THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXVIII (1944)

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME SEVENTY-EIGHT

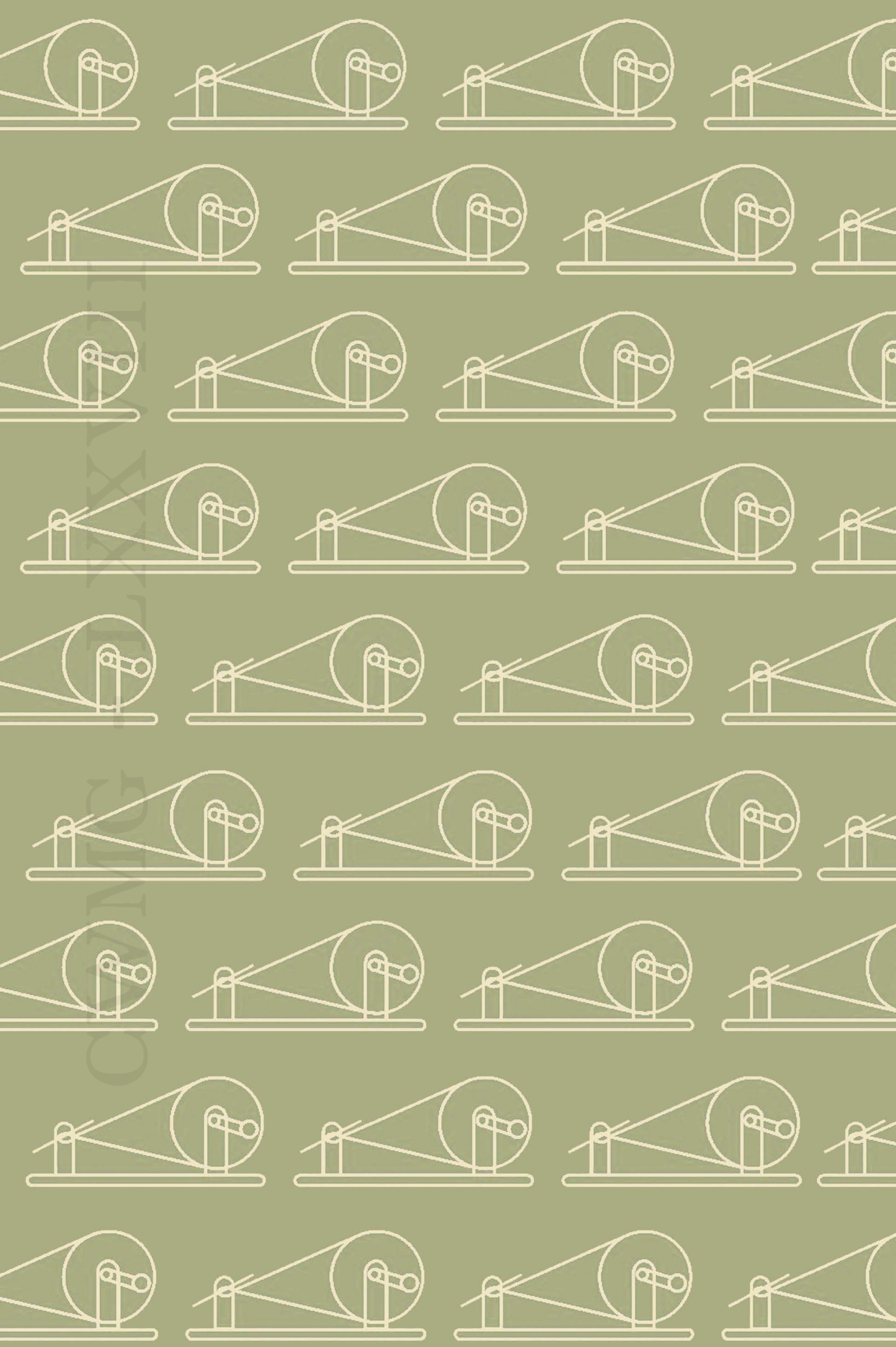


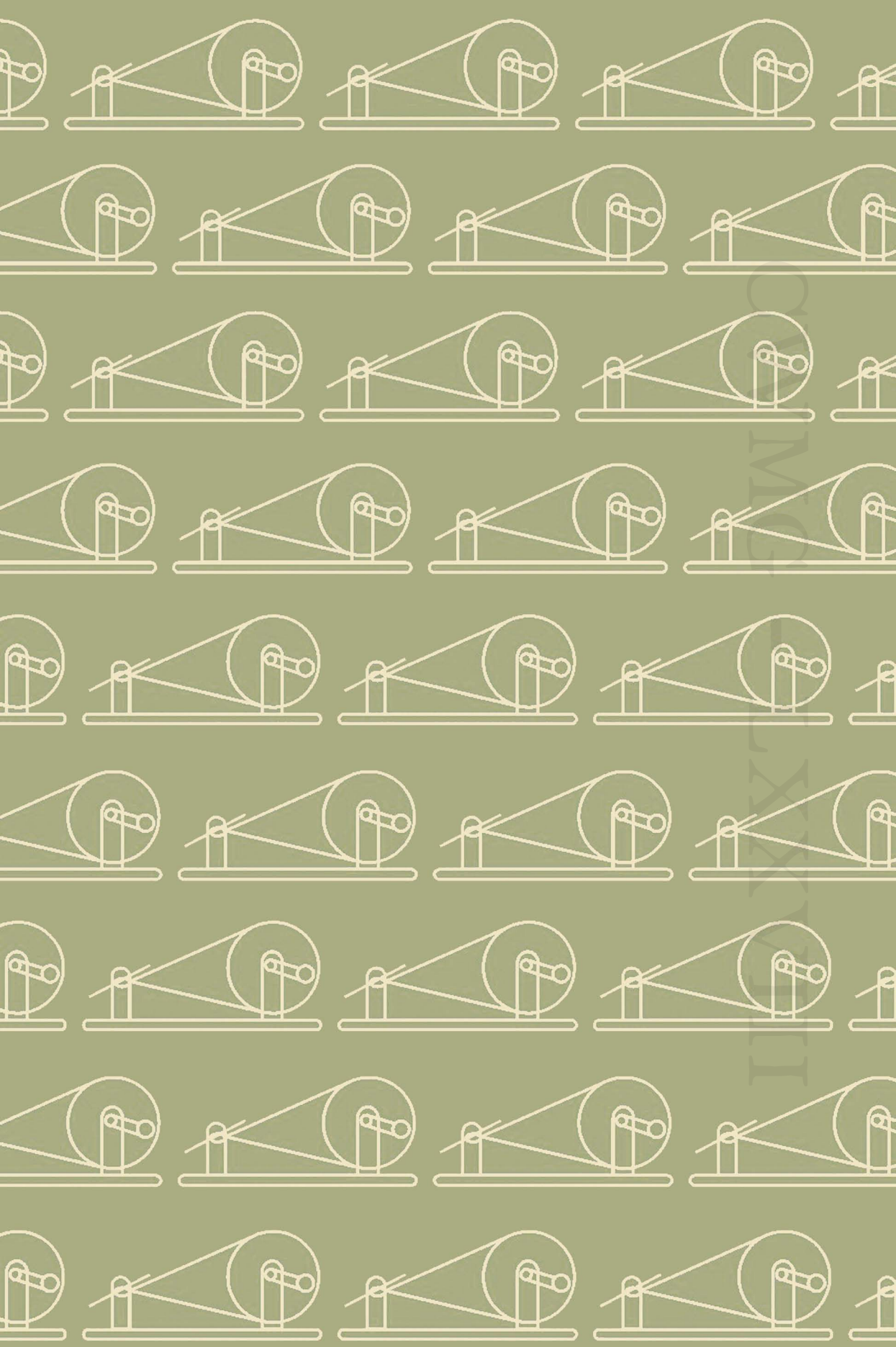
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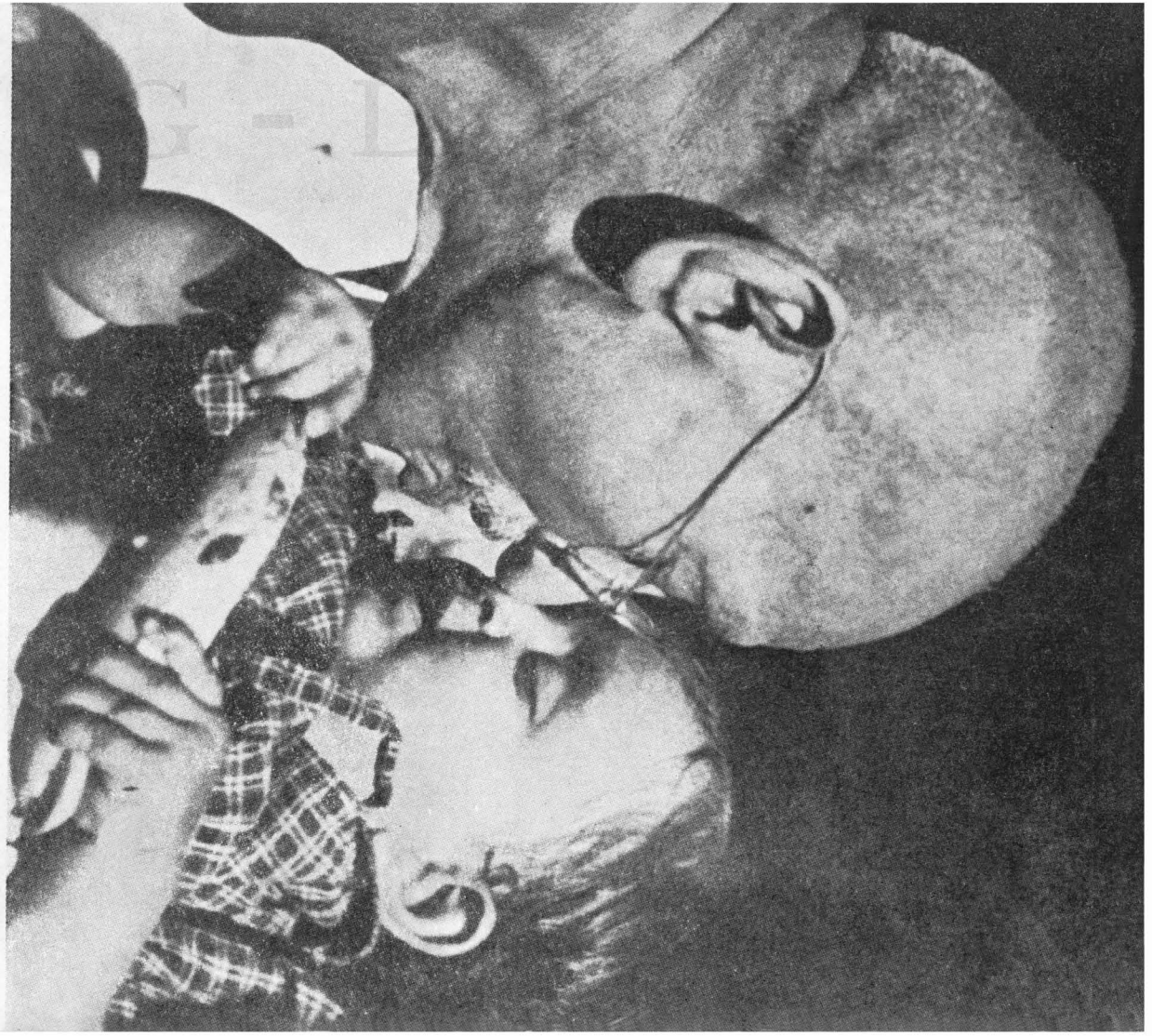


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LXXVIII

(August 1 – December 31, 1944)

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PREFACE

The chief interest of this volume (August 1 to December 31, 1944) lies in Gandhiji's talks with M. A. Jinnah, held in the hope of solving the communal problem. The talks, summarized in the correspondence between the two leaders, revealed an unbridgeable gulf between the demands of the Muslim League and what the rest of the country could possibly have agreed to.

The widespread sufferings of the people, caused by war shortages, Government inefficiency and the greed of traders, together with the continuing bloodshed of the war, so deeply distressed Gandhiji that for a time he thought of undertaking a fast "to put life into" his "prayer" (p. 225) for truth and compassion to prevail. Friends succeeded in dissuading him from the fast, but the mental strain and continued overwork told upon his strength and brought him to "the end of" his "bodily resources" (p. 293). Accepting C. Rajagopalachari's advice, Gandhiji stopped all public work from December 4 to 31 (p. 371).

Since his release in May, Gandhiji had been trying to allay the Government's suspicion of his motives and intentions. He had categorically stated to Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*, on July 4, that he had no intention of offering civil disobedience then, and would be satisfied with a national government in charge of civil administration. He had also made the offer formally to the Viceroy on July 27 (*vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 347-52 and 425-6). The Viceroy's reply to his letter showed once again that the British Government had no intention of parting with power and only despised India's moral support. But the people of India, Gandhiji hoped, would wrest power from the British by "purely moral means" (pp. 39-40).

In a similar conciliatory spirit, Gandhiji made a determined effort to solve the communal problem through negotiations with M. A. Jinnah. On July 17, he asked for a meeting between them, but Jinnah fell ill and the meeting took place on September 9. The talks lasted eighteen days, while the whole country waited in suspense, hoping for the best and fearing the worst. The failure of the talks, announced on September 27, led inexorably to the tragic consequences of the partition.

Gandhiji was guided in the talks by his vision of a non-violent society which, as he wrote to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, could not "be built except with the free and willing consent of all its component

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parts'' (p. 56). ''A believer in non-violence,'' Gandhiji told K. M. Munshi, ''I can maintain the unity of India only if I accept the freedom of every part'' (p. 25). He was, therefore, eager to conciliate Jinnah and win him over ''with trust and love'' (p. 24). ''Neither you nor I can afford to ignore the League,'' Gandhiji afterwards told a nationalist Muslim correspondent. ''We have to win it and other like forces round to our side'' and ''reduce antagonism without sacrificing fundamentals'' (pp. 301-2).

Gandhiji's aim in the talks, therefore, was not to conclude a bilateral agreement with Jinnah which the two would then get implemented through the Congress and the Muslim League. The proposal for talks had aroused the fears of sections of Hindus and Sikhs, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab. Gandhiji therefore assured Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, that if an agreement was reached between Jinnah and him there would be ''ample time for a calm and dispassionate discussion'' of it in public and, if he was convinced of any flaw in it, he would have no hesitation in correcting the error. Nothing ''could operate,'' he stated, ''without the consent of all sections'' (p. 12). ''The smallest interest,'' he assured the Akali leader Master Tara Singh, ''will have the same weight as the largest'' (p. 29). The talks were thus intended to be the beginning of a search for national consensus in an atmosphere of goodwill created through the purifying effect of non-violence. Jinnah felt no such necessity of a national consensus. He wanted an agreement between Gandhiji and himself as representatives of the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims, which would be binding on the Congress and the Muslim League (pp. 401 to 415). He apparently assumed that the country would then accept the agreement or that it could be imposed with the help of the British. The very first question, therefore, which he raised at the talks was that of Gandhiji's ''representative character''. Gandhiji could only give the assurance that he was ''pledged to use all the influence'' he ''may have with the Congress to ratify'' his agreement with Jinnah (p. 92). Jinnah continued the talks, however, in the hope of being able to persuade Gandhiji to accept the Muslim League demand, as he thought that the endorsement of that demand by Gandhiji, with his ''tremendous influence over Hindu India'', would strengthen his own position in dealing with the other parties (p. 406).

The basis of the Muslim League demand was the theory that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations because they professed different religions. This was a test of nationhood

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which Gandhiji rejected. India was neither one nation nor two nations in the modern sense of the term. Its nationhood was still in the making, and religion could not be an effective force in that process. Even if the whole of India accepted Islam, Gandhiji doubted whether it would become one nation transcending its separate linguistic identities. "The only real, though awful, test of our nationhood," he pleaded with Jinnah, "arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort, we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail." If the people did not prize the freedom so won, then they would again quarrel among themselves and "split up into small groups or nationalities" (p. 101). Gandhiji therefore saw "nothing but ruin for the whole of India" if the basis of the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution was accepted, and, though formally he represented nobody except himself, he pleaded with Jinnah on behalf of "all the inhabitants of India, for I realize in my own person their misery and degradation, which is their common lot, irrespective of class, caste or creed" (p. 103). Gandhiji's plea "for the total welfare" of the Muslims and others had no effect on Jinnah. He replied that acceptance of the Lahore Resolution was "the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India." He even contended that "Hindus will be the greater gainers" by accepting the Lahore Resolution (p. 408).

Having failed to convince Jinnah of the dangerous consequences of the two-nation theory for the future of India, Gandhiji proposed a practical solution of the difficulty on the basis of a formula devised by C. Rajagopalachari and published in July, about the same time as Gandhiji's interview to Stuart Gelder. They could, Gandhiji suggested, agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination. That would mean that the proposal for separation of Muslim-majority areas would be "specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area" (p. 117). Jinnah vehemently rejected the suggestion. Gandhiji had not understood the real meaning of the word "self-determination" as used by the advocates of Pakistan. They claimed "the right of self-determination" for the Muslims "as a nation and not as a territorial unit". The Muslims were entitled to exercise it as their "inherent right", and it would therefore be "the self-determination of the Mussalmans, and they alone

are entitled to exercise that right'' (pp. 410-1). In other words, Jinnah denied the right of non-Muslims to vote in the plebiscite if a plebiscite was held. Moreover, the right of self-determination claimed for the Muslims alone on the ground of their being Muslims was not to be restricted to districts in the North-West and North-East zones in which Muslims were in a clear majority but was to be applied to the provinces as they existed then. If Gandhiji's proposal restricting plebiscite to Muslim-majority districts was accepted, Jinnah argued, ''the present boundaries of these provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk'' (pp. 413-4). Jinnah's position meant that the non-Muslim majorities in the western districts of Bengal and the eastern districts of the Punjab, though treated as a separate nation from the Muslims, should be forced to live as non-nationals in Muslim Pakistan. This was the weakest point in Jinnah's case and he had ultimately to accept the partition of Bengal and the Punjab.

Jinnah failed also to see the wisdom of Gandhiji's suggestion, again based on the Rajagopalachari formula, for some joint agency to regulate matters of common interest like Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Without such ''recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity'', Gandhiji feared there would be ''no feeling of security by the people of India'' (p. 123). Jinnah argued that it would be for the constitution-making bodies of the new States of Pakistan and Hindustan to deal with such matters as between two independent, sovereign States. He would not consider the possibility of thus limiting the sovereignty of the two States in the very act of establishing them. Gandhiji suggested that the necessary provision could be made in a treaty of separation (pp. 126-7). He attached the utmost importance to this suggestion. If they must separate, he explained in a Press interview after the breakdown of the talks, the separation should be as among members of a family, ''within ourselves and not separation in the face of the whole world''. Gandhiji had the foresight to see that a demand for such total separation, implying ''utterly independent sovereignty'' with ''nothing in common between the two'' States, would mean ''war to the knife''. It was ''not a proposition that resolves itself into a voluntary or friendly solution'' (p. 140).

Gandhiji was not disheartened by the failure of the talks. He had faith in the democratic process and suggested that Jinnah and he ''must now talk to the public and put our viewpoints

before them''. If they did so ''dispassionately'' and if the Press and the public avoided ''partisanship and bitterness'', he was hopeful that a solution would emerge at an early date (p. 137). He therefore invited the public ''to digest the situation and bring the pressure of their opinion'' upon both of them (p. 143). There was, however, an influential body of opinion which felt that the talks had harmed the prospects of Hindu-Muslim agreement. M. R. Jayakar, for instance, believed that Jinnah would use Gandhiji's formula ''as a bargaining counter with the British Government and also as the starting point in future negotiations with Indian leaders''. Gandhiji gave him freedom to express his view in public, for, he said, ''That way only we shall arrive at the truth'' (p. 145). He also wrote to some Muslim friends to know their reactions to the talks (p. 152).

The aggravation of the Hindu-Muslim problem was a symptom of a deeper change in the moral climate in the country. At the first meeting of the workers of the All-India Spinners' Association after his release, Gandhiji felt ''as though one age had succeeded another, bringing in the process trouble for the whole of India'' (p. 62). It had become possible for the Government to suppress even the A.I.S.A. which was a non-political body dedicated to the service of the poor. Gandhiji felt that the failure was their own. The message of the A.I.S.A. ''had not taken root in the life of the people''. There was something wrong with their method of work. They had organized the production and use of khadi mechanically, without propagating the spirit behind the programme. They had therefore failed to carry the message of khadi to every home (p. 63). For centuries the charkha had been, Gandhiji said, ''a symbol of poverty, helplessness, injustice and forced labour'', but he wanted it to be ''the symbol now of mighty non-violent strength, of the new social order and of the new economy. . . .'' (p. 77). For this, the khadi work should be decentralized and carried on by dedicated individual workers persuading the villagers to produce khadi not for sale but for their own consumption. The aim should be to make them ''strong to face life's problems'', and ''generate in them the strength for freedom''. If the other crafts besides khadi could be revitalized in the same manner, the villages could be made ''self-sufficient'' and ''self-reliant'' (pp. 190 and 192-3).

This moral spirit should inform the whole of the constructive programme. Gandhiji repeated his conviction that the constructive programme was ''the non-violent and truthful way of winning

purna swaraj''. Its ''wholesale fulfilment'' would by itself be ''complete independence''. Even if civil disobedience became necessary, the constructive programme would be an essential training for it, just as military training would be for armed revolt (pp. 218-9). *Kisans*, industrial workers and students had to be properly trained. The *kisan* should be so educated ''to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him''. Morally and intellectually labour should be so raised as to make it ''master of the means of production'' instead of being its slave as it then was. ''Labour united and morally and intellectually trained would any day be superior to capital.'' As for the students, their school and college instruction should be systematically supplemented so as to give them ''education in national consciousness'' (pp. 220-1).

The moral breakdown, however, that Gandhiji felt around him was so all-pervading that he was not satisfied with quiet constructive work. ''In the midst of this frightful triple slaughter of soldiers, civilians and truth,'' he told some friends and co-workers, ''it is impossible to settle down to anything.'' The situation required a more active expression of soul-force in the form of a fast, ''to stir up,'' Gandhiji said, ''myself and my surroundings and shake us out of our complacency.'' He saw millions ''experiencing the pangs of hunger in passive helplessness''. He could speak to them and identify himself with them only through a fast (p. 223). Gandhiji was also deeply perturbed by the prevalence of falsehood and black-marketing in the country (pp. 244 and 281). He however assured friends, who expressed concern, that he would not take any hasty decision unless he was convinced that it was a real call of the ''God of Truth'' (pp. 267, 270, 278, 280, 291, 293 and 307). Though in such a case one could only rely on one's own inner sense of certitude, Gandhiji explained in a public statement that he was ''testing'' himself, ''discussing the pros and cons with friends and allowing'' himself ''to be acted upon'' (p. 225). In the end he abandoned the intention of fasting. He accepted for himself the advice he gave to a correspondent: ''One cannot put an end to the misery of the masses by ending one's life. . . . We should do our utmost and leave the rest to God. He also bears with whatever His creation does . . .'' (p. 360).

It was this faith in God which sustained Gandhiji in all his trials and ordeals. ''The secret of my peace and sense of humour,'' Gandhiji wrote to Anand Hingorani, who was disconsolate over the loss of his wife, ''lies in my unflinching faith in God, that is, Truth'' (p. 230). That faith was nourished by

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Gandhiji's joy in nature and in service. He advised the same correspondent, "To worship God in His invisible form, watch the stars every night and look at the sun early in the morning" (p. 333), and the "inner joy comes from doing God's work" (p. 212). Faith in God expressed itself in the humility of prayer. Gandhiji did not claim to know God and could not therefore say to whom he prayed. We should pray "to the God whom we do not know," he explained to a friend. If one had no faith in God, even then one must continue to pray as advised in the Bible, "Help thou my unbelief" (p. 9).

Gandhiji's life-long interest in problems of physical and moral well-being led him to the conclusion, "Evil thoughts are also a sign of illness" (p. 395). And he knew in his own experience the meaning of spiritual wholeness. Even while he was thinking of a fast, he could feel "the joy of living". He could do so, he said, because he knew "the joy of dying" (p. 223).

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NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Abhinandan Granth, *Sansmarano*; and the following newspapers: *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Gujarat Samachar*, *The Hindu*, *The Hitavada* and *Sandesh*.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH A CHILD *frontispiece*
LETTER TO M. S. SUBBALAKSHMI *facing* p. 136

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1. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

[On or before *August 2, 1944*][1]

PRIYA ARUNA,

You must not discover yourself unless you feel the wrong of secrecy. You must not be displeased if I hold an opinion which does not coincide with yours. I shall not love you the less because I cannot see eye to eye with you. You should be patient with me. Do nothing in a hurry. I have not judged anyone. I have given my opinion about certain acts. You will harm the cause by acting against your judgement.[2] See me when you like. Don't be in a hurry. Don't be sad.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : K. M. Panikkar Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

2. INTERVIEW TO "DAILY WORKER"

BOMBAY,
August 2, 1944

Q. You promise all aid to the Allied war effort.[3] How concretely will the character and quantity of the war effort in India and other countries be changed through the establishment of a national government in India?

[1] The text of this letter suggests that it was written after Gandhiji's statement to the Press dated July 28, 1944 (*vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 429-30), and before the addressee's letter dated August 2, which appears to have been written in reply to this. It read: "If only I could honestly feel that our mode of resistance was wrong, life would become so simple. To be permitted to act under what is known as the willing suspension of disbelief or better still blind discipline would take an enormous load off my shoulders. But you are bent on testing our mettle. We will now go into voluntary inaction for a while."

[2] In her letter dated August 1 the addressee, writing on behalf of her co-workers who were still underground, had written that they were willing to submit to Gandhiji's orders, suspend their activities and surrender themselves.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 347-52.

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Mahatma Gandhi replied that the question required a detailed answer, whereas the basis of his offer was to give moral weight to the Allied cause. This the cause lacked at present.

Asked to explain what he meant by "adding moral weight to the Allied cause", Mahatma Gandhi said :

The Allies are today making brave declarations about democracy and liberty which to me, or, to put it plainly, to the exploited nations, mean nothing. Mere declarations, pleasing to the ear, can give no satisfaction to the sufferers. By "the exploited nations" I mean the Asiatics and Africans. If the Allies are fighting for democracy, their democracy should include all the exploited races of the earth. Facts, as I see them, prove the contrary. Almost all, if not all, parties agree that India was never so much under foreign domination as it is today.

A clear acceptance of the Indian demand for independence and the consequent establishment of a national responsible government, subject to the limitations I have mentioned, would immediately change the character of the Allied cause. It will be immediately differentiated from the cause of the Axis Powers, if the latter's fight can be described as a cause.

What material gain will accrue to the Allies from the recognition of India as an independent country, subject to the provision accepted by you?

A. I must refuse to descend from the platform I occupy. Surely, if the character of the Allied cause is so radically altered, as I claim it must be by the acceptance of my offer, all else must follow as a matter of course. But whether it does or not, I want the acceptance of my offer to be on the unadulterated moral basis. It should be enough for the Allies to have the guarantee that their military operations will not, in any way, be adversely affected by India being counted as an independent nation, not merely in word but in fact.

I hold that the effect of the declaration of India's independence, accompanied by simultaneous sincere action, should, by itself, take the wind out of the sails of the Axis Powers. And I should be surprised if they do not capitulate almost immediately on the declaration.

Suppose England was under foreign rule today, like India, and the ruling power was engaged in a war with some other nation or nations, and involved England willy-nilly in the war. Suppose further that the foreign power suddenly declared England independent without the latter having put up an armed fight for freedom, would not every Englishman enthusiastically support

the erstwhile foreign ruler, now turned a friendly power? You can now understand what will happen to India if, when Britain is in sight of victory, she were to declare the independence of India.

Having said all this to elucidate my answer, I wish to suggest that my offer furnishes a basis for honourable negotiation and release of the members of the Congress Working Committee. A discussion of details and filling in the gaps, deliberately left in my offer, must follow as a matter of course.

The correspondent then told him that the Tory Press in Britain confuses the people by stating that "Gandhi still adheres to the 'Quit India' resolution[1]." They exploit the fact that the British people are unaware of the burning anti-Fascist and patriotic content of the resolution. The correspondent asked him to clarify his statement that the resolution was "innocuous[2]".

The whole of the resolution is a noble document. The 'Quit India' slogan is an innocuous and natural cry. The sting was in the sanction clause of the resolution authorizing me to offer mass civil disobedience in the event of the rejection of the national demand. As I have said, my authority has lapsed, and even if it has not, I cannot organize mass civil disobedience at the present moment. Therefore, the resolution should be read without the sanction clause, and I challenge anybody to take exception to a single word in that resolution. 'Quit India', read together with the Congress offer that the Allied operations on the Indian soil might continue, means nothing more and nothing less than that the British rule should end in its entirety, even while the war is going on—if the war is merely for the deliverance of the exploited nations of the earth.

The correspondent next reminded him of his statement that the Cripps offer[3] contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and asked him what it meant. Mahatma Gandhi smiled and said :

Surely it can mean only one thing. The Cripps offer divided India into Princely India and democratic India. Is not that vivisection?

