherwise I, as President, must say that it is not obligatory on the part of Mridulabehn to take her office to Wardha along with Bapa's. If we do so, we shall not then need any more money for the time being because as long as another resolution is not passed, the office can be retained in the Scindia House without making any payment and she should manage with as many paid workers as there are today. We shall do as you want. The first proposal accords more with truth, while the second is more in conformity with the requirements of the situation.

[1] Literally, "I would have the rice boiled in any water that is available."

In order to enable you to understand the whole thing better I am sending you Mridulabehn's letter even though it is marked personal. In this connection I have to raise yet another question. Do you in your inmost heart feel that it would be better if Mridulabehn gave up the office? If you say that she should not leave, then we should have some clear-cut decision in writing so that this confusion is cleared once and for all. Draw up a draft in accordance with what you have in mind or leave it to me and I shall make it and send it to you for modification.[1]

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

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

526. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

Your reaction to D's wire is right. Prayer is the only and sovereign remedy. I had a very full chat with Bhulabhai and I feel I gave him satisfaction. I do not worry. I literally follow the injunction "Be careful for nothing."[2] Everything will be right, if we are right. Are you still alone?

I did not like Mahtab's indirect hit. I have written[3] to him as much. Thank God, you possess the hide of a rhinoceros.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2107

527. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

June 13, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I got your letter. You did well in giving the land to the Sangh. In my view it is their duty to pay the Ashram for it.

[1] *Vide* also p. 314.
[2] *Phillippians*, IV. 6
[3] *Vide* p. 267.

How much, the Sangh itself should determine. Or it should pay a nominal rent. That should be left to its own discretion. The land should be carefully measured.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10637

528. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your two letters. Give notice as you have suggested about your office. I do not see anything wrong in it. I have written[1] clearly to Bapa. I won't stop his office being shifted to Wardha, but there is no need to take yours there. The women you have employed or had employed when I came there will certainly remain. The office is also there. Let it be there for the present.

Remember your resolve that you would work with men as a woman and bring credit to the work. Have patience, do work with men and bring credit to yourself and to your work.

You certainly did well in going to Mahabaleshwar. One should look after one's health. It is surprising you do not know this simple thing. There is hidden pride in such an attitude. These are the immortal words of Narasinha Mehta : "I have done this just as a dog under a cart fancies himself shouldering the weight of the cart."[2] My head spins going through your programme.

You should not feel bad that you have to write to me. You have no choice since I have become the president. The source of unhappiness is in the situation in which such differences of opinion arise. I hope that too will disappear.

Advertising provision of non-vegetarian food means inviting indulgence in such food and getting involved in the controversy. It is our duty to make such provision but it is not our duty to advertise it. Even if you cannot understand this, implement it as an order. Perhaps I shall be able to explain it to you when the occasion arises. Or you will explain to me your view.

[1] *Vide* pp. 312-3.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 448.

I fear I may miss the post if I write to you about the other things on which you want my guidance.

It will be good if you can go to Kashmir.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

529. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

June 13, 1945

KANCHAN,

It is good that you have come. Now get well completely.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

530. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. It is good that Kanchan has arrived. Let us hope that she will soon be well.

It is a pity the trees dried up. I shall not go into that story here. We shall see when I come. I keep on writing to you regularly. I shall give you what peace of mind I can, but real peace comes from within.

So there has been an influx again. What will happen when I come? There would be no room at all!

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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531. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

June 13, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Your express telegram was unnecessary. I was not late in replying. Anyway, what has happened has happened.

I am sorry that the trees are dead.

Serve Kishorelalbhai and Gomatibehn. They must recover.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1963

532. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

June 13, 1945

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

Ten or twelve persons sleeping in a small room can be wrong from the point of view of *brahmacharya*, it can also be proper. But it is bad from the point of view of health and other things and it would be desirable to find a way out. Vina must recover.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9031. Also C.W. 9155. Courtesy : Prabhakar

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533. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDONJI,

I received your letter[1] yesterday. If I understand correctly what you write, you and other lovers of Hindi should welcome my new viewpoint and help me. But this is not happening. People in Gujarat are in a dilemma and are asking me what they should do. A son of my own nephew and many others like him are doing both Hindi Prachar work and Hindustani Prachar work. This creates difficulties. You know Perinbehn. She wants to work for both. But the time has now come for one of the two to be given up. If what you say is right, then the need for this should never arise. In my view, it should be possible for a person to be the President or Secretary of both the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. That he may not be able to do so because the work would be too heavy is a different matter. And if your letter means, as it should mean what I also say, then there can be no reason for any difference of opinion and I shall be greatly delighted. I have gone through your statement that you sent me. In my view the Hindustani Prachar Sabha is doing only your work and therefore deserves your thanks. And you at least should become a member of it. I had requested you to be its member but you refused saying that you would keep out so long as Dr. Abdul Haq did not come in. Now my request is that if what I write is correct and if we both are of the same view, then this should be clarified by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. If this is not necessary I shall not insist on it. But at least it should be made clear that there is no difference of opinion about it between you and me. It is no light matter for me to get out of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. But just as I withdrew from the Congress in order to serve it the better, in

[1] In his letter of June 8, the addressee had said that he saw no contradiction between the work of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Hindustani Prachar Sabha and requested Gandhiji to reconsider his decision to withdraw from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. *Vide* also Vol. LXXXI, "Letter to Purushottam Das Tandon", 25-7-1945.

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the same way if I leave the Sammelan it will be to serve the Sammelan, that is, Hindi, the better.

What you call my new ideas are not really new. It would be more correct to say that I am now only putting into practice what I had said when I first became the President of the Sammelan and what I clarified further when I became its President for the second time. I shall decide finally after receiving your reply.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhashake Prashnapar Gandhiji aur Tandonjika Mahatvapurna Patra Vyavahar, pp. 4-5; also *Rajarshi Abhinandan Granth*, p. 91

534. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

June 13, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

It is good you have come. I postpone answering your question till I arrive there. Immerse yourself in your work. Look after your health. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

535. LETTER TO LALMANSINGH

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

BHAI LALMANSINGH,

Immediately on receiving Balvantsinha's letter, I sent you a telegram[1]. Hoshiari had said in her telegram that I should reply to you after going through Balvantsinha's letter. I could not have received that letter along with the wire. Therefore I replied[2] to Hoshiari immediately on receiving the letter and wrote[3] to Balvantsinha meaning it for you. Now I learn from your

[1] Presumably, the reference is to "Telegram to Manager, Sevagram Ashram", p. 260.
[2] *Vide* p. 266.
[3] *Vide* pp. 265-6.

letter that you have gone home disappointed. My advice was different. It is the same today, namely, that you should stay on till I arrive there and then decide about Hoshiari. She is not a little girl; she can realize her responsibility. She is also a mother. Whatever you want to do you can do only after persuading her. She is as dear to me as a daughter. She loves the Ashram. But I do not want to make you unhappy. I want to understand your view and then tell Hoshiari what her duty is. I hope that you received my telegram and my letter while you were still at Sevagram and that you have stayed on. If that is not so this letter will be sent to you at Khurja. I would advise you to remain patient and not to try to command the girls and boys when they have grown up. Our duty loudly proclaims this.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have your postcard.

SHRI LALMANSINGHJI
VILLAGE SAMARPUR
P. O. KHURJA, BULANDSHAHR DISTRICT

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

536. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

June 13, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I did not at all delay replying to you. It is good that you have been firm and have stayed on. I have written[1] to Father at the Khurja address. More you will tell me when I come.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

537. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

June 13, 1945

BHAI ICE,

Chi. Hari-ichchha has taken *malati*. Where do you get it from? I will pay the expenses if her father does not pay. Life

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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and death are not in anyone's hands. How can I therefore complain against you? I do realize the value of your services. I want to be sure of your knowledge. Do what you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

538. TELEGRAM TO CHOUNDE MAHARAJ

Express PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHOUNDE MAHARAJ
POONA CITY

SATURDAY FOURO'CLOCK.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

539. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 14, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter. You must not write when you have run down to the extent you have. I can never misunderstand absence of letters from you.

The restrictions are bad. But nothing to be done till you are with me.

Hope all things will go well regarding family affairs.

I hope to go to Sevagram in the beginning of July. The weather there may be too trying for you then.

I am well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You must not allow Gope[1] or his wife to be a load on you.

From the original : C.W. 4159. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7794

[1] Gope Gurbuxani

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540. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 14, 1945

CHI. A. SALAAM,

I got your letter. There was a letter from Kanchan from Sevagram. You may come only when you can do so in a relaxed frame of mind. Why should you ask for a message[1] from me? You yourself are there. What more do you need? You should, on the contrary, teach others not to ask for messages from me. I am writing this reply at once. Hamid[2] (Amina's) has come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 498

541. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

June 14, 1945

CHI. HARILAL,

I got your letter. I do get news of you from time to time. I would not at all like your going away from there. Kanti and Saraswati serve you so well, keep you with them so lovingly. It is, therefore, your duty to stay with them. How can you be a burden on them? Moreover, you are able to keep yourself in control there. You should not, therefore, think just now of going away anywhere else. The climate of the place also is good. And certainly there are facilities. You may even help them while you are lounging about. Your health is not good enough to permit you to run about. The rains have started here. Do not trust any rumours that may appear in the newspapers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7372. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

[1] For Kasturba Seva Mandir
[2] Hamid Qureshi

542. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

June 14, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I am glad that you have settled down as a family man and while performing your family duties are also studying. Not many people can do that.

What is surprising is that Harilal has not contracted tuberculosis so far. He had an excellent constitution and so he did not break down completely. That you two could persuade him to stay on for such a long time is a wonder. If he leaves you, he will go back to his old habits, and be ruined. I kept back this reply for two days, but on second thoughts felt that I should not delay any more. Pass on to Harilal the letter[1] addressed to him.

Blessings to all of you from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7373. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

543. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

BAPA,

I write this while reading other papers from Mridulabehn. I consider the question she has raised in her letter of the 9th justified. She is the organizing secretary, so she must see the letters which concern her work. If she sees them she can hold them back to discuss them with you. Because, after all, she has to implement the policies. Isn't that so? Her argument that it will be difficult for her to function as long as there is no clarification [about the division of work] and that, if the provincial workers receive two directives, they won't know what to do and will get nervous, also seems correct to me. We must decide after taking into consideration all these things.

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA-4

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

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

544. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your telegram. You must have got my reply[1]. Come whenever you can. I wish you would do some exercise.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVDAS GANDHI
"THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"
DELHI

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

545. LETTER TO J. M. JUSSAWALA

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

BHAI JUSSAWALA,

It is good you wrote to me about Frydman. I shall see about it. He is no doubt obstinate. So far he has sent no word about his coming here.

Now Chi. Jamnadas Gandhi has also gone there to take your treatment.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. J. M. JUSSAWALA
NATURE THERAPY CLINIC
SUNAMA HOUSE, THIRD FLOOR
140 CUMBALLA HILL, BOMBAY-26

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

[1] *Vide* p. 311.

546. LETTER TO JORAWAR SINGH

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

BHAI JORAWAR SINGH,

I was very happy to see your handwriting after so many years. Where is the question of bargain before anything has materialized ? If something does, I will have nothing to say. However, I will tell you one thing : whether you are in the assembly or outside you will be able freely to place your knowledge before the people or the ministry. I am telling you this from my personal experience. The field of service is so vast that it can never be overcrowded.

Blessings from
BAPU

COL. SHRI JORAWAR SINGH
19 NEW CANTONMENT ROAD
DEHRA DUN

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

547. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD B. VYAS

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

The meaning of "It would be a different thing if you wished to do no more than what I had asked"[1] is this : I had asked you to go there for two months. That was what I wanted. If you stick to that I cannot very well ask you to prolong the period, can I? Who will trust me if I go on increasing my demands in this manner? I, therefore, wrote to you that you must leave after the expiry of two months if you stick to my demand. Mirabehn on her own will not detain you, so the question won't arise. Did I suggest to you that you yourself should draw her attention about the expenses there? If you

[1] *Vide* p. 215.

want I will do that. Your decision about the child's tumour is correct. Show him to a doctor in Bombay. Send me the report. Ultimately an operation is the only remedy. According to Kuhne it can be cured by water treatment. In the case of a child, maybe, he will get well without any treatment.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

SHRI RAMPRASAD
C/O SHRI SHANTILAL PANDYA
RAILWAY FARM
DAHOD

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

548. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your long letter from Nagpur. As for Balkoba, all that can be said is that there has been no steady gain from *parpati*. Now we have to see how he can regain his strength. It will be good if he does not find it too hot to be taken back into the room.

I still abide by whatever I wrote about railways, etc., in *Hind Swaraj*[1]. But that applies to an ideal state. It is possible that we may never reach that state. Let us not worry about it. It is for this reason that I have said that if we do not have railways and other such facilities, we should not feel unhappy. We should never make it our duty to multiply such facilities. At the same time we should also not make a duty of giving up these things. We should have a free and easy attitude in such matters. We must use these facilities as little as possible. There will be all types of people in our society. There certainly are today. We have to live with them. Non-attachment is the only proper dharma under these circumstances. The only thing we must be careful about is that we do not deceive ourselves. Your statement that trains, etc., should be shunned even as theft, adultery and falsehood is not correct. The important reason for this is that even society considers theft, etc., to be immoral. Trains, etc., have not been, nor need they be so considered. All that we may say is that we

[1] *Vide* Vol. X.

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should not consider trains, etc., as means of enjoyment. I have repeatedly pointed out in my articles where to draw the line. Read them and if you give a little thought you will easily be able to draw the line.

Some small books have been written as an aid to the study of *Das Kapital*. Reading them would help.

Do not worry about the discharge. You can stop worrying by intelligently observing the rules [of *brahmacharya*].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4515

549. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. RAMESHWARIBEHN,

I received your letter of the 6th yesterday. Whatever you have done is right. There was no need for you to go to Delhi.

I completely agree with you that even in case of a family there have to be certain rules to be followed. I had written[1] to Bapa when I received your suggestion earlier.

Bapa has been in correspondence with Prabhudas and Amba. It would be very good if both of them could come. It would mean so much burden off your shoulders. I am very happy that your sister is out of the wood.

I am sending your letter to Bapa. He will like it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMESHWARI NEHRU
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

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

[1] *Vide* p. 240.

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550. LETTER TO PURNIMA BANERJEE

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. PURNIMA,

What you say is entirely correct. But in the present circumstances, how can Aruna stay back to nurse Asaf Ali? It is very difficult to reconcile service to the country and service to an individual. Very often the two are contradictory. They have both dedicated their lives to the country. I therefore hope that they will be able to bear the present separation cheerfully. I am keeping in touch with Asaf Ali. I hope that he will get well.

Hope your work is getting on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. PURNIMA BANERJEE
41 GEORGE TOWN
ALLAHABAD

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

551. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

June 14, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI,

You have been to Simla. I hope both of you have benefited by the visit. It would have been better if you could have stayed there longer. This much only because I must write.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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552. LETTER TO RAMCHANDRA AND RAJMOHAN GANDHI

June 14, 1945

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

I shall say I have letters from you both. In fact a letter written in pencil should be considered as not having been written at all.

You have now looked at the Himalayas and seen the golden snow on the mountains. Did you get any gold out of that? Tara[3] is quite grown up now. Does she not get time to write?

Have all of you become very strong?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

553. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY[4]

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

PRIVATE SECRETARY[5] TO THE VICEROY
NEW DELHI

HAVE READ IN VICEREGAL BROADCAST[6] MY NAME MENTIONED AS AN INVITEE. I HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT I REPRESENT NO INSTITUTION. THEREFORE I MUST NOT ATTEND AS REPRESENTING CONGRESS. THAT FUNCTION BELONGS TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT OR WHOMSOEVER HE NOMINATES.[7] I SEND EARLIEST INTIMATION IN ORDER AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING OR MISCONCEPTION.[8]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 17

[1] & [2] Sons of Devdas Gandhi
[3] Addressees' sister
[4] This was sent in the night; *vide* the following item.
[5] Sir Edward Jenkins
[6] *Vide* Appendix III.
[7] *Vide* also the following item and "Statement to the Press", pp. 331-3.
[8] The Viceroy's telegram dated June 15, in reply to this, read: "Thanks for your telegram of the 14th. Whatever the technical position may be, I

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554. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

RECEIVED KIND WIRE[1] OF INVITATION. FOR REASONS GIVEN IN MY WIRE[2] SENT YOU LAST NIGHT I HAVE NO PLACE IN YOUR CONFERENCE. AS AN INDIVIDUAL I CAN ONLY TENDER ADVICE. MAY I THEN SAY THAT THERE ARE NO CASTE AND CASTELESS HINDUS WHO ARE AT ALL POLITICALLY MINDED. THEREFORE THE WORD RINGS UNTRUE AND OFFENSIVE. WHO WILL REPRESENT THEM AT YOUR TABLE? NOT CONGRESS WHICH SEEKS TO REPRESENT WITHOUT DISTINCTION ALL INDIANS WHO DESIRE AND WORK FOR INDEPENDENCE. HENCE THE EXISTENCE OF HINDU MAHASABHA CLAIMING TO REPRESENT HINDUS AS SUCH. I APPREHEND THAT EVEN THAT BODY WILL DISCLAIM REPRESENTING CASTE HINDUS. MOREOVER BROADCAST[3] SEEMS RIGOROUSLY TO EXCLUDE USE OF WORD INDEPENDENCE. ACCORDINGLY IT SEEMS TO ME TO DEMAND REVISION TO BRING IT IN LINE WITH MODERN INDIAN THOUGHT. I SUGGEST PUBLICATION OF OUR WIRES.[4]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 18

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shall value your help and hope you will accept invitation which was telegraphed to you last night. As regards representation of Congress, perhaps you will kindly let me have your final views after further consideration and any consultation you think necessary. I know you will appreciate the importance and difficulty of the task I have undertaken and do all you can to help."

[1] After the broadcast speech, the Viceroy had, in a telegram dated June 14 to Gandhiji, repeated the offer for discussion and also suggested a preliminary talk between them on June 24 at 3 p. m. at Viceregal Lodge. He concluded the telegram saying, he had "arranged to make a bungalow called 'Amsbell' available" to Gandhiji, hoping that he would accept the invitation.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* Appendix III.

[4] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix IV.

555. LETTER TO JAGANNATHDAS[1]

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

All handicraft or arts which can be worked in village homes can be and should be taught even though the products of such crafts and arts may be and can only be profitably used for city people.

Thus carpentry, joinery, drawing, painting, sculpture, bricklaying, scientific washing etc., have their proper place in the institute. These should not be taught merely mechanically. But the why and the wherefore should be explained to the pupils, so that their intellect is fully drawn out and disciplined in the act of learning and working the respective crafts and arts. Thus they should be educated morally and intellectually through these.

