

1. 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

2. 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.

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 pamphlet¹.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2106

¹ Presumably *Reconciliation*

3. LETTER TO POTTI SRIRAMULU

May 29, 1945

DEAR SRIRAMULU¹,

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

4. NOTE TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 29, 1945

BAPA,

This telegram has been received. I have given the reply² as above.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

5. 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*³ seems all right.

¹ 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

² *Vide* "Telegram to Rameshwari Nehru", 29-5-1945; also "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar".

³ Camp fire

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

6. LETTER TO JAYAKUNVAR V. DESAI

May 29, 1945

CHI. JAYA¹,

I have your letter.

You may, by all means, marry away Chi. Chandu². 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

7. 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

¹ Gandhiji's niece, sister of Jaisukhlal A. Gandhi

² Chandrakala, addressee's daughter

8. 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

9. 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

10. 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 does 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.

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

11. 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 father² in his last letter had entrusted all of you to me. He had especially high hopes of Ranchhod³ but he wrote

¹ A Gujarati saying

² Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's brother

³ Ranchhoddas, addressee's brothers

quite a lot about you and Shanti¹. 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

12. 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

13. LETTER TO PIR ILAHIBUKSH

May 29, 1945

BHAI PIR SAHEB,

I have your letter². 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.³

Yours,

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Santtilal, addressee's brother.

² Asking what language should be taught in Sind and how

³ At the end there is the following instruction in Gujarati: "Give a reply on these lines and get my signature."

14. 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

15. 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

16. 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 Cod 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

17. 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

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.

past; we are fast approaching a solution to roublesome 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 underprivileged peoples is non-violence.

Pointing to his recent statement¹ 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

18. 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. Kunderji 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 Kunderji'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.²

The beauty of *Gitai* is that its meaning and music are rendered³ 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

¹ Vide "Statement to the Press", 17-4-1945.

² Between this and the next paragraph, in the source, appears the Foreword to *Gitadhyayasangati*; the following item.

³ By Vinoba Bhave

19. FOREWORD TO “GITADHYAYASANGATI”

Vinoba has been my co-worker ever since the Ashram at Kochrab¹ 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 will² be benefited.

MAHABALESHWAR, May 30, 1945

[From Hindi]

Gitadhyayasangati

20. 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

¹ Near Ahmedabad, in May 1915

² The draft Foreword here adds: “I am convinced”

21. 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

22. 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 only after I reach Sevagram. Ramprasad won't leave you till B. can join you. Meanwhile 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

¹ A hymn by A. M. Toplady (1740-78) included in the *Ashram Bhajanavali*

23. 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

24. 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

25. 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-ichchha¹ 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

26. 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

¹ Addressee's daughter

27. 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

28. 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 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

29. 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

30. 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 "Letter to Mirabehn", 30-5-1945.

31. 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

32. 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

33. 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

34. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

MAHABALESHWAR,

May 30, 1945

BHAI KUNDAR,

Herewith my Foreword². 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.

I find the discourses on the *Gita* interesting. But I cannot say

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Valji G. Desai", 30-5-1945.

² *Vide* "Draft forwarded to *Gita Ani Gitai*", 30-5-1945.

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

35. 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 "Letter to Rameshwari Nehru", 30-5-1945.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Rameshwari Nehru", 29-5-1945.

36. 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

37. 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

38. 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

39. 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

40. 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

41. 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 example. There can be more or less varnas than that. But there prevails only one varna today,

¹ Gandhiji wrote this under the title “Key to My Writings”.

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 *adhharma* to believe in the distinctions of high and low, so also colour prejudice is *adhharma*. 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 utilise 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

42. 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

43. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

MAHABALESHWAR,

May 31, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

You work wonders. I have gone through your Preface¹ 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 your name. I would, however, know about it

¹To *Varnavyavastha*

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 accompanying¹ as Manilal has not given his address.

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

44. 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

45. 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

¹*Vide* the preceding item.

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

46. 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 written² 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* "Letter to Purushottamdas Tandon", 25-5-1945.

47. 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

48. 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

49. 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 work¹ 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

50. 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.

As a matter of fact agriculture is a village industry, hence grains,

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* “How to improve village industries”, 21-5-1945 .

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

51. 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

52. TELEGRAM TO NANJI KALIDAS

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

SHETH NANJI KALIDAS
PORBANDAR

PLEASE DO NOT SACRIFICE HEALTH FOR COMING
HERE. SHANTABEHN¹ LOOKING AFTER PARTY.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Gandhiji's hostess at Dilkhusha', Panchgani

53. 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

54. 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

55. 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.

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.

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 will see what I can do about Bhavnagar and Kathiawar. It is good that Anantrai¹ 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

56. 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 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.

57. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have gone through your article. You will find a reference¹ 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

58. 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* “Foreword to *Varnavyavastha*, 31-5-1945.

59. 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

60. 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

61. 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

62. 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

63. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR¹

PANCHGANI,
June 1, 1945

BAPA,

I have already written² 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

64. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING⁴

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.

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* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", 29-5-1945.

³ *Vide* also "Letter to Shyamlal", 29-5-1945.

⁴ The meeting was held in the compound of Wadilal Arogya Bhavan.

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

**65. 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

66. 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

¹Physical exercise

67. 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

68. 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

69. 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

70. 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

71. 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

72. 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

73. 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

74. 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

75. 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

76. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIMAN NARAYAN¹

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 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 countrywide propaganda for the use of village-manufactured and swadeshi goods can also prove to be a very elective 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.

¹ Principal, Govindram Saxeria College, Wardha

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

77. MESSAGE FOR BHARATI MEMORIAL¹

PANCHGANI,
[*Before June 3, 1945*]²

My blessings to efforts to perpetuate Bharati's memory.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-6-1945

78. DISCUSSION WITH HAREKRUSHNA MEHTAB³

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.

¹*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.

² *ibid*

³ According to A. P. I. report, Harekrushna Mehtab released "written questions and answers" to the Press after "full discussion with Gandhiji for three days".

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?

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

79. 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

80. LETTER TO A PUBLISHER

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

DEAR SIR,

Gandhiji has read your letter of 28th ult. received only yesterday. He would like to know before deciding, what profits you make out of the publication mentioned by you and what you pay Prof. A. D. Yates.

Yours faithfully,
NARAHARI PARIKH

THE MANAGING DIRECTOR
KAPOOR BROS. LTD.
PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
52 ANARKALI, LAHORE

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

¹The postscript is in Hindi.

81. LETTER TO NAWAB OF CHHATARI

“DILKHUSH”, PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 27th ult. and the communique dated 17th ultimo. I have again heard from Pandit Vinayak Rao. He sends me a copy of his reply to the communique. I take it that you have seen that letter. I cannot help agreeing with the Pandit that mere dismissal of the “ring-leaders” does not meet the needs of the situation so far as the wanton action of the police is concerned. And why prosecution of certain volunteers instead of an inquiry suggested by him ? I would like you to give this matter your earnest and independent consideration, and adopt such action as would avoid a repetition of the incident complained of and give general satisfaction.

I would thank you to send me the cuttings of the British Indian press referred to by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. NAWAB SAHEB OF CHHATARI
HYDERABAD (DN.)

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

82. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI¹

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 Nagpur². 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

83. 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

¹This 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.

84. 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 AML COLONY NO. 1
KARACHI

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

85. 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 book¹ 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* "Foreword to *Cow in India*", 20-5-1945.

86. 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

87. 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 Mehtab and Shriman Narayan; *vide* “Discussion with Shriman Narayan”, 2-6-1945; “Discussion with Harekrushna Mahtab”, 1/3-6-1945.

88. STATEMENT ON SYRIAN-LEBANESE QUESTION¹

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 cooperation 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.

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

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".

89. 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 notice¹, 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

90. LETTER TO RAJARAM BHOLE

June 4, 1945

DEAR BHOLE,

Your P. C. Do come on 6th inst. at 4.00 p.m. I am silent during the day always. But it does not matter. You will speak and I shall answer in writing.

Yours,

BAPU

SHRI R. R. BHOLE
PALLAZZO HOTEL
PANCHGANI

From the original: R. R. Bhole Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ About lifting of the restriction imposed on the addressee; *vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 26-5-1945; "Letter to Prabhavati", 8-6-1945.

91. LETTER TO HOWARD GOLDSTEIN

CAMP : "DILKHUSH",
PANCHGANI, INDIA,
June 4, 1945

DEAR FRIENDS,

Gandhiji has your cable.

He appreciates your desire to have him in America.¹ But you have seen how he could not come. He could not force himself on the Committee. He has not much faith in the value of more verbal talks. He is trying to forge the message of non-violence through his work in India. If he shows visible success here the world will get the message it needs. Therefore the conscientious objectors who are going to meet near Glendora would do well to closely study what he has been saying and doing in India. Particularly, they should study his writings preceding and after the 8th August, 1942—Resolution of the Congress. They reflect the working of a non-violent mind in the face of the greatest crisis in the world's history.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

MESSRS. HOWARD GOLDSTEIN
JOE GOODMAN AND OTTO GRIMM
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS' CAMP
NEAR GLENDORA
CALIFORNIA (USA)

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

92. 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.

¹ The addressee had invited Gandhiji on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee to attend the San Francisco Conference which was to be held in Glendora in the suburbs of Los Angeles.

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 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

93. 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. Bablo² 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

¹ The source, however, has "Mahabaleshwar".

² Narayan Desai

94. *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, 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

95. *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

96. 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

97. 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 candidature¹. 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

¹ *Vide* also "A Letter", 9-6-1945.

98. 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 written¹ 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

99. 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Krishnachandra", 28-5-1945.

100. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

PANCHGANI,
June 4, 1945

BHAI ASAF ALL,

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

101. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

June 4, 1945

BHAI ICE,

I have your letter. You are taking great pains over Hari-ichchha. 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

102. 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 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

103. 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

104. TELEGRAM TO GOVIND DAS

Express

June 6, 1945

SETH GOVINDDAS
JUBBULPORE
PREFER MEETING SEVAGRAM.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

105. 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 place² you may certainly go to Sevagram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 496

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Mushtaq Ahmed", 9-5-1945.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Kanchan M. Shah", 1-6-1945.

106. 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 for me to offer you thanks forso 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

107. 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

108. LETTER TO GOPE GURUBUXANI

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 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

109. 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 CHOWDRARY
ADARSH PRESS
AJMER

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

110. 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

111. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
*June 7, 1945*¹

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. I approve in every way your decision to resign as Secretary. But my approval rests on the condition that you will have fully understood my advice and acted in strict accordance with it. Man is not a lifeless machine, though he should work like a machine; he is a conscious being and while working as a machine he should work with faith and intelligence, that is to say, with his heart and his mind. Only then will he shine and succeed in his effort. I have read your statement. Now ease your mind of the burden. Do what you can and give what help and guidance you can while resting. If you do only that much, though you have ceased to be Secretary, the management will remain in your hands, for your experience and patience are your own and cannot be transferred to anybody. Those who wish may take them from you. Even if they do there will be no diminution of your possession. This is the meaning of the verse

¹ The source has 1942. *Vide* however "Letter to Chimanlal N. Shah", 24-5-1945 which deals with the same subject, Gandhiji did not visit Panchgani in that year.

*purnamidam*¹.

I learnt the reason for your fast from your letter to Kanam. I see that you fasted for 36 hours as atonement. If that was so, I do not approve of the fast. At the same time I cannot say that it was wrong to fast. Therefore my. . . .²

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10636

112. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

June 7, 1945

CHI. LILI,

Should I pity your brother and sister-in-law or be angry with them ? What else can be the result when they cannot control their lust? It is up to you to consider your duty in the matter. Any religion taught by others is mere tautology. As for me, I am not a learned person in any sense. May God help you, your brother and sister-in-law. May it be well with the boy.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. LILAVATI UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
LADIES HOSTEL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

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

¹ *Ishopanished*, Invocation

² The text is incomplete.

113. LETTER TO ATMARAM RAMCHANDANI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI ATMARAM,

Jairamdas has given me a cheque for Rs. 500/-. I shall use the amount for public work of some kind.

I hope that you will devote your time to constructive work as suggested by me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : Atmaram Ramchandani Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

114. 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 Khuhro¹ 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

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.

115. 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 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 written¹ 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

116. 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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item,

² *Vide* "Letter to Kanchan M. Shah", 6-6-1945.

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

117. 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

118. 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—Sushila-

¹The Gujarati saying is, "One remembers the advice of the master only till one reaches the gate".

behn, 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

119. 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

120. 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 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

121. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I have your telegram. As soon as I received Balvantsinha's letter, I sent¹ 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

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Manager, Sevagram Ashram", 7-6-1945.

humility will set everything right. True humility is filled with ahimsa. Learn everything thoroughly. You must have known from Balvan-tsinha's letter what advice I have given to Father.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

122. 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

123. 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

124. 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 1_ 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

125. 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

126. TELEGRAM TO BALVANTSINHA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BALVANTSINHA
ASHRAM SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

REPLIED EARLIER WIRE¹ AND LETTER². HOSHIARI'S
FATHER SHOULD REMAIN TILL MY RETURN.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

127. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL³

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. 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" demand in August 1942

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Manager, Sevagram Ashram", 7-6-1945 and "Letter to Balvantsinha", 7-6-1945.

² *ibid*

³ Herbert Louis Samuel, Liberal leader

is embodied in the official declaration of its President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to which I have referred in my last letter¹ 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Samuel", 15-5-1943.

my *bona fides* about non-violence and 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

128. 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."

129. 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

130. 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

131. 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

132. 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

133. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read the accompanying letter¹. 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

134. 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 *Vide* the preceding item.

³ *ibid*

135. 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

136. 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 not givetrouble 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

137. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

CHI. SATIS BABU,

May I send a copy of your letter to the Madhukosh¹ 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

138. LETTER TO DEVRAJ SETHI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI DEVRAJ,

I would certainly like to have Vidyavati² 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.

How can I meet the Acharya³ 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

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

³ Vidyavati

139. 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

140. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

June 8, 1945

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDONJI,

Please see the enclosed. Do what you think proper. I have written¹ 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 *Vide* the preceding item.

141. LETTER TO KIKIBEHN LALVANI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

DEAR KIKIBEHN¹,

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

142. 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 message¹ 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

143. 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

144. 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 that you have written

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Dunichand", 13-5-1945.

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

145. 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
LAHERI SARAI P. O., DARBHANGA (BIHAR)

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

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 4-6-1945.

146. 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

147. 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

148. TELEGRAM TO SUKHDEV PRASAD

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

SUKHDEV PRASAD
LALGANJ

ASK LOCAL LEADERS.

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

149. 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

¹ The addressee had lost her son; *vide* "Telegram to Sarojini Naidu", 30-4-1945.

150. 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*¹. 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

151. LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

MY DEAR MOHAN,

Of course I know Palme Dutt² 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

¹ *Khadi Gramodyog Patrika*

² 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".

152. A LETTER

[June 9, 1945]¹

I did have that in my mind. Palme-Dutt is a well-known figure. He will be able to give a fight to Amery. Patel², 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

153. 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

¹ From the reference to Palme-Dutt; *vide* the preceding item.

² Purushottam Patel; *vide* "Letter to Purushottam Patel", 4-6-1945.

154. 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

155. 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

156. LETTER TO VICHITRA NARAYAN SHARMA

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. VICHITRA¹,

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

157. 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

¹ Manager, Gandhi Ashram, Meerut

158. 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

159. 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

¹ What follows is from Pyarelal Papers.

160. 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

161. LETTER TO SUDHA KULKARNI

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

CHI. LAMBUS¹ 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

¹ Literally, tall

162. LETTER TO RAMNATH 'SUMAN'

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

BHAI RAMNATH 'SUMAN'¹,

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 presided² at the Sammelan for the first time. Under the circumstances it is 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

163. 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 letter³ 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 SHYAMLALI
SHRI KASTURBA SMARAK NIDHI
SCINDIA HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

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

¹ A Hindi poet

² At Indore, on April 30, 1935

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

164. 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 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

165. 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

¹ Vide "What Khadi workers should know", 13-2-1937.

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 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

166. 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

167. LETTER TO HAMID KHAN

PANCHGANI,

June 10, 1945

BHAI HAMID KHAN,

I have your letter. I knew Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi² 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 that they have raised a memorial to Vidyarthiji. But I will regard it as a mockery.

¹ For Jairamdas Doulatram's letter to the addressee, *vide* Appendix "Letter from Jairamdas Doulatram to Anand T. Hingorani", 10-6-1945.

² He was killed while pacifying rioters during Hindu-Muslim riots on March 25, 1931.

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

168. 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

169. SPEECH TO RASHTRA SEVA DAL MEMBERS, PANCHGANI¹

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 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

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.

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

170. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO BHULABHAI DESAI

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 more uncompromising. I use the word "uncompromising"

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."

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

171. 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

172. 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 Father¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

173. 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

174. 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

175. LETTER TO KARKHANIS

PANCHGANI,
June 11, 1945

BHAI KARKHANIS,

I received your wire last evening. So Hanumantharao¹ 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* "Message on Hanumantharao Kaujalgi's death", 12-6-1945.

176. 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 com-mentary 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 there about. 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 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.

¹ The article appeared under the date-line “Panchgani, June 12”.

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

177. MESSAGE ON HANUMANTHARAO KAUJALGI'S
DEATH¹

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

178. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYA

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 12, 1945

DEAR SIR VISVESVARAYA²,

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?

I have always marvelled at your zeal for and devotion to the cause you have made your own. But unfortunately our ways seem to

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

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

179. 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

180. 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

181. 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

182. 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 Kanaiyo¹ 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 letter² 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

183. 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 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

¹ Addressee's son, Kanu Gandhi

² *Vide* the preceding item.

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

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

¹ What follows is in Gujarati.

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 Kantik

184. 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

185. 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.

Ardeshir² 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

186. 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 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.

¹ The reference is to the Trust-deed of Nature Cure Clinic, *vide* also the following item.

² Addressee's son

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 Or the Gujarati: C.W. 4691. Courtesy: Mangaldas Pakvasa

187. 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.

188. 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 OMKARSINGHI SANGER
KAROLI, KAROLI STATE (RAJASTHAN)

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

189. 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

190. 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

191. 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

192. CABLE TO FENNER BROCKWAY¹

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 WITH-
OUT 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

193. TELEGRAM TO UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT
232 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

INDIAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN ONE FOR WORLDS ASIATIC NEGRO AND OTHER
EXPLOITED RACES FREEDOM, VICTORY WEST FRONT AND IMPENDING VICTORY
EAST EMPTY WITHOUT CENTRAL FACT INDIA'S FREEDOM. I CAN HOPE ONLY
FOR VICTORY FOR THAT PARTY WHICH WORKS SINCERELY AND WHOLLY FOR
THAT END.

GANDHI

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

¹ 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.

² *ibid*

194. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

DEVADAS 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

195. 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 somehow¹ 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.

¹ Literally, "I would have the rice boiled in any water that is available."

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.

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

196. 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 written³ to him as much. Thank God, you possess the hide of a rhinoceros.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2107

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Mridula Sarabhai", 13-6-1945.

² *Phillippians*, IV. 6

³ *Vide* "Letter to Harekrushna Mahtab", 7-6-1945.

197. 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. 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

198. 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 written¹ 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", 13-2-1945.

² *Vide* "Ashram Bhajanavali" sub-title:213, 20-12-1930.

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.

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

199. 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

200. 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

201. 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

202. 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

203. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDONJI,

I received your letter¹ 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

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 "Letter to Purushottam Das Tandon", 25-7-1945.

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 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

204. 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

205. LETTER TO LALMANSINGH

PANCHGANI,

June 13, 1945

BHAI LALMANSINGH,

Immediately on receiving Balvantsinha's letter, I sent you a telegram¹. 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 replied² to Hoshiari immediately on receiving the letter and wrote³ to Balvantsinha meaning it for you. Now I learn from your letter that you have gonehome 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.

¹ Presumably, the reference is to "Telegram to Manager, Sevagram Ashram", p. 260.

² *Vide* "Letter to Hoshiari", 7-6-1945.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Balvantsinha", 7-6-1945.

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 LALMANSINGHI

VILLAGE SAMARPUR

P. O. KHURJA, BULANDSHAHR DISTRICT

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

206. *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 written¹ 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

207. *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 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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

208. TELEGRAM TO CHOUNDE MAHARAJ

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHOUNDE MAHARAJ
POONA CITY

SATURDAY FOURO' CLOCK.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

209. 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 Gope¹ 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

210. 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 message¹ 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. Hamid² (Amina's) has come here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 498

211. 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

212. 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 letter¹ addressed to him.

Blessings to all of you from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7373. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

213. 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.

214. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your telegram. You must have got my reply¹. Come whenever you can. I wish you would do some exercise.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVNAS GANDHI
"THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"
DELHI

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

215. 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 CUMBALA HILL, BOMBAY 26

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

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Devdas Gandhi", 13-6-1945.

216. 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

217. 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. Mirabeau 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 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Ramprasad Vyas", 30-5-1945.

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

218. 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*. 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 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

219. 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 written¹ 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* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", 2-6-1945.

220. 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

221. 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

222. LETTER TO RAMCHANDRA AND RAJMOHAN GANDHI

June 14, 1945

CHI. RAMU¹ AND MOHAN²,

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? Tara³ 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

223. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY⁴

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 14, 1945

PRIVATE SECRETARY⁵ TO THE VICEROY
NEW DELHI

HAVE READ IN VICEREGAL BROADCAST⁶ 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 Addressee's sister

⁴ This was sent in the night; *vide* the following item.

⁵ Sir Edward Jenkins

⁶ *Vide* Appendix "Speech Broadcast by the Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

⁷ *Vide* also the following item and "Statement to the Press".

⁸ The Viceroy's telegram dated June 15, in reply to this read: "Thank for your telegram of the 14th. Whatever the technical position may be, I 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

224. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

RECEIVED KIND WIRE¹ OF INVITATION. FOR REASONS GIVEN IN MY WIRE² 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 CLAWING TO REPRESENT HINDUS AS SUCH. I APPREHEND THAT EVEN THAT BODY WILL DISCLAIM REPRESENTING CASTE HINDUS. MOREOVER BROADCAST³ 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

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 “Speech broadcast by the Viceroy”, 14-6-1945.

⁴ For the addressee’s reply, *vide* Appendix “Telegram from Lord Wavell”, 16-6-1945.

225. LETTER TO JAGANNATHDAS¹

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, brick-laying, 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

226. NOTE TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL²

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 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

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.

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

227. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
June 15, 1945

On the purely political aspect of the Viceregal statement¹ 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 wire² 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 talks³ 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, as a “caste Hindu”, let alone the Congress which seeks to represent the whole of India which is yearning after political independence.⁴

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?

¹ *Vide* Appendix “Speech broadcast by the Viceroy”, 14-6-1945.

² This was sent to Private Secretary to the Viceroy, *vide* “Telegram to Private Secretary to the Viceroy”, 14-6-1945.

³ In September 1944.

⁴ *Vide* also “Telegram to Lord Wavell”, 15-6-1945.

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-Liaquat Ali understanding¹ 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 advising² 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 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

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Desai-Liaquat pact".

² *Vide* "Silence-day note to Bhulabhai Desai", 11-6-1945.

228. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

IN REPLY YOUR KIND WIRE OF YESTERDAY¹ AM
POSTING LETTER².

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 19

229. TELEGRAM TO J. B. KRIPALANI

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

ACHARYA KRIPALANI
CARE "HINDU"
KARACHI

SARDAR³ DEO⁴ HERE. HOPE YOU WELL AND COMING.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

230. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
BALLYGUNGE

HOPE YOU WELL. SUGGEST EARLY MEETING WORK-
ING COMMITTEE BOMBAY. ADVERTISE DATE. SARDAR
DEO AGREE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* 5th footnote of "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

² *Vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 16-6-1945.

³ Vallabhbbhai Patel and Shankarrao Deo, who were discharged on June 15 from Yeravda Prison

⁴ *ibid*

231. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
KHALI (NAINITAL)

YOUR WIRE¹. 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

232. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
SADAQAT ASHRAM
PATNA

WHEN COMING? SARDAR DEO JAIRAMDAS MEHMUD
HERE. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

233. TELEGRAM TO PASHABHAI PATEL

June 16, 1945

PASHABHAI PATEL
CARE POWERFARM
BARODA

CAN NOW PAY SARDAR AGREES. BLESSINGS.

BAPU

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

¹ Dated June 15, it read: "Going Khali. Tomorrow Nainital. Reaching Allah bad Monday evening."

234. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
June 16, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your telegram¹ of yesterday received at 3.45 p.m. My second telegram², 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 wire³ intimating the despatch of this letter. For ready reference, I am enclosing herewith a copy of my Press message⁴ 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, severed⁵ 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. 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.

¹ *Vide* 5th footnote, "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 15-6-1945.

³ *Vide* "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 16-6-1945.

⁴ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1945.

⁵ In October 1934.

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

235. 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

¹ Acknowledging this telegraphically on June 17, the Viceroy said: "I understand your position. I am looking forward to seeing you on 24th and hope means may be found for you to take part in proceedings of the conference. I shall be

never leave it till you promised that you would literally obey all medical instructions. Your pupils would want you but your recently bereaved mother 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

236. 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 note¹ for Lilamani. I hope she will live for you, if not for others. Do keep me informed of L's progress.

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

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."

¹Vide the preceding item.

237. 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

238. 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: G. W. 7688. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

239. 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

240. 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

241. 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

242. 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 Mridulabehn'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

243. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR WIRE¹ RECEIVED YESTERDAY
EVENING. IN ORDER REGULARIZE PROCEDURE AND
FACILITATE DESPATCH OF WORK WITHOUT DISTURBING
NUMBER OF MEMBERS CONFERENCE I SUGGEST IM-
MEDIATE INVITATION TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT ATTEND
CONFERENCE OR DEPUTE CONGRESS NOMINEE. IF FIXITY
OF PARITY BETWEEN CASTE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS
UNCHANGABLE 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* 5th footnote, "Telegram to private secretary to Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

² *Vide* also the following item.

244. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

MANY THANKS YOUR PROMPT REPLY¹ TO MY LETTER²
OF 16TH. BUT IN ABSENCE OF REPLY TO MY
WIRE³ 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* 6th footnote, "Letter to Lord Wavell", 16-6-1945.

² *Vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 16-6-1945.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁴ For the Viceroy's reply, *vide* Appendix "Telegram from Lord Wavell", 18-6-1945.

245. 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

246. 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

247. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

Express

PANCHGANI,
June 17, 1945

DOCTOR PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA¹
MASULIPATAM

HOPE YOU WELL. WIRE WHEN COMING.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

248. 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

249. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI²

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

¹ Congress leader of Andhra., Member, A. I. C. C. and Congress Working Committee

² This was given to Rangaswami, representative of *The Hindu*, for transmission on teleprinter.

250. 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 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

251. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

PANCHGANI,

June 18, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PROMPT FRANK AND FULL
REPLY¹ 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

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Lord Wavell", 18-6-1945.

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 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

252. 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

¹ In his telegram dated June 19, the Viceroy replied that he expected to hear from Gandhiji "immediately after the meeting on June 21".

253. LETTER TO PARIMAL SHOME

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

MY DEAR PARIMAL,

I am sorry to hear from you that Sarat Babu¹ 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.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PARIMAL SHOME, B. COM.
12-3 HINDUSTAN ROAD
BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

254. 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

¹ Sarat Chandra Bose, addressee's maternal uncle

² *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 21-6-1945.

255. *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

256. *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 do hope that he will stay on there. I have written¹ 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", 14-6-1945..

257. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
June 18, 1945

This is perhaps an opportune moment to release the text of a letter¹ 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 note² 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 letter³ 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 sent⁴ 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, 1944,⁵ to enquire from the Prime Minister whether I had his permission to publish it in case of need. He replied through his Secretary 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"

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Winston Churchill", 17-7-1944 and "Letter to M.A. Jinnah", 17-7-1944.

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* "Letter to Viceroy", 10-9-1944. and "Letter to Sir Evan M. Jenkins", 17-9-1944.

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ *ibid*

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, 19-6-1948

258. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,

June 18, 1945

QUESTION: What did you mean when you said that the Desai Formula¹ 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 Viceroy² and the Secretary of State³ 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.

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

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Desai-Liaquat pact".

² *Vide* Appendices "Telegram from Lord Wavell", 16-6-1945 and "Telegram from Lord Wavell", 18-6-1945.

³ *Vide* Appendix VII.

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 announced¹ 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 pointed² out the mistake he saw it at once and rectified it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1945

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1945.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Privy Secretary to Viceroy", 14-6-1945 and "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 15-6-1945.

259. 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

260. INTERVIEW TO P. RAMCHANDRA RAO

PANCHGANI,
[Before June 19, 1945]¹

QUESTION: Is there a “Gandhian Plan”, as Prof. Agrawal² 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, 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

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.

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 declaimed¹ 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

¹Vide "Statement to the Press", 6-5-1945.

261. 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

262. 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

263. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

BOMBAY,
June 20, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. Kishorelalbai 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

264. 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

265. 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

266. 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 DHRMANAND KOSAMBI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

267. *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

268. *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

EDMINSTON ROAD

ALLAHABAD

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

269. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

BHAI BRELVI¹,

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 pre-occupation 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

270. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1945

As I was about to leave Panchgani, I received a pathetic letter² 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 grave anxiety to us all. If he is not at

¹ Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*

² From Parimal Shome; *vide* "Letter to Parimal Shome", 18-6-1945.

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 Bahu ought to be removed to a health resort in Bengal with facilities for him to see his relatives.

The Hindu, 22-6-1945

271. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

BOMBAY,
June 22, 1945

H. E. VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP
INDIA

IN REPLY YOUR WIRE¹ 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

272. 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* 2nd footnote, "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 18-6-1945.

273. *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 DEVLII
KATHIAWAR

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 892. Courtesy: Maneklal Gandhi

274. *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

275. *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

¹ Gandhiji was going to Simla to meet the Viceroy.

276. 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

277. 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

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 8-6-1945.

278. 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 HOLMES¹
10 PARR 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

279. NOTE TO PRESTON GROVER

ON THE TRAIN,
June 23, 1945

MY DEAR GROVER,

Many thanks for your considerate note². But let me melt myself in this natural heat. As sure as fate, this heat will be followed by

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

² 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'."

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

280. 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

281. 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

282. MEMORANDA FOR TALKS WITH THE VICEROY

[Before June 24, 1945]¹

1. The fact that Congress and some of its organizations are still in jail acts as a piece of coercion to compel co-operation on part of Congress.
2. Principle of Communalism being an evil cannot be extended beyond the life of the interim temporary Govt. [and] cannot be used as a precedent for the future and has no application in considering the services. Congress represents all parties and the people without distinction of class, caste or creed.
3. Number of non-Scheduled Hindus should not exceed that of Muslims drawn from all parties including Shias.
4. Implication of Provincial Coalitions
5. Recruitment of services and commitments
6. Method of appointment
7. Financial implications of defence
8. Indian army - its freedom
9. Indian States - Princes and people
10. External Affairs Department
11. Commercial Safeguards.

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

¹ Gandhiji met the Viceroy on June 24, 1945; for the Viceroy's note on his interview with Gandhiji, *vide* Appendix "Lord Wavell's note on his interview", 24-6-1945.

283. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

[After June 24, 1945]¹

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

It was by mere chance that Pyarelal happened to see you. But what you told him, if his report of the talk is accurate, is startling. The Working Committee has not given you the right or the permission to form a cabinet. You yourself told me that you could not do it without the Working Committee. That is my view too. That was why I had said that you should form a small committee with the assistance of the Working Committee, which could be given that right and then act through that committee or the Working Committee itself. Since you did not react favourably to either of the proposals, I can only conclude that I do not understand or do not know the stand of the Working Committee in the matter.² I understand from what Jamnalalji says that you are going to summon the Working Committee anyhow. I consider it improper. I would not wish you to be guilty of such a grave error at this juncture.