The correspondent told him that a lot of propaganda was being made in reactionary circles in England, particularly by the Tory Press, to the effect that if Gandhiji's demand was granted, the minorities would suffer. Mahatma Gandhi replied :

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix X.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, "Interview to the Press", pp. 376-8.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix II.

That is a function belonging to the Rajaji Formula[1]. I can only say that the Formula contemplates the fullest protection to the smallest minority. If there are any gaps left in it, they will be filled in at the time of mutual discussion that must precede a final settlement.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-8-1944

3. *A FOOTNOTE*[2]

[After *August 2, 1944*][3]

We do not think Gandhiji would make any such admission. Has he not said that every art would be richer for the artist spinning? Gandhiji would accept the Poet's offering for what it is worth but he would accept nothing as a substitute for hand-spinning.

From a photostat : C.W. 10510. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

4. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 3, 1944

CHI. MIRA,[4]

All your letters were received. Came here today with a large party including S. Kumar[5], his wife[6], Dr. J. Mehta[7] and Khurshed-

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

[2] This footnote, revised by Gandhiji, appears in K. R. Kripalani's article "Gandhi and Tagore" in *Gandhiji—His Life and Work*. It refers to the following passage ". . . and Gandhiji today would be the first to admit that the Great Sentinel had more than earned his right to his bread and did not need to spin to justify his existence. . . ." The draft of the footnote submitted to Gandhiji read: "Gandhiji would admit nothing of the sort. Gurudev claimed exemption from spinning on the ground of his being a poet, but Gandhiji said : 'No. Your art will be all the richer if you spin." For Gandhiji's foreword to the book, *vide* "A Word for the Reader", p. 52.

[3] Valji G. Desai had sent the draft of the footnote to Gandhiji on August 2, 1944.

[4] The superscription in this and the other letters to the addressee is in Devanagari script.

[5] & [6] Shantikumar Morarjee and Sumati Morarjee

[7] Jivraj Mehta

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behn[1]. I am very well. Yes, you should go slow, make no haste in choosing the soil.[2] The Ashram has grown out of all proportion.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABAI
BUNDRA TEA ESTATE
P. O. PALAMPUR
KANGRA VALLEY, PUNJAB

From the original : C.W. 6499. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9894

5. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

August 3, 1944

MY DEAR BARDOLOI,

I have your letter. I have read the papers and I have had long chats with the friends. I will not, because I cannot, give specific instructions. But I would lay down general principles to guide you. There should never be the slightest departure from truth and non-violence. There should be perfect fearlessness. There should be no secrecy, and there should be complete non-co-operation with evil. Thus under the lure of saving starving people I may not co-operate with evil even as I may not pour milk in a poison bowl in the hope of feeding the poor.

The Bihar example will mislead if not properly understood. I co-operated and spent the money that was collected. There were two parallel collections. Ours was the biggest and best spent. Today there is no such scope. Do not think of the past except to learn lessons from it.

Love.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

6. LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN

August 3, 1944

DEAR SRINIVASAN[3],

Khurshedbehn who is with me just tells me that you have lost your dear daughter. I am lying down, so she takes this to

[1] Khurshed Naoroji, granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

[2] The addressee explains : "This was in connection with the site of a small ashram which I was planning to start on my own, in the north-west of the United Provinces."

[3] Editor, *The Hindu*

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my dictation. It was like news to me, when she mentioned the tragedy and yet as I think of it I have a fear that I saw the news somewhere and might also have thought of writing to you, and then [some]thing intervened between the thought and the execution of it. Very often such things have happened in my life. Whether I have written to you or spoken to you about the tragedy, my writing to you now need not be superfluous. Having suffered myself in the same manner I can appreciate all the more your grief. Accept therefore the sympathy of a fellow-sufferer in life's march.

Did you ever know that in Sevagram Mahadev was a regular reader of *The Hindu* and in the detention camp first Pyarelal and then I took Mahadev's place and often found things in *The Hindu* which we did not find in the other papers?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

7. *DISCUSSION WITH D. RAMASWAMI*[1]

SEVAGRAM,
[On or after *August 3, 1944*][2]

Re-organization of the villages is a very intricate problem, but if we can find even half a dozen workers of the right type, we can solve it in due time. The time factor is important, but given the right start the thing will grow like a snowball. You have heard of Booker T. Washington. We have to produce better workers than even him in order to achieve our object.

As for you, your ambition will be fulfilled if, besides your ability and enthusiasm, you introduce something else in your life, i.e., a living faith in God. Then all insipidity will vanish. A cosmopolitan[3] outlook is a necessity but it can never be a substitute for God. God is there, but our conception of God is limited by our mental horizon and by our physical environment. For instance, when you read the Bible, you find that the God of the Hebrews

[1] A young Harijan graduate who gave Gandhiji a report of his work in the villages and sought his help and guidance. Gandhiji was pleased with his report.

[2] The discussion took place at Sevagram Ashram. After his release Gandhiji reached there on August 3, 1944.

[3] *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase* here has "humanitarian".

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was quite different from the God of Jesus Christ. You are dissatisfied with the prevalent idea about God for the simple reason that those who profess belief in God do not present a living God in their own lives.

Unless you have a living faith in God to sustain you, when failure stares you in the face, there is disappointment for you. You may develop a revulsion for the work that you have taken up. You may begin to feel that after all what Dr. Ambedkar said was the right thing and you made a mistake in rejecting the high posts which you had been offered. My advice to you is that you should not leave this Ashram till you have found God. In spite of my limitless failings I am a seeker after Truth and so are my companions in this place. The Ashram, apart from its inhabitants, the sum total of energy that it represents, the principles for which it stands, may enable you to know God to the extent that you may be able to say 'God is', just as you can say 'Truth is'.

RAMASWAMI: I can say that in the sense that Truth is the antithesis of falsehood.

GANDHIJI : That is good enough. The seers have described God as "*Neti, neti*" ('Not this, not this'). Truth will elude you. The sum total of all that is true is Truth. But you can't sum up all that is true. Like most of those who have had Western education, you have got an analytical mind. But there are things that can't be analysed. God who can be analysed by my poor intellect won't satisfy me. Therefore I do not try to analyse Him. I go behind the relative to the absolute and I get my peace of mind.

R. I have carefully gone through your writings in the *Harijan* and *Young India*. Your way of life appeals to me very much. It offers scope for the exercise of individual will. The idea of God introduces a determinism and that limits man. It interferes with his free will.

G. Is there such a thing as free will? Where is it? We are mere playthings in the hands of Providence.

R. What is the relationship between God and man, between Truth and God?

G. I used to say 'God is Truth'. That did not completely satisfy me. So I said 'Truth is God'. He and His law are not different. God's law is God Himself. To interpret it man has to resort to intense prayer and merge himself in God. Each one will interpret the same in his or her own way. As for the relationship between man and God, man does not become man by virtue of having[1] two hands. He becomes man by becoming a tabernacle of God.

[1] *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase* here adds "two feet and".

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R. When my idea of God itself is not clear, your talk of man becoming a tabernacle of God makes things still more confusing. . . .

G. Yet it is the true conception. Unless we have the realization that the body is the house of God, we are less than men. And where is the difficulty or confusion in conceiving Truth as God? You will concede that we are not tabernacles of Untruth; we are of Truth[1].

Everyone who wants to live a true life has to face difficulties in life, some of which appear insurmountable. At that time it is faith in God, that is, Truth alone, that will sustain you. The fellow-feeling which makes you feel miserable because of your brother's misery is godliness. You may call yourself an atheist, but so long as you feel akin with mankind you accept God in practice. I remember of clergymen who came to the funeral of the great atheist Bradlaugh[2]. They said they had come to pay their homage because he was a godly man.

If you go back with a living faith in God, in Truth, I have no doubt that your work will flourish. You should feel dissatisfied with everything till you have found Him and you will find Him.[3]

An Atheist with Gandhi, pp. 28-31; also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 57-8

8. DISCUSSION WITH A FRIEND[4]

[On or after *August 3, 1944*][5]

FRIEND: If you pray to God, can He intervene and set aside the law for your sake?

GANDHIJI: God's law remains unaltered but since that very law says that every action has a result, if a person prays, his prayer is bound to produce an unforeseeable result in terms of His law. . . .[6]

But do you know the God to whom you pray?

No, I don't.

To whom shall we pray then?

[1] Gandhiji was then silent for a moment.

[2] Charles Bradlaugh

[3] According to *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, D. Ramaswami had decided to stay at the Ashram for some time and search for God through the service of his fellow-beings.

[4] & [5] According to the source "a veteran nationalist leader from South India" came to see Gandhiji at Sevagram about the same time as Dr. Ramaswami; *vide* the preceding item.

[6] Omission as in the source

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To the God whom we do not know—we do not always know the person to whom we pray.

Maybe, but the person to whom we pray is knowable.

So is God; and since He is knowable, we search. It may take a billion years before we find Him. What does it matter? So, I say, even if you do not believe, you must continue to pray, i.e., search. "Help thou my unbelief" is a verse from the Bible to be remembered. But it is not right to ask such questions. You must have infinite patience, and inward longing. Inward longing obviates all such questions. "Have faith and you will be whole" is another tip from the Bible.

When I look at nature around me, I say to myself, there must be one Creator, one God and to Him I should pray.

That again is reasoning. God is beyond reason. But I have nothing to say if your reason is enough to sustain you.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, p. 59

9. MESSAGE FOR TAGORE DAY[1]

[On or before *August 4, 1944*][2]

Organizing yourself, you will achieve success. This is the message of Gurudev. Make this message your motto.

The Hindu, 6-8-1944

10. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1944

Many Congressmen ask me how to celebrate the forthcoming 9th of August. That date was a turning point in India's fight for freedom. I had intended to spend 9th August, 1942 in peaceful introspection and to inaugurate negotiations for a settlement. But the Government or Fate had decided otherwise. The Government went mad, and so did some people. Sabotage and the like were resorted to and many things were done in the Congress name or in my name. I am aware that I do not represent

[1] & [2] This was read out at a public meeting held in Hyderabad on August 4 under the Presidentship of Hasan Yar Jung Bahadur.

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the Congress mind always. Many Congressmen repudiate my non-violence. The Working Committee is the only body which can legitimately and truly represent the Congress.

As an old servant of the country, however, I can advise, and Congressmen are at liberty to treat my advice as instructions. I have already said[1] that mass civil disobedience cannot be offered now; but mass civil disobedience is one thing and individual action in defence of self-respect and liberty is wholly another. It is a universal duty for all time, the discharge of which requires no sanction save that of one's own conscience. In a previous note, I have pointed out when and where the duty arises. But the forthcoming 9th is a special occasion.

There has arisen much misunderstanding about the Congress purpose and mind. I must avoid all avoidable risks. Therefore, in all places except in Bombay, my advice is not to disregard special police prohibitions for that day. For Bombay, I have already given advice through the Mayor of Bombay. I need not reiterate the advice here. I have selected Bombay as the most suitable place for the simple reason that it is most easily accessible to me and is the place where the historic meeting of August 1942 was held. Whatever it is to be, it will be a symbolic act. Curiosity is natural and pardonable, but I plead for restraint. The self-imposed curb will be finished if I succeed in carrying conviction to the human family, that every man or woman, however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty. This defence avails, though the whole world may be against the individual resister.

I have suggested the present symbolic procedure to see whether those who organize the demonstration have co-operation from the local public. Freedom of 400 million people through purely non-violent effort is not to be gained without learning the virtue of iron discipline, not imposed from without, but sprung naturally from within. Without the requisite discipline non-violence can only be a veneer.

The second thing that I should like done on the forthcoming 9th August is for those who have gone underground to discover themselves. They can do so by informing the authorities of their movements and whereabouts or by simply and naturally doing their work in the open without any attempt to evade or elude the police. To go underground is to elude the police. Therefore, real discovery is to discover oneself to the party

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 433.

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eluded. Nothing should be done unless the conviction has gone home that a particular action is essential for the cause. In the absence of such a conviction, those who see this note may ignore it and should follow what they consider best for the country.

What everyone should do on the 9th, whether they have the conviction as to nonviolence or not, or whether they are Congressmen or not, is to carry out on the 9th the whole or any part of the fourteenfold programme reiterated in my recent note[1]. Just for example, everyone should spin. Communities should find ways of giving expression to mutual understanding and brotherhood. Hindus and Muslims may organize joint programmes of prayers—God may bless the Quaid-e-Azam and me with wisdom to reach a common understanding in the interest of India. Hindus should visit Harijans and render them the service they may need. The spirit of service and helpfulness should pervade the atmosphere everywhere.

I have experienced friendliness from Englishmen and Americans wherever I have met them, whether officials or laymen. I invite their co-operation especially on the 9th. Let them realize that the August resolution was not conceived in hatred. It was an unvarnished statement of the natural right of the people of this land.

To those who share my faith I would advise fasting and prayers on the auspicious day. This must not be a mechanical act. It must be done without ostentation, for self-purification and penance. Its uplifting power is capable of being tested by every individual for himself.

If the demonstration is carried out in the spirit in which I have conceived it, I have no doubt that it will lead to an early end of the misery of the masses.

The Hindu, 7-8-1944

11. LETTER TO NAGINDAS T. MASTER

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1944

BHAI NAGINBHAI[2],

You will see my statement[3] today in the newspapers. First I thought of detailing my entire programme in Bombay in my

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 429-30.
[2] Mayor of Bombay
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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statement. But I propose to make some changes in the programme. I shall however have them only with your consent. This is very important. So either you may come personally or should send one of your trusted men. Much depends upon the success of the programme. Premabehn will give you this letter. If for some reason you cannot come or you cannot send some representative then send the reply through Premabehn. Premabehn will tell you in brief the changes that I propose to make.

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

12. INTERVIEW TO SHYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE[1]

SEVAGRAM,
August 5, 1944

Gandhiji says that his association with the Rajaji Formula is personal and is meant to commit nobody but himself. He is, therefore, anxious that people should express their opinion freely and fearlessly. I gathered from our conversation that he welcomed such criticism for he was open to conviction. If he discovered any flaw in the Formula he would have no hesitation in correcting the error. In his opinion the Formula is intended to be just to all. If, therefore, any community was likely to be unjustly affected by the Formula being given effect to, the flaw should be brought to his notice. He was also anxious that people should remember that if an agreement was reached between Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and himself it would be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held and the plan would come into effect only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility in the governance of India. There was, therefore, ample time for a calm and dispassionate discussion. He also said that the Rajaji Formula was a way of reducing to a concrete form the Congress resolution on self-determination[2] and nothing could operate without the consent of all sections. . . . He assured me that he had always welcomed

[1] This was issued to the Press on August 6 by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President, Hindu Mahasabha, who had stated : "I had a long interview with Mahatmaji yesterday in my individual capacity and fully explained why I and those who think like me are so strongly opposing Mr. Rajagopalachari's Formula from the point of view of India as a whole. The discussion was full and frank. . . . This is not the gist of the whole conversation. That part of it only is given which is necessary to ease the public mind of the fear that any criticism of the Formula would weaken Gandhiji's influence or position." This was published with Gandhiji's approval.

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

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criticism and that he had flourished on it and that his influence could not be weakened by it.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, p. 83

13. LETTER TO B. R. AMBEDKAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 6, 1944

Thank you for yours[1] of July 31 received yesterday. The Hindu-Muslim question is for me a lifelong question. There was a time when I used to think that when that question was solved India's political troubles would be over. Experience has taught me that it was only partly true. Untouchability I began to abhor when I was in my teens. But it was a question with me of religious and social reform. And though it has attained a great political importance its religious and social value is for me much greater. But I know to my cost that you and I hold different views on this very important question. And I know, too, that on broad politics of the country we see things from different angles. I would love to find a meeting ground between us on both the questions. I know your great ability and I would love to own you as a colleague and co-worker. But I must admit my failure to come nearer to you. If you can show me a way to a common meeting ground between us I would like to see it. Meanwhile, I must reconcile myself to the present unfortunate difference.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-1-1945

14. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYYA

August 6, 1944

DEAR SIR VISVESVARAYYA,

It was good of you to send me such a full letter. In the political field one has to receive with as much good grace as

[1] Which *inter alia* read: "... the Hindu-Muslim problem is not the only communal problem that has to be settled ... there is a communal problem between the Hindus and the untouchables, which is also awaiting solution.... An all-round settlement between the Hindus and other minorities, I am sure, will become necessary if India's political goal is to be achieved.... But, if you are anxious to solve the Hindu-untouchable problem as you are to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem, I shall be glad to formulate points on which a settlement is necessary...."

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is possible knock-out blows. I have therefore regarded it as a school for learning self-control and training in non-violence. I should have thought that, having dabbled in the *dewangiri* of a big Indian State,[1] you would not run away from the political field. This is not to lead you into any temptation. You have enriched the life of the country by your unrivalled engineering skill. I have been following too your writings on planned economy.

Besides your contribution as a great engineer, what has captivated me is the art you have cultivated of keeping up in old age robust physical and mental energy. I have not forgotten the way in which you used to climb up the Nandi Hill without any effort. I would like you to give the young men and women of the country the secret, as you have known it, of feeling young and vigorous even in old age. It is a rare gift in our country.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

15. TELEGRAM TO M. R. JAYAKAR

WARDHAGANJ,
August 7, 1944

DR. JAYAKAR
WINTER ROAD
BOMBAY

SAPRU[2] COMING WEDNESDAY. PLEASE COME IF CONVENIENT.

GANDHI

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

[1] The addressee was Dewan of Mysore State from 1912 to 1918.
[2] T. B. Sapru

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16. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 7, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,[1]

I have your letters. I was glad S.[2] was able to go to Simla and give you some time. She is still in Poona looking after Manjula[3]. Did I tell you that Dr. Jivraj Mehta was with me? I must ask him to write to you. He helps in a variety of ways and looks after my body without the slightest fuss. I do not even know that he is doing it. He is supposed to have come merely to keep company.

You must not worry.

Love to all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4146. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7781

17. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 7, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

This is a painful story. There is only one remedy for this, viz., to act as Chimanlal[4] advises. You should yourself talk it over with him. Regard me as non-existent. If a difference still remains in your viewpoints, then please accept his. In no case, however, should there be ideological differences. If there is any let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4443

[1] The superscription in this and the subsequent letters to the addressee is in Devanagari script.

[2] Dr. Sushila Nayyar

[3] Vrajlal Gandhi's daughter who had paralysis of the face following a mastoid operation.

[4] Chimanlal Shah

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18. INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS OF INDIA

SEVAGRAM,
August 7, 1944

QUESTION: You said in Panchgani: "All my recent declarations are quite consistent with all my previous declarations on the communal problem." But in the past you had said: "Partition means a patent untruth. My whole soul rebels against the idea .... To assent to such a doctrine is for me denial of God (*Harijan*, 13-4-1940).[1] The partition proposal has altered the face of the Hindu-Muslim problem. I have called it an untruth. There can be no compromise with it.... It cannot come by honourable agreement (*Harijan*, 4-5-1940).[2] I consider vivisection of India to be a sin.... (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942)."[3] Would you kindly enlighten me how they are consistent? The Mahasabhaites seem to argue in the above style and hence clarification is sought.

ANSWER: Though I would avoid answering all questions on the subject before the forthcoming meeting between Quaid-e-Azam and me, I must not postpone answering yours. I know my present attitude has puzzled and pained many people. I have not revised the opinion quoted by you. At the same time that I made the statement you refer to, I was also a party to the self-determination resolution of the A. I. C. C. I hold that the Rajaji Formula gives effect to that resolution. I would however urge critics not to mind my inconsistencies, so-called or real. Let them examine the question on merits and bless the effort if they can.

Q. What is your reaction to Mr. Jinnah's speech[4]? If Mr. Jinnah does not accept your proposal or your talks with him end in failure, will you withdraw your support to Rajaji's proposals or will the proposals stand?

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 412.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, p. 27.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 120.
[4] Presiding over the half-yearly session of the All-India Muslim League Council at Lahore on July 30, M. A. Jinnah spoke at length criticizing Rajagopalachari's Formula and Gandhiji's association with it.

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A. I do not believe in dying before my death. I do not approach the forthcoming visit with the expectation of failure. I always hope for the best and prepare for the worst. I would therefore ask you not to anticipate failure. Ask me when failure stares you and me in the face.

Q. What have you got to say to the Sikhs who have expressed apprehension in the All-Party Sikh Conference at [Amritsar][1] that you will further surrender to the Muslim League?

A. My Sikh friends are unnecessarily perturbed. I can settle nothing for anybody but myself. The Congress Resolution is a sacred trust and I have no doubt that it will be discharged fully. Brave people are never frightened by bogeys. Let the Sikh friends examine the proposal on merits. And if they find an evident flaw in it, I shall correct it and so, I am sure, will the Quaid-e-Azam if he is satisfied that there is a flaw.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, pp. 83-4; also *The Hindu*, 9-8-1944

19. LETTER TO JOACHIM ALVA[2]

[Before *August 8, 1944*][3]

You should save every ounce of my energy. You have abundant material from my writings on the Press. . . .[4] You should have pity on me. . . .[5] I should make no exception. If I do, I shall be done for. Say you have excused me.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-8-1944

20. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

August 8, 1944

The question asked is whether my statement[6] contemplates civil disobedience or its avoidance. It asserts a universal right which becomes a duty when there is an attack upon its ordinary exercise. It therefore contemplates civil disobedience if

[1] The source has "Lahore". The Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference, which met on August 1, rejected the Rajaji Formula.

[2] Editor, *Forum*

[3] The letter was written in connection with the first anniversary of *Forum* which fell on August 8, 1944.

[4] & [5] Omissions as in the source

[6] *Vide* pp. 9-11.

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Government wants it. Twenty-five citizens of Bombay sent notices on the 3rd instant to the Police Commissioner of their intention to march in batches of five and offer silent prayers and sing *Jhandavandan* and *Vandemataram* at a common gathering place and asked for permission to perform the act.[1] If permission is not granted, there will certainly be disobedience. In order that the public may not know the time or place, the Police Commissioner has been fully informed, while the public has not been. If this extraordinary forbearance is not appreciated and the authorities withhold permission and interfere with the simple symbolic exercise of a public right, the fault would be that of the authorities. The Press and the public have to judge whether, under circumstances such as these, civil disobedience does not become a duty.

The Hindu, 10-8-1944

21. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM

August 9, 1944

Gandhiji made enquiries from the Superintendent of Police . . . about local restrictions and he assured him that he would abide by them.

This day is different from the other days. Today you pray that God may bless Quaid-e-Azam and me with wisdom to reach a common understanding in the interest of India. Let this be your constant prayer as you go on spinning.[2]

The Hindu, 11-8-1944

22. TRIBUTE TO MAHADEV DESAI[3]

WARDHAGANJ,
August 10, 1944

August 15 is the second anniversary of Mahadev Desai's death. Two or three correspondents have administered a gentle rebuke. The following is my paraphrase of the first of their remarks :

> You have become President of the Kasturba Memorial Fund Trust. Mahadev renounced everything for your sake and even laid down his life for you. He died at a much

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, Appendix XXIII.

[2] Gandhiji was opening the 60-minute non-stop mass spinning in the afternoon.

[3] The Gujarati original appeared in *Gujarat Samachar*, 13-8-1944. This is an "authoritative translation" by Pyarelal.

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younger age than Kasturba and yet how much he achieved in that relatively short space of time! Kasturba was verily a *sati*, but while India has produced many *satis*, all will admit that it has produced only one Mahadev. If he had not chosen to throw in his lot with you, he might have been living today. His talents would have enabled him to achieve front rank distinction as a savant and man of letters. He might have even been rich, brought up his family in all material comfort and provided his son with the highest education. Instead, he chose to merge himself in you. You regarded him as your son. May I ask what you have done for him?

These sentiments seem to me to be natural. The contrast between the two is too striking to be missed. The one was ready to drop off like a fully ripe fruit. The other had yet to ripen and mature. Life still lay before Mahadev as ordinary standards go. He had aimed at living up to a hundred years. The amount of material that he had piled up in his voluminous note-books called for years of patient labour to work up and he had hoped to do all that. In his trunk was found a memo of my talks taken down on the day previous to his final end. Probably, none besides myself can today make them out, and even I don't know to what use he would have put them. He was a living example of "the wise, who live and work as if they were born to immortality and everlasting youth".[1] But, if all our dreams could be realized, life would become a phantasmagoria, and there would be utter chaos on earth. God in His mercy, therefore, has ordained that His will alone should prevail on earth.

Mahadev, though an idealist and a dreamer, never allowed his feet to be taken off the firm earth. He, therefore, adorned everything that he attempted. To Mahadev's admirers, I can only offer this consolation, that he lost nothing by his association with me. His dreams rose above scholarship or learning. Riches had no attraction for him. God had blessed him with high intellect and versatile tastes but what his soul thirsted for was the devotional spirit. Even before he came to me, he had assiduously sought and cultivated the company of devotees and men of God after his heart. One may say that it was in furtherance of this quest that

[1] अजरामरवत्प्राज्ञः विद्यामर्थं च चिन्तयेत् । गृहित इव केशेषु मृत्युना धर्ममाचरेत् ॥ "The wise should devote themselves to learning and worldly welfare as if they were immortal and would never grow old, and follow the path of dharma as if Death had seized them by the hair."

he came to me and, not obtaining full satisfaction even with me, (shall I say) he turned his back upon me in the fullness of youth, leaving behind him his weeping relations and friends, and set forth to seek realization of his quest in the bosom of his Maker. The only fitting service that I can render his memory is to complete the work which he has left behind him unfinished, and to make myself worthy of his devotion—obviously a more difficult task than merely raising a fund for his memorial. It can be fulfilled only through Divine grace. Mahadev's external goal was the attainment of swaraj; the inner, to fully realize in his own person his ideal of devotion, and if possible to share the same with others.[1]

The raising of a material memorial to the deceased's memory is outside my scope. That is a task for his friends and admirers to take up. Does a father initiate a memorial for his son? I was not responsible for the Kasturba Memorial. In my previous statement[2] I have explained its origin. I have become the President of the Committee only in order to ensure the use of the fund in accordance with its object. If friends and admirers of Mahadev similarly set up a committee to raise a memorial fund and invite me to become its president and give guidance for its proper use, I shall gladly accept it.[3]

A word to litterateurs. They know or should know that he put the charkha above literature. He took delight in spinning for hours. It was a daily duty. He would encroach upon his sleeping hours to finish his daily minimum of spinning. Why this insistence? Not, I assure them, to please me. He threw in his lot with me after much deliberation. I never knew him do a thing without conviction. He thought with me that the material salvation of India's teeming but famishing millions was bound up with the charkha. He discovered too that this daily labour with the hand enriched whatever literary work he did. It gave it a reality which it otherwise lacked. The raising of funds is good and necessary. But a sincere imitation of Mahadev's constructive work is better. The monetary contribution to a memorial fund ought not to be a substitute for the more solid appreciation.

The Hindu, 12-8-1944

[1] The Gujarati here adds: Mahadev did love showing off his erudition. Let no one have any illusion about it. However, he cast it off after coming to me.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 344-6.

[3] The Gujarati here adds: "It has been my profession for fifty years." The paragraph which follows is not found in the Gujarati original.

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23. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL SETALVAD

WARDHA,
August 11, 1944

I am writing to you in my mother tongue[1] which I believe you will tolerate.

The Congress policy has been definite and determined. With this nothing can be mixed. An independent India cannot entertain any other stranger in its midst. The consent which I have given to a particular scheme depends upon the fact that it is based on a cardinal principle of the Congress.[2] I command an influence over the masses and therefore I cannot hide that which I consider against the good of my country. An advantage would be taken of this situation by my opponents and this was not outside the pale of my thoughts. But this fear comes out of the weakness of our forces.

To remove this fear, the way lies in freely but respectfully expressing our opinion and only in this way can we conquer and win; this is my respectful opinion. Permit me to tell you that no particular work of mine has resulted in any loss to my country. At least I have never heard that it has. All your writings, I have read with great patience and care but I have always felt that you do not examine my side with patience and care. Your time is occupied mostly in different types of work and this is not beyond my constant thought.

In the end it seems to me that the substance of your letters leads to the inference that India is going to be for very long time under the rule and sway of the English. From your writings this appears to be India's destiny. But my firm belief is quite the opposite of this. Moreover you crush our spirit and make us appear blind. Our leaders also forget this fundamental difference in our views. This is the reason I believe why you are so pessimistic and we so optimistic.

It is my sincere desire that a so-called rash step[3] which I

[1] The Gujarati original is not available.

[2] The addressee was against the Rajaji Formula and Gandhiji's acceptance of it.

[3] The reference is to Gandhiji's proposed talks with M. A. Jinnah.

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propose to take may not result in any loss to the country.

Your younger brother,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

From a copy : File No. 3001/H-P. 129. Commissioner of Police, Bombay

24. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 11, 1944

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have been forgetting to write about Dinshawji[1]. In case you have not received a copy of my letter to him, I shall have one enclosed with this. We have to make the trust deed[2] on these lines. Ghanshyamdas[3], Mahavir Prasad Poddar, Dinshaw, you and I will be the trustees. Ghanshyamdas was to talk to you about this matter. If he has not spoken to you, consult him before finalizing it. Send me the draft of the document. I believe it can be drafted in Hindi. It will have to be registered.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

25. NOTE TO JAGDISH K. MUNSHI[4]

[On or before *August 12, 1944*][5]

1. Division of India is like poison to my mind; because I am also of the view that it is sinful to do so.

[1] Dinshaw K. Mehta

[2] For the proposed nature-cure clinic; *vide* pp. 34-6.