Secondly, if the first is carried out to the letter and in the spirit, the whole institution must be self-supporting through the sales of work turned out. For, in it there would be little or no overhead charge, the idea being to man the institution from top to bottom through its erstwhile pupils, now turned experts in their respective departments.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

556. NOTE TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL[2]

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

I have thought about your diet. I am of the view that you should not eat anything fibrous. Hence, among vegetables you should eat gourd and similar other things in which there would be very little of indigestible matter. The main diet should

[1] Of Harijan Industrial School

[2] In the source, Manibehn Patel explains : "Vallabhbhai was released from Yeravda Jail on June 15, 1945, in the morning. He left by car and reached Panchgani to see Gandhiji at about 11.30 a. m. Gandhiji was observing silence.

consist of milk, glucose, honey and, if you can digest it, butter. I think even vegetables with seeds such as brinjals, tomatoes, should be avoided. They have sent me from Coimbatore yeast made from *bajra*, which may be good. The point is that you should eat only such food as will not impose a burden on your intestines, and only a small quantity at a time. It does not matter if you eat four times a day. You should have hip-baths, both warm and cold. Stretching your whole body in the tub may also help. This does not of course mean that the doctors should not examine you or make suggestions. They give no thought to the problem of diet.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 279-80

557. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

On the purely political aspect of the Viceregal statement[1] I prefer to say nothing, now that the members of the Working Committee of the Congress are free. I can only give them my advice and it is they who have to shape the policy of the Congress and speak and act with authority.

As soon as I read the broadcast I sent a wire[2] to His Excellency the Viceroy drawing his attention to the fact that I have no *locus standi* as the "recognized representative of the Congress". That function belongs to the President of the Congress or whoever may be appointed to represent the Congress on a particular occasion.

For several years I have acted unofficially as an adviser to the Congress whenever required. The public will remember that I went with the same unrepresentative character for my talks[3] with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah; and I can take up no other position with the British Government, in this instance represented by the Viceroy.

There is one expression in the Viceregal broadcast which certainly offends my ear and, I hope, will offend that of every politically minded Hindu. I refer to the expression "caste Hindus". I claim that there is no such person, speaking politically,

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.
[2] This was sent to Private Secretary to the Viceroy, *vide* p. 328.
[3] In September 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII.

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as a "caste Hindu", let alone the Congress which seeks to represent the whole of India which is yearning after political independence.[1]

Does Veer Savarkar or Dr. Shyama Prasad or Dr. Moonje of the Hindu Mahasabha represent caste Hindus?

Do they not represent all Hindus without distinction of caste? Do they not include the so-called untouchables? Do they themselves claim to be caste Hindus? I hope not.

Of all politically minded Hindus, I know that even the revered Pandit Malaviyaji, though he observes caste distinctions, will refuse to be called a caste Hindu, as distinguished from the other Hindus.

The modern tendency in Hinduism is to abolish all caste distinctions and this I maintain in spite of my knowledge of reactionary elements in Hindu society.

I can only hope, therefore, that H. E. the Viceroy has allowed himself to make use of the expression in utter ignorance. I want to acquit him of knowingly wounding the susceptibilities of Hindu society or dividing it.

I would not have dwelt on this matter but for the fact that it touches the political mind of Hindus in its sensitive spot and carries with it political repercussions.

The proposed conference can do much useful work if it is put in its proper political setting and is at the very outset rendered immune from any fissiparous tendency.

Undoubtedly all invitees might appear as Indians conjointly bent on achieving India's natural goal and not as persons representing several sections of Indian society.

That is how I have viewed Bhulabhai-Liaqat Ali understanding[2] which I suppose laid the foundation for the forthcoming Viceregal conference.

Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal has no such colouring as the Viceregal broadcast would seem to have. I am not ashamed of the part I have played in advising[3] Shri Bhulabhai Desai when he consulted me about his proposal.

Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal, as I understood it, attracted me as one interested in solving the communal tangle, and I assured him that I would use my influence with the members of the Working Committee and give my reasons for acceptance of his

[1] *Vide* also p. 329.
[2] *Vide* Appendix V.
[3] *Vide* pp. 295-6.

proposal and I have no doubt that if both parties to the proposal correctly represent their constituents and have independence of India as their common goal, things must shape well.

At this point I must stop and the Working Committee has to take up the thread. It is for its members to declare the Congress mind on the impending questions.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1945

558. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

IN REPLY YOUR KIND WIRE OF YESTERDAY[1] AM POSTING LETTER[2].

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 19

559. TELEGRAM TO J. B. KRIPALANI

Express PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

ACHARYA KRIPALANI
CARE "HINDU"
KARACHI

SARDAR[3] DEO[4] HERE. HOPE YOU WELL AND COMING.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* footnote 8, pp. 328-9.
[2] *Vide* pp. 335-6.
[3] & [4] Vallabhbhai Patel and Shankarrao Deo, who were discharged on June 15 from Yeravda Prison

560. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

Express PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
BALLYGUNGE

HOPE YOU WELL. SUGGEST EARLY MEETING WORKING COMMITTEE BOMBAY. ADVERTISE DATE. SARDAR DEO AGREE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

561. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Express PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
KHALI (NAINITAL)

YOUR WIRE[1]. EARLY MEETING WORKING COMMITTEE NECESSARY. SUGGEST FIX BOMBAY ANNOUNCE DATE. SARDAR DEO AGREE. HOPE YOU MAULANA SAHEB NARENDRADEV WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Dated June 15, it read : "Going Khali. Tomorrow Nainital. Reaching Allahabad Monday evening."

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562. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
SADAQAT ASHRAM
PATNA

WHEN COMING? SARDAR DEO JAIRAMDAS MAHMUD HERE. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

563. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your telegram[1] of yesterday received at 3.45 p. m. My second telegram[2], acknowledging your kind telegraphic invitation, evidently crossed yours. I am sending you this letter in reply, instead of wiring, because I am anxious that you should understand my position thoroughly. However, I am sending you a wire[3] intimating the despatch of this letter. For ready reference, I am enclosing herewith a copy of my Press message[4] which was issued yesterday in the morning. I would like you to go through it.

While it is true that my position is technical, the reality of it is truer. My official and legal connection with the Congress was deliberately, and with the consent of the All-India Congress Committee, severed[5] in order to enable me all the better to serve the common cause. This position therefore cannot be changed at will. In the forthcoming official conference, I can have no official position. My presence in it will change the official colour, unless I become an official representative of the Congress.

[1] *Vide* footnote 8, pp. 328-9.
[2] *Vide* p. 329.
[3] *Vide* p. 333.
[4] *Vide* pp. 331-3.
[5] In October 1934; *vide* Vol. LIX.

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But if you think that my help is desirable and that without being a member of the conference I am likely to be useful, I shall make it a point to be at your service before and even during the conference proceedings, assuming, of course, that the Working Committee wishes likewise.

I want to cite an analogy. You may have known the late Deenabandhu, as C. F. Andrews was affectionately called by us. He severed his official connection with the Cambridge Mission and the Church in order to serve religion, India and humanity better. The position he occupied as a valuable link between India and England, whether official or non-official and, between all classes and parties, grew as days went. If I can, I would love to occupy such a position. It may never come to me. Man can but try.

You have suggested further consideration and consultation, both of which I have done. I am within an easy distance of Yeravda Central prison, where Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Shankarrao Dev were recently transferred from Ahmednagar Fort. Almost immediately after their discharge from the jail yesterday they motored to Panchgani and are still with me. I have shown them all the necessary papers and they concur with me in what I am writing.

In the task you have undertaken, of which I fully appreciate the difficulty and delicacy, you certainly need the assistance and goodwill of all the parties. The Congress help you naturally cannot have without the Congress being officially represented at your table. The first and also perhaps the main purpose of the discharge of the remaining members of the Working Committee will be frustrated unless you secure the presence at your table of the President of the Congress or whomsoever he and his Committee may appoint for the purpose. If my supposition is correct, my immediate advice is that you should invite the President of the Congress. I expect that the ban on the Congress had been or will be lifted to the extent it still exists.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure : 1

H. E. THE VICEROY
THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 19-20

[1] Acknowledging this telegraphically on June 17, the Viceroy said: "I understand your position. I am looking forward to seeing you on 24th

564. LETTER TO LILAMANI

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

MY DEAR LILAMANI,

You remember sitting on my lap years ago when I was with you in the Golden Threshold? Now you are too big to sit on my lap. But if I was by your side, I would lift your head and put it in my lap and never leave it till you promised that you would literally obey all medical instructions. Your pupils would want you but your recently bereaved mother[1] wants you most. Say 'Yes' for her sake and live on.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi —The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 111

565. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

MY DEAR SINGER,

I am not the nicest kind of or any mahatma. But I know I am a nice father and hence my heart goes out to the nice mother that you are.

Here is a note[2] for Lilamani. I hope she will live for you, if not for others. Do keep me informed of L's progress.

---

and hope means may be found for you to take part in proceedings of the conference. I shall be grateful if you will communicate the following message to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad from me: 'I invite you to attend or nominate duly authorized representative to attend conference at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, at 10.30 a.m. on Monday, 25th June. Accommodation will be arranged for representative if required.' I have not released your letter or this telegram to the Press, but have no objection to their being published."

[1] Sarojini Naidu who lost her son; *vide* p. 40.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

I take very little interest in the passing show you refer to. Love to yourself.

SPINNER

SHRI SAROJINI DEVI NAIDU
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi —The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 111

566. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

This is a good letter. But how simple Maude Royden Shaw is! When one is under the influence of morphia, one has such dreams? But are they worth any thought? Yet it sustains this good soul! Such is the power of imagination.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

567. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BHAI MUNSHI,

Your letter of the 11th was received today. I have carefully gone through everything you say. Sardar, Deo, Jairamdas and Dr. Mahmud are here. I showed your letter to them also. The letter is clear. Think over what I have done and watch what I am doing. If you wish to caution me any time, you may unhesitatingly do so. I would even go further and say that there would be no harm even if you wrote to newspapers. It would be better, of course, to observe silence if you were not definite in your views.

I am glad that all of you are taking complete rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 7688. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

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568. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

June 16, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

Why the question when you will meet Vidya? Were you attached to Vidya's body? It had got to perish. If it was to the *atman*, then the *atman* is immortal. Shake off your sleep, wake up and you will see that Vidya is already with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

569. LETTER TO KULSUM SAYANI

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BETI KULSUM,

To whom should I write? Where is the time? And yet how can I say 'No' to you? This is my message :

I like the mission of *Rahbar* to unite Hindi and Urdu. May it succeed. —M. K. Gandhi

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KULSUM SAYANI
RUPA VILA
CUMBALLA HILL, BOMBAY

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

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570. LETTER TO PARMANAND

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BHAI PARMANAND,

I have your letter. It is good that you have developed such great faith in truth and ahimsa. Remain fit, do lots of spinning and do it well, and make slivers yourself.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PARMANAND
C/O JAILOR, DISTRICT JAIL
SULTANPUR, OUDH

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

571. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I approve of your demand for money up to Rs. 1,000 for three months. However, you must have Bapa's and Mridula-behn's concurrence.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SHYAMLAL
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
SCINDIA HOUSE
BALLARD ESTATE, BOMBAY-1

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

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572. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR WIRE[1] RECEIVED YESTERDAY EVENING. IN ORDER REGULARIZE PROCEDURE AND FACILITATE DESPATCH OF WORK WITHOUT DISTURBING NUMBER OF MEMBERS CONFERENCE I SUGGEST IMMEDIATE INVITATION TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT ATTEND CONFERENCE OR DEPUTE CONGRESS NOMINEE. IF FIXITY OF PARITY BETWEEN CASTE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS UNCHANGEABLE RELIGIOUS DIVISION WILL BECOME OFFICIALLY STEREOTYPED ON EVE OF INDEPENDENCE. PERSONALLY I CAN NEVER SUBSCRIBE TO IT NOR CONGRESS IF I KNOW ITS MIND. IN SPITE OF HAVING OVERWHELMINGLY HINDU MEMBERSHIP CONGRESS HAS STRIVEN TO BE PURELY POLITICAL. I AM QUITE CAPABLE ADVISING CONGRESS TO NOMINATE ALL NON-HINDUS AND MOST DECIDEDLY NON-CASTE HINDUS. YOU WILL QUITE UNCONSCIOUSLY BUT EQUALLY SURELY DEFEAT PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE IF PARITY BETWEEN CASTE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS IS UNALTERABLE. PARITY BETWEEN CONGRESS AND LEAGUE UNDERSTANDABLE. I AM EAGER TO HELP YOU AND BRITISH PEOPLE BUT NOT AT SACRIFICE OF FUNDAMENTAL AND UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES. FOR IT WILL BE NO HELP. IF YOU DESIRE TEXT YESTERDAY'S LETTER EARLIER I CAN TELEGRAPH CONTENTS.[2]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 22

[1] *Vide* footnote 8, pp. 328-9.
[2] *Vide* also the following item.

573. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

MANY THANKS YOUR PROMPT REPLY[1] TO MY LETTER[2] OF 16TH. BUT IN ABSENCE OF REPLY TO MY WIRE[3] EVEN DATE YOU WILL ADMIT CONGRESS POSITION AND MINE REMAINS UNCERTAIN. HENCE I MUST NOT EVEN ON YOUR BEHALF INVITE PRESIDENT WITHOUT ACCEPTANCE OF MY NECESSARY AMENDMENT. YOU WILL NOT AND CANNOT ACCORDING TO YOUR WIRE OF 16TH LET CONFERENCE DISCUSS THE QUESTION. THEREFORE TO MY GREAT REGRET HAVE TAKEN NO ACTION ON YOUR WIRE UNDER REPLY. WORKING COMMITTEE HAS NOT STILL BEEN CALLED. PRIVATE TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION TARDY. TIME APPEARS TO BE AGAINST DATE FIXED BY YOU. WITH ALL MY WILLINGNESS TO HELP I HOPE YOU WILL APPRECIATE UNAVOIDABLE DELAY. I SUGGEST YOUR ALTERING DATE AND CLARIFYING ISSUE RAISED BY ME AND IF CLARIFICATION SATISFACTORY SENDING YOUR INVITATION DIRECTLY FOR AVOIDING DELAY. I SHOULD INFORM YOU CONGRESS PREMIERS ARE HELD UP PENDING WORKING COMMITTEE DECISION. I AM NOT RELEASING THESE COMMUNICATIONS PENDING FINAL DECISION. BUT IN THIS YOU SHALL JUDGE.[4]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 23

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, pp. 336-7.
[2] *Vide* pp. 335-6.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.
[4] For the Viceroy's reply, *vide* Appendix VI.

574. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Express PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
BAZLULLAH ROAD
TYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

MY ADVICE WATCH DEVELOPMENTS BUT FOLLOW VOICE WITHIN.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

575. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

Express PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
BALLYGUNGE

WHAT IS NATURE TOOTH TROUBLE? MY PROGRAMME DEPENDS ON YOU MOSTLY AND PARTLY VICEROY. ADVISE CALLING URGENT MEETING WORKING COMMITTEE CONSIDER WHOLE SITUATION.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

576. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

Express PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

DOCTOR PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA[1]
MASULIPATAM

HOPE YOU WELL. WIRE WHEN COMING.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Congress leader of Andhra, Member, A. I. C. C. and Congress Working Committee

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577. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

June 17, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is more certain than wire. Come as soon as you can here or Bombay wherever I may be. Sardar and others associate with me. Long correspondences with the Viceroy going on.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2108

578. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[1]

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
BAZLULLAH ROAD
TYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

COME HERE I SHALL DECIDE IN TIME. SARDAR AGREES.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

579. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

I hope you read my articles. Keep in mind whatever I am writing these days. If the Congress is obliged to appoint only Hindus, then we are all Hindus, but not in that sense. We

[1] This was given to Rangaswami, representative of *The Hindu*, for transmission on teleprinter.

should have perfect freedom to appoint anyone we like. I do not have the time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHULABHAI DESAI

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

580. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PROMPT FRANK AND FULL REPLY[1] ALSO FOR DIRECTLY INVITING MAULANA SAHEB. MEMBERS BEING FREE AT CONFERENCE TO ACCEPT OR REJECT PROPOSALS CLEARS GROUNDS FOR INVITEES TO ATTEND CONFERENCE. THIS LEAVES THEM FREE DISCUSS PROS AND CONS AT CONFERENCE. MY OBJECTION TO INEVITABILITY OF PARITY BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND CASTE HINDUS STANDS. IF THAT VIEW INCAPABLE OF BEING ALTERED BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT MY ADVICE CONGRESS WILL BE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN FORMATION EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. CONGRESS HAS NEVER IDENTIFIED ITSELF WITH CASTE OR NON-CASTE HINDUS AND NEVER CAN EVEN TO GAIN INDEPENDENCE WHICH WILL BE ONE-SIDED UNTRUE AND SUICIDAL. CONGRESS TO JUSTIFY ITS EXISTENCE FOR WINNING INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA MUST REMAIN FOR EVER FREE TO CHOOSE BEST MEN AND WOMEN FROM ALL CLASSES AND I HOPE ALWAYS WILL. THAT IT HAS FOR SAKE OF CONCILIATING MINORITIES CHOSEN MEN TO REPRESENT THEM THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN LESS THAN BEST REDOUNDS TO ITS CREDIT BUT THAT CAN NEVER BE PLEADED TO JUSTIFY OR PERPETUATE DISTINCTION BASED ON CASTE OR CREED. HINDU MAHASABHA IS THE BODY CLAIMING TO REPRESENT SOLELY HINDU INTERESTS. SUBJECT TO WORKING COMMITTEE'S WISHES I SHALL HOPE PRESENT MYSELF SIMLA

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.

ON 24TH INSTANT BUT OWING TO MY STRONG VIEWS YOU CAN CANCEL THE ENGAGEMENT WITHOUT LEAST OFFENCE. I EXPECT THIS WIRE AND REPLY IF ANY WILL BE PUBLISHED. LEAVING FOR POONA TUESDAY TWO P.M.[1]

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 24-5

581. TELEGRAM TO HARSHADA DIWANJI

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

HARSHADABEHN DIWANJI
FIFTEENTH ROAD
KHAR, BOMBAY

TRY REACH POONA NINETEENTH TWO AFTERNOON DINSHAH MEHTA NATURE CURE CLINIC.

GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10550. Also from a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

582. LETTER TO PARIMAL SHOME

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

MY DEAR PARIMAL,

I am sorry to hear from you that Sarat Babu[2] is so ill. But as you rightly say I have not much confidence in my ability to do good in such matters. Yet you may depend upon my doing the best I am capable of in securing relief.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PARIMAL SHOME, B. COM.
12-3 HINDUSTAN ROAD
BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In his telegram dated June 19, the Viceroy replied that he expected to hear from Gandhiji "immediately after the meeting on June 21".

[2] Sarat Chandra Bose, addressee's maternal uncle

[3] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 358-9.

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583. LETTER TO USHA GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

CHI. USHA,

I have your postcard. Your demand is crazy. My going to Simla is uncertain and even if I go it will only be for work. It is therefore not proper to take children along. It is a different thing if there is some occasion. One can say that you have considerably improved your handwriting. My handwriting will improve on its own if all the children write a pearl-like hand. You should therefore stand first in that.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

584. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

June 18, 1945

CHI. NIMU,

Kanam will shortly be arriving there. He was happy here and made us happy. You did a wise thing in not going to Simla and Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

C/o RAMDAS GANDHI

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

585. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

June 18, 1945

CHI. SURU,

So you did not come. I received your letter. I do keep on writing to you. Both of you have served Harilal well. I

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do hope that he will stay on there. I have written[1] to him. You should not be the least bit unhappy that you failed in the examination. Your reading will now be all the more thorough. What is really remarkable is that you are studying while looking after your house. Lakshmi and Nimu did the same. Grow very healthy and be good in studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 6188. Also C.W. 3462. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

586. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

This is perhaps an opportune moment to release the text of a letter[2] I wrote to the British Prime Minister during my stay at Panchgani last year. The letter was written in the small hours of the night on July 17 at the same time that I wrote my Gujarati note[3] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and duly posted to be sent through H. E. the Viceroy.