I do not know what you have done and how you could persuade the Viceroy. Even if you have committed yourself it is, in my view, your duty to inform him that a mistake has been committed. So much for the matter between you and the Working Committee.

Another thing I would like to tell you is that in anything you do, you should take with you the Congress who are present and you should put everything in writing.

The third is a personal matter. Ever since I first heard the Viceroy's proclamation³, that is, while I was still at Panchgani, I have been shouting that the Congress cannot accept the principle of parity between Muslims and non-Harijan Hindus, an organization of Hindus alone. Even if I am the only one among crores to do so, I shall refuse to be a party to it. I do not care if the negotiations break down on this, for I know and believe that the moment you try to form a national government at the centre in this way you will be laying a wrong

¹ From the contents it is evident that this was written during Gandhiji's stay at Simla where he had talks with the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, regarding constitutional negotiations. Gandhiji reached Simla to attend the Conference on June 24.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Abul Kalam Azad", 17-6-1945.

³ *ibid.*

foundation.¹ In this respect I am neither a Hindu, nor belong to any other religion. I belong to all faiths or to none. I only walk in the way shown by God. I shall be very happy if you can lend me your cooperation in this matter. But if you cannot do it wholeheartedly then I would rather do without it. I shall keep you informed.

I trust you are well and the climate here has not disagreed with you.

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

284. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

‘MANOR VILLE’, SIMLA,
June 25, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I was too tired to acknowledge your note² 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 *Vide* “Telegram to Abul Kalam Azad”, 17-6-1945.

² 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 “Lord Wavell’s note on his interview”, 24-6-1945.

285. NOTE TO MAURICE FRYDMAN¹

'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

286. 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 you

¹ Gandhiji scribbled this on Dr. Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee. *Vide* also "Telegram to Soundaram Ramachandran", 30-6-1945.

² *Vide* also the following item.

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

287. *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

288. *LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI*

June 25, 1945

CHI. KANAM,

This is for you. Do not forget the three gurus³. 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* "Letter to Jaisukhlal Gandhi", 30-5-1945.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Mangaldas Pakvasa", 12-6-1945 and the preceding item.

³ Presumably, a reference to the three proverbial monkeys

289. 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

290. 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

*291. 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 regasid to them.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: M.M.U./24

292. TELEGRAM TO PARIMAL SHOME

'MANOR VILLE', SIMLA WEST,
June 26, 1945

PARIMAL SHOME
12-3 HINDUSTAN ROAD
BALLYGUNGE (CALCUTTA)

YOURS WIRE. YOU CAN PUBLISH LETTER².

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", 4-6-1945.

² *Vide* "Letter to Parimal Shome", 18-6-1945.

293. *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

294. *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 Shanti² 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

295. 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

296. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

BHAI KAILASHNATH 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 booklet² 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 book³ 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 addition in what you say in your book about cattle, cattle diseases and land. If the villagers have to depend on

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Vilas Katju", 21-6-1945.

² *Dehati Pragati*; *vide* also "Letter to K.N. Katju", 13-5-1945.

³ *Cow in India*; for Gandhiji's Foreword, *vide* "Foreword to *Cow in India*", 20-5-1945.

⁴ Omission as in the source

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 KUTJU
ALLAETABAD

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

297. LETTER TO SUSHILA SHARMA

SIMLA,
June 26, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

How can I advice 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

298. 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

299. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

[After June 26, 1945]¹

I am taking out the clipping bearing my note added as a post-script 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

¹ In the source, the letter is placed after the items of June 26, 1945.

² The name is illegible.

300. 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

301. 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

302. 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 twos 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

303. *LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN*

SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

MY DEAR GLADYS¹,

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

304. *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

305. *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 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

¹ Quaker educationist; in 1936, she joined Theosophical School, Varanasi, to make a study of education in India.

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

306. 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

307. 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. 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 f

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", 28-6-1945.

or your licence nor could it have anything to do with payer. 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

308. *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

309. *LETTER TO MUNSHI*

SIMLA WEST,
June 27, 1945

BHAI MUNSHJI,

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

310. DRAFT OF SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SIMLA¹

[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

311. 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

312. 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

313. POSTSCRIPT TO “DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS FOR CIVIL RESISTERS”²

SEVAGRAM³,
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* “Draft instructions for Civil Resisters”, 4-8-1945.) 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

314. 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

315. 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

316. 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

317. LETTER TO G. B. PANT

'MANOR VILLE',

June 29, 1945

BHAI GOVIND BALLABH PANT¹,

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 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.

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.

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

318. INTERVIEW TO PRESTON GROVER

SIMLA,

June 29, 1945

In reply to my questions, Gandhiji said he 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.

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 statement¹ some time back in answer to Sir Feroz Khan Noon at San Francisco,

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the press", 4-5-1945.

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 wrote¹ 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 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", 14-8-1942.

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

319. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

[PANCHGANI/]¹ SIMLA WEST,
[On or before *June 19*] *June 30*, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter of the 3rd. It is good that you gave me the detailed information about uncle.²³ 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.³ 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

¹ Inferred from the contents; Gandhiji left Panchgani on June 19.

² *Vide* "Letter to Krishnavarma", 5-5-1945 and "Letter to Krishnavarma", 14-5-1945.

³ *ibid*

320. 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

321. 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

322. 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

323. 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

324. 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 Manu¹ from Poona. She expresses confidence that she will be fully restored. There is [however] no letter from Vanu².

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

325. 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 prisoners¹ and the other² 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

326. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

SIMLA,
June 30, 1945

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I have your letter. My congratulations to Bhogilal are contained in the telegram³ I sent you. Now it is your responsibility to see that Mahendra does not squander money. I had 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

¹ *Vide* footnote 1, “Letter to Lord Wavell”, 28-6-1945.

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* “Telegram to Shamaldas Gandhi”, 27-6-1945.

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

327. 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:

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

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.”

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 pronouncement² 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

328. 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

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the press", 15-6-1945.

² *Vide* Appendix "Speech broadcast by the Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

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".

329. 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

330. 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 written¹ 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Lalmansingh", 13-6-1945.

331. 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 writing¹ to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1964

332. 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

¹*Vide* the preceding item.

333. 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

334. DRAFT OF REVISED PHOENIX 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 Phoenix 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 Phoenix 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

¹ Vide "Letter to A.E. Chotabhai", 4-5-1911 and "The Phoenix Trust Deed", 14-9-1912.

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:

- (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

335. 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

336. LETTER TO REV. FOSS WESTCOTT¹

'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

[P.S.]

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

¹ Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon

337. 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

338. 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 neck look like a pot? 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 wisecracker 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

339. 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

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.

340. 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’¹ arrived yesterday. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

341. 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

¹ The reference is to Jawaharlal Nehru; ‘*jawahar*’, literally, means jewel.

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

342. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL

[After July 2, 1945]¹

DEAR LORD SAMUEL²,

I have your letter of 2nd July. I am sorry that you are still unconvinced. The ground of your objections seems to be that whilst the Congress may sincerely wish to embrace all parties and is trying to do so, it has not yet been able to achieve it and that its ultimate achievement is problematical, while the taking of the delivery is to be immediate and certain. This objection again overlooks the very relevant fact to which I have twice drawn your attention, namely, that the Congress through its president has invited the Government to transfer full power to the League and ask it to form a truly national government, in which it would have the loyal co-operation of the Congress. This offer was reiterated at Simla. But I am sorry to have to say it was again turned down.

I still adhere to my statement that “there cannot be Swaraj without an understanding with the Muslims.” My contention is and has been that the presence of the third party is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of this understanding. So long as one community in the country enjoys the power of vetoing all political progress there can be no reasonable settlement. In India this anomalous power is

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated July 2, 1945.

² Herbert Louis Samuel, Liberal leader

assured to the League by the British Government which supererogates to itself the right of arbitrating and holding the balance of power between the various communities. In the absence of an agreed solution, a just solution through impartial arbitration is held to be the only feasible alternative in civilized society, but in India the absence of an agreed solution is strangely held to be a justification for retention of power by an alien Government over a nation of 400 millions ! 'Quit India' can be the only reply to such a claim. It seems strange that you should see in this cry a manifestation of totalitarian spirit instead of the anguished despair of an enslaved people to be free from totalitarian foreign rule which has in the past demonstrably sabotaged all their efforts to achieve unity in order to be free and spurned their united and unanimous demands for political advance.

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

343. 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

344. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BAPA,

I got up at three today. The reply¹ 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 Malad², 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

345. LETTER TO GOKULCHAND NARANG

SIMLA,
July 3, 1945

BHAI GOKULCHANDJI³,

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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² At the Nature Cure Clinic of Krishnavarma

³ Leading barrister of Lahore; Minister, Local Self-Government, Punjab; President, Hindu Mahasabha; pioneered industrial development in the Punjab

346. 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 C courtesy: Pyarelal

347. 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

348. 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

¹ Permanent address

better if you could avoid it. See that you pass¹. Take care of your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9602. Also C.W. 6574. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

349. 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

350. 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

¹ The addressee was studying medicine.

351. NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

[After July 4, 1945]¹

If I went to a village as a worker I would expect the villagers to fund my expenses and I would make it worth their while to do so. I began life thus.

From the original: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

352. NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

[After July 4, 1945]

If the trustees are worthy of their trust that should be the basis. In fact it is. As Chairman I am conducting the trust in that fashion.

From the original: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

353. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
CAMP: "MANOR VILLE",
SIMLA WEST,
July 5, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 21st June.

He is too busy with the Conference work to be able to write to you himself. He desires me to thank you for your kind message.¹ He appreciates and fully reciprocates the spirit behind it. He is bending all his energy to end the deadlock and you may rest assured that if the offer is cent per cent sincere it will be all well in the end.

Thanking you once again.

Yours sincerely,

PYARELAL

CARL HEATH, ESQ.
57 MANOR WAY
GUILDFORD, SURREY

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

¹ This note and the one following are scribbled on used envelopes postmarked July 4, 1945.

¹ The addressee had, on behalf of the India Conciliation Group, expressed the hope "that you will all seek . . . a just co-operation in this new effort at Simla."

354. A NOTE

[After July 5, 1945]¹

Though herself a vegetarian, she² did not insist on it for others. Prayers she lived in and for. Therefore if I was a woman worker I would conduct³ prayers for all religious-minded people and for all religions. Neither Christians nor Muslims nor others would be excluded.

From the original: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

355. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

[After July 5, 1945]⁴

Different values undoubtedly. The way of life which Ba stood for is the way workers would live and thus present it to village women. I have imposed silence on myself today. I hope you do not mind it. But ask questions and I would answer.

From the original: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The first part of this is scribbled on a used envelope postmarked July 5, 1945.

² Presumably, Kasturba Gandhi

³ What follows is continued on a separate bit of a used envelope.

⁴ Scribbled on a used envelope postmarked July 5, 1945.

356. *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 return¹ 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

357. *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

358. *LETTER TO KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON*

CAMP: "MANOR VILLE",
SIMLA WEST,
July 7, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of 18th June and the cable sent by you recently on the eve of the Wavell Conference.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON, ESQ.
FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD
LONDON, N. W. I

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

359. *LETTER TO A. R. TIJARAYE*

SEVAGRAM,
July 7, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of 22nd inst. to Gandhiji.

He notes what you say with regard to the Forward Bloc political prisoners in C. P. The question of the release of all the political prisoners is fully in his mind and he is tackling it in the way he knows.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI A. R. TIJARAYE
TILAK VIDYALAYA
VILLAGE UPLIFT CENTRE
KOLAPARDI, POST MADAMENDHI

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

360. 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

361. 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 letter¹ which you had asked for is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7374. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

¹Vide the preceding item.

362. 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

363. 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. Shyam-prasad 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.

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

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 "Letter to Lord Wavell", 15-7-1945.

364. LETTER TO DHARMADEV SHASTRI

SIMLA
July 8, 1945

BHAI DHARMADEV SHASTRI

You enter your fourth year¹ 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

365. NOTE TO CHANDRANI²

[July 8, 1945]³

Blessing from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi. Chandrani Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

366. NOTE TO MAURICE FRYDMAN⁴

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

¹ The reference is to the Ashok Ashram founded by the addressee in July 1942; *vide* footnote 1, "Letter to Dharmadev Shastri", 31-5-1945.

² The note was appended to a letter dated July 8, 1945, from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee. *Vide* also "Letter to Chandrani", 28-6-1945.

³ *ibid*

⁴ The note was appended to a letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee.

367. *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

368. *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 Committee¹ is not meeting where I am staying.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9134

369. *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

¹ Congress Working Committee

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

370. 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 Poona² not because I say so, but of his own free will?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 4517

371. 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

372. *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

373. *LETTER TO A. KALESHWARA RAO*

July 9, 1945

BHAI KALESHWARA RAO¹,

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

374. *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

¹ Member, Madras Legislative Assembly

375. *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

376. *LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ*

SIMLA,
July 9, 1945

CHI. RADHAKISAN¹,

am not enthused by your or anyone else's release. How is Ramakrishna²? 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

377. *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

¹ Nephew and younger son of Jamnalal Bajaj

² *ibid*

378. TELEGRAM TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ
CARE SHREE
BOMBAY
GLAD ABOUT RAMAKRISHNA.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 294

379. 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

380. 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

¹ The addressee was learning Sanskrit from Vinoba Bhave who was also detained in Nagpur jail.

381. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

“MANOR VILLE”,
SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

You had said you would be seeing Dr. Khan Saheb and you would then tell me how wrong he was in what he had said about your drinking. According to the Doctor you had not seen him till the day before yesterday. He himself tried to meet you but he could not find you.

A lady who heard about this said: “I am a witness to the fact that Bhulabhai drinks and associates with undesirable women. His drinking and going around in the company of undersirable women is known all over Simla.”

Even if this is true, you can still stand on the Congress ticket. I was further told that at the meeting held at Maulana Saheb’s residence you had crossed the limit of decency while presenting your case.

Even with regard to money, what you told me does not appear to be correct. Even in writing this, my intention is to do good to you and the Congress. If you cannot cleanse yourself, you must consider all your talents as of no account.

Blessing from
BAPU

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

382. 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 Om¹ gone to Mussoorie?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 325

383. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI²

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

384. 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

¹ Uma Agrawal, addressee's younger sister

² The note was appended to a letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the addressee.

385. 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.

Bal¹ is expected now.

Sardar is with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10963

386. 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.²

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Addressee's son

² *Vide* also "Letter to Kishorelal G. Mashruwala", 2-7-1945.

387. *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

388. *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. Baba¹ and Gokhale are also in it. Do what you feel is right.

May leave here on the 15th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Mahadeo Moghe

389. *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

390. *LETTER TO S. K. PATIL*

SIMLA,
July 11, 1945

BHAI PATIL,

I have your letter. What message can I send about Sir Pherozechah Mehta¹ 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 Pherozechah 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

¹ 1845-1915; one of the founders of Indian National Congress. The message was, presumably, for his birth centenary.

391. 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

392. 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. Jagadisan² 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Dharmadev Shastri", 8-7-1945.

² T. N. Jagadisan, who was supervising the leprosy work of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

393. 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

394. TELEGRAM TO T. PRAKASAM

Express

SIMLA,
July 12, 1945

T. PRAKASAM¹
MADRAS

HOPE YOU WELL. MEET ME SEVAGRAM IF YOU
MUST. HOPE LEAVE HERE SUNDAY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

395. 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

¹ Congress leader known as “Lion of Andhra”; Chief Minister of composite Madras State; first Chief Minister of Andhra State

396. *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 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

397. *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

398. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SIMLA¹

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 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. These 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

399. 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

¹ Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani.

400. TELEGRAM TO SATYAN

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

SATYANJI
PRAKRITI ASHRAM
BHIMAVARAM

SORRY ABOUT GOKHALEJI. WRITE ME SEVAGRAM FULL
PARTICULARS BY DOCTOR RAJU¹.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

401. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKATULLAH ANSARI

SIMLA,
July 14, 1945

DOCTOR SHAUKATULLAH ANSARI
RAJPUR ROAD
DELHI

GOD GIVE YOU ZOHRA² COURAGE BEAR LOSS.³ LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Krishna Raju

² Addressee's wife

³ The reference is to the death of the addressee's son.

402. 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

403. 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

404. INTERVIEW TO SAILENDRA NATH
CHATTOPADHYAYA¹

[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?

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

405. 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

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”.

406. 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

407. 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

¹ The Viceroy had announced the failure of the conference at its final sitting on July 14.

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 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

408. SPEECH READ OUT AT PRAYER MEETING²

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

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.

409. 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 me. In the same way you also can stay. You know that Jayanti¹ 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 Secretary². 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 Committee³ 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

¹ Jayanti Parekh

² P. C. Joshi *vide* "Letter to P.C. Joshi", 3-5-1945.

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.

410. 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.

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 king¹ 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

411. 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 mecha-nically 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.

412. "A THOUGHT 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!

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."

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* 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*. . . ."

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.

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.

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.

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. 151-239

413. MESSAGE TO STUDENTS¹

AGRA,
July 17, 1945

[GANDHIJI:] Study and work for the country's freedom. This is my message to the students of India.

Gandhiji said that he realized the despondency of the student community on the failure of the Simla Conference² and the danger of ill-feeling that might creep in between Hindu and Muslim students. Hopes must not be lost.

Gandhiji stressed the need of unity among students and said it was deplorable that a number of parties existed and things had reached such a stage that the police were sometimes required to intervene. He wished that students of every creed, colour and caste worked as a united body for the common cause. He advised the people [to refrain] from indulging in mutual recriminations.

Asked if the Simla Conference failed on the issue of one seat given to a non-League, Mahatma Gandhi refuted the contention. He said that he would publicize his views regarding this problem at the earliest opportunity.

The Hindustan Times, 19-7-1945

¹ On his way to Wardha after the Simla Conference, Gandhiji addressed the crowd assembled at the Agra Cantt. station where the special carrying him arrived at 3.40 p. m. About a dozen local Communists, who had collected on the platform, were initially disallowed by the authorities but they were allowed on the assurance from them to remain peaceful.

² The Simla Conference was convened by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, and was attended by leaders of the various parties, prominent among whom were Abul Kalam Azad, Bhulabhai Desai, M. A. Jinnah, Dr. Khan Saheb, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Henry Richardson, Rao Bahadur Shiv Raj and Master Tara Singh. Gandhiji did not attend the Conference but he remained in Simla so as to be available for consultation. The Conference, started on June 25, was adjourned on June 29 to enable the parties to send the lists of the names for the proposed Executive Council. However, when it met again on July 14 Lord Wavell announced its failure.

414. INTERVIEW TO "PEOPLE'S WAR" I

[July 17, 1945]²

M. N. TANDON: Failure at Simla has disappointed the people who looked to a change in the regime.

GANDHIJI: They should not be disappointed. The Congress took a correct attitude and has vindicated its national character.

M. N. T. Mutual apportionment of blame has begun between the Congress and the League leaders and the papers. Would this not embitter relations and dash hopes of any future settlement, thus drifting to a position of civil war and riots?

G. Mutual recriminations should not be indulged in though truth will have to be spoken. There is a danger of the situation drifting into a civil war. The clash at Delhi station before Maulana Azad's compartment is a pointer. But the police should not be allowed to maintain order amongst us. But if riots take place what can we do? Riots have always been taking place. Even in the reign of . . .³ riots and disturbances took place. This country is inhabited by a very large population of various conflicting ideas.

M. N. T. Civil disturbances of the older days were no comparison to those of today with their political and economic implications. Patriots of the Congress and the League would fight instead of uniting for people's service, with the result that the people would lose faith in the honesty and patriotism of both. Their miseries would increase tenfold and the national movement would go to pieces.

G. Yes. We should make efforts not to let such a situation develop.

M. N. T. Do you hope that the Congress and the League will be able to settle in the near future?

G. We should all hope so.

M. N. T. The belief of the common man is that the Conference broke over the question of a single seat due to dissensions among the leaders.

G. It is wrong to say that the Conference broke over the question

¹ Gandhiji gave the interview to M. N. Tandon, the Agra correspondent of the Communist weekly, at the Agra Cantt. station on July

² *ibid*

³ The correspondent here explains that Gandhiji had "mentioned the name of some benevolent old Indian king, which I could not catch because of the noise on the platform".

of one seat. The Congress fought for a principle.

M. N. T. Even if the Congress had to nominate only Hindu Congressmen, they could very well have represented the Nationalist Muslims and safeguarded their interests. There is no difference between Congressman and Congressman.

G. But we were seeking able men of all parties and communities. We did not bother which party got what number of seats.

M. N. T. You had accepted the Bhulabhai Formula¹ of Congress-League parity and gave a public statement² to that effect. But the Congress Working Committee agreed to Hindu-Muslim parity, proposed by Wavell,³ thus raising the rock of breakdown, since Congress and League could not agree to the nomination of one by the other. Is it a fact that the Working Committee disagreed with you and rejected the Congress-League parity formula?

G. Now you are dragging me into deep water. Yes. The truth is something like this. I shall write about it in the near future.

M. N. T. You perhaps know that the Communists' main slogan all through the Conference has been "transform Hindu-Muslim parity into Congress-League parity" and they are making efforts in the direction.

G. They should continue their efforts.

M. N. T. On what grounds did your correspondence with P. C. Joshi⁴ break?

G. Who says it has broken down?

M. N. T. Has the Working Committee taken any decision regarding the Communists?

G. No. It has not taken any decision.

M. N. T. You know the ban of the U. P. Government continues on the three Communist weeklies⁵ in U. P.

G. Have they not yet lifted the ban? It is very wrong for the Government to do so.

M. N. T. Sjt. J. C. Gupta⁶ and others met you at Simla in connection with the release of pre-reform political prisoners who have already served 14 to 20 years of

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Desai-Liaquat pact".

² *Vide* "Statement to the press", 15-6-1945.

³ For the Viceroy's broadcast of June 14, *vide* Appendix "Speech broadcast by the Viceroy", 14-6-1945.

⁴ General Secretary, Communist Party of India. For Gandhiji's correspondence with P. C. Joshi, *vide* "Letter to P.C. Joshi", 30-7-1944; "Letter to P.C. Joshi", 15-9-1944 and "Letter to P.C. Joshi", 5-2-1945.

⁵ *Lok Yuddha*, *People's War* and *Quomi Jung*

⁶ Chairman, All Parties Political Prisoners' Release Campaign Committee

imprisonment. You have the power to get them released.

G. Efforts should certainly be made to secure their release.¹ It is wrong to say that I alone have the power to get them out.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-8-1945

415. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
July 18, 1945

The public will not like to know, as I have not liked, the fact that I had to travel from Kalka to Wardha like a thief. I could do so only by the courtesy of the authorities. Why should I have to escape the embarrassing affection of the public? When I travelled by the Frontier Mail from Bombay to Kalka², at every stopping station it was a wild demonstration. Accidents, even fatal, were escaped by miracle. Those who were with me in the compartment had a rough time and two wakeful nights.

Singly I might not have been able to cope with the din, noise and hustle of the crowd. Of course this was not the first time that I had to face such wild demonstrations, nor am I unaware that other leaders have to go through such ordeals, but the fact is that each year makes me less fit for them. My ears cannot stand the noise. I can do no work among demonstrators and cannot make Harijan collections in such circumstances. What is most painful is the fact that this wildness is no prelude to swaraj, it is no sign of non-violence.

Crowds there should be to greet the leaders, but they should be peaceful, dignified and completely disciplined. I have seen ordinary soldiers in thousands observing perfect silence whether on the march or at rest. Our crowds, if they are non-violent soldiers of swaraj, should be more disciplined than ordinary soldiers. Will leaders of volunteers learn a lesson from my train journey from Kalka to Wardha and ensure perfectly peaceful demonstrations at stations and elsewhere in all circumstances and not only or especially for me?

The Hindu, 20-7-1945

¹ For the Congress President's letter to the Viceroy regarding this, *vide* Appendix "Abul Kalam Azad's letter to Lord Wavell", 15-7-1945.

² On June 22 and 23

416. LETTER TO RAFI AHMED KIDWAI

July 18, 1945

BHAI RAFI¹,

I learnt of your release at Kalka. I arrived in Sevagram this evening. It is good you were freed. Do you get fever? Do you have weakness? Write to me fully.

Blessings from

BAPU

RAFI AHMED KIDWAI

ANAND BHAWAN

ALLAHABAD

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

417. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 19, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,²

We reached yesterday at 2.30 Wardha and 4 p. m. Sevagram. We walked most of the way. This I am writing before the morning prayer.

You—all—surrounded us with lavish affection. May God bless you for it. I hope there is no more grief over Tofa's³ departure from you. There should be none.

Though there is rain there is no cold. I dread your having to come to this level from cool Simla. But you will see when it is time for you to come.

I shall think of your things.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3696. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6505

¹ Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (1894-1954); chief whip of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly after the 1926 election; Minister for Revenue, Home and Jails in U. P. in 1937-39 and 1946-47; Central Minister for Communication and Food from 1947 till his death

² The superscription in this and the other letters to the addressee is in the Devanagari script.

³ Addressee's pet dog which died during Gandhiji's stay at Simla.

418. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS G. KAPADIA

July 19, 1945

CHI. MADHAVDAS¹,

It is not good that you still don't feel comfortable there. You should resolve that you are to get well and not to budge from the place. Follow Dr. Krishnavarma's instructions scrupulously and cheer-fully. I am writing this before the morning prayer, soon after rising. It is now time for prayer. I had got up at 4 o'clock. I arrived here yesterday at 4.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2724

419. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

July 19, 1945

CHI. PREMA,

I read your letter of the 11th today. With it is Rajkumari's too. The post seems to have been received at Kalka. It is 4.30 just now. I am writing this after brushing my teeth. I am sitting inside a mosquito-net and the light is outside. The prayer bell is about to ring.

Today is your birthday. You will get this after two days. You have to live many more years still. Spend them happily and in service. Serving is in our own hands, and happiness, too, if we but learn to be equiminded in happiness and sorrow. Isn't forgetting Vishnu the only real suffering? Why should we forget Him?

I do not remember to have been annoyed with you. If I did get annoyed, there must have been a reason. But is my annoyance really annoyance? Shouldn't you understand this?

If you start your camp independently of us and ask for no money, where would be the difficulty? Others will learn from you, including myself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10436. Also C.W. 6875. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

¹ Kasturba Gandhi's brother

420. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

July 19, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

You have two girls¹ already under your care. May you completely succeed with them. I am now thinking of sending Balkrishna² to you. If he can go he will go in August. I gave him suvarnaparpati³, he gained weight but now he has lost whatever he had gained. I am therefore inclined to send him to you. I wrote to him from Simla. His reply is enclosed.

Sardar Patel might also go there. I have of course suggested it. Maybe, if he goes I too may have to go. Do you wish him to come?

There is a third girl in addition to the two. I am thinking of sending her also. She too is learning nursing. She keeps indifferent health. She gets fever frequently. Can she come? I hope that all the three will get well and learn nursing there. I expect you to train them in that way.

Have you sent Gulbehn⁴ to Panchgani?

Blessings to all three of you from

BAPU

CLINIC

POONA

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

421. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

July 19, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letters. You are doing everything you can for Mama⁵ and Sailen⁶ and it seems with Sailen you are getting results. But it is not so in the case of Mama. It seems it is the most difficult case you have ever taken up. Do whatever you can. If in the end he

¹ Manu Gandhi, daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi, and Vanamala Parikh, daughter of Narahari Parikh; *vide* "Letter to Manu Gandhi", 20-7-1945.

² Balkrishna Bhawe, younger brother of Vinoba Bhawe

³ An Ayurvedic Medicine

⁴ Addressee's wife

⁵ Madhavdas G. Kapadia

⁶ Sailendra, son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

must go, what can you do? I consider this as the last effort. The journal you used to bring out will have been discontinued. Now do not bring out a new one. If you do well whatever you are doing you will have done a lot.

Blessings from

BAPU

NATURE CURE HOSPITAL
MALAD (BOMBAY)

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

422. NOTE TO PARACHURE SHASTRI

July 19, 1945

I reject taboos associated with menstruation deliberately. But that does not mean that a lustful person may touch a woman in menses to gratify his desire. It is the superstition that I strongly oppose.

M. K. GANDHI

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

423. ADDRESS TO ASHRAM WORKERS

July 19, 1945

There is no cause for frustration or disappointment as a result of the failure of the Simla Conference. We should carry on more vigorously our constructive work and other national activities for strengthening our position and serving the masses.

The Hindu, 21-7-1945

424. MESSAGE TO STUDENT CONGRESS WORKERS¹

WARDHAGANJ,
July 20, 1945

Do and do as much as you can. Collect each one pice.²

The Hindu, 22-7-1945

¹ Who met Gandhiji in connection with raising Begum Azad pice fund

² *Vide* also "Letter to Abul Kalam Azad", 2-8-1945.

425. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 20, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

Keep well.

Fix the date some time during the first week in September. I have Bharatan¹ on the brain.

I have distributed two copies of your book² on Jesus to non-Indian Xians. Supply me with more copies.

Love.

BAPU

MAGANWADI, WARDHA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

426. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

July 20, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

You are suffering a good deal. I have great faith in Dr. Dinshaw, and therefore I am not worrying about you. You could not be in a better place. I can see from your letters themselves that both of you girls will learn something there. You must return only after you have built up radiant health. Trust the doctor implicitly and do whatever he tells you to do. Do not feel shy to write about anything that happens. If you feel shy, I shall worry more.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Addressee's brother, Assistant Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association and Editor of its organ *Gram Udyog Patrika*

² *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*

427. LETTER TO VANAMALA N. PARIKH

July 20, 1945

CHI. VANU,

If you become Vanu-di¹, wouldn't that be your undoing? Are you going to remain silly all your life? Then remain Vanudi. If you have any silliness in you, leave it there. As for the extra fat, you have gone there to shed it, and also to improve the ear. Isn't that so? You have planned the prayers, etc., fairly well there. I have built high hopes on the result of your stay there. My two notes are for both you sisters.

The rest from the other letters.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5794. Also C.W. 3017. Courtesy: Vanamala M. Desai

428. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 20, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have not written to you for a long time. I felt inclined to write today after hearing the account given by Kanaiyo². I had left him in Bombay with high hopes. But they have not been fulfilled. Maybe, that also is to the good. On top of that, he got boils on the hand. How he got them one cannot tell. It is hoped they will subside in about eight days' time. After that he intends to go there. It is necessary to think now how he should be fixed up. He has considerable ability. We have to consider which of his gifts to employ and on what tasks. Personally I feel that it would be the most natural thing for him to remain with me and get trained. But I would attach more importance to your view, for at present my mind is occupied with the work lying before me and, therefore, I am not able to concentrate it on problems of individuals. If something occurs to me on the spur of the moment,

¹ 'Di' is suffixed to Gujarati names to form diminutives or to express endearment.

² Kanu, addressee's son

well and good. After that, the attention wanders off to the original problem. I will, therefore, do what you desire. In any case Kanaiyo himself can decide.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8626. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

429. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

July 20, 1945

BHAI AMRITLAL,

I have your letter in Hindi. It is good that you wrote it in Hindi. It will not be proper for you to come here right now. The Ashram is very unsteady. If you have blood-pressure go to the Khadi Pratishthan¹. There is work to be done there. Maybe, Ranu² and Shanti³ can also stay there. Consult Dhiren⁴.