[3] G. D. Birla

[4] Gandhiji dictated this note in Gujarati to the addressee, eldest son of K. M. Munshi, with the remark: "I intend appointing you as my lawyer and so listen to what I am saying and argue it out with Bapaji." The Gujarati original however is not available. For K. M. Munshi's letter dated August 9 to which this was a reply, *vide* Appendix II. Regarding this note K. M. Munshi writes: "My opposition to the proposed negotiations with Jinnah evidently annoyed Gandhiji. For, before replying to me, he adopted the rather curious method of sending me a message dictated to my son who was staying with him. This was a warning to me. In my long and intimate association with him, such a thing had never happened before, nor after."

[5] From the contents it is obvious that this note was written before the letter to K. M. Munshi dated August 12, 1944; *vide* the following item.

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2. The Delhi Resolution of April 2[1][, 1942] was concerned with self-determination. After this on April 30[2], Rajaji's Resolution was turned down and Jagat Narayan's Resolution[3] about not partitioning India was adopted. In my view this was a highly inappropriate and hasty step and due to this alone Jinnah has been able to spread poison in the Muslim masses.

3. I had discussed this matter with Maulana[4] also. According to him, in spite of Jagat Narayan's Resolution, I still retain the authority to discuss the matter with Jinnah because the Resolution of April 2 still stands.

4. Later on when I had negotiations with Jinnah I had asked him whether he would accept help from a foreign Power if he was granted a sovereign State. To this he said: "Yes."

I then asked him if, after securing that help, he would invade India. To this (also) he said: "Yes."

Then I told him: "It would be a sin to do such a thing and I cannot be a party to it."

5. When Dr. Latif[5] mentioned Pakistan I asked him to discuss the question with Maulana; but it was in deference to Maulana's wish that I discussed it with him.

6. Rajaji's offer does not seem to have the virulence of his earlier talk and hence I am in agreement with it. According to this offer if there can be a separate treaty regarding Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, I do not see any harm in giving him the rest. And after this, Pakistan seems to have no meaning at all.

7. It is not that everybody has been in agreement with me about everything from the beginning of [my] life. There is bound to be a difference of opinion and it is good that it is there. But nobody has ever told me that I have done anything in bad faith. Thus it was that I had won over Motilal[6], C. R. Das and

[1] The source says in a footnote that the resolution was passed on April 11, 1942. According to *The Indian Annual Register* the resolution was communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 2. It was however released to the Press on April 11 after the failure of the negotiations. For the text of the resolution, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] "April 29" according to a footnote in the source.

[3] Which read: "The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

[4] Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President

[5] Syed Abdul Latif

[6] Motilal Nehru

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others. In spite of difference of opinion they often came to me and shed tears when they saw my determination to abide by Truth. From his death-bed C. R. Das had enjoined upon his followers: "Do as this man says. He is a true leader." I wish to conquer even Jinnah with trust and love. I have no other weapons at all.

8. Jinnah too has complete faith in me. He knows that I have no axe to grind in these negotiations. And he seems to have somewhat softened by my last letter[1], and hence, my only advice can be that at such a time nobody should create any obstacle. Jinnah has hated me since the day I asked him in a meeting to give up English and speak in Gujarati. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad also feels the same way about me from that day and it has not changed to this day.

9. Jinnah is definitely not unselfish. He is prone to be easily led by others because of his vanity. (Just) because I am going to meet him I am not led away by him. I have not accepted everything that he has said. Otherwise it would mean that he has won me round. That is why even when I meet him it will be with some misgivings.

10. Munshi has raised a new cry, and I cannot stop him. And it would not befit me even if I did it.

11. But Munshi very much loves to dominate everywhere and become a leader. I know that everybody hates him for that reason. Everybody believes that even in the Congress he wants to set up his own protagonists. But how can one prevent a person if he is capable of spreading his influence because of his own power? Only the person who has all his teeth intact can crack a betel-nut and so, there is no need to be scared of him. He seems to be much perturbed. Hence, at such a time we should do only that which we feel is correct. If he shows me the statement[2], I shall certainly go through it.[3]

Pilgrimage to Freedom, Vol. I, pp. 438-40

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 393.

[2] *Vide* pp. 28-9.

[3] This is followed by the following note, presumably by the addressee: Rajaji's and Dr. Subbaroyan's talks would imply the following :

(1) Gandhiji and all others believe that the negotiations will most probably break down and maybe we shall have to court imprisonment.

(2) Gandhiji feels that if these negotiations do not have the sanction of the people, it would mean that it is his last contribution to politics, and he would have to make his exit for good.

(3) All will be released by September 15.

26. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

August 12, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

Your letter[1]. I have told a few things to Jagdish[2] but I am still writing this reply for your satisfaction. It does not matter if others do not understand me. You are among those who do know me. I am sure you know that, in spite of my accepting *Akhand*[3] Hindustan on principle, I am the originator of the Congress principle of self-determination. A believer in non-violence, I can maintain the unity of India only if I accept the freedom of every part. The moment I felt that the Pakistan of Jinnah's imagination was sinful, I started believing in the Congress principle of self-determination, for instance, during my talks with Dr. Latif.

I understand what you have written about the Punjab. I shall study whatever comes from there. If I have committed a mistake, it would not take long to put me right. All my statements imply the usual proviso that mistakes, if any, should be provided for. I would certainly find no fault at all if you fearlessly oppose Rajaji's Formula. Where the intentions are honest, fear of public blame has no place at all. Possibly your statement will not be ready by the time I meet Jinnah. But if you have prepared it, do send it. I shall go through it. If it needs to be improved or changed, I shall do so. Have no fear. I shall do nothing in haste. If you have time and if you think it is necessary, meet Rajaji and me. And I think it will certainly be necessary to meet after our interview.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 7680. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] Undivided

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27. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

August 12, 1944

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I have been wanting since long to write to you but just couldn't find the time. However, now I must. Jinnah Saheb's letter may arrive any time now. I have written to him to let me know three or four days in advance. I am under a great deal of pressure that in no case should I put up at Birla House.[1] I have plainly said that I cannot give up staying at Birla House without any reason. The question arises only if for some reason my stay at Birla House is deemed improper. In that case you should not hesitate to tell me. This issue arose in Poona also, and at that time it was agreed that there could be no hesitation from your side. I do not remember if you were present then. I had discussed the matter with Ghanshyamdas. By way of caution and in order to safeguard your interests, it is my duty to ask you now that I will be leaving for Bombay shortly.

The other matter is more important though it is not as urgent as the question of where to stay in Bombay. If I am about to be arrested it will give me some satisfaction if I am able to accomplish all that I must before my arrest. I believe that the work of the Talimi Sangh[2] is quite valuable, and I wish to arrange for half a lakh of rupees for it.

I wish to return the money that was received as donation for Mirabehn. It would only be proper to return it to her. Normally the money for the Talimi Sangh must be drawn from the Satyagraha Ashram funds. There is some money there but Narandas has invested it in constructive work. I can draw upon it but I can only do so at the cost of that work. And as far as possible I don't want to do that. All told, it may require half a lakh or one lakh. I do not know the exact amount that has to be paid. The amounts that have been coming over the years are registered as charities, and it takes time to trace them out. All the books of the Ashram are lying here and there. To trace out

[1] Some friends had argued that it would not be in the interests of the Birla family if Gandhiji were to be again arrested while staying with them.

[2] Hindustani Talimi Sangh

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such amounts even from well-maintained ledgers is like seeking a needle in a haystack. Nevertheless I have given instructions that all such accounts should be examined.

There is some miscellaneous expenditure too. Something has to be done about that. That will require about half a lakh, though I have not figured out the exact sum.

Can you easily provide for all this? You can certainly say 'no' without any hesitation. All my undertakings are in the hands of God. If God does not wish that a particular work should be held up, He provides me with the means through someone or another as His agent. Hence, even if I do not get the money I will not be angry with God or with you. Till now I have never cut the tree under which I have taken shelter and with God's grace I shall not do so in future.

I hope all of you are keeping well. I am sending this letter with Chi. Jagdish. He has come here with Bhai Munshi's letter[1]. Nowadays it is difficult to decide what should and what should not be sent by post.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 8060. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

28. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

Express *August 13, 1944*

QUAID-E-AZAM JINNAH
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

THANKS WIRE JUST RECEIVED. NEXT SATURDAY FOUR AFTERNOON SUITS ME.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. M. Munshi", p. 25.

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29. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1944

CHI. VALJI,

I feel relieved that I am able to pay off today this measure of my debt to you. I feel that something still remains to be paid. You are not bound to accept the changes I have suggested. You may accept them if you feel that they are improvements. This will be sent by registered post.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7499. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

30. NOTE TO K. M. MUNSHI[1]

[After *August 14, 1944*][2]

My reluctance to comment on the Rajaji Formula has led to my attitude being misunderstood by many friends all over the country.

On the whole it is my advice that you should maintain peace till the conference to be held between us is over.

BAPU

I cannot approve of the Rajaji Formula. The division of a Hindu and a Muslim area is conditional in the Formula. . . . A partition, on the other hand, will enable the Hindus and Muslims in those provinces to settle down in their respective areas.

The second argument does not seem to support the first one.

My objections to the Rajaji Formula, however, go deeper. . . . The force behind disruptionism is the urge to convert Islam in India into a religio-political party and to dominate the country by overawing the Nationalists into submission. . . . Mr. Jinnah's recent utterances are too fresh to be

[1] & [2] The addressee had sent the draft of his statement to Gandhiji to "suggest changes if necessary", along with his letter dated August 14, 1944. The draft, from which only extracts are reproduced here, was in English. Gandhiji's comments in Gujarati were published along with the English translation.

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forgotten easily. He will accept no alliance on a conditional acceptance of Pakistan as in the Formula, and if any is made it will not last a day after the principle of Pakistan is accepted by the Nationalists.

These objections are not deeply rooted. If you have no better argument, nothing will be lost by remaining silent.[1]

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 435-6

31. LETTER TO TARA SINGH[2]

SEVAGRAM,
August 15, 1944

DEAR MASTER TARA SINGH,

I thank you for your reasoned letter of the 5th instant. It came into my hands only today. It was received here on the 10th. The post has become very heavy. Even important letters such as yours do not come into my hands immediately they are received. I have not so recovered as to permit my working all hours of the day. This preface is merely to show you the importance I attach to your letter.

But nothing is lost by the delay. We shall come to no final terms. The smallest interest will have the same weight as the largest. That is the requirement of my creed. It is a lapse if I do not live up to it. With this assurance, I would leave you for the time being. Pray that both of us may have the strength to do what is wholly right and not to tone down the right for the sake of expedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 8-10-1944

[1] The statement was not issued to the Press.

[2] Releasing the letter to the Press, Sarmukh Singh Jhabal, a Sikh Congressman of the Punjab, had stated: "Master Tara Singh released his own letter to Gandhiji with regard to the Rajaji Formula, but Gandhiji's reply has not been published, although it was in Masterji's hands at the time he released his own letter."

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32. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

August 15, 1944

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

I have your two letters and your three notes. You are truly amazing. I suppose you are much older than I. But your energy never wanes. May it be always thus. How about Savitri?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 3226

33. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

August 15, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

I am grateful to you for your two letters. The long one is illuminating. I am aware of the dangers. I am not afraid of coming away with empty hands.[1] I am doing what I have done all my life. I know you believe in the all-pervading Deity. I ask you to pray that I may be blessed with the strength to do the right thing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

34. LETTER TO DADACHANJI

August 15, 1944

DEAR DADACHANJI,

I have read your letter to Pyarelalji. You are too lawyer-like for my taste. Your goodness is marred by your lawyer-likeness.

[1] The reference is to the proposed meeting with M. A. Jinnah.

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You should have mercy on me and mine. We are all overworked and I am an ailing man though in harness. I know the Indo-Burman question but the way is not clear to me. That was all that Pyarelal meant though he could not convey his meaning to you. Can you goad a willing horse? You have owned horses, motors, etc. Just recall your experience of your horses and your friends. Believe me to be more than a willing horse.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

35. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI V. PATEL

August 15, 1944

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

I was pressed hard to stay with you but I did not yield. I cannot leave Birla House just because my staying there displeases some. I should certainly like to stay with you and moreover I have never seen your home. But I must do what I think is my duty.[1]

I am hoping to arrive there on Saturday. It is possible that I might return on Sunday.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 162

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Rameshwardas Birla", pp. 26-7.

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36. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR AND SUMATI MORARJEE

August 15, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR AND SUMATI,

We are all arriving there on Saturday. We shall be staying at Birla House. You should both call there, as you are aware what comforts I require at present.[1] The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 848

37. INTERVIEW TO DUTY SOCIETY DEPUTATION[2]

SEVAGRAM,
August 15, 1944

Mahatma Gandhi was in a cheerful mood talking to the deputationists and was smiling throughout. When asked by the Mahatma, Mr. Ibadat Yar Khan explained to him about the development that has taken place during the last 20 years, specially the establishment of an engineering college and the foundation of a medical college during the term of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. . . .

The deputation also discussed the present political situation with the Mahatma and urged for an honourable settlement between the League and the Congress in the forthcoming meeting of the two great leaders of the Hindus and the Muslims. Mr. Gandhi showed his willingness to concede every reasonable demand of the Mussalmans and said:

I want that myself and the Quaid-e-Azam should be locked up and should not be allowed to come out till we come to some decision to remove this deadlock.

The members of the deputation again requested him to end the deadlock and see India governed by Indians themselves for which he had been trying for such a long time. Gandhiji replied:

I wish to see a free India in my lifetime, for God knows what will happen when I am no more.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-8-1944

[1] Gandhiji had stayed with the addressees while convalescing at Juhu from May 11 to June 15, 1944.

[2] Of the Aligarh Muslim University, led by Ibadat Yar Khan and consisting of Mohammed Ashfaq, Amiruddin Alvi and A. M. Safi

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38. ADVICE TO ASSAM CONGRESS LEGISLATORS

[Before *August 16, 1944*][1]

The United Press learns that Gandhiji has advised the Assam Congress legislators who are outside jail to attend the Legislature to register their views on important matters such as land settlement, food, evacuation, etc.

Regarding the question of Congressmen co-operating with Government measures with regard to the food problem, Gandhiji is understood to have stated that co-operation [with] Government measures regarding the food problem in the country was impossible.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-8-1944

39. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF ASSAM

[Before *August 16, 1944*]

I have no message of hope for my Assamese brothers and sisters but I send my deep sympathy for them. May God bless you all to come out of the ordeal successfully.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-8-1944

40. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
August 16, 1944

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Received your letter. Balvantsinha has well apprised me of your work. I am amazed at your tireless efforts. Isn't it your discovery that cow's milk is available in so much quantity in Bengal? And that the milkmen are all Muslims! Balvantsinha has become your devotee. I like it. He himself is a *goseva* enthusiast. He works hard. I have found his knowledge to be haphazard and his outlook is not scientific. He therefore needs guidance. He has strongly refuted this opinion and believes—or had been believing—that I have, maybe unknowingly, done him an

[1] The report of this and the following item appeared under the dateline: "Gauhati, August 16".

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injustice. There always has been antagonism between Parnerkar[1] and Balvantsinha and it has always caused me trouble. I was not able to take from them as much work as I wanted to because of this antagonism. Now Parnerkar is also there and he has got the work of his liking. He also loves to serve the cow. I happily watch from this distance this confluence of the three and also hope that its outcome will be good.

I have a few minutes during which I am dictating this letter. You must have understood the reason for my giving a little background. I shall be satisfied if both of them remain there and you can take full work from them although both are required here. The work of the goshala here goes on but perhaps it is not satisfactory. I do not at all want either of them to leave your work to come here. Nor do I want both of them to come here. I can have no definite programme. God only knows what will happen. I am reaching Bombay on the 19th. Let us see what happens.

I hope Hemprabha[2] is all right, and Arun[3], too.

Amtul Salaam has reached there. She certainly will meet you. She will work under Bhagirathji.

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

41. LETTER TO MAHAVIR PRASAD PODDAR

August 17, 1944

MAHAVIR PRASAD,

I do not know whether Ghanshyamdas has told you about my scheme for nature cure. If my ideas can be implemented, I would have used, to the best of my ability, all my God-given talents. These ideas came to me while I was at Dinshaw's Arogya Bhavan[4]. I shall not give a full account of their evolution. Here I am giving you in short the ideas in their final form.

Select a plot of a thousand acres near any village. It will be better if the land is situated in a salubrious region. It does not matter if the village is far away from a town or the railway station. Select two such plots or at least one. Get a layout of the land made right now—even before purchasing

[1] Yashwant M. Parnerkar
[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and son
[4] At Poona

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the land. Keep in view the following points while making the plan. Have the roads marked out in the plan. One road shall be broad but right now it will not be made motorable, only bullock-carts or horse-driven carriages will ply on it. The plot must be provided with fresh water. There should be a nice swimming-pool, a gymnasium or two to provide facilities for physical exercise. Arrangement should be made to grow fruits, trees, vegetables and foodgrains. There shall be facilities on this land to treat patients by nature-cure methods. Nature cure will include the various methods of mud-pack, treatment with water, such as hip-bath, friction-bath, steam-bath, etc., treatment with light, such as sun-bath, *suryanamaskara*[1], moon-bath, watching the stars, utilizing all the lights of the rainbow through the medium of cloth, water, glass bottle, etc., treatment with air such as *pranayama*[2], subsisting on air, etc. In the initial stage, use of modern devices like electricity, etc., will be avoided. This is with a view to initially using mechanical aids to the minimum and developing such devices as the villagers can use easily as also exploring their usefulness. Not only will sick persons be treated in this institution, but even normal persons likely to benefit from nature cure will be admitted to it. We should try to give vigour and vitality to the weak. Children will be admitted to the institution with this view, and efforts will be made to build their health according to the laws of nature. Health will be our prime concern. Special emphasis will be placed on preservation and improvement of health. Thus the aim of this institution will be self-reliance in all respects and its message will be universal. It will tend to become an ideal village with facilities for basic education and village industries like khadi, etc. Initially it will certainly require a lot of money but I cannot think of a better use of money than this. A trust should be constituted for this purpose. I had thought of Dinshaw Mehta, Ghanshyamdas, and myself as trustees; Ghanshyamdas added two more—Devdas and you. I had of course thought of you but I had no idea how far you could go with this. If I accept your name you should free yourself from all other work and devote yourself to this work. Ghanshyamdas believes in nature cure and he can either attract donations or give one himself. Devdas will fulfil this function by becoming Ghanshyamdas's representative. I will be the guide—since the whole idea is mine. It can be said that

[1] Name of an exercise; literally, 'worship of the Sun'

[2] Breathing exercises

I am a devotee of nature cure for the last fifty years. This venture was conceived with the expectation that Dinshaw could be put in charge of fully implementing the ideas. And I shall like very much your joining this provided you can devote the rest of your life entirely to this work. Meet me at the earliest if you find these ideas good enough.

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

42. INTERVIEW TO PEGGY DURDIN[1]

[After *August 17, 1944*][2]

Q. Does the Viceroy's rejection[3] of your offer in any way lessen the desirability of or urgency for a communal settlement now?

A. Not in the least. As I have already said in several interviews the simultaneous publication of my offer to the Viceroy and the Rajaji Formula established a wholly unintended connection between the two. The rejection makes the urgency doubly urgent. This I say although I believe that past experience shows that so long as there is a third party dividing communities and interests there is no adjustment possible. This has never meant for me that I should not strive for a settlement even before independence.

Q. From the point of view of non-violence, is it not preferable for a national government to take office after, rather than during, the present war?

A. Not if a national government comes into being even during the war by the spontaneous act of Great Britain or the Allies. For then the war itself will have changed its course and the peace to come will be wholly honourable and calculated to promote non-violence.

Q. Would not a strong group of nationalist ministers, Hindu and Muslim, responsible under the present constitution to the Viceroy rather than to the Legislature in point of fact, nullify the Viceregal veto? Would not a common front presented by strong nationalist leaders make acceptance of their programme and plans inevitable?

[1] Correspondent of *Time* and *Life*. The source had reproduced the interview from *The Free Press Journal*.

[2] The correspondent met Gandhiji in August shortly after the Viceroy's rejection of Gandhiji's proposals. Gandhiji's correspondence with the Viceroy was released to the Press on August 17, 1944.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, Appendix XXII.

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A. No such manipulation can possibly electrify the whole nation. Such an experiment is doomed to failure *ab initio*. It would lack trust on the part of the British Government in the people of India.

Q. I am not clear on your attitude toward mass civil disobedience. Am I right in thinking that you would consider its use justified if your appeal to the Viceroy and the talks with Mr. Jinnah fail?

A. Mass civil disobedience can only take place if other efforts to achieve the object aimed at fail. Here the object is independence. Appeal to the Viceroy was for a settlement. The appeal having failed the case for civil disobedience is complete. Successful negotiations with the Quaid-e-Azam need not affect the case for civil disobedience. But as I have said—for reasons I need not enter into here but which I have already publicly stated—I may not offer civil disobedience at the present moment. Mass civil disobedience is conceived as an entirely effective substitute for a bloody war and is any day far superior to it. But just as wars do not take place just for the sake of war, but only for a cause just or unjust, mass civil disobedience can take place only for a cause wholly just. If I have understood your question correctly, this answer ought to set at rest all your doubts.

Q. By American management of a section of the Burma-Assam Railway and part of the port of Calcutta I think we can say that the war in Burma is being shortened. Would a national government permit such American controls?

A. I have already answered the question in my previous public statements. Permission for all such controls is clearly indicated under my offer. Of course, it is only for the purpose of the war.

Q. Would you consider courting rearrest if your proposals or those of yourself and Mr. Jinnah are not accepted?

A. I really do not know future plans. You will believe me when I say that they are in God's hands.

Q. Non-violence may be relative, not absolute. Some participation in the already existing violence, participation for the purpose of producing real and lasting peace, may be unavoidable and even desirable. Is this a fair statement of the position?

A. It is a fair statement. I cannot challenge it merely because it is likely to lead to dangerous abuse from the non-violent standpoint. Pure unmixed non-violence is impossible as Euclid's line.

Q. I understand your answer to mean that mass civil disobedience presents no solution of the present deadlock.

A. You are right.

Q. May I quote you as saying that the national government you conceive of would do nothing which, as far as the war in the Far East is concerned, would jeopardize one additional American life or which would lengthen the war for an American soldier—that such a government would on the contrary make every effort to hasten the conclusion of the war against Japan?

A. You will be safe in using the language as if it was mine.

The Hindu, 4-10-1944

43. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

Express

SEVAGRAM,
August 18, 1944

QUAID-E-AZAM M. A. JINNAH
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

YOUR PHONE AND WIRE. DEEPLY GRIEVED. HOPE YOU WILL SOON RECOVER. ANXIOUSLY AWAIT FURTHER NEWS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

44. LETTER TO MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

SEVAGRAM,
August 18, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

Gandhiji had your letter of 4th August and the enclosure. He desires me to thank you for both. He is glad that you wrote. I regret that owing to heavy pressure of work he cannot write himself. Of course all genuine attempts to establish unity have his blessings.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM
5 MASON ROAD
LAHORE, N.-W. RLY.

From the original : Gandhi Papers, File No. 84. Courtesy : National Archives of India

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45. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

August 18, 1944

BHAI JINNAH,

How was it you fell ill all of a sudden? The whole world was looking forward to our meeting. I had entertained high hopes, although, I must admit, I had my own apprehensions. Hence when Fatimabehn[1] conveyed to me the news of your illness, I was shaken. I hope God will soon restore you to health, hasten the meeting to which the whole world is looking forward and that the meeting will lead to the welfare of India.

I hope Fatimabehn or someone else will keep me informed about your health.

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

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

46. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

SEVAGRAM, (WARDHA),
August 18, 1944

The published correspondence[2] shows that I left no stone unturned to conform to the Viceregal requirements. The final Government reply is positive proof that the British Government have no intention of winning public support. I do not confine myself to the Congress, since its main demand has been backed by almost all political parties.

So far as the technical winning of the war is concerned, they have evidently no need for such support. Moral support they seem to despise. Boiled down, the Viceroy's proposition means that unless all the main parties agree as to the constitution of the future and there is agreement between the British Government and the main parties, there is to be no change in the constitutional position, and the Government of India as at present is to be carried on. The names of the parties given in the Government reply are illustrative only. I have no doubt that on due occasions

[1] Addressee's sister
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 385-6 and 425-6.

more will be exhibited as from a conjurer's bag and who knows how and when the British Government will agree to surrender control?

It is as clear as crystal that the British Government do not propose to give up the power they possess over four hundred millions, unless the latter develop strength enough to wrest it from them. I shall never lose hope that India will do so by purely moral means.

The problem of food, meanwhile, remains unsolved. Only a national Government envisaged by me can provide a genuine solution. Any other will be a mirage. It is most unfortunate that at this critical juncture the Quaid-e-Azam has fallen ill and under medical advice cannot see me till he is free from his illness. A proper heart-agreement between us can induce a revision of the firm refusal of the British Government as conveyed through His Excellency's letter. Let us all pray that the Quaid-e-Azam may be soon restored enough to see me and that God may so dominate our hearts as to lead us to a right solution.

I would like to assure all parties to be affected by our solution that we will not come to any terms which will compromise or ignore a single interest. The Rajaji Formula is capable of being amended if it is found to contain flaws as many Hindu and Sikh friends have suggested it does. No solution is likely to last unless, on the face of it, it is right and is acceptable to the people of India as a whole.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-8-1944

47. LETTER TO ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA

SEVAGRAM,
August 19, 1944

BHAI ANUGRAHA BABU,

In a worthy cause the effort carries its own blessing. Your work is noble, no doubt, still, if you need my blessings, you have them. I hope Shrikrishna Babu and you are in good health. Write to me about Rajendra Babu.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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48. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 20, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

Many thanks for your letter[1] of 17th instant [and] good wishes. Do you know for the moment our meeting has been delayed owing to Quaid-e-Azam's illness?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Your letter which was marked for express delivery was received only today.

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

49. LETTER TO POTHAN JOSEPH

August 20, 1944

DEAR POTHAN[2],

So your daughter Cookie[3] is to be married on 10th September. May the pair be happy and live long for the service of God and man.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Which, *inter alia*, read : "I wish you all success in your efforts, although I feel more or less certain that, between the arrogance of the Government of India and the equal arrogance of the Muslim League leader, your work is very difficult, if not impossible. . . . With all differences of view, I wish you success in your magnificent undertaking."

[2] Editor of a number of dailies which included *The Voice of India*, *The Indian National Herald*, *The Indian Daily Mail*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Indian Express* and *The Dawn*

[3] Anna

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50. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 20, 1944

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Shakaribehn[1] is very unhappy because of what Sharda[2] had to go through here. I remember Kanu[3] telling me something about it. Please write to me and tell me all that you know about the matter. Shakaribehn says that Lilavati[4] and Krishnachandra had displayed an altogether wrong attitude. I should know everything about this in detail. You are a very patient man, but you also have a duty towards the Ashram. It is not your absolute duty to suffer any injustice meted out to Shakaribehn or Sharda. Your duty towards the Ashram is a thing like....[5]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10610

51. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

August 20, 1944

You have entered the forest.[6] May you cross it and live many more years. After all your faith in me is not blind. It is unshakable and will remain so. Mustn't I become and continue to be worthy of such faith?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 202

[1] & [2] Addressee's wife and daughter
[3] Son of Narandas Gandhi
[4] Lilavati Asar
[5] Omission as in the source
[6] In the 51st year of one's life one is supposed to enter *vanaprastha*, the third of the four *ashramas* or stages of life.

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52. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, August 21, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I do not wish to get work from you beyond your capacity. "Regard me as non-existent"[1] merely means that I shall be in jail or some such situation. There doesn't seem to be any other way for me. You know yourself the high regard I have for you. So long as I am out, I am with you. I am aware of your faith in me.

Chimanlal is the principal manager. His sacrifice is great indeed. You yourself admire his sacrificing his family life and other things. Doesn't this show that he would not be taking any decision with a view to his own self-interest? I have had a talk with him and in order to save my time he has agreed that if there is any complaint or difference of opinion Jajuji's[2] decision will be acceptable to all. I hope you will at least agree that when there is a difference of opinion one should not claim that one's view is always correct. You are right in saying that the work should be divided. But even then sometimes there is a clash of views. In organizations someone's opinion has to be accepted as final.

This should clear all your doubts. However, if there is still anything more you may ask me. You should not get upset at all. Come what may, don't lose your peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4444; also C.W. 5980

53. LETTER TO NAGINDAS T. MASTER[3]

August 22, 1944

BHAI NAGINBHAI,

Whatever best you think you should do. I have not thought over it seriously. If you want to do satyagraha or act against law

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 15.
[2] Shrikrishnadas Jaju
[3] The Gujarati original is not traceable.

you must give previous notice. If you do not act [up] to this, it shall not be called a non-violent satyagraha. I am not in favour of [a] mass civil disobedience movement.

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

54. LETTER TO ANUPAM N. KAVI

SEVAGRAM,
August 22, 1944

BHAISHRI ANUPAM,

It is good that you opened my eyes. If you continue to show me my errors in this way I shall correct them. At the moment I feel ashamed neither on account of the Rajkot episode[1] nor the present one. My nature will make me act only in the manner I do.