Unfortunately the letter miscarried. Having waited for a long time, on September 10, 1944, during my visit to Bombay for the meeting with Qaid-e-Azam, I sent a letter[4] of enquiry out of curiosity, for the psychological moment had passed. To my surprise, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy wrote in return on September 13 that the letter in question was not received by him. As I attached importance to that letter, I sent[5] him a copy of the missing letter on September 17, 1944, repeating the request that it might be sent to the Prime Minister.

My letter of July 17 to Mr. Churchill, in my estimation, was of a sacred character not meant for the public eye, but I could contemplate an occasion or time when it might call for publication without losing the sacred character.

I, therefore, requested the Viceroy on December 3, 1944,[6] to enquire from the Prime Minister whether I had his permission to publish it in case of need. He replied through his Secretary

[1] *Vide* p. 321.
[2] & [3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 391-2 and 393-4.
[4] & [5] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 90 and 108-9.
[6] ibid p. 376; the source, however, has "December 13, 1944".

that the Prime Minister agreed to the publication of my letter subject to the fact that it was duly acknowledged.

The following is the text of the letter:

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

You are reported to have a desire to crush the simple "Naked Fakir" as you are said to have described me. I have been long trying to be a "Fakir" and that naked—a more difficult task. I, therefore, regard the expression as a compliment though unintended. I approach you then as such and ask you to trust and use me for the sake of your people and mine and through them those of the world.

Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1945

587. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

QUESTION : What did you mean when you said that the Desai Formula[1] had no such colouring as the Viceroy's would seem to have, and how do you think that the Desai Formula would help to solve the communal tangle?

ANSWER : Bhulabhai's proposals have no colouring of caste. There is the 50 per cent basis as between two political bodies. If Bhulabhai's proposals are the same as the Viceroy's, then I am greatly mistaken. I did not read the proposals in that light. According to that Formula, if the Congress chose, it could appoint 50 per cent of any community, non-Hindus, caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus. If the Congress is obliged to choose only caste Hindus or even casteless Hindus then it ceases to be Indian National Congress.

Asked if he was satisfied with the clarification offered by the Viceroy[2] and the Secretary of State[3] about the question of independence, he said that it was a question for the Working Committee to answer. He had his own opinion but he did not wish to anticipate or influence the Working Committee by speaking to the public.

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.
[2] *Vide* Appendices IV and VI.
[3] *Vide* Appendix VII.

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Q. What is your opinion about Lord Wavell's personal efforts in solving the political deadlock?

A. No one will know unless Lord Wavell chooses to write himself as to what part he has played in this connection.

Q. What do you think about the omission of the Hindu Mahasabha?

A. I have not thought over it, but as you prompt me I begin to think. I do not know whether it is the method of putting the Congress in the place of the Hindu Mahasabha and treating it as a sectional or a Hindu body and if it is that, which I hope it is not, the Congress will be one to avoid the whole show. But there is another construction also to be put upon that omission, namely, that the British Government wants to avoid the conference being based on religious distinction and, therefore, for examining the proposal they have invited political representatives only. Against this favourable assumption has undoubtedly to be put the parity between Muslims and caste Hindus. But I have publicly announced[1] that I believed that this mistake, however grave, is one of ignorance. If my assumption is right, the mistake would be corrected. Thinking along the same lines I account for the omission of the Muslim Majlis or the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and similar bodies.

I must not also omit to mention that the composition of the conference is a very great advance upon all similar bodies, for, in all previous conferences convened by the British Government, members have been nominated by the Government principally. This time the members of the conference are under no obligation to the Government for their nomination and they need not vote or speak merely to placate the Government. The Congress Premiers, for instance, are under obligation only to the Congress as those belonging to the Muslim League are answerable only to the League. So far as I can recall there has been no such conference before.

Q. Why do you think the Maulana was omitted in the first instance?

A. Because the Viceroy thought that I represented the Congress and the people had given him cause to think so. But I must say the moment I pointed[2] out the mistake he saw it at once and rectified it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1945

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 331-3.
[2] *Vide* pp. 328 and 329.

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588. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, PANCHGANI

June 18, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi addressing a prayer gathering on the eve of his departure from here said he had planned to stay at Panchgani till the end of the month but man proposes and God disposes.

He thanked Principal Batha of the Parsi Girls' High School for allowing the use of the school hall for holding prayer meetings and the girl students who sweetly chanted prayers from the scriptures in the evenings.

To him the hall had become a prayer house where he found peace every evening and got over the mental fatigue of the day's work. He had nothing to give them in return except his blessings.

They should know, he continued, that he was going away for the same purpose for which he had come up to the hills. That purpose was the winning of India's independence. If he wanted to live for 125 years, or if he died that very moment, or if he went to the hills for recouping his health, it was the same thing to him so long as his very breath was dedicated to that aim.

His conception of swaraj was not mere political independence. He wanted to see dharmaraj—establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth—the reign of truth and non-violence in every walk of life. That alone was independence to the starved masses of this vast country.

He hoped that those who attended his prayers did not come there for the sake of fun. They came to call the name of God so as to be able to do His work. To work for the independence of his hope was God's work.

To remain in slavery was beneath the dignity of man. A slave who was conscious of his state and yet did not strive to break his chains was lower than the beast. He who prayed from his heart could never accept slavery as his lot.

Everyone said that this time at last the chance had come for bringing India's independence nearer. He was a trusting man by temperament and he took statements at their face value. Nevertheless, they should repose their faith in prayer more than in a man's work. Let them also know that we were all slaves of our passions. If we conquered them, we could easily overcome the slavery under foreigners or our own conquerors.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-6-1945

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589. INTERVIEW TO P. RAMACHANDRA RAO

PANCHGANI,
[Before *June 19, 1945*][1]

QUESTION : Is there a "Gandhian Plan", as Prof. Agrawal[2] will have it, apart from the Gandhian programme? A plan necessarily involves a time schedule within which to attain definite objectives. You have yourself formulated no such plan?

ANSWER : For me there is neither a Gandhian plan nor Gandhian programme. But it would be too pedantic for me to object to a friend's use of the word "Gandhian". Your objection to the word "plan" is technically valid. But I am inclined to say there is no substance in the objection.

The basis of the Gandhian programme is decentralization. But the core of planning is centralization. Can planning and Gandhism go together?

I must dissent from the view that the core of planning is centralization. Why should not decentralization lend itself to planning as well as centralization?

Economic planning, says Prof. Agrawal, necessitates the least amount of State control. Yet the plan he unfolds by no means envisages a Government which will govern least because the emphasis throughout is on State action—"the responsibility of the State is very great". Necessarily, communications, public health, education, trade and commerce, banking and currency, etc., must be State-controlled. And the plan clearly supports the nationalization of key and basic large-scale industries. How do these incompatible ideas fit in?

I detect no incompatibility in the idea of decentralizing, to the greatest extent possible, all industries and crafts, economically profitable in the villages of India, and centralizing or nationalizing the key and vital large industries required for India considered as a whole. Prof. Agrawal has taken illustrations from the present. When we have independence cum predominance of village industries in the place of city industries as at present, those who live to see that, as I hope you and I will,

[1] Gandhiji left Panchgani on June 19; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] Shriman Narayan; his "Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for Free India" was published in 1944.

will face another and much healthier atmosphere and we shall see clearly what Prof. Agrawal and we see today only darkly. Today everything is controlled by a foreign State. Tomorrow the State will be controlled by the people (a very vital change in itself) and if Prof. Agrawal's plan (pardon the word) fructifies, then it is obvious that the State-control, though it appears to be big, will in reality be least. Just project in your mind's eye 700,000 villages of India dominating the centre with its few towns required in the interests of the villages.

The Gandhian programme is essentially a resuscitation of village communities, ensuring the maximum utilization of human power. It is an evolutionary process. Is it not opposed to a definitive State planning, unless, of course, cottage industrialization is content to be complementary to nationalization of industries which the problems of a post-war India may make imperative?

You have correctly described the programme standing in my name. You have lifted the term nationalization from its present setting and then put a perplexing question. I suggest your correcting yourself and examining the contents of the term in its new village setting. The ideal is too comprehensive for our modernized mind. Mine may be all a day-dream never destined to be realized. But that would be merely begging the question. We see that in a single generation we have the so-called impossible of yesterday become the possible of today.

You have recently declaimed[1] against the big interests who speak loud against the Government and give the lie by their support of it for the crumbs that fall to them. It is answered that Congress itself has not been averse to befriend these big interests who exploit the Congress for their ends. Can you not stop such exploitation?

The Congress has never been, and I hope never will be, averse to the big interests so long as it hopes to convert them to national use instead of being itself converted by them in the process. My very declamation referred to by you shows that the big interests have to be on the right line, if they are to subserve the interests of the masses in the end. Today they are relatively serving the foreign ruler whilst they themselves merely get the crumbs from his table. It is unfortunate. But all will never think and be alike. In non-violence, there is mutual conversion instead of coercion.

The Hindu, 23-6-1945

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", p. 80.

590. LETTER TO KHWAJA

BOMBAY,
June 20, 1945

MY DEAR KHWAJA,

In the midst of work I send you a line to acknowledge yours. You will see. Hope all yours in Hyderabad are well including yourself.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

591. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

BOMBAY,
June 20, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have an impression that I have not replied to one of your letters. I hope Kanchan is well and you are calm. I did come here earlier than I had planned, but I do not hope to arrive there also earlier. I may perhaps have to go to Simla. If that does not become necessary, I may arrive there earlier. Probably I shall know tomorrow. Let me see what happens. I hope Chimanlal is keeping good health.

It is raining heavily here. It is cool. Let us hope the streets will not be flooded with water. The rain is not so heavy as yet.

A letter for Chi. A. D. is enclosed, which also contains the reply to the postcard written by Prabhakar.

I am not writing to K. today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8447. Also C.W. 5583. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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592. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

BOMBAY,
June 20, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. Kishorelalbhai is right; you can occupy that position if your conscience permits. By so doing, your relations with me and the Ashram will not only continue, but become further strengthened.

I understand about the mill. The rest you will see by and by.

I am somewhat worried about Balkrishna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4516

593. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

BOMBAY,
June 20, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

It is not good that you have not as yet left. If you had something to ask somebody you should have gone and asked Sushilabehn. She says everything is there on the paper you had signed. However, no one can at all compel you to go. What can anyone do if you have left the white sari at home? The right thing would be to go to Nagpur if you really want to go there, and see what can be done. In the end you yourself have to find your way. The date you were to reach there has passed. Now decide what you want to do and start working accordingly. My coming there has become somewhat uncertain.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

594. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

BHAI RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have your letter. Though I have no time, I am writing you these few lines. I like your letter. Have faith that I will do whatever I can. I intend to show this letter to Jawaharlal. Hope you are well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN
30 EDWARD ELIOT ROAD
MYLAPUR, MADRAS

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

595. LETTER TO DHARMANAND KOSAMBI

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

BHAI KOSAMBI,

I have your letter. I liked it. The thing you have at heart is the thing that I also have at heart. If there is such a power as God in this world we have no cause for worry. You have joined the Gujarat Vidyapith. Remain there and render service.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DHARMANAND KOSAMBI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

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596. LETTER TO KULKARNI AND SUDHA KULKARNI

June 21, 1945

CHI. LAMBU AND KULKARNI,

I got your second letter. I have given it to Khersaheb to read.

Blessings from
BAPU

[C/O] ADIVASI SEVA MANDAL
KANYA CHHATRALAYA
MOKHADA, THANA DISTRICT

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

597. LETTER TO VILAS KATJU

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

CHI. VILAS,

I have your letter. I cannot congratulate you on your Devanagari writing. You do not write English in such a bad hand, do you? It is our mother tongue that is to blame, I suppose. I am returning your letter in order to teach you and show you how untidy and how clumsy it is. I have marked it at two places. Copy this letter out in a neat handwriting and send it to me. Seeing your letter how can I believe that you are Dr. Kailas Nath's daughter?

Blessings from
BAPU

C/O KAILAS NATH KATJU
EDMONSTONE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

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

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598. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

BHAI BRELVI[1],

Your letter is good and also bad. And why again in English to me?

Your health will be good. It was not through carelessness that I used the expression to which you have drawn my attention. I had used it advisedly. It is another matter that I may change it out of consideration for somebody, but then it will not express what I feel.

In the first place, the term 'minorities' includes, along with the Muslims, all the accepted minorities. This has been my own preoccupation from childhood. And if you are concerned solely about Muslims, I would like to say that sometimes when a Muslim was wanted he was chosen not because he was the best Congressman among Indians but because he was the best Congressman among Muslims and represented Muslims. I should be grieved if you did not know this, because you are a highly experienced man and a journalist. If you are interested in having the names of such minorities, I can send you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : G.N. 2298

599. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

As I was about to leave Panchgani, I received a pathetic letter[2] from which I take the following :

> The immediate object of my writing this letter is to inform you about the very serious condition of Sri Sarat Chandra Bose, who is my maternal uncle. He is very unwell and his condition is causing

[1] Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*
[2] From Parimal Shome; *vide* p. 346.

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grave anxiety to us all. If he is not at least removed, if not released, immediately to a healthy place his days are numbered.

As Sri Sarat Babu has never been tried and found guilty, evidently he has been detained all these years and that too away from Bengal, on suspicion. For the sake of simple justice Sri Sarat Babu ought to be removed to a health resort in Bengal with facilities for him to see his relatives.

The Hindu, 22-6-1945

600. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

BOMBAY,
June 22, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP
INDIA

IN REPLY YOUR WIRE[1] OF 19TH YOU MUST HAVE SEEN FROM PAPERS WORKING COMMITTEE IS STILL SITTING. AM LEAVING TODAY BY FRONTIER MAIL FOR SIMLA. TRAIN PERMITTING HOPE WAIT ON YOUR EXCELLENCY APPOINTED TIME. THANKING YOU FOR RESERVING ACCOMMODATION FOR ME. I PROPOSE TO STAY WITH RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR.

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 26

601. LETTER TO LADY EMILY KINNAIRD

ON THE TRAIN,
June 22, 1945

MOTHER DEAR,

It was good to hear from you after such a lapse of time. I expect to see Amrit Kaur on Sunday.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

DAME EMILY KINNAIRD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 346.

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602. LETTER TO MANEKLAL GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN,
June 22, 1945

CHI. MANEKLAL,

You have entered into competition with me. Anybody who devotes himself to service in a spirit of non-attachment is entitled to aspire to live up to 125. May you be so entitled.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANEKLAL
THANA DEVLI
KATHIAWAR

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 892. Courtesy : Maneklal Gandhi

603. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 22, 1945

It hurts me that I am going away without seeing you, but I am helpless.[1] Your dharma is not to interest yourself in these negotiations but to be engrossed in Ramanama and get well for public service.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 206

[1] Gandhiji was going to Simla to meet the Viceroy.

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604. LETTER TO HILDA PETIT

ON THE TRAIN,
June 22, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I personally feel that it is good that Mother has gone. I had seen her suffering. Of course we do feel unhappy because of our selfishness. I hope all of you will be calm.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI HILDA PETIT

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

605. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ON THE TRAIN,
June 22, 1945

CHI. SATIS CHANDRA,

I read your postcard of June 16 only today. I should be sorry if your heart is still weak. But if that be the case, do not insist on working. [You] have not said about the letter to the apiaries. Now you have got to write to them.[1] I am going to Simla. God alone knows what He will make me do.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR, *via* CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1644

[1] *Vide* also p. 276.

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606. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

NEW DELHI,
June 23, 1945

I have had no rest during the journey to Simla, which is still going on. A note has just been handed to me after leaving Bharatpur. I am observing silence to save myself as much as possible. I was unable to receive the deputation that wanted to see me. But a note has been handed to me which describes the woes of persons who represent the Bharatpur people's cause. I must not go into the details, for I have not the opportunity of knowing the other side. May I hope that the Bharatpur Raj authorities will do the needful and publish their side of the case?

The Hindu, 25-6-1945

607. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

AS AT SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
ON THE TRAIN,
June 23, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I am writing this whilst I am silent. This is being written on the train taking me to Simla. In answer to your affectionate letter of 23rd April I can only say I am pouring my whole soul into the attempt to express truth and non-violence in fighting the battle for the independence of India's vast, dumb and starved masses.

This will be typed for your easy reading.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES[1]
10 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

From a photostat : C.W. 10966. Courtesy : S. P. K. Gupta. Also from a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] American clergyman, author of *My Gandhi*; Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union; Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor in India from October 1947 to January 1948

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608. NOTE TO PRESTON GROVER

ON THE TRAIN,
June 23, 1945

MY DEAR GROVER,

Many thanks for your considerate note[1]. But let me melt myself in this natural heat. As sure as fate, this heat will be followed by refreshing coolness which I shall enjoy. Let me feel just a touch of real India.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 1-7-1945

609. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

ON A MOVING TRAIN,
June 23, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have before me your letter of June 11, 1945. Your interpretation of the rules, a copy of which you have sent, seems correct to me. The office should shift to Wardha or somewhere around it.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 125, Pyarelal explains that the addressee, a correspondent of the United Press of America travelling with Gandhiji, said in a note : "Would not it be wise for you to go into the cooler Congress car for the afternoon, so you could stretch yourself a while? You have not had any sleep for 24 hours. It is not going to help much if you arrive at Simla tired out from the interruptions in your sleep at wayside stations. As we would say in America, 'Give yourself a break'."

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610. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

ON A MOVING TRAIN,
June 23, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

Your letter of June 12, 1945 is before me. I approve of the proposal to appoint Kalyanasundaram to help Thakkar Bapa on a salary of Rs. 75 per month. It should be implemented if no other formalities are necessary for this appointment.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

611. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
June 25, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I was too tired to acknowledge your note[1] there and then. Nor was there any hurry. I shall remain in Simla during the conference.

Yours very sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 26

[1] Dated June 24, it read : "I have thought over what you told me about your plans when we had our talks this afternoon and I shall be grateful if you will remain in Simla during the conference." For Lord Wavell's note on the interview, *vide* Appendix VIII.

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612. NOTE TO MAURICE FRYDMAN[1]

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA W.,
June 25, 1945

Is your word of no value? You made me a definite promise, do you remember?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Do as you are ad[vised] below.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 43

613. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 25, 1945

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I am sending herewith the draft I have prepared of the Trust-deed. Since Gujarati is permitted there, I have drawn it up in that language. If documents in Gujarati are not registered, get a Sindhi or Hindi translation made. There is no need at all for an English translation. You can change the terms. I have tried to embody your own ideas as I have understood them.[2]

I will go on worrying till Manu is cured of her illness. She must have gone now to Dinshaw's clinic. Let us hope she will recover there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not expect to stay here for long. It will perhaps be decided today how long I shall have to stay. Recall what I told

[1] Gandhiji scribbled this on Dr. Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee. *Vide* also "Telegram to Soundaram Ramachandran", p. 386.