Sailen has recovered.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10405. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

430. LETTER TO ROMEN CHATTERJEE

July 20, 1945

CHI. ROMEN,

I am sure you acted after careful thought.⁵ College education has no value for me. Almost all the boys that come out take up jobs—and jobs that bring no benefit to the country, only cause it harm. What can you do? You are a child. All the elders want you to go to college. How can you disobey them?

Be good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10397. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ At Sodepur, run by Satis Chandra Das Gupta

² Romen, addressee's son

³ Addressee's daughter

⁴ Dhirendra, addressee's son

⁵ The addressee had joined the Intermediate course of the Calcutta University.

431. LETTER TO ABDUL HUQ

July 20, 1945

BHAI SAHEB,

Zohra¹ has come to me about Shaukatullah Ansari's² house which is in your possession and which you refuse to give up. I should like to hear what you have to say in the matter. You were a friend of the late Dr. Ansari³. How can there be any litigation with you? I shall hope to hear from you.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

DR. ABDUL HUQ
DELHI

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

432. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
July 21, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

I have torn up your letter. It was silly. If there was any thing private in it, it was your silliness. You had promised to stay there for a year if required. And now you wish to go back on your word! Who will trust you then? There is no harm in accepting money from Bhai. He is your father. If you ask me, I would say that you should stop all other thought and get well there. If the doctor is put to any expense, it is for him and me to worry about. You may ask him for whatever money you need. Your whole letter was silly. I was pained to read it. Try and see if you can become firm in your mind. Ultimately you are your own sovereign.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Zohra Ansari, wife of Shaukatullah Shah Ansari

² Honorary General Secretary, All-India Muslim Majlis, 1944-47; Counsellor, Indian Embassy in Turkey, 1947-48

³ M. A. Ansari (1880-1936); leading physician of Delhi; President, Indian National Congress, 1927

433. LETTER TO SARALA MEHTA

July 21, 1945

CHI. SARALA¹,

I have your long letter. What can I do in the family affairs?² Time will do its own work. But bear in mind that the one who has truth on his side will not be harmed. Bhai Nanalal³ is there—all of you should see him. I am very busy these days.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHANDRAKUNJ
JAGANATH PLOT, RAJKOT

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also C.W. 1627. Courtesy: Champa Mehta

434. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 21, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

(1) There is some confusion. What is and what is not my responsibility and to what extent is a matter of argument. In faith there is no room for argument.

(2) One can try to be dustlike. Understand the suffix 'like'.

(3) How can a person make his full contribution if he has not become dustlike to the extent required by the Ashram?

(4) One can make oneself fit for the Ashram even while one is away from it. People have done so and are doing so. This needs to be understood. And those who have qualified themselves for the Ashram will always regard themselves as being in the Ashram, no matter where they go.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4518

¹ Daughter of Champa and Ratilal Mehta, eldest son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

² Of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

³ Nanalal K. Jasani

435. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SEVAGRAM,
July 22, 1945

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

I thank you for your letter¹ which I am forwarding to the Maulana. I know he will appreciate it.

You may depend upon my doing whatever is possible for me to do.

I hope you are keeping well and fit.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. M. R. JAYAKAR
WINTER ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY²

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers, File No. 826. Courtesy: National Archives of India

436. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

July 22, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

I could not send you the enclosed earlier. If you did not want some such answer you should revise it yourself or rewrite it and let me see it. We do not want to fill the columns of the *Gram Udyog Patrika*. Whilst I was away, what was done was inevitable. Now that I am here we must publish something final.

You and your informants are late in the day. Have you read my writings?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10174

¹ Dated July 19, it read: “. . . it does not suit Mr. Jinnah, to accept any arrangement, however shortlived, which brings Hindus and Muslims together . . . he called the Wavell arrangement a snare . . . if he accepted the interim arrangement (suggested at the Simla Conference in June '45) Pakistan would be shelved. . . May I congratulate you and the other Congress leaders, especially the President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the straight, dignified and urbane manner in which he conducted himself?”

² The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

437. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

July 22, 1945

CHI. MANUDI,

Do you believe that Jaisukhlal refused to send you money because he distrusts you? If you think so, you are doing a great injustice to your father. I have told Jaisukhlal that he should not send money directly to you, and that is why he mentioned my name. If you want money, write to me. But where is the need? I can write to Dr. Mehta. If you do not stay there in peace and keep on saying that you wish to run away, it will pain me. How do you know that Rs. 10,000 are to be set [apart] for you?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

438. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 22, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Chi. Sushila (Nayyar) is leaving today. If an operation becomes absolutely necessary, get it done. If it is decided to keep you under observation for two or three months, I am in favour of your staying at Dinshaw's. If you decide to go, I also will be ready to go there. You may write, or dictate, whatever else you wish to.

Blessings from

BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

68 MARINE DRIVE

BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 280

439. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

July 22, 1945

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I have received all your letters. They have all been duly answered. Bear in mind that anyone who spins will have to see to all the previous processes connected with cotton. Without it the work will be incomplete. Among these the process of carding works wonders. Let them ply the *takli* instead of the spinning-wheel.

I have not quite understood what took place with Kanu Gandhi. Narandas's suggestion appears to be quite acceptable.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10855. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

440. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
July 22, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I did let you go but afterwards I kept thinking about your health.¹ I have therefore asked² Sardar to inform me about it by wire. Get well completely. Have yourself examined by Dr. Gilder³, if you want to. Write to me in detail. Was there a crowd? If Dr. Gilder is not using Prabhavati's⁴ spinning-wheel, bring it back. Buy him a new one if he is using it, or we can send one from here. Prabhavati's spinning-wheel is specially meant for me and so I want it back if possible. I am sure you will see Mathuradas⁵.

Today I span for one hour and seven minutes. Recitation of the *Gita* was over by that time.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The addressee had an attack of dysentery.

² This letter is not available.

³ Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Minister in the first Congress Ministry of Bombay, 1937-39

⁴ Wife of Jayaprakash Narayan

⁵ Mathuradas Trijumji, ex-Mayor of Bombay, who was suffering from tuberculosis

441. TELEGRAM TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

Express

SEVAGRAM,
July 23, 1945

MRIDULA¹
CARE SARALA
BOMBAY

I WANT WHOEVER ENTERTAINS CAMP TO PROVIDE BUILDINGS
UTENSILS FREE. ONE PLACE WAS REJECTED TRYING OTHER
TWO. YOU CAN GO AND RETURN AS SUGGESTED.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

442. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

Express

SEVAGRAM,
July 23, 1945

DOCTOR RAJENDRAPRASAD
BIRLA HOUSE
NEW DELHI

SORRY MAHENDRA² TO DIE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

443. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

SEVAGRAM,
July 23, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter³ of 18th instant about Mahendra Chowdhury
for which I thank you.

Apart from the merits about which I should have much to say if

¹ Daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai, Trustee and Joint Secretary of the Kasturba
Gandhi National Memorial Trust

² Mahendra Chowdhury; *vide* the following item.

³ In which the Viceroy had informed Gandhiji that the case was one of dacoity
and murder, that the Privy Council had rejected the application and that the law must
take its course. *Vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 15-7-1945.

there was room for argument, I question the prudence of one person, however eminent, deciding to take the life of a person even proved guilty, without having an impartial tribunal to advise him. Moreover, this case had, rightly or wrongly, assumed a political character. How I wish you had been wisely guided!

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 39

444. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 23, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,¹

I have your two letters received by the same post.

The cuttings you have sent are interesting. I have read them all.

I hope you no longer grieve over Tofa's death. Don't have another pet animal if you can restrain yourself.

Though you must miss us all, I am glad you have a little leisure now. You were overworking yourself.

I look forward to your account of the visit you have referred to in your letter.

Sushila had an attack of dysentery. She had lost 4 lb. up to yesterday. She went to Bombay yesterday for the Sardar. There was a phone that she was still suffering. I do feel strongly that medical people should [not] suffer from avoidable complaints. Something wrong in a system that tolerates such evils.

Well, I hear today from the Viceroy that the Bihar young man² is to hang. It is a bad augury. I had forebodings as you know but had hoped otherwise. Let us see.

My love to you all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3697. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6506

¹ The superscription and the subscription in this letter are in Hindi.

² Mahendra Chowdhury

445. LETTER TO MADALASA

July 23, 1945

CHI. MADALASA,

The name "Jivan Kutir"¹ will be justified only if you, who were half dead when going to live there, regain sweet life there. I was very pleased to know that you were well. And now you have Vinoba² and Ram³. What more can you wish for? See that you never sink into the slough of despair again.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 325

446. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

July 23, 1945

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I got your loving gift of the loin-cloth. But if all the girls should send things like this, wouldn't that spoil me? I would get into the habit of wearing new and nice loin-cloths. The really good and proper thing to do would be to give the best thing you make or get made to your best student. That would be truly as good as giving the thing to me.

Now you should learn hand-weaving also.

I hope your health is good and your work is going on well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9438

447. LETTER TO MANCHERSHA AVARI

July 23, 1945

BHAI MANCHERSHA AVARI,

I have your letter. I am very happy to know that you are immersed in constructive work and your wife is also with you. It is

¹ The name of the addressee's house; literally, 'cottage of life'

² Vinoba Bhave

³ Ramakrishna, addressee's younger brother

difficult to attend to everyone—and then there are so many things to see to. It will be so much the better if you could carry further what has since been accomplished. Let us see what happens about the death-sentence convicts¹. I am doing all that I can.

Blessings to both of you from

BAPU

GENERAL MANCHERSHA AVARI
SIRAS PETH
NAGPUR CITY

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

448. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 23, 1945

CHI. DAUGHTER,

Your letter, redirected from Simla, was received here yesterday.

You deliberately spoil your health and then complain. Come whenever you can make yourself free. You went of your own accord. Was it I who sent you? Anyway come when Prafulla Babu² permits you to do so. Shanti³ told me at Simla that she needed you for a lot of work. She does not want to let you leave Bengal. But I want to leave everything to you.

See Niamat's letter. I argued with her a great deal, telling her it would be no use calling Islam⁴ just for a few days. But would she ever listen to me?

Prabhavati will write the rest.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 499

¹ Several freedom fighters who had retaliated against British repression in Chimur and Ashti had been sentenced to death. *Vide* also "Statement to the press", 31-3-1945.

² Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Chief Minister of West Bengal, 1947-48 Member, State Assembly, 1947-62, 1967-68

³ Wife of Humayun Kabir

⁴ A Muslim woman from Sevagram who was later accommodated in Kasturba Vidyalaya, Madhan

449. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 23, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your catching malaria is a matter of concern. Maybe, you would have been spared if you had properly used the mosquito-net. In my opinion the principle of not taking any treatment cannot hold good for everybody.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4519

450. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

July 23, 1945

BHAI KALESWARRAO,

I have your telegram. I showed it to Vinoba. He is so much involved in the work here that he needs some free time. He will therefore not be able to do any work for the exhibition¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

451. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

July 23, 1945

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

I have sent a telegram² about Mahendra. I am enclosing here-with the Viceroy's letter and my reply³ to him. Mahendra will have gone, but what now? The full details of the case should come out.⁴

I hope the fever has gone.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Village Industries Exhibition

² *Vide* "Telegram to Rajendra Prasad", 23-7-1945 and "Letter to Lord Wavell", 23-7-1945.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *Vide* also "Telegram to Rajendra Prasad", 30-7-1945, and "Letter to Rajendra Prasad", 15-8-1945.

452. LETTER TO MAHESH CHARAN

July 23, 1945

BHAI MAHESH CHARAN,

Sjt. Jajuji¹ has talked to me about the matter you mention in your letter. I am satisfied with what is being done.

Blessings from
BAPU

GANDHI ASHRAM
KHADI BHANDAR
32 LATOUCHE ROAD
LUCKNOW

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

453. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

July 23, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL²,

There are two ways of serving the Harijans. First, by raising them through education, etc., and secondly by rooting out untouchability from among the caste Hindus. The first course always bears fruit and it is desirable to pursue it however little one can. Simple 'Eradication of Untouchability' does not serve our purpose. Therefore, 'Harijan Sevak Sangh' is a more appropriate expression. It is true that so far very little work has been done among the *savarnas*. The reasons are obvious. We lack self-sacrifice. Everyone, to some extent, can do the work of spreading education. But everyone cannot work among the *savarnas* for the removal of Untouchability. Untouchability cannot be removed by delivering speeches. It will be removed only by the power of our self-sacrifice. In such self-sacrifice, fasting has an important place. The fasts should be backed by discretion. Something could be done if competent Shastris issue public statements. What Barveji³ says is not right. There can be no separate village for Harijans because they are an integral part of society and yet outside it.

They need wells, schools, etc., and if they are properly built and

¹ Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

² Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

³ V. N. Barve, President, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Dhulia

if *savarnas* are allowed access to them, it would be one step towards eradication of untouchability. Abolition of untouchability has political implications but it must be pursued with a purely religious motive. It is a need of Hinduism. The answers to your more important questions are as follows:

1. Castes must go if we want to root out untouchability. Read my preface to *Varnavyavastha*¹.

2. I feel that if it becomes necessary we should continue special schools, wells, and so on.

3. Propaganda among the *savarna* Hindus is necessary. I have mentioned its limitations above.

4. If there is a conflict with the *savarnas* for securing the rights of Harijans, we must put up with it but secure them the rights.

5. The suggestion is good, but discretion will be necessary in [implementing] it.

6. I consider the movement for temple-entry as necessary.

7. I do not know how far it is possible to have a meeting of Hindu leaders. But there should be such a meeting.

8. The question of separate wells has already been dealt with.

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

454. LETTER TO ISHKUMAR

July 23, 1945

BHAI ISHKUMAR,

What will you do by coming to me? It is difficult to be with me. It is also uncertain where I shall be when you come. It is only physical labour the whole day. I advise you to resist the temptation of coming here for the present. The weather too is not good.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI AUROBINDO ASHRAM

PONDICHERRY

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

¹Vide "Introduction to *Varnavyavastha*", 23-9-1934.

455. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

July 23, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

Prof. Jagadisan¹ may employ a male doctor for the time being. I have no objection.

Blessings from
BAPU

SECRETARY, K. G. N. M. TRUST
BAJAJWADI
WARDHA

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

456. LETTER TO BENDRE

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1945

BHAI BENDRE,

I have your letter. How shall I console you? Your bond was with your Bachi's² soul. What does it matter whether the body is buried or cremated? You of course know that the soul does not perish. Why, then, should you grieve? But this is mere philosophy. Experience of the world tells us that no one goes mad over the death of his children. You should, therefore, feel ashamed of yourself over your excessive grieving and shower love on Nalini. Please calm yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10246

¹ T. N. Jagadisan was supervising the leprosy relief work of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust since May 1945.

² Addressee's daughter

457. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

July 24, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

You may consider this first for Usha¹. If you are still ill, then why don't you go to Dr. Dinshaw and get cured? Why should you be lethargic in this matter? Kanam² had also become weak.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

458. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI³

July 24, 1945

BHAISHRI BRELVI⁴,

The whole of India knows that as far as politics goes I have the greatest esteem for Sir Pherozechah⁵.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Mahatma*, Vol. VII, between pp. 16 and 17

459. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

July 24, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN,

It seems you have sent the letter already. I had thought you would show me the draft. Anyway in my view you should have given only one reason for resigning⁶. Use of the term 'Hindustani' is of secondary importance. Implications of the term 'Rashtrabhasha'

¹ Addressee's daughter

² Kanu, addressee's son

³ The letter has been reproduced in the Urdu script as well.

⁴ (1891-1949); Leading Congressman of Bombay; Chairman of the Bombay branch of the All-India Nationalist Muslim Party formed in 1929, Editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*

⁵ Pherozechah Mehta (1845-1915); one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and its President in 1890 and 1909

⁶ From the Secretaryship of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha

are far-reaching. It would be better also to send the resignation after revising it. If you want to do this you should show me the draft before sending it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 307

460. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

July 24, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I congratulate you on your accepting a cut of Rs. 100 voluntarily. If you can conveniently give up something more please do so. Only good can come of it but nothing should be done on my bidding. All sacrifice must be voluntary.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

461. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 25, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Don't apologize for writing to me daily. You should continue without straining yourself and without expecting a reply daily.

You are silent about your visit.

You did well in writing to J. The criticism is unfriendly. But restraint is always good.

I hope you are well. Ask Beryl to write to me. Is Shummy¹ better?

Sushila still with Sardar.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4161. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7797

¹ Shumshere Singh, addressee's brother

462. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 25, 1945

CHI. MIRA,

If I am to write I must be brief. If you do not feel well you must run up to a cool place. I took the journey well. Balvantsinha must be with you when this reaches you. Keep him if you want him. Tell him on his letter I sent Hoshiari¹ to her father. She will return with or without her boy. It is fair here. It rains off and on. But the insects are more numerous than before. Sushila got dysentery and lost 4 lb. She is now in Bombay with Sardar.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
P. O. BAHADRABAD, *via* JWALAPUR
NEAR HARDWAR, U. P.

From the original: C.W. 6509. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9904

463. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

July 25, 1945

CHI. SITA,

I read your letter. Your curriculum is good. You are working hard. Do not worry about whether you will pass or not. Don't do anything at the cost of your health. Do not write in a small hand. Examine carefully what is written in this postcard.

Blessings from

BAPU

KUMARI SITA GANDHI
MASHRUWALA BUNGALOW
AKOLA, BERAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4954

¹Niece of Balvantsinha

464. LETTER TO PUSHPA S. DESAI

July 25, 1945

CHI. PUSHPA¹,

I have your letter. If you have really realized God, you will see Him everywhere, even in your father. Still, if you must come here you may. But you will have to find solitude in multitude. You will have to do everything right from cleaning the latrines and you will have to find God in that. One cannot serve God by singing *bhajans*. You may therefore be escaping from one difficulty to land into another. I advise you to see Manibehn² and then arrive at a decision. Consider it a sin to write in pencil.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. PUSHPABEHN

C/O SHRI MANILAL POPATLAL DOSHI

SHARDA'S CHAWL

SECOND FLOOR, ROOM NO. 12

BOMBAY

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

465. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

July 25, 1945

CHI. MANI,

Why need you write to me now? And I should not hope that you will.

I write this in connection with Pushpa. She is suffering very much. She has written to me that she wants to see me. But it will be better if you go and visit her. You will certainly find her at her place. The address is C/o Manilal Popatlal Doshi, New Hanuman Lane, Sharda's

¹ Daughter of Kanji Jethabhai Desai of Bombay

² Daughter of Vallabhbbhai Patel

Chawl, Second Floor, Room No. 12.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL

C/O SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL

68 MARINE DRIVE

BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 136-7

466. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 25, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. If you have to take treatment now, I would strongly advise you to go to Dinshaw at Poona for it. I will be ready to go there, and so you will have the benefit of my quackery, too. In any case you cannot get worse than you are and it is likely Dinshaw will win glory.

I had a talk with Pardiwala¹. I will write² today itself. That mail goes by the morning post. A copy cannot be sent with this. Such things will go on happening. You are not the man to worry about them.

I have no time to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 281

467. LETTER TO APTE

July 25, 1945

BHAI APTE,

He who had given you Shambhu has taken him back. We must also meet the same fate. Why should you then grieve? Why should

¹ An advocate of Bombay

² To Lord Wavell; *vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell",

Sharaja lament? All the children belong to you both. All this is implied in the khadi spirit. Cultivate that spirit and go on doing your duty. Everything will be all right if you exercise self-control. Moreover, you have already rendered whatever service you could.

Blessings from

BAPU

APTE
279-2 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

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

468. LETTER TO JAMSHEDJI N. MEHTA

July 25, 1945

BHAI JAMSHED,

I got your letter along with the typed matter. It is surprising that the *Gita* is full of those things and yet you could find no consolation from it. Because you were used to English that appealed to you immediately. Be that as it may, it is good that the depression has left you. For the rest take it that whatever happened at Simla was for the best.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHETH NUSSERVANJI
KARACHI

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

469. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

July 25, 1945

BHAI (DR.) KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter. Chi. Sailen has come here. He is well. More about him later. Do whatever you can for Mama. The result is in God's hands. Please tell Mama that it will be good if he observes the rules of the place where he stays.

Blessings from

BAPU

MALAD

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

470. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

SEVAGRAM,
July 25, 1945

BHAI TANDONJI¹,

I have your letter of July 11. I read it twice. I then gave it to Kishorelalbai. You probably know that he is an independent thinker. I also send you what he has written. I would only say that I have always been as far as possible a slave of your love. The time has now come when the same love will separate me from you. I have not been able to explain myself. Kindly place this letter before the Standing Committee of the Sammelan². I feel that the Sammelan has not accepted my definition of Hindi. And now my ideas are moving further still in that direction. My definition of *Rashtrabhasha* includes a knowledge of Hindi and Urdu and both the Nagari and Persian scripts. Only thus can a fusion of Hindi and Urdu come about, if it will. I am afraid this suggestion of mine may not be welcome to the Sammelan. I therefore request that my resignation be accepted. Bypursuing the difficult task of propagating Hindustani I shall be serving both Hindi and Urdu.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Rashtrabhashake Prashnapar Gandhiji aur Tandonjika Mahattvapurna Patravayavahar, p. 10

471. LETTER TO SUKHDEV

July 25, 1945

BHAI SUKHDEVJI,

What is the use of my sending for you? Send me all the papers. Send also a brief statement along with them. I will do what I can after studying everything. Stay on there till you have my reply.

SJT. SUKHDEV

DAILY "TEJ"

DELHI

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

¹ (1882-1962); Speaker, U. P. Legislative Assembly, 1937-39 and 1946-50; elected President of Indian National Congress, 1950, but resigned soon after; Vice-President, Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

² Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

472. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

SEVAGRAM,
July 25, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just heard from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that several thousand Indian soldiers who had joined Subhas Babu¹ in Burma or elsewhere and who were captured during the recent anti-Japanese operations have been locked up in the Delhi Fort and the ring leaders (so called) have been shot under the decree of a court martial. I am inclined to think that this is a bazaar rumour. Nevertheless, I suggest that the public may be taken into confidence as to the true situation and that, if there is any truth about the lock-up and trial, legal assistance of their choice may be given to those who may be tried.

This is being posted after post office hours. Hence a copy under a certificate of posting will follow when the post office opens tomorrow.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 39-40

473. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
July 26, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

This is to introduce Shri Shyamlal to you. He is the Secretary of the K. G. Memorial Trust. He will plead with you for accommodating the prospective women's camp for four months from after the rains

¹ Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945); General Secretary of the Congress, 1927; President of the Congress, 1938 and 1939; resigned Presidentship and founded the All-India Forward Bloc; placed under house arrest but escaped to Germany in 1941, one of the organizers of Indian Independence League in South East Asia, organized and led the Indian National Army

² Acknowledging this on July 29, the Viceroy's Private Secretary E. M. Jenkins replied that it was receiving the Viceroy's consideration.

are over, i. e., not later than 2nd October. I support the pleading, if it is feasible. More from the bearer.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10175

474. LETTER TO PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

July 26, 1945

DEAR PATTABHI¹,

Pyarelal has asked you about the accuracy of your reported speech². Now comes the enclosed from the angry worker who takes me to task about palmyra trees. Did I ever say about palmyra trees [anything] of the kind reported to have been said by me? I have much to say about the other parts. But I forbear pending your reply. Hope you are well.

Yours,

BAPU

MACHHALIPATTAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

475. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 26, 1945

When I fixed the amount of milk, there were no other institutions in the neighbourhood. Now that there are, it becomes our duty to sink or swim with them. We here cannot have the freedom that they enjoy. But we must apply the controls that they do. The doctors are engaged in formulating a standard. It will be published shortly. Just now you should reduce the quantity of milk as much as you conveniently can. The final decision should be postponed till after Sushilabehn's arrival. I should like to do without ghee altogether, but that does not seem desirable for vegetarians. Experience will be a better guide in this matter. Pulses cannot replace milk, but doctors believe that they are necessary in themselves. I am the only one to assert

¹ (1880-1959); Member, Congress Working Committee, President, All-India States People's Conference, 1936; President of the Congress, 1948; Governor of Madhya Pradesh, 1952-57

² Vide "Interview to *The Hindu*", 28-7-1945.

emphatically that they are not necessary. We may, however, introduce them. The same about spices. Those who are under the Ashram vows cannot consume them for the pleasure of the palate, but if they are necessary for aiding digestion they may be used. It should be remembered that there are very few in the Ashram who have taken the vows. I see no great trouble in having two separate cuisines—one with spices, the other without. We cannot compel anybody to observe the vow of controlling the palate, or any vow.

While considering this matter, we should remember that though milk, ghee and fruit are consumed in greater quantity in the Ashram, illness persists. We must investigate the cause of this.

If this does not give you the guidance that you need, ask me again. The problem of those who are ill is a different one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5908. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

476. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

July 26, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I enclose herewith Sailen's letter. He has also given me a leaflet. It contains something shocking. I send you the relevant portion along with Sailen's letter. If what is said in it is true we must correct it. It is our duty not to get angry with the critic but to accept the substance of what he says. In many things nature cure should be superior to the methods of ordinary doctors and ordinary men. More after I hear from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

477. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

July 27, 1945

CHI. GOSIBEHN¹,

I am so glad you can upset inkstands and that in the wrong place.

You may not give up the ghost so easily. See Balasaheb Kher² and put all the facts before him. We must do things correctly even if they take a little time. Time given won't be time wasted. That would be part of teaching new work. See the others also. Take my help whenever necessary. P.³ can attend to her teeth. She need not wait for the meeting. I am doing all I can. You must be well.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

478. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM,
July 27, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letters. It will be good if your presence can help to settle the dispute there.

Hoshiari is brave. She will succeed. It is good that you are also there.

I am keeping well. Mirabehn is anxiously awaiting you.

It will be good if you have a look at Dr. Sharma's handi-work⁴. See what he is doing.

Things are going on well here. By the route which you have taken you cannot go to Balkrishna.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1965

¹ Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

² B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay

³ Perin, addressee's sister

⁴ The addressee in his book *Bapuki Chhayamen* explains that the reference is to the nature-cure clinic opened by H. L. Sharma at Khurja.

479. *LETTER TO GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA*

July 27, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAM SINGH,

There is no discourtesy in publishing the letter from the Governor of Sind. I have made emendations in both the drafts. You will understand them.

I finished it today but it could not be registered in the post today. It will go tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

480. *LETTER TO HOSHIARI*

July 27, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I have your letter. You will not cease to be respectful towards your father, at the same time you will remain firm. It does not matter if it takes a few days to persuade Father. If your firmness makes Father angry, there is nothing you can do about it. Look after your health. If possible go and see Dr. Sharma.

Blessings from
BAPU

C/O LACHHMAN SINGHJI
SAMASPUR
KHURJA, U. P.

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

481. *LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

SEVAGRAM,
July 27, 1945

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

I have already written to you about Mahendra.¹ Probably by now he will have been hanged. It seems our effort has been in vain. If there is any further news we shall get it. Write to me fully about what

¹Vide "Letter to *Rajendra Prasad*", 23-7-1945.

you think. It is surprising that you fell ill in Delhi. It will be better to go to Pilani only after you get well.

I shall see about the other Mahendra¹ after I receive the papers. It would be good if I get papers concerning the first Mahendra also.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

482. LETTER TO SUCHETA KRIPALANI

July 27, 1945

CHI. SUCHETA²,

I have gone through your Urdu letter. I like it; you should not understand it to mean that you are to give up writing in Hindi. You should write in both according to the occasion. Why did you fall ill? It will be good if you go to Gulmarg first and get well. The only condition is that you should go while Jawaharlal is there and should see that his privacy is protected. I do not write to the Professor³. This for him: He should write to me in Hindi or Urdu or Sindhi. Why does he write in English? Is it because he is a 'professor'?

Blessings from

BAPU

SWARAJ BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

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

¹ Raja Mahendra Pratap (1886-1979); President, Provisional Government of Hind in Kabul, 1915. He was in the Yokohama prison and Government's assistance was required for his return to India.

² (1908-74); In-charge, Women's Department, A.I.C.C.; member, Congress Working Committee, 1950-52; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Chief Minister, U. P., October 1963 to March 1967

³ Addressee's husband J. B. Kripalani, (b. 1888); General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, 1934-46; its President in 1946. One of the founders of the Congress Democratic Front and later of the Praja Socialist Party

483. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

WARDHAGANJ,
July 28, 1945

QUESTION: According to Dr. Pattabhi, the Desai-Liaquat Formula contemplated formation of a new government first, to be followed by the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee. This aspect of the Formula had been interpreted by some people as "bypassing the Congress" and by some others as "stabbing the Congress in the back".

You have stated in your statement issued from Panchgani that you blessed the Formula as you thought it provided a basis for communal settlement. It is generally believed that you were consulted at every stage of the agreement. Is the interpretation put on the agreement that it bypassed the Congress correct?

ANSWER: I consider the question has been addressed to a wrong person. Parties to the Formula are the best persons to say what it meant. Then what you put into Dr. Pattabhi's mouth, he may repudiate. I, therefore, suggest to all reporters at all times, but most specially at this time, to be precise and accurate in what they say. There never was the slightest intention on the part of Advocate Bhulabhai Desai, on whose behalf alone I can speak, "of stabbing the Congress in the back" or making an attempt to "bypass" the Congress. He, himself made politically by the Congress, could never be guilty of any such intention, and, for me, I should be committing suicide if I could be a party to any such attempt. I can say this much for Advocate Bhulabhai Desai that the only intention he had was that of honourably resolving the deadlock and thereby serving the Congress. It would be wrong to say that I was consulted "at every stage" but it would be strictly correct to say that Advocate Bhulabhai Desai saw me more than once about the 'Pact'.

Asked whether the release of the members of the Working Committee formed part of the agreement, whether it was agreed between the parties that the Muslim League alone should nominate the Muslim members of the new government and whether in view of so many statements and counter-statements on the subject it would not be desirable to release the Formula for publication, Gandhiji said:

I think, in the foregoing, I have said as much as I could, consistently with the fact that the 'Pact' has not seen the light of day. I wish that the parties had agreed to release it for publication.

The Hindu, 30-7-1945

484. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

July 28, 1945

MY DEAR SUDHIR,

I have your good letter.

A man is sincere in the sense that he is not knowingly dishonest. But if he makes up his mind hastily and will not deign to take the trouble to study accurately facts of each case, he is in fact untruthful without knowing that he is so. Such is the case with perhaps millions of Hindus. They sincerely believe that untouchability is a part of the divine plan. But they hug a provable untruth.

Of course I will see Mr. Casey¹ first, if I succeed in coming to Bengal which I want to do as early as the rains permit. I have the pamphlets.

My blessings to you both².

BAPU

Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

485. LETTER TO B. S. MURTHY

July 28, 1945

DEAR MURTHY³,

Your letter. Can you conveniently see me on 7th August at 3.30 p. m. for half an hour?

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal

² The addressee and his wife Shanti

³ Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly

486. LETTER TO C. C. GANGULI

SEVAGRAM,
July 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I was much touched by your letter. My congratulations to your wife on her bravery and presence of mind. But such acts do not need advertisement. They produce their silent effect and lose by being advertised. In any case why should the news be suppressed pending the finish of the war? You and your wife have certainly my blessings. May your spiritual progress grow from day to day.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI C. C. GANGULI
ASST. SESSIONS JUDGE
KHULNA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

487. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

July 28, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter. We shall think about the treatment I should have after I come there. I will send Balkrishna when he is ready. I had only to see the land pertaining to the Muslim school and to Tata. As I understood it there was nothing for me to do in that connection. And what can I do? I believe that the land is not of any use to the village. The sanatorium can be built there; that is to say we can use that land instead of the one at Simhagad. But that apart, write to me your views. Preston might perhaps prove expensive. We are going ahead with the village trust. I have suggested that it should be translated into Gujarati. When is Gulbai's confinement due? Take whatever work you can from Vanu and Manu.