ANUPAM NANALAL KAVI
129 GREAT WESTERN BUILDINGS
BAKEHOUSE LANE
FORT, BOMBAY

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

55. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

SEVAGRAM,
August 23, 1944

BHAI JINNAH,

I learn from the newspapers that your fever has gone down. Thank God. But you continue to be weak and the doctors have advised visitors not to insist on appointments just yet. I had your letter yesterday. May Allah grant you early and complete recovery. I don't want you to hurry for my sake. Only I can fix up my time for other work and for visitors if you inform me the earliest possible date for our meeting. I shall be grateful if you ask someone to intimate this to me through a letter, a telephone call or a telegram.

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] On March 3, 1939, Gandhiji had undertaken a fast on "the moral issue of restoring a solemn pact between the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and its people". The fast was broken on March 7. For details, *vide* Vol. LXIX.

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56. LETTER TO JHAVERBHAI PATEL

August 23, 1944

1. In the social order of my conception, as much production as possible would be located in the villages, and that too through the power of people's hands and feet. But this ideal cannot always be realized. We have to accept compromise at some point. Experience alone can decide the limits of such compromise. Every worker can decide the limit for himself; but when he works as a member of some institution he has to submit to the limit accepted by the institution. He helps the institution and accelerates its progress towards its goal if he further narrows the limit accepted by it, as Vinoba has done.[1] I cannot go further than this in my reply. But you will perhaps be able, on the basis of this, to formulate in fewer words a policy befitting or supporting my conception. Try to do it and if you frame any such formula, please show it to me.

2. For me, India begins and ends in the villages; that is, what I find possible in one village I would apply to all villages in similar conditions. If I think, and can persuade the institutions concerned to think, about paper-making from this point of view, we might find it easier to reach our goal. If the people of a village can produce energy from some source in the village itself so that they can invent a device whereby, instead of every person making paper, a few hands are able to produce all the paper needed, I would welcome such an invention. If the attempt to produce everything through the power of man's hands and feet puts such constraints on him that further development of his triple faculties would be completely arrested, I would regard such an arrangement as faulty. By triple faculties I mean those of the body, the mind and the spirit.

3. If I have understood the third question correctly, you will see that it is implied in the second. If you do not, please put it up to me [accordingly]. I have deliberately compressed the language to enable persons like you to solve more easily the problems that arise in the course of their work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1357

[1] Vinoba Bhave had restricted himself to the activities of the Paunar Ashram near Nalwadi.

57. LETTER TO SITA

SEVAGRAM,
August 24, 1944

MY DEAR SITA,

What a refreshing thing to hear from you. So you are a practising barrister. I hope with plenty of work! Are you in possession of full health now? I shall certainly read Dr. John's effort.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

58. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 24, 1944

CHI. SHARDA,

I have not heard from you recently. I would say that I have detained you for the sake of your health. I see now that you do not like to come over here. I do not mention here, for want of time, all that I have heard.[1] But if your health permits, come over here immediately. You would not be an additional burden wherever I go. I do not know when I shall go to Bombay. But if you wish to meet me there, and then come along with me, you may do so. I hope everyone is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10048. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

59. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
August 24, 1944

BHAI JIVANJI,

Mridulabehn[2] has a good many complaints against Navajivan Karyalaya and the [Gujarat] Vidyapith. She says that when

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chimanlal N. Shah", p. 42.
[2] Daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai

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one seeks your help for my work, one always gets a negative reply. The result is, you do not profit from the ideas that occur to workers like her. You attach no value to the help offered by these workers. You behave with absolute confidence in yourself as if whatever you do is beyond criticism or improvement. Since you are involved in these complaints, and since you are one of the founders of these institutions, people generally believe that what the Gandhians do can hardly warrant any criticism. And the Gandhians, on their part, boastfully say to workers like her: 'Look at our work and our skill in keeping our balance. We are supplying cheap and ennobling literature to the people; and we never sit idle. We have acquired the secret of unremitting work. Now, we do not understand what you critics want to say. You cannot find fault with the work we are doing. We do not work the way you do. It does not suit us. The field for service is very wide. You can do as you please and let us do what we like. So our plea is that we should bear with each other and carry on our work. Moreover, we are always ready to carry out Gandhiji's wishes.' Mridulabehn depicts this picture of Navajivan Karyalaya and the Vidyapith and allied institutions. The language is not hers but mine. I have used garish words. Without them I cannot make you see Mridulabehn's meaning as I understand it. She is sarcastic but not virulent. I have regarded her criticism as friendly. You also should take it in the same spirit and give her whatever help she needs and you can give. She has cited two instances. The reply[1] which I gave to the Government's allegations has been translated into many languages by the Aundh Press. According to Mridulabehn, a Gujarati translation in simple language and in my style can be rendered truthfully only by those who are called Gandhians. Mridulabehn is particular about this style of language. She tried to secure this translation but no one paid any heed. It is getting late and I shall therefore cut my letter short. But this is enough to explain to you what Mridulabehn wants. Please send your reply to me.

I gave this letter to Mridulabehn to read. She wants to add two points to it. First, it was my idea to send the material to the Aundh Press. This is right. I thought that due to the scarcity of paper, etc., it would be difficult to sort out things anywhere else. Secondly, she expects mutual understanding between you and her, so that she should not be required to rush to me. This is right so far as it goes. But sometimes it may become

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

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unavoidable to come to me. There is no means in the world to bar this road in anticipation.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

60. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

[*August 24, 1944*][1]

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I am pleased that you sent your reply by return of post. Congratulations and blessings. I wish you would lead the people along the right path keeping your own hands clean in spite of any number of temptations. Such workers do not starve to death. I am satisfied with the restrictions you have imposed on yourself. I had your telegram too.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

61. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

August 24, 1944

CHI. SATYAVATI[2],

A question has arisen whether I have written in respect of the two points. I think I have. If I am mistaken, here I write again. I don't believe you can gain anything by violating [the restrictions][3] imposed upon you. If you can, do come over in the cold season wherever I might be. Let us see what happens. I see your letters to Khurshedbehn.

Sushilabehn[4] arrived here today. Today she told me what was written about you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] The source places this letter among those of August 24, 1944.
[2] Granddaughter of Swami Shraddhanand
[3] Illegible
[4] Sushila Nayyar

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62. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 26, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I expressed myself in my usual way. What I said[1] is for everyone. When the complaints regarding utensils, etc., continue unabated the person in charge of the section takes the blame upon himself. Why should this then upset you? I have even said that if we cannot mend such matters we should either forget about running the Ashram, or accept the rule of living in utmost simplicity. We should not have guests and should be content with whatever activities we are able to carry on. You should have been thoroughly satisfied with what I had said.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4445

63. LETTER TO GANESHSHASTRI JOSHI

August 27, 1944

SHRI VAIDYARAJ JOSHIJI,

Gandhiji has received your letter of the 24th. He has directed me to reply to you.

As it is time for postal clearance today I just want to inform you that since yesterday he has been having three to four loose motions a day. He has started using the commode. If you have any other suggestion, please let us know. An examination of the stools indicates that the germs of dysentery are causing the havoc.

Yours,
SUSHILA NAYYAR

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 932. Courtesy : Ganeshshastri Joshi

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 43.

64. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 28, 1944

DADA[1],

Raojibhai[2] writes to tell me that there has been a terrible calamity in Gujarat. The rains have been excessive. This means that we shall have to start a relief fund. Think over this. Write to me and give details. Let me know if I have to do anything. I read very few newspapers. A single activity takes up all my time.

Blessings from
BAPU

DADA MAVALANKAR
MAHARASHTRA SOCIETY, ELLIS BRIDGE
AHMEDABAD, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1250

65. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

August 28, 1944

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. Keep me informed about the calamity. I have written to Dada and asked him to make inquiries and do what is necessary.[3] If my help is required, he may ask for it. Kanjibhai will probably be there. If so, show him this letter. We really miss Sardar. Now all of you must become *sardars*[4]. I am utterly useless.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAOJIBHAI
RAVINDRA & CO., PRARTHANA SAMAJ
CHARNI ROAD, BOMBAY 4

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10219. Courtesy: Ravindra R. Patel

[1] Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar (1888-1956); Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Bombay; Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1947-56
[2] Raojibhai M. Patel
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.
[4] Literally, 'leaders'

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66. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

August 28, 1944

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Sushilabehn has come and she hunts up the letters addressed to me. In one of them you have asked for a couple of lines from me. If I have not sent them earlier, here they are.

Worthy work needs no support. I am already convinced of the value of your work[1]; why then do you need my support? All of you have a better knowledge of Hindustani than I. Go further ahead.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL NANAVATI
CHUDA RANGANARNI KHADKI, KELAPITH
SURAT, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10804

67. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

August 28, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. It is worthy of a *sinha*[2]. Ghanshyamdasji worked according to his capacity and so did Swami. The thing is that we should rest content with whatever anyone offers us or else there is only disappointment in store for us. Is it a small thing that Satis Babu appreciated your merits much more than others? There will never be a cause for disappointment if you work with detachment. We should not sit in judgment on others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1946

[1] Propagation of Hindustani
[2] 'Sinha' means a lion.

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68. TELEGRAM TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

August 29, 1944

IF GUJARAT FLOOD SITUATION DEMANDS CESSATION KASTURBA FUND, YOU SHOULD SUSPEND AND DEVOTE YOURSELF FLOOD DISTRESS COLLECTION.

BAPU

Sansmarano, p. 156

69. A WORD FOR THE READER[1]

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION[2]

Who can accept the propriety of my writing a preface for this venture? But if by doing so, I can help fill the purse for the poor, why need I hesitate? I understand this is not meant to be a presentation volume. The profit from its sale will add to the purse to be presented to me for *Daridranarayana*. A few words from me by way of a foreword will, they argue, help the sale. This is enough temptation for me. If the book correctly expresses my views on truth and non-violence and kindred matters I am sure its circulation will do good. Looking at the list of contributors[3], I feel they must have done justice to what I stand for.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 29, 1944

From a facsimile : *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, facing p. 337

[1] Gandhiji drafted this in Gujarati for a souvenir volume *Gandhiji–His Life and Work* which was to be published on his 75th birthday.

[2] This is in Gandhiji's hand.

[3] Which among others included Albert Einstein, Pearl S. Buck, Verrier Elwin, F. R. Moraes, Marjorie Sykes, J. B. Kripalani, Mahadev Desai, S. A. Brelvi, Maurice Frydman, G. A. Natesan and R. K. Prabhu with an introduction by Jawaharlal Nehru

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70. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

August 29, 1944

BHAI JINNAH,

I have your letter. I got neither a telegram nor a letter by the return of post. That made me impatient and I sent the telegram. Afterwards I got your reply. Thanks. I am glad to learn that you are keeping well.

I have fixed my engagements up to the 7th September. I have kept myself free after that date. Hence I can present myself on or after the 9th, whenever you call me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

71. NOTE TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

August 29, 1944

The foregoing is not enough for my satisfaction. Nor should you be satisfied with this. We should not be so easily satisfied.

BAPU

[PS.]

About Munnalal's objection, I feel that meetings of the permanent ashramites should be called from time to time and a record should be kept of the suggestions made and decisions taken. Is there anything impractical in this?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10604

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72. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
August 29, 1944

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

In my letter of yesterday I forgot to answer a question of yours. Bhagirathji writes to me that the work will not be held up for lack of funds.

Everything is fine. Parnerkar is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 482

73. LETTER TO V. V. NENE

August 29, 1944

BHAI NENE,

I have your letter. I had no idea that I would be arrested so soon, if at all. I had planned a programme but before it could be released I was arrested.[1] But there were to be negotiations first, isn't it? I cannot say whether I would have met Jinnah Saheb or not.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

74. LETTER TO DR. JAYADEV KULKARNI

August 29, 1944

BHAI KULKARNI,

The same question has been raised by others too. I have answered it. It is impossible for me to be acquainted with all the circumstances. Therefore it is almost impossible for me

[1] The reference is to the Quit India movement of 1942.

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to answer questions individually. I have, of course, laid down the general rule.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. JAYADEV KULKARNI
577 MATHGALI
BELGAUM

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

75. LETTER TO K. L. RALLIA RAM

August 29, 1944

BHAI RALLIA RAMJI,

Although my reply is delayed, this much I can say with certainty that neither of us will take any step to the detriment of the interests of others.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

REV. K. L. RALLIA RAM
OFFICE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARY
C/O Y. M. C. A., LAHORE

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

76. MESSAGE FOR ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
August 30, 1944

Conduct your proceedings in your mother tongue, in the national language or if necessary in all the languages of India, but not in a foreign language.

And for the sake of *Daridranarayana*, do spin for at least half an hour every day.

If you cannot do these two things kindly return this to me.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-9-1944, and *The Hindu*, 1-9-1944

[1] Lalu Shah, Joint Secretary of the Federation, met Gandhiji to take a message from him to the Students' Conference to be held on September 2 and 3 in Bombay and discussed with him questions regarding the constructive programme and other aspects of the students' movement.

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77. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

August 31, 1944

I have seen an Orient Press report to the effect that I have consented to receive the salute of Khaksars on my arrival in Bombay. I may say that I have given no such consent. I am going to Bombay as an individual. I can, therefore, receive no salute. I invite individuals and organizations to devote themselves to silently praying that we may both be wisely guided by the Almighty. I would ask them to avoid all demonstrations. Let the leaders of all communities devise ways and means of cultivating friendly relations with one another.

The Hitavada, 1-9-1944

78. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
August 31, 1944

MY DEAR BELOVED BROTHER,

I had your letter. I wanted to write immediately on receiving it. But overwhelming work delayed my reply till now. I have received all you have been saying. My whole heart goes out to you in your grief. But I would beseech you to bear it. You will find in the end that we have not betrayed the country. A society based on non-violence cannot be built except with the free and willing consent of all its component parts. I plead for trust. You should not despair of me.

With love,

Yours,
LITTLE BROTHER

T. R. Venkatarama Sastri Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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79. LETTER TO HOOTEN

August 31, 1944

DEAR COL. HOOTEN,

Many thanks for your kind letter. How can I forget you? I recall our many cordial chats about medical work in villages.

About the part I have played during this terrible world crisis, my conscience is absolutely clear.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

COL. HOOTEN
EUROPE HOTEL, GERARDS CROSS
BUCKS, ENGLAND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

80. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

August 31, 1944

BHAI JINNAH,

I have your telegram. Thanks.

I had written a letter to you on the 29th. You must have got it. As mentioned in it I have already fixed up appointments with various people up to the 7th. I can, therefore, start from here on 8th September at the earliest and reach there on the 9th. I hope the day will suit you. If it does, kindly let me know.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

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81. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 31, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

A fund of Rs. 75 lakhs is being collected[1]. Let its fate be what it will. I do not know how much from it will be made available to you. You who are at the root of this collection should however carry on with your work in your own manner. This means that you should be able to collect money according to your plan. Those who have been always helping you for the *Rentia Baras*[2] purse should understand this. And if they do, they should send you their contributions this time also as they have been doing in the past. Whenever you feel that such donors require a word from me, you may use this letter. It would certainly pain me if the purpose of the Kasturba Fund is misunderstood and in consequence further expansion of your work is obstructed. I will regard the Fund as having been put to good use only if its work, like your work, spreads throughout the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8610. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

82. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
August 31, 1944

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Seven annas had to be paid for your unstamped letter. Why are you in such a great hurry? Such waste is not a sign of our poverty.

I do not remember that I failed to address you as 'Daughter'. I allowed the pen free play. I do not see any difference between 'Daughter' and 'Chi'. It might have made some difference if I had written 'Behn'. But is there any cure for suspicion?

[1] For the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial

[2] *Bhadrapad Vad* 12, Gandhiji's birthday according to the Vikram calendar, which was observed as spinning day

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You can do any work without seeking my consent. Then the question of my displeasure will not arise at all. When you had asked me earlier, I had told you what was proper work for you. The work which you are doing covers the Hindu-Muslim problem too.

I waited for the Maulvi you mention. But he never turned up. It was clear you had made a mistake. In spite of it, I had sent word to the Maulvi that he could certainly come.

You must have received the letter I sent through Bhagirathji.

You can certainly draw Rs. 75 a month for your expenses. Do not ask your brothers for it. If they send anything of their own accord, pass it on to the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 483

83. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 31, 1944

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. You did a good thing in passing on Ba's diary for Sushilabehn. I have held it up with me. I want to read it and may even have to make use of it. Sushilabehn says that it has been given as a trust to her. I told her that entrusting it to me would be as good as entrusting it to her. What you write about the case there is terrible, but such things keep happening. It will be enough if you learn to be alert. More if and when we meet. Find some time, if you can, to meet Mamasaheb[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE, LADY STUDENTS' HOSTEL
PAREL, G.I.P. [RLY.], BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10215. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

[1] V. L. Phadke

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84. LETTER TO SUCHAN

[*August 1944*][1]

DEAR SUCHAN,

Not only our country but all countries can go on for ever with the help of hand-labour.

My swadeshi excludes mill-cloth. Mills can take the country downhill. You should look up the literature on this subject.

Yours,
BAPU

P. R. COLLEGE
COCANADA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

85. NOTE TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR

[*August 1944*][2]

After discussing everything with Aryanayakum[3] do what you think best.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

86. TELEGRAM TO M. A. JINNAH

SEVAGRAM,
September 1, 1944

QUAID-E-AZAM JINNAH
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

YOUR WIRE[4]. THANKS. HOPING REACH YOU FOUR O'CLOCK NINTH.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The letter is placed among those of August 1944.
[2] The note is written on a letter of August 1944.
[3] E. W. Aryanayakum, Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh
[4] Dated August 30, saying that September 7 or any day thereafter would suit the addressee for meeting Gandhiji

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87. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

September 1, 1944

BHAI BALASAHEB[1],

Bhai Lalubhai had brought the resolution drafted by students for the students' conference. His sincere entreaty created a good impression on me. He pressed me hard and somehow exacted a message[2] also. That message is not a message but an invitation to bind the students. I was not very willing to do even that much, nor did I have the time. I did not like the resolution. Pyarelal offered and tried to shorten it. His draft was fairly good but I was not satisfied. He does not get a minute to spare. After the arrival of the Bishop of Rangoon his work has increased a lot. I, therefore, took up the drafting of the resolution in my own hand. I did this on the spur of the moment, but the work was too much. Whatever I have done is enclosed herewith.[3] It seems to me that I have compressed a great deal in a short space, *multum in parvo*. But persons with superficial knowledge of a subject sometimes suffer from such a delusion and are pleased with themselves. I would not be surprised if that is what has happened in the case of this draft, for I have finished it somehow in intervals snatched from a busy schedule. You may, therefore, add anything to or remove anything from the draft. You need not fear that I would feel offended. He is a true co-worker who finds out the shortcomings of his colleague and helps him to correct them in a friendly spirit.

The interview with the Bishop shaped very well. The result lies in the hands of God.

I hope your study of Urdu is going on. If it was discontinued owing to pressure of work, please resume it. Drop by drop fills the ocean.

I am reaching Bombay on the 9th to meet the Quaid-e-Azam.

I hope you will have no difficulty in reading and understanding this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2772

[1] Premier of Bombay, 1937 to 1939

[2] *Vide* p. 55.

[3] The draft resolution is not available.

88. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

September 1, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS[1],

I got your letter and your note. Both are useful. I hope to reach there on the 9th. I shall return at the earliest on the 10th. If you can get time while I am there, please do come and see me. Otherwise write to me at Sevagram and ask for power of attorney of any kind you need. It is a matter of satisfaction that your health is improving, though slowly.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANGALDAS PAKVASA
29 DUNGARSINH ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4687. Courtesy : Mangaldas Pakvasa

89. SPEECH AT A.I.S.A. MEETING–I

SEVAGRAM,
September 1, 1944

More than two years have passed since we last met. I have come to know a little, that is to say, not the whole of what happened outside [the jail] during these two years. It seemed as though one age had succeeded another, bringing in the process trouble for the whole of India. How could the Charkha Sangh have escaped it?

Today, we have once again come together under these circumstances but whatever little work we might yet be able to do would not be enough for us. A large amount of the Charkha Sangh property has either been destroyed or is in Government custody. Besides, many of our colleagues could not be among us today. Here, I am not talking of Congressmen but of those who were especially helpful in the Sangh work and are its

[1] President, Legislative Council, Bombay, 1937-47

trustees. But I have realized that even with these few we can carry on the Sangh work. We are sure of their ability to do it.

I have thought a great deal over the subject of khadi during my detention. I shall briefly state the conclusions I have arrived at.

The most important discovery I made was that the foundation of the A.I.S.A. was so weak that the Association could be easily wiped out of existence. It had not taken root in the life of the people. The Government could destroy it by imprisoning its leaders. Though some of its activities continued, I saw clearly that the Government could exterminate it at its pleasure. That is to say, my belief that the movement for the revival of the spinning-wheel was indestructible, whatever the circumstances, had been dashed to the ground. The work had not been organized on an imperishable basis.

I am not a man to accept defeat easily but it was in the jail that I discovered that we live at Government's mercy and it hurts me. If it were in my power I would choose to live at no one's mercy except God's. True, it is Divine dispensation that no man may live without the goodwill of his fellow-beings but I am not talking of such help. My activities are founded on my own thinking. The Charkha Sangh was also founded on the same principles. In South Africa, I discovered that if India was to survive and progress non-violently, it could only be through the charkha—the charkha alone can be a symbol of non-violence. We may draw strength from other symbols as well but such strength may not lead to the world's well-being.

I realized in jail that there was something wrong in our method of khadi work, which must needs be amended. I had asked India to carry on spinning. I knew how this spinning work was to be carried on. But I did not lay the necessary stress on the requisite outlook and the spirit which was to underlie it. I looked at it from its immediate practical aspect. All my co-workers also laid stress on this practical side. So I suffered it, and also lent my helping hand to it. We have gone far in that direction. But today I cannot continue to ask people to spin in that manner.

I contemplated how to work in the future. I even thought of disbanding the Sangh on my own and distributing its property and funds among the people. I saw that our work would be incomplete, so long as we did not carry the message of the charkha to every home. That, I thought, accounted for our being far from our ideal. There are seven lakh villages in India.

Thousands of them do not even know what the charkha is. This is our fault and it is because of this fault that we have failed to put khadi work on a sound basis. You must ponder over it.

All the thought and study I have been giving to this subject lately make me feel that the work would have to be decentralized if it is to spread far and wide and take permanent root. The above line of thought led to the idea of decentralization and I thought it would be very good indeed if its worth could be proved. I realize that the difficulties in my way are many but then hardly anyone has devoted as much thought and effort to the charkha as I have. This is a rather tall claim and it also smacks of pride, but not to mention it on the right occasion would be false modesty. In the jail too I had no other thought but the charkha.

The strength behind all my activities including civil disobedience is derived wholly from the charkha to which I have devoted most of my energy and funds. Most of the ten million rupees of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was also used up for the spinning activity. This brought about a spate of charges against me but I regard them as so many bouquets. For whatever I did, I did after due deliberation and with full knowledge of its consequences. I did not deceive anyone. Nothing was spent on the charkha without convincing the public about it. That is how this institution came into being.

After much reflection and study I have arrived at the definite conclusion that, however intense, my *sadhana*[1] of the charkha has remained imperfect and I must admit that my study too has not been as thorough as it ought to have been. Today, my words have a greater force because I can see these things more clearly.

Besides the Charkha Sangh members, as well as sympathizers and those who share my feelings, today's gathering includes some representatives of the public also. Had we only directed the strength the country displayed during the movement along the right channels, we could have shown how much public support we had. But we failed to do so. The fault is not yours but mine and when I say all this, it is not so much to blame you, as to whip up your intelligence and my own.

We plied the charkha but mechanically, not intelligently. Had you yourselves appreciated the full significance of the charkha, you would have given it the same importance as I do. It also has political significance. It has however no place in the dishonest game of politics. More than any other thing it is the

[1] Spiritual discipline

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charkha that stands for clean, noble politics. If there is [no] truth in this statement, how can we claim swaraj through the charkha? It certainly does not mean that as soon as the yarn snaps swaraj comes to nought.

It is often alleged that workers of the A.I.S.A. and the A.I.V.I.A., if not Gandhiites in general, are unintelligent and lifeless. People repose trust in them. But they (the Gandhiites) are not able to tell the people what exactly are the problems facing the country and how our programme is calculated to resolve these problems and take us to our goal. On the other hand, Marxian literature is fast increasing in the country and Gandhiites are not able to resist the impact of these external forces.

We say that we are devoted to non-violence. If so, we must reveal in our lives the force of non-violence. Unless we can reveal its force in our own lives, we will not be true Gandhiites. In fact, there is no such thing as Gandhism. If anything, it is non-violence that deserves to be called an ideology. Every member of the Charkha Sangh should be a living witness of non-violence. If he is a devotee of non-violence or Gandhism, he must be a live wire. Today Gandhism is a word of reproach. It no more connotes something virtuous or praiseworthy. Let us admit we have failed to make non-violence a part of our being. Otherwise we would find the charkha established in every village. I confess that I have failed. Had I been an adept in this art, I would have produced a concrete pattern of reconstructed village life in Sevagram at any rate. But today even if I put the charkha in the hands of the people of Sevagram they do not accept it. We teach them how to use it, tempt them by providing them with work, pay them more wages and serve them in various ways, yet all to little purpose. But my faith in the charkha is unshakable even when I have failed as President of the Sangh.

That is why I said that we should admit that we have failed to do what we ought to have done. It is not due to want of sacrifice in us. Amongst us are men and women who have sacrificed much. My head bends low before them. When I think of each of them my heart is deeply moved. My conscience tells me that a country which abounds in persons instilled with such a spirit of sacrifice can never fail. Yet in spite of this sacrifice, we have not yet made our country free. Freedom is coming, perhaps sooner than we believe. But it does not satisfy me. I even question my own share in it and then console myself with the thought that we have at least tried our best. I do not hold

anybody guilty. I am only pointing to the situation as it is. Correct assessment of a situation is also a sign of intelligence. We should not feel satisfied with what we have done. We have tried our best, no doubt. But had we been able to develop the work of the Sangh according to the standard we had set before ourselves, there will not be the despair amongst us which we see today. In that case we would have accomplished forthwith a non-violent swaraj.

I lay before you a hard prescription. If you are prepared for it, well and good. But it should not be accepted in ignorance, nor out of foolhardiness. You should examine it thoroughly. If you agree with me you would wind up the A. I. S. A. and distribute all its property and assets among its workers for carrying on the work. The Sangh need not keep even a pice for future activities. All of us should be convinced that the charkha is the symbol of non-violent economic self-sufficiency. If we and the people grasp this significance of the charkha not a pice need be spent on propaganda for the charkha. There would then be no reason to fear Government ordinances either. Nor need we look to the rich for alms. We shall without effort become the centre of hope, and the people will come to us of their own accord. They will not go elsewhere to seek work. Every village will become the nerve-centre of independent India. India will then not be known by her cities like Bombay and Calcutta, but by her 400 millions inhabiting the seven lakhs of villages. The problems of Hindu-Muslim differences, untouchability, conflicts, misunderstandings and rivalries will all melt away. This is the real function of the Sangh. We have to live and die for it.

You will argue it is a very big task requiring much intelligence. I tell you that this cannot be acquired by mere study in libraries. We have to develop it by the labour of our hands. This is the idea underlying the Nayee Talim according to which the intellect is developed by the effort put forth by the hands and feet. Books need not be burnt but their importance is only secondary. The charkha has to rank first of all. In the same manner the pursuit of the charkha must become the mainspring of manifold other activities like village industries, Nayee Talim, etc. If we are able to adopt the charkha intelligently we can revive the entire economic life of our villages once more. But we can progress only as far as the strength of our members takes us. I do not wish to create a fresh universe, like Vishwamitra, who wanted to take Trishanku to heaven but the poor fellow remained suspended half way. Therefore, we have to work within the limits of our strength with our feet on the hard earth.

If we ourselves disband the Sangh the Government will have little left to attach. They could surely not destroy us all, for our strength would have gone up to forty crores. If they want to liquidate us we shall submit to it cheerfully. And what does it matter if a few million among us are done away with? An ocean does not dry up if a few drops evaporate. Nothing can diminish its greatness. Similarly, the more we are suppressed, the more powerful we shall grow. The only condition is that we must recognize the power of non-violence.

We must carry on untiring research on the charkha. No doubt we have put in a lot of effort for the charkha and made some improvements in it. We have also manufactured scores of charkhas but now we have to produce an expert, a *shastri* who is well-versed in the manufacture of machines. We should like him to devise such charkhas as can yield more and better quality of yarn. But even if we fail to find such an expert, I am not going to accept defeat. I will prove my point with the help of reasoning. We should have undying faith in the charkha. When faith materializes it manifests itself through reason. It is not self-luminous. For when faith transcends its bounds and finds another medium to express itself it shines forth all the more. Faith is never lost; in fact it grows and sharpens the intellect. And then faith can challenge reason. It is no use merely making speeches or giving lectures; we must make scientific experiments and declare from the house-tops the results of our experiments. We have been suppressed and we have to work our way up. Let us therefore do away with mutual recriminations, disabuse our minds of any reservations, iron out all the differences and thus simplify our work. We should repose full confidence in our representatives and be frank. We are votaries of truth and should, therefore, not be afraid of speaking the whole truth, for the greater the fear in our hearts, the less we shall be able to speak the truth. That is why the *Gita* gives the pride of place to fearlessness.