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

you regarding your health.[1] Roasting groundnut will not make all that difference. I understand about the work.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./24

614. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SIMLA,
June 25, 1945

BHAI MANGALDAS PAKVASA,

I am sending herewith the Dinshah Trust-deed. After examining it, translate it only into English. I will not burden you just now with making a Hindi translation. If you approve of the contents, make other documents in the mother tongue or in the national language.[2] I have been giving you a good deal of trouble. I cannot help it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4692. Courtesy : Mangaldas Pakvasa

615. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

June 25, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

This is for you. Do not forget the three gurus[3]. Improve your Urdu and learn to use the Gujarati script correctly. Whatever you write should be like a pearl. Sumi is growing daily.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 9518. Courtesy : Kanam Gandhi

[1] *Vide* p. 213.
[2] *Vide* also pp. 307-8, and the preceding item.
[3] Presumably, a reference to the three proverbial monkeys

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616. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
June 25, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

We arrived here yesterday having many difficulties on the way. There were crowds at every station, delirious and deaf with love or joy. Manilal has practically lost his voice. I met the Viceroy yesterday. I will know today or tomorrow when I shall be free. Either I or someone else will write. I hope everything is going on well there. I intend to go there after I am free from here, but I cannot say where I may have to halt on the way. I hope Kanchan is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8446. Also C.W. 5584. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

617. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
June 25, 1945

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,

There are several names in the Kasturba Memorial Trust. When the Trust was formed, I had expressed a desire that your name and Sardar's should be included. All the Trustees were agreeable that the names of you two should be included when you were released. I had forgotten to consult you. It occurred to me this morning. Will you agree to be on the Trust? It means working for women and children in the villages and that too in my way. If you can take interest in this, I can send you the papers for your perusal. I have said the same thing to Sardar. He is considering it. I have told him that this is no matter for honour. It is a matter for work.

The same is true about the propagation of Hindustani. I am very keen on having your name for it if you are agreeable. I shall send you the papers if you like, for your perusal about

this too. I am scared of placing any more burden on your head as you are already overburdened. But what can I do?

Everyone misses you here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

618. DRAFT LETTER OF ATTORNEY FOR MANU GANDHI

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

The sum of ten thousand rupees that I have deposited with you at 5-anna interest will be accountable to my grandfather Gandhiji while he is alive and afterwards to my father Jaisukhlal Gandhi. The interest also will be payable to Gandhiji and after him to my father. I hereby transfer all my rights in this regard to them.

From a microfilm of the Hindi : M.M.U./24

619. TELEGRAM TO PARIMAL SHOME

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 26, 1945

PARIMAL SHOME
12-3 HINDUSTAN ROAD
BALLYGUNGE (CALCUTTA)

YOUR WIRE. YOU CAN PUBLISH LETTER[2].

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In the source, the letter is placed after the items of June 25, 1945; *vide* also "Letter to Jaisukhlal Gandhi", pp. 251-2.

[2] *Vide* p. 346.

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620. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

BAPA,

Your letter to Narahari is before me. Send the invitations for the Executive Committee meeting of the Kasturba Nidhi for any day in August convenient to you. If it becomes necessary to change it on my account, we shall do so.

BAPU

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

621. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

June 26, 1945

BHAI SUDHIR,

Only today I am able to reply your letter of June 11. You know what I am doing.

I am very keen to go to Bengal. But I wish to go to all the [nearby] places.[1]

Blessings to Shanti[2] *and to you from*
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 50, the addressee explains : "With this brief letter in hand I went to see Governor Casey. He said, I could . . . assure him [Gandhiji] that the Governor would do everything in his power to secure for Mr. Gandhi the freedom to go wherever he liked and meet anybody he liked."

[2] Addressee's wife

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622. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have your letter of the 12th. Whatever you are doing, you are doing with deliberation. I shall read the circular when it comes. I hope Satis Babu is well—he should be.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

623. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

BHAI KAILASNATH KATJU,

I have your first Hindustani letter. I liked it very much. The handwriting is good, as is of course the language. The letter from Vilas disappointed me.[1] If you can help her to improve, do so.

I finished reading your booklet[2] yesterday. I read it from beginning to end without leaving out anything. I liked it but I think it has shortcomings. In this connection I would advise you to read a big book[3] Satish Babu has written on the cow. The first part of it is already published, the second is about to come out. His full address is . . .[4] Calcutta. He is a first-class chemist. But he gave up everything long back and took up khadi work. He is very industrious. He wrote this book in jail. Those who want to work in the villages should read this book. It does not contain only Satis Babu's views. He has taken everything from British and American reports. There is much scope for improvement and

[1] *Vide* also p. 357.
[2] *Dehati Pragati*; *vide* also p. 132.
[3] *Cow in India*; for Gandhiji's Foreword, *vide* pp. 149-50.
[4] Omission as in the source

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addition in what you say in your book about cattle, cattle diseases and land. If the villagers have to depend on Government veterinary doctors for treatment of their cattle, it is not going to work. This does not mean that the villagers are not to take their help but their knowledge should be adapted to village conditions. I have plenty of material on the subject but I do not want to give it here. Perhaps you know Dhiren Mazumdar. He is working in U. P. with Vichitra Narayan. He is Acharya Kripalani's man and is very industrious. He knows his work well. If you have not already met him, do so. If possible go and see the Khadi Pratishthan of Satis Babu and then bring out a second edition. It will not be of much use as it is. Now that people have become interested in the subject they will buy your book and probably read it, too. However, they will not be able to derive much benefit from it, for, though they will know from the book what they have to do, it will not tell them how they are to do it. This I will expect in the second edition. I have seen from your book that you are interested in the subject and so I have offered the suggestions.

One thing more. Take up at least one village, as I have taken up Sevagram. Then put into practice the things you have said in the book. In this way you will gain experience. This suggestion of mine has another consequence : You will have to do very little legal practice. You must be knowing that Brijkishore Babu, Rajendra Babu, Vallabhbhai and others had to totally give up their practice when they took up such work. I do not suggest that you go so far. You have a vast knowledge of law and have gained so much experience. So with slight modifications do as Motilal had done. While staying in a village take up two or three good cases. Take the cases of the poor free of charge. Devote the rest of your time to village reform. This is all I can say after going through your book.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KAILASNATH KATJU
ALLAHABAD

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

624. LETTER TO SUSHILA SHARMA

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

How can I advise you? These are my views : These days educated men take advantage of the blind faith of women. Truthful women will give up their immoral and unfaithful husbands. Even educated women do not have self-respect and do not keep away from licentiousness. A woman indulging in lechery is certainly lecherous but the one who puts up with lechery is also lecherous. If you can take anything from this you are welcome.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SUSHILA SHARMA
BENARES

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

625. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

The following are names of the Literature Board which was proposed by the All-India Hindustani Prachar Conference held at Wardha on the 26th and 27th February last :

Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Azamgarh.
Dr. Tarachand, Allahabad.
Dr. Abid Hussain, Jamia Millia, Delhi.
Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, Tikamgarh.
Dr. Zafar Hasan, Hyderabad (subject to University's permission).
Sjt. Jinendra Kumar, Delhi.
Dr. Akhtar Hussain, Raipur.
Pandit Sudarshan, Bombay.
Prof. Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Bombay (Subject to Government's permission).

Sjt. Chandragupta Vidyalankar, Lahore.
Sjt. Satyanarayan, Madras.
Pandit Haribhau Upadhyaya, Ajmer.
Pandit Sundarlal, Allahabad.
Acharya Shriman Narayan Agrawal, Wardha.

It is proposed to hold the first meeting of the Board as early as possible at Wardha. The date will be announced after consultation with the members by Acharya Shriman Narayan Agrawal. The names originally proposed at the Conference have undergone some change. All the persons whose names were proposed were not at the Conference and substitutes had to be found for those of the absentees who did not find it possible to serve on the Board. I had hesitated to give my name for the Board, but as a result of correspondence with Dr. Tarachand and others, I have agreed to be on the Board as its Chairman. I may also add that the list is likely to be increased by a few names.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

626. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

[After *June 26, 1945*][1]

I am taking out the clipping bearing my note added as a postscript in Sushila's letter to . . .[2] to save the postage. Take it from me when we reach there. Keep well. Give up crying either silently or openly.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

627. CABLE TO AGA KHAN

Express 'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

H. H. AGA KHAN
TANGA (EAST AFRICA)

THANKS FOR KIND CABLE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In the source, the letter is placed after the items of June 26, 1945.
[2] The name is illegible.

628. TELEGRAM TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

SIMLA,
June 27, 1945

SHAMALDAS GANDHI
"VANDEMATARAM"
BOMBAY

CONGRATULATE AND BLESS BHOGILAL FOR FAIR SETTLEMENT. YOU DID GOOD WORK.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

629. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SIMLA,
June 27, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Beware of overworking yourself or acting against the weather for which you are not made. Do come to Simla whether I am here or not. I may leave any day. I am glad you have two helpers. I wish Balvantsinha can come but I doubt.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABAI
KISAN ASHRAM
BAHADRABAD P. O., *via* JWALAPUR
(NEAR HARDWAR)

From the original : C.W. 6508. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9903

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630. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

MY DEAR GLADYS[1],

I am glad you are there and hope you will get rid of your weakness. Expect no more from me. We are all in God's hands whether we will or no.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 6199

631. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 27, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Since the post is about to be dispatched, here are a few words. If Hoshiaribehn willingly permits Balvantsinha, he would go to Mirabehn. I am now hoping to go there in a few days.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8448. Also C.W. 5585. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

632. LETTER TO NANDLAL PATEL

SIMLA,
June 27, 1945

CHI. NANDLAL,

Prabhakar has sent a wire saying that Hari-ichchha is dying a slow death. I hope that Hari-ichchha is keeping up her spirit. Of course you two will be showing great courage too. If we fear

[1] Quaker educationist; in 1936, she joined Theosophical School, Varanasi, to make a study of education in India.

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death it shows our faith in God is shaken or we lack it. Life and death are in His hands. We should live in full realization of this.

I have not taken it for granted that Hari-ichchha is going to die. The saying "As long as there is breath, there is hope" has so often come true.[1]

I cannot say when I shall be able to come there. But I hope it will be soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

633. LETTER TO DEO

SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

CHI. DEO,

Sushila has gone out for tea. It is possible her letter will not go in the envelope today. I hope you are better. If you regularly sit in cold water and take mud treatment, you will get well. Of course you have to be particular about the diet.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

634. LETTER TO LALCHAND

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
June 27, 1945

BHAI LALCHAND,

I have your letter and the cheque. I had received your wire also. That did not call for a reply. If sometimes I pray for someone I do not charge for it. No one should. A prayer can never be a thing for sale. A prayer has to come only from the heart. If the renewal of your licence was delayed what prayer could I have offered and how could I have offered it? Neither I nor anyone else has the power to change the laws of nature. God knows best what is good for everyone and ordains accordingly.

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", p. 380.

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I am therefore returning your cheque. I want to remove the misapprehension in your mind that you succeeded in your design because I prayed for you. You must know that I did not pray for your licence nor could it have anything to do with prayer. After understanding all this if you want to send the cheque for the Harijans you may.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

635. LETTER TO MOHAMMED YASIN

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
June 27, 1945

BHAI MOHAMMED YASIN,

I have gone through your letter. If Pyarelal cannot give you satisfaction, then I can't do anything more because I do not have the time. I have heard everything you have to say, so please give up the desire for a personal discussion with me. The real thing is work, and work alone, and the most important work is plying the charkha oneself and persuading others to ply it. This means that one has to learn and use in practice all the processes from growing cotton to spinning the yarn.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

636. LETTER TO MUNSHI

SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

BHAI MUNSHIJI,

I am no doubt keeping in mind the name you have sent. I do not know what will be feasible. Let us see what happens. I hope the Ashram is going on well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

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637. DRAFT OF SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SIMLA[1]

[*June 27, 1945*][2]

Addressing the prayer meeting Mahatma Gandhi said that the object of attending prayers was to commune with God and turn the searchlight inwards so that with the help of God they could overcome their weaknesses. He believed that one imbibed pure thoughts in the company of the pure. Even if there was one pure man in that gathering, the rest would be affected by that one man's purity. The condition was that they came with that intention. Otherwise, their coming to the prayers was meaningless.

He went further and maintained that even if all had their weaknesses but came to the meeting with the intention of removing them, their co-operative effort made day to day would quicken the progress of reform. For even as co-operation was necessary, in the economic or the political field so was co-operation much more necessary on the moral plane. That was the meaning of the prayer meetings he had been holding since his return to India.

Therefore, he appealed to them to sit absolutely quiet, with closed eyes, so as to shut themselves off from outward thoughts for a few minutes at least. This co-operative prayer needed no fuss, no advertisement. They must be free from hypocrisy.

From the original : C.W. 4208. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7844

638. TELEGRAM TO PRABHAVATI DEVI

SIMLA,
June 28, 1945

PRABHAVATI DEVI
HARIJAN ASHRAM, KINGSWAY [CAMP]
DELHI

MY STAY UNCERTAIN. FOLLOW NEWSPAPERS AND DECIDE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The draft which bears corrections by Gandhiji has the second paragraph written by him.

[2] From *The Hindustan Times*, 28-6-1945

639. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Some hangings—an aftermath of the disturbances of 1942—are impending. I have some cases given to me by Dr. Rajendra Prasad of the Working Committee. The Chimur cases you perhaps know. I do not quite know how the last stages of the conference are shaping. Be that as it may, I suggest that all such hangings be commuted to life sentences without further public appeal or agitation and whether judicial proceedings are going on or not. If you think that this is beyond you, may I suggest that these be postponed so as to be dealt with by the national government that is coming into being?[1]

Yours very sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 35-6

640. POSTSCRIPT TO "DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS FOR CIVIL RESISTERS"[2]

SEVAGRAM[3],
June 28, 1945

These would have been issued, if they had been passed by the Working Committee. Now they are a part of historical record only.

M. K. G.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44, p. 288

[1] The Viceroy's reply, dated June 29, *inter alia*, read : "I have already given instructions to the Provincial Governments not to execute the sentences in any of these cases until the Privy Council has passed orders on the petition for special leave to appeal. . . . I will bear your letter in mind when I consider the whole question after the decision of the Privy Council is known."

[2] The instructions, drafted by Gandhiji on August 4, 1942, (*vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 364-7.) were discussed by the Congress Working Committee on August 8. The Committee was to meet again on August 9, but early that morning the leaders were arrested.

[3] Permanent address

641. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 28, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your wire. Hari-ichchha had been a daughter to me. But why need we grieve over her death? Her soul is certainly living. Let nobody, therefore, grieve.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8445. Also C.W. 5586. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

642. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

June 28, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

You seem to be extremely sensitive. No one has accused you of telling a lie. You may understand a thing in one way, another person in another way, while the truth may be a third thing. But this matter is now over. Now the pleurisy has flared up again. How can you study in this condition? How did you come to get pleurisy? This needs to be considered. However, there should be [no] hurry. Sushilabehn will be writing to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : Chandrani Papers. Courtesy : Gandhi National Museum and Library

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643. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA

June 28, 1945

BHAI JUGAL KISHORE,

I hope you have received the telegram I sent last night in reply to yours. Just now I received Chi. Basant's letter and also the note. I only hope and I pray to God that He may grant you long life and good health to shoulder the cares of the world.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHETH JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA
NEW DELHI

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

644. LETTER TO G. B. PANT

'MANOR VILLE',
June 29, 1945

BHAI GOVIND BALLABH PANT[1],

Yesterday I came to know that you had gone to Rajaji's house and there all of a sudden felt giddy. I was given to understand that in any case you were not feeling too fit and that partly I was responsible for it. That should not be so. I am very firm in my view and I should be so. There may be occasions when you do not agree with my views. So what? All of us, if we want to serve the country, should have our own opinions. Only then can the country forge ahead and a way be shown to the people. I firmly believe that you should not work at the cost of your health. Stop worrying and do not feel unhappy that you do not agree with my views.

The more I think the more convinced I become that if the Working Committee tries to select as many Hindus as there are

[1] (1887-1961); Advocate, Allahabad High Court; in 1928, during demonstration against Simon Commission at Lucknow, suffered lathi blows from which he never fully recovered; was leader of Swaraj Party in United Provinces Legislative Council, 1923-30, and U. P. Premier, 1937-39; Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, 1946-55; Home Minister, Government of India, 1955-61.

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Muslims then the communal poison will spread throughout the country and we will never be able to win freedom. What is the harm if the Congress is reduced from a majority to a minority? Must we do a wrong thing to maintain our majority? Will not the Congress become a communal organization by selecting as many Hindus as there are Muslims?

If the Congress takes the fewest of Hindus, and as many as possible from the other communities, the communal poison will be removed and it will succeed in bringing freedom nearer. I quite see that now the first step towards freedom has to be taken through the Government. The course should be straight so far as we are concerned.

If people do not accept this, then let the reins of Government be passed to those whom the people approve. Everything will be all right even if there are only a few straightforward persons. This is my opinion and I can never give it up.

You have taken for granted that the Working Committee at Bombay has accepted the principle of parity. I have rejected it.

Please get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

645. INTERVIEW TO PRESTON GROVER

SIMLA,
June 29, 1945

In reply to my questions, Gandhiji said be was feeling well and that the 7,000-foot altitude of Simla had not affected him so far, although he was watchful that he did not overstrain his heart.

Answering an initial request that he should give a report on the negotiations as they stood at the moment, Mahatma Gandhi said :

I wish I could, but I am here only as an adviser. I have, for many years, been advising the Congress. But now, I have constituted myself as an adviser both to the Congress and to the Viceroy, too, and through him of the British people. You see, that makes my position exceptionally delicate. The only information I have is what my colleagues bring when they come to me. Frankly speaking, I do not know in what position the conference exactly is today. It has never been my habit to cry out of curiosity.

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It was suggested that the Congress representatives should keep him advised almost hourly, to which he replied :

They do, and they do not. Unless the Viceroy wants my advice, I would know nothing as to what is happening at that end. But, if things go on smoothly, he does not need my advice. On our side too, while they do come to me, it need not be from day to day or hour to hour. While, therefore, I cannot tell you what exactly the situation in the conference is, I can only share with you my hope and prayer that things will come right both for India and Great Britain. I say for both, because I do not know that, even if a settlement is pulled through, it will be on right lines.

But I give you a tip. I was not joking when I made a statement[1] some time back in answer to Sir Feroz Khan Noon at San Francisco, that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is my heir. He has got ability, knowledge and close touch with the public here and can interpret India's mind. I have already, as I wrote[2] to Lord Linlithgow, taken him as my guide in international affairs. He can interpret India's mind to the outside world as no one else can.

This much I can say, that Congress can never become sectional organization. Not that there are not communal-minded people in it, but the Congress can never work communally. Therefore, normally speaking, the parity principle should be distasteful to everybody.