Blessings from
BAPU

NATURE CURE CLINIC
TODDYWALA ROAD
OPPOSITE STATION, POONA CITY

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

488. LETTER TO PYARELAL

July 28, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

Chi. K.'s point deserves consideration. I cannot swallow his explanation of the word विशिष्यते.

All I want to say is that the 12th Chapter (of the *Gita*) is not as easy to understand and to practise as you say. We can make anything simple and easy by distortion. Here it seems to say the opposite of what is said elsewhere. Here it seems to be getting increasingly simpler. Moreover, we cannot assign to words any meaning we like. However, if Vinoba accepts what you are saying, there is no harm in following it. I have accepted the gist suited to myself.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

489. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

July 28, 1945

BHAI SAMPURNANAND¹,

I know Bhai Maithili Sharan² very well. But I shall not be able to participate in the jubilee celebrations.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 10409. Courtesy: Bharat Kala Bhavan

¹ (1889-1969); Member, A. I. C. C.; Chief Minister of U. P., 1955-60; Governor of Rajasthan, 1962-67

² Maithilisharan Gupta; Hindi poet of renown; author of *Bharat-Bharati*, *Saket*, *Yashodhara*, *Jayadrath Vadh*, *Siddharaj* and other works

490. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

July 28, 1945

BHAI BADSHAH KHAN¹,

I read about the drama that was enacted in your case. Write to me what really happened. I hope you are well. The Doctor will have given you my message.

BAPU

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

491. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

July 28, 1945

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. Vichitra² had written to me. I cannot open a clinic for you. I have explained everything to you. I know your ability. I know your shortcomings too. Do whatever you can on your own strength. I did what I could. I shall be happy if your work gets going, that is to say, if the poor are served. I do not feel like writing more.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. HIRALAL SHARMA
NAGLA NAWABAD
KHURJA, U. P.

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

¹ (b. 1890); Popularly known as Frontier Gandhi; founded the Red Shirt (Khudai Khidmatgar) organization in 1929; a close associate of Gandhiji; detained by the Pakistan Government for demanding Pakhtoonistan, 1947-55

² Vichitra Narayan Sharma, Manager, Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, and one of the trustees of the addressee's nature-cure clinic

492. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

July 28, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

I have your letter concerning Dharmadev Shastri. It is all right. For the eight committees of C. P. and Berar you have asked for the sanction of Rs. 200 at the rate of Rs. 25 for each committee. Earlier you had asked for Rs. 50 for each committee. For the present you may send Rs. 200. Later we shall see what to do.

M. K. GANDHI

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

493. LETTER TO SARALA DEVI

July 29, 1945

DEAR SARALA¹,

I was delighted to have your letter. Of course you will write whenever you like and come to me as soon as you are able to. Meanwhile, love

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

SHRI SARALA DEVI
POLITICAL PRISONER
DISTRICT JAIL
ALMORA

From a photostat: G.N. 9089

¹ Catherine Heileman; came to India in 1932; moved to Wardha in 1936; worked in Hindustani Talimi Sangh and later for the uplift of hill people in Almora; established an ashram for girls at Kausani.

494. LETTER TO NAWAB OF CHHATARI

SEVAGRAM,
July 29, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB¹,

Your kind letter of 24th June was received at Bombay just after I had left for Simla. It was kept back with other correspondence in order not to overload me with work at Simla. It was given to me after my return.

I have read and re-read your letter. I am sorry to say it gives me little satisfaction. I used to have long correspondence with the late Sir Akbar Hydari on similar matters. He used to struggle to give satisfaction but in my opinion failed. Though fresh in the field, I am afraid, you would do likewise, unless you deal with the situation in a detached manner. I do not wish to argue the matter. I have not sufficient material with me. But I give you, as a friend, my opinion for what it may be worth.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. NAWAB SAHEB OF CHHATARI
HYDERABAD (Dn.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

495. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 29, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

If you have decided against the operation, go to Dinshaw's clinic. I will accompany you. I have already consulted him. He is hopeful, and so am I. In any case going to his clinic cannot do you harm. If you must go to Ahmedabad, stay there as planned and only for a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 282

¹ Capt. Mohammed Ahmed Said Khan, President of the Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad from 1941

496. LETTER TO NAIDU

July 29, 1945

BHAI NAIDU,

Who can stop it if conversion takes place in the manner you describe? Read what I have written on the subject. If we want purification every Hindu will have to become an *Atishudra*. I hope you will be able to read my Hindustani.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 94

497. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

[After July 29, 1945]¹

I have written to Wavell and his reply has been received. I have also raised the question of defence and have said that all should be allowed to engage defence counsel. I had read Pt. Jawaharlal's statement and today Sardar read out yours². It is sufficient.

From a copy: Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay: File No. 3001/ H/P.
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498. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

Express

SEVAGRAM,
July 30, 1945

DR. RAJENDRAPRASAD
BIRLAHOUSE
NEW DELHI

YOUR WIRE. BETTER SEE VICEREGAL SECRETARY
ABOUT MAHENDRA.³

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ From the reference to reply to the letter to Lord Wavell regarding the defence of I. N. A. prisoners; *vide* footnote 1, "Letter to Lord Wavell", 25-7-1945.

² The addressee had suggested that the Congress should undertake the defence of the I. N. A. officers.

³ *Vide* also "Letter to Rajendra Prasad" 15-8-1945.

499. *LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 30, 1945

BROTHER RAJEN BABU,

I had given a wire about Mahendra: "Your wire. Better see Viceregal Secretary about Mahendra." The new Government¹ cannot interfere with the Viceroy's decision all of a sudden but there is some hope from Jenkins. Did our people not send any appeal to London? Is the person not yet hanged? If he is alive whatever you have to do in that respect do it here. To send deputation to London is futile.

You must be feeling better.

From a copy: C.W. 10591

500. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

July 30, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I have just got your letter.

I am glad you saw the Vicereine. I shall send you by book post what I can lay hands upon Sardar is none too well. Probably he will have first to have nature cure and then, if necessary, operation. If he goes to Poona, I shall have to go there. This may be the first week of August.

Harijans have every right to curse us and abuse us. How can they isolate the few penitents from the die-hards? Only we must go on.

Sushila is with Sardar. She has lost all she gained there, I think.

You have to keep well. The secret is with you. No nibbling between meals. No fruit-chewing or anything else while walking. Take what you must at stated meals as so much for sustenance.

Sushila is likely to return by the middle of the week.

I am keeping well. I walk longer than usual. Today it was exactly two miles. Usually it is 1_ miles.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4162. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7798

¹ The Labour Government which assumed office on July 27, 1945, with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister

501. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

July 30, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter. Here one might say things are going on well. You have done good work in Poona. One could only wish that you would not fall ill. I understand what you say about Vanu and Manu. If both of them make further progress, they can certainly make some contribution to the Arogyabhavan. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9135

502. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

July 30, 1945

CHI. MRIDULA,

I received your letter just now. You are so hardworking that to tell you to improve your handwriting is like telling me to do so. Only if I improve my handwriting will I have the right to tell you to do so. Isn't that so? Even so I must say that I am writing this without reading your letter word by word as deciphering every single word will take time. About Ahmedabad it seems all right. I will write to Kanjibhai¹. The rule that people should work only in their own locality is very harsh. Does it show our poverty? We shall think about the draft when you have to resign. I believe that we shall not have to decide about Anasuyabai before your return.

It would be better if you do not ask for any official letter to be sent there. We shall see when you return. Get well. I shall see about the syllabus.

Blessings from

BAPU

MRIDULABEHN SARABHAI

HUT NO. 46

GULMARG, KASHMIR

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

¹ Kanaiyalal Desai

503. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

July 30, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have gone through your report. I found that the prices of books were very high. Anyone seeking admission will find it very difficult and expensive. It can be done that way if we do not have the necessary provision. Discuss this with Kakasaheb.

Blessings from
BAPU

AMRITLAL NANAVATI

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

504. LETTER TO DHARMDEV SHASTRI

July 30, 1945

BHAI DHARMDEV SHASTRI,

I have your letter. I have told Shyamlalji¹ that RS. 200 may be sent to you. That is the amount he had asked for. Your letter mentions a larger amount. The rest will depend on Bapa's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DHARMDEV SHASTRI

ASHOK ASHRAM

KALSI, DEHRADUN

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

505. LETTER TO DEVRAJ

July 30, 1945

BHAI DEVRAJ,

I can do something for your brother only after he puts in an application. To do anything before that is impossible. My stay here is uncertain. Write to me about your coming after I settle down.

Blessings from
BAPU

LAJPAT BHAVAN

LAHORE

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

¹ Vide "Letter to Shyamlal", 28-7-1945.

506. *LETTER TO DEVRAJ VORA*

July 30, 1945

BHAI DEVRAJJI,

I have your letter. Why is it in English? I can understand Hindustani. The experience I had of you was bitter. I did not find in you devotion to truth, but I did find vanity in a large measure. You will therefore gain nothing here nor will the people here gain anything from you. I therefore feel that your coming here is not proper.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI DEVRAJ VORA
C/O SETH N. L. SEHGAL
INDIAN TIMBER WORKS
P. O. GULZAR BAG
PATNA, BIHAR

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

507. *LETTER TO GHALIB*

July 30, 1945

BHAI SAHEB,

I got your letter by return post. I am obliged. Zohra will be coming in a day or two. I will then show her the letter and write to you if it is necessary.

GHALIB SAHEB

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

508. *LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY*

July 30, 1945

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

Doing only writing work and neglecting the cow does not appeal to me. But whether it appeals to me or not is irrelevant.

Your staying here is a difficult problem. There are people living here who cook their food separately and so on. I do not want to increase their number. If you cannot lead an ashram life then what is the use of living in the Ashram? You may stay in the Khadi Vidyalaya

if Jajuji will have you. If you want to do the work of propagating Hindustani you should speak to Kaka, or to Shyamlal if you want to work in the Kasturba Memorial Trust. You have a great deal of ability. You can earn Rs. 150 from anywhere. I can think of engaging you for only one work. Nor will Jamnalalji's spirit allow me to think of any other. Think of what you want to do. Talk to me or write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

509. LETTER TO JYOTILAL MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
July 31, 1945

CHI. JYOTI,

I understood your letter. Champa has written a long letter but has not given her address. I do not know whether she is there or somewhere else. You yourself can convey the message that she may come here any time she likes. She should not waste my time and should not set up a separate kitchen. Everything has changed here.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

510. LETTER TO CHANDRAKALA AND KRISHNAKUMAR

July 31, 1945

CHI. CHANDRAKALA AND CHI. KRISHNAKUMAR,

It is only natural that you both, brother and sister, should grieve over the passing of Mother. When I was as young as you are, I too used to grieve when a relative died. But now I realize that it is vain to grieve over a death. Death goes with birth. Some die today, others will die tomorrow. What is there to grieve about it? You must become wise.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Give my blessings to Father.

SHRI SITARAMJI KHEMKA

J. C. MILLS

GWALIOR

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

511. WHY KHADI FOR YARN AND NOT FOR MONEY?

July 1945

Sjt. Bharatan Kumarappa writes to me from his tours:

People are asking what has Gandhiji done. He will kill khadi by insisting on yarn being given in exchange for it. What are we, who because of his teachings have vowed to put on only khadi, to do? We do not know how to spin neither do we want to learn it. Are we to go without khadi? This rule regarding yarn only shows Gandhiji's obduracy.

Sjt. Bharatan Kumarappa's letter is in English. I have given its substance here.

People will not find any obduracy in my demand if only they understood that non-violent swaraj depends on every drawing out of the yarn. On the contrary they will then find absorbing interest in it. Those who see only obduracy in it do not know how non-violence works. Since my return to India I have been crying myself hoarse that if we want to attain independence through non-violence spinning should be an essential part of our activity. The late Maulana Mohamed Ali used to say that the charkha was our rifle and the spindles of yarn our bullets; we shall attain swaraj only through these bullets. This is as true today as when it was said.

My experience tells me that if khadi is to become universal, both in cities and in villages, it should be made available only in exchange of yarn. Today one anna's worth of yarn in the rupee is demanded. But this is only the beginning. When people have understood and learnt how to spin, then khadi will be given only in full exchange for yarn spun. I hope that as days go by everyone will himself insist on buying khadi only in exchange of yarn. If this does not happen and if they give yarn grudgingly swaraj through non-violence is impossible. Surely some effort has to be made for swaraj. It cannot be had by mere begging. A certain kind of freedom can of course be obtained on the strength of the rifle, but it will not be real swaraj and I for one am not interested in it.

The very idea of obtaining swaraj through the rifle makes my head reel and a mountain of difficulties appears before my eyes. This article is not meant for those who would obtain swaraj through the rifle. Why should they wear khadi at all? From their point of view khadi can be proved to be quite a useless thing. Readers of this article

should realize that if khadi is to be produced by villagers, not for their own use but for sale in cities, and if crores of villagers themselves are to use only mill cloth, then khadi will be of very little avail. How can we rest content if khadi merely puts a few coppers into the pockets of the poor?

A doubt is raised that this new rule will kill the khadi which is now being produced by the poor and will make the wearing of khadi spun by themselves a matter of fashion only for a few select city-dwellers. This idea, however, displays ignorance.

The masses do not eat for fashion but in order that they may live. Similarly they do not wear clothes for fashion, but for protection. Therefore the charkha, like the oven, should find a place in every house and every able-bodied person should spin. Then all can wear khadi and obtain swaraj. Able-bodied persons should spin also for the crippled and the weak. If games clubs demanding both energy and money can be run, as they are, why cannot swaraj clubs or charkha clubs be run where people can make slivers, spin and get khadi in exchange of yarn? The truth is that where there is no will, unfavourable arguments present themselves and where there is a will, the will itself discovers favourable arguments. If the will is strong nobody will give up the charkha even as nobody leaves games. If the will can be found for games, can it not be found also for swaraj?

A powerful argument advanced against the system of exchanging khadi for yarn is that if city people produce their own yarn the khadi produced by the poor will vanish and the little relief that has till now been given to them through khadi will stop, and the hope of seeing villagers clad in khadi produced by themselves will remain only a dream. Supposing city people give up wearing khadi out of laziness or anger and villagers give up spinning and weaving for want of demand, what great loss is it to the country? The poor people will take to other occupations in the place of khadi and will somehow make their living. Such people will not be found in crores but only in lakhs as at present. Those who are engaged in *bidi*-making earn four times what is possible through spinning, or even more. Many of the mill labourers have become rich. This means that those who are starving today will starve still further till they die, and the few of them who can earn well will ride roughshod over the rest. If more mills are increased and the number of cities is increased it will not make Indiaproperous. On the other hand it will make crores die of starvation and of the many diseases produced by starvation. If city people are pleased with such a spectacle I have nothing to say. Then it

will be the reign of violence, not of non-violence and truth, and I will admit that in that case khadi will have no place, it can have no place. Then military training will be compulsory whether we like it or not. But what I am talking about relates to the crores of the starving people. If they are to live, and live well, the charkha will have to be central and spinning undertaken voluntarily also by those who do not need to spin. The weapons of non-violence must not be adopted by people because they have no other alternative. Therefore to my mind the rule of yarn for khadi which has been introduced has to exist and increase in its application. Exactly for the same reason, if all the khadi bhandars have to be closed down and khadi-wearers give up khadi I will regard it as a triumph of truth, because then I shall understand that people had no belief in non-violence and that if they wore khadi they did it out of ignorance and thereby merely deceived themselves into thinking that by wearing khadi they would somehow get swaraj. Why should I thus allow people to deceive themselves when I know that such khadi will not bring swaraj and that it will be discarded after swaraj is obtained? In that case the prophecy of the late Chintamani¹ will come true that on Gandhi's death people will laugh at khadi and also at him and will burn his body with the charkhas they may have in their houses. If hand-spun yarn cannot represent non-violence, why should I not retrieve my error while I am still alive and save the wood used in the charkhas? But I do not regard that prophecy as true. People have understood that the crores of India cannot obtain freedom through violence. India occupies or will soon occupy a great place in the world. That will be possible only through non-violence. If the crores of our people want to demonstrate the workability of non-violence they can do it only by making the charkha central. As the desire for freedom is strong amongst city-folks it is their duty to understand this and to take to spinning and khadi-wearing in order to obtain non-violent swaraj.

Gram Udyog Patrika, Vol. I, pp. 352-4

¹ C. Y. Chintamani; President of the National Liberal Federation, 1920 and 1931; Editor of *The Leader*, 1909-20 and Chief Editor, 1926-41; Minister of Education in U. P., 1921-23

512. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
August 1, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

There are still [two] other girls whom I would like to send there. Is there room for them? Neither of the two is an invalid but both need treatment. One of them is Manilal's¹ wife Sushila. She has two children. She would not like to leave them anywhere else. Do not hesitate to say no if there is no room or if you feel that the case is not worth taking.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

513. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

August 1, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I shall reply to your letter fully later. Show this to Mama. For the time being he must stay on there. Manilal is thinking over the matter. I am clear that it is Mama's duty to do whatever you tell him to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. KRI[SHNA]VARMA
NATURE CURE HOME
MALAD, B.B. & C.I.

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

¹Manilal Gandhi 58

514. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
August 1, 1945

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I have your letter. Chi. Kanu has given me the details in writing, but I shall not go into them. All this misunderstanding arose because I could not explain myself fully.

“God has tied me with a cotton thread. Whichever way he pulls me I am His. I am pierced by the dagger of love.” This is from a famous *bhajan* of Mirabai. Swaraj hangs by that thread; it does not snap because the weight is that of love. The languages of India are full of allegories featuring yarn. Narandas has conceived of a yarn bank. If such a bank is organized well, it will ultimately beat the money banks. Narandas is a supreme devotee of khadi. None among us can beat him in his *tapascharya*. He has no other work. I am a witness to the work he has done for the charkha. I am a lover of his work. He has added immensely to the importance of *Rentia Baras*¹. It is not a work of Kathiawaris alone and this time Kathiawaris alone are not to do it. In this scheme the Charkha Sangh was to play a major role and its benefit would have been also quite large. Chi. Kanu after finishing his work in Bombay was to proceed further. Collection of funds was of secondary importance. Yarn was the main thing. The Charkha Sangh had to collect only the yarn delivered at its door and send the acknowledgement to Narandas’s bank. The ownership of the yarn would have certainly remained with the Charkha Sangh. Suppose yarn worth crores of rupees was produced, the Charkha Sangh would have got it without striving. Chi. Kanu is a child, an errand boy. He is not a leader. He could not explain what he wanted to say. From what he says he did not absent himself so as to humiliate you. This thing was such that there was no need for explanation. Goddess Lakshmi was to come to your door to bless you. However, what has happened has happened. I do not think it can be rectified. Do whatever you can. I had reckoned that Kanu would go from house to house, revivespinning, repair charkhas, enrol volunteers, collect yarn, and that well-tied bales of yarn would be heaped at your place.

¹ *Bhadrapad Vad* 12, Gandhiji’s birthday according to the Vikram calendar, was observed as spinning day.

If I have succeeded in explaining to you the scheme, then I can say that I have compensated for the long letter you wrote to me.

I understand about the processes of cotton. Dawn is when one wakes up.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10856. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

515. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 1, 1945

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. It will be better if you do not come at present. You can ask me when I go to Poona. There are so many people eager to serve me that I do not think you will get a chance. I cannot write more now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2490

516. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM,

August 2, 1945

CHI. JAIRAMDAS,

I never write to you. Where is the time? Your having to go to Lucknow startled me and I am writing this in the morning after the prayer. May Premi¹ get well. Inscrutable are the ways of God. Let ustrust in Him and find happiness amidst sorrow, Let us do our duty with detachment.

Blessings to you three from

BAPU

[PS.]

Give this² to Premi if you think it proper to do so.

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

¹ Addressee's daughter

² *Vide* the following item.

517. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

August 2, 1945

CHI. PREMI,

Get well. See God in any work of service and regard Ramanama as the panacea for all ills. Sushila has gone to Bombay for the Sardar. She may be returning now.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

518. LETTER TO GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

SEVAGRAM,

August 2, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Shri Sudhir Ghosh kindly gave me copies of your two speeches, one of which I finished yesterday during moments snatched from my daily work.

I write this to draw attention to two things for the moment. Cloth shortage you can deal with without delay by following the policy laid down by the All-India Spinners' Association which is represented in Bengal too. In one sentence the scheme is to ask every home practically to spin its cotton and every village to weave its own cloth. It is the largest co-operative effort that can be conceived in the world.

The second is the cattle question. For that you should meet Shri Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan. He is ailing and may not be available just now. He has just published a monumental work¹ on the question.

Shri Sudhir Ghosh has given me your message about my visiting Bengal. I thank you for it. I am anxious to come as early as the rains of Bengal will permit. When I come my first business will be to give myself the privilege of meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

CALCUTTA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 103

¹*The Cow in India*

519. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

August 2, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have sent you a wire. You should stay there till the child has been operated upon. Your health has been completely ruined. Would a strong drug rid you of the hook-worms? Would even that not be effective? So many questions arise in my mind. I understand about Zohra. Pyarelal has gone there. He will listen to everything. Stay there till I come. Take possession of the bungalow that Sardar suggests. We shall then do whatever has to be done. If you reach there on the 7th, you should go to Poona on the 10th. Shall I start out on the 8th?

Blessings from

BAPU

C/O DAHYABHAI PATEL
MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

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

520. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

August 2, 1945

I have your letter. I had asked Dr. Pattabhi.¹ I did not feel it was right to say anything when I had only seen the newspaper. Now that I have received the letter I shall be writing something. I have seen the telegram Rajaji has sent you. I agree with it. I [saw] something in the Press by way of a directive from you about providing for the relatives of those who died [during the struggle] in 1942 and afterwards. The financial help we are at present giving to such relatives for their maintenance and education is something different. In my opinion if we go by truth and non-violence we cannot give such assistance. How can we say that all of them died for the country, that they sacrificed themselves for the cause of swaraj? I feel that under no circumstances can you do that. If I may advise you, I would ask you to withdraw the statement. I do not know whether there is still time for that. I am sending you a wire today.

The other thing concerns Begum Azad. Dr. Khan Saheb mentioned the matter to me at Lahore. It pricked me. I am not aware

¹Vide "Letter to Pattabhi Sitaramayya", 26-7-1945.

of any public service rendered by Begum Azad. If what I believe is true, there should not be any public memorial in her name. Some persons came to me. I told them to do whatever they wanted.¹ I did not have the courage to say anything more to them. But I can speak to you. I would advise you to issue a nice Press statement saying that since Begum Azad had not rendered any public service you would not like any public memorial in her name. If my advice does not appeal to you, you will please reject it. The love we hold for each other demands no less.

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

521. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
August 2, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letters. Since Jairamdas is out I see no need to write to you. Abha² has kept one skein of yarn for you.

Vidya³ was good but cannot take the place of God. I am an iconoclast. So I wanted you to forget Vidya. But we see God in numerous images. You have chosen to see God in the image of Vidya. So long as the delusion persists who can make you understand? If you can forget her easily do so. Then Vidya will rise and also you.

Nowadays my movements are very uncertain. So please do not come. Stay there and recover and do what service you can.

Jairamdas has gone to Lucknow taking Premi with him.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Gokhaleji died at Bhimavaram.

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

¹ *Vide* "Message to Student Congress Workers", 20-7-1945.

² Wife of Kanu Gandhi

³ Addressee's deceased wife

522. LETTER TO ABDUL HUQ

August 2, 1945

MAULANA (ABDUL HUQ) SAHEB,

Ghalib Saheb returned from Hyderabad yesterday. I showed him your letter. He said: "The fact is that both mentioned that Zohrabehn's heart was not there. We now want Zohrabehn to go to Darussalaam. Ever since her son was gone she has been unhappy and she finds the house on Rajpur Road dreary. We appreciate the difficulties of Abdul Huq Saheb. He may therefore occupy the house on Rajpur Road. The rent is not much. It is a little less commodious and therefore till he can make some other arrangement he can keep the store of Urdu Anjuman¹ on the ground floor of Darussalaam. Abdul Huq Saheb himself may fix the rent." In my opinion the proposal is fair. You are all like a family. Everything will be all right if you can agree to this. Ghalib Saheb is leaving tomorrow. Zohra is still in Hyderabad. I shall await your reply.

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

523. LETTER TO PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

SEVAGRAM,

August 2, 1945

MY DEAR PATTABHI,

Your performance² was ill thought. You are a most responsible man. Whatever the goading by Gopal Reddy you should have been silent or said just one word. And what an occasion! Gopal Reddy was out of order, though Chairman, in using Khadi Exhibition for the

¹ Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu

² The addressee was reported to have said on July 20, 1945 that "he was the sole author" of the Andhra Circular issued in 1942 and that "he got the instructions contained in the Circular from Mahatma Gandhi after full discussion with him". However, on July 22, 1945, in the light of Gandhiji's reply dated July 15, 1943 (*vide* "Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India", 15-7-1943.), to the Government on the Andhra Circular, he modified his earlier statement and said that Gandhiji "had no knowledge of any such Circular. The Circular was not prepared with his knowledge or at his instance".

purpose. And [about]the warning at the W. C.¹ the Maulana has written a strong letter to me. Now I am issuing a brief statement² which you will see. Now don't grieve but do your work without speaking.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

524. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
August 3, 1945

I have now read the report of Dr. Pattabhi's Telugu speech at Masulipatam and the correct version given by him later.³ I have also corresponded with him and am now able to answer the reporters who taxed me about it the other day.

I have re-read the relevant portion⁴ of my reply to the Government publication called *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. I have nothing to amend or correct in my references to the Andhra Circular. Dr. Pattabhi and others as friends and fellow-workers did have conversations with me on the topic of the day. I have naturally no record of those talks nor did I authorize publication of the talks. I have however contemporaneous evidence of what I had in mind on 7th of August, 1942.

My draft instructions⁵ were circulated among Members of the Working Committee on 8th August. They were to be considered on 9th August, but before they could be considered, Members of the Working Committee and I were arrested. Hence no authorized instructions were or could be issued.

I had no opportunity to function in terms of the A. I. G. C.

¹ Congress Working Committee

² *Vide* the following item.

³ *Vide* footnote 2, "Letter to Pattabhi Sitaramayya", 2-8-1945.

⁴ Which read: "Then comes the Andhra Circular. I must regard it as forbidden ground for me inasmuch as I knew nothing about it before my arrest. Therefore I can only comment on it with reserve. Subject to that caution I consider the document to be harmless on the whole." *Vide* "Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India", 15-7-1943.

⁵ *Vide* "Draft instructions for Civil Resisters", 4-8-1942.

Resolution of 8th August¹. The Andhra Circular was therefore neither authorized by the Congress nor by me.

The Hindu, 5-8-1945

525. LETTER TO E. M. JENKINS

SEVAGRAM,
August 3, 1945

DEAR SIR EVAN,

I have to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 29th July acknowledging my letter to His Excellency of the 25th July and I shall await your further letter in the matter.

Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale of the C. P. Assembly has been to me to tell me [that] the Privy Council has dismissed the petition of the Ashti and Chimur prisoners to be heard in appeal against the judgement of the Nagpur High Court. Unless, therefore, His Excellency uses his prerogative of mercy the prisoners will be sent to the gallows. His Excellency was good enough to tell me that he would consider these cases and the like when the time came. Now is the time. May I hope that the death sentences will be commuted?²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR E. M. JENKINS
P. S. TO H. E. THE VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 36-7

526. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 3, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I could read your letter only today. What you say has a point if I adopt the prevailing view but none from the right point of view. Your argument is about khadi for the sake of the poor, mine is for khadi for the sake of swaraj. The khadi work in Kathiawar is

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

² The death sentences of the Ashti and Chimur prisoners were commuted to life imprisonment on August 16.

impressive, but it is an obstacle to swaraj and will come to a stop sooner or later. Those who wear khadi do so not from the khadi spirit but from political necessity. Why need you spend your indefatigable and boundless energy for that? If you can sell khadi on the Charkha Sangh's condition¹, you may do so. Give it to those who observe it. Do not mind if, in that case, the khadi has to be sent outside. If you do not have such implicit faith, you may go on doing khadi work from outside the Charkha Sangh. Those who are willing will learn from it. But do strive to understand my point of view. Improve your health.

I have had a talk with Kanaiyo. He will tell you everything when he arrives there. You may then guide him and me as to what we should do.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8627. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

527. MESSAGE TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA²

August 3, 1945

I cannot guide you about your work from here. Do whatever you think proper.

From Gujarati: C.W. 401. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

528. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 3, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I had been thinking of leaving here on the 8th and taking you to Poona on the 10th. But I see now that I am tied up with meetings up to the 19th. I can, therefore, start on the 19th at the earliest. I am not happy about it. I had intended to start as soon as you were free. Please wait for another ten days now. You may, if you wish, stay on in Ahmedabad for some time longer. The best thing would be for you to come and stay at the Ashram for the remaining

¹ In exchange for hand-spun yarn

² This was conveyed in a letter by Chhaganlal Gandhi in reply to the addressee's letter of July 31, 1945.

days and we could then go to Poona together. Arrange for a house in Poona. We ourselves will stay at the clinic, and put the others up in the bungalow, if necessary.

And now about Mahadev¹. It does not seem proper for me to issue any public appeal. I could write to a few individuals. It does not matter if Bombay does not give its share. See my plan which I have outlined. More in the next letter or when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mani is not doing right in neglecting her health. I have sent a wire to . . . 's² father.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 282-3

529. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 3, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

What sort of doctors do you have that you are so sick? What medicines do they give? And what is the result? But what should I tell you?

I made a mistake yesterday. I forgot about the two meetings of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Kasturba Nidhi. Hence I can leave here by the 19th at the earliest. I do not think it will be right to detain you there till then. It would be another matter if you had to remain there on account of your health. You will see the invitation to Simla along with this. Do you feel like going? Whatever it is, you must get well. I have written to Sardar at Ahmedabad.

Pushpa is here.

Pyarelal's letter is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ For the Mahadev Memorial Fund

² Omission as in the source

530. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM,
August 3, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your note.

Kishorelal and Rajaji are writing to you. What then shall I write ? Not writing to you is as good as writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

531. LETTER TO LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

SEVAGRAM,
August 4, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

May I send you my congratulations on your appointment¹? If the India Office is to receive a decent burial and a nobler monument is to rise from its ashes, who can be a fitter person than you for the work?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON'BLE LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

Gandhi's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 173

¹ As Secretary of State for India in the new Labour Government

532. *LETTER TO EVAN JENKINS*

SEVAGRAM,
August 4, 1945

DEAR SIR EVAN,

I wonder if it is possible to send this¹ in the Viceregal bag ?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SIR EVAN JENKINS
P. S. TO H. E.
VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

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

533. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

August 4, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter was answered yesterday. You need not bring your bedding. Bring only such things as you consider necessary. Regard mosquito-net among them. My rubbing-stone among them please. It was left there by mistake! Where did you get the powder for cleaning the septic tank commode?

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4163. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7799

¹ Presumably the letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence of even date congratulating him on his appointment as Secretary of State for India; *vide* "Letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence", 4-8-1945.

534. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 4, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

How naughty of you! You keep falling ill and causing worry to everybody.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10058. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

535. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS G. KAPADIA

August 4, 1945

CHI. MADHAVDAS,

Dr. Krishnavarma has sent all the reports about you. Kunvarji¹ has also written a postcard. Dr. Krishnavarma has no interest in keeping you. He has kept you only for my sake. He kept Sailen also in the same way. Your good lies in remaining under Dr. Krishnavarma's treatment and following his instructions. I think I know Dr. Krishnavarma's virtues and failings. For his failings he will be answerable to God. I see and cling to his virtues. Many allegations are made against him. Who is immune to them? I do not care for such allegations. I have seen with my own eyes how he looked after Ba. I think he had seen Ba's virtues and became a great admirer of hers. The knowledge that you are Ba's brother prompts him to keep you and look after you. You need not worry about how much you will have to pay him. The doctor has told me that he does not want a single pie, but I have decided that, if you agree, I shall pay him what I think proper from out of your own possessions. I have discussed this with Manilal too. But if you are not willing to pay a single pie, well, a lot of money has already been spent over you and this will be some more. It will be to the good if you get well and can live a normal life. However, Ba's last words to me about you were: "You have done what you could for Madhavdas, I did what I could as his sister, and made you do what you could for him. Now you need not do anything for

¹ Kunvarji Parekh, son-in-law of Harilal Gandhi

him.” This is what she said about you and Harilal. I know that these words proceeded from her anger, but also from her love. I have not, therefore, obeyed those words literally. Now do what you wish, with God, whom you believe you worship every day, as witness. Of one thing you may be sure, that I will not be able to keep you in the Ashram, nor can I cure you. And remember also that no relation will be able to accommodate you. Society is so constituted that even though a person may wish to do something he is not able to do it, cannot do it. Ultimately, everyone has to turn to God, and only what He does or permits is possible. If you can think, then after reading this letter stay where you are. If you cannot think, then also, do not do anything in a hurry but stay there. May God bless you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2727

536. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

August 4, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

Please read the enclosed letter and then pass it on to Mama. I read your whole letter yesterday, till then I was not able fully to go through it. I agree with what you say. I have given Mama some idea of you in my letter to him. I had observed even when you were here that you had no control over your tongue. You do not observe the rules of cleanliness—maybe, you do not even know them. I had noticed that also when you were here. I presume you are doing the same there. Kanti Mashruwala is an admirer of yours. Manilal had been there. He is not an admirer of you but he is wise. He has seen something of the world. He recognizes your qualities. He believes that you are no doubt good at heart but he also believes that you do not observe the rules of cleanliness nor make others do so. I only know your goodness and therefore wish that your shortcomings may disappear. I know that I have served my own interest in sending Mama to you and I still want to keep him there. He will be in a very bad plight if he goes away from there. I cannot keep him in the Ashram, as it will be against the spirit of the Ashram. I do not think he can stay anywhere else. Whatever has to be done, you alone can do. As you have started a hospital it certainly is your duty. Follow nature-cure

methods at the hospital. You must know the rules of cleanliness and observe them meticulously. There are too many mosquitoes there. Just because you are taking work from the poor women you should not put up with their indifferent performance. As a doctor and a householder it is your duty to teach them cleanliness. It should be your job to eradicate mosquitoes from the neighbourhood. You should know how to do that. How can you call yourself a nature-cure doctor if you do not do all these things? I can write much along these lines but I am sure you are one of those to whom a word is enough. For this reason and also because I do not have the time I am not prolonging the letter.

I understand about Sailen. Encash the cheque he has sent to you. I won't think it is your fee by any means. I know you did not keep Sailen for the sake of fee. But I thought he should on his own put into the charity box whatever he could afford and therefore asked him to send the cheque. Get the cheque cashed and utilize the money for charity. I do not advise you to come here. The main reason of course is that I do not have the time. Otherwise I would be happy if I could keep you here and give you training in cleanliness. But that is not possible at the moment. I shall call you when such an occasion arises. However, if you want to come on your own, want to be reassured and if you do come, it will be a different matter.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

537. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

August 4, 1945

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have your postcard. You write that Mama should be allowed to go where he wants. I do not understand this, nor does Manilal. Where will he go? Where will he stay? Are you going to keep him? If you think he can stay in the Ashram, that is not possible. Have you considered what would happen if he were to go and stay in his own house? Mama has gone to Malad of his own free will. When he asked me to send him to Malad I was not willing to do so. I requested Dr. Krishnavarma when Manilal pleaded on his behalf. It requires but one moment to remove him from there, but I believe that it would harm

him. However, I will do whatever all of you tell me. But remember that afterwards I shall not be able to do anything. I am convinced that in doing so I am acting in an objective spirit and in accordance with dharma. At present Manilal is at Akola. He writes to say that he will be coming here on Monday with his wife and children. I will discuss the matter with him, too.

I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9753

538. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,

August 4, 1945

Several Congressmen have asked me questions relating to the Congress programme. Cablegrams too have been received from London and other places. I am sorry I have not been able to acknowledge them. The reason, however, is and should be obvious. In the absence of the Maulana Saheb and other members of the Working Committee, it is true I took upon myself the responsibility to give such advice as I was capable of giving in regard to Congress matters.

Now that the Working Committee is out, I can only give advice through the Maulana Saheb and the Working Committee. My advice, independently given, may be in conflict with their opinion and it may embarrass them and even put them or me in a wrong position and, what is more, may confuse the public mind. Therefore, I should warn all here and outside India against making any reference to me on such questions as are properly for the President and the Working Committee to advise upon.

The Hindu, 6-8-1945

539. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

August 4, 1945

I said then and I repeat now that my offer to Mr. Jinnah was not in the nature of a bargain.¹ It was my settled conviction though originally derived from Rajaji². I am not in the habit of deriving anything from anybody, however great he is, unless I can appropriate and assimilate it for myself. Therefore even if Rajaji went back on that Formula, I shall stick to it so long as I retain my sanity. I hold it to be substantial and also directly derivable from the Congress Resolutions and immediately from the Resolution of August 8, 1942. Only I have given it concrete shape.

The Hindu, 6-8-1945

540. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

August 5, 1945

MY DEAR BHARATANAND,

Your good letter. I am glad you have dropped vegetarianism. It must be natural, if it ever comes back. Do take what your system needs and be well. The assumed name may be dropped. You will be just as lovable as Frydman.

Be well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 45

¹ The correspondent had asked whether Gandhiji's offer to M. A. Jinnah made in September 1944 still stood; for details, *vide* "Letter to M.A. Jinnah", 24-9-1944.

² For the Rajaji Formula, *vide* "C. Rajagopalachari's Formula".

541. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1945

VAHALA BEHN,

Your hurried note. Are you well? Peppery sister came, saw, conquered and went. I have discussed your scheme with Shyamlal. But you must do your part. *Dordi*¹ never leaves its rigid shape even when it is burnt.

Love.

BAPU

GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
GANDHI SEVA SANGH
CHOWPATTY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

542. LETTER TO HASUMATI D. DESAI

August 5, 1945

CHI. HASUMATI,

I could see your collection of poems only today. I got it only two days ago. I advise you not to get it published. It will be wrong to make money out of it. Poetry cannot be appreciated by associating names of two persons with it. I have always been against such a risk. Your handwriting should be as beautiful as pearls. I know that my handwriting is bad. That I cannot improve it at this age should be a warning to people such as you.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI HASUMATI DHIRAJLAL DESAI
BALVAIDYA KHANCHO
SANDHADIWAD
GOPIPURA
SURAT

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

¹ Gujarati word meaning rope

543. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

August 5, 1945

CHI. KANTI¹,

Both of you should learn non-attachment from the service of Harilal. Through non-attachment devotion to someone can be transformed into devotion to God. If such devotion is not linked with devotion to God, it becomes infatuation and assumes a dangerous form. You two have spared no effort in the service of Harilal. I had felt all along that Harilal would ultimately act as he had always done. But let not this worry you in the least. You should be thankful if even the last rites fell to your lot to perform. You have shown devotion in many ways. All that devotion will have achieved fulfilment if now you turn it into devotion to God. And true devotion to God as I see it now is devotion to *Sutranarayana*². The word *Daridranarayana*³ was first used by Vivekananda (if my memory serves me right, for I am not quite sure whether it was he or some other holy man who used it first). The word *Satyanarayana*⁴ is well known. But as God of action it is *Sutranarayana* who reveals Himself to me. You have started worship of that God. Understand His nature properly. Rise above the intrigues there or anywhere else. If you do not show the slightest softness to Harilal, he will leave Mysore. Try to find out, if you can, how he managed to obtain Rs. 200 from the Maharaja of Mysore.

You may tell me, when we meet, the other things which you have on your mind. But do not worry if you cannot. If you wish to write about them, have no hesitation in doing so. See that Saraswati⁵ and you devote yourselves to your studies and complete them.

Blessings to both of you from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7376. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

¹ Son of Harilal Gandhi

² God in the form of yarn

³ God in the form of the poor

⁴ God in the form of Truth

⁵ Addressee's wife

544. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

August 5, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

You have used reasoning in your letter which, however, does not appeal to me. You have a right to go to Dinshaw's because he has made you his own. Dinshaw is imbued with the spirit of altruism, even towards the poorest. His is not an organization for the poor. Similarly it is not for the rich. However, both can go there as also those belonging to the middle class; that is possible because of Dinshaw's good nature. Moreover, you had no right to use reasoning the way you have, for you had given me to understand that you were about to take long leave, or had taken it, and would be devoting a year to improving your health. Of course you will have yourself treated there and think of going to Dinshaw only after you have completely ruined your health. As you will yourself admit you could not perceive Dinshaw's love for you. I therefore even now advise you to take one year's leave and go to Dinshaw's. As I have already told you, I shall manage to find your one year's expenses from somewhere. I shall not pay from the Ashram funds but seek money for you from somewhere. I have forgotten what arrangement was made about the expenditure. However, explain that to me again and I will act accordingly. You have something that attracts older persons to you. I myself do not know what it is but I have firsthand knowledge of it. Dinshaw knows many of my people but he is not drawn to them. But he is attracted to you. Most probably you yourself do not know why that is so. This is one of the instances. I have many others in my mind. It would therefore be better if you did not argue over the matter and went to Dinshaw's. If you both want to go you may. It will be enough for you to wind up the establishment from there for one year. There are numerous teaching institutions in Poona. Kanam and Usha won't have any difficulty in learning Marathi if they have to.

Manilal and Sushila will be arriving tomorrow. Sita will stay on in Akola. She is engrossed in her studies.

I am still of the opinion that Nimu¹ did well in not going either to Delhi or to Simla. There is no point in making Sumi² dependent on

¹ Nirmala, addressee's wife

² Sumitra, addressee's daughter

you. I can understand parents' attachment. However, this time I have seen that neither Nimu nor you could have done anything more for Sumi than what Devdas and Lakshmi did for her. I noticed that they looked after Sumi in the same way as they look after their own children. Sumi gave me the impression that she also held the same view. She is quite at home with the children there. Ultimately, isn't God the Protector of all? Gopaldas's and Nalini's son was gone in a moment while they helplessly looked on.¹ Nalini could not save him. There are so many such instances.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI
KHALASI LINES
KINGSWAY, NAGPUR

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

545. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1945

CHI. SUMI,

I notice that even now you do not worship pure truth. You do not even fulfil the promises you gave me. What is the meaning of your pining for Nimu when you have accepted Devdas and Lakshmi as your parents? They of course treat you accordingly. We should be content with the situation in which we place ourselves or are placed. For the sake of the love Devdas and Lakshmi cherish for you, you must protect your health, your eyes. Why should you put yourself through the strain of an examination? Why should you force yourself to finish a specified course within a specified time? You have to preserve your eyes, your intellect and your body in order to continue with your studies. This is such an obvious truth that it does not need any explanation. It is self-evident. Hence the Gujarati saying: the health of the body is the first happiness. So allay Ramdas's and Nimu's fears by studying without becoming restless and improving your health. Bring credit to the love Devdas and Lakshmi have for you and be worthy of it. I absolve you from your pledge of writing to

¹ Gopalrao Kulkarni's son had died of scorpion bite.

me. Write to me only when you feel enthused and when it is convenient. Do not write to me by straining your eyes and neglecting your studies. I only desire that you should become ever more pure in body and mind. It is for this reason alone that I expect letters from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUMITRA R. GANDHI
BIRLA GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL
PILANI

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

546. LETTER TO C. C. GANGULI

August 5, 1945

BHAI GANGULI,

I have your letter. My blessings to Chi. Malavika and Chi. Ruplekha. I have no zest for writing the preface.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

C. C. GANGULI
ASST. SESSIONS JUDGE
KHULNA (BENGAL)

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

547. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 5, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is the same to an inmate of the Ashram whether he works as a manager or as a sweeper. Being a sweeper probably entails a greater responsibility. In being a manager there is no authority, only service. One should be prepared for both. If one finds being a sweeper pleasant and being a manager unpleasant, it is a sign of ignorance. And, if being a manager smacks of authority it means one is conceited. Keep yourself ready for managership. Do not bother about whether or not you get it. I myself do not know when you may get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 5901. Courtesy: Krishnachandra

548. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

August 5, 1945

BHAI KELKAR,

I was under the impression that I had answered you. Stop taking the bicycle from here.

By all means stay in Nalwadi. Go to Dattapur from there on foot. You will have to come here only occasionally.

How much per month should I give you?! Ask for as little as possible.

I am certainly here till the 19th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

549. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1945

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I have your letter. Chi. Vasant has suffered much. I hope his fever is now complete]y gone. In the case of typhoid one has to be even more careful during convalescence because the disease weakens the stomach. The diet therefore has to be watched. If the doctors permit hip-bath can be of much help.

I hope Chi. Asha is perfectly well and so also is Jugal Kishore. . . .¹ Will Rajendra Babu be able to put up with the dust of Pilani? . . .² I understand about Ghanshyamdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Omissions as in the source

² *ibid*

550. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 6, 1945

CHI. KAKA,

What I require is this. I want the rites¹ to be the simplest and in Hindustani, omitting Sanskrit *slokas* and *mantras*. For conducting it anybody will do. What we do in this case will apply to all future occasions. I think this covers all points.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10964

551. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 6, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

1. Write in brief. Number the paragraphs on the different subjects, so that no point may be left out in the reply.

I am sure you will have realized by now that one has to reply to points which strike one's eye.

2. Since you are the Manager, you should treat nothing as private.

3. This reply is meant for all. If you wish, you may treat your letter as private.

4. Instead of compelling the women to attend the prayer, you should explain to them their dharma and then leave the matter to them. You cannot claim greater right or control over Kanchan than over the other women. If you look upon Kanchan as your wife and wish to have children by her or gratify physical or mental craving through her, you should resign as Manager, notwithstanding your many other virtues and endowments. That is to say, you should treat Kanchan as completely independent.

5. Utilize Pushpa's services to the full. She must learn to recite the *Gita* with correct pronunciation. She can sing too. In that case let her sing *bhajans* at prayer time. She knows cooking and can do all

¹ For the marriage of Indumati Gunaji and A. G. Tendulkar; *vide* Appendix "Marriage Rites", 18-8-1945.

domestic chores. She will do whatever work she can. If you take her help, she will find salvation. She will become a devotee.

6. Hoshiari is illiterate, but she is firm, brave and does not shirk work.

7. Kambale may have faults, but he certainly has some virtues. He is a Harijan. It is our duty to serve him. This does not mean that we should spoil him. It will be a great thing if you are able to understand the secret that we can raise him without spoiling him.

8. Omprakash is capable of great progress. He seems to be a good man. It is necessary to understand him. I have been training him. If you do not think he may be a lustful man, you may let him teach the women, not where he would be alone with them but in a big room, or on my verandah or, if Sushila Gandhi permits, in Ba's room. Even if a man is a perfect *brahmachari*, he should never be alone with a woman.

9. Ramnarayan¹ will have to pay all the expenses. Since the girls are to be given modern education outside, he will not be considered an Ashram inmate. If he himself, however, wishes to stay here till he gets a house outside, he may pay nominal rent and stay. But he should not have a separate kitchen. Lanterns too should be shared as far as possible. Even if he is ready to pay for them, we cannot give any just now. It is desirable that we should make some arrangement for light on the paths. Discuss this with Kanaiyo and Mohansinh. All those who wish to read should do so silently round one or two lamps. And the same for writing. We must economize on kerosene. Issue a ticket for Ramnarayan. He should not be made to carry too heavy a financial burden. All the expenses must be managed within Rs. 150. Everyone should be given local fruit and Bombay fruit should be reserved for the sick. I intend to make some arrangements. Estimate the cost of fruit from Bombay. You should exercise discretion, moderation and gentleness in this matter.

10. In order to know a man's nature we must learn to tolerate his weaknesses as we expect the world to tolerate ours. If the world did not tolerate our weaknesses it would kill us. This applies to all, but it applies especially to the Manager who has embraced ahimsa.

11. After you have finalized the set-up to your satisfaction, hand it over to somebody else to administer according to plan. Let the

¹ Ramnarayan Chowdhary

person you have in view get trained from now on, not for exercising authority but for service. I believe that such an administrator can be, ought to be, a woman. Any upright and hard-working man or woman can run a well-planned organization. Take it that those who cannot do so have some shortcomings.

12. About the trees Parnerkar¹ says that there has been no negligence. There has been some miscalculation, of course. That is, the heat has harmed four or five trees more than was expected. The rest are coming up. Exposing the trees to heat was deliberate, so that they might bear finer and sweeter fruit. You should patiently understand this point from him. He says he has consulted someone. Learn more about manure. If I get time, I will try to learn something.

13. I am trying to arrange about Dr. Kelkar. About the others, as time may permit.

Write if anything is left out. I have not revised the letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5910. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

552. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 6, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

1. If proper arrangements have been made, only then effect the change. Discuss the matter with both of them and do what has to be done.

2. Ascertain Kanchan's wishes. Does she crave for physical pleasure?

3. Discuss and decide with S.behn the arrangements about milk, jaggery, etc.

4. Do by and by what is possible about a common room.

5. Introduce weaving.

6. I am quite clear in my mind regarding English. I think it may be taught to those women who desire to learn it. But they should first have knowledge of the mother tongue and Hindi and Urdu. Menfolk should certainly not be encouraged. As regards Harijans, English may be taught to those who have learnt the other languages and then wish

¹ Yashwant M. Parnerkar, a dairy expert

to learn it. Of course there can be no question of persuading anybody to learn English. Is this enough?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5912. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

553. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

August 6, 1945

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. It was good that you went to Dr. Sharma's centre. My relations (financial) with him are terminated. Chi. Hoshiari arrived here last night along with the child. Both are well. Go to Mirabehn.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1966

554. LETTER TO ALFRED FRENCH

SEVAGRAM,

August 7, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am no master. I am unable to take charge of your children. My place is designed otherwise than you seem to think. You should keep your children in France.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

MON. ALFRED FRENCH

CRENSPRE. LIEPVRE (HANT RHIN) FRANCE

C. P. POSTAL STRASBURG 191-31

FRANCE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

555. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRAVARTY

August 7, 1945

MY DEAR ATULANAND,

R[aj] K[umari] has sent me your letter to her. You are right about me. Your way is different from mine. But I have countenanced you as you have appealed to me as an earnest man. In spite of the testimonials you have quoted often, you have not made progress not because Congressmen have not appreciated your labours but because your unity plan has made no appeal to the general mind. But this is a long story. I suggest to you to look inward for your failure and not outward. Why not do some concrete work, be it ever so little? And then there will be no failure. For concrete work is its own success. I have not written this for argument but, if possible, to enable you to see the light.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 1484. Courtesy: Atulanand Chakravarty

556. LETTER TO DALJIT SINGH

August 7, 1945

BHAI DALJIT SINGHI,

I have read both your books. I thank you for sending them. Rajkumari passed them on to me.

In both you have talked of miracles. I give no importance to miracles. Our religious literature is full of miracles. I think it is necessary that you should give the Hindi or Gurmukhi original which you have translated into English. How can one study them without their originals?

M. K. GANDHI

STRAWBERRY HILLS

SIMLA¹

From a copy of the Hindi: G.N. 7905. Also C.W. 4273. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

¹The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

557. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 7, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Do go to Vinoba if you can be free from here. You must get his permission too. The letter is returned herewith.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4521

558. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[On or after August 7, 1945]¹

CHI. A.

You must get well quick and if you can get well more quickly living with me, you should follow me to Poona. I do not know how long I shall be there. I have written to Atulanand and that at length. Probably you will have a copy of my letter to him.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI RAJKUMARI

SIMLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

559. THE MISSING LINK

[Before August 8, 1945]²

This is what the Editor of the *Gram Udyog Patrika* tells me:

I am afraid your last article³ in regard to why people should give yarn for khadi is not convincing. Your whole argument rests on the view, which is repeated several times in the course of your article, that non-violent swaraj is impossible unless everybody spins. This crucial point, however, is never explained, but taken for granted and asserted repeatedly. Unless you can show

¹ From the reference to the letter to Atulanand Chakravarty dated August 7, 1945; *vide* "Letter to Atulanand Chakravarty", 7-8-1945.

² The article appeared in *The Hindu*, 11-8-1945, under the date-line "Bombay, August 8".

³ *Vide* "Why Khadi for yarn and not for money?", July 1945.

what connection there is between non-violent swaraj and the people of all kinds—even those who have more profitable occupation—taking to the charkha for their cloth requirements, your argument cannot convince those who honestly feel that your asking them to spin, if they want to use khadi, even when their time can be spent more profitably, is to expect a little too much from them. So can you perhaps provide this missing link in your argument for the next issue, and show how through spinning we can obtain non-violent swaraj?

The better course this time is to answer in English. Few, if any, readers who do not know English would ask for the “missing link”, for the very simple reason that, they know my argument showing the connection between hand-spinning and swaraj obtained through non-violence. Swaraj can only be obtained by work, either violent or non-violent. Violent work we know. It necessarily includes training in the use of the most modern weapons of destruction and all it means. By common consent this has been ruled out. Mere constitutional means, though non-violent, went out of date long ago. It is a superstition to think that liberty can be gained by such means in the teeth of armed opposition. Non-violent work is then the only means for winning freedom. What is the training or work that Indians should undertake for adapting themselves for non-violent efforts? It has been shown that Indian freedom was lost when India’s chief trade in cotton fabric, which was prepared in her cottages, was destroyed and together with it many other occupations which Indians carried on to sustain that trade. It is obvious that that trade and the allied occupations should be revived or some others consistent with non-violence should be taken up. Revival was the only thing thought of. It was being attempted by way of copying the English or, say, the modern method of replacing human labour by means of power-driven machinery. Instinctively I rejected it [as] being a way of violence and sought to replace it by human labour [as] being a way of non-violence. The struggle between the two is going on. In my opinion, the war that is ending has demonstrated the bankruptcy of violence. Solvency of non-violence remains to be proved. Revival of the central trade of India by means of power-driven machinery is possible only by a superior exhibition of the resourcefulness of the West. And, if it becomes possible, it will find the masses of India no better off than now. I advance no argument in proof of this proposition. For, it can be studied through a perusal of my writings already published in

book form¹.

Then the only form of non-violent work to be done by the largest number of men, women and children of the land, in order to regain the lost trade with its attendant activities, is the spinning-wheel. Thus conceived, it easily becomes the symbol *par excellence* of non-violence. To be an instrument of swaraj, naturally it must not flourish under Government or any other patronage. It must flourish, if need be, even in spite of the resistance from Government or the capitalist who is interested in his spinning and weaving mills. The spinning-wheel represents the millions in the villages as against the classes represented by the mill-owners and the like.

“Assuming,” the Editor asks, “that the wheel is designed to bring in swaraj non-violently, why should a person who is more usefully occupied or even disinclined spin?” The reason is more psychological than utilitarian. The villagers have become used to imitating the city-dwellers so much so that the movement is towards migration to the city slums instead of remaining in and improving their own lot in the villages. If every person sets apart, for the sake of winning swaraj non-violently, a certain time for hand-spinning, an atmosphere for spinning will be created and if khadi became an article for personal use instead of being an article of commerce, which it now largely is, the question of competition with mill-cloth or any other cloth will disappear and the poorest as well as the richest will be able to wear and use khadi without the slightest difficulty. No wonder Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has called it “the livery of our freedom”.²

Gram Udyog Patrika, Vol. I

¹*Economics of Khadi*, a collection of Gandhiji's articles, published in 1942

²*Vide* “Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru”, 30-7-1937 and Appendix “Livery of Freedom”, 31-7-1937.

560. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI¹

WARDHAGANJ,
August 8, 1945

RIGHT HON'BLE SHASTRIAR
SWAGATAM
MADRAS

HOPE YOUR ILLNESS TEMPORARY AND YOU ARE NOT
NEEDLESSLY WORRYING OVER COUNTRY'S SITUATION.²

GANDHI

From the original: V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial
Museum and Library

561. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAM DAS TANDON

WARDHA,
August 8, 1945

BABU PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON
CROSTHWAITE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

I THINK OUR CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE RELEASED.
PLEASE WIRE CONSENT.

BAPU

From the original: P. D. Tandon Collection. Courtesy: National Archives of
India

¹ Expressing his misgivings about the Rajaji Formula the addressee, in his letter dated August 4, 1945, had written: "You may, by one chance out of ten, bring it off. The country may acclaim the result. I shall not. The price is too big, the purchase will be a bogus article."

² The addressee's reply read: "Thanks. Am improving. Wise heads planning country's welfare. My worry really useless but best part one's life."

562. *TRIBUTE TO ZAGHLUL PASHA*¹

WARDHA,
August 8, 1945

I never had the pleasure of meeting Zaghlul Pasha, but I have always entertained high regard for his patriotism and bravery.

The Hindu, 9-8-1945

563. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
August 8, 1945

CHI. RAJKUMARI,

Your letter. Your illness does disturb me. But what is the use of my disturbing myself over the inevitable, whatever the reason may be?

There was nothing wrong in your sending the wires and mentioning the proposed hanging².

I am glad Shummy is better.

The cutting is no doubt vicious and untrue. But you are right. It should be ignored. It cannot be answered even by producing facts. It can only be answered by right action.

I wrote to Raja Daljit Singh yesterday.³ A copy will go with this.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4274. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7906

¹ A well-known Egyptian leader (1860-1927). This was sent on his death anniversary.

² Of Mahendra Chowdhary, who was hanged on August 7. *Vide* "Statement to the press", 11-8-1945.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Atulanand Chakravarty", 7-8-1945.

564. LETTER TO RICHARD SYMONDS

[August 8, 1945]¹

DEAR SYMONDS,

You are unnecessarily agitated. I did not know that you had anything to do with the thing. I understand the whole thing from Sudhir. I think I told you that we were living in artificial and unnatural atmosphere and therefore we had to have thick skins if we were to do our duty.

I expect to see you in Bengal, if I succeed in coming there.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

RICHARD SYMONDS, ESQ.
FRIENDS AMBULANCE UNIT
1 UPPER WOOD ST.
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

565. LETTER TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON

SEVAGRAM *via* WARDHA (C. P.),

INDIA,

August 8, 1945

DEAR MENON²,

Panditji³ has sent me your letter to him.

I am not frightened of the word 'machine'. Therefore, if a life-giving machine can be made in India and will do the work of the spinning-wheel more quickly and better, I would have it and pay a tempting prize to the inventor.

You should be informed that a fat prize was issued to the inventor of such a machine.⁴ The terms were advertised here and in foreign countries. There was only one Indian inventor. I sat at his machine and found it wanting, but I let the board of judges who

¹ This letter is placed among those of August 8, 1945.

² Secretary, India League, London

³ Jawaharlal Nehru

⁴ *Vide* "To Correspondents", 22-6-1921.

were previously appointed give their judgment which, I was sorry, was hostile to the - his humane machine. I would like to welcome another such Singer, only not for one woman but for the starving millions of India.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. K. KRISHNA MENON
165 THE STRAND
LONDON, W. C. 2

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

566. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,
August 8, 1945

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,

Your letter is beautiful. -Indu has done a bold thing. I have written to Menon¹. I enclose a copy. That is all the time I can spare.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

567. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 8, 1945

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. I am in two minds about whether you should or should not go to the Tilak Vidyapith. And therefore it is best that I should express no definite opinion. -We do not wish to enter into controversy over the Vedas. The compositions that are today accepted as the Vedas are full of unresolved doubts. Not all the writings have come down to us. Even from among those which have, no one knows what is genuine and what is not. As regards their interpretation, sheer confusion prevails. Hence the judgment about goodness or badness can come only from a purified conscience. I have, therefore, taken as my guide the *sloka* cited by Anandshankarbhai² in his book:

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधते ॥^३

I do not even know from where he has quoted the *sloka*. It appealed to me instantly and sank into my heart, and I, therefore, got it included in the women's prayer. Also please remember that we got the marriage of the Harijan girl Lakskmi and Harijan Velayudhan performed according to the rite that we had accepted. I do not remember the names of other Harijans. But all this I consider irrelevant. If I am right in my statement that the regeneration of Hinduism lies in our becoming Harijans, then it is very clear that a change must be made in the marriage rite in all weddings taking place in the Ashram or the ones with my blessings. Since I have already agreed, Indu and Tendulkar should be married in the Ashram. I am not bound as regards the rite, and, therefore, the new rite should be introduced from this wedding. I am giving all this additional information here simply by way of background. You may, if you wish, discuss this matter with him. You may discuss it with Vinobaji also, and then prepare as short a text of the ceremony as possible. Remember that this must be finalized before I leave. I assume that you also will be accompanying me. I saw the other photograph of Bal¹, and recognized him. Now let us see where we land.

I gave your letter to Ki. to read. I am told that he is strongly opposed to it. If you wish, you may discuss the matter with him also.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10965

568. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

August 8, 1945

CHI. GURBUXANI,

You are mistaken. It is not right that the world has an eye only for the wealth of people. It looks more for the heart than for wealth.

You must have received the money. Your intention to give all the money is commendable.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1318

¹ Addressee's son

569. LETTER TO KUSUM NAIR

August 8, 1945

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. Asking questions also requires an art, which you do not have. Now that you have risen high, why should you care for my answers? As it is I have hardly any desire and less time. You should find my answers from my life.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI KUSUM NAIR

2 REVIERA

MARINE DRIVE, BOMBAY

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

570. STATEMENT ON APPEAL FOR FUNDS¹

August 8, 1945

I have gone through the appeal² of the trustees. I like it. I hope that the entire amount they have asked for in it will be available through contributions. I feel that much has been done for the propagation of Hindustani in the southern provinces and hope that even more will be done in the future. People should contribute on the understanding that the money thus raised will be used for furthering the cause of the national language as I have defined it. The national language as explained in the appeal is a language written in the Urdu or Hindi style and in the Nagari or Urdu script. This means that the Hindi written solely in the Devanagari script cannot be called national language, nor can the language written solely in the Persian script. The true Hindustani will be evolved only when we, who know the national language, are able to write it in both the scripts and speak in both the dictions. There can be no doubt that even today millions of Hindus and Muslims in the North speak such a language, such Hindustani. However, we cannot say that educated people of the North speak such Hindustani. If it has to be our misfortune that such a state of affairs should continue, then it will continue, but it should be our

¹ This was communicated to M. Satyanarayana, General Secretary, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha.

² Of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, for a fund of Rs. 5 lakhs

hope that it will come to an end soon. This can be the only meaning of propagating Hindustani. Therefore the work of propagating Hindustani which is going on in South India will emphasize both the styles. And that is the meaning of the resolution which the Congress passed in 1925¹. The resolution was:

This Congress resolves that the proceedings of the Congress, A.I.C.C. and the Congress Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani. The English language or any other provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever necessary. Proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

M. K. GANDHI

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

571. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

August 8, 1945

BHAI KELKAR,

I have your letter. Would not your having to take quinine indicate that there was something lacking in your treatment?