I am telling you this on the strength of my inner experience. We should be fearless and not hide anything. Selfishness has already impeded our progress and unless we get rid of it, we would not be able to organize our strength and would thus prove traitors to Mother India.

[From Hindi]

Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran, pp.

90. SPEECH AT A.I.S.A. MEETING-II

SEVAGRAM,
September 2, 1944

Yesterday, I was a little hasty while talking to you. Some work was indeed done but later I kept thinking over it. I had undertaken the stupendous task of preparing a draft for you. I even entered silence for the purpose. After much reflection last night and this morning I have prepared a draft which I shall now read out for your consideration.

1. The village is the centre for the charkha, and the Charkha Sangh can realize its highest ambitions only when its work is decentralized in the villages. Keeping this in view, this meeting of the A. I. S. A. resolves that the following changes be implemented in its present methods of work:

(a) The largest number of workers whose one passion is the charkha and whom the A. I. S. A. approves should go to the villages.

(b) The present sales-depots and production-centres should be curtailed.

(c) Training institutions should be developed and teaching courses enlarged.

(d) The Sangh should permit any province or district which wants to be independent and self-sufficient to become so.

2. A Standing Committee composed of the members of the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh should be formed in order to issue necessary directions in the light of the new ideology. The three institutions must realize that their task is to achieve perfect non-violence. Complete swaraj will follow in its wake. The three institutions must be so equipped that the entire government machinery should depend upon them and not *vice versa*. This means the workers of these three bodies should attain in some measure the quality of a *sthitaprajna*[1]. They must be men of secure understanding. If this is not possible we should stop making tall claims for the charkha. We shall have to lower our ideal and plan our work accordingly.

This united body composed, as suggested above, of members of the three Sanghs should so regularize the constructive work

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 54-72

that all political activity will be dependent on it. Today our condition is most pitiable.

Some workers of the A. I. S. A. complained to me that they do not receive any help from Congressmen. The experience of the last two years is also before us. During my detention, I read a lot of newspapers and was aware of the wretchedness that was apparent in our workers.

Now after talking to them it has all become very clear to me.

In the jail, I read all the Communist literature [I could get]. It contained nothing new for me. Whenever Maulana Hasrat Mohani visited the Ashram, we used to spend the day in such discussions. Today the Socialists have a number of sincere workers holding university degrees. Those among them who are neutral come to me and ask me to put my philosophy and my faith before the world. I have placed before the world a novel idea which, although it has no long history of its own, represents my achievement based on forty years' experience.

We must admit that we have few degree-holders among us. We have neither much money nor any comparable efficiency. I realize all these difficulties but undaunted I made my way through them cheerfully for seventy-five years. I hope you will be equally fearless.

We can make intelligent progress along our chosen path and face the challenge coming our way only if we have this courage. What indicates light is its progressive dispelling of darkness. Absence of light is darkness. It has been the law of the world that light spreads. Darkness then has nowhere to go but cease to be. That is the way of non-violence too. My deep-rooted faith in non-violence gives me the courage to fear nothing—and in spite of impediments my progress has not stopped. This manifestation of non-violence will be clear to you only after my death, not before it.

We have been looking up to the Congress because we have been crippled so far. It is true that with the Congress help, our work can be carried on, but then it was I who had introduced the Charkha Sangh Resolution[1] in the Congress realizing that the Sangh was to continue longer.

[1] The Resolution, passed on September 22, 1925, *inter alia*, read : "It is resolved that the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interests of the country, and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress, save and except such funds and assets as are specially earmarked and belong to the All-India Khaddar Board and Provincial Khaddar Boards, which shall be handed over with all existing financial obligations to the All-India Spinners' Association started by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral part of

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But it is our fault that we have not won the confidence of Congressmen sufficiently to make them come to us to help them in village work. If we were capable of doing this, which Congressmen would dare remain outside the Sangh? Nay, the Congress and the Sangh would then have felt one with each other, and the one would have acted as a supplement to the other, i.e., the Sangh would have carried out the Congress constructive programme, and the Congress would have fought the Government in the legislatures. There would then have been no antagonism between the two.

Therefore, we have to look at the whole thing from a new angle and a new order of priorities. I have put nothing new before you. It would indeed be a great achievement if you could prove the power of the charkha through your own lives. Today, we are in a strange situation. I have no doubt at all that we have failed to realize the significance of the charkha only because of the inadequate manner in which we have done our khadi work.

It cannot be denied that believers in big industry and industrialization are also the friends of India. But the difference between them and me is like that between the two poles. City-dwellers might well follow those who advocate mill production. But if you of the countryside were, even by mistake or oversight, to take to it, the picture of India would be thoroughly changed. Her face would then be altered beyond recognition. Thereby hundreds of millions of our poor people will meet their end while only a few millions will survive. I do aspire to live for 125 years. But I cannot bear the sight of a crore of people living after reducing to ashes 39 crores. What I have tried to do is to serve the most oppressed and the handicapped, and to keep pace with them. It has been our endeavour to do this work through khadi during these years. Not many years ago we began. If you feel that no changes are desirable, well and good, but I will not accept defeat. You should come to a decision after weighing all the pros and cons. Who knows when it will be possible for so many of us to meet again? I have laid my heart open before you.

If you believe that the charkha is the supreme symbol of our objective and that we have not been able to achieve our objective by the present methods then our mode of working must needs be changed.

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the Congress organization, but with independent existence and full powers to administer these and other funds for the fulfilment of its object." For Gandhiji's speech introducing the Resolution, *vide* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 212-4.

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I do not mean to say that all we did so far was absolutely wrong. Whatever we did, we did with devotion to truth. And that is no small matter. Even with our limited funds, we were able to distribute among our village brethren more than four and a half crores of rupees up to date. The amount we spent in organizing this work was in comparison little. Yet from the standpoint of our objective, the work is not up to the standard. We must not allow ourselves to be weighed down by the commercial aspect of our work. Jawaharlal has sent me a book describing the achievements of the co-operative movement in China. That movement, it seems to me, is nothing compared with what we are doing here. But judged by our own objective we have done little, very little. We have not yet reached the seven hundred thousand villages. We have done only one per cent of what the mills have done. Then what is there to be proud of? That is why I say that if we are not prepared to change our methods we shall be reduced to a mere philanthropic institution. I shall not be ashamed of it. If, on the other hand, we want to uphold our claim for khadi we shall have to live up to it. We should not deceive the public. We must think out ways and means of increasing our strength. If in seeking to change our mode of work you agree that it would be well to close the A. I. S. A. in its present form, rest assured that it would add to your strength.

[From Hindi]

Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran, pp. 9-14

91. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
September 3, 1944

DEAREST FRIEND,

It is now 3.30 a.m. I must write now or the work before me may crowd out this note.

I have your clear letter written during your tour in the villages. I know you will believe me when I tell you that in all I have written about the rulers, I have written as I have felt and never with evil intention. I have never hidden my own people's failings or errors. I hope I shall never forfeit your friendship.

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I had a rare time with the Bishop of Rangoon and his chaplain.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE METROPOLITAN
BISHOP HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

92. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 3, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,[1]

I have got up very early to write a few important letters. This is one of them. The A. I. S. A. meeting leaves me little leisure during the day. I read no newspapers and very little correspondence. The marvel is I am keeping well in spite of the stress. How I wish you were here. But God's will be done and it is the best that can happen.

No extension to the hospital can be made today. Everything is uncertain and things are expensive. Let your money go to the contemplated Mahadev Memorial Fund. The use may be decided afterwards. You should make your suggestion.

Do not worry about the women's conference. Everything is in the melting pot.

Sushila is getting on.

Mrs. Swaminathan[2] and Mrs. Menon, her relative, are here.

Have lovely khadi from Beryl and of course your annual shawls. It has struck four and I must not tarry long with you.

Love from us all.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You must keep well and not fret or be impatient.

From the original : C.W. 4147. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7782

[1] The superscription and the subscription are in Devanagari script.
[2] Ammu Swaminathan

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93. TELEGRAM TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

September 3, 1944

YOUR LETTER. RULE IS NON-CO-OPERATION, BUT IF YOUR ASSOCIATION WITH AUTHORITIES BRINGS REAL RELIEF TO DISTRESSED PEOPLE, YOU NEED NOT HESITATE. GOLDEN RULE IS FOLLOW FEARLESSLY YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE.

Sansmarano, p. 158

94. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

September 3, 1944

Reference has been made to me from Gujarat[1] as to the association by Congressmen with the authorities in relieving distress which has overtaken areas through devastating floods. The Congress, as an organization, is not functioning. The general rule is non-co-operation, while the Government is warring against the Congress. There should be no hesitation about individuals associating, if effective relief can thereby be given to the distressed people. Every case should be judged on its own merits. The test should be, is any initiative and responsibility left with the individuals? The golden rule is to follow fearlessly one's own judgment even at the risk of its proving erroneous.

The Hindu, 5-9-1944

[1] According to *The Bombay Chronicle*, 7-9-1944, Kanaiyalal Desai, President, Surat District Congress Committee, and President, Gujarat Central Congress Workers' Committee, had "three hours' discussion with Gandhiji on the present political situation and relief work in Gujarat. . . . Gandhiji had also made it clear that Congressmen in no circumstances should resort to mass civil disobedience."

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95. LETTER TO ABDUL MAJID KHAN

September 3, 1944

MY DEAR KHWAJA,

Or shall I call you Khwaja Saheb and be formal?

Minister Nurie has broken his journey to tell me about his talks with you and generally about your Majlis. He says you are angry with me for having neglected you. What can be the meaning of my neglecting you? When heart speaks to heart, there is no occasion for speaking. I have been following your writings. Surely you will not want me to waste my time telling you how well you were doing your work ! ! ! All I want to assure you about is that I shall not be faithless to you or the Majlis or Islam. Now do say you are not angry. How are you keeping?

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

ABDUL MAJID KHAN SAHEB
GANDHI ASHRAM
CHARKHA SANGH KHADDAR BHANDAR
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

96. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

September 3, 1944

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Please give Bhai Baburam[1] the fare and food, and also Rs. 10 in addition.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10611

[1] An inmate of the Ashram who worked under Bharatanand (Maurice Frydman)

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97. SPEECH AT A.I.S.A. MEETING–III

SEVAGRAM,
September 3, 1944

Today, I will try to explain my thoughts to you more clearly and present them to you in a different frame from what I have said during the last two days. Our work had a very humble beginning. When I started khadi I had with me, apart from Maganlalbhai[1] and others who had elected to live and die with me, Vithaldasbhai[2] and a few sisters. Vithaldas was, at that time, fighting for the labourers, but [at my call] he gave up his shop and joined me in this unremunerative work. We had then not the faintest idea as to what the future had in store for us. We have travelled a long way since then and today about two crores of people have come under the influence of the charkha. So far, we have maintained that the charkha has the power to bring us freedom. With its help we have been able to provide the village people with a large amount of money. But can we still hold, as we have always maintained, that swaraj is impossible without the charkha? So long as we do not substantiate this claim the charkha is really no more than a measure of relief, to which we turn because we can do nothing else about it. It would not then be the means of our salvation.

Secondly, we have failed to carry our message to the crores of our people. They have neither any knowledge of what the charkha can do for them nor even the necessary curiosity for it.

The Congress did accept the charkha. But did it do so willingly? No, it tolerates the charkha simply for my sake. The Socialists ridicule it outright. They have spoken and written much against it. We have no clear or convincing reply to offer to them. How I wish I could convince them that the charkha is the key to swaraj! I have not been able to justify the claim all these years.

Now for my third point: non-violence is not something of the other world. If it is, I have no use for it. I am of the earth and if non-violence is something really worth while I want to realize it here on this earth while I am still alive. The non-violence I want

[1] Maganlal Gandhi
[2] Vithaldas Jerajani

is one which the masses can follow in practice. And how else can it be realized except in a society which has compassion and other similar virtues as its characteristics?

If you go to the house of one who has use for violence you will find his drawing-room decorated with tigers' skins, deers' horns, swords, guns and such like. I have been to the Viceregal Lodge, I also saw Mussolini. In the houses of both I found arms hanging on the walls. I was given a salute with arms, a symbol of violence.

Just as arms symbolize violence the charkha symbolizes non-violence, in the sense that we can most directly realize non-violence through it. But it cannot symbolize non-violence so long as we do not work in accordance with its spirit. The sword in Mussolini's hall seemed to say 'Touch me and I will cut you.' It gave a vivid picture of violence. It seemed to ask you to touch it and realize its power. So also we must illustrate the power of the charkha so that a mere look at it may speak to us about non-violence. But we are bankrupt today. What is our answer to the Socialists? They complain that we have been harping on the charkha for years and yet we have achieved nothing.

The charkha was there during Muslim rule also. Dacca was famous for its muslin. The charkha then was a symbol of poverty and not of non-violence. The kings took forced labour from women and depressed classes. The same was later repeated by the East India Company. Kautilya[1] mentions in his *Arthashastra* the existence of such forced labour. For ages the charkha was thus a symbol of violence and the use of force and compulsion. The spinner got but a handful of grain or two small coins, while ladies of the court went about luxuriously clad in the finest of muslins, the product of exploited labour.

As against this, I have presented the charkha to you as a symbol of non-violence. If I did not make it clear to you so far, it was my mistake. You know I am among the maimed and can move but slowly. Yet I do believe that the work done so far has not been a waste.

I shall now pass to my fourth point. We have not yet proved that there can be no swaraj without the charkha. It cannot be proved so long as you do not explain it to Congressmen. The charkha and the Congress should become synonyms.

The task of proving the superiority of non-violence is a difficult one. We have to fathom its depths if we are to realize its truth. I have always supported all that I have said so far.

[1] Chanakya, the celebrated writer on statecraft

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The world is going to put me to the test. It may declare me a fool for my tall talk about the charkha. The task of making the charkha, which for centuries had been a symbol of poverty, helplessness, injustice and forced labour, the symbol now of mighty non-violent strength, of the new social order and of the new economy, has fallen on our shoulders. We have to change history. And I want to do it through you.

I hope you follow what I am saying. But if in spite of it you do not believe that the charkha has the power to achieve swaraj, I will ask you to leave me. Here you are at the cross-roads. If you continue with me without faith you will be deceiving me and doing a great wrong to the country. I beg of you not to deceive me in the evening of my life.

It is I who am responsible for defects in our working so far. The fault is mine because I have remained the head even when I was conscious of its defects. But let bygones be bygones. Do we honestly believe today that the charkha is the emblem of non-violence? How many of us are there who believe so from the depths of our heart?

Now we have the tricolour flag. What is it but a piece of khadi of specific length and breadth? You can well have another piece in its place. But behind that khadi cloth lie encased your feelings. It is a symbol of swaraj, a symbol of national emancipation. We cannot forget it. We will not remove it. We are prepared to die for it. So also the charkha should be an emblem of non-violence.

What does the charkha, as an emblem of non-violence, signify in the economic sphere? Call it self-sufficiency or what you like. In the name of national reconstruction and self-sufficiency millions are being bled white in Western countries, as also in other countries for their sake. Ours is not a self-sufficiency of that pattern. The charkha is the way to get rid of exploitation and domination. I am not so much concerned with words as with the thing itself. Still, words have a miraculous power. They embody the feelings, which then acquire a definite shape with the aid of language.

We are familiar with the controversy in our religion as to whether God has a form or no. The believers in form prefer to worship God through an emblem. So if non-violence is to be pursued as an ideal, the charkha must be acknowledged as its true form and emblem, and kept ever before view. Whenever I think of non-violence the picture of the charkha comes before me. A *nirakaravadi*[1] would not accept Krishna. He has one

[1] One who holds that the Supreme is formless

foot on the mountain top and the other in the clouds above. But we tread the solid ground. We cannot visualize non-violence in the abstract. So we choose an object which can symbolize for us the formless. That is what the charkha does for me and that is why I worship it. If you can realize this truth, you will understand the force of my argument. Even to Jajuji I had never before spoken with so much conviction. Jerajani says I am being hasty. Unless you understand and imbibe this spirit behind my worship of the charkha you will not gain an understanding of non-violence even for a hundred years. That capacity for non-violence which I find in the charkha can also be perceived by you only if you approach it with a heart like mine. That is why I say: Follow me or leave me. If you want to come with me, I will give you a scheme and do everything possible. If you have not understood what I mean I am prepared to sit and discuss it with you the whole day. But if you say that you have grasped my meaning when you really have not, you will be deceiving both yourselves and me. Ours is not an association for making profit. We do not seek loaves and fishes. There are a thousand fields in which we can serve the country. Why then remain in charkha work and sail under false colours? Please do not therefore remain with me under an illusion. Let me go my way alone. But if it were found that I was myself suffering from an illusion and that my belief in the charkha was mere idol-worship, either you may burn me to ashes with the wood of the charkha, or I myself would set fire to the charkha with my own hands.

If the Charkha Sangh has to go, let us wind it up with our own hands. That will put an end to all our struggle like the sun clearing the mist. Then the charkha which has for the moment put us into a labyrinth of difficulties will be left in the hands of a few who believe in it, and may in their hands prove to be a mighty weapon. If you regard it as sheer folly I certainly have no ambition to run an idiots' association and thus degrade the country. On the other hand, if you can demonstrate non-violence through the charkha, it will not merely move but sweep forward. You will not then have to worry about keeping it alive.

I repeat that you either leave me alone or digest what I say and follow me. I have brought this new idea to you after two years of penitential thinking. I do not know if I have succeeded in conveying my idea to you. If I have been able to carry conviction please do one thing. Those of you who want to remain with me give me in writing that you regard the

charkha from today as the emblem of non-violence. You have to make your decision today. If you do not or cannot regard the charkha as the emblem of non-violence and yet remain with me, then you will thereby put yourself in an awkward plight and also drag me down with you.

[From Hindi]

Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran, pp. 14-20

98. LETTER TO R. K. PRABHU

SEVAGRAM,
September 4, 1944

MY DEAR PRABHU,

You shall certainly be present at the interview with Mr. Hawkins.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI PRABHU
"THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat : G.N. 9228

99. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

September 4, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

Please do come. I will be in Bombay on the 9th. I showed your letter to both. I thought it would please them, and it did.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10049. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

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100. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

September 4, 1944

DAUGHTER,

The silken mosquito-net is not required. I got the jaggery. Jiten Babu[1] has come to get my signature when I am very busy. We shall think later about the rules and so on.

Sushila tells me that you have fallen sick. What is to be done now? It won't do you any good if you insist on staying there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 484

101. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, September 4, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. Why are you wasting so much time over such a trivial matter? You did what seemed to be proper at the time. This should be enough. Your letter is a symptom of an unhealthy mind. Get rid of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4446

[1] Jitendra Chakraborty, Secretary of the Bengal Charkha Sangh and Joint-Secretary of the Kasturba Seva Mandir, who had come to get Gandhiji's approval for the Mandir's constitution

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102. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[On or after *September 4, 1944*][1]

Read the letter I have written to Chhaganlal. Think over it and then do what you consider right. It does not matter if you do not include Abha's[2] name just now. I have no objection.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8470. Also C.W. 7177. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

103. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI

WARDHAGANJ,
September 5, 1944

NARANDAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ PRESIDING OUR FUNCTION[3]. WRITING.

BAPU

From a microfilm : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8611. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] The letter is written below a letter from the addressee dated September 4, 1944.

[2] Daughter of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[3] *Rentia Baras* Day; *vide* also letters to the addressee, pp. 83 and 95.

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104. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR H. PAREKH

September 5, 1944

BHAI PRABHASHANKAR,

I have your postcard. Please bear in mind that it is for you to win over Champa[1]. You alone know how to do it.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PRABHASHANKARBHAI
DERA SHERI
RAJKOT[2]

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

105. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[On or after *September 5, 1944*][3]

Your letter is as usual frank. If I consulted my friends in carrying out my experiments, it could not be said that they were undertaken with God's permission. Besides, whom can I expect to come with me when I plough in fresh fields? More or less all my important experiments were started single-handed and co-workers came in later. I know that this experiment is a very dangerous one indeed. But it is also capable of yielding very great results. I can forget about it only when I realize that it is harmful. All of you can attack my reason. But you can strike at my heart only in one way—by repudiating me. If you are convinced that the views you have expressed are correct, it is your dharma to repudiate me and expose me. The examples you have cited from the Shastras are faulty. You form your opinions in haste and change them equally hastily. Whatever you do, do after careful thinking.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8469. Also C.W. 7176. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Champa R. Mehta, addressee's daughter

[2] The address is in the Devanagari script.

[3] The letter is written below a letter from the addressee dated September 5, 1944.

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106. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

[On or after *September 5, 1944*][1]

All this has been written very frankly. My experiment has not been understood fully. The fact that all my conduct seems to be contrary to the statement[2] you have quoted should make you think. But this discussion . . .[3]

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 811. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhave

107. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
September 6, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent you a wire yesterday saying that Janakibehn would arrive there on the *Rentia Baras* Day. She will of course be accompanied by somebody.

About the fund, do what I have suggested in my letter.[4] I will, however, do whatever I can. Kanaiyo will write more.

I am likely to be in Bombay on the 9th.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You have entered the sixtieth year of your life, haven't you? We must all try to live up to a hundred. You have much work to do yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8612. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] The letter is written below a letter from the addressee dated September 5, 1944.

[2] The reference is to a private statement issued in 1938 regarding the discontinuance of accepting from women such service as would involve bodily contact; *vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 104-5.

[3] The letter is incomplete.

[4] *Vide* p. 58.

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108. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
September 6, 1944

CHI. SARUP,

I want to include your name as a trustee for the Kasturba [Memorial] Fund. But I can have your name only if you can give time for it and attend the Trust meetings and you are fully convinced of the object of the Trust, namely, that it will be utilized only for the children and women of the villages of India. Inform me telegraphically. I shall be in Bombay on the 9th and 10th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

109. TALK WITH STUDENTS' DELEGATION[1]

September 6, 1944

H. P. MISHRA: We won't like your seeing Mr. Jinnah as you are likely to be duped and the Hindus are likely to be exploited by Mr. Jinnah at our cost.[2]

GANDHIJI : I will not ignore or compromise a single interest, be sure.

Students from Bengal who requested Mahatma Gandhi not to decide on a settlement were asked by the Mahatma:

Have I not done any good for Hindus?

Hari Prasanna Mishra questioned Mahatma Gandhi whether he accepted responsibility for what was going on in Bengal resulting from the Communal Award. To this Gandhiji replied:

How can I ?

The Bengal students requested Mahatmaji to leave the communal question to the Sabha and the League.[3]

[1] The students, led by Hari Prasanna Mishra, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Students' Federation, picketed Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram.
[2] & [3] These two sentences are from *The Hitavada*.

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Mahatma Gandhi assured the students that he would not do anything without consulting Bengal. Despite these assurances, the students informed Gandhiji of their intention to continue picketing and Gandhiji replied :

If you thus prevent me, I will have to wire Mr. Jinnah that I am arrested and so postpone the meeting.

The Hindu, 9-9-1944, and *The Hitavada*, 8-9-1944

110. LETTER TO MASTERJI MAHARAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 7, 1944

MASTERJI MAHARAJ[1],

Thank you for the cheque you have sent for the Kasturba Memorial Fund. I hope to see you some day.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2167

111. LETTER TO BAGARJI

September 7, 1944

BHAI BAGARJI,

I send herewith a letter[2] for Masterji Maharaj acknowledging receipt of his cheque. I have written this with the pen you gave me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2162

[1] One of the gurus of the Radhaswami sect of Hindus
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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112. A CIRCULAR LETTER

SEVAGRAM,
September 8, 1944

BHAI,

Day before yesterday, that is, on the night of the 6th, Shri Deshpandeji told me that Jajuji is not fit for the post of Secretary as he does not have administrative, that is, management talent although he is a saintly man. He can hold the highest position in a society of saints. In support of his opinion he told me that the Provincial Secretaries or Agents of the A.I.S.A., who have returned from here, have all gone back disappointed and helpless. Therefore, he fears that the A.I.S.A. is going to die under its own weight. If this is true, as head of the A.I.S.A., I have to give it a second thought because my experience is completely contrary to Deshpandeji's opinion. My experience tells me that true saintliness implies efficiency, and Jajuji is a living embodiment of this truth. I have, therefore, decided to have Jajuji's administrative talents verified. I have already talked to Jajuji and he also agrees to this. If you have accepted Jajuji as Secretary out of despair and only to please me, you have not been truly faithful to the A.I.S.A. and if Deshpande's prophecy comes true and the A.I.S.A. comes to nought, in my opinion, it will not be on account of Jajuji but due to your own weakness. How can any secretary, however able, attain success without the whole-hearted co-operation of his subordinates? The A.I.S.A. has no power to compel anyone. Its strength lies in the whole-hearted co-operation among all its office-bearers, i.e., their mutual love and fellow-feeling. If this is lacking nothing avails. Please, therefore, let me have your true opinion whether Jajuji is unfit for the secretaryship, whether he lacks administrative talents, whether you have reluctantly accepted his candidature. If your answer is in support of Deshpandeji's statement, please write to me substantiating your objections with concrete instances so that I can decide the course of my duty.

Kindly send an early reply.

Yours,

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

113. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

ON THE WAY TO BOMBAY,
September 8, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

I have your letter. I am going in hope but without expectation. So if I return empty-handed, I shall not be disappointed. I hope you will find the patient substantially on the ro[ad] to full recovery.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7575

114. LETTER TO BISHOP OF RANGOON

ON THE TRAIN FOR BOMBAY,
September 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter bringing me your good wishes. I am in God's good hands. I fancy I understand what you mean.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RT. REVD. BISHOP OF RANGOON
HOTEL CECIL
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

115. TALK WITH M. A. JINNAH[1]

BOMBAY,
September 9, 1944

It was a test of my patience. . . . I am amazed at my own patience. However, it was a friendly talk.

[1] The meeting lasted three and a quarter hours. Gandhiji reported the talk to C. Rajagopalachari.

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His (Jinnah's) contempt for your Formula (Rajaji Formula) and his contempt for you is staggering. You rose in my estimation that you could have talked to him for all those hours and that you should have taken the trouble to draw up that formula.

He says you have accepted his demand and so should I. I said, "I endorse Rajaji's Formula and you can call it Pakistan if you like." He talked of the Lahore Resolution[1]. I said, "I have not studied it and I do not want to talk about it. Let us talk about Rajaji's Formula and you can point out any flaws that you find there."

In the middle of the talk he came back to the old ghost : "I thought you had come here as a Hindu, as a representative of the Hindu Congress." I said, "No, I have come here neither as a Hindu nor as a representative of the Congress. I have come here as an individual. You can talk to me as an individual or as the President of the League, whichever way you prefer. If you had agreed with Rajaji and accepted his Formula, you and he would have gone before your respective organizations and pleaded with them to accept it. That is why Rajaji came to you. You would then have placed it before other parties, too, in the same way. Now you and I have to do it." He said he was the President of the League. Where was the basis for a talk if I was there representing nobody except myself ? Who was to deliver the goods? I was the same man as he had found me in 1939. There was no change in me. I almost felt like saying, "Yes, I am the same man and since you think it is no use talking to me, I will go away." But I resisted the temptation. I told him, "Is it not worth your while to convert an individual? I am the same man no doubt. You can change my views if you can and I will support you whole-heartedly." "Yes, I know, if I can convert you, you will be my Ali[2]," he said.[3]

He said I should concede Pakistan and he would go the whole length with me. He would go to jail, he would even face bullets. I said, "I will stand by your side to face them." "You may not," he said. "Try me," I replied.

We came back to the Formula. He wants Pakistan now, not after independence. "We will have independence for Pakistan

[1] Of March 23, 1940; *vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VIII.

[2] A cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. He was among the first to accept the Prophet's message.

[3] According to the source, Gandhiji observed afterwards: "It was a most revealing remark. I was meeting the prophet of Pakistan looking for his Ali!"

and Hindustan," he said. "We should come to an agreement and then go to the Government and ask them to accept it, force them to accept our solution." I said I could never be a party to that. I could never ask the Britishers to impose partition on India. "If you all want to separate, I can't stop you. I have not got the power to compel you and I would not use it if I had." He said, "The Muslims want Pakistan. The League represents the Muslims and it wants separation." I said, "I agree the League is the most powerful Muslim organization. I might even concede that you as its President represent the Muslims of India, but that does not mean that all Muslims want Pakistan. Put it to the vote of all the inhabitants of the area and see." He said, "Why should you ask non-Muslims?" I said, "You cannot possibly deprive a section of the population of its vote. You must carry them with you, and if you are in the majority why should you be afraid?" I told him of what Kiron Shankar Roy had said to me : "If the worst comes to the worst, we in Bengal will all go in Pakistan, but for goodness sake do not partition Bengal. Do not vivisect it."

"If you are in majority," I said, "you will have your choice. I know it is a bad thing for you, but if you want it all the same you will have it. But that will be an adjustment between you and me. It cannot occur while the Britishers are here."

He began to cross-examine me on the various clauses of the Formula. I said to him, "If you want clarification of those things, is it not better to have it from the author of the Formula?" "Oh, no", he did not want that. I said, "What is the use of your cross-examining me?"

He recollected himself. "Oh, no. I am not cross-examining you", and then added: "I have been a lawyer all my life and my manner may have suggested that I was cross-examining you." I asked him to reduce to writing his objections to the Formula. He was disinclined. "Must I do so?" he asked. "Yes, I would like you to." He agreed.