Turning to the composition of the current conference, Gandhiji declared it was "political in its complexion" and not communal. This was in direct contradiction to the Muslim League argument that the whole conference was chosen on communal basis.

If they wanted various groups to be represented communally, they should have invited the Hindu Mahasabha and not the Congress, which has always been, and is now, a purely political body trying to think and act in terms of the whole nation. It cannot belie its entire history at this critical moment.

Asked if an acceptance of invitation to work for an interim government was in the belief that it was a step towards independence, Gandhiji replied :

The acceptance of the invitation was a recognition of the fact that it was a step towards independence. But this was

[1] *Vide* pp. 64-6.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.

subject to explanation and clarification of what was in the Viceroy's mind. It was like sitting on the top of a volcano which might erupt. I took that risk.

Toward the end of the interview, it was suggested that Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, was reported to be somewhat resentful that Gandhiji had withdrawn from the conference.

If Mr. Jinnah wants me there, he can take me there. We shall both go arm in arm. He can help me up the hill and save strain on my heart. Such a gesture on Mr. Jinnah's part would mean that he wants a settlement even in the teeth of the differences and obstacles that face the conference. You can tell him that I am quite willing to be taken to the conference by him.

I suggested that not only Mr. Jinnah, but Lord Wavell, most of India and all observers at the conference looked upon Gandhiji as head of the Congress regardless of the technicality that he was not a member, and that no settlement would be reached without his consent. Gandhiji replied :

That is both right and wrong. That impression has been created because generally my advice is accepted. But technically and substantially it is wrong. The conference is legally representative and, therefore, I can have no place in it.

To my insistence that his was the controlling voice in the Congress, Gandhiji replied :

Not even that. They can shunt me out at any time, brush aside my advice. If I tried to override them, I might succeed for once. But the moment I try to cling to power, I fall, never to rise again. That is not in my temperament.

The Hindu, 1-7-1945

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646. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

[PANCHGANI/][1] SIMLA WEST,
[On or before *June 19*/][2] *June 30, 1945*

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter of the 3rd. It is good that you gave me the detailed information about uncle.[3] I on my part have put uncle in your hands in the hope that he will get well. For the sake of his treatment certainly be firm with him. I wrote this letter long back in Panchgani. I did not post it as I left the place. Now I wish to inquire about uncle and Sailen.[4] Give whatever treatment you think fit to Sailen. Both of them should get well. I will have to think about your expenses. Sailen should write to me. Please show this to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

647. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

MIRABEHN
CARE POSTMASTER BAHADRABAD
JWALAPUR

COME IF YOU WISH. I SEE BALVANTSINHA WONT TILL I REACH ASHRAM.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] & [2] Inferred from the contents; Gandhiji left Panchgani on June 19.
[3] & [4] *Vide* pp. 69 and 138.

648. TELEGRAM TO PRABHAVATI

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

PRABHAVATIDEVI
HARIJAN ASHRAM KINGSWAY [CAMP]
DELHI

COME. HOPE SATYAVATI WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

649. TELEGRAM TO DHARMADEV SHASTRI

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

SASTRIJI
ASHRAM
KALSI (DEHRA DUN)

COME PROVIDED YOU HAVE FRIENDS TO STAY WITH. HAVE NO ROOM.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

650. TELEGRAM TO SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN

Express

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN
KASTURBA GANDHI MATERNITY HOME
ADYAR (MADRAS)

FRYDMAN BHARATANAND STAYING ADYAR. HIS CONDITION REPORTED SERIOUS. PLEASE SEE HIM. DO NEEDFUL. ENGAGE NURSE IF NECESSARY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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651. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

You will have to be content with whatever news from here Chi. P. or S. or M. may give you. You have given in your postcard as much as you could include in it. I am writing this after the prayer, since I do not feel like returning to bed. My work here has been prolonged. But I do hope that it will end well. I had a letter from Manu[1] from Poona. She expresses confidence that she will be fully restored. There is [however] no letter from Vanu[2].

I set great store by the purification of the atmosphere there. Purification includes cultivation of knowledge and devotion, diligence, perseverance in the path of dharma, etc. Both of you should ponder over this. Write to me and ask me. I had wanted to return there in the first week of July, but that will not be possible now. That is why I am writing this letter. I am glad you could see Hari-ichchha before she passed away. It is a deliverance for her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9133. Also C.W. 5884. Courtesy : Narahari D. Parikh

[1] Manu Gandhi
[2] Vanamala, addressee's daughter

652. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 30, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your two letters—one of yesterday's date about the condemned prisoners[1] and the other[2] of today about my presence in Simla till the conference finally disperses.

About the first letter I need say nothing beyond thanking you for your prompt and hopeful reply.

As to the second, I will not leave Simla without knowing that you no longer want me. Whenever you need me, you have only to send me a message.

I hope you have noticed that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reaching Simla tomorrow and that you will invite him to meet you and Lady Wavell.

Yours very sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 27

653. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I have your letter. My congratulations to Bhogilal are contained in the telegram[3] I sent you. Now it is your responsibility to see that Mahendra does not squander money. I had

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 379.

[2] Which read : "Your friends have no doubt told you that the conference adjourned yesterday until 14th July to enable the parties to send me lists of names so that I may see whether I can, on paper, form an Executive Council acceptable to all concerned. . . . I hope you may be able to stay in Simla until the conference ends. . . . I should like to see you again before you leave."

[3] *Vide* p. 374.

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the same relations with Kevalrambhai as I had with your father. Then both of them left. Now bring credit to what I have done. Convey my thanks to Bhogilal for bringing credit to the late Kevalram. May he bring him more. I do not have time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

654. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

GANDHIJI : I have registered your claim but have nothing to say. I generally don't speak during day but for your sake I am speaking to you as a special case. You have to prompt me.[1]

CORRESPONDENT : What will be the composition of the interim government if you have your way?

G. (Laughing) The interim government will consist of top men, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. If I became the Viceroy of India, I would startle the world with my list and yet make it acceptable.

I asked Mahatmaji to explain what he meant by top men, and he amplified his remark by saying that he meant men and women who are fittest to do the work the country needs. . . . The Mahatma said :

Of course, nobody will take the trouble of appointing me the Viceroy of India nor of electing me as President of the Congress—for I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress to be eligible for election—with full authority to appoint the new government.

Mahatma Gandhi said that he would not hesitate to leave out anyone at present in the Congress, if he felt that better men were available outside who would work in their respective spheres so as to bring full independence at the earliest time possible. I next asked:

[1] According to the source, Gandhiji jokingly said this when A. S. Bharatan, Special Correspondent of the Associated Press of India, greeted him. "Mahatma Gandhi . . . seated on a simple mattress on a raised platform in a room overlooking . . . the snow-capped Himalayan . . . ranges . . . was actually enjoying the magnificent scenery in front of him."

In the course of your correspondence with the Viceroy on his proposals, you objected to the term "caste Hindus" in the matter of parity of representation for Hindus and Muslims, adding that if this parity between caste Hindus and Muslims was unalterable, then the Congress would have no place in the new Government.[1] According to the reports, the Congress delegates to the Conference have accepted parity between Hindus other than Scheduled Classes and Muslims. Have you any comment to make on this?

If Congressmen have accepted parity, it cannot be in the sense you imagine. I interpret the Viceregal pronouncement[2] to mean that neither community can ask for more representation than the other in the national cabinet. Thus Hindus other than the Scheduled Classes can, if they wish, be less but not more than the Muslims.[3]

Do you approve of the procedure suggested by Lord Wavell yesterday at the leaders' conference for the selection of the new Executive Council, namely, that all parties should submit separate panels of names to the Viceroy first and that thereafter he would consult Party leaders before making his final selection and place the personnel finally selected by him before the conference for approval?

The procedure suggested by Lord Wavell is, in my opinion, good inasmuch as the Viceroy does not seek to impose his will on the conference. The Viceroy has said in his opening remarks to the delegates that the various elements represented in the conference should regard him, the Viceroy, as their leader. It is a good and dignified expression that Lord Wavell has used. He thus acts at the conference as its leader and not as the agent of Whitehall.

The Hindustan Times, 1-7-1945

[1] *Vide* pp. 331-3.

[2] *Vide* Appendix III.

[3] The correspondent explains here that on being informed by Gandhiji's Secretary that "time was up", he sought permission "to ask a last question".

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655. TELEGRAM TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

Express

SIMLA,
July 1, 1945

KHURSHEDBEHN
HARIJAN COLONY, KINGSWAY [CAMP]
DELHI

COME WITH PRABHA.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

656. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 1, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. Now my return there may be delayed. Maybe, I shall not be able to leave till the 15th. Let us see what happens. I understand about Balvantsinha. I hope everything goes on well there. If Dr. Ice insists on buffalo's milk, let him procure it for himself and drink it. I don't think it is in any way our duty to supply him with it. He should make do with what we supply in the ordinary course. Is Kanchan able to help you in any way or does she still continue to be ill? I expect a letter from her with details of her work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8444. Also C.W. 5587. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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657. LETTER TO LALMANSINGH

SIMLA,
July 1, 1945

BHAI LALMANSINGH,

Balvantsinha has written to me about you. I would like to meet you if I make a halt at Delhi. However, it seems I shall not be stopping in Delhi. How, then, can we meet? I have already written[1] to you to persuade Hoshiari and take her with you. Hoshiari's children should be allowed to stay with her. One of our bad practices is that we suppress women while men have their freedom. What would you have done if she had been a boy? But I do not wish to try and convince you more fully through a letter. You can do this : come along with me when I leave Delhi. I will write to you when something is decided about my departure.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

658. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SIMLA,
July 1, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. I can understand Mirabehn's impatience. She is anxious to get some help for her farming and her cow. But I shall not force you to go when Mirabehn herself will be arriving in a day or two. I shall explain to her the whole thing. You may then do whatever you think proper.

I do not know how I am going to meet Hoshiari's father, because now I may not be required to stop in Delhi. I am writing[2] to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1964

[1] *Vide* pp. 318-9.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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659. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SIMLA,
July 1, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have received two postcards from you. It would be better to put all the letters in one envelope; that way you can save money. I note what you say about Balkrishna. I do not like it. There is some mistake somewhere. But my duty is not to give too much thought to it from here. I shall probably be reaching there after the 15th. But it can also be earlier.

I understand about you. My going to Sevagram has been postponed a little. Does it make any difference?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4575

660. LETTER TO MAHESH DUTT MISHRA

SIMLA,
July 1, 1945

CHI. MAHESH,

I have your letter. Now I am stuck here. Maybe, I shall not be able to leave before the 15th of July. Hope you are well. Meet me somewhere on the way if you can, otherwise at Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAHESH DUTT
HARDA

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

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661. DRAFT OF REVISED PHŒNIX TRUST-DEED

SIMLA,
July 2, 1945

In or about the year 1902, I, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, then of Johannesburg, Attorney, bought a piece of property about 100 acres in two lots, popularly known as the Phœnix Settlement, for benevolent purposes. Not wishing to have anything in my name as sole owner, I converted it into a trust and had it duly registered at Pietermaritzburg, Natal.[1]

All the trustees, except Lewis Walter Ritch of Johannesburg, Attorney, and I as settlers' trustee, have died.

The settlers under the Trust have all retired from the Phœnix Settlement. My son, Manilal Gandhi, together with his wife, Sushilabehn Gandhi, and their children have lived on the Settlement and managed the property and the weekly newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, founded by me.

Now it is my intention to broaden the Trust and appoint new trustees. Therefore the conditions of the present Trust shall be :

1. As long as possible to conduct the newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, in English and Gujarati and other Indian and even African languages according to felt necessity and convenience including resources but never at a loss. Any profits made from the newspaper after the deduction of running expenses shall be returned to the Settlement.
2. The Press Department may undertake job work and the sale of literature approved by the Trust in the interest of and healthy instructions of the public.
3. The Trust may found a public library and school, subject to rules made by the trustees and built from donations given by the public. These shall be named after my deceased wife, Kasturba.
4. The trustees may also found nature cure establishments and undertake all activities that may educate Indians morally, socially, economically and hygienically.
5. All decisions of the trustees shall be by majority.

For the purposes aforesaid I appoint the following trustees during life or at my discretion :

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 61 and 320-5.

(i) The said Lewis Walter Ritch,
(ii) Manilal Mohandas Gandhi,
(iii) Parsi Jalbhai Rustomji,
(iv) Surendrarai Medh, [and a]
(v) [A] Muslim.

The said Manilal Gandhi shall be the Managing Trustee and, while he is manager of the Trust and editor of *Indian Opinion*, shall draw not more than one hundred pounds per month with free lodging on the Settlement for himself, his wife and children. The said Manilal Gandhi shall maintain proper books of account for the management of the Trust property and the newspaper, *Indian Opinion*. Separate accounts shall be maintained in respect of *Indian Opinion* and the management of the Trust property. The said accounts shall be audited every six months.

In the event of any of the trustees being dead, resigning or being displaced by me, the remaining trustees may appoint another instead, my consent being considered necessary during my life.

WITNESS :

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

662. TELEGRAM TO N. B. PARULEKAR

Express SIMLA,
July 2, 1945

PARULEKAR
EDITOR, "SAKAL"
POONA

PLEASE TELL RAMBHAU FASTING UNNECESSARY. TIME HEALTH PERMITTING WOULD LIKE STUDY CASE AND GUIDE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

663. LETTER TO REV. FOSS WESTCOTT[1]

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 2, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Early this morning after prayer I think of you and your impending retirement and your reported determination to pass the rest of your days in India. Does it not mean an extended scope of service unconditioned by cares and limitations of office? May you live long for the sake of the higher task.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I hope your successor will prove worthy of you. My love to him.

M. K. GANDHI

METROPOLITAN
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

664. LETTER TO NARENDRA DEV

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA (WEST),
July 2, 1945

BHAI NARENDRA DEV,

I am able to write to you only today after the morning prayer while I observe silence. Is your health better now? If you need rest, Sevagram is at your disposal. When you have the leisure, write to me your views.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon

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665. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 2, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have sat down to write love letters immediately after the prayer today. The first I wrote to Bishop Westcott, the second to the ailing Narendra Dev and this third I am writing to you. Doesn't the ञी look like भी? Can a pot have its neck reshaped after it is baked? But I wonder whether this saying can be applied to a living pot. It must of course have been first used by a wiseacre for an old man. So much for joking, though not quite without meaning.

Though I am engaged here in an important work, all the same the mind is filled with supreme peace. My window opens on the Himalayas. As soon as it was known that I would have to stay here for fifteen days, the mind turned to this spectacle. Since the house was built for men accustomed to sitting in chairs, one can see nothing if one squats on the floor. I, therefore, became shameless and seated myself on a bench. Now the eyes are stuck on the scene, so is the mind. Even while lying on the bench I can see something of the spectacle. On a clear day, the hills are covered with snow. For a spectacle better than this, one must go to Shivji's Kailas!

My Kailas, however, is Sevagram. The life-giving waters of my Ganga flow from there. Narahari and you, therefore, should devote your spare time to removing the deficiencies of the place. I have said as much as I could in my letter to Narahari. I hope he has filled in the rest.

Are Gomati and you as you were before? Do you have faith in the *Ishopanishad*, and aspire to live up to 125 for the sake of service? And if you do, are you ready to fulfil the conditions for that?

As for the developments here, newspapers have given fairly detailed reports.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5885. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

666. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

[*July 2, 1945*][1]

The Working Committee is to meet here tomorrow. If Shummy is disturbed, I could easily transfer it elsewhere. It is to meet here for my sake. I do not need it here. Don't be weak and have it here. This is not your sole house and Shummy is ill. Think well and clearly before replying. The meeting means a lot as you know.

Sardar cannot eat at night. Nothing need be kept for him except hot milk and hot water. Probably Devdas will get into telephonic touch with him. He has undertaken to look after the three women and Sardar's movement till his arrival here.

From the original : C.W. 4160. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7795

667. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
July 2, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

Is your health improving? Or was the improvement only momentary? Now Khurshed is with you, Prabha is with you. If human love can keep you alive you are bound to live. God knows best. We are getting on. The 'Jewel of India'[2] arrived yesterday. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] From the reference to the Working Committee which met on July 3. The note is written on the reverse side of a telegram received by Gandhiji on July 1, 1945, at Simla.

[2] The reference is to Jawaharlal Nehru; '*jawahar*', literally, means jewel.

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668. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SIMLA

July 2, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi drew the attention of the people to the new rule of the A. I. S. A. according to which payment for khadi had to be made partly in yarn. This rule had come into force from the first of July in Simla. People had said to him that Simla Khadi Bhandar sold khadi to all sorts of people who came up for short or long visits. Most of them could not spin and the sales of the Bhandar would go down if part payment of the price of khadi in yarn was insisted upon. He did not mind such a result, untoward though it would be.

There was a time, Gandhiji said, when they aimed at promoting the sale of khadi to help the poor to supplement their income. But deep thought, especially during his recent incarceration, had convinced him that if khadi was to serve as a means of bringing swaraj, its scope and meaning had to be extended. He could not keep a mighty organization like the A. I. S. A. merely for producing and selling khadi for the sake of providing economic relief. Any other occupation could be utilized for that purpose. If khadi was to bring swaraj through non-violence, millions had to spin with the full consciousness of its implication in terms of ahimsa and independence. The A. I. S. A. had started by asking for yarn worth only two pice for every rupee worth of khadi sold. If he could carry conviction, he would insist upon the full payment being made in yarn. If they loved freedom, they should not find it burdensome to do that much—those who did not wish to be free had no business to come to the prayers. A man of prayer could never accept slavery as his lot.

If all had taken to spinning in the way he wanted it, Gandhiji said, they would have had swaraj without any further effort. He would not have had to come up to Simla. But society was made of all kinds of people. Therefore he had to come in common with others for the conference to see whether it was possible through the conference [to find a] way to further the progress towards independence.

As for the yarn to be given in exchange for khadi it should be either spun by the individual concerned or by members of his family. The farthest the A. I. S. A. could go was to let them take yarn spun by their servants whom they should treat as members of the family. Yarn bought from the black market could not serve the purpose in view. Also, if Bhandars began to sell yarn to prospective purchasers of khadi, that would defeat the very purpose for which the new rule was being enforced.

The Hindu, 4-7-1945

669. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BAPA,

I have your two letters before me—that of 28th and 29th.

You may call meetings of Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Executive Committee of the Kasturba Trust in August as you suggest. Leave out Mondays.

I approve the sum of Rs. 975 to meet the expenses of Mridulabehn's office for three months.

Yours,
BAPU

SECRETARY,
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
BAJAJWADI, WARDHA

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

670. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BAPA,

I got up at three today. The reply[1] in Hindi to your two Hindi letters I am sending to Wardha. I have gone through your latest about Sailen. You may gladly give him Rs. 175 per month. I had considered everything. However, I consider your calculations right. If he recovers at Malad[2], there will be no difficulty. I do not like two boys having been ill there. Is Sheth Jugalkishore any better now? And what about the social worker, Satyavati?

You must not fall ill.

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] At the Nature Cure Clinic of Krishnavarma

671. LETTER TO GOKULCHAND NARANG

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BHAI GOKULCHANDJI[1],

I have your letter of June 29, 1945. It is so full of rage that you could have written it only in English. If Rajkumari wrote in English, she made a great mistake. But what could the poor woman do? Her education began with English. The ideas were mine.