Do take Rs. 25 per month and improve your health. My only point is that if you spend the entire sum of Rs. 25 on food and improve your health, but then have a relapse and are again obliged to take quinine, what would one have to say of your treatment? I do not doubt your goodness but I have the gravest doubts concerning your treatment. That I may be wrong is a different thing.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KELKAR (NALWADI)

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

¹ In December at Kanpur

572. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY

SEVAGRAM,
August 8, 1945

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I have your letter. What would be the good of my sending for all three of you here? It is unnecessary. I must admit I have not understood your point. I had understood that Anjana Devi was keen on providing modern education to Sita¹ and Subhadra². I do not consider it improper in any way. While going in for Naye Talim, she is free to send the girls elsewhere whenever she feels like it. If they want to be educated there at present, you must stay somewhere nearby. You will go to the Goshala when the building is ready in four to six months' time. Since no other accommodation is available it would be better if it can be found in the Ashram as was done in the case of Prabhakar. I have written to Munnalal to that effect.³ Prabhakar used to cook his own food. I did not make this applicable to you because I thought that except for the education of Sita and Subhadra you and Anjana Devi had a preference for the Ashram life. Therefore I felt you would not need to cook separately. But now I understand from your letter that you do not like the system at the Ashram. If that is so the Ashram life must be something different. But I don't think it is so. Understand that if the life and routine in the Ashram cause you discomfort you both, or at least Anjana Devi, will not be able to stay here in peace. Your cooking separately will hurt me and irritate the managers. It should not be necessary to convince you on this point. Hence, consider the matter well and do whatever you think best. It is your duty to understand the limitations of those running the Ashram.

Blessings From
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 5902. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ Addressee's wife and daughters

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", 6-8-1945.

*573. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
VICEROY*

Express

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1945

P.S.V.
VICEROY'S CAMP

POSTED LETTER¹ ABOUT CHIMUR PRISONERS ON 4TH. RECEIPT
WAS DUE YESTERDAY. ANXIOUS KNOW WHETHER IT WAS
DULY RECEIVED.

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 37

574. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

August 9, 1945

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

Do you also hanker after blessings? Of what avail are they, if you do your work well? If you do not, they will never make up for the deficiency. You should know that.

Blessings to all from

BAPU

SHIVABHAI PATEL
VALLABH VIDYALAYA
BOCHASAN, KHEDA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9520. Also C.W. 439. Courtesy:
Shivabhai G. Patel

¹*Vide* "Letter to E.M.Jenkins", 3-8-1945.

575. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

It is a pity that you cannot sleep while travelling. We shall be reaching Poona in time, and shall see what happens there. I leave on the 19th and arrive there¹ on the 20th. I shall spend the day there and then we shall leave for Poona on the 21st by the first train, assuming that, as before, they will offer us a third-class compartment. Meanwhile take some rest if you can. If you rest, Mani also will get some rest. I feel that she will not be able to endure the present strain for long. Even now she is sustained only by her inexhaustible devotion to you. But even devotion proves helpless in the face of what is but natural. There was a vivid account in the newspapers of the Ahmedabad events.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 283

¹ At Bombay

576. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

August 9, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter.

I should certainly like to stay with you. But you know I am not going there for a change. I want to take Sardar to Dinshaw's clinic for treatment. You should, however, assume that I am staying with you. I will assume so myself. I hope to start from here on the 19th. I am waiting for Sardar's letter.

You got a fine *samadhi*¹ constructed. That was good. Arrangements have also been made for people to visit it.

I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4836. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey

577. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

August 9, 1945

BHAI SAILEN,

I have your letter. I do not think it is any good answering your question. For the moment the less I say the better. Asking a question calls for art, for thought. So if a question is not of a kind deserving a reply I will not reply to it. I would like to give you something, but what can be done? You yourself should make the effort.

Blessings from

BAPU

UNITED PRESS

BOMBAY

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

¹ Kasturba Gandhi's *samadhi* in the Aga Khan Palace in Poona

578. LETTER TO VENKATAKRISHNAIYYA

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1945

BHAI VENKATAKRISHNAIYYA,

I have gone through your letter. The argument given in it does not appeal to me. Your thoughts are confused. Maybe, I am too old to appreciate your point. I personally feel that my mind is able to grasp new things. However, you may go ahead according to your ideas.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI U. VENKATAKRISHNAIYYA
KHADDAR SANSTHANAM
BEZWADA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9244. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

579. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

August 9, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

I found your letter irrelevant. I enclose Munnalal's reply. I did not know that manure was improved by being kept for so many months. The complaint about the trees is still there. Please consider both these matters if you think they call for consideration.

I have not fully understood what Bhai Patil wants to know. If you can explain to me I will let you know.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

580. LETTER TO INDUMATI GUNAJI

August 10, 1945

CHI. INDU,

This letter is for both of you.

I propose to solemnize your wedding on the 19th. The ceremony is likely to be performed by Prabhakar. He is from a Harijan family. His parents had become Christians.

The rite is being drafted by Kakasaheb.¹

I assume that you approve of all this. I think you ought to write to your elders and seek their permission.

I assume also that this marriage will not be for indulgence but for service. I assume further that until real independence is achieved you will not consummate your marriage. And of course I take it for granted that you will not take to contraceptive methods.

I need not say that if you find all this hard you should not feel obliged to have the marriage solemnized here.

If you approve of a marriage of this type, do regular spinning, study the 12th Chapter of the *Gita* with interest and understanding, and think only of public good while working in the Ashram.

Remember that in drafting this rite I have not taken the law into consideration.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10946. Courtesy: Indumati G. Tendul-kar

¹Vide Appendix "Marriage Rites", 18-8-1945.

581. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

SEVAGRAM,
August 10, 1945

BHAI KAILASHNATH¹,

Read this letter² and write to me what it is about. Return the letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

582. LETTER TO MAHESH DUTTA MISHRA

August 10, 1945

CHI. MAHESH,

So you have got to go to Prayag. When will you go? It is temporary no doubt. But how long will you be required to stay there? Will it be a regular job?

Do come here for the holidays. Do not eat everything even though you may be well. Whatever you take should be taken as medicine. You have to eat to live, not live to eat.

Write to me all your experiences in brief.

I hope you are properly fixed up in regard to your food and accommodation here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6712. Also C.W. 4456. Courtesy: Mahesh Dutta Mishra

¹(1887-1968) Minister in U. P., 1937-39 and 1946-47; Governor of Orissa, 1947; Governor of West Bengal, 1948-51; Minister for Home Affairs and Law, Government of India; retired as Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh

²From Bholanath of Alwar Rajya Prajamandal

583. NOTE TO INDUMATI GUNAJI

[After August 10, 1945]¹

If both of you want to have protection of the law you may have [the marriage] registered. Devdas has done it. So has Kanu. I never wanted it, but the girls' fathers were keen on it.

I have only expressed an opinion. I never pay any attention to the law in whatever I do. We may regard Prabhakar as more than a Brahmin, but what can we do if society and the law would not recognize him?

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10951. Courtesy: Indumati G. Tendulkar

584. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
August 11, 1945

Those like me, who were interested in saving Mahendra Chowdhary from the gallows, are, I know, shocked that he was hanged at the Central Jail in Bhagalpur on August 7. Those who remain behind will have to know that many more such tragedies will take place. Only, we must learn the lesson of each. Let us, then, now dispassionately learn the lesson of this accomplished death sentence.

First, the Government. They do not call it a political dacoity. Every dacoity is not a political act. Many professionals used the political ferment for their own ends. Government, whether truly national or foreign, would not let such crimes go unpunished. The authorities, in this case, held Mahendra Chowdhary to be implicated in such a dacoity and, therefore, they allowed the sentence to take the extreme course. Now, for the popular side. They say that Mahendra Chowdhary was a young man of twenty-five. He had no idea of taking part in a dacoity whether professional or political, so-called. He was in hiding. He was tried after the event and sentenced on doubtful evidence. Acceptance of the evidence and the verdict depended on the whim of the judge or judges and at the time judges were, as often as not, biased.

¹The contents of the letter indicate that this was written after the letter to the addressee dated August 10, 1945; *vide* "Letter to Indumati Gunaji", 10-8-1945.

If the popular belief is founded on fact, the death was a murder, worse, reprehensible because judicial. Who can find the truth, except a body of utterly impartial lawyers? They have to do so from the recorded evidence and the judgements of the original and appellate courts. Let us neither be carried away by sentiment nor lazily forget the incident, now that Mahendra Chowdhary is no more. If Government at all care for public opinion and would not rest on the overwhelming force they have at their disposal, they will be equally interested, and will associate themselves with the public.

The Hindu, 13-8-1945

585. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 11, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

I expected your answer to K. and asked her to do something herself.

I wanted the name. Do not bring *Saf Karo* with you. Yes, you can join me in Poona, if I am not here by the time you come. No grumbling about your pains. *Nanak* is a good book but for the miracles.¹ I wish you could induce the Raja to give a better thing in Hindustani, i. e., in Nagari and Urdu characters. He has taken much pains over it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4275. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7907

586. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 11, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

You can come tomorrow at 11 a. m. and dine here at 12. You will talk while I am eating.

I am running away to Poona on [the] 19th. I do not know whether I shall return on the appointed date. Can the meeting take place in Poona? If not, I must return for the meeting and go back. But that tomorrow.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Daljit Singh", 7-8-1945.

I have not finished the manuscript¹ yet but may by tomorrow.
About the article also when we meet.
Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10176

587. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 11, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Read the accompanying letter. I like it. Kanchan writes what she feels. I think it is necessary that she should be satisfied. How can she be forced against her will? But I doubt very much if you two can stay together in the Ashram. It seems to me impossible that you may stay in a house of your own in the Ashram and still refrain from sexual gratification. Kanchan at any rate will not be able to do so. And, knowing you as I do, I can say that you also will not be able to do so. Ramprasad is not an Ashram inmate. He is a paid worker and runs a separate kitchen of his own. Even so, I am not reconciled to their gratification of physical desire. But having engaged him I am helpless. His case, like Niyamat's, should not be cited as a precedent. Think calmly over all this and write to me. I understand about Hiramani.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8443. Also C.W. 5589. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

*588. MESSAGE TO ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION,
LAHORE*

[On or Before *August 12, 1945*]²

I say 'spin'. Swaraj lies in every thread of yarn. If all Indians spin and come to me I will give them swaraj. Forty crores of people live in India. Leaving children aside, if all the rest spin it will be a great achievement. I have been, therefore, laying stress on spinning. Spinning is not a small thing. This is my message for "Liberty

¹ Of *The Economy of Permanence*, written by the addressee

² The report is date-lined "Lahore, August 12".

Week". I am not joking. Great power lies latent in spinning.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-8-1945

589. *LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI*

SEVAGRAM,
August 12, 1945

DEAR ARUNA¹,

The distress is of your own imagination.² I fear that the Maulana's letter was of my doing. There was no question of isolating you from the rest or of expecting you to suppress anything. You were represented as being very ill and so there was a mention of your illness and special urgency of your release. Asaf³ had no hand in it. So far as I know he came to know of the letter after it was dispatched. Will you not give him and to everyone else the liberty of free thought that you claim for yourself? I hope you are well.

Love.

BAPU

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

590. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*⁴

August 12, 1945

CHI. PRABHA,

I do not remember whether or not I have dictated a letter to you. If I have not, then four days have gone by [since I received your letter].

You have to come to me when you are free from there. I think that if your services are urgently required just now, you should offer them. Personally I approve of your voluntarily confining your sphere of service to villages.

¹Member, All-India Congress Socialist Party; was imprisoned during the Quit India movement.

²The addressee, in her letter dated August 8, had expressed her deep distress over the special representation made by Abul Kalam Azad to the Viceroy for her release.

³Asaf Ali, addressee's husband

⁴The letter is in the Devanagari script.

Even while you are there, you should pick up carding and ginning. Practise them regularly. Read whatever you can get.

I am writing this without your letter in front of me. If, therefore, I have left out any point, let me know.

I will leave here on the 19th, spend a day in Bombay and then take Sardar to Poona on the 21st.

Take care of your health.

I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3578

591. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
August 12, 1945

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. If God enables us to meet, we shall discuss the matter further in Poona.

I have even written to Maulana Saheb, though not in your fashion. It is a difficult job. There can be no two opinions that before taking any particular step he should consult you all.

What I had written to Jinnah Saheb was final, and, therefore, I cannot do anything different. But you and others have a right to disagree with what I wrote. If you cannot endorse it from your heart, you should declare that openly. I did not speak on anybody's behalf, but merely expressed my own opinion. If I see any error in what I did, I would immediately admit it. You know well enough that he likes nothing that I suggest. But don't worry about it.

New elections must be held. But it is not certain that they will be. If they are held, we shall see. More in Poona.

I can fully understand your inability to come here. Railway travelling is no longer possible for you. Will it be less painful if you fly from Bombay to Poona?

Your last speech¹ was liked by everybody. But I feel that you went too far. But don't mind about that. You just cannot suppress

¹At Bombay on August 9. The addressee had been earlier released from the Ahmednagar Fort on June 15, 1945.

what is on your mind.

I hope Mani will not exert herself too much and fall ill.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 284-5

592. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 12, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Plan a programme of study for Gajraj¹ and let me know. His studies should be properly attended to. If you wish to ask me anything about this matter, you may do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8439. Also C.W. 5590. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

593. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

August 12, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

Give a reply after going through this.² Send me a copy of it and also the letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Son of Hoshiari

² From Harekrushna Mahtab; *vide* the following item; also "Letter to Harekrushna Mahtab", 14-8-1945.

594. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

August 12, 1945

BHAI MAHTAB¹,

How are you? You did not even mention in your letter where you were writing from. It is not that the khadi produced in Orissa cannot go out of the province. However, it is true that only a small quantity will be sent out. Be assured that true well-being of Orissa lies only in that. It should not be necessary to write down everything that I have written to you. Understand the new scheme and carry it out.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI H. MAHTAB, M.L.A.
CUTTACK (ORISSA)

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

595. LETTER TO NISHITH NATH

August 12, 1945

BHAI NISHITH NATH,

I have your letter. I do not know what I shall be able to do. I shall certainly keep your letter in mind.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8022

¹President, Utkal P. C. C., 1930 and 1937; member, Congress Working Committee, 1938-46; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1946-50 and 1957-60; Minister, Central Government, 1950-52

596. *LETTER TO PARACHURE SHASTRI*

August 12, 1945

BHAI PRACHURE SHASTRI,

I have your letter. Give the song to Prabhakar. It is a well known fact that the word *chakra* is to be found in the Vedas and other texts; also that the word *charkha* is derived from *chakra*. I have understood the second point.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

597. *LETTER TO RATNAMAYI DEVI*

August 12, 1945

CHI. RATNAMAYI,

When I received your letter, a doubt arose in my mind. I had believed that you were self-sacrificing and brave and were not scared of living in villages. You should not have waited for my orders. That does not mean that I have ceased to be your well-wisher. But now that you have settled down there, of what help can I be?

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RATNAMAYI DEVI

MAHILA ASHRAM

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

598. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, SUMMERFORD
ORCHARD*

August 12, 1945

THE MANAGER,

I have received the apples you have sent on behalf of Shri Padampatji. They are good. Thanks.

M. K. GANDHI

SECRETARY, SUMMERFORD ORCHARD

RAMGARH P. O.

DIST. NAINITAL, U. P.

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

599. LETTER TO ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
August 12, 1945

BHAI ACHYUT,

All your papers are being sent. If something has been left out, do ask. It will be sent.

I trust you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

600. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

August 13, 1945

MY DEAR SUNDARAM¹,

You have sent me a beautiful extract. You did mention your Visit to Assisi's place. Don't come to me in Poona. Come to Sevagram when I am here.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3191

601. LETTER TO V. LAKSHMI

August 13, 1945

DEAR LAKSHMI,

The sample of yarn is good. I hope you will continue your good work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. LAKSHMI
43 KARNESWARKOIL
SANTHOME, MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹Secretary to Madan Mohan Malaviya. The superscription is in Tamil.

602. LETTER TO HARJIVAN KOTAK

August 13, 1945

CHI. HARJIVAN,

I have your letter. You have the zeal, so you will certainly get the work. My mind is working in a different way these days; so I shall not be able to suggest anything. It is very difficult to accommodate you in Poona. So meet me only when I return to Sevagram.

Blessings from

BAPU

HARJIVAN KOTAK
GRAMODYOG GANDHI HAT
AHMEDABAD

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

603. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD

SEVAGRAM,
August 13, 1945

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I have not given thought to what you should do in my absence. You are not to come to Poona. I wish the child to get well. I understand about Pushpa.

Blessings from

BAPU

C/O SULOCHANA BHATT
145 A, VIGAS SHERI
KALBA DEVI ROAD

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

604. LETTER TO INDUMATI GUNAJI

August 13, 1945

CHI. INDU,

Doctor¹ says you want to say something to me. If it is something confidential you can come at 4 today, if it is not confidential then come at 11.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You will not invite any outsiders except your brother.

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10947. Courtesy: Indumati G. Tendulkar

605. LETTER TO JASWANT SINGH

August 13, 1945

SARDARJI,

I have your letter. Your article is interesting.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR JASWANT SINGH
VASANT PRESS
DEHRADUN, U. P.

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

606. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 13, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What is there so confidential about your letter? You have not understood my point. It is as well. I suggest that you show your letter to Munnalal. If that is the case he should withdraw himself. Anything done just for my sake is to be regarded as futile. Anything that is done has to be right. Only then can it do good.

That was my view about the management. Since I am not aware of everything, the final decision should be taken by those who know

¹A. G. Tendulkar

all the facts.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4522

607. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

August 13, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

If the manure was lying there because of paucity of labour you should have taken help from the Ashram inmates. You will remember you have asked for such help before. There was no point in shifting it from one place to another. It can be used for vegetables; but the question is whether it is more useful for the fruit trees or for the vegetables. I felt that your reply was not straight. If we have been negligent it is our duty to own it.

(2) I will myself see about the trees.

(3) I shall be pleased if Shri Patil and his sister-in-law live in the Ashram and work in the Goshala. But have a talk with Munnalalji and write to Patil what he says.

(4) I will certainly like it if Ramnarayan can stay in the Goshala. Ask him whether he wishes to stay or not. I was under the impression that at the moment it is not possible to accommodate him under any circumstances.

(5) Does the Hindustani Talimi Sangh want developed land? I thought it was otherwise. We must give the land. Put down everything in Writing and let me know. Let them have it on a nominal rent, for a specific period. Give them the right to return the land.

I think I have replied to all your questions.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PARNERKAR

GOSHALA

SEVAGRAM

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

608. NOTE TO INDUMATI GUNAJI

[After August 13, 1945]¹

Now you can talk. I shall talk if I have to reply. The question is not about. . .² at Wardha. The question is what is proper for you. I have not laid down any condition. If you Say it is something new, then you may leave it.

You are not a little girl, nor are you an ordinary woman. You are a worker of some standing. Tendulkar is an experienced man. I might join you two in wedlock only to see you lost in family life. Read my letter³ again; you will not find in it any condition, only a keendesire on my part. If you have already decided to lead family life, what is the use of going through an Ashram wedding? You do not know the amount of pains I am taking and how much I am thinking about it. In my opinion this is no small matter. Know that I had expressed the same desire in the case of every other wedding. But they were all young girls with the exception of Saundaram. You on the other hand ought to raise more important questions. How will it look if you desired progeny before the coming of independence?

I shall not forbid you from inviting those people if you wish. Will they have to be served a meal here? Tell me after thinking over it.

Show me my letter. Does my language imply a condition?

* * *

This is a different matter. When you say that I laid down a condition which was not there earlier, I maintain that I have stipulated no such condition. This is why I made the inquiry. I can do something only on the assumption that neither of you will be a hypocrite. In the event of hypocrisy I shall not be losing anything; only you two will stand to lose. This has been my experience to date. Those who betrayed me have ultimately fallen.

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10950. Courtesy: Indumati G. Tendulkar

¹ From the contents it is evident that this note was written after the letter to the addressee dated August 13, 1945. *Vide* "Letter to Indumati Gunaji", 13-8-1945.

² One word is illegible here.

³ Dated August 10; *vide* "Letter to Indumati Gunaji", 10-8-1945.

609. LETTER TO HAMIDULLAH

August 13/14, 1945

HAMIDULLAH SAHEB,

I have your letter. I do not answer every letter. I have understood what you say.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

HAMIDULLAH
59 NAYAGAON
LUCKNOW

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

610. DISCUSSION WITH B. S. MURTHY¹

[Before August 14, 1945]²

I can give you advice only as from one individual to another. I am not giving any advice to the Harijan Sevak Sangh which is an institution. After all the Harijan Sevak Sangh is only as good as the best men in it and I know how few they are. The Sangh has done substantial work, though not in the estimation of the Harijans or in the estimation of the orthodox Hindus. The Harijans may want to smash the caste Hindus and the caste Hindus may want to cling to the old way. The Sangh has to face both these.

You have asked me how the Sangh can be revitalized. I know the royal way is a fast by me. I might fast again and that more readily for Harijans than for anything else. But I must wait till God asks me to do it. There is no such thing as a forced fast. It has to come and I cannot say now when it will come. I must also tell you that there are others who want to fast for the Harijans. But I have told them that they are not to fast while I am alive. I have also the idea of a chain of fasts. In such a chain I will fast first and then when my body has perished, the next fast will begin and it will go on till untouchability is no more. Such a fast is conceived, but it cannot be taken up at once as I said it has to come. But before even such a thing happens a lot of spade work has to be done. That is why Harijan Sevak Sangh workers are

¹Who had sought Gandhiji's advice on the various problems of Harijans

²From the reference to the Harijan Sevak Sangh workers' meeting which was held on August 14, 1945. *Vide* also "Letter to Sudhir Ghosh", 28-8-1945.

meeting here soon. They are meeting for the very purpose of revitalizing the Sangh's work.

The present feeling among the Harijan Sevak Sangh workers is that practically nothing has been done among caste Hindus. Education of Harijans is one thing; education of *Savarnas* is another and as I know more difficult. You can educate Harijans by giving them scholarships, hostels, etc., but no such way is possible among the caste Hindus. The task, therefore, is to educate the *savarnas*. But this can be done only by those who are fired by a living faith in the Hinduism which I understand. Only those who fully know the meaning of Hinduism as I know it can perform the miracle. Let us not forget that untouchability is a most difficult thing to remove and that our task is a heavy one. But I have no doubt that God will remove untouchability or remove Hinduism.

Now in regard to your question on the political future of Harijans, I certainly see that those Harijans who have become politically conscious should straightaway have a full opportunity to figure in politics. You have asked me what I mean by saying that I want such Harijans to be more than a match for all other political competitors. Many people weigh the Harijans in some special Harijan balance. But I want to weigh the Harijans in the same balance in which I weigh the best. You have to outweigh others because you have to cover so much lost distance. That is why I expect from the Harijans greater effort than from others.

You have asked me whether Dr. Ambedkar has in my opinion thus proved himself to be more than a match. My answer is 'Yes' and 'No'. Dr. Ambedkar is a fierce and fearless man. He does not scruple to beat the Hindu dog with any stick he can get. He wants to destroy Hinduism. It is open to him to do it. If the Harijans want to do it they can do it. Then the Harijans must become the destroyers of Hinduism. I want Harijans to become as able and earnest as Dr. Ambedkar but in a different way. I want you to do even better. I want you to produce sterling men who will reshape the whole of our society. It is not enough to be educated. It is necessary to be cultured and fearless. Such men who will reshape society will have to work among the people and not cut themselves away from the people. They will have to be stern, incorruptible and self-reliant. There is nothing to prevent such people from taking any assistance from clean quarters. But my point is the more you lean on such assistance, the more difficult becomes the task of uplifting the Harijans.

The Hindu, 21-8-1945 and 31-8-1945

611. TELEGRAM TO HANUMAN PRASAD PODDAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1945

HANUMANPRASAD PODDAR
"KALYAN"
GORAKHPUR

INDIANS' PROSPERITY BOUND WITH THAT OF COW
AND HER PROGENY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

612. LETTER TO GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter of 8th instant received yesterday afternoon.

I shall gladly avail myself of your kind offer of assistance, if I need it. Of course I know Mr. Symonds¹ very well.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL
CALCUTTA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 104

¹ Of the Friends Ambulance Unit

613. LETTER TO LALLA MEGHRAJ

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1945

DEAR LALLA MEGHRAJ,

Your letter. You should refer the matter to the Maulana Saheb.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALLA MEGHRAJ, M.L.A.
ROHRI, SINDH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

614. LETTER TO J. POPPLETON

August 14, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can see me in Poona after 22nd instant.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

J. POPPLETON, ESQ.
C/O S.S. "RANCHI"
P. & O. STEAM NAVIGATION COY.
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

615. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

[August 14, 1945]¹

CHI. KANAM,

I have your letter. Why do you fall ill? Should not the art of not falling ill and, having fallen ill, of getting well again be a part of everybody's study?

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. KANU GANDHI

C/O SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI

KHALASI LINE, NAGPUR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9519. Courtesy: Kanu Gandhi

616. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

August 14, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter. You (and Mama, if you think he is fit and can be brought) should come to Bombay on Monday. I will be observing silence but do not worry about it. I shall spare a few minutes somehow.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

617. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 14, 1945

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I shall be leaving on the 19th. After that my programme will be uncertain. As Sardar desires I could spend three months with him and then go to Bengal, then to the Frontier Province

¹From the postal cancellation mark

and then to Madras. That means I shall have to be away till December. Under these circumstances you can stay with me if you come at the end of December. But that is the time when you are required to stay there.

My blessings to Akbar¹. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

618. LETTER TO DEVRAJ

August 14, 1945

BHAI DEVRAJ,

I have your letter. I am sorry you felt hurt. But I am sorrier that you cannot see what is so obvious.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI DEVRAJI
YOGIC PHYSICAL CULTURE INSTITUTE
PLEADER STREET
LYALLPUR, PUNJAB

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

619. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1945

BHAI MAHTAB,

I had sent your letter to Shri Jajuji. He has written to you. From it you will see that the new [scheme]² is good from all points of view.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
CONGRESS HOUSE
CUTTACK, ORISSA

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

¹ Akbar Chavda

² Illegible in the source

620. LETTER TO SHARAD KUMARI

August 14, 1945

CHI. SHARAD KUMARI,

I have your letter. Why should you feel nervous now that you have gone there? Whatever the other girls do, you must maintain simplicity. Spin and learn other crafts. Do not indulge in luxuries but at the same time do not be jealous of others. Love everyone. In the end you will make an impression.

Blessings from

BAPU

C/O THE HEADMISTRESS
CENTRAL HINDU GIRLS SCHOOL
KASHI, U.P.

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

621. LETTER TO V. BHASHYAM AYYANGAR¹

August 14, 1945

BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. I will try to lay the foundation²; but no decision can be taken before I come.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9761. Courtesy: B. Jagannath Das

¹ Ex-Judge of Madras High Court

² Of the Harijan Industrial School, Kodambakkam, Madras

622. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 14, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two covers. Of course you will come to Poona when you are easily free from all work there.

Can Vaidya Nanak Chand work in Sevagram? What will he need? Has he a family? There may be very little Ayurvedic work for him unless he is really well up in his work.

Sushila is in Nagpur.

Harijan meeting¹ just on. Rameshwari² is here.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4164. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7800

623. SPEECH AT CENTRAL BOARD, HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

WARDHA,
August 14, 1945

Gandhiji said that only caste Hindus and no Harijan should be taken on the Executive of the Sangh, as it was the caste Hindus who had to atone for their sin of prolonging untouchability. Harijans could be members of the supervision committee that might be set up for carrying on the work properly.

Replying to a question, Gandhiji said that he would appreciate the principle of satyagraha for enforcing the civic rights of Harijans in public places like tanks, wells, temples, etc. He, however, emphasized that the Harijan Sevak Sangh as an organization should not be involved in such a satyagraha. Individual Harijan workers might try that remedy with the help of others.

Gandhiji explained to the members how Harijan work was to be carried on. Persistent propaganda for changing the hearts of the orthodox and caste Hindus, he said, would greatly help to solve the problem of untouchability which was a stigma on Hinduism.

To create confidence among Harijans, Mahatma Gandhi went on, Harijan workers had to live amidst Harijans, mix with them, study their local and other

¹ Of the Central Board of Harijan Sevak Sangh; *vide* the following item.

² Rameshwari Nehru, President, Central Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

problems and try to solve them to their satisfaction. The workers should live like the Harijans “so that they can feel that you are one of them”.

Gandhiji emphasized the need for more intensive work for the uplift of Harijans and called for more workers. It was a very vast work and needed great patience, energy, time and money, he said.

The Hindu, 16-8-1945

624. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 15, 1945¹

On receipt of your letter today, I sent you the following wire: “Your letter. I think it should not be published. Writing fully.”

I do not infer from your letter that you are writing about my ‘Hindus’. Whatever you have in your heart has not come in your writing. But do not worry about it. When we meet next we will talk over it if you so desire. Whatever you want to say about the communal problem should not be said without consulting the Working Committee. I am also of the opinion that it would be better to be quiet. The party can give its opinion after consultation with you. They have a right to do so. Besides it is their duty. I differ from your opinion. I can not say if I attach importance to the words ‘Hindu’ and ‘Mussalman’. Whatever the Congress does is a different thing. At one time I do not like ‘Hindu’ and at another time I do not like ‘Mussalman’. It means there cannot be either. All this needs pondering over. I do not feel the urge for doing anything early²

From a copy: C.W. 10551. Courtesy: Government of Madhya Pradesh

¹This appears in *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VI, under the date August 16, 1945 with some verbal variations.

²*The Transfer of Power* has: “I cannot say if I attach any importance to the Hindu and Muslim (convention). What the Congress may do is another matter. I don’t like the idea of a Hindu and a Muslim alternately acting as Head of the State). It means that members of other communities will be barred. All this needs careful pondering over. I do not feel the urge to do anything hastily”. The letter was intercepted by the Government.

625. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 15, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got both your letters. I had sent you Ramnarayan's letter for your information and to know what you might have to say in the matter. What you say is perfectly correct. I certainly do not like to leave the newly arrived girls and go away, but I am helpless. You should know how to make them work. I will try to discuss the matter with Deo.

Ramnarayan will leave on the 18th. You should ponder over Krishnachandra's letter. Why does he and others form such an impression? One should hear what one's co-workers say. One may even sacrifice much for their sake.

It is not that you do not know this.

In hurry,

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8438. Also C.W. 5591. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

626. LETTER TO VINOBA BHAVE

August 15, 1945

CHI. VINOBA,

I do not believe that agriculture alone will bring self-reliance. We should become self-reliant through the handicrafts we take up. I grant that in the very first year we cannot become self-reliant. However, when we complete the entire process the expenditure and the income should balance. I would not call agriculture a handicraft. But it is an occupation of crores of people. It does not encourage skill but it does give a lot of physical exercise. It has been accorded its rightful place after seven years. It is a sad thing that we have been divided into two groups but that is inevitable. We regard constructive work as a symbol of ahimsa while others look upon it as a means of furthering their work. And that only to the extent that if they can do without it they will do so. Even if the intention is good I find lack of wisdom in such an attitude.

Your health causes me worry. You must get rid of your leg trouble. Steam treatment is one of the treatments. Massage is worth trying. I believe that one who neglects the body betrays the soul. Is not the body an abode of the *atman*? And therefore it requires the utmost care.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Vinoba Bhav Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

627. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

WARDHA,

August 15, 1945

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

I have your letter. I am sending your letters to Agatha Harrison and Krishna Menon, by air mail. I see from these that all those sentenced to death are classed as political prisoners. Can this view sustain? During the upheaval a few criminals indulged in foul deeds. Can they be described as political? Then what the Huns did in Sind should similarly be described as political. All these things are weighing on my mind. Even so I do not hold back your letter, because I have not been given any choice and it is addressed to Agatha Harrison. The second letter you have forgotten to sign. However, I am forwarding it to Krishna Menon. The truth is that capital punishment is bad in itself and it should be abolished.