In the end he said, "I would like to come to an agreement with you." I answered, "You remember that I have said that we should meet not to separate till we had come to an agreement. He said, yes, he agreed. I suggested, "Should we put that also in our statement?"[1] He said, "No, better not. Nevertheless that will be the understanding between us and the cordiality and friendliness

[1] *Vide* the following item.

of our talk will be reflected in our public utterances, too."[1]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 84-6

116. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[2]

September 9, 1944

"We have had frank and friendly talks and we are resuming our talks on Monday at 5.30 p.m. Tomorrow is the 21st day of Ramzan[3] and, therefore, all Mussalmans have to observe it. And I have, therefore, requested Mr. Gandhi to oblige me not to have a meeting on the 21st day of Ramzan." Here Gandhiji interrupted and said :

No obliging; willing to surrender.

Mahatma, Vol. VI, p. 341

117. LETTER TO VICEROY

CAMP "BIRLA HOUSE", BOMBAY,
September 10, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I wrote[4] to you on July 17, 1944, asking you kindly to send a letter[5] of same date addressed to the Prime Minister. May I know whether that letter was sent as requested? I am asking because so far I have had no acknowledgement of my letter.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

From a copy: C.W. 10500. Courtesy: India Office Library, London

[1] After Gandhiji gave this report to C. Rajagopalachari the following conversation took place:

RAJAJI: Do you think he wants a settlement?

GANDHIJI: I am not certain. He thought he probably did.

RAJAJI: Then you will get it through.

GANDHIJI: Yes. . . . If the right word comes to me.

[2] At the end of the first day's talks, M. A. Jinnah, on behalf of Gandhiji and himself, dictated this statement. Earlier, in reply to a question by a newsman whether he had brought anything from Jinnah, Gandhiji had said : "Only flowers."

[3] Ninth month of the Hijri year in which Muslims observe fast during daytime.

[4] & [5] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 391-2.

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118. LETTER TO WANDA DYNOWSKA

BOMBAY,
September 10, 1944

DEAR UMA[1],

All I can say about the affliction through which Poland is passing is that no small nation of Europe is to expect any real help from the Allied Powers in spite of their professions to the contrary. You know I proposed a solution. It was summarily rejected. Let us rely upon God, the Rock of Ages.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 1206. Also C.W. 5101. Courtesy : Wanda Dynowska

119. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
September 11, 1944

NARANDAS GANDHI
RASHTRIYASHALA
RAJKOT

KAMALNAYAN COMING WITH JANAKIDEVI['S] MESSAGE[2]. KEEP HIM NOT LONGER THAN THREE DAYS.

BAPU

From a microfilm : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8614. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] A Polish lady who had adopted this Indian name
[2] *Vide* also telegram and letters to the addressee, pp. 81, 83 and 95.

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120. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 11, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

I received your letter[1] yesterday at 3.30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, it is implied in the Rajaji Formula and I have stated publicly that I have approached you as an individual. My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity, which I want for its own sake, but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together. I am glad, therefore, that you did not break off our talks when I refused to assume or accept a representative capacity. Of course I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. May I remind you that the Rajaji Formula was designed in the first instance for your acceptance, and submission thereafter to the League?

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The Lahore Resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it a shape.

Now for the points raised by you :

1. I have already answered this in the foregoing.
2. The constitution will be framed by the Provisional Government contemplated in the Formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British power is withdrawn. The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands.

The basis for the formation of Provisional Interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.

[1] Dated September 10; *vide* Appendix III.

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3. The Commission will be appointed by the Provisional Government. "Absolute majority" means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.

4. "All parties" means, the parties interested.

5. "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. "Safeguarding defence, etc.," means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

6. The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the Provisional Government. The Formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned I would like the transfer to take place as early as possible.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

121. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

September 11, 1944

Speaking in Hindustani[2] at the end of the prayers at Bombay, on September 11, Gandhiji as usual appealed for contributions to the Harijan Fund. Referring next to the exuberant affection of the crowd on the previous evening he said that after years of training such exhibition was a reflection on the good name of Bombay. It was a bad sign. But for the precautions taken on the spur of the moment he and some of the sisters accompanying him might have been hurt and so too Mr. Shantikumar[3]. And what is more, in the confusion, the latter might have easily lost the Harijan purse that he was carrying. They knew how jealous he was of every pie belonging to the Harijans. Therefore he requested the public never again to repeat the performance of the day before. Why should the volunteers have to form a cordon around him? He did not want to have any guard. God alone was his guard. He was doing God's work and he had faith that so long as He required his services He would protect him.

Referring to his meeting with Mr. Jinnah, he said, he knew how eager they must be to be acquainted with the progress of the talks. It was a

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix IV.
[2] The Hindustani version is not available.
[3] Shantikumar N. Morarjee

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natural eagerness on their part which he would like to satisfy as far as possible consistently with the interest of the cause which they all shared with him in common.

All that he could say at the present stage was that Jinnah Saheb and he had met as old friends on Saturday (September 9), and again that day (Monday). He added that they would be meeting again the next day from 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 5.30 to 7 p.m. This would leave them a little time to attend to other work and to digest the substance of the talks. They fully realized what a heavy responsibility rested on their shoulders. They knew that millions were watching the talks and were anxious that a settlement should be arrived at which would subserve the interests not of any particular group or community, but of the whole of India. Gandhiji said:

Our goal is the attainment of independence for the whole of India. It is for that we pray and are pledged to lay down our lives. Jinnah Saheb and I have only God between us as witness. My constant prayer these days is that He may so guide my speech that not a word might escape my lips so as to hurt the feelings of Jinnah Saheb or damage the cause that is dear to us both. I am sure the same is the case with Jinnah Saheb. He told me today, "If we part without coming to an agreement, we shall proclaim bankruptcy of wisdom on our part." What is more, the hopes of millions of our countrymen will be dashed to pieces. Today the eyes of all the oppressed people of the world are on us. We therefore are fully alive to our responsibility and are straining every nerve to come to a settlement. But we realize that ultimately the result lies in God's good hands. You should therefore all pray that He may guide us and give us wisdom to serve the cause of India.

An assurance that he would not sacrifice the interests of a single individual or community was given by Mahatma Gandhi.[1]

In conclusion, Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the Press to put a curb on their inventiveness and not to give free rein to their imagination. Since neither he nor Mr. Jinnah was opening his lips to anybody, there could be no question of leakage.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, pp. 38-9, and *The Hindu*, 13-9-1944

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

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122. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
September 10/12, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I understand what you say. I like your suggestion. Give on loan to the Kathiawar Khadi Mandal the money not already invested. When a new association is formed, it may make its own arrangement. Make some suggestions regarding the new association. Consult friends there.

Janakibehn will not be able to go. Chi. Kamalnayan is going with her message. Do not detain him for more than a day or two. He is sparing time from an extremely tight schedule. I hope your programme will succeed. If the programme does not succeed so well there this time as in the previous years, console yourself with the thought that it is your own venture that has now become a country-wide movement. If, therefore, your little rivulet, which was the source, looks small in comparison, you should not feel bad about it. Whether I will live long enough to see the National Fund put to good use or whether others who follow me will manage it in a worthy manner, is entirely in God's hands. For us one step is enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

September 12, 1944

On further reflection, I feel that our real money is neither gold nor silver nor copper, but yarn. And at present we have no rival in regard to that. How nice would it be if the quantity this time is much larger than before! I should be happy if in the end you become the first mint of yarn. Yarn is produced at many places. But not all of them become mints. Think what makes a mint what it is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8613. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

123. TALK WITH M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 12, 1944

GANDHIJI : He drew a very alluring picture of the Government of Pakistan. It would be a perfect democracy. I asked him if he had not told me that democracy did not suit Indian conditions. He did not remember it. He asked me to tell him what he had said. So I told him all that and said that I might have misunderstood him. In that case he should correct me. But when I repeated in detail what he had said, he could not say no. He said, yes, he had said that, but that was with regard to imposed democracy.

Then he said, "Do you think it is a question of religious minority with us?" I said, "Yes." If not, he should tell me what it was. He harangued. I won't repeat all that here. I asked him what would happen to the other minorities in Pakistan: Sikhs, Christians, Depressed Classes, etc. He said they would be part of Pakistan. I asked him if he meant joint electorates. He knew I was coming to it. He said, yes, he would like them to be a part of the whole. He would explain the advantages of joint electorates, but if they wanted separate electorates they would have it. Sikhs would have Gurumukhi if they wanted and the Pakistan Government would give them financial aid. I asked, "What about Jats?" At first he pooh-poohed the idea. Then he said, "If they want it, they will also have it. They will have separate existence if they want it." I said, "What about Christians? They also want some place where they are in a majority and where they can rule, as for instance in Travancore?" He said that was a problem for the Hindus. I said supposing Travancore was in Pakistan? He said he would give it to them. He cited the instance of Newfoundland. The rest of the talk was nothing. I am to continue exploring his mind.[2]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, p. 86

[1] Gandhiji reported the talk to C. Rajagopalachari.

[2] For the discussion which followed with Rajaji, *vide* the following item.

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124. DISCUSSION WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

BOMBAY,
September 12, 1944

RAJAJI: Find out what he[1] wants.

GANDHIJI : Yes, that is what I am doing. I am to prove from his own mouth that the whole of the Pakistan proposition is absurd. I think he does not want to break. On my part I am not going to be in a hurry. But he can't expect me to endorse an undefined Pakistan.

RAJAJI: Do you think he will give up the claim?

GANDHIJI : He has to, if there is to be a settlement. He wants a settlement, but what he wants he does not know. I want to show him that your Formula is the only thing that he can reasonably ask for.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 86-7

125. LETTER TO AHMED NAWAZ JUNG

[After *September 12, 1944*][2]

JANAB NAWAB BAHADUR,

I have your English letter as also a Hindi translation of the holy Koran. I have with me the Hindi translation by Hasan Nizami Saheb. I shall try to compare both the translations. If you can, please send three more copies.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] M. A. Jinnah

[2] This draft letter was written in reply to the addressee's letter dated September 12, 1944.

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126. TELEGRAM TO DR. SHAUKAT ANSARI

BOMBAY,
September 13, 1944

DOCTOR SHAUKAT ANSARI
RAJPUR ROAD
DELHI

PLEASE CONVEY FARID MY CONDOLENCES OVER HIS LOSS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

127. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

September 13, 1944

After the morning session of the talks, as Jinnah and Gandhiji emerged ... the waiting group of reporters asked the usual question: "Anything for us?" The leaders halted and ... Gandhiji spoke :

I have nothing, but I will go for you. Yesterday you read something in our faces. Here are we both. I would like you not to read anything in our faces except hope and nothing but hope.

At this stage Gandhiji turned to Mr. Jinnah and asked :

Am I right? Have you seen the papers this morning?

"Why bother," answered Mr. Jinnah.

They have written so much terrible.

Gandhiji turned round to the Pressmen again and said :

You do not know what people who are bent on mischief will do. All of you know both of us. You should leave us absolutely alone or if you can read our hearts and faces you must submit what you have written to one of us. Otherwise you should be absolutely silent if you want to serve India and humanity.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-9-1944

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128. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 14, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

I have your letter of the 13th instant.[1] I understood from our talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was, therefore, taking the matter in a leisurely fashion, even hoping that as our talks proceeded and as cordiality increased, mutual clarification would come of itself and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other viewpoint. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties in understanding the Rajaji Formula and you should do likewise regarding yours, i.e., the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore Resolution, as agreed between us I shall deal with it in a separate letter.

Perhaps at the end of our discussion, we shall discover that Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form.

Indeed, in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement.

So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

As to the second, I do hold that unless we oust the third party we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean that I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing a living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties. I can say this, that any provisional government to inspire confidence at the present moment must represent all parties. When that moment arrives, I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted

[1] In his letter the addressee had complained that he had not received Gandhiji's reply to his letter of September 11.

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me or I you, or by mutual conversion we have become one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point, the provisional government, being the appointing authority, will give effect to the findings of the Commission. This I thought was implied in my previous answer.

Rajaji tells me that 'absolute majority' is used in his Formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provisional interim government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area.

As to the fourth, 'all parties' means you and I and everyone else holding views on the question at issue will and should seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to the fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the provisional government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matters of common interest, but the same has to be confirmed and ratified by the governments of the two States. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will, in the first instance, be planned by the interim government, but subsequently will be matter for settlement between the two governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to the sixth, I hope the foregoing makes superfluous any further reply.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix V.

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129. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 15, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

This is in terms of our talks of Wednesday the 13th instant.

For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League.

You must admit that the Resolution itself makes no reference to the two nations theory. In the course of our discussions, you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, i.e., Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest, but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, etc., cease to have their special characteristics if all of them become converts to Islam? These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying today to throw off that subjection.

You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem. The only real, though awful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort, we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom, we may quarrel among ourselves and, for want of a common master holding us together in his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level and we shall not have to go in

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search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant.

With this background, I shall present you with my difficulty in accepting your Resolution.

1. Pakistan is not in the Resolution. Does it bear the original meaning Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan, out of which the name was mnemonically formed? If not what is it?

2. Is the goal of Pakistan pan-Islam?

3. What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion? Is he different from a Turk or an Arab?

4. What is the connotation of the word "Muslims" in the Resolution under discussion? Does it mean the Muslims of India of geography or of the Pakistan to be?

5. Is the Resolution addressed to the Muslims by way of education, or to the inhabitants of the whole of India by way of appeal, or to the foreign ruler as an ultimatum?

6. Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute "Independent States", an undefined number in each zone?

7. Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British Rule?

8. If the answer to the last question is in the affirmative, the proposal must be accepted first by Britain and then imposed upon India, not evolved from within by the free will of the people of India.

9. Have you examined the position and satisfied yourself that these "Independent States" will be materially and otherwise benefited by being split up into fragments?

10. Please satisfy me that these Independent Sovereign States will not become a collection of poor States, a menace to themselves and to the rest of India.

11. Pray show me by facts and figures or otherwise how the independence and welfare of India as a whole can be brought about by the acceptance of the Resolution?

12. How are the Muslims under the Princes to be disposed of as a result of this scheme?

13. What is your definition of "minorities"?

14. Will you please define the "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" for minorities referred to in the second part of the Resolution?

15. Do you not see that the Lahore Resolution contains only a bare statement of the objective and does not give any idea as to the means to be adopted for the execution of the idea and the

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concrete corollaries thereof? For instance : (a) Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained? (b) What is the provision for Defence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore Resolution? (c) There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disfranchised? (d) Does this not lead again to placing the Resolution of the League before the people of the zones concerned as a whole for acceptance?

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the Resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India. Believe me, I approach you as a seeker. Though I represent nobody but myself, I aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, for I realize in my own person their misery and degradation, which is their common lot, irrespective of class, caste or creed. I know that you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses. I want you to use your influence for their total welfare, which must include the rest.

In this hastily written letter, I have only given an inkling of my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

130. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 15, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

I have yours of the 14th instant,[1] received at 9.40 a.m.

I woke up at 3 a.m. today to finish my promised letter[2] on the Lahore Resolution.

There is no mistake about the date, for I wrote in answer to your reminder of the 13th instant.

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. Resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a united India. If we come to a settlement, it would be on the basis of the settlement, assuming, of course, that it accrues general acceptance in the country. The process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India becoming free will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji Formula.

As to the provisional interim government, I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for the provisional government, if you have one in connection with the Lahore Resolution, which also, I presume, requires an interim government, we can discuss it.

The Formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. I accepted it in equal good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in the circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps, you want to know how I would form the provisional government if I was invited thereto. If I was in that unenviable position, I would see all the claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My co-operation will be available in that task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry, "What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible." The provisional interim government will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less that of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by the other parties.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

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131. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

BOMBAY,
September 15, 1944

DEAR JOSHI,

Many thanks for your letter[1].

I do not mind the warmth into which you have been betrayed. I must apologize for the offence my language has caused you. You will believe me when I tell you that I wrote in all good faith. I could not come close to the party if I did not disclose even my prejudices. I had expected appreciation for my friendly approach and frankness. Nevertheless I must continue my study of the party and its leaders.

I have accepted your advice. I placed your letter in Shri Bhulabhai's hands and asked him to instruct and guide me.

I shall not worry you directly with letters. I shall try to know you through the common friends you mention. Sarojini Devi is with Shri Bhulabhai. Rajaji is with me. I shall show your letter to him when it comes back from Shri Bhulabhai.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence between M. K. Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, p. 36

132. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

BOMBAY,
September 16, 1944

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLAHOUSE
BENARES

MY DEFINITE WISH YOU SHOULD GO MUSSOORIE. YOU WILL SHORTEN STAY THERE IF I WANT YOU.

BAPU

From a copy : C.W. 7869. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] Dated September 12, which was in reply to Gandhiji's letter dated July 30; *vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 434-7.

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133. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
September 16, 1944

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I read your letter addressed to Manilal. I have some free time today and, therefore, am writing letters.

I have written to Sharda and told her that she should not put off her visit for fear of public criticism.

Your idea of disbanding the Ashram seems right. We should let ourselves be seen as we are. We are likely to make better progress as individuals after disbanding the Ashram. Even after it is disbanded, those who are one at heart may stay together and jointly take up some activity. Those who wish to stay on in Sevagram may do so. Everybody may leave in an orderly manner and after due thought. Talk and exchange views among yourselves along these lines.

I understand what you say regarding me. It should involve no burden on Chhaganlal and Kashi. Neither of them should have to join directly in the cooking.

This letter may be read by all concerned.

I hope Shakaribehn is perfectly calm. You must have thought about the problem of her training. It must not be neglected.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If Lajjavati's Patel arrives there, send him over here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10644

134. LETTER TO MUNNALAL AND KANCHAN SHAH

September 16, 1944

CHI. MUNNALAL AND KANCHAN,

My return has been delayed. If I had definitely known that I would be staying here so long, I would have brought Kanchan with me. Still, if she had come, God knows what she would have done because I hardly talk with anyone. She would not have

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been able to serve me either. The chief service is being done by Dinshawji, and the rest by Manilal. From that point of view, therefore, it is all to the good that Kanchan stayed there. Both of you got an opportunity for introspection.

I hope you meet Bhai Patil often. His health must have improved.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8385. Also C.W. 7178. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

135. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

BOMBAY,
September 16, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

A man had gone to receive you [at the station]. It's a pity your husband's younger brother has passed away. May God help both of you and your family to bear [the loss]. The cycle of life and death is bound to go on. If you are refraining from coming for fear of public opinion let me tell you that both of you have passed beyond all this and need not yield to this false sense of shame. Mourning of this kind is futile. It should not come in the way of our routine. You are not going to pay me a visit for pleasure. It is your duty to come to me, especially on an occasion like this. I shall surely be here till Tuesday, if not longer.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

136. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 16, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I hope you are at peace. This is a time of severe trial for all of us. Think over what must be done now, and if possible be ready with the answers before my return.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4447

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137. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

September 16, 1944

Gandhiji said that at prayer time there was usually great rush. People came to him to give money for the Harijan Fund and to take autographs. Due to this, children and weak persons experienced considerable difficulty every day. Gandhiji, therefore, said that only those who wanted autographs or who wanted to give him money should stay behind while the rest should leave the prayer ground immediately the prayers were over.

Secondly he said that the moment he started moving, everybody rushed after him. This caused trouble. Women and children were put to inconvenience. At Juhu there was a lot of space. Though there was not as much space here, there was enough. There was no need to crowd. If nobody crowded and followed him, people would be able to go away from the prayer ground soon. They would be happy and he would be comfortable. He would also be able to collect money and give autographs at leisure.

Thirdly Gandhiji said that the prayers began with a Buddhist invocation followed by two minutes' silence. The silence was an integral part of the prayer. He found people talking during the silence. When silence was a part of prayer they should close their eyes and contemplate. Nobody should talk. This was the proper behaviour and correct discipline. Everyone should observe this discipline.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-9-1944

138. LETTER TO SIR EVAN M. JENKINS

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
September 17, 1944

DEAR SIR EVAN,

I thank you for your letter of 13th instant[1].

This is the first time in my experience that an important letter has miscarried. Here are copies of the missing communications.[2]

[1] Intimating that Gandhiji's letter dated July 17 to the Viceroy had not been received and requesting Gandhiji to send a copy of it as well as the enclosure

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 391-2.

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Though the psychological moment has passed, I attach very great importance to my letter which was written in answer to a deep heart searching. Therefore even at this late hour I should like my letter to be sent to the Prime Minister.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR EVAN M. JENKINS, K.C.S.I.
VICEROY'S CAMP
INDIA

From a photostat : C.W. 10501. Courtesy : India Office Library, London

139. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 17, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

Your programme seems to have succeeded all right. Send me a report of the work there. How did Kamalnayan acquit himself. A letter from Kamalabai is enclosed. Fix a monthly allowance of Rs. 30 for her, with effect from September.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8615. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

140. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

September 17, 1944

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDASJI,

Today I have some leisure, so I am going through the file of old letters. Your letter is there. You must have tried a truss for your hernia. How could a man like you get hernia? Or does anyone develop hernia without provocation ?

I did not mean what you interpret from my telegram. I had written only about the matter of health. However, the

[1] G. E. B. Abell in his letter dated September 20 informed Gandhiji that the letter was forwarded to the Prime Minister by "Fast air-mail".

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opinion you have sent will prove helpful to me. Our talks are going on. I cannot say what the outcome will be.

BAPU

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

141. LETTER TO PUNDALIK KATAGDE

September 17, 1944

BHAI PUNDALIK,

I have your letter. I do believe that those who have committed mistakes should admit them only if they are convinced that it is their duty to do so, and not because I want them to. The call for observance of duty must come from within. Hence I will not issue a public statement. It would be misunderstood.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4226

142. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[Before *September 18, 1944*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter which I have passed on to Narandas for his information. It would have saved me trouble if you had first discussed the matter with him and written to me only in the event of an impasse. And don't you have there veterans like Nanalal[2] and Nanabhai[3]?

Why be tired of collecting money? An area which has need for a certain kind of work will always provide funds for the activity. True, there are different ways of working in an area where such need is not felt. However, if a worker wants to collect funds in connection with his work and he enjoys doing it, he

[1] In the source this letter is placed before those of September 18, 1944.
[2] Nanalal Kalidas Jasani, Secretary and partner of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta and also member of Saurashtra Harijan Sevak Sangh
[3] Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas Bhatt, Principal, Lok Bharati Sanstha, Sanosara

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also learns through it. If funds were showered on us from above, we would not have known how to use them.

If Bhagwanji[1] gives us work worth Rs. 80 doesn't it become our duty to pay him an equal amount?

Are we not at present using the building of the Kelavni Mandal? Why do they want to evict us from there ? If they did, where would you carry on your work? Why not in the Dhedh or Bhangi colony? As for Bhagwanji, he is already used to working in this manner.

You seem to feel embarrassed. Come over whenever you wish to. Nothing is definite about me, so you can even come over here. You can accompany me wherever I might proceed from here, in case I am unable to spare any time here.

I am returning the letter concerning Wankaner.

Blessings from
BAPU

C. JOSHI
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH, RAJKOT

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

143. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BOMBAY,
September 18, 1944

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter from Rewari. Devdas has given me your messages. He adds that your body has become dilapidated. I fear I have to take the blame for it in part, if not wholly. How I wish I could also take the credit of repairing it! Why not take a course at Dinshaw's or under Shiv Sharma? Both are here at present. S. S. has come specially. I have not begun his drugs but he is here to induce me.

I have dismissed all fear about your coming under anybody's influence. After all we are under God's guidance.

I am handing Devdas another Rs. 5,000 for you. You shall certainly have whatever comes for you in future. I am asking Sevagram to send you the 500.

[1] Bhagwanji Purushottam Pandya of Wadhwan, Kathiawar, who was collecting money for Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

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Tell me how the cows were saved from the butcher's hand.

I would plead with you to put your body in order before you take up the serious responsibility of building and running an ashram.[1]

My talks are dragging on. God alone knows the end of them. There is one good thing. I am bearing the strain well. I am keeping fit in spite of the two enemies within—the hookworm and the amoebae. It is good too that we are within stone's throw of each other.

Manilal is attending on me. He is my bed-fellow. Devdas too is here, so is Rajaji. Khurshedbehn is on the office staff and so is Mridula, I expect, temporarily. They are all working full speed—not to mention Pyarelal, Sushila and Kanu. Pyarelal has a shorthand writer and typist. He is a rare man—silent and hard-working. He is from the extreme South. Abha is here for medical examination. There is nothing wrong with her. Manu has come back from Karachi with her father[2]. Pyarelal's mother and baby[3] are too here. And they are all very happy. I have given you a full budget of news. Today is the silence day which I am devoting to clearing arrears.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6500. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9895

144. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 18, 1944

CHI. MARY,[4]

I have seen your letter to Manilal. You seem to be flourishing there[5]. I suppose you are not to be expected to be back in the near future. I do not mind; you are doing good work there as you were doing here. Kamala[6] was with me for a few

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 5.

[2] Jaisukhlal Gandhi

[3] Nandini, Pyarelal's brother's daughter who had lost her mother

[4] The subscription and the superscription are in Hindi.

[5] South Africa

[6] Margaret Jones, an English friend of the addressee who was carrying on the khadi work during her absence

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days in Sevagram. She seems to be quite happy in Khedi and loves her work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 6084. Also C.W. 3414. Courtesy : F. Mary Barr

145. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

September 18, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

Here is my draft reply[1] unrevised. You may add, amend or do what you like with it. The reply should go tomorrow as early as possible.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2096

146. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 18, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter about Kamalnayan. What you say is correct.

Are you still suffering from any after-effects of your fall? I would be happy if you thought of paying a visit to Sevagram some time.

What is your opinion regarding the suggestion in Chhaganlal's letter?

I am enclosing a letter from Mirabehn also. Send me your reply to her. I will forward it to her. Follow the suggestion made by her.

I am tied up here. I don't know when I shall be able to get away.

Blessings from
BAPU

Enclosures: 2

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8616. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] Presumably, to M. A. Jinnah; *vide* pp. 116-7.

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147. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

BOMBAY,
[*September 18, 1944*][1]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Your letter is full of news. I have written a letter to Chokhawala[2] advising patience.

The arrival of Gokhale is welcome. I am hoping to reach there on 27th October, when I hope to do something for him. There is no need for him to lose heart. Sushilabehn has gained a great reputation. She may succeed with Gokhale too.

Where was Govind taking his meals till now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10612

148. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

September 18, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your two letters. The country's condition is exactly as you describe it to be. But surely God's hand must be behind this. We shall have performed our dharma if we acquit ourselves creditably in our own field and shed lustre on it.

Manilal has devoted himself completely to my service, and is thus paying his filial debt. Do not worry about him. Sita[3] has taken her place in the Nayee Talim school at Sevagram. Sumi[4] is with her, as also the daughter of a Bihari gentleman named Lakshmi Babu. The fourth is Ashadevi's own daughter. There are thus four girls in all. Ashadevi has become their mother. She is a learned woman. According to me this type of education is the best. All these four girls learn with the other children at Sevagram,

[1] From the G.N. Register
[2] Gordhandas Chokhawala, addressee's son-in-law
[3] Addressee's daughter
[4] Ramdas Gandhi's daughter

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and also teach them a few things. Do not get frightened at this news. Sita herself voluntarily decided to join this school. But of course it was I who was responsible for putting the idea in Manilal's and Sita's minds and luring them on. I would have tried to lure you too, if you had been here. God alone knows, of course, whether you would have yielded or not. Now that you have learnt to drive a car, how can I keep pace with you? By all means go ahead.

I have talks with Jinnah Saheb practically daily. Before you get this letter you will have known the result.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4936

149. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS P. ASAR

September 18, 1944

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I have your two letters, which are both transparent. Replies for the question of Jajuji[1] are coming in from others as well. I shall therefore write nothing for some time. I am thinking about a clarification regarding non-violence. It is not necessary at all to quit the Council[2] simply because you cannot manipulate your hand and hence cannot spin. Can we not imagine the possibility of some people who might have lost one hand and therefore cannot spin and yet be the greatest khadi workers of them all? Is there any rule that a person's hand may not remain unoccupied?

Blessings from
BAPU

HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

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

[1] Shrikrishnadas Jaju; *vide* p. 86.
[2] Of A. I. S. A.

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150. LETTER TO BHAGIRATH KANODIA

September 18, 1944

BHAI BHAGIRATHJI,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. I never said that Rajaji had betrayed me. He can never betray me. He has never done so. My association with Rajaji is very old. Lately our opinions have come to differ but our love for each other continues to be what it has always been. What Monoranjan Babu writes has only been written in jest. What can I do if people do not appreciate my jokes? You may use this letter in any way you consider necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

151. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 19, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

Many thanks for yours[1] of the 17th instant.

I am sorry to have to say that your answers omitting 1, 2 and 6 do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore Resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect anyone to agree to or shoulder the burden of the claim contained in the Lahore Resolution without, for instance, answering my questions 15 (a) and 15 (b)[2] which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis, while it is ably written, has carried no conviction to me. The other book mentioned by you, I am sorry to say, I have not seen.

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[2] *Vide* pp. 102-3.