You and I have different views regarding victory and defeat, justice and injustice. But what is the harm? A tree is known from its fruit. Let us see what happens.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI GOKULCHAND NARANG
SAVOY HOTEL
MUSSOORIE

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

672. LETTER TO RAGHUVIR

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BHAI RAGHUVIR,

I have your letter. Thanks. It is not Hindi Prachar; it is Hindustani Bhasha Prachar Sangh. Are not Dr. Tarachand, Dr. Hasan and others philologists? But if you can help me, in any way, I want your help. I am taking your dictionary with me. I like it.

Please let me know in what way you will be able to help.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. RAGHUVIR
SARASWATI VIHAR, LAHORE

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

[1] Leading barrister of Lahore; Minister, Local Self-Government, Punjab; President, Hindu Mahasabha; pioneered industrial development in the Punjab

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673. LETTER TO SHANTA

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

CHI. SHANTA,

I got the couple of words you wrote. Keep on moving forward. Let us see when we can meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

674. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,[1]
July 4, 1945

CHI. LILI,

You are wicked. Why should I write to you when I am busy? Does it mean that I think of you only when I write to you?

I am glad that the boy has recovered.

It would be surprising if Lakshmidas fixed the marriage to suit your convenience. You should go to Nagpur, though it would be better if you could avoid it. See that you pass[2]. Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9602. Also C.W. 6574. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

[1] Permanent address
[2] The addressee was studying medicine.

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675. LETTER TO CHUNILAL V. MEHTA

SIMLA,
July 4, 1945

BHAI CHUNILAL,

You have lost a brother who was a true brother. I had no idea that Sir Mangaldas was your brother. He was a great help to me as a member of the vaidyas' advisory committee. What shall I do now? Whose loss is greater? Yours or mine? Or of neither ?

Blessings from
BAPU

SIR CHUNILAL V. MEHTA
RIDGE ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

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

676. LETTER TO KANAIYALAL N. DESAI

SIMLA,
July 4, 1945

BHAI KANJIBHAI,

So you lost your long-ailing daughter-in-law. She was bound to go. In my view it is good that she herself has been freed from the suffering and has relieved those who looked after her.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANAIYALAL NANUBHAI DESAI
GOPIPURA
SURAT

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

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677. LETTER TO VANAMALA N. PARIKH

July 6, 1945

CHI. VANU (OR VANUDI?),

Whatever you please. As you are there I will expect you to make Manudi as cheerful and witty as you are. See that both of you return[1] completely cured of all your complaints. You are not to be idle there. A worker learns wherever she is. And there are lots of things to be learnt at that place. You should not, therefore, feel unhappy at having to stay there. This letter is meant for both of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5793. Also C.W. 3016. Courtesy : Vanamala M. Desai

678. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNAVARMA

Express

SIMLA,
July 7, 1945

DR. KRISHNAVARMA
NATURE CURE HOSPITAL
MALAD (BOMBAY)

SAILEN SHOULD ASK FOR EXTENSION LEAVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] From the Nature Cure Clinic of Dinshaw Mehta

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679. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SIMLA,
July 7, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

You have my blessings for the spinning programme under the auspices of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. And why not? This is pure work for India's independence. Let the Sangh be associated with the great programme of Chi. Narandas. It will be good if everyone who spins also prepares his own slivers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 7375. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

680. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA,
July 7, 1945

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter last evening. It is extremely difficult for anybody to get a letter from me in the expected time. I could read your letter only this morning after the prayer. You should know that I have lost the strength to work day and night.

What you are doing is excellent. You are running a household while studying, and are fulfilling your social obligations. It makes me happy that both of you show so much devotion to your father and you engage yourself in pure service of the country. But see that you do not become impatient and harm your health. Do not overtax yourself. Cultivate non-attachment.

Even if you cannot write, Saraswati should.

It is a great thing that Harilal has stayed on. If he stays there, he will be saved. Does he keep good health?

The Hindi letter[1] which you had asked for is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7374. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

681. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

SIMLA,
July 7, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter of the 2nd. Dharmadev Shastri is here. If Bapa approves of his scheme, I too shall.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
CENTRAL OFFICE, BAJAJWADI, WARDHA

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

682. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 8, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

The Congress list for the proposed Executive was sent to you yesterday by the President.

1. In spite of my earnest protest, the parity was preserved. I was sorry. This does not mean any change on my part. I am more than ever convinced that the non-Schedule Hindu members should have been less than the Muslims.

2. You will observe in the list the nomination of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. I think this was necessary and graceful. If you accept the Congress list, may I suggest your inviting Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerji before the meeting of the 14th instant?

3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad tells me that the hanging of Shri Mahendra Chowdhury is about to take place on or any day after 12th instant. He is an inmate of Bhagalpur Central Jail, Bihar.

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I take it that you will order commutation of sentence or stay till the proposed Executive is able to deal with it.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 28

683. LETTER TO DHARMADEV SHASTRI

SIMLA,
July 8, 1945

BHAI DHARMADEV SHASTRI,

You enter your fourth year[2] on the 10th. You are serving the hill tribes among whom very few workers work. I like that. May your work progress steadily.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DHARMADEV SHASTRI

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

684. NOTE TO CHANDRANI[3]

[*July 8, 1945*][4]

Blessing from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi. Chandrani Papers. Courtesy : Gandhi National Museum and Library

[1] The Viceroy, replying on July 9, said that the execution had been postponed so that Mahendra Chowdhury's appeal might be considered. The appeal was, however, rejected by the Privy Council. *Vide* also pp. 426-7.

[2] The reference is to the Ashok Ashram founded by the addressee in July 1942; *vide* footnote 1, p. 229.

[3&4] The note was appended to a letter dated July 8, 1945, from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee. *Vide* also p. 380.

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685. NOTE TO MAURICE FRYDMAN[1]

SIMLA WEST,
July 9, 1945

You can stay at Adyar as long as you like.
Love.

BAPU

SHRI BHARATANANDJI (MAURICE FRYDMAN)
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADYAR
MADRAS

From a photostat : G.N. 44

686. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA DAS

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

DEAR SURESH,

You should not believe Press reports. There was no question of anger; it was one of necessity. But I have been angry and made myself an ass. So you see on what a broken reed you rely!

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SURESH CHANDRA DAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The note was appended to a letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee.

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687. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 9, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

It is not impossible for you to be able to manage the Ashram. Only, you should feel interested in the work and have confidence in yourself. There are plenty of other things I can write about, but where is the time? Today is a silence day and the Committee[1] is not meeting where I am staying.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9134

688. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 9, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter.

It is quite all right that Kanchan has gone to Vyara. She may go wherever she likes, we only wish that she should get perfectly well.

I am writing this just by the way. Remain calm. I do hope that I will reach there soon. You and everybody else should speak only when absolutely necessary for work. Never enter into an argument.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8441. Also C.W. 5588. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Congress Working Committee

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689. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 9, 1945[1]

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. You should never give up weaving. Master all the activities relating to cotton. I note what you say about the Khadi Vidyalaya. You have to be prepared to accept whatever services you can easily get.

Balkrishna must get well. Is he now anxious to go to Poona[2]—not because I say so, but of his own free will?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4517

690. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

SIMLA WEST,
July 9, 1945

DEAR DOCTOR SAHEB,

I had your telegram. And now I have your letter. I have seen in my experience of sixty years that those who have listened to me have never committed suicide.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. B. S. MOONJE
BHONSLE MILITARY SCHOOL
NASIK

From the Hindi original : C.W. 9762. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The date-line is in Gujarati.
[2] To the Nature Cure Clinic of Dinshaw Mehta

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691. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA AND HOSHIARI

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. I had a talk with Mirabehn. She is still here. If you are still in the Ashram, then do not leave before I come. We shall see after I arrive there.

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I am so much engrossed in work that I hardly get any time. Now I hope to reach the Ashram soon. Everything is in God's hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

692. LETTER TO A. KALESHWARA RAO

July 9, 1945

BHAI KALESHWARA RAO[1],

I am of the view that the exhibition of village industries you are organizing is a work of true swaraj.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KALESHWARA RAO
BEZWADA

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

[1] Member, Madras Legislative Assembly

693. LETTER TO PRABHU DUTT SHASTRI

July 9, 1945

BHAI PRABHUDUTT SHASTRI,

I have your letter. If you want to take the trouble of coming here, then do come. I shall spare a few minutes for you. I get very little time from work. I can spare no time at all till 1.30 p. m.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PRABHUDUTT SHASTRI
LAHORE

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

694. LETTER TO RAMESHCHANDRA

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

BHAI RAMESHCHANDRA,

I have your letter on behalf of the students. Those who take up work of service do not need other people's blessings. However, my blessings are with you in your efforts.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

695. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

CHI. RADHAKISAN[1],

I am not enthused by your or anyone else's release. How is Ramakrishna[2]? Write to me in detail. I know your release has made some people happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] & [2] Nephew and younger son of Jamnalal Bajaj

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696. LETTER TO OM PRAKASH GUPTA

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

CHI. OM PRAKASH,

I hear that you are again depressed. Only he is a man who adjusts himself to changing situations and remains uninvolved and detached. I do not know when God will take me to the Ashram. I hope of course that I shall be coming soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

697. TELEGRAM TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ
CARE SHREE
BOMBAY

GLAD ABOUT RAMAKRISHNA.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 294

698. LETTER TO JANAKI DEVI BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

CHI. JANAKI MAIYA,

Now Ramakrishna has been released, and Radhakrishna too. Are you and grandmother happy now? I will see now how you attend to the *go-seva* work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3034

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699. LETTER TO RAMAKRISHNA BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

CHI. RAMAKRISHNA,

I do not rejoice when anybody is released. But I did on your release. For you it has been nothing but a gain. Jail has benefited you the most. Outside you could hardly have done the reading that you did in jail.[1] My joy is on account of Janakibehn and your grandmother who were pining for you and Radhakrishna. Write to me and give me all details in a clear hand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3066

700. LETTER TO MADALSA AGRAWAL

SIMLA WEST,
July 10, 1945

CHI. MADALSA,

How are you? Why don't you write to me? No matter how I was occupied otherwise, I would certainly read a letter from you. Has Om[2] gone to Mussoorie?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 325

[1] The addressee was learning Sanskrit from Vinoba Bhave who was also detained in Nagpur jail.

[2] Uma Agrawal, addressee's younger sister

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701. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI[1]

July 10, 1945

Blessings from Bapu.

I hope you are all right. You will have gained strength.

BAPU

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

702. TELEGRAM TO D. B. KALELKAR

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

KAKA KALELKAR
'BHARATI BHAWAN'
WARDHA

RECEIVED WIRE. HOPE BOTH WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

703. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

CHI. KAKA,

It was good you sent the wire.

I hope you are keeping good health. You have with you the work about Hindustani. I attended to it as best I could, with the utmost difficulty. But you are the expert.

Take care of your health in everything you do.

Bal[2] is expected now.

Sardar is with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10963

[1] The note was appended to a letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee.

[2] Addressee's son

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704. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

As is your habit you have made your reply long. I accept your interpretation. It seems to me you have to aspire after life rather than duty. However, I do believe that there is a limit to it. But we shall discuss it at leisure.

I believe that the two of you are not living a useless life.

I understand about your letter. I shall see what I can do. Now the time is up and I want to write a little more. Kaka must have met Vinoba.

I like your Kailas.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

705. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. We shall discuss everything when we meet at Sevagram, and get things cleared. You, Bapa and I shall sit together.

A person's originality or creative faculties should never die. However, my experience is that one who has the zeal can cultivate them in whatever situation he or she may be.

What shall we do if you get tired? But, if you really do, you must take some rest.

I wish to leave here on the 15th and go straight to Sevagram. However, you, me and everyone else are in the hands of the Almighty. We are relieved of all burdens if we surrender even our wishes to Him.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* also p. 397.

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706. LETTER TO VINOBA BHAVE

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

CHI. VINOBA,

Kaka sent me a telegram about your release. Hope you are well. The work for you is ready. Baba[1] and Gokhale are also in it. Do what you feel is right.

I may leave here on the 15th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

707. LETTER TO RAGHUVIR

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

BHAI RAGHUVIR,

I have your letter. It will be good if you can come to Simla right away. It is likely that I shall leave Simla on the 15th. So, if you have to come, come soon. In case you come, I take it that you will make your own arrangements for stay.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAGHUVIR
THE INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE
SARASWATI VIHAR
LAHORE

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

[1] Mahadeo Moghe

708. LETTER TO S. K. PATIL

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

BHAI PATIL,

I have your letter. What message can I send about Sir Pherozeshah Mehta[1] that can be published? Where is the time? Bharucha wrote to me in this connection. I gave him a similar reply. You should forget me for such things. For the rest, I know the virtues of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the services he had rendered, and I am his ardent admirer.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI S. K. PATIL
HEERA HOUSE
381 SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY-4

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

709. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I have your letter. Neither the country nor the body are saved by taking the name of the country. Uttering the name of Rama—not mechanically, but from the heart—saves both the country and the body, if indeed this kind of work has use for the body. Khurshedbehn and Prabhavati are here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SATYAVATIDEVI
TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL
KINGSWAY [CAMP], DELHI

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

[1] 1845-1915; one of the founders of Indian National Congress. The message was, presumably, for his birth centenary.

710. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter of the 6th. I have already sent my consent for Dharmadev Shastri's scheme.[1] I have more information about Prof. Jagadisan[2] than Bapa has. Much depends on a person's goodness, experience and skill. Therefore, if Bapa approves and if I have the power, I agree to the doctor being retained on Rs. 125 or Rs. 150, and to the selection of the members of the committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
BAJAJWADI, WARDHA

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

711. TELEGRAM TO MOHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH KHAN

Express

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

H. H. OF BHOPAL
BHOPAL

DETAINING SHWAIB.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 407.
[2] T. N. Jagadisan, who was supervising the leprosy work of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

712. TELEGRAM TO T. PRAKASAM

Express

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

T. PRAKASAM[1]
MADRAS

HOPE YOU WELL. MEET ME SEVAGRAM IF YOU MUST. HOPE LEAVE HERE SUNDAY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

713. LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

BHAI ANANTRAI,

I have received your letter along with that of Narahari. I am doing the needful.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANANTRAI PATTANI
DIWAN SAHEB
BHAVNAGAR

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

714. LETTER TO NRISINHAPRASAD K. BHATT

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

CHI. NANABHAI,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter addressed to Narahari. Now, if you can send me the names, I shall consider

[1] Congress leader known as "Lion of Andhra"; Chief Minister of composite Madras State; first Chief Minister of Andhra State

them in consultation with Bapa and then send them on to you. Write to me at Sevagram. I hope to leave on the 15th.

More later.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SHRI NANABHAI BHATT
DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA (BHAVNAGAR STATE)

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

715. LETTER TO ANANTRAM

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

CHI. ANANTRAM,

I have your letter. I assume that you are getting on well. If you keep your word, you will get on still better.

I hope we shall meet soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

716. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SIMLA[1]

July 12, 1945

Mahatma Gandhi referred to the serious inconvenience experienced by his host due to unruly crowds. Some of them had invaded the house opposite to 'Manor Ville', which belonged to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's brother and had smashed flower-pots and damaged the railing of the verandah. When checked by the Rani Saheba they had been rude to her. All this hurt him deeply. He would have liked to run away. But after all, wherever he went the crowds would go with him. He could not run away from them. He was their servant and he lived to serve them.

Some came to the prayers, Gandhiji said, simply to have his *darshan*. He had told them often enough that he was not a mahatma. He was just one of them, an ordinary human being. He must, however, confess that he called the name of God with every breath of his life and in everything

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani.

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that he did he proceeded with God as his witness. But that should not make him a mahatma. Every human being should act as he claimed he did. That was what distinguished man from beast. Those who came to the prayers should at least have decent manners. Even the soldiers in arms observed discipline and behaved in an orderly fashion. Those who came to pray should have better manners, not worse. The object of coming to prayers was to praise God and for doing that, purity of thought was a necessary pre-requisite. If they could not control their minds, they should pray to God that he should enable them to have pure thoughts at least during prayers. Gradually and with practice they would be able to control them at all times.

The Hindu, 14-7-1945

717. TELEGRAM TO BALVANTSINHA

Express SIMLA,
July 13, 1945

BALVANTSINHA
SAMARPUR
KHURJA (BULANDSHAHR)

CHILDREN SHOULD JOIN DELHI SEVENTEENTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

718. TELEGRAM TO SATYAN

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

SATYANJI
PRAKRITI ASHRAM
BHIMAVARAM

SORRY ABOUT GOKHALEJI. WRITE ME SEVAGRAM FULL PARTICULARS BY DOCTOR RAJU[1].

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Krishna Raju

719. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKATULLAH ANSARI

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

DOCTOR SHAUKATULLAH ANSARI
RAJPUR ROAD
DELHI

GOD GIVE YOU ZOHRA[1] COURAGE BEAR LOSS.[2] LOVE.
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

720. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

CHI. BAPA,

I have your letter. I hope to meet you on the 17th. I shall be able to stay in Delhi only for a few hours. I have not met Bhulabhai about the register. I will tell you the reason when we meet. I do not have the time to write more.

BAPU

SHRI BAPA
'HARIJAN NIVAS'
KINGSWAY [CAMP]
DELHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1195

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] The reference is to the death of the addressee's son.

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721. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

I have your letter. You have not given enough thought to the matter. If khadi workers are pure, khadi work will not become static. Today we have very little khadi. Make a thorough study of the theory and practice of khadi.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SAMPURNANAND
JALPADEVI
KASHI
BANARAS

From the Hindi original : Sampurnanand Collection. Courtesy : National Archives of India. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

722. INTERVIEW TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTOPADHYAYA[1]

[On or before *July 15, 1945*][2]

Prayer is even more essential for the well-being of the soul than is food for the maintenance of the body. It becomes necessary to give up food on occasions in order to benefit the body. But prayer may never be abandoned. If we provide food for the body which is perishable, then, surely, it is our primary duty to provide food for the soul which is imperishable and such sustenance is found in prayer. The real meaning of prayer is devoted worship.

S. N. CHATTOPADHYAYA : Why do you never look at your face in a looking-glass?

GANDHIJI : Since everyone who meets me sees my face, what need is there for me to employ a mirror?

[1] Of the United Press of India who had asked Gandhiji "as to what he gained from his regular prayers and why he laid such stress on prayer".

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Simla, July 15".

Why do you not use a thick mattress?

I do all I can to merge myself into the poor millions of India.

Why do you always travel third class on the railway?

The answer to this is embodied in the above.

Why not take salt and spices with your food?

Why should I take anything which is not essential for my bodily needs?