I have no hope of anything good coming out of it. We must understand the system. The Viceroy wields supreme power. So if we are not able to achieve anything here we might as well wash our hands of the whole thing. They cannot run the administration in any other way. We should therefore do whatever is possible only here. Our last resort is public opinion. Public opinion, in this matter, is evidently not able to do much and when it does achieve something it is not as effective as it should be. I have stated what can be done about Mahendra Chowdhary after the execution.¹ I hope you have gone through my statement and will have it implemented in whatever way you can. Something will come of it if competent lawyers take the

¹Vide "Statement to the press", 11-8-1945.

matter up. Maybe, we shall not be able to save those whom we want to, but we shall have the benefit of it in time to come.

I am very happy to know that your health is good. Do not be in a hurry to get back from there. Do whatever you can from there.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

628. *LETTER TO MOHAMMED SALIM*

August 15/16, 1945

MOHAMMED SALIM SAHEB,

I have your letter. I had seen what was written to you before. You must know that I have no private money of my own. Therefore please excuse me.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

MOHAMMED SALIM, SHOPKEEPER

BELBAGH, JABALPUR

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

629. *ADVICE TO ENGINEERS*¹

[On or before *August 16, 1945*]²

How useful it would be if the engineers in India were to apply their ability to the perfecting of village tools and machines. This must not be beneath their dignity.

The Hindu, 25-8-1945

¹ This was given during a talk with Labanya Kumar Chowdhary, an engineer from Sylhet, when he visited Sevagram. He had resigned from the Government service during the 1942 movement. Gandhiji refers to his visit in the letter to P. C. Ghosh dated August 16, 1945; *vide* "Letter to P. C. Ghosh", 16-8-1945.

² *ibid*

630. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
August 16, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

Your two letters.

The damage to the still is a sorry affair, but I must be held wholly responsible. The still was brought for the sake of Dr. 'Ice'¹. But it became nobody's business, though the distilled water was produced for Dr. 'Ice's' patients. I was away and the still was mishandled. The slight reparation I can make is to pay in full Rs. 100 or such sum as you may have to pay for a new still, if it is available. You have to make the choice.

For the talk you can come on Saturday at 8.30 p. m. after the prayer or tonight if you get this in time.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. J. C. KUMARAPPA
MAGANWADI
WARDHA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

631. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 16, 1945

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent you today a wire as follows: "All agree cotton condition beneficial end. Writing—Bapu."² If I could have written to you on the very day that I received your letter, this letter would have reached you at the same time as the wire. But I did not wish to reply to your letter without showing it to others. For, though I had written a long letter to you, you remained convinced in your mind regarding your demand. I did not, therefore, think it proper to write to you on my own. Your letter has now been read by Jajuji, Chhaganlal³, Krishnadas⁴ and

¹ M. S. Kelkar

² The wire is quoted in English.

³ Chhaganlal Joshi

⁴ Krishnadas Gandhi, son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

Kan-aiyo. They all agree with me. Jajuji has even written down his view. I send it with this. He has described his own experience. I am confident that a person like you is bound to have the same experience. “Swaraj will be gained through yarn,” I said, relying on intuition. But I realize now that intuition is one thing and its confirmation by experience another. And what I have been putting forward now is something different still. Others are having more convincing experience of the same. It is not going to impress me at all even if in Kathiawar khadi worth Rs. 4 lakhs instead of Rs. 2 lakhs is produced and sold. For it could be proved that such production and sale of khadi would only promote the welfare of the poor, and an all-India institution like the Charkha Sangh need not be established merely for that purpose. A co-operative of the poor for producing khadi could be established and more khadi at still lower cost could be produced. But even then that khadi would be of value only as khadi for the poor. It would, one may say, make no contribution to the cause of swaraj. I, therefore, desire that you should have perfect self-confidence and adopt this new method—policy—for khadi and discover from experience that it is khadi for swaraj. It is quite possible that Kathiawar may not accept such khadi. If so, don’t mind if no khadi work is done there, for you must be aware that no such work is done in many Indian States. In the same way if no work is done in Kathiawar, either, the cause of khadi for swaraj would not suffer. I go even further and say that in carrying on khadi activity for swaraj, if it ceases to be khadi for the poor, the latter are not going to lose anything for they will be able to earn their bread in some other way. But if khadi supports the poor even while remaining khadi for the swaraj, it would be a credit both to the poor and the cause of swaraj. The poor thereby would have contributed to the winning of swaraj. If I have left any point unexplained, Kanaiyo will explain it when he arrives there.

I hope your health is perfect. If you can leave that place, it might be better for you to come and see me once.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8628. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

632. LETTER TO LAKSHMI NARAYAN AGRAWAL

August 16, 1945

BHAI LAKSHMI BABU,

We cannot accept even one of the three conditions.¹ Even though we believe that it is an inflammatory speech, constructive activity has no relation at all with movements such as that of 1942. Even if we denounce the violent activities of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, we cannot accept any of these three conditions, that is to say, we cannot compel the workers to respect them. If the independence of India is common cause between us and the Government then what is the meaning of all these differences?

The truth is that the Bihar Government has made a mistake in making the arrests but instead of acknowledging the mistake it wants to put the responsibility on us. We will not accept the responsibility even if they should wipe us out. Let them stop our peaceful activities. We shall still go forward.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

633. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

August 16, 1945

BHAI PROFULLA BABU,

I have your two letters: one about Labanya Kumar and the other about my going there.

I have met Labanya Kumar and have written about the engineers. He has also seen things here.

Now about my visit. I have said I will go. I have also been told by the Governor that the way is open for my visit. The question now is when I should go. I cannot go before October under any circumstances and as regards October you frighten me. I personally am not frightened but if I am not to go in October it will be very late.

¹ The addressee had written that the Governor of Bihar in his talk with Anugraha Narayan Sinha had said that:

(i) The Government would not allow the constructive workers to make any inflammatory speeches. (ii) The Government would not give any opportunity to the Constructive workers to launch a mass movement as that of 1942. (iii) The Government would keep a close watch on the activities of the Congress as none of its members, including Gandhiji, denounced the violent activities of Jayaprakash Narayan.

So write to me after considering everything. As you must be aware, I have stayed in Calcutta in October and have moved about. Besides, I ask myself why I cannot stay in a place where you all can. I will advise you to see Satis Babu also in this connection. I know it is a tricky matter, but we should be able to do something.

In Calcutta I shall stay in Sodepur. I know Sarat Babu¹ would insist that I should stay with him. You should jointly decide and let me know. I am not going there for a fixed period. I want to lose myself in the misery of Bengal. I want to go to Midnapore and also to Chittagong. I do not know how far the body will carry. Also I shall not be able to put up with undisciplined crowds and constant noise.

Do not go on saying 'yes' to everybody. Meet the persons whom you have to meet and let me know. Meet Sudhir Ghosh also. I have come to know him quite well and he has something to do with my going there. He works with the Tatas.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

634. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

[Before August 18, 1945]²

It certainly is.³ But I learnt the fact only today. I did know about his marriage in Germany. But, though married, he had become as good as one not married. That he is going to marry for the third time, I learnt only now and from you. You told Abha and she told me. Nevertheless I attach great value to a promise and, therefore, for the sake of the promise, this knowledge notwithstanding, I will get them married. However, I do realize from this case that one should make no promises. But this is like inquiring about a man's caste after drinking water at his place. But do we not have the other saying, too, that it is morning whenever one wakes up?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 4955

¹ Sarat Chandra Bose

² From the contents it is evident that this letter was written before the letter to Dr. A. G. Tendulkar dated August 18, 1945; *vide* the following item.

³ The addressee had asked Gandhiji whether it was not against his ideal to contemplate giving Indumati in marriage to a person who had been married twice before.

635. LETTER TO DR. A. G. TENDULKAR

August 18, 1945

DEAR TENDULKAR,

Many are protesting to me that I am officiating at your marriage tomorrow. Among them are Manilal and now his wife. She tells me that this will be your third marriage, though I believe in one man one wife and *vice versa* for all time. I know about your new German wife but nothing about your previous wife. My son says none of my ideals will be realized in this union and that neither you nor Indu will carry out my wish that you may not procreate during the country's dependence. I have told them that I cannot go back on my promise which is not in itself immoral or not for a manifestly immoral purpose. Therefore the promise shall be fulfilled (D. V.). But you will please give me such answer as you can.

Now for your preparation for tomorrow:

- (1) Both should fast till the marriage tie is formed, fruits may be taken.
- (2) You will both read 12th Chapter of *Gita* and contemplate its meaning.
- (3) Each will clean up separate plots of ground with measure.
- (4) Each will tend cows in the Goshala.
- (5) Each will clean up the well side.
- (6) Each will clean a closet well.
- (7) Each will spin daily and do all these with the intention so far as possible of carrying out these *yajnas* daily.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10954. Courtesy: Indumati N. Tendulkar

636. YARN DONATION

We all know that Shri Narandas Gandhi is a dedicated votary of khadi. He has such great faith in khadi that he sees *Daridranarayana* in it. He therefore spins for many hours a day. He has also given a prominent place to spinning in the national school conducted by him at Rajkot. For the last many years he has been collecting both yarn and money for the "Charkha Dwadashi"¹. This time he has carried

¹Gandhiji's birthday according to the Vikram calendar

the *sutra yajna* a long way and he has expressed his wish to the country that not only spinning but donating of yarn should catch on. Everyone can participate in it. It should be borne in mind that he does not insist that the yarn should be donated to him only. It can be given to All-India Spinners' Association as well. What he wants is that people should now give yarn donations freely and that he should be supplied with figures as to the quantity of yarn spun all over India and the quantity of yarn donated. To provide information to the public it is enough if these figures are sent to the All-India Spinners' Association office. However, the activity will gain impetus if figures are sent to the person who has conceived the idea, has struggled for it and has fostered the activity. If the figures are sent to him, he will have a clear picture of the work done and his planning and knowledge will prove very useful to all for further progress of work.

Every year he seeks my consent for whatever work he does. This year I thought it proper to accept only yarn donations and suggested it to him accordingly. I have visualized yarn currency and have called Chi. Narandas its banker. I believe that he has the right ability and purity for that kind of work. It is possible that at present the yarn will not fulfil all the requirements of the currency. But our aim today is to increase the number of spinners from the standpoint of non-violent swaraj.

An experiment to make yarn a currency was made locally at Nalwadi. Another experiment is going on in Bezwada. However the ideas behind the two experiments were different. The experiment can be extended to cover the whole of India. Only one year will be required for such currency to come into force. Every home will then become a mint. But it is only an idea today. For the time being all the spinners will produce currency in the form of yarn and will give that away in donation. Every branch of the All-India Spinners' Association will collect such donations. The yarn will belong to the All-India Spinners' Association. Only the account will be sent to Chi. Narandas. The ownership will be that of the All-India Spinners' Association. Narandas will be the custodian of the yarn sent to him directly or collected by himself. It will be utilized and distributed with my permission. The money and the yarn collected by Chi. Narandas every year is distributed with my permission. It will be the same this year also.

This year the idea of cash collection has been given up. However, cash will be received from those who want to give it but the

All-India Spinner's Association will not make any arrangement for its collection. The same rule applies to Chi. Narandas. The aim will be to collect only yarn donations.

Whatever yarn the All-India Spinners' Association collects will be its capital. From now on it will not collect cash for carrying on its activities but will manage with yarn only.

The yarn thus collected will not be sold. But the khadi made from it will be sold. Yarn will be taken but not given. Only the things made from it will be given and sold.

The rule already exists of taking a certain amount of yarn when selling khadi but at some places the practice has been started of giving khadi in exchange for the full quantity of yarn. In spite of that the effort will be to have only yarn donations on the occasion of Charkha Jayanti. However, I want that besides khadi other articles of village industries should be made available in exchange for yarn. But that can be realized only when we take the final step. At the moment I have presented the idea of yarn currency only in its initial form. It is easy for accounting and the capital of yarn increases not by interest but by the labour of the spinner. If the people understand this scheme then yarn will become an instrument for the production of goods worth crores of rupees. Physical labour will become the capital and will easily be able to compete with capitalists.

SEVAGRAM, August 18, 1945

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1945

637. LETTER TO VINOBA BHAVE¹

SEVAGRAM,
August 18, 1945

CHI. VINOBA,

. . . I shall look into the Nayee Talim matter. Ashadevi is not here at present.

I have not a full copy of the *Ramayana* as abridged by me but I send you a marked copy of the *Ramayana* from which you will be able to know the principles on which I had worked. As far as possible I have tried to retain the historical or narrative portion unbroken. Some of the interpolations are useful by themselves, but still I have dropped them altogether. I have also dropped any matter which had been over-lengthened as also such portions as appeared to me unnecessary for the narrative. I have also generally removed portions where woman is referred to in derogatory terms. But I have kept some portions of it just to indicate the mind of Tulsidas. So far as I can remember at the moment, these are the principles I worked upon. But you are intelligent enough to discover any other principle not mentioned here from the marks in the book.

Failure has compelled me to do what I was not prepared to do by persuasion. I mean that I have commenced from yesterday the recitation of *Gitai*² in place of the Sanskrit *Gita*. I realized that nobody learnt Sanskrit. The same old members are there, but even they do not or are unable to study Sanskrit even to the extent of understanding the *Gita*. Moreover, they were unable to recite it in chorus, and what pained me more was the fact that though the recitation of the whole of the *Gita* was confined to the morning prayer, still some members walked out as soon as the recitation began. On making an enquiry into the cause of this, I found that it was very trivial. I did not know it before. I found it out only the day before yesterday, and I immediately came to the conclusion that perhaps interest in the *Gita* might be created more quickly if it was recited in Hindi, Marathi or Gujarati since the people would understand its

¹ K. G. Mashruwala, while publishing the letter in *Harijan*, withheld the first portion of it as not being "absolutely relevant to the present discussion". The original letter in Gujarati is not available.

² Metrical rendering of the *Gita* in Marathi by the addressee, literally, '*Gita* the Mother'.

meaning more easily. I have commenced with *Gitai* because Marathi holds the place of prominence in this part. So far as the members attending the morning prayer are concerned, they are so few that it would not matter much which language I chose. But the music of *Gitai* has been felt by me to be very sweet. Maybe, the reason for this is that I have heard it several times recited by Shivaji¹ and I have liked it. Kishorelal's (Gujarati) translation is there but I have not yet been able to assimilate its music. I have not heard anyone reciting it in a sweet tone. I got an opportunity of hearing it at Bardoli but it was insufficient, and my ear could not adapt itself to it. Haribhau² has published the Hindi *Gita* recently. But I have not yet been able even to examine it and so did not like to touch it. Therefore, I have commenced with *Gitai*.

The immediate cause for writing this is that I happened to see Shivaji yesterday. If he is going to stay here for some time, it would please me if he can be induced to give at least a week to the Ashram just now during the period of the commencement of this recitation. He can train those who desire in reciting it in the same manner as he does, and pick up his music.

Blessings from

BAPU

Harijan, 16-5-1948

638. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

August 18, 1945

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I did take up your book³ to read but could not complete it. You are leaving tomorrow morning. I shall not be able to send it before that. I shall send it from either Poona or Bombay. It will be good if you can come to Poona at an early date.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 307

¹ Addressee's younger brother

² Haribhau Upadhyaya

³ *Gandhian Constitution*

639. NOTE TO KRISHNANATH SHARMA

August 19, 1945

You need not come with me or to me anywhere else. I have understood your position¹. It must be placed before the Working Committee.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8235

640. LETTER TO SARALA DEVI CHOWDHARANI

August 19, 1945

MY DEAR SARLA,

Dipak² gives me a sorrowful account of you. Disease like birth and death is part of us. May you have the strength to suffer what comes as your lot.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

641. LETTER TO KANJI J. DESAI

August 19, 1945

BHAI KANJI,

I liked your letter to Pushpa. She is getting on well. I have been telling her that if at all she is inclined she should go ahead and marry Vrajlal, and bring you peace. But she is firm. She certainly has respect for you. I am sure she will not tarnish your name. She will bring credit to you if she remains firm in her resolve and at the same time merges herself in God. I would advise you to encourage her to stick to her decision. I want you not to be unhappy.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Concerning the situation in Assam about which the addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice

² Dipak Dutt, addressee's son. *Vide* also "Letter to Dipak Dutt Chowdhary", 19-8-1945.

642. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 19, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

1. Kanchan does desire sexual pleasure. You also have the desire. It would not be anything strange if you lived together and satisfied your desire. Self-suppression is not going to help. Hence do what you feel is natural for you. Thwarting Kanchan's desire will harm her. She is good and has the spirit of service. She will lose both these things in the end.

2. Let Hiramani go on as she is doing till Ashadevi arrives.

3. Read Parnerkar's letter and have a talk with him. About the farm, too, do what is necessary. Take Kishorelal's help.

4. About Krishnachandra you will have to think. Talk with him frankly and with love regarding his habit of eating and about other matters, too. You should think about your temperamental differences.

5. Let the yarn spun by me be handed over to the Ashram. Get that much quantity spun by me when I arrive there. If the other people spin from the Ashram cotton, the yarn should be credited to the Ashram. What we spin is of course for the Ashram.

6. Whenever you wish to ask me anything about the women, you may do so.

7. You will be able to improve your singing with effort. If you have no time for that, you need not join in the singing at all.

8. Run classes for the *Gitai* and nothing else.

9. About the expenses here, it is all right that you have bought the ticket. I will not be able to judge better in this matter.

10. Sankaranji may, if he wishes, cook his own meals if he cannot keep good health otherwise.

11. Ramachandran is there only for a short period.

12. The library books can be kept together. Those who want books may ask for them and afterwards return them in good condition.

13. About Ramanbhai, as Krishorelalbhai advises.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5914. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

643. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 19, 1945

CHI. MU [NNALAL],

I do not insist that you should conduct classes for the *Gitai* if you do not wish, but I think you are making a mistake.

[2.] I send with this . . .¹ letter. The problem about manure in the garden remains.

3. If what I have been saying regarding Kanchan is not correct, do what you think is right, but don't put off the decision.

4. About Ramanbhai as you wish.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5916. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

644. LETTER TO DIPAK DUTT CHOWDHARY

August 19, 1945

CHI. DIPAK,

I have your letter. It is good you let me know. You will have arranged whatever treatment was possible. What else can we do? The result is in God's hands, is it not? What are you doing?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

645. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ON WAY TO BOMBAY,

August 19, 1945

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,

I have received your letter. I know a little bit about the Kashmir branch of the Charkha Sangh. I do not know why the dispensary has been closed down. It is just as well that you wrote to me. I have sent a copy of the letter to Jaju. I am on my way to Bombay. From there I shall go to Poona taking Sardar with me. I cannot say how long I shall

¹ Omission as in the source

be staying there. I shall write again when I hear from Jajuji.
The Kashmir trip was bound to do you good.
What was the attack on Maulana Saheb?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

646. HOW TO DO IT?

The A. I. V. I. A. has not shown the results it might have. I have often asked myself that question. I try now and here to think aloud and confer with the workers to see what can be done.

We lazily copy the Congress and set up committees and think that we shall thereby popularize and advance the craft of the villages.

We forget that the Congress, being a democratic body, must work democratically and through committees set up by the people from [among] themselves. On the other hand, the A.I.V.I.A. and like bodies are self-formed to work out particular purposes often requiring high technical skill. They collect money from those who appreciate the particular purpose and become trustees for the money to be used therefor. We collect and study the literature on the subject. We look about for and employ experts and if there are none become experts ourselves. The work will make progress in exact proportion to our knowledge, earnestness and industry. The work itself may be unpopular or unknown. We have then to make it popular or known. Such associations all over the world must work whether in countries democratically or autocratically governed. In either case they must work under patronage or in the teeth of opposition. The system of work will be identical under either autocracy or democracy. With us the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A., the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, etc., though autonomous, are creations of the Congress and, therefore requiring enthusiastic support of all Congressmen and, to the extent that Congressmen represent all India, of Indians throughout the land. But before this can happen we must dot India with experts of the type wanted. Therefore, the first thing is to have a central body of honest experts. There is no other royal road to success. Committees or even agents can show no results unless they are experts who know their

work. Can an M.A., however brilliant he may be, introduce, say, the charkha among the villagers, or *gur*-making from palm trees or manure-making from village refuse including human excreta and cattle dung? We must have experts in these and such other branches. If we had our own government, however inefficient, we would have technical institutes where every one of the useful activities now going on or which were going on even yesterday in the 7,00,000 villages could be studied. Unfortunately, we have not. Hence our associations have also to be such institutes in addition to becoming propagandists. But before we can become the latter, we have to become the former. If I have drawn a correct picture, let us mend even though the mending may be difficult and even hurtful to our pride.

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY, August 20, 1945

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *Gram Udyog Patrika*, Vol. I, pp. 368-9

647. FOREWORD TO “THE ECONOMY OF PERMANENCE”

Like his brochure on the *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*, Dr. Kumarappa’s on *The Economy of Permanence* is a jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit. This doctor of our village industries shows that only through them we shall arrive at the economy of permanence in the place of that of the fleeting nature we see around us at present. He tackles the question—shall the body triumph over and stifle the soul or shall the latter triumph over and express itself through a perishable body which, with its few wants healthily satisfied, will be free to subserve the end of the imperishable soul? This is “Plain living and high thinking”.

M. K. GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY, August 20, 1945

The Economy of Permanence

648. TELEGRAM TO DIPAK DUTT CAHOWDHARY

BOMBAY,
August 20, 1945

DIPAK CHOWDHARY
8/1 NEW ROAD
ALIPORE, CALCUTTA

GLAD MOTHER PASSED AWAY FROM PAIN TO PEACE
LEAVING YOU FREE TO SHOULDER RESPONSIBILITY TO
COUNTRY. WROTE YOU YESTERDAY.¹ LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

649. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BIRLA HOUSE,
BOMBAY,
August 20, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

Here is your manuscript, my foreword² and my article³. If possible all will go by registered post. The article and the foreword have been carefully written. You may go without anything from me if you disapprove of the article. You have to master at least one craft and acquire a workable knowledge of Hindustani. You can easily make time for both; have your letter-head in Nagari and Urdu scripts adding the Roman if you like. On the existing ones have rubber stamps for Urdu and Nagari.

Love.

In haste,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10178

¹Vide "Letter to Dipak Dutt Chowdhary", 19-8-1945.

²Vide "Foreword to *The Economy of Permanence*", 20-8-1945.

³Vide "How to do it?", 20-8-1945.

650. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
August 20, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

You were in my thoughts on the journey. Do not force yourself to do anything. Work done willingly gives satisfaction and peace. It is enough if we perform our dharma whether Sharda¹ stays or leaves. Remain cheerful and look after your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

651. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

August 20, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I slept for a long time, and liked it. There were no crowds to pester us on the way. Everyone managed to have some sleep.

It is of course drizzling here. It was good you did not come. If the Poona weather is dry I will send you word to come over. For the present render what help you can there. There are so many problems, small but very delicate. There is the question of the Ashram farm. Munnalal believes that Parnerkar is not able to manage it. Please look into it.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Sharda G. Chokhawala, addressee's daughter, married to Gordhandas Chokhawala

652. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 20, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

We arrived here safely. You should not worry. Have a heart-to-heart talk with Krishnachandra. See Parnerkar about the Ashram farm. Have a talk with Kishorelalbai. Who is to look after the orchard? It must be kept in good condition. Settle the question of manure. If Parnerkar is short of labour, the Ashram inmates should fill the gap as they did once before. Take care of Hoshiari's son and also Hoshiari. Both of them should bloom there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8432. Also C.W. 5592. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

653. LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI

August 20, 1945

CHI. PUSHPA,

Get fully engrossed in your work there. Take care of your body. If you look upon it as God's abode, you will see Him in the true sense.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9261

654. LETTER TO SHARDA AND GORDHANDAS
CHOKHAWALA

August 20, 1945

CHI. BABUDI,

You fall ill and cause everyone anxiety. Keep on repeating Ramanama, get well and sing in praise of Ramanama. Chimanlal longs to go to you, but his duty to the Ashram prevents him. You can dictate a letter for him if you can sincerely tell him that you are calm and do

not wish for his presence. Shakaribehn's¹ presence there should be enough for you. I hope she is well and happy.

CHI. GORDHANDAS,

Write to me at Poona.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10059. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

655. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

August 20, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

You will have recovered by now. Both of you should drink plenty of pure water. Read a lot. Write neatly in ink every day. Show it to me when I come. Preserve all that you write. The boy should also write. He should also work and spin.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

656. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

August 20, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

Have a talk with Kishorelalbhai about the Ashram farm. I do not understand why the inmates of the Ashram now refuse to work for you. You must consider the Goshala as your own. Is there any difficulty in your looking after the Ashram farm? Is there a wolf at large? A search should be made for it. Someone should be on the watch. Now I consider it our dharma to destroy such animals. It will be a different thing if we discover an alternative.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Sharda Chokhawala's mother

657. TELEGRAM TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

BOMBAY,
August 21, 1945

CHAMPABEHN RATILAL
CARE KANTILAL SOLANKI PLEADER
SARANGPUR CHAKLA
AHMEDABAD

MY APPROVAL SUPERFLUOUS, DOCTOR MEHTA¹ HAD BUILT BUNGALOW FOR ASHRAM WITH RIGHT TO HIMSELF TO OCCUPY DURING HIS LIFETIME. THE INTENTION DEED WITH HIM.² IF YOU ALL AGREE I CAN PERHAPS PERSUADE PROSPECTIVE BUYER CANCEL CONTRACT FOR ASHRAM SAKE. HOPE WELL.

BAPU

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

658. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
BOMBAY ,
August 21, 1945

DEAR JOSHI,

Advocate Bhulabhai Desai handed me the enclosed opinion yesterday. It is, as you will see, based on the papers I gave him at your instance some time ago.³

Having had the opinion, you have the right to publish it for what it may be worth. The news, almost daily poured into my ears by Congressmen to the effect that the Party is unscrupulous in its methods and that it even resorts to violence, makes it difficult for me to accept the opinion which is after all based on the papers that were in my possession on the date they were handed to the Advocate. But I cannot judge the Party on one-sided evidence. Nor have I the leisure

¹ Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta, addressee's father-in-law.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Mangaldas Pakvasa", 12-6-1945.

³ *Vide* footnote 4, "Interview to *People's War*", 17-7-1945.

to shoulder the burden of studying the evidence in a manner that would enable me to form an opinion.

The bitterness between the Party and Congressmen, so far as I am aware, is growing. The best course perhaps is for you to consider the position in the light of Congressmen's opinion about the Party and then do what may appear best to you.

If you propose to publish the enclosed you will please publish this too together with it.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

ENCL. 1

SHRI P. C. JOSHI

RAJ BHUWAN

SANDHURST ROAD, BOMBAY 4

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

659. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

August 21, 1945

CHI. CHAND,

I have your letter. How can I go on writing to you? I do want to write but there is so much work.

Keep yourself fit; only then will you be able to do everything.

Only Sushilabehn or your own heart can tell whether you should do the full course of nursing. The main thing is your own inclination. Do not take the decision in a hurry, but once you take a decision you must stick to it.

We are going to Poona today.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHAND

NAGPUR

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

660. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA RAO

August 21, 1945

BHAI RAMACHANDRA RAO,

I have your letter. It is not proper to order a charkha from outside. You must get one made there. In the mean time use a *takli*. Understand the full meaning of spinning.

Blessings from

BAPU

RAMACHANDRA RAO

MADURA

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

661. LETTER TO PRAYAG DUTT SHUKLA

August 21, 1945

BHAI PRAYAG DUTT,

Pandit Hrishikeshji did not come or see me. His wife saw me. Please write to me. I am going to Poona today. I shall be staying in Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's Arogya Bhavan.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

PRAYAG DUTT SHUKLA

SITABURDI

NAGPUR

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

662. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

August 21/22, 1945

BAPA,

It seems your letter has got lost in my papers. All of a sudden I remembered what it contained, though I cannot recall the whole letter. You are not to work as a clerk at all. That is why I sent the message that I would send Valjibhai's son. However, that is an old story. Do employ a clerk of your choice and devote the time you save to more important work. I very much like the idea of introducing Hindustani in the office and in the books. Let those who want English go on

demanding it. If we cannot or do not introduce such reforms, we shall be betraying the country as well as the Harijans.

There was one thing in my mind which I forgot. Shyamlal on his own has reduced his salary by Rs. 100. I like the decision but what is surprising about it? I have thanked him for it.¹ But I wanted to inform the general body and thank him at the meeting. However, I could not do that, but you may, as Secretary of the organization, inform the members and add that the President had thanked him as soon as he got the news; that he wanted to announce it at the meeting but forgot; and that he had therefore written to you to inform everyone. Write something on these lines.

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

663. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

MEHTA AROGYA BHAVAN, POONA,
August 22, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Chi. Abha is going to appear for the examination. If she has to go to Bombay she can appear for it there. However, if you appoint Dr. Sushila Nayyar as the examiner she can appear from here and expense can be avoided. You will have to send the question paper, as also the necessary instructions. I hope you are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL NANAVATI
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

¹Vide "Letter to Shyamlal", 24-7-1945.

664. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

POONA,
August 22, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

I read that article in Bombay itself. I did not wish to suggest any changes and so I did not write.

Vanamala is quite cheerful. Manu also, I would say, is all right. The news has reached her. Let us see how it affects her. I met Mathuradas. He was happy.

I hope you are getting good help from Manibhai.

Write to me about Vina.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9136

665. LETTER TO TRIBHUVANDAS SHAH

August 22, 1945

BHAI TRIBHUVANDAS¹,

I have received your books. I have gone through your instructions. The big question is when I shall be able to read those books. I very much wish to but a man can never fulfill all his wishes. Isn't it baffling?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. TRIBHUVANDAS SHAH
BARODA

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

¹ Author of *Prachin Hindustan*

666. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

August 22, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

I believe that you understand Gujarati and can read it with ease. Let me know if it is not so. Have this read out to you. Do something about the wolf. The manure heap should go. The Goshala should become an ideal goshala. Keep the place perfectly clean. Our water should be drinkable. Mosquitoes and flies should easily go. The roads should be in good condition. The hill is in our possession. Those who go for walks there should bring stones from there. Do you know that in this way I had made a mountain of stones in the Mahila Ashram? All of it came in useful there.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

667. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

August 22, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

It was really good that I did not bring you along or you did not come. It was drizzling when we arrived here. It is cold and also humid here. The weather is cloudy. The place is crowded too. Sardar has of course taken rooms for you in the mill area nearby. But of what use are they? I will write to you if the weather becomes dry. Do not worry about my work. Sushila, Manilal, Narayan and others help me. They will to some extent make up for your absence.

A letter to Ramnarayan is enclosed. Please send it to his address. He must have given it to someone in the Ashram.

Hope you and Gomati¹ are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹Addressee's wife

668. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY

August 22, 1945

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I have gone through the English part of what you have sent. Why did you have to write in English? Hindustani would have been sufficient. The English needs improvement. You must leave that to others. I shall try to read the Hindustani also. I shall read the scheme of Goseva Sangh also before getting it published. Show it to Parnerkar and Satis Babu and, if possible, to a veterinarian. I had a few pages read out to me by Sushilabehn. She has pointed out some technical mistakes. The treatment of the subject matter is good. You have said in brief all that you could say. If I want to return it shall I send it to Ahmedabad? I understand that you have not kept a copy.