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Why can you not accept my statement that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspiration may never be realized is beside the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me. I hope you will never lose it, but will persevere in your effort to convert me. I ask you to take me with my strong views and even prejudices, if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose is as a lover of communal unity to place my services at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore Resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word, there is little hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

152. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

BOMBAY,
September 19, 1944

In the course of his speech at the prayer meeting, Gandhiji said that he did not know how many Muslim brothers and sisters were there in the audience but there was at least one, namely, Raihanabehn Tyabjee. That was enough for his present purpose. His earnest prayer to all present was that if they had the good of the country at heart and wanted India to be free and independent at the earliest moment they should establish the closest bonds of friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans and members of all other communities. That was the least that every one of them was expected to do and could do. Was there anyone among them who doubted that if they could become one at heart the coming of independence would be accelerated? Ever since his return to India he had been proclaiming that

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix VII.

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truth from house-tops. That did not mean that they could afford to rest in idleness and freedom would by itself drop into their lap. If that was realized many other things would follow as a matter of course.

Referring to his talks with Mr. Jinnah he said that he considered it to be their great good fortune that they—two brothers—were having their friendly talks. He was not at liberty to divulge the nature of their talks. But they could rest satisfied that they were not talking without hope. The day he felt that there was no more hope, he would not hesitate to say so.

He wanted them all to fraternize with one another on the Id Day and pray that God may guide them aright.

Concluding, he warned the people against putting faith in speculations in which both the foreign and the Indian Press were indulging.

Sometimes they found all kinds of prophecies. God was with them. They were not being led by prophecies, but by the spirit of God. The papers published all kinds of guesses and messages were also sent abroad. It would not benefit the people to depend on these reports. It would, in fact, be wrong to believe in them.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-9-1944

153. LETTER TO NANJI KALIDAS

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
September 20, 1944

BHAISHRI NANJIBHAI,

I read your telegram and letter to Bapa[1]. It has made me unhappy. You had told me clearly that your donation would go to the central fund without any condition. Your letter says that a committee has been formed to manage your contribution and that the money would be in its possession. If it is so, your contribution will not be included in the existing Fund. Then you can use it as your committee thinks proper. But I would urge that an illiterate village woman's name should not be associated with it.

I hope there is some improvement in your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAJSHRI SETHSHRI NANJI KALIDAS
PORBANDAR (KATHIAWAR)

From Gujarati : C.W. 8617. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] Amritlal V. Thakkar

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154. LETTER TO B. ORELAND

CAMP BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
September 21, 1944

DEAR LIEUT. ORELAND,

I was pleased to receive your letter of 17th instant.

I do not remember the pundit mentioned by you. Your question is very appropriate. My interpretation of the *Mahabharata* is that it is a penetrating study of man and shows that fruits of violence whether used for a good cause or bad are evil. The Pandavas won but an empty victory. Bhishma was right in accordance with the social usage in vogue in those days. He was true to the salt he ate. We would go entirely wrong in estimating the men and women of the *Mahabharata* according to the modern standard, which need not be considered necessarily higher than in the times of the *Mahabharata*. The story of the epic has to be read in its setting. Then Bhishma would appear to be a lofty soul.

M. K. GANDHI

LIEUT. B. ORELAND
104 FIELD PARK
S.E.A.C.
B.A.P.O.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

155. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

BOMBAY,
September 21, 1944

CHI. SITA,

I got your letter written in a beautiful hand. We will now be meeting soon. Talk to me then.

Blessings from
BAPU

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[PS.]

The correct word is not *raha* but *rah*[1].

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4937

156. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

September 21, 1944

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. Even if our talks remain inconclusive, I have decided to reach there on the 1st. I shall return after attending to the 2nd[2].

I hope Vallabh Swami undertook the fast after due thought. It has become difficult to fix the proper conditions for fasting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10613

157. A CIRCULAR LETTER

BOMBAY,
September 21, 1944

BHAISHRI,

I am writing this circular in Gujarati since all those to whom I intend to send it know the language. I send with this a list of ten additional trustees. At first I thought I would send the names merely for your information. As my duty becomes clearer to me, I realize that I must function as Chairman without insisting on having my own way. A list of members of the Executive Committee is also attached.

I have kept the following considerations in mind in drawing up both these lists.

We should include those who understand my method of work best and who have had some experience of village work or who share my point of view regarding village work. I am painfully aware that I have not been able to include as many women as I should have liked to. This Memorial Fund is in memory of an uneducated woman who had been touched by the ideal of service

[1] Way or path
[2] Gandhiji's birthday celebrations

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to villages, and it would, therefore, be but fitting that the Board consists wholly of women. I would then feel that my efforts in this field have been fully rewarded. But the time for this has not yet come. Let us all hope that such mature and able women will get trained up for this work.

You may, without any hesitation whatever, reject any names in the list which you disapprove of. If you wish, we may elect the additional members at a meeting of the trustees. Kindly send me your opinion at an early date.

List of additional trustees :

1. Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa
2. Smt. Ashadevi Aryanayakum
3. Smt. Gosibehn Captain
4. Smt. Raihana Tyabji
5. Smt. Mridula Sarabhai
6. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
7. Shri Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar
8. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju
9. Shri Lakshminarayan Babu (of Bihar)
10. Smt. Janakibehn Bajaj

Members of Executive Committee

1. Shri M. K. Gandhi (Chairman)
2. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas (Vice-Chairman)
3. Shri Amritlal V. Thakkar
4. Smt. Ashadevi Aryanayakum
5. Smt. Mridula Sarabhai
6. Shri Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar
7. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju
8. Shri Devdas Gandhi

I am,
Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4873. Courtesy : N. B. Khare

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158. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAM M. PATEL

September 22, 1944

PURUSHOTTAM MOTIBHAI PATEL
CHAIRMAN, INDO-BRITISH FRIENDSHIP GROUP
BRAUNTON 114

MANY THANKS[1]. GOD'S WILL.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

159. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 22, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

Your letter of yesterday[2] (21st instant) so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting, I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about the two-nation theory the more alarming it appears to be. The book recommended by you gives me no help. It contains half-truths and its conclusions or inferences are unwarranted. I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation, distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions, which would spell India's ruin. I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically

[1] The addressee had wished Gandhiji success in his efforts to achieve unity and freedom.

[2] *Vide* Appendix VII.

on this single issue of division. Adult suffrage is the best method, but I would accept any other equivalent.

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests, such as Defence, Foreign Affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 Resolution is "inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India". There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing, as I hope we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

160. NOTE TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

[*September 22, 1944*][2]

I have gone through this letter.[3] I also listened to what Bhadantji had to say. Your letter seems to have been written in a hurry. You should have waited for Nanavati's[4] reply. It is one's duty to correct any lapse of memory or mistakes due to haste. I see nothing wrong in what Nanavati tells me.

I expect to arrive there on the 1st.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 300-1

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix VIII.

[2] & [3] According to the source this note is written under a letter dated September 22, from Maganbhai Desai to the addressee, which he had shown to Gandhiji before posting. The letter had sought to clarify the position implied in a letter from the addressee to Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha would conduct examinations only in Urdu.

[4] Amritlal T. Nanavati

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161. LETTER TO AZIZ-UL-HAQUE

[On or after *September 22, 1944*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I am deeply grateful to you for your kind letter and book[2]. I shall read it, I know, with interest.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

162. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 23, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening public prayer.

In order that all possibility of making any mistake in a matter of this great importance may be removed I would like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to.[3]

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside assistance to help us at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

[1] The letter is written under the addressee's letter dated September 22, 1944.

[2] *Man behind the Plough*

[3] The addressee in his reply said : "... I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority. We stand by, as I have already said, the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy and programme, as the future of this sub-continent and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities."

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163. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

Id [*September 23, 1944*][1]

BHAI JINNAH,

I was wondering what I shall send you today. It should be fair on my part to let you and your sister[2] share equally the crisp chapatis they make for me. Here is your share. Please regard it as a token of my love and do please help yourself to it.

Id greetings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

164. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
September 24, 1944

Whoever has given currency to the news about the Sevagram Ashram has not served the cause of truth. The only truth about the news is that the disbandment and transformation of the Sevagram Ashram is under contemplation. No decision has yet been taken. But the suggestion that it has anything to do with my supposed dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Ashram during my incarceration is altogether untrue. On the contrary I have expressed my unstinted admiration for the single-minded devotion with which they carried on the Ashram under those difficult and anxious 21 months. If it is ultimately decided to disband the Ashram it would be for the purpose of raising the activities of the members to a higher level than heretofore.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-9-1944

[1] The letter has been placed among those for September 1944. Id fell on this date.

[2] Fatima

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165. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 24, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

I have your two letters of September 23[2] in reply to my letters of the 22nd and 23rd.

With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement, so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must, therefore, have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That Resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain, and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations, but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore, 1940, on my basis and on the following terms:

The areas should be demarcated by a commission, approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the area demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

There shall be a treaty of separation, which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of Foreign

[1] Gandhiji's draft is available under G.N. 2056.

[2] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 124 and Appendix VIII.

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Affairs, Defence, Internal Communications, Customs, Commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of the independence of India.

The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action, to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore Resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do this, I shall be able to see, apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to. In your letter of 23rd September, you refer to "the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely, this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

166. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

BOMBAY,
September 24, 1944

DADA,

I read your letter to Bapa. If you can make it possible somehow, please do come to Wardha on the 2nd.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1251

[1] For extracts from the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix IX.

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167. TALK WITH M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 24, 1944

Jinnah had refused even to discuss Bapu's proposal, as he (Bapu) was not vested with authority; he represented nobody.

[JINNAH:] "If you want defence and so many things in common, that means that you visualize a centre?"

[GANDHIJI:] No, but I must say, in practice, there will have to be a body selected by both parties to regulate these things.

Then he came to the August (1942) Resolution. He said it was inimical to Muslims.

"But don't you see that it is absolutely a baseless charge? With all the legal acumen that is attributed to you, why cannot you see that it deals with only India and the British rule ? It has nothing to do with the Muslims. You can refer the matter to a lawyer of eminence impersonally and take his opinion whether there is anything in it which could be considered inimical to the Muslim League or the Muslims."

He said he did not need to do so. "Why should I want another's opinion when I know it for myself ?" I broached the subject that I had fixed up to be at Sevagram on the 2nd October. I would like to leave on the 30th and would be back in four or five days. He said, "Why must we take so long? We had better close up now. I will have everything ready on Tuesday. You will examine the copies[2] and I will do so." He had the introduction also ready and read it out. I said I had nothing to say against it, but if I had a copy I could examine it. He said I could do so on Tuesday. I said all right. He would not have a third party, nor would he produce his own scheme. He condemned the August Resolution. He suggested in so many words that amends should be made, i.e., it should be retracted.

Mahatma Gandhi— The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 93-4

[1] According to the source this report is taken from Pyarelal's diary which appears to have been based on Gandhiji's narrative to C. Rajagopalachari, giving "the story of the final breakdown of the talks".

[2] The reference is to their correspondence.

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168. A MESSAGE

September[1] *25, 1944*

I have omitted sending messages to a number of friends but I must associate myself with the Acharya's cause since we are childhood friends. We have been together since the days of his father. Please let him see this.

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

169. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[*September 25, 1944*][2]

MY DEAR C. R.,

If you are satisfied that my letter of yesterday[3] is the last word you should do the following:

1. You should ask Jinnah to see you. He told me he had nothing against you, etc. If Bhulabhai has thoroughly understood the position he too may see Jinnah. You may both offer to see him together.

2. I attach great importance to the legal opinion on Jinnah's interpretation of August Resolution.

3. Consider the following letter to Jinnah:

"MY DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

Yesterday's talk[4] leads me to inflict this letter on you for which please forgive me.

I see force in your argument that the para[5] in my letter of yesterday can be interpreted to touch the League sensitiveness. Please therefore read the following instead:

'Any member or group from among the Congress or the League members will be free to resort to direct action including C. R. in the course of the campaign of Independence.'

[1] The source has "August/September".

[2]&[3] From the reference to the letter to M. A. Jinnah of September 24, 1944, as "letter of yesterday"; *vide* pp. 126-7.

[4] *Vide* p. 128.

[5] Last but one paragraph in the letter of September 24, *vide* p. 127.

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This is however a minor matter. In the context in which the offending paragraph appears, its friendly intention is unmistakable.

The main purpose of this letter is to ask you to think fifty times before you throw away my offer. It is an earnest effort to meet essential requirements of the Lahore Resolution. I would like you, before you reject it, to let me address the League Council, indeed even the open session of the League.

I ask you not to take responsibility on your shoulders of rejecting my offer. You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration or guidance on the ground that I have approached you as an individual and not in any representative capacity. Is it not enough that I have approached you in the spirit of service in the cause of unity ?

I repeat the suggestion I made you during our talk of yesterday that counsel's opinion should be invited on your interpretation of the August (1942) Resolution of the A. I. C. C.

Rajaji for whose integrity and legal ability you have high regard, agrees with me that the August Resolution is in no way inimical to the Muslims. You are wrong in saying that the Congress is a Hindu or communal organization. Will you be inimical to non-Muslims if the League fought single-handed for the Independence of the whole of India whether considered as one India or two or more?"

4. It may be good to call in Shiva Rao, if you have not done so already.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2057

170. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 25, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

Yesterday's talk leads me to inflict this letter on you, which I trust you will not mind.

Our conversations have come about as a result of your correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his Formula and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon, and my own letter[1] to you suggesting a meeting between you and

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 393-4.

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me. My proposal of yesterday is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore Resolution. I would like you, therefore, to think fifty times before throwing away an offer which had been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it, I would like you to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League. If you will accept my advice and permit me, I would attend the open session and address it.

You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration or outside guidance over points of difference. If I have approached you as an individual, and not in any representative capacity, it is because we believe that if I reach an agreement with you, it will be of material use in the process of securing a Congress-League settlement and acceptance of it by the country. Is it irrelevant or inadmissible to supplement our efforts to convince each other without help, guidance, advice or even arbitration ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

171. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

September 26, 1944

DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM,

In view of my letter to you of yesterday, left to myself, I would have refrained from dealing with your letter[1] before our meeting today. But I have deferred to Rajaji's advice to finish the chain of correspondence.

I confess I am unable to understand your persistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the Formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24th as well as the Formula presented to you by Rajaji give you virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution, providing at the same time what is absolutely necessary to make the arrangement acceptable to the country. You keep on saying that I should accept certain theses, while I have been contending that the best way for us, who differ in our approach to the problem, is to give body to

[1] *Vide* Appendix X.

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the demand as it stands in the Resolution and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's Formula is to be conceived, and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of and as a result of our talks. I contend that either gives you the substance of the Lahore Resolution. Unfortunately, you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore Resolution as you want me to, especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot accept and which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.

Your constant references to my not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. I have approached you so that, if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, I may use what influence I possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity, or because I have been unwilling to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

172. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

September 26, 1944

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

I have read your letter. We shall not do it at the time announced, we shall do it in the Ashram. I shall receive the purse at 2 o'clock. We cannot ask for regular permission. No harm will come to those who join. Sometimes it benefits to be ignorant of the law. This is one such instance.

Please take things easy. It will be enough if the visiting friends are properly accommodated. All else is in God's hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] For the addressee's reply of even date, *vide* Appendix XI.

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173. TELEGRAM TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

Express BIRLA HOUSE, MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
September 27, 1944

KISHORELAL MASHURWALA
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

GOD BLESS YOU. TAKE FULL REST. REACHING SOON.
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

174. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

BOMBAY,
September 27, 1944

Gandhiji said he was not addressing them in Hindustani as before, because he wanted his words to go straight to the hearts of the audience, most of whom were Gujaratis. He had particularly the women in mind who were not accustomed to Hindustani speech.

Referring to the leakage of the correspondence between him and Quaid-e-Azam and its unauthorized publication in a certain section of the Press, he observed that he had warned[2] the Press before against indulging in conjectures, because he felt that would damage the cause. But what had appeared in the Press now was more than a mere conjecture. It seemed that they had somehow managed to get actual copies of the correspondence. Perhaps it was clever on their part, but that did them little credit. Journalism, like every institution, had its own code of ethics and he was not there to pass judgment. All he could say was that he himself had, perhaps, followed a different code of ethics even in the field of journalism.

He assured them that the leakage had not occurred from his office, and he had strong reasons for his belief. He had the other day drawn the Quaid-e-Azam's attention to the leakage, but the Quaid-e-Azam was indifferent. Public men had to cultivate that indifference, or else life would become impossible. But it was for the public not to take relish in such

[1] This was issued as an "authorized version" of the Gujarati speech.
[2] *Vide* p. 98.

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happenings. If the public strongly disapproved all such practices, the Press would not repeat them. It was intolerable that anyone should try to pry into and give publicity to private correspondence without authority.

He told them that when the talks were over, he would let them know the result. That stage had been reached yesterday, but as copies of the correspondence were not ready, its actual release had to be postponed till today. Authorized copies of the correspondence had now been sent to the Press with a prefatory statement by the Quaid-e-Azam.

Hitherto he had told them that he was not without hope with regard to the outcome of the talks. He had to confess that the result that he was hoping for had not materialized. But he had no sense of disappointment or despondency. He was convinced that even out of that breakdown good would result.

Although Quaid-e-Azam and he had known each other fairly well in public life before, they had never come into such close personal contact. Their conversations were carried out with friendliness and cordiality. He wanted all the communities to cultivate the same spirit of friendliness and cordiality in their relations with one another. They should try to convert one another through it.

They might ask, "Why was it then that he and the Quaid-e-Azam had failed to convert each other?" His reply was that he had tried his level best to go as far as he could to meet the Quaid-e-Azam's viewpoint. He had taken incalculable pains to understand him and to make himself understood. But he had failed.

He had placed before the Quaid-e-Azam Rajaji's Formula, but that did not commend itself to him. He had thereupon put forth another proposal of his own in its place, but even that had failed to secure Jinnah Saheb's approval. In the same way, Jinnah Saheb's proposal had failed to commend itself to him. If either of them had been weak, they would have possibly come to some sort of agreement, but as responsible men they could not afford to be weak. A helmsman had to be firm and unwavering, or else the ship would founder upon the rocks. Each one of them had tried to convince the other. It was possible that both of them might be in the wrong. But so long as each felt himself to be in the right, he could not let go his hold.

The news of breakdown, he knew, would cause grief to the friends of India and might give cause for jubilation to their enemies. He drew their attention to the last sentence in his[1] statement in which he had said that it was not the final end of their effort.

Although they had been unable to appreciate each other's viewpoint, the public could help them to do so. They should not lose heart. If there

[1] The source has "their". The reference is to M. A. Jinnah's statement; *vide* Appendix XII.

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was anyone who had reason to feel disappointed it was he. He had knocked at the Quaid-e-Azam's door. But he had already observed there was no despondency in him. It was not for a votary of truth and non-violence to feel despondent if his effort at times failed to yield the result aimed at. Failure should only serve as a spur to further effort. God alone knew what was best for them. It was not for them to question God's ways. Therefore, instead of feeling despondent, they should regard the breakdown as a challenge to their faith and as an incentive for greater effort for establishing true unity among the various communities.

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

175. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

[After] *September* [*27*,][1] *1944*

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I got your manuscript[2]. I will try to read it. Maganbhai says that what you have written about Hindi-Urdu has caused much confusion. You must have received my letter[3]. I will be leaving on the 30th; or may be even earlier.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 301

176. TELEGRAM TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

Express *September 28, 1944*

VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT
2 MUKERJEE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

SEND FORMAL NONCOMMITTAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT PROMISING FURTHER REPLY. REACH SEVAGRAM SECOND OCTOBER IF CONVENIENT.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Gandhiji's date of departure was not decided till September 27; *vide* "Telegram to Kishorelal G. Mashruwala", p. 133.
[2] Of *The Gandhian Plan*
[3] *Vide* p. 123.

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177. LETTER TO M. S. SUBBULAKSHMI[1]

BOMBAY,
September 28, 1944

DEAR SUBBULAKSHMI,

Rajaji has told me everything about your good work in connection with Kasturba Memorial Fund by using your musical gifts. May God bless you.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI[2]

From a photostat : C.W. 10600. Courtesy : T. Sadasivam

178. LETTER TO GIRDHARLAL T. MODI

BOMBAY,
September 28, 1944

BHAI GIRDHARLAL,

Sushilabehn told me about your illness. I wish very much to call on you, but you know how helpless I am.

Pyarelalji will tell you more. Get well soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10213. Courtesy : Jayabehn Modi

179. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[3]

September 28, 1944

It is a matter of deep regret that we two could not reach an agreement. But there is no cause for disappointment. The

[1] (b. 1916); a renowned Carnatic musician, she received the Magsaysay Award in 1974 for public service through music.

[2] The signature is in Tamil.

[3] A Press conference of about 40 Indian and foreign journalists was held at Birla House; Sarojini Naidu, C. Rajagopalachari, Bhulabhai Desai, Nagindas Master, M. Y. Nurie, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder and S. K. Patil were among others present. Gandhiji first read out his statement.

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Bombay 28 9/74

Dear Subbulakshmi.

Rajaji has told me everything about your good work in connection with Kasturba memorial Fund by using your musical gifts. May God bless you.

Yours

G. D. Birla

breakdown is only so-called. It is an adjournment *sine die*. Each one of us must now talk to the public and put our viewpoints before them. If we do so dispassionately and if the public co-operate, we may reach a solution of the seemingly insoluble at an early date. My experience of the previous three weeks confirms me in the view that the presence of a third power hinders the solution. A mind enslaved cannot act as if it was free. I need not impute base motives to the rulers to prove what seems to me to be an axiomatic truth. Nevertheless, I am going to continue to work for the solution as I have been during these three weeks. The questions for consideration are simple. Has the Rajaji Formula or mine made a reasonable approach to the Lahore Resolution? If they or either of them is such an approach, all parties, and especially the members of the Muslim League, should ask the Quaid-e-Azam to revise his opinion. If Rajaji and I have stultified the Lahore Resolution we should be educated. The chief thing is for the Press and the public to avoid partisanship and bitterness.

To a question on his future plans, whether he proposed to concentrate on a Hindu-Muslim settlement or take up political work, seeking imprisonment if necessary, Mahatma Gandhi replied :

I shall act as my inner voice tells me.

Asked how far the offer he had made had conceded the demand made in the Lahore Resolution of the League, Mahatma Gandhi emphasized that the Rajaji Formula or the formula that he presented conceded the substance of the League demand. He said :

In my opinion, either formula gives as much as can reasonably be expected with due regard to the interests of the whole of India.

In answer to a question whether his offer was to be treated now as withdrawn, he said that so far as he was concerned the offer he had made stood. It was not made in any bargaining spirit. He said :

I think it is a just solution of the problem and it is in the spirit of the policy which the Congress has consistently adopted in connection with the communal question, namely, self-determination.

A number of questions were put on the representative character of the two leaders who conducted the negotiations and why Mahatma Gandhi prolonged the talks when he was apprised of Mr. Jinnah's views on the first day of the talks. Mahatma Gandhi answered :

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I am a man reputed to have inexhaustible patience and I had no reason to despair of either being converted by the Quaid-e-Azam or in my turn converting him. Therefore, so long as there was the slightest possibility, I clung to the hope that we shall pull through to a solution. Haste in such cases is a most dangerous thing. You should, therefore, conclude that yesterday was really the moment when the public should have been taken into confidence. As for myself, I am entirely satisfied that we have not wasted these three weeks. I have no doubt whatsoever that we know now each other better than ever before.

When you agreed to meet Mr. Jinnah, did you meet him on the basis that he was the sole representative of the Muslims?

I have never admitted that claim, but I have said throughout that the Muslim League is by far the most representative Muslim organization. It would have been folly on my part not to recognize this, but I have always been aware that there is outside the League a large body of Muslims which does not see eye to eye with the League and which does not believe in the two nations theory.

Mahatma Gandhi asserted that the fight for freedom had not been suspended when he approached the Quaid-e-Azam. He said:

My approach to the Quaid-e-Azam was itself a part of the fight for freedom.

Asked if there was any possibility of the two leaders meeting again in the near future, Mahatma Gandhi said :

I hope so. It is for the Press and the public to make it possible and hasten the date. I assure you that we have not parted as enemies, but as friends.

If the Rajaji Formula or his own formula had conceded the substance of the Lahore Resolution, then why not agree to the Resolution itself ?

Although the Resolution does not say so, if you study the correspondence, it shows that it is based on the two nations theory and it has been known as the Pakistan Resolution. Further, I had to examine the Resolution in view of the interpretation put upon it by the Quaid-e-Azam in his numerous speeches and statements in elucidation of the Resolution. It is indisputable that the Resolution, while it does not enunciate that theory, is based upon that theory. The Quaid-e-Azam has insisted upon that. Therefore, I urge that apart from the two nations theory, if I could accept

the principle of division of India in accordance with the demand of the League, he should accept it. But unfortunately it was just there we split.

Asked about Mr. Jinnah's views regarding a provisional interim government, he said :

I am not sure that the Quaid-e-Azam puts great weight on the interim government. I gave all the explanation of my conception of an interim government without any reservation. It is quite clear in my letters[1]. If I did not go any further, it was because I could not and, even if you cross-examine me any further, I would have to say I could not go any further. But if, as you suggest, the Quaid-e-Azam attached greater weight to it, then it was open to him to put it into concrete form. I would have then taxed myself and spared no effort to accept the proposition or to make some other suggestions.

Mahatma Gandhi was told that those Muslims who did not see eye to eye with the League had no real Muslim backing. He replied :

Therefore, I have said that the League is by far the most representative of Muslim opinion, but I cannot despise the others by simply saying that they have no Muslim backing. What does it matter if they have no more Muslim backing if the opinion represented by a single Muslim, or by a body of Muslims whom you can count on your fingers, is intrinsically sound ? The way of approaching a question is not to examine the numerical strength of those behind the opinion, but to examine the soundness of the opinion on merits, or else we will never reach a solution, and if we reach one, it will be a blind solution simply because it is the wish of the largest body. If the largest body goes wrong, it is up to me to say you are wrong and not to submit. The rule of majority does not mean that it should suppress the opinion of even an individual, if it is sound. An individual's opinion should have greater weight than the opinion of many, if that opinion is sound on merits. That is my view of real democracy.

Mahatma Gandhi was asked what he thought of the idea of formation of provinces on linguistic, cultural and communal basis. He replied that since 1920 he was for provinces on a linguistic basis. As for redistribution on a cultural basis, he did not really know what it meant and he was unable to understand how provinces could be reconstituted on communal lines unless

[1] *Vide* pp. 99-100 and 103-4.

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there was a suggestion that there should be inter-migration of the various communities to concentrate in particular areas. It seemed to him to be fantastic and impossible. He said :

We are not inhabiting a country full of deserts and wastelands. We are a densely populated country and I do not see the slightest chance for such redistribution. In that respect the Lahore Resolution is quite sound—where there is an obvious Muslim majority they should be allowed to constitute a separate State by themselves and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji Formula or my formula. There is not much distinction between them. That right is conceded without the slightest reservation. But if it means utterly independent sovereignty so that there is to be nothing in common between the two, I hold it is an impossible proposition. That means war to the knife. It is not a proposition that resolves itself into a voluntary or friendly solution.

Therefore, the Rajaji Formula and my formula have presented certain things to be in common between sovereign States. Therefore, there is no question of one party overbearing the other or the Centre having an overbearing Hindu majority. I think our formula should be critically and sympathetically examined and it would be found that the formula concedes everything that could reasonably be conceded if we consider ourselves to be one family. Children of the same family, dissatisfied with one another by reason of change of religion, if they should separate, then the separation should be within ourselves and not separation in the face of the whole world. When two brothers separate, they do not become enemies of one another in the eyes of the world. The world will still recognize them as brothers.

A journalist said that some of the Nationalist Muslims felt that the Congress through Mahatma Gandhi meeting Mr. Jinnah had put them in a false position and that they might have to change their attitude towards Indian nationalism.

Mahatma Gandhi replied that it was an extraordinary suggestion. Nationalist Muslims were nationalists simply because they could not be otherwise. He said :

I am a nationalist, not in order to please anybody, but because I cannot be otherwise. And If I approached the Quaid-e-Azam, I approached him in the common interests of myself and Nationalist Muslims and other Nationalists. Nationalist Muslims, so far as I know, were delighted when I approached the Quaid-e-Azam and were looking forward to a proper solution in the confidence that I would not sell the interests represented by them.

Undoubtedly, a Nationalist Muslim represents the nation, but he represents the Muslims also, who are a part of the nation. He would be guilty of disloyalty, if he sacrifices the Muslim interests. But my nationalism has taught me that I would be guilty of disloyalty if I sacrifice the interests of a single Indian.

Asked if there was any difference between his present attitude towards the Muslim League demand and the stand he took in 1942, Mahatma Gandhi said :

There is very great difference. In 1942, Rajaji had not 'burst' on the scene as he did at the Aga Khan Palace with a concrete proposition. It reflects very great credit on his persistence. He never takes up a standpoint without the fullest consideration and having taken it up, he follows it to the bitterest end. He had abundant faith in my loyalty and he never gave me up as I have never given him up. When he found me in the Aga Khan Palace and presented the Formula, I did not take even five minutes and I said 'Yes' because I saw it in a concrete shape.

My mind is narrow. I have not read much literature. I have not seen much of the world. I have concentrated upon certain things in life and beyond that I have no other interest. Therefore, I could not realize the meaning of Rajaji's stand and I disliked it. But when he came with a concrete formula—I myself a concrete being of flesh and blood—and when he had put something in concrete shape, I felt I could hug it and touch it. Therefore, you see the vast difference between 1942 and today. However, thereby I have not departed from the Congress standpoint in general terms. Congress has accepted self-determination and the Rajaji Formula has also accepted the principle of self-determination and therefore the Formula had become common ground.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi explained that he accepted the principle of sovereign States, consistent with friendliness. He said :

Friendliness suggests that before the whole world we must act as one nation, not united by extraneous circumstances, or united by force of British arms, but united by a greater force, that is, our own determined will.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, pp. 42-6, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 29-9-1944

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180. INTERVIEW TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

BOMBAY,
September 29,[2] *1944*

Mr. Gandhi told me today why his talks with Mr. Jinnah failed to produce a solution of the Hindu-Muslim differences.

I could not accept the two nations basis. This was Mr. Jinnah's demand. He wants immediate recognition of the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, the whole of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign and completely independent Pakistan.

He wants Mr. Gandhi to agree to this amputation from the rest of India without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants by plebiscite. He has rejected the Rajagopalachari Formula. I asked Mr. Gandhi what he was prepared to recognize as Pakistan and on what basis there could be any hope of agreement in future. He was frank and precise. He replied :

I want to make it clear that I believe Mr. Jinnah is sincere, but I think he is suffering from hallucination when he imagines that an unnatural division of India could bring either happiness or prosperity to the people concerned. It was my suggestion that provided there was the safeguard of a plebiscite there could be sovereignty for the predominantly Muslim areas, but it should be accompanied by bonds of alliance between Hindustan and Pakistan. There should be common policy and working arrangement on foreign affairs, defence, communications and similar matters. This is manifestly vital to the welfare of both parts of India.

This arrangement, Mr. Gandhi said, could not interfere with the internal life of Muslims who would not be subject in any way to Hindu domination. Such a division would not create an artificial split between people who whatever their religious faiths are descended from a common stock and are all Indians.

Unfortunately, Mr. Jinnah would have none of it and asked me to agree to the principle of two nations entirely separate.

[1] Of London, represented by Stuart Gelder

[2] *The Hindu*, 2-10-1944, however reports this interview under the dateline, September 30.

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I asked Mr. Gandhi if he had adopted the attitude because he thought he could not 'sell' such a division to the country or because he thought it wrong in principle. He replied.

Because it is fundamentally wrong in principle. If I had thought Mr. Jinnah's view was right, even though the whole world were against me, I would have accepted it personally and given him my unquestioned allegiance.

If Mr. Jinnah agreed to your view of division, but insisted there should be no plebiscite or a plebiscite in which only Muslims would vote, would you settle on this basis?

Never. How could I agree in a personal or any other capacity to decide the future of millions of people without their having anything to say about their destiny?

What was your impression of Mr. Jinnah's attitude on the question of an interim national government which you outlined[1] to me in July?

Mr. Jinnah has said that he is deeply interested in independence, but it did not seem to me that he set as great store by it as immediate recognition of the Pakistan he wants. Whereas, you see, my view has been all along that we cannot be free among ourselves until we are free from imperial domination. We have parted as friends. These days have not been wasted. I am convinced that Mr. Jinnah is a good man. I hope we shall meet again. I am a man of prayer and I shall pray for understanding. In the mean time, it is the duty of the public to digest the situation and bring the pressure of their opinion upon us.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, pp. 47-8

181. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

BOMBAY,
Friday, September 29, 1944

Addressing them at the end of prayers, Gandhiji said that he had been seeing large number of men and women joining in prayers every evening and contributing to the Harijan Fund. He wished to tell them something about Harijans this evening since he would have no opportunity of

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 349-52.

[2] Since it was the eve of Gandhiji's departure for Sevagram, the evening prayers in the Rungta House compound were attended by a crowd of three thousand—the biggest congregation of the week.

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addressing the people tomorrow in view of his decision to leave for Sevagram tomorrow afternoon. For years he had been working for the removal of untouchability. Wherever he went, he emphasized that untouchability was a curse which required to be removed, root and branch. It was a tragedy that this curse still persisted in India. Many Harijans had been coming and seeing him. He was ashamed to find that even in a place like Bombay which claimed to do so much for the downtrodden, Harijans found it difficult to find houses to live in. It was no use merely contributing to the Harijan Fund. The real duty of the people lay in working for the uplift of the Harijans. Gandhiji said :

It is not for you and me to decide who is low or who is high for we are all children of God. The Hindu religion would not survive without the eradication of the curse of untouchability.

Even in the matter of communal unity, concluded Gandhiji, if we treated all as brothers and sisters, the present dark clouds would clear and give place to bright sunshine.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-9-1944

182. LETTER TO MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

BOMBAY,
September 30, 1944

MY DEAR MOHAN,

You have done this very cleverly. But I had better not say more just now.

BAPU

SHRI KUMARAMANGALAM

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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183. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

BOMBAY,
September 30, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

Many thanks for your kind letter[1].

I did what I thought was the best for the country. Of course, you should now express yourself freely on the question. That way only we shall arrive at the truth.

I am preparing for my departure and writing this against time. Hence this brief note.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

184. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 30, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

See the enclosed[2] and, if you can throw light on it, do so. Homi Taleyarkhan had asked me about this and my reply[3] was published in the *Jame* [*Jamshed*][4].

I am writing this in a hurry. Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 7682. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

[1] Dated September 29, which read: "So your talks have failed. I am not surprised. There could be no meeting-ground between you two.... Your efforts have now ended and I suppose I am at liberty now to express my sentiments on the nature and result of your effort if I choose to do so.... It is frankly my opinion that the Muslim League leader has gained more from you than he has lost to you.... Your formula is in Mr. Jinnah's hands and ... he will use this formula as a bargaining counter with the British Government and also as the starting point in future negotiations with Indian leaders. If at such negotiations Mr. Jinnah revives the Formula ... you will be powerless to resist it. Therein lies the danger in my opinion. To me ... Jinnah would prefer a settlement with the British, rather than with his own countrymen. ..."

[2] &[3] Not available

[4] A Gujarati daily published from Bombay

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185. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BOMBAY,
September 30, 1944

CHI. ANAND,

I am leaving for Wardha today. I have your letter. You may come over to Wardha when you want. Be at peace.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
SHARDA VILLA
FYZABAD ROAD
LUCKNOW, U. P.

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

186. LETTER TO HUNDRAJ M. PARWANI

October 1, 1944

DEAR PARWANI,

I had your letter.[2] I am powerless. I have no authority. Moreover I do not understand Sind politics.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI HUNDRAJ MULCHAND PARWANI
BUNDER ROAD
KARACHI, SIND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee's wife, Vidya, had passed away on July 20, 1943.
[2] The addressee, in his letter dated August 1, had suggested that under the extraordinary circumstances prevailing in Sind Province the Congress members of the Sind Legislative Assembly should have resigned.

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187. LETTER TO DONALD G. GROOM

SEVAGRAM,
October 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sure you will be welcome on your terms whenever you return.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

FRIEND DONALD G. GROOM
FRIENDS SETTLEMENT
HOSHANGABAD (C. P.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

188. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ABDULLA

October 1, 1944

DEAR SHEIKH SAHEB[1],

I got your telegram at Bombay. I could not spare a minute. I hope your function was a success. Mridulabehn[2] has given me a full report. She has also given me your book on Kashmir. I shall read it when I get the time.

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

[1] Leader of the National Conference, later Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State
[2] Mridula Sarabhai

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189. LETTER TO JAUHARILAL JHANJHORIA

SEVAGRAM,
October 1, 1944

BHAI JAUHARILAL

I had sent your letter to Baijnathji[1]. I see that you people have to resolve the dispute yourselves. I have already said what I wanted to.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAUHARILAL JHANJHORIA
OLD TOPKHANA, MAIN ROAD
INDORE

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

190. LETTER TO BAIJNATH MAHODAYA

SEVAGRAM,
October 2, 1944

BHAI BAIJNATH,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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

[1] Baijnath Mahodaya

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191. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

October 2, 1944

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

I am not accustomed to giving messages on such occasions.

Gandhiji amidst laughter added :

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

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

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

The Hindu, 4-10-1944

192. SPEECH AT KASTURBA MEMORIAL TRUST MEETING[1]

SEVAGRAM,
October 2, 1944

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

Referring to the large number of people from Wardha and outside that had gathered there, he remarked that the reason for their presence on that occasion was that, for years, people all over India had got into the habit of celebrating his birthday according to both the Indian and the

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

Christian calendar. The intervening period between the two dates was also included in the observance. This time, it had become known long before that he intended coming to Sevagram for receiving the purse on October 2.

The Secretary, in his report, had told them how the idea of the Fund had originated. They might like to know how he had come to be the President of the Trust. The collections were started when he was in jail. The trustees had asked for his consent to nominate him as their President. After his accidental release[1], owing to illness, they were able to consult him and he had become President for the purpose of guiding the trustees as to how the money collected should be spent in a manner befitting the memory of the late Smt. Kasturba. The responsibility primarily rested on the trustees, but it rested on him most of all.

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

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

[1] On May 6, 1944

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

The Hindu, 4-10-1944

193. LETTER TO J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI

October 4, 1944

DEAR PILLAI,

Many thanks for your letter[2]. Am sorry for the delay in replying.

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

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

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

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194. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

I have done the best I could.[1] Now you have to take up the thread, unless you think I have made a mess of the whole thing. If I have, I know you will be frank enough to tell me so.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

195. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

196. LETTER TO ZAKIR HUSAIN

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

MY DEAR ZAKIR,

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

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

[1] The reference is to the talks with M. A. Jinnah.

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

Lastly, how are you?

Love.

BAPU

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

197. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

CHI. SHARMA,

I wanted to write to you. In the mean time Gadodiaji[1] arrived. He is not at all satisfied with your work. He says that nothing gets done. I told him it couldn't be so. What is the truth? Come here for a few days if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

H. L. SHARMA
KHURJA ROAD, U. P.[2]

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

198. LETTER TO TEJWANTI DHIR

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1944

CHI. TEJWANTI,

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

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

[2] The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

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Bhangi Nivas. Do what you think best. Does this answer your letter ?

Nothing has yet been decided about the Ashram.

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

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

199. LETTER TO POTTY SRIRAMULU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1944

DEAR SRIRAMULU,

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

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 110

200. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

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

Hope you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] The source has 'as'.

[2] Gandhiji had written to the addressee from Poona on June 16; *vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 316.

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201. CABLE TO HORACE ALEXANDER

WARDHAGANJ,
October 6, 1944

HORACE ALEXANDER
144 OAK THULANE
BIRMINGHAM 29

YOU AGATHA[1] MURIEL[2] WELCOME. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 1439

202. LETTER TO J. R. D. TATA

SEVAGRAM,
October 7, 1944

DEAR JEHANGIRJI,

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

Thank you for your cordial letter of greetings. I would like you to make the cordiality concrete by attending the next meeting of the Trustees[3] to be held at Wardha on Saturday the 4th November. Saturday has been specially chosen in order to enable the original Trustees to attend with minimum of inconvenience. That you have already accepted the additional names proposed by me for the Board of Trustees and for the small Executive ought not to bear the meaning that the original trustees are to be sleeping members.[4]

I know I am guilty of having given currency to the thought that the administration of trust funds should in practice be left to the Trustees of my choice. I discovered my mistake before any mischief was done. The more I think about it, the more I feel

[1] Agatha Harrison
[2] Muriel Lester
[3] Of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund
[4] *Vide* pp. 120-1.

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the narrowness underlying such a conception. The whole board is a very happy combination and if most of the Trustees take an active interest in the administration of the Fund, we may expect even unthought of beneficial results. An active combination and co-operation of top city men and simple village-minded men and women is not an everyday experience. I trust therefore that you will make it convenient to attend the forthcoming meeting and even persuade the Trustees to do likewise, if indeed they need any persuading.

M. K. GANDHI

J. R. D. TATA
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

203. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU[1]

October 7, 1944

At the outset Jajuji read out the resolution submitted by Gandhiji before the workers of the A. I. S. A. in the September meeting. There was a suggestion in that draft[2] that the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh be also consulted while drawing the future plan of work of the A. I. S. A.

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

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

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

G. We can get our work done through the institutions of the Kasturba Trust, for their work is not anything different from

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

[2] *Vide* p. 68.

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

The only work of the Central Office of the A. I. S. A. should be to watch and give moral guidance. It is quite possible that like Euclid's point we might not be able to reach the ideal. Decentralization consists in bothering little about the practical details of the various centres but regulating the over-all work on moral lines. I know that I may not be able to get the Goseva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and others to carry out this policy of decentralization. But as service and total uplift of villages is the basis of all their activity I hope and trust the heads and workers of these Sanghs would of their own accord meet and think jointly how best to organize their work. They would also have to consider, for example, why the work of the A. I. S. A. had to be arrested or modified. One may argue that the work had not been arrested in any way. The Sangh's work had expanded to cover 15,000 villages; $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees had been distributed among the poor. All this is no doubt true but we should not rest content with only this much. Rather it should be a matter of regret for us that we have as yet accomplished only a hundredth part of our task.

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

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

G. Exactly so. This is the real meaning of the merging of the Sanghs and of their having a united policy. It does not

mean any regimentation of work but it simply connotes working with the united moral strength of all and with a wholesome integrated outlook.

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. About 3,000.

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

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

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

I like your idea of giving khadi cloth in exchange for hanks in Maharashtra. This is not yet much in vogue. But it is being

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

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 158-61

204. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

October 8, 1944

DEAR MAHMUD,[1]

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

Love.

BAPU

DR. SYED MAHMUD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee, a member of the Congress Working Committee, was released on October 6, 1944. *Vide* also pp. 195-6 and 217-8.

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205. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

October 8, 1944

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have talked to Sohanlalji[1] and to Devdas also. I think that it should be easy enough to collect one lakh rupees towards a memorial for Mahadev. So it doesn't seem proper to sell Sohanlalji's book[2] at higher than its market price for that purpose. The book should be sold at its market price and on its own merit. In this way the extent of public response to such a book may be ascertained.

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

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

A written order from you will be required for Parnerkar's[3] appointment. These days you hold all the authority. The committee has been suspended. If it is to be revived it will be done when we meet. Lakshmanrao, who is the Secretary these days, needs your order; only then Parnerkar can take charge.

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

Your health must have improved in Mussoorie.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] & [2] Sohanlal Dwivedi, a Hindi poet who edited the *Gandhi Abhinandan Granth*, a felicitation volume in Hindi

[3] Yashvant Mahadev Parnerkar, a dairy expert

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206. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 8, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

G. I am only giving its outline.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. How much should we spend on a worker?

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

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

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

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

G. We cannot take them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. It is a very hard test.

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

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 161-5

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207. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I was glad you sent your reply so soon. It has served the purpose. But can that prohibitory order be defended from the point of view of the right of freedom of expression? Do you agree with the opinion I expressed to Homi[1]?

I read your statement made in Jaipur. I did not like it. Is it not opposed to the Congress policy? Do you think the policy enunciated at Jaipur is contrary to the policy that we had jointly adopted at Nagpur[2]? I would not think it wrong if it should be so. I want to know only for my information. Has a difference of opinion arisen between us in this matter too?[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

208. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Homi Taleyarkhan
[2] At the Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad on April 24, 1936; *vide* Vol. LXII, pp. 344-7.
[3] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix XIII.

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209. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1944

× × ×[1]

BAPA,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. The Trustees were present and they resolved to meet at Wardha on 4th November. I think you should have issued a notice to that effect. If you don't think it is too late now, you may still issue one. If you want, you may notify through the newspapers, so that the Trustees are informed without delay. If it is necessary, you may send telegrams to individuals. Why will only one lawyer be present out of the three ? I can understand Mangaldas's inability to attend due to his illness. What about Munshi? And about Dada[2]? I have written to Jehangirji,[3] and Mridulabehn will show the letter to you. I admit that all the botheration will be avoided if I go to Bombay. My unwillingness to go to Bombay is not due to my health, it is due to political considerations. Hence I feel no shame in putting all of you to trouble.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

210. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

October 9, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

It took me so many days to write to you.

You have to remember this much:

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

[1] Omission as in the source
[2] G. V. Mavalankar
[3] *Vide* pp. 155-6.

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

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

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

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

211. NOTE TO MANU J. GANDHI

October 9, 1944

This is for Manudi[1] or Sushilabehn.

A six-week course in First-Aid.

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

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

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

[1] Daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi

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

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

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

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

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

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Ba Bapuni Shili Chhayaman, pp. 218-9

212. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

MY DEAR VAZE,

It was good you wrote. Your letter reached me too late even for a wire. Do please congratulate the Rajasaheb[1] on the liberal measure he has adopted for the people of his State. Aundh[2] has no reason to regret the reforms adopted there nor will Phaltan.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. G. VAZE
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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

[2] Aundh was the first Deccan State to introduce reforms.

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213. LETTER TO NAGINDAS T. MASTER

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

BHAI NAGINBHAI,

I have your letter. Doesn't the August Resolution [of 1942] mean that you should do what you think to be right?[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

214. LETTER TO KANTILAL AND SARASWATI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1944

CHI. KANTI AND SARASWATI,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

215. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 10, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

G. Yes, we can do so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 166-8

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216. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
October 11, 1944

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

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-10-1944

217. LETTER TO KUNDAR DIWAN

October 11, 1944

BHAI KUNDAR,

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

BAPU

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

218. LETTER TO RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

SEVAGRAM,
October 11, 1944

BHAI DALMIA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

DALMIA-JAIN NIVAS
NEW DELHI

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

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219. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 11, 1944

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

G. My view is that we should let as many provinces as wish to be free to develop their work as they desire. I would very much like them to take the entire responsibility on their own shoulders and recognize our authority only in the moral realm. I would allow them to work with complete freedom if they follow my lines, are personally of sparkling character, and are prepared to take risk in honestly implementing our policy. My only condition will be that they should sell all the khadi they produce in the villages near about the centre of production, the tehsil, the district or at the most the province. They should not, like the people of Chicacole, produce everything for Bombay and use nothing at home.

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

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

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

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

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

I know that Chicacole khadi is very popular and that it fetches a good sale in far off provinces; but this pains me very much. If we want to do khadi work successfully on the new lines in any province, district, taluk or village, we must not make one district lean on any other, or enter into competition with it. All districts must meet their requirements themselves. This would relieve us of our worries about sales. It is quite possible that implementation of this new policy may for the present reduce a centre to zero. But later on the work is bound to progress. Of course I cannot submit data and figures to prove what I say as I know nothing about them. But you can of course supply them to me. What I know, however, is that if khadi is to disseminate non-violence, we shall have to follow this new policy, come what may.

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

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

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

If you allow me I shall soon bring about decentralization in sales. Today khadi is such a profitable business and so full of opportunities for

expansion that dealers and tradesmen are ready to take it up. I am flooded with letters asking me for the transfer of one bhandar or the other. But as a clear picture of the coming decentralization is not yet before my eyes I am not able to go ahead. And even were we to entrust khadi work to some individual, trust or institution we shall have to insist on three things : (a) Purity of khadi, (b) Living wage and (c) Non-profiteering. If we are not able to control these three things the whole business will be reduced to a farce. Whatever is to be done has to be done very carefully. For example, take the case of the A.I.S.A. Every now and then we issue circulars to our branches to raise the wages and to impress upon the workers not to put the spinners to any difficulty whatsoever. Nevertheless, our experience is that it is well-nigh impossible to keep every worker of each centre in full control regarding such matters as accurate determination of the count of the yarn, correct payment of wages without adding or subtracting a pice or two here and there, and many little things of such nature. And this happens even though our worker has no axe of his own to grind. We appealed to purchasers of khadi to pay a higher price but those engaged in the craft did not receive an adequate wage. This is as regards the conduct of workers and centres even when run under the direct supervision of the A. I. S. A. If however we introduce decentralization and the control slackens or is almost withdrawn, one cannot say what a fearful mess the certified dealers might not make of it. Whether it is an individual or an institution, there is acute rivalry among all those engaged in khadi work. Even institutions indulge in a lot of profit-making. Under these circumstances if the A. I. S.A. keeps away from commercial sales, it would be a problem as to who should be entrusted with this responsibility or what sort of conditions or limitations should be imposed on them. Again, if the provinces are to be left free to look after themselves, they do not have enough workers with the proper khadi outlook to be entrusted with the work.

G. Is there no way out of this difficulty ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. Agriculture is the main occupation in the countryside. The bullock oil-press can also be run but it can provide a livelihood only to a few. It is khadi alone that can in a large measure relieve unemployment among the poor. But there is little scope for earning money through khadi produced

for self-sufficiency. Should we desire to add a few pice to the coffers of the villagers, we shall have to encourage production of khadi for sale outside and we shall have to make arrangements for it. Otherwise we cannot succeed in providing relief to those underemployed villagers who have work only for part of the year.

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

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

G. That also worries me. Vallabhswami's words resound in my ears. Party feeling developed in his village. Fasting had to be resorted to. I feel that behind it all there was a mistake in approach somewhere. We offered inducements to the people, gave them facilities, but these do not serve our purpose. We have to discover to what length khadi, by its own inherent strength, can carry India forward. So far in our quest we have found that khadi is saleable in the cities but not in the villages. We have not yet succeeded in making it acceptable to the villagers. If we have been defeated we must confess our defeat. We should learn from our past experience and adopt new methods of work if needed. That is why I say that we should stop producing khadi for the cities. Today about a crore of rupees worth of khadi is sold in the cities. We should hereafter make it clear to the cities that we cannot any more supply them ready-made khadi but will teach them how to produce it, leaving them the option of either producing it themselves or getting it from the producer. I am not enamoured of the sales of one crore of rupees worth of khadi in the cities. We should put into khadi work not money but brain and heart. In other words we shall now have ruthlessly to investigate the value of khadi in terms of its real potentialities. In case we find it does not carry us as far as we claimed, let us give it up or lower our claim or let us take up some other basic occupation such as agriculture.

From the very beginning it has been my firm conviction that agriculture provides the only unfailing and perennial support to

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

J. From the very beginning the question of agriculture as the main problem of the peasantry was before our eyes. But we did not take it up because we thought it too difficult and also because we had to keep in view our own limitations. Besides, in agriculture the peasant is today dependent on external factors altogether beyond his control. Supposing, for instance, we taught him better methods and he succeeded in producing more, his lot would still continue to be as bad as it always was if in the mean while the prices of cotton were reduced by half, a contingency which he can do nothing to prevent. This is the terrible situation confronting him.

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

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

G. The same is the condition in the field of cattle farming and dairying. The cow and the bullock are intimately tied up with agriculture. In this field also we have failed to play our part. Therefore, our workers going to the villages will hereafter have to

be alert and acquire the necessary knowledge to render effective service along all such lines. God alone knows how far they would be able to accomplish all this. But I have said what I had in my mind and what I thought fit.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 168-74

220. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

CHI. SUNDARAM,[1]

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

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 3179

221. LETTER TO A. N. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

MY DEAR SHARMA, (naturopath)

Are you so devoid of sense of humour? I had no evil thought about your visit to Nagpur. Indeed I thought (and rightly as it has turned out) that you had gone to render assistance to some friend. You had utilized my day of silence for that purpose. I was interested in you and so asked questions about your work. I paid you a compliment by summing up your life as of a homeless wanderer. I connected you with '*aniketa*'[2] of the *Gita* and envied you. Your home was nowhere and everywhere. How could you mistake all this for a reflection on you. It shows what a sorry thing foreign speech is. What is to be done? Must I cease to use the English idiom to my countrymen? Or are you specially touchy? Anyway I hope you understand the language of this letter.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The superscription is in both the Devanagari and the Tamil scripts.
[2] One without a home; XII. 19

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222. LETTER TO A. V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

BAPA,

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

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

BAPU

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

223. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

224. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

October 12, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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225. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 12, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

So also there are limitations in regard to cloth self-sufficiency. Even if the various processes from cotton-cultivation to ginning, carding and spinning

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are carried out by the villagers in their own homes, weaving charges are so high that their net saving as compared with the price of mill-cloth is very little, so little that the villager is not easily inclined to put himself to all the trouble involved. Besides, mill-cloth seems more attractive to him than khadi.

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

The same is true about other village industries as well. For the present the bullock oil-press is running well in the countryside. But there are serious misgivings as to whether it will continue always to do so. The fact is that our village economic organization of which khadi, *chakki* and other village industries were the various main organs has collapsed. Further, on account of mill competition, village-made cloth, flour, rice, oil and everything else have become costlier. Should we desire to reinstate them in their proper place, we should have to tackle the entire village economy and build it up anew. Concentration and research on any single aspect will be of little avail. Inertia has seized our people. Progress cannot be by leaps and bounds but very gradual. The problem is very intricate indeed.

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

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 62-71 and 75-9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. In matters of money even good men have been found to have failed in resisting the temptations of earning extra profit . . . Human nature

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being thus what it is, it is very dangerous to hand over khadi work to private persons.

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

Hence we are not going to lend to khadi dealers the prestige of the A. I. S. A. We shall withdraw from that field of work so that the certificates will cease to have any meaning. The only limitation that we shall observe is that if there is some extra khadi left over in a village or locality after meeting the local need, and if that khadi is useful to the city people we shall permit it to be sold in the cities. But the khadi should not be produced specially for export to the cities. If this means a reduction in our work it matters little. I am sure I am not providing true work relief to the people from the way in which I am doing khadi work today. What I am doing is tempting them by the handsome wages of the A. I. S. A. This is not the way to make the work permanent. If the poor want employment we must provide it. But it must be in such a manner that they can secure earnings from their own neighbourhood instead of depending on distant cities.

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

G. Today we are not really able to help the villagers. By offering the spinners three, four, six or eight annas I comfort myself with the belief that I have given them a livelihood. But

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

I allotted an hour every day for discussion with you because I believed that through such discussion my own thinking would be clarified. I am convinced that we shall have to introduce fundamental changes in our mode of work. If we are destined to fail we shall face it; we shall do so with full knowledge and alertness, not in our ignorance or folly. Even then if people laugh at me I shall bear it. They might say : 'Gandhi wasted a crore of rupees. But of course no one pocketed it.' I need your help in deciding whether what I am saying is correct. I would like to know your opinion.

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

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

J. The situation here in Sevagram is exceptional. There are so many institutions here. Guests are always coming in, new houses are under

construction and various other activities are going on. All this provides work to the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 175-81

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226. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM ASHRAM,
7 a.m., October 13, 1944[1]

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

If you digest this well you will never grieve.

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

227. LETTER TO P. T. RAJAN

SEVAGRAM,
October 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

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

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

From a photostat : G.N. 797

228. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 13, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

Here are the insurance papers. I would like you to put them before Sir Alladi[2] or whomsoever you like and secure his opinion. I think a representation should be sent to the Central Government about the fine.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2097

[1] As noted by the addressee
[2] A. Krishnaswami Iyer

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229. *DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU*

October 13, 1944

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

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

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

G. I do not have much to say on this point. Wherever we can get reliable workers work should be started. There is no harm in beginning simultaneously the three types of experiments you have enumerated. But, as we had discussed yesterday, we can get rid of many worries if we do not hold ourselves responsible for khadi sales. So long as khadi remains a saleable commodity, these worries are bound to be there. I also realize that we cannot entirely get rid of them today. But so long as we believe that khadi, like bread, must be made at home and that we should not maintain ourselves on bazar-made biscuits even if cheaper, we shall have to explain to the people that to use bazar-made goods is to court disaster. If the people grasp the idea, we shall have

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to devise an easy method of khadi manufacture at home. Our slogan will be 'cloth even like bread'. All difficulties will then disappear. The co-operative bodies will then have their own shape and form which need not now be anticipated.

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

So also with khadi. Our artisans produce not for themselves but for the A. I. S. A. to which they give their finished material for wages paid. They were happy when we raised their wages. But this is not decentralization. What I mean by decentralization is that the artisan must produce for his own or his neighbour's use and not for sale. When we realize that khadi is not a commodity for sale but for self-consumption only then we shall have grasped the message of khadi and understood the scope of its potentialities. We may be expected to clothe the whole country with khadi after getting political power. Should we not therefore make such an arrangement from today so that we may be able to make the country self-sufficient in clothing in case the future government of free India were to provide the requisite facilities to the A. I. S. A. and ask it, as an expert body, to do this task? But if the government of the day were to close all its mills, and to charge us with this responsibility, we are apt to fail as things are today. We should, therefore, know the extent to which khadi can take us. I myself cannot say that I know it for certain. But what I am quite clear about is that khadi should not be for sale but for self-consumption. Hence the necessity of changing the present policy of khadi work. We have before us the task of reconstructing our whole country, and in this khadi is an important item. So also there are

oil-pressing and other industries. It is only if we look at the problem from the point of view of production for use rather than for sale that the country has everything to gain by our work, and we shall be able to meet the situation squarely without withdrawing a single step when we obtain control over the reins of Government.

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

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

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

G. Of course I do.

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

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

I may recall what we did about living wages in spinning. We went along certain lines. Slowly it dawned upon us that khadi so produced was no philanthropy but an exploitation of spinners. We then raised the wages. I pleaded for eight annas. The rest of you insisted on three annas. I agreed to your three annas. Then you raised it to four annas. Similarly we may proceed in our new attempt. First you must accept the principle, later we shall proceed in the light of our experience. You have pointed out three possible ways of reorganizing the work on the new basis. Think over them. We have got our machinery in every province. Provincial organizers are already there. Call some of the workers and discuss the matter in detail with them. True, it will mean some curtailment of