The Hindu, 17-7-1945

723. TELEGRAM TO BALVANTSINHA

SIMLA,
July 15, 1945

BALVANTSINHA
SAMARPUR
KHURJA

JOIN AT NIZAMUDDIN OUR SPECIAL STARTING TWELVE NOON SEVENTEENTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

724. TELEGRAM TO A. G. TENDULKAR

SIMLA,
July 15, 1945

A. G. TENDULKAR
BELGAUM

GLAD FOR INDU'S SAKE YOU CAN MEET ME SEVAGRAM AFTER TWENTIETH.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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725. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
July 15, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your note of the 14th instant. It gladdens me to think that you have appreciated my effort to advance the common cause. As you perhaps know, I have arranged to leave here tomorrow. A special from Kalka will carry me to Wardha by the kind courtesy of the authorities concerned.

It grieves me to think that the conference which began so happily and so hopefully should have ended in apparent failure—due exactly, as it would seem, to the same cause as before. This time you have taken the blame on your own shoulders.[1] But the world will think otherwise. India certainly does.

I must not hide from you the suspicion that the deeper cause is perhaps the reluctance of the official world to part with power, which the passing of the virtual control into the hands of their erstwhile prisoners would have meant.

Be that as it may, what a pity that the moral height which the British, if not even the Allied Powers, would have occupied by the success of the conference cannot be theirs, at any rate, for the time being.

I must not close this without a reminder about the Bihar case. Your passing remark that it was one of ordinary dacoity, calling for the heavy hand of law, disturbed me. This was not such dacoity. The young man who is under sentence of death is no professional dacoit. He is a misled Congressman under twenty-five years (I think) with a young wife of twenty years. I do hope that all such death sentences will be commuted to

[1] The Viceroy had announced the failure of the conference at its final sitting on July 14.

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life sentences. It seems to be the least demand of humanity, if not also of high politics.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 29-30

726. SPEECH READ OUT AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

SIMLA,
July 15, 1945

Today is my last day here. Tomorrow I shall be leaving Simla. If you all patiently one after another want to give something for Harijans, I am here. Those who want my autograph will have it. It will be a test, how quiet you can be. I know that you have been kind to me. Now those who want to give may do so.

From a microfilm of the Hindi : M.M.U./24

727. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL

July 16, 1945

CHI. SHANTA,

I got your letter yesterday. I am writing this after the morning prayer. Address your reply at Sevagram.

You have remained as crazy after becoming a communist and a mother as you were as a child.

Which Ashram has boycotted you? Where is the Ashram? Who has boycotted you? Many communists have stayed with

[1] Replying on July 18, the Viceroy said: "The case is a serious one of dacoity with murder in which Mahendra Chowdhury was found guilty by the Additional Sessions Judge of Monghyr on evidence which appears to me conclusive. The sentence of death . . . was confirmed by the High Court . . . Privy Council has rejected an application for special appeal. I cannot find anything . . . to suggest that Mahendra Chowdhury is a political offender . . . I have decided that the law must take its course."

[2] Gandhiji was observing silence.

me. In the same way you also can stay. You know that Jayanti[1] had stayed with me.

You should know that I have received many complaints, but I have not acted on any of them. I am in correspondence with the Secretary[2]. He had asked me for my permission to publish the letters and I have granted it. Whether he has published them or not I do not know.

The Working Committee[3] has taken no step. There has been no time to consider the matter.

If Jawaharlalji goes against them, all the communists will have to sit up and think. For he has a soft corner for the Party but he will not tolerate anything unworthy. I myself have not been able to come to a final decision. I have received quite a few complaints. I have sent them to the Head Office.

You have written your letter without thinking. If you calm down and think before writing, you can help the communist cause.

You must learn to distinguish between communism and communists. Besides, Marx stands for one thing, Lenin for another and Stalin for a third. The followers of the last are again divided into two groups. Gandhi is one thing, Gandhism is another and Gandhi-ites are a third thing. There are always, and will remain, such differences. Immature people may identify themselves with one or the other group.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6639. Also C.W. 4287. Courtesy : Shanta Patel

728. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

SIMLA,
July 16, 1945

CHI. KANAIYO,

After the prayer I am writing a few letters. This is one of them. I do not want to do anything at this end for the present. We are getting ready to leave.

[1] Jayanti Parekh
[2] P. C. Joshi; *vide* p. 58.
[3] The Congress Working Committee. It, however, at its meeting in September, appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, G. B. Pant and Vallabhbhai Patel to go into the charges against the Congress members of the Communist Party.

I have read all your letters. The last was that of yesterday. I notice that you wanted to join me on my tours. That was my wish too. But I had to forbear. As my stay was to be a prolonged one I did not call you. That would not have been proper. I had engaged you for a particular work. It seems you have not been very successful at it. You will tell me about it when we meet. If you have to go to Rajkot again, do go. But finish Narandas's work first. If there is anything you wish to say, it will be only after that and then I would like you to accompany me on my tour. Is it possible that the king[1] of the monkeys is not wanted? Convey my blessings to the sage and his wife.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANU GANDHI
C/O SHANTI KUMAR
SCINDIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

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

729. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

July 16, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

I have had a talk with Rajkumari about you two. You should now speak to her.

I do not like Vimala being so dumb. She neither says nor writes anything. I wonder if you are exercising any pressure on her. It should not be so. The path of truth should be followed not mechanically but with understanding. Only then can man make progress.

You must consciously try to limit your expenses.

Write to me at Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1317

[1] The allusion is to the legendary Hanuman known for his loyalty to Rama.

730. "*A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY*"[1]

April 25, 1945

A man does not become a satyagrahi by styling himself as such. The observance of pure truth alone makes him a satyagrahi.

April 26, 1945

Is only that unclean which appears to the eye as unclean? If there is even a little dirt on what is white, we feel annoyed; but the black may have any amount of dirt on it and we care not at all!

April 27, 1945

We consider the black impure and the white pure. But black, in its natural setting, is as much a virtue; as white, out of place, is a vice.

April 28, 1945

How strange that one who claims not to fear death fears it the most, and seeks every means to avoid it!

[1] Originally written in Hindi, these 'thoughts' were translated and published under this title by Anand T. Hingorani, who explains in the Preface that after the death of his wife, Vidya, on July 20, 1943, during his eight-week stay in Sevagram from September 30, 1944, Gandhiji would greet him "every morning, after the prayer . . . speak words of sympathy and solace, and . . . write down something . . . to meditate upon. . . . From October 13, 1944, onwards he wrote continuously for a fortnight, and then off and on. . . ." Before leaving Sevagram for nature cure treatment at Bhimavaram, Hingorani had requested Gandhiji to write something for him daily, which Gandhiji began to do from November 20, 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXIX. In June 1946, when Hingorani sought Gandhiji's permission to publish the 'thoughts' in a book form, Gandhiji remarked : "What is there about them that you are so keen on publishing them? If, however, you wish to publish them, do so after my death. Such writings are generally never published during the lifetime of their authors. Who knows, I may not be able to live up to what I have written! But if I live up to it till the last breath of my life, then alone will it be worthwhile to publish these thoughts." Gandhiji, however, discontinued the practice by the end of 1946, as he put it, "for the sake of my Noakhali mission, I renounced practically everything . . . gave up the Ashram, all my companions and even writing for the *Harijan*. . . ."

April 29, 1945

A son's obeisance to his parents is undoubtedly a form of prayer. What homage, then, must we pay to Him who is the Eternal Father of us all? Prayer may not be interpreted here in a narrow sense.

April 30, 1945

"A Thought for Today", published in today's *The Times of India*, appealed to me. Its purport is : "Believe in Truth, think Truth and live Truth. Howsoever triumphant untruth may seem to be, it can never prevail against Truth."

May 1, 1945

Where there is hypocrisy, even if there is something good along with it, do not go there even for the sake of picking up that good only. If you do, it could be co-operation with evil which must not be offered.

May 2, 1945

Just as we throw away milk if there is poison in it, so must we reject any good which has got the poison of hypocrisy mixed with it.

May 3, 1945

Says Confucius : "In a well-ordered State, progress is not measured in terms of wealth. The purity of the people and their leaders alone constitutes the true wealth of the nation."

May 4, 1945

Minds are of two kinds : one kind elevates, the other debases. Let us constantly reflect over this and learn to distinguish one from the other.

May 5, 1945

Just as only others can see a man's back while he himself cannot, we too cannot see our own errors.

May 6, 1945

Is not death, in every case, a release from too much suffering? If so, why lament when it comes?

May 7, 1945

Life is likened to a rose; because life, too, is full of thorns.

May 8, 1945

Verily, there should be only one fear—the fear of doing something mean or untrue.

May 9, 1945

Slipshod work is like half-baked bread, fit only to be thrown away.

May 10, 1945

Why is it that man is afraid of speaking and practising truth, not untruth?

May 11, 1945

There is an English saying, which is true, that "cowards die many times before their death". As I have often said, death really means deliverance from pain and suffering. Fear serves only to accentuate suffering and makes one's condition pitiable.

May 12, 1945

By whatever name God be called, if there be godly attributes, we must surely bow to Him.

May 13, 1945

Then, what should God be like? Passionless and Formless, He should be a repository of all attributes and yet be wholly without attributes. Why should God then be of masculine gender? This is purely a question of grammar. The God of our conception, being formless, is neither male nor female.

May 14, 1945

The breach of one rule inevitably leads to the breach of other rules.

May 15, 1945

To rejoice in happiness is to invite misery. Real happiness springs from sorrow and suffering.

May 16, 1945

Not contrived but genuine laughter is true eloquence, and more effective than speech.

May 17, 1945

The contentment that accrues to man as a result of leading a regular life, promotes his health and longevity.

May 18, 1945

Pride devours man completely. The truth of this can be realized by everyone every moment.

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May 19, 1945

On the other hand, modesty and humility nourish man and make for his growth.

May 20, 1945

Every minute that runs to waste is irrecoverable. Yet, knowing this, how much time we waste!

May 21, 1945

A needless word is also a violation of truth. That is why the practice of truth becomes easier by observing silence.

May 22, 1945

Like a ship without direction or destination, labour without an ideal is fruitless.

May 23, 1945

The power by which a railway train moves, an aeroplane flies and man lives, is Divine Power, by whatsoever name one may call it. The train is not moved by the steam engine; the aeroplane is not flown by the motor; nor does man live by the mere mechanical functioning of his heart.

May 24, 1945

"Sweet are the fruits of equanimity"—the truth of this is experienced every moment.

May 25, 1945

There is a vast difference between obstinacy and steadfastness. To seek to foist one's view on others is obstinacy; whereas steadfastness is that whereby we voluntarily impose something on ourselves and which results in bringing others round to the acceptance of our view of their own free will.

May 26, 1945

What should a man do when there is much work and little time to do it in? He should have patience, do what he believes is most useful and leave the rest to God. If God grants life, the arrear can be taken up some other day.

May 27, 1945

I took off my spectacles to wash my face. I had intended to pick them up later, but forgot to do so. Why? Because something else engrossed my attention and so I became negligent. This is called disorganization which is a dangerous thing.

May 28, 1945

A man is ashamed when he does something wrong. But when he does something good, he wishes to let it be known. Why?

May 29, 1945

Envy devours him who harbours it. He who is the object of envy remains unaffected, perhaps even unaware of it.

May 30, 1945

The opposite of envy is generosity. Generosity does not allow us to be envious of anyone. On the contrary, if we find virtue in anyone, we appreciate it and even profit by it.

May 31, 1945

Every moment I observe how man deceives himself.

June 1, 1945

He who wants to please all, will please none.

June 2, 1945

It is God that we have to please. If we praise, we should praise Him only. Then shall we become free of all worry and botheration.

June 3, 1945

How shall we please God, how praise Him? By serving His creature—man.

June 4, 1945

When, as a matter of habit, a man knows not what he speaks, it is high time that he got rid of that habit either by muffling his mouth or even by sealing his lips.

June 5, 1945

Desire is of various kinds—good, bad and feasible. The mind should harbour only that which is good and possible of realization.

June 6, 1945

Different people interpret the Shastras (religious scriptures) differently. The right course is to follow in practice that interpretation which appeals to us as basically sound even if it can be proved to be grammatically unsound, provided, however, that our interpretation is not opposed to morality and that it makes for self-restraint.

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June 7, 1945

An untruthful person leaves many a loophole for himself. And when he escapes through one or the other, he thinks he is very clever! In fact, by doing so, he only digs pitfalls for himself.

June 8, 1945

A man of Truth, on the other hand, plugs all loopholes; or rather for him, it may be said, there is neither a wall nor any holes. He can walk even blindfold on the right path and never does he fall into a pit.

June 9, 1945

Non-attachment is difficult of attainment, as some say. So it is. But are not the things we need always difficult to obtain? It is only when we put in a sustained and determined effort that what is difficult becomes easy.

June 10, 1945

Drops make the ocean, the reason being that there is complete cohesion and co-operation among the drops. The same law applies to human beings.

June 11, 1945

To conceal ignorance is to increase it. An honest confession of it, however, gives ground for the hope that it will diminish.

June 12, 1945

What is learnt by rote is of as little value as the parrot's recitation of Ramanama.

June 13, 1945

If the foregoing is correct and borne out by experience, it follows that knowledge that sinks deep, and becomes part of one's being, is capable of transforming man, provided, however, that such knowledge is self-knowledge.

June 14, 1945

If a man does anything, and regrets it afterwards, it shows that he has not done it with due deliberation but under compulsion.

June 15, 1945

Non-attachment is put to real test only when there is full scope for our attachment to something.

June 16, 1945

It is man's habit to forget his own faults and see those of others. This naturally brings him disappointment in the end.

June 17, 1945

To have faith in God should be the easiest thing in the world, yet it appears to be the most difficult.

June 18, 1945

The root cause of most of our misunderstandings lies in distrust, and the root cause of this distrust lies most in fear.

June 19, 1945

The common saying goes that there can be no love without fear. But that is wrong. The fact is that where there is fear, there can be no true love.

June 20, 1945

Experience is daily growing upon me that everything is attainable through silence.

June 21, 1945

If we stopped talking about useless things and talked of things that matter in as few words as possible, much of our time as well as that of others could be saved.

June 22, 1945

It follows from the foregoing that we would be thereby adding that much time to our span of life.

June 23, 1945

The same thing when looked at from one angle makes us lose our temper, and when viewed from another makes us laugh. Will it not be better if we neither become angry nor laugh?

June 24, 1945

Daily we have testimony of the influence exercised by one who speaks the truth and lives up to it. Even so, we never think of following his example in word and deed.

June 25, 1945

Sacrifice which causes pain is no sacrifice at all. True sacrifice is joy-giving and uplifting.

June 26, 1945

True help can come only from God. But God helps only through some agency. Let no one, therefore, knowingly seek the help of a broken reed.

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June 27, 1945

Guru Teg Bahadur says : "The life which causes the least possible injury is simple life. That which causes no pain at all is pure life." Therefore, he alone practises true religion who does nothing evil.

June 28, 1945

If someone says, "Go straight along this road," and if a man follows the given direction, he is sure to reach his destination. Such a road is truth. Going along that road, a man reaches his goal in the shortest possible time.

June 29, 1945

Every minute of my life I am conscious of the presence of God. Why, then, need I fear anyone?

June 30, 1945

A man came to me today and said : "I lose all interest in living if I do not render true service".

July 1, 1945

Do not lose your temper if someone calls you a liar or opposes you. If you want to say something, say it calmly. Or, perhaps, silence would be best. If you are really truthful, you do not become a liar simply because someone calls you so.

July 2, 1945

Untruth corrodes the soul; truth nourishes it.

July 3, 1945

There is greater pleasure in not eating than in eating. Who has not experienced the truth of it?

July 4, 1945

Do not listen to rumour; but, if you do, do not believe it.

July 5, 1945

We must always listen to criticism of our faults and failings, never to our praises.

July 6, 1945

When 'I' and when 'God'? In determining this lies the test of wisdom.

July 7, 1945

God is one. He is ever Changeless and Formless. We are his mirrors. If we are straight and pure, God is also reflected in us

as such. But if we are crooked and vile, His image suffers the same distortion. It behoves us, therefore, always to remain clean and pure in every respect.

July 8, 1945

To find fault is one thing; to prove it is another.

July 9, 1945

He alone knows the charm of solitude who has deliberately taken to it.

July 10, 1945

He who is the dust of everybody's feet is near to God.

July 11, 1945

Do not think, speak or write without reflecting. Consider how much time could thereby be saved.

July 12, 1945

Just as the universe is contained in the self, so is India contained in the villages.

July 13, 1945

If India lives in the villages, then let there be but one ideal village and it can serve as a model for the whole country.

July 14, 1945

If we think of India from the point of view of the villages, most of the things that we do will appear to be useless.

July 15, 1945

Life is not for making merry. Rather it is for the realization of the Creator and for the service of the creation.

July 16, 1945

If life is intended only for the service of humanity and for the realization of God, then it becomes our duty to keep it pure and abstemious.

A Thought for the Day, pp. 157-239

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PYARELAL'S STATEMENT[1]

Gandhiji, having seen it, says that he never sent any such or other circular to Congress workers or committees in any or all the Provinces. The statement that has appeared in the Press to that effect is, therefore, wrong. He holds the view, and has shared it with correspondents, that as long as the Congress President and his colleagues are in prison, Congressmen must act on their own initiative and judgment and no individual or group or assembly, whatever name they give to themselves, will have the authority to act in the name or on behalf of the Congress organization. They are entitled to and bound to act as they deem it best in the interests of the cause for which the Congress stands, but they do so on their own authority and responsibility and cannot use the name of the Congress to enforce their decision. Gandhiji adds that such is his individual opinion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-5-1945

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI[2]

PANCHGANI,
June 10, 1945

DEAR BROTHER,

You must have received my letter sent from here. Your letter of the 3rd June addressed to Bapu was received by him today. There is a great pressure of work on him, so he has asked me to reply to it.

Bapu said that he had also received your earlier letter, but owing to rush of work he could not send a reply. After coming here I am better able to realize what a tremendous burden of work rests on him and how he can deal with it only bit by bit on account of his reduced capacity. There is no quick disposal of work as before. Besides, the present happenings in the country also take up much of his time.

About the "Daily Thoughts", Bapu inquired whether they would be published in Hindi only or there would also be English rendering simultaneously.

[1] *Vide* p. 123.
[2] *Vide* p. 292.

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If there is to be an English translation, then he will like to see it himself and this task he will not be able to shoulder at present. I do not exactly remember what we had decided about the English translation. *So please write to me by return of post*. If it is only the Hindi edition, then there will be no difficulty in Bapu's writing a preface to it. Perhaps it would be easier for him to find time for it.

As regards the questions you had sent to Bapu in respect of your book "To the Statesmen of the World", Bapu says that he would have gladly answered them, but that at the present moment his mind is not disposed to undertake that burden either. You will, therefore, have to do without his answer to your questions.

I had spoken to Bapu regarding the Navajivan and the "Gandhi Series". He advised me that since Naraharibhai was here, I should personally hear what he has to say. I had, therefore, a brief talk with him last evening and will have further discussion with him again today. Then we shall see where the matter stands.

Have you got enough supply of paper for bringing out your new book "To the Statesmen"? I learn that the Government is increasing the paper quota. How far is it true? Do write all the news about yourself. How about Hassa?

I am enclosing herewith a few lines from Bapu

Many loves.

Yours,
JAIRAM

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

APPENDIX III

SPEECH BROADCAST BY THE VICEROY[1]

June 14, 1945

I have been authorized by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

[1] *Vide* pp. 328, 329 and 331 and 390.