You suggest boycotting the buffalo. This you will not have got from my writings. My view is that our preference should be for the Cow. Doing this will save both. At present there is shortage of milk, so We need both. Preferring the cow saves both, preferring the buffalo destroys both.

I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RAMNARAYANJI
AHMEDABAD

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

669. LETTER TO VINA CHATTERJEE

August 22, 1945

CHI. VINA,

I often think of you. I hope you are well there. Now it is obligatory for you to get well and remain well. I hope you are cheerful. Sailen will be well. Abha is with me.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

670. TELEGRAM TO DIPAK DUTT CHOWDHARY

August 23, 1945

DIPAK CHOWDHARY
8/1 NEW ROAD
ALIPORE, CALCUTTA

MY PRESENCE IMPOSSIBLE. DO BEST YOU CAN.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

671. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

POONA,
August 23, 1945

MY DEAR MARIA¹,

Your half angry and half loving letter. Why are you so foolish as to take in what a third party says? Kasturba² is a wholly non-sectarian organization. Who was the third party who gave you to understand that only Hindus could apply? The thing has to come before me. It has not yet. If you have applied send me a copy of the application too. You know that Aryanayakum is a Christian? Raihana Tyabji is a trustee. So much for the Trust.

When there is independence, why should you fear the majority? If you have God with you and the majority have not, should you still fear? And if both have God between them who should fear whom? Is there then any question of majority and minority?

Let us pray.

Love.

BAPU

MISS MARIA PETERSEN
SEVA MANDIR
PORTO NOVO (S. I.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The addressee, a former member of the Danish Mission, had founded an ashram—a school for girls—at Porto Novo.

² Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

672. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

August 23, 1945

BHAI SHYAMLAL,

Herewith the correspondence with Miss Petersen. Let me know if you have some papers of hers.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHYAMLAL
BAJAJWADI
WARDHA

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

673. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

August 23, 1945

CHI. RADHIKA¹,

I have your letter. It is all right that you sent a telegram. I am sorry to know that Santok² is not well. I was expecting you all.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RADHA GANDHI
PLOT 601 E, VINCENT ROAD
MATUNGA, BOMBAY

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

674. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

August 23, 1945

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. You have to go inward to the heart and find peace there. What is the use of the peace you may find with me and which may then be lost? Stay on there, doing what you can and be at peace.

Sushilabehn is in Bombay at present. She will be coming today or tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi, who was married to Dipak Dutt Chowdhary

² Addressee's mother

675. *LETTER TO GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA*

August 23, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAM SINGH,

I received your letter here. I have gone through it. How long can I go on pointing out the mistakes? I am of the opinion that you should do whatever you can. Now Deshbandhu and Brijlal have gone there. Let us see what they do. After that you can come to me if you want to. I would advise you to do on your own what you feel is proper.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

After writing the above I got your letter. I have made some corrections. You may make them if you think they are proper and send it.

BAPU

SHRI GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA

SPEARER, DRUG (C.P.)

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

676. *LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA*

August 23, 1945

BHAI GOPICHAND,

Read this and tell me what is the truth.

I have not given any reply to Lalchandji.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

LAHORE

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

677. *LETTER TO MADHAVI KUTTI AMMA NAYANAR*

August 23, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

Nanavati spoke to me about you. If you must come, do so after I return to Sevagram but please write to me first.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

SMT. MADHAVI KUTTI AMMA NAYANAR
MEENAKSHI VILAS
OTTAPALAM, MALABAR

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

678. *LETTER TO SUSHILA PURI*

August 23, 1945

CHI SUSHILA PURI,

I have your letter. Study well, serve the people and do whatever Mother tells you to do.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SUSHILA PURI
DEEP NIVAS
40 NISBAT ROAD
LAHORE

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

679. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

POONA,
August 24, 1945

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters at the same time.

What a tragedy you have related !!!

Subhas Bose has died well.¹ He was undoubtedly a patriot

¹ Subhas Chandra Bose had been reported dead in an air crash on August 23, 1945.

though misguided.

Your gum has caused much trouble. I blame the dentist. Do let me know the train you will come by.

P[yarelal] is in Bombay. S[ushila] will tell you all about him.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3698. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6507

680. LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

August 24, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. The "Selection" has not yet been received. I suppose, it will be in due course.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SIR C. P. RAMASWAI AIYAR

DIWAN SAHEB

SHAKHIVILAS

TRIVANDRUM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

681. LETTER TO LAWRENCE MCKENNER

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (INDIA),

August 24, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

"The Kingdom of God is within you" is all-sufficient. Follow it out in action and you need nothing else. But if you will read anything of Hinduism, read Swami Vivekanand's works to be had there.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

LAWRENCE MCKENNER JR.

2132 HIGH ST.

OAKLAND 1, CALIFORNIA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

682. LETTER TO GROVER

August 24, 1945

DEAR GROVER,

You will pardon me for keeping your wire unanswered so long. You should blame my hesitation and preoccupation for the delay.

I know the answer but I cannot give it just now at least. The world is not in a hurry to know my views. I therefore return your prepaid slip to enable you to collect the unused deposit.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

683. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 24, 1945

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I received your letter yesterday. I showed it to Kaka and he will write to you. Vanamala is here and she says she is also an examiner. This time there are a good number of candidates.

My going to Bengal is uncertain. My stay here will be for about three months. I have written to the widow of Nayar that she can come to Sevagram when I go there. I shall have to go to Madras in December.

Blessings to you and Maganlal from

BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL NANAVATI

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

AHMEDABAD

B.B.& C.I. RLY.

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

684. *LETTER TO MESSRS BACHHARAJ & CO., LTD.*

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD,
POONA,
August 24, 1945

DEAR SIRs,

Please find enclosed herein the following two cheques:

- (1) No. KC 72666 for Rs. 500 (Rs. five hundred) on the Bank of India, Ltd., Kalbadevi Branch.
- (2) No HO 783627 on the Central Bank of India, Ltd., for Rs. 101 (Rs. one hundred one).

The above two cheques are to be credited to Sevagram account. Please acknowledge receipt of same.

Yours truly,

Encls. 2 cheques

MESSRS BACHHRAJ & CO., LTD.
51 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

685. *LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH*

August 24, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Sharda is in the hands of God, and He will do what He pleases. It seems she has both typhoid and malaria. If she is destined to live, she will survive.

Kelkar's¹ letter is enclosed. Provide for the expenses on account of the two patients, as he says, in excess of the amount already sanctioned for him. Can pay...² is for three months.

The doctor may go to Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10640

¹ M. S. Kelkar

² Some words are illegible here.

686. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

August 24, 1945

BHAI KELKAR,

Yours of the 22nd arrived today. About the bicycle it is difficult. If some friend sends you one you may take it. You can charge to the Ashram the expense you have mentioned on the two patients. The decision you have taken to go to Akola now is right.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. KELKAR

C/O SHRI VINOBA

NALWADI, WARDHA

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

687. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

August 24, 1945

BHAI KRISHNAVARMA,

I have your letter. Give Mama full liberty. Tell him: "Bapu will worry about you but will not restrain you. You may leave at your own risk. Do not expect to come back. May God help you." You did much for Mama. Now I do not want you to carry that burden.

I have not seen the prohibitory order concerning Kamrej but if it is what you say, I would certainly not like it.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. KRISHNAVARMA

NATURE CURE HOSPITAL

MALAD

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

688. *LETTER TO LAKSHMI*

August 24, 1945

CHI. LAKSHMI¹,

Balasundarambehn writes to say that you have given birth to a son. May you both live long and serve the country. Only yesterday you were a little girl who used to cheat me. Now you have become a mother. What a miracle!

Blessings from

BAPU

MRS. SATYAMURTHI
CAMP HARIPAD MATOM
KOTTAYAM (S.I.,)

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

689. *LETTER TO RANGANAYAKI DEVI*

August 24, 1945

CHI. RANGANAYAKI,

I have your letter. God willing I shall be going to Madras in December. We shall meet then.

Amtul Salaam is doing work of service in Bengal. I am at present here with the Sardar.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RANGANAYAKI DEVI
FIRST HOUSE
SHRIRANGAM (DIST. TRICHI)

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

¹ Daughter of S. Satyamurthi

690. LETTER TO NAWAB SAHEB

POONA,
August 25, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I am sorry we could not meet early. How nice it would have been if we could have discussed things of common interest! Let me hope it would be still possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

(BY HAND) SHUAIB QURESHI
POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

691. LETTER TO DR. B. N. SARDESAI

August 25, 1945

BHAI SARDESAI,

I thank you for the books you have sent.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. B. N. SARDESAI
ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY
POONA- 2

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

692. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOWDHARY

August 25, 1945

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I hope you have received my letter. I sent it to the Ashram as we did not have your address here. I am sending this with Kakasaheb's son Chi. Bal. He is also-bringing your essay.

I have gone through everything. The scheme about Goseva Sangh did not appeal to me. Even if we do something on those lines, it will remain only on paper. We want to have a perfect Goshala. The tannery should function with it. Today we do not have a single worker

of calibre. There is a very big Goshala near Ahmedabad. At one time it was to be handed over to us. There is one in the city. It is known as *Pinjrapole*. Go and see it. Learn tanning also when you are well. There are lots of *neem* trees there. I have sent an article¹ for the *Gram Udyog Patrika*. Read it.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

693. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

August 25, 1945

BHAI MAHMUD,

I have received your letter. You are doing good work. Mahboob is rendering service silently. Why is Syed not improving? Habib can work only for his party. He is an honest man. Hence, wherever he is, he will always do good work.

Ramzan² is not for you. As I understand it, fasting is forbidden during illness. I do not know what Kripalani has written. I guess it may be something about resignation. Send in the resignation, or, after seeing the letter, do what you think proper.

Begum Saheba must be well. Your Nagari handwriting is very good.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SYED MAHMUD

CHHAPRA (BIHAR)³

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 5094. Also Pyarelal Papers

¹ *Vide* "How to do it?", 20-8-1945.

² The ninth month of the Hijri year in which Muslims observe fast during daytime

³ The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

694. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

POONA,
August 26, 1945

MY DEAR C. R.,

There is no other person as well-informed and able as you are to answer Dr. Ambedkar's indictment of the Congress on the question.¹ Please therefore make time and send your answer to Bapa as early as you can. Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2109

695. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 26, 1945

MY DEAR KU.,

Your letter. Of course you can have 'D. D. D. V. I.' And you have proved your title to the two degrees far more than those who receive university equivalents. Why should they have the monopoly?

You are getting on. My article should considerably lighten your administrative work which sends up b.p. The other will put it in its place.

Yours,

BAPU

DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA
"D.D.D.V.I"
MAGANWADI
WARDHA

From a photostat: G.N. 10179

¹ In his book *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*, B. R. Ambedkar had refuted the Congress claim to represent the untouchables and asserted that the Harijan Sevak Sangh was a political charity which planned "to kill the untouchables by kindness".

696. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

August 26, 1945

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am happy to know that you are well.

Write to me in Hindustani and learn the Nagari and the Urdu scripts equally well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

697. TELEGRAM TO AMIYANATH BOSE¹

August 27, 1945

I HAVE APPROACHED REPORT² WITH SUSPICION. IF YOU
SHARE SUSPICION ANNOUNCE AND AVOID CEREMONY.

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

698. LETTER TO BHATNAGAR

POONA,
August 27, 1945

DEAR BHATNAGAR,

As you see I am in Poona and shall be for some time. You can go to Sevagram and meet Shri Ramachandran of Talimi Sangh and show him this. If the work there pleases you and if you suit him, he will take you. Show him this.

You must not hate the world.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BHATNAGAR

C/O POST MASTER, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated August 26 which read: "Kindly advise us about uncle's *shraddha* ceremony and observance of period of mourning."

² Presumably about the death of Sabhas Chandra Bose. *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 24-8-1945.

699. *LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA*

August 27, 1945

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

I went through your 20 points today. You have apologized thrice. But you were pardoned even without your asking. Remember the lawyer's maxim: Do not give judgment till you have examined all the evidence. Your words have no effect on me as you have formed a habit of jumping to conclusions without examining things. The same is true of your last letter. This postcard needs no reply.

I am sure, God is.

Remembrance of God from

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BHAGWANJI ANUPCHAND, VAKIL
RAJKOT

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

700. *LETTER TO ADAM ALI*

August 27, 1945

BHAI ADAM ALI,

I have your letter as also the pictures. Thanks. The picture of the charkha is an advertisement, but that of the Buddha is good.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

HASAN ALI DAUDBHAI
21 PERIYA MISTRI STREET
MADRAS, G.T.

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

701. LETTER TO KANJI J. DESAI

August 27, 1945

BHAI KANJI,

I have your letter. Come on any day except Monday. I will find some time. If it is not very inconvenient you may come alone first and see me and if it is necessary bring Pushpa later.

M. K. GANDHI

KANJI JETHABHAI,
RAJDA'S CHAWL, SECOND FLOOR
OLD HANUMAN GALI
CROSS LANE ROAD 2
BOMBAY

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

702. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

August 27, 1945

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. The weather is still moist. The house is near the mill and it is possible to find something there. But I do not have the courage to call you here till the weather completely clears. We do not want to fall out of the frying pan into the fire. Still I will call you when it completely stops raining here and that too in the hope that the change of air will do good to both of you. I do not want to take work from you here. Valji comes daily. His competent son is also prepared to render some service but I have not entrusted him with any work. There is no work which can be given to him.

I understand about Parnerkar.

You have done what you could. It seems that your recommendations cannot be implemented now. Everyone has land and a house, how can they be removed? Moreover, can those who are true workers stay at a distance? Why should they be servants? It is a matter of shame and sorrow that they are retained as servants. The number of those who are retained as servants will not be reduced by their staying in different places. Only the attitude of everyone should be changed. If that happens the question of staying separately or in different places should not arise. Yes, one thing is certain. It will

be a long time before people's nature changes. In the mean time there will be a scramble for servants and that will do good to no one. However, if I have understood your recommendations they may be applied in future but not to the organizations which are functioning today. There was and is a purpose in merging all the organizations, although whatever has happened was only a drifting of the current. Do let me know if there is a flaw in the argument. If the present situation cannot be changed I want to understand the whole position.

I hope both of you are keeping good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Sushila has arrived. Manu has run away. She is with her sister in Bombay. Let us see what happens. There is no change in Sardar's condition.

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

703. LETTER TO BRIJ BIHARI AVASTHI

August 27, 1945

BHAI AVASTHI,

Forget me so far as giving of messages, etc., is concerned.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

BRIJBIHARI AVASTHI
GANDHI SEVA SAMITI
GENERAL GANJ
KANPUR

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

704. NOTE TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR

August 27, 1945

I have read the entire report¹. As a report it is excellent. It is impossible to correct it as I do not know what took place. If we must give the report it ought to contain nothing but the truth. What I said during my talk does not apply to the report.

¹ Of the Adult Education Committee

You should have given the report in Hindustani and in the Urdu script if not in the Nagari script. You should use English only where it is necessary. It was unnecessary to have the report in English. We have to do this if all the members are to learn Hindustani.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

705. LETTER TO HOSHIARI

August 27, 1945

CHI. HOSHIARI,

I am happy to know that you and Gajraj are keeping good health. You will certainly get rid of constipation if you drink plenty of water.

Everything is all right here.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

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

706. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

August 27, 1945

BHAI JAJUJI,

What you have written about the Punjab branch is correct. Appoint Sohanlalji.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

707. LETTER TO LAVANYAPRABHA DUTT

August 27, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter about my visit to Bengal. I am considering what I should do.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI LAVANYAPRABHA DUTT
B. P. C. C.
10 SUBURBAN SCHOOL ROAD
BHAWANIPUR POST
CALCUTTA

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

708. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

August 27, 1945

BHAI PROFULLA,

- (1) Read this. Is it all right? What has to be done?
- (2) Should I visit Calcutta only in November and not before?
- (3) How is your health?
- (4) What about Amtul Salaam?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have your letter. I must go to Madras on December 11. So if I am to go to Calcutta only after November 15, then it can be only in January. Let us see what happens. I will not go in October.

BAPU

DR. PROFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH
14/8 GARIAHAT ROAD
BALLYGUNJE, CALCUTTA

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

709. LETTER TO PARASRAM TAHILRAMANI

August 27, 1945

BHAI PARASRAM,

I have your letter¹. I will try to do all that I can. Hope your health is good.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PARASRAM TAHILRAMANI

S. P. C. C.

KARACHI

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

710. LETTER TO GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA

August 27, 1945

BHAI GHANSHYAM SINGH.

Read this.² If it is to be removed in six months, then it would be better to postpone the satyagraha.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA

SPEAKER

DRUG

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

¹ Seeking Gandhiji's help in getting the satyagraha in connection with the ban on *Satyartha Prakash* postponed during the period of elections; *vide* the following item.

²*Vide* the preceding item.

711. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

August 27, 1945

BHAI PRAKASAM,

I have your letter. The students performed a good play. Let us hope that they will display in real life what they have depicted in the play. Let us see how much Sardar benefits.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

19 RAJABHADUR MUDALIAR STREET
T. NAGAR, MADRAS

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

712. LETTER TO VINAYAK RAO

August 27, 1945

BHAI VINAYAK RAO,

I have your letter. Whatever I do or have done has been impelled by a feeling of dharma. There is no room for gratitude in it. Please let me know whatever may be the outcome.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI VINAYAK RAOJI
BAR-AT-LAW
JAMBAGH, HYDERABAD (DN.)

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

713. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH.

August 28, 1945

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have given you quite a lot of work. Take care of your health in whatever you do. See that Shakaribehn also does not lose her health through overwork. See about Anna¹ and Kamala². If the two work sincerely, they can do very good work.

Tell Govinda Reddi that I had no time for talk with him. I cannot tell you definitely when I shall return.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10641

714. LETTER TO A. PARTHASARATHY

POONA,
August 28, 1945

BHAI PARTHASARATHY,

I have your letter. Now you should put all your questions before the Working Committee.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI A. PARTHASARATHY
KODURU, (CUDAPPAH DIST.)

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

¹ Harihar Sharma and his wife

² *ibid*

715. LETTER TO GORDHANDAS CHOKHAWALA

August 28/29, 1945

CHI. GORDHANDAS,

I have your letter. It made me very happy. NOW Babudi has to be very careful about her diet. She will gain strength speedily if she does not make a mistake. Since the poison has passed out of the body all the other diseases should go. Shakaribehn's joy will be limitless.

Blessings from

BAPU

GORDHANDAS CHOKHAWALA

SURAT

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

716. MESSAGE TO AMERICA¹

[On or before August 29, 1945]²

In spite of my disinclination to answer the question like the one put to me by Mr. Emanuel Celler, I feel that I shall be wanting in courtesy, if I do not meet Mr. Celler's wishes. The best way for America to assist India's struggle for independence is to study the question, so as not to be misled by the untruth that is being spread by British Agency at a great cost about India. Americans have to get out of the way of her struggle. For the rest, India has to fight her own battle of independence which she is trying to secure by a non-violent technique.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-8-1945

¹ This was conveyed to Emanuel Celler, member of the United States House of Representatives, through D. F. Karaka, special correspondent of *The Bombay Chronicle* in New York. Emanuel Celler had asked how "we in the United States can aid in hastening the attainment of India's independence".

² The report appeared under the date-line "Wednesday" which was August 29.

717. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

POONA,
August 29, 1945

DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have signed both and passed on as suggested by you.

Love.

BAPU

DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA
MAGANWADI
WARDHA, C. P.

From a photostat: G.N. 10180

718. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN¹

CAMP POONA,
[August 29, 1945]²

What is to be said to you! You are a law unto yourself, ever changing. Promises are as easily made as broken. This is all bad.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 46

¹ This is a postscript to Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee dated August 29.

² *ibid*

719. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANT KOTAI

August 29, 1945

BHAI CHANDRAKANT,

I have your letter. Science is certainly necessary. The Congress is giving support to all its branches. The Charkha Sangh is making much use of it. Science is a wide term. What is one to do if scientists ignore the science of the charkha?

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI CHANDRAKANT KOTAI
TULSI BHUWAN
ROOM 43, 3RD FLOOR
CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA

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

720. LETTER TO JAYANT SANGHAVI

August 29, 1945

BHAI JAYANT SANGHAVI,

I have the letter signed by you and others. I would suggest you all read my writings and you will easily get the reply.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI HIRALAL M. PARIKH
C/O BHARAT LIGHT HOUSE
PAYDHUNI
BOMBAY-3

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

721. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 29, 1945

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. Yes, let Krishnachandra be the manager. Everybody, however, should know that the set-up remains unchanged. Viceroys and other officers change but the set-up remains the same.

One can understand it. Though they have demoniacal characteristics they can still remain united. What would be our characteristics?

I hope Kanchan is well.

Think over and decide these points before the taking over of the farm.

From which place will you buy the bullocks?

Who will be the farm-supervisor?

Do we pay the labourers more than the market-rate?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8440. Also C.W. 5593. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

722. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

POONA,

August 29, 1945

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

Is Bharat Bank good? I am scared of a new bank. However, if you have trust in it you should obtain other signatures. I am signing this because of my faith in you.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

723. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

August 29, 1945

CHI. KANCHAN,

How are you getting along? Do not lose heart. Make your body strong.

Your work is different from that of the other women and, therefore, requires a different approach.

Do you give any time to study?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8264. Also C.W. 6988. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

724. LETTER TO GANGARAM

August 29, 1945

BHAI GANGARAM,

I have your letter.

You have written at great length. Find out everything from my articles.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi; G.N. 231

725. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 29, 1945

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You are going to be the manager from the 1st. It is good. Remember that whether the manager lives or dies, changes or continues, the management remains the same.

Is your manner of eating different in any way? If it is, think over it. Even the manner of eating affects one's digestion and also culture. One man swallows food like birds, another gobbles like animals. We are neither animals nor birds. Human beings chew and eat. In fact, it looks bad if one eats in a careless manner or makes a sound while others are eating. Think about it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4523

726. LETTER TO GHALIB

August 29, 1945

BHAI GHALIB,

I am sorry to know about Zohra. Please give her the enclosed letter. I had received Dr. Abdul Huq's reply immediately. I had kept it with me thinking that Zohra would come here. I saw Shuaib Qureshi the day before yesterday and talked to him. He said it might be possible to persuade Dr. Huq if all of you could accommodate yourselves in the women's wing of Dar-us-salaam. Can this be done? A copy of Dr. Huq's letter is enclosed.

Blessings from

BAPU

JANAB GHALIB SAHEB
14 RAJPUR ROAD, DELHI

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

727. LETTER TO ZOHRA ANSARI

August 29, 1945

DAUGHTER ZOHRA,

You fell ill and went away without seeing me. Did you receive my letter? You did not inform me about it. Why are you so scared? You must be brave.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

728. *LETTER TO KISHANDAS BEGRAJ*

August 29, 1945

BHAI KISHANDAS,

I have your letter. You do not understand a joke. I have often said that the journalists deserve to be shot. The beauty of it is that no one was shot nor did anyone imagine he would be shot. They took my remarks in good humour. The cameraman handed [the camera] to an old man like me and then took it back. I took it from him deliberately. I did well in doing so. Both gestures were non-violent.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI KISHANDAS BEGRAJ
C/O NEW ASIATIC INSURANCE
18 HENAM MANSION
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
KARACHI

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

729. *LETTER TO PARACHURE SHASTRI*

August 29, 1945

SHASTRIJI,

I have your letter. Do not go anywhere. Stay in Dattapur and end your life there. You are rendering service there.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PARACHURE SHASTRI
DATTAPUR

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

730. LETTER TO S. NIJALINGAPPA

August 29, 1945

BHAI NIJALINGAPPA,

I have your letter. Now the Working Committee and the States People's Conference are functioning. Do you think I should say something? This question deserves consideration. Write to both.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

731. LETTER TO Y. M. PARNERKAR

August 29, 1945

CHI. PARNERKAR,

I do not think that your letter is long. The subject matter required that much.

What can be done if you can't sit together and make up your minds? What will you do if I die? Will you all be separated from each other? The Goshala, the Talimi Sangh, the Charkha Sangh and the Ashram are together because they were all conceived by one man—other two exist separately merely by chance. They could both have been located at one place. As far as the site is concerned the Ashram and the Goshala should coexist. This has to be thought over. I have liked your letter and so sent it to the Ashram. Do think over the matter if you can. But if it is not possible leave it. It can't be solved by devoting more time to it. We must know the subject is beyond our ken if we have to devote too much time to it. We have first hand experience of this in arithmetic.

Blessings from

BAPU

SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

WARDHA

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

732. LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI

August 29, 1945

CHI. PUSHPA,

I have your letter. You should definitely not write to Rajani just now. Your father and his relatives have just left me, and I am now writing to you. It is nine o'clock at night. If you wish, I will write to Rajani. If you want me to write, send me his address. I showed your letter to your father. He does not trust Rajani. He would like you to marry Vrajlal. He says the latter is ready to observe *brahmacharya* till you desire otherwise. He will not act against your will. Nor will he interfere with your prayers and worship. Manibehn has also seen a letter from Vrajlal to this effect. If this is true, such a marriage will not prove an obstacle to you in your striving for a vision of Krishna. Vrajlal will be happy and so will be your parents and other well-wishers. I tell you on the basis of my own experience that there will be no harm in agreeing to the proposed marriage. Only, you should have genuine *bhakti*¹. Reply to me immediately.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9262

733. NOTE TO SHRIKRISHNA NATH SHARMA²

[On or after August 29, 1945]³

I know the situation in Assam. I am extremely busy these days. How can I give you any time? Discuss everything with Kakasaheb.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8236

¹ Devotion

² The addressee, in order to acquaint Gandhiji with the situation in Assam, had requested him to spare fifteen to twenty minutes of his time.

³ This note is written on the addressee's letter dated August 29, 1945.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI¹

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. 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Anand T. Hingorani", 10-6-1945.

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 II

SPEECH BROADCAST BY THE VICEROY¹

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.

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

¹*Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 14-6-1945; "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 15-6-1945; "Statement to the press", 15-6-1945 and "Interview to associated Press of India", 30-6-1945.

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 III

TELEGRAM FROM LORD WAVELL¹

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" 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

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 15-6-1945 and "Interview to The Press", 18-6-1945.

APPENDIX IV

DESAI-LIAQAT PACT¹

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 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

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the press", 15-6-1945 and "Interview to The Press", 18-6-1945.

APPENDIX V

TELEGRAM FROM LORD WAVELL¹

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 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

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Lord Wavell", 17-6-1945

APPENDIX VI

STATEMENT MADE IN PARLIAMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA¹

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.

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

¹ *Vide* "Interview to The Press", 18-6-1945.

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.

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 prejudice 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 VII

LORD WAVELL'S NOTE ON HIS INTERVIEW¹

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.

(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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 25-6-1945.

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 had 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

APPENDIX VIII

ABUL KALAM AZAD'S LETTER TO LORD WAVELL¹

ARMSDELL, SIMLA,

July 15, 1945

DEAR LORD WAVELL,

After announcing the failure of the Conference, you were good enough to ask for the support of all parties in ensuring a calm atmosphere. I do not propose to reiterate the Congress view about the failure. I expressed it sufficiently at the Conference. But in fairness to you and to ourselves I must point out that co-operation inevitably depends on the removal of obstacles to it. Some of these obstacles are of a psychological nature with roots in the past relations between India and England. These can only gradually disappear with a change in those relations. But there are others of a more tangible kind which serve as constant irritants to our people and which affect our day-to-day activity. They are continually before us. In spite of this preoccupation, however, we did not think it desirable to raise this matter, except perhaps rather vaguely in the course of conversations with you, as we were anxious not to place any difficulties in your path when you were dealing with a delicate situation.

2. But now that one chapter has ended and our minds, as well as yours, are turned to future possibilities of finding a way out, honourable to all concerned and leading to the objective of Indian freedom, these obstacles to co-operation cannot be ignored. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of pointing them out to you in the hope that you will have early steps taken to have them removed.

3. The steps that I consider necessary and earnestly urge upon you are:

(a) The bans on all Congress and allied organizations should be removed at once. It has not been possible to convene the A. I. C. C. because of its being an illegal organization.

(b) All detenus should be released without any condition being imposed upon them, whether the detention was imposed by the Central Government or the Provincial Governments.

(c) All restrictions on the movements of released detenus or prisoners should be removed.

(d) Cases of all prisoners convicted for political or like offences should be examined by a popular judicial tribunal, its verdict should be regarded as final by the

¹ *Vide* The letter bears corrections in Gandhiji's hand.

Government.

(e) Extra-legal restrictions on the freedom of the Press or on the movement or association of people should be removed so as to make the people feel that they are free to follow normal activities under democratic conditions.

(f) All pending sentences of hanging arising out of the disturbances of August 1942 should be commuted to life sentences.

(g) All pending arrests of 'absconders' should be cancelled.

(h) All prisoners who have served full fourteen years should be unconditionally discharged.

(i) What has been said above about prisoners applies equally, and with even greater force, to properties, movable and immovable, and frozen or confiscated.

4. I have not endeavoured to argue out the justness of the foregoing requirements as I have no doubt that you will yourself appreciate the need for action along the lines indicated. If India is on the eve of having a *bona-fide* national representative Executive, leading to independence after the defeat of Japan, then the necessity for this approach is self-proved and inevitable.

5. There is another matter to which I should like to refer. I need hardly say on behalf of the Congress that whatever the result of your promised effort the Congress is and has always been against the Japanese aggression. Therefore, there will always be on the part of the Congress a desire for the defeat of Japan in her designs upon China or any other aggression on her part. But the thought expressed in this paragraph will be incomplete if I did not inform you that, in the Congress estimation, the effort now being made on Indian soil will continue to be looked upon as a British and Allied effort, so long as there is not at the Centre a popular government assisted by provincial popular governments.

Yours sincerely,

HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT WAVELL
VICEREGAL LODGE
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 1451-A, 1945-46. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX IX

*MARRIAGE RITES*¹

The marriage between Ganapat Narayan Mahadev Tendulkar and Indumati Nagesh Vasudev Gunaji is being solemnized and I perform the ceremony with God as witness. Both of you should also do the same. Those who are witness to this ceremony should keep their minds pure and thus help in the realization of the sacred wish of the couple getting married.

Now I shall recite a *bhajan* thanking God. All of you should listen to it carefully. (*Bhajan "Aaj milkar geet gao"*)

Q. Are both of you composed?

A. (Both to say :) Yes.

Q. Have you performed the seven *yajnas*² as described to you yesterday?

A. Yes.

Q. I hope that you know that this relationship is not for sexual gratification or enjoyment.

A. Yes.

Q. Are you entering the *Grihastha Ashram* in a spirit of duty, dedication and sacrifice?

A. Yes.

Q. And therefore you will not obstruct each other in his or her work of service, but assist each other?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you be always loyal to each other in thought, word and deed?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you try your best not to have children till India wins independence?

A. Yes.

Q. You do approve the idea of inter-dining and inter-marrying with the so-called untouchables, don't you?

A. Yes.

Q. You do believe that men and women have equal rights?

A. Yes.

Q. Both of you are friends and neither is a slave to the other. Isn't that correct also?

¹ *Vide* "Letter to D.B. Kalelkar", 6-8-1945.

² *Vide* "Letter to Dr. A. G. Tendulkar", 18-8-1945.

A. Yes.

Q. You understand, don't you, that the seven *yajnas* mentioned in the second question are in place of the *saptapadi*?

A. Yes.

Now by this yarn spun by me I bind you in union. You should preserve the yarn-garland carefully and should resolve that you will never break this union. Bear in mind the religious ceremony and pray to omnipotent God to help you in the fulfilment of the vows you have just taken. Now we shall all together sing the *Ramdhun*.

August 18, 1945

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Kalamse, pp. 445-6