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This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the mean time, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I, therefore, propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders, both of Central and Provincial politics, to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organized political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britains' commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realize, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover, Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultations with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The council will work within the framework of the present constitution and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main task for this new Executive Council would be :

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The

third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me :

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government; or, for provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of the Premier.

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leader of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognized leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the conference on 25th June at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of Government in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial legislatures will be discussed at the conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conference have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, *and as far as in me lies will further her greatness*. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

From a copy : A. I. C. C. File No. 1439, 1945. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX IV

TELEGRAM FROM LORD WAVELL[1]

Immediate NEW DELHI,
June 16, 1945

M. K. GANDHI ESQ.
PANCHGANI

Many thanks for your telegram of 15th June. I have also seen your statement in today's newspapers. As regards your attendance at the conference I will await your letter referred to in your telegram of 16th June which I have just received. I assure you, term "caste Hindus"

[1] *Vide* pp. 329 and 349.

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was not used with offensive intention. Meaning is that there should be equality between Muslims and Hindus other than members of scheduled castes. Subject to this, exact composition of council would of course have to be decided after discussion at conference. On question of independence I invite your attention to Secretary of State's speech in Parliament on 14th June as published in Indian Press. Following is the relevant passage :

> The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer is based on two main principles. First, no limit is set to India's freedom to decide her own destiny whether as a free partner in the Commonwealth or even without it. Second, that this can only be achieved under a constitution or constitutions framed by Indians to which the main elements are consenting parties.

It would not be practicable to modify the terms of my broadcast. It is only a simple statement of the proposals approved by His Majesty's Government and my intention is to deal at the conference itself with any points requiring clarification. I do not think it advisable to enter into detailed discussions before the conference which I hope, as you do yourself, will be held in a friendly atmosphere and without party bitterness. As you suggest I am releasing our telegrams to the Press.

VICEROY

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 21

APPENDIX V

DESAI-LIAQAT PACT[1]

The Congress and the League agree that they will join in forming an interim government in the Centre. The composition of such Government will be on the following lines :

(a) An equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Executive (the persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature),

(b) representatives of minorities (in particular the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs),

(c) the Commander-in-Chief.

The Government will be formed and will function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act. It is, however, understood that, if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly, they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers

[1] *Vide* pp. 332 and 349.

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of the Governor-General or the Viceroy. This will make them sufficiently independent of the Governor-General.

It is agreed between the Congress and the League that, if such interim government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members of the Congress.

The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course :

On the basis of the above understanding some way should be found to get the Governor-General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor-General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai either jointly or separately, the above proposal would be made declaring that they are prepared to join in forming the government.

The next step would be to get the withdrawal of Section 93 in the Provinces and to form as soon as possible Provincial Governments on the lines of a coalition.

From a copy : A. I. C. C. File No. 1814, 1945. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX VI

TELEGRAM FROM LORD WAVELL[1]

June 18, 1945

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TWO TELEGRAMS OF YESTERDAY. I THINK MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD SHOULD HAVE MY INVITATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND HAVE ACCORDINGLY TELEGRAPHED IT TO HIM AT CALCUTTA. 2. MR. AMERY'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT AND MY BROADCAST CONSTITUTE TERMS OF REFERENCE TO THE CONFERENCE WHICH I STILL HOPE WILL ASSEMBLE AT SIMLA ON 25TH. I CLEARLY CANNOT CHANGE MY BROADCAST AND I HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU I DO NOT THINK IT DESIRABLE TO DISCUSS ITS DETAILS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE. NONE OF THE PERSONS OR PARTIES CONCERNED IS EXPECTED OR REQUIRED TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE PROPOSALS NOW. THE ONLY IMMEDIATE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE PROPOSALS ARE WORTH DISCUSSING AT THE CONFERENCE AND IT IS TO

[1] *Vide* p. 342.

THAT QUESTION THAT AN ANSWER WILL BE MOST HELPFUL. 3. I STILL THINK THE CONFERENCE SHOULD ASSEMBLE ON THE 25TH. IT MAY LAST SOME TIME, AND DELAY BEFORE IT BEGINS WILL NOT IMPROVE ITS PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS. 4. I AM RELEASING YOUR LETTER OF 16TH JUNE, MY TELEGRAM OF 17TH JUNE, YOUR TWO TELEGRAMS OF 17TH JUNE AND THIS TELEGRAM TO THE PRESS.

The Hindu, 20-6-1945

APPENDIX VII

STATEMENT MADE IN PARLIAMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA[1]

June 14, 1945

During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country, His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.

Members will be aware that since the offer by His Majesty's Government to India of March 1942, there has been no further progress towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.

As was then stated, the working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian people themselves.

While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British Indian affairs.

The main constitutional position remains therefore as it was. The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification. His Majesty's Government still hope that the political leaders in India may be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government can be determined.

His Majesty's Government are, however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political deadlock in India. While that deadlock lasts not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.

[1] *Vide* p. 349.

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The Indian administration, over-burdened with the great tasks laid upon it by the war against Japan and by the planning for the post-war period, is further strained by the political tension that exists.

All that is so urgently required to be done for agricultural development and for the peasants and workers of India cannot be carried through unless whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people is forthcoming.

His Majesty's Government have therefore considered whether there is something which they could suggest in this interim period, under the existing constitution, pending the formulation by Indians of their future constitutional arrangements which would enable the main communities and parties to co-operate more closely together and with the British to the benefit of the people of India as a whole.

It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some steps forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestion and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

To this end they would be prepared to see an important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive. This is possible without making any change in the existing statute law except for one amendment to the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935. That Schedule contains a provision that not less than three members of the Executive must have had at least 10 years' service under the Crown in India. If the proposals I am about to lay before the House meet with acceptance in India, that clause would have to be amended to dispense with that requirement.

It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and caste Hindus.

In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are the heads of the most important parties or who have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of Provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above stated and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would

recommend for appointment by his Majesty to the Viceroy's council, although the responsibility for the recommendations must of course continue to rest with him, and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.

The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would whole-heartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion.

The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.

Nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States through the Viceroy as Crown Representative.

The Viceroy has been authorized by His Majesty's Government to place this proposal before the Indian leaders. His Majesty's Government trust that the leaders of the Indian communities will respond. For the success of such a plan must depend on its acceptance in India and the degree to which responsible Indian politicians are prepared to co-operate with the object of making it a workable interim arrangement. In the absence of such general acceptance existing arrangements must necessarily continue.

If such co-operation can be achieved at the Centre it will no doubt be reflected in the provinces and so enable responsible governments to be set up once again in those provinces where, owing to the withdrawal of the majority party from participation, it became necessary to put into force the powers of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. It is to be hoped that in all the Provinces these governments would be based on the participation of the main parties, thus smoothing out communal differences and allowing Ministers to concentrate upon their very heavy administrative tasks.

There is one further change which, if these proposals are accepted, His Majesty's Government suggest should follow.

That is, that External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements.

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His Majesty's Government consider, after the most careful study of the question, that the plan now suggested gives the utmost progress practicable within the present constitution. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.

His Majesty's Government feel certain that given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self-government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence, of India in the counsels of the nations.

The Indian Annual Register, 1945, Vol. I, pp. 248-50

APPENDIX VIII

LORD WAVELL'S NOTE ON HIS INTERVIEW[1]

June 24, 1945

I began by making a short statement on the objects of the proposals of H. M. G., the spirit in which they were conceived and the spirit in which I hoped they would be accepted and worked. I emphasized the necessity for full support of the war, and that it was essential that the political parties should put in their very best men, determined to concentrate on the economic and other problems of India, and not merely to enter the Government in a party spirit.

Mr. Gandhi then made a long, tortuous and prolix statement, which dealt with the history of the Congress, British rule in India, British character, the qualities of a good soldier, and many other more or less relevant subjects. It lasted over half an hour, and ended with a sort of general blessing on the proposals, which he said he had recommended to the Working Committee.

He then went on, referring to some notes, to deal with certain other points. I think this was a list prepared for him as a result of the discussions by Congress Working Committee. The main points were as follows :

(a) That it would have been much better if I had ordered the release of all the political prisoners and not merely the Working Committee.

(b) That the term 'Caste Hindus' should not have been used, as his great aim was that there should be no question of caste inside Congress; he would have preferred the term 'Non-Scheduled Hindus'.

(c) He then went on to the question of coalitions in Provinces, obviously with the idea of trying to establish that the minorities should be represented by members of their body belonging to Congress.

[1] *Vide* p. 364.

(d) He referred to the matter of parity, and said he had been under very severe pressure as regards this, but that he was prepared to accept it. He indicated that it would be open to Congress to put forward the names of Muslims or Scheduled Castes, and I agreed but said that the principle of parity between non-Scheduled Hindus and Muslims must be maintained.

(e) He then digressed into a long story about members of the Indian Army who had wished to see him but had been compelled, like Nicodemus, to come to him by night and in mufti. I said that the one thing which was disastrous for any government was if the army became political; that the Indian Army had a Commander-in-Chief in whom they had full trust; that their reputation never stood higher and that I could assure him that the Indian Army was on the whole a thoroughly contented body. He agreed to all these statements.

(f) He then started on the question of the Indian States. I said that the conference dealt entirely with British India, and that I was not prepared at this stage to enter into a discussion of the Indian States. He agreed that it had nothing to do with the conference and was not appropriate for discussion at the moment.

I asked Mr. Gandhi at the end, whether he proposed to attend the conference in person. He said that he represented nobody except himself, and that though he would be prepared to attend the conference if I wished, and sit in a corner, he strongly advised me that his presence at the conference was undesirable. He said that he would hold himself at my disposal for as long as I wished, but that if I bad nothing on which I had to consult him he would propose to leave Simla tomorrow. I said that I would let him know.

The interview was mainly a discursive monologue by Mr. Gandhi, interspersed by numerous digressions, such as a most graphic description of the death of his Private Secretary and the relation of his carrying down the wounded General Woodgate from Spion Kop in 1899. My general impression of him was that he was friendly for the time being, but perfectly prepared to go back at any time on anything he had said.

Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal, pp. 144-6

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CHRONOLOGY

(*April 25—July 16, 1945*)

April 27: Gandhiji, in message from Mahabaleshwar where he had been staying from April 21, exhorted people of Ceylon "to understand the message of the charkha and the constructive programme".

May 1: In Foreword to *Rashtrabhasha Vishe Vichar*, said that Hindustani, "a happy amalgam of Hindi and Urdu", was "the perfect national language".

May 2: Visited apiaries and appreciated their scientific method and swadeshi spirit.

May 3: In answer to D. N. Balavenkataram, confirmed report that he would not enter Mahabaleshwar temples, as long as their "doors are not open to Harijans".

May 4: In statement to the Press replied to "remarks attributed to Sir Feroz Khan Noon as having been made by him at San Fransisco Conference".

May 6: In Press statement condemned big merchants, capitalists and industrialists who outwardly spoke and wrote against Government but in action conformed to its will.

May 8: In telegram, gave blessings to G. D. Birla, who along with J. R. D. Tata and Kasturbhai was proceeding in industrial delegation to England. At prayer meeting paid tributes to Rabindranath Tagore on his eighty-fifth birth anniversary.

May 11/12: Had discussion with C. Rajagopalachari.

May 13: In letter to Dunichand, regretted his error of mistaken identity in sending condolence to Mrs. Dunichand.

May 21: In *Gramodyog Patrika* article, distinguished khadi from other village industries by comparing the former to the sun and the latter to planets.

May 22: Spoke at Hindustan Scout Association training camp.

May 27: In letter, requested Government to protect and preserve piece of ground having *samadhis* of Kasturba

Gandhi and Mahadev Desai as consecrated place for use by their friends and relatives.

On or before *May 30:* Gave interview to Denton J. Brooks Jr.

May 31: Reached Panchgani; put up at 'Dilkhush' of Nanji Kalidas.

June 1: Had discussion with Harekrushna Mahtab.

June 2: In answer to Shriman Narayan, stressed need to demonstrate economic fallacy behind sanction for use of foreign goods.

On or after *June 3:* In statement to Orient Press, said that Muslims should speak as Indians.

June 7: In letter, requested Bhulabhai Desai "to see to it that Chimur-Ashti prisoners are not hanged".

June 9: In message, wished Rajani Palme Dutt success in election campaign against L. S. Amery in Sparkbrook Constituency of Birmingham.

June 10: Addressed members of Wai Rashtra Seva Dal.

June 11: In silence-day note, cautioned Bhulabhai Desai against possible danger in agreement with Muslim League, and said that nothing could be done until Working Committee members were free to express their opinion.

June 13: In letter to Purushottamdas Tandon, said that his leaving Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was intended to serve it better.

June 14: In broadcast, Viceroy announced release of Working Committee members and summoning of conference of leaders of political parties.

In telegram, Gandhiji informed Viceroy that he would not like to attend Simla Conference as Congress representative.

June 15: Congress leaders were released and ban on Congress Working Committee was lifted.

June 16: In letter to Viceroy, Gandhiji conveyed his willingness to be present at Simla Conference "with no official position" and if "Working Committee wished likewise".

June 18: In telegram to Viceroy, reiterated his rejection of parity between Muslims and caste Hindus and reaffirmed his advice that Congress should not participate in formation of Executive Council on those grounds.

Released to the Press, text of letter he had written to Winston Churchill on July 17, 1944.

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June 19: At Poona, visited *samadhis* of Mahadev Desai and Kasturba Gandhi.

June 20: In Bombay.

June 21: In statement to Press appealed to authorities to remove Sarat Chandra Bose to health resort with facilities to receive relatives.

June 21 and *22:* Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

June 23: Halted at Delhi on way to Simla.

June 24: Reached Simla; met Viceroy in afternoon.

June 26: Released to Press names of members for Literature Board of All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

June 27: At prayer meeting, explained significance of prayer.

June 28: In letter, appealed to Viceroy that all "hangings—an aftermath of the disturbances of 1942 . . . be commuted to life sentences".

June 29: Gave interview to Preston Grover of Associated Press of America.

June 30: In interview to A. S. Bharatan of Associated Press of India, explained Congress stand on issue of parity of representation between caste Hindus and Muslims.

July 2: At prayer meeting, explained new rule of A. I. S. A. which required payment for khadi to be made partly in yarn.

July 3 and *4:* Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

July 7: Congress list for proposed Executive Council was sent to Viceroy by Abul Kalam Azad after discussion with Gandhiji.

July 9: Jinnah refused to send his names for proposed Executive Council.

July 12: At prayer meeting, Gandhiji rebuked gathering for unruly behaviour.

July 14: Gave interview to Francis Sayer of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
Viceroy announced failure of Simla Conference which Jinnah had called "a snare".

July 16: Gandhiji left Simla for Wardha.

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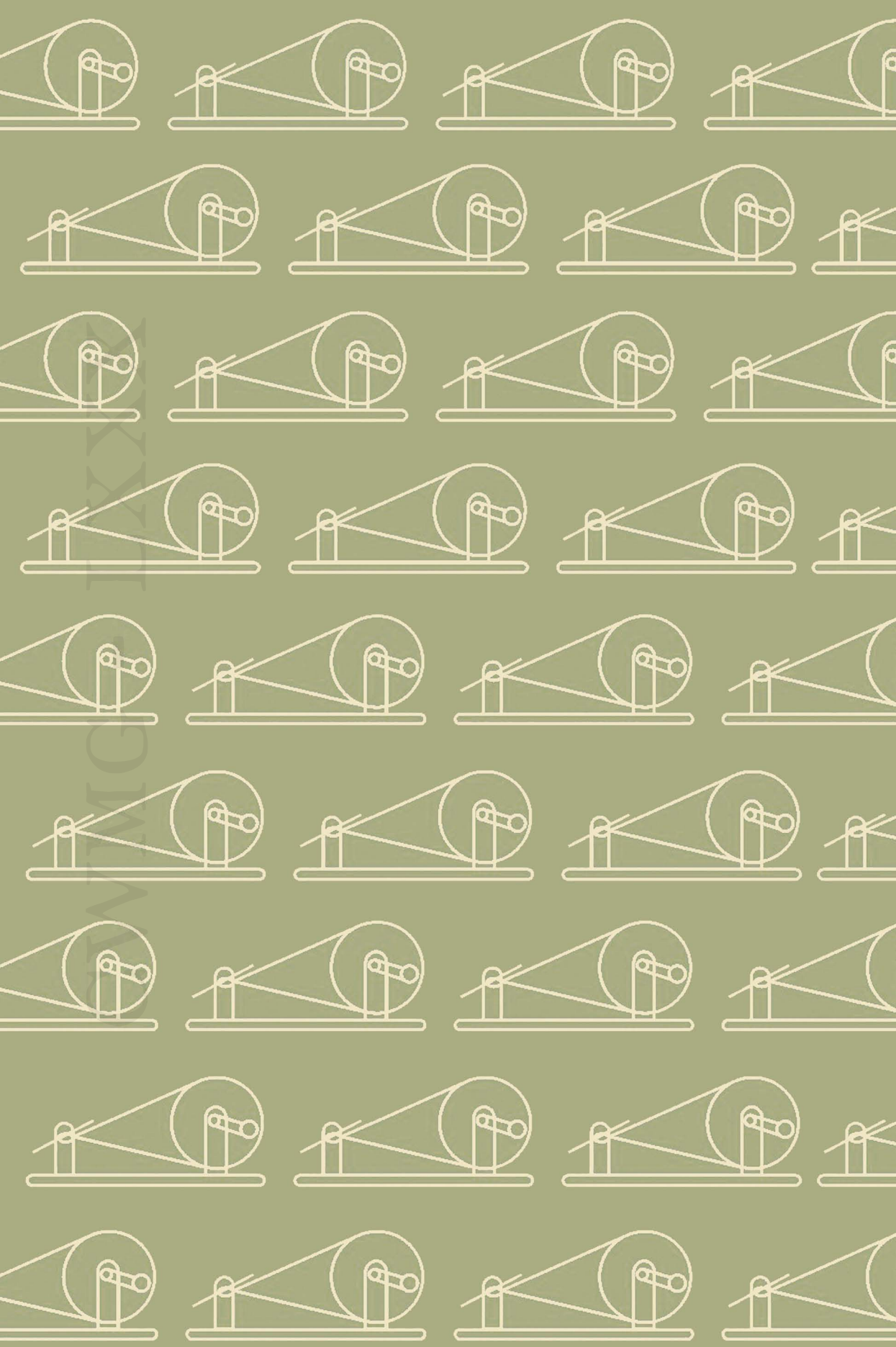
ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
20	* Footnote 2, line 1	77th	76th
24	Item 39, title	*KANTILAL GANDHI*	*KANTILAL*
37	* Footnote 3	Kamdar	Patel
102	Item 177, paragraph 4, line 10	till	so long as
111	* Footnotes 3 to 5	3 & 4 5	3 & 5 4
120	* Footnote 1, lines 2-3	undergoing midwifery	undergoing training in midwifery
288	* Line 3	pay	day
304	* Item 514, line 1	lotter	letter
324	* Item 547, title	*RAMPRA B. SADVYAS*	*RAMPRASAD B. VYAS*

* Due correction made.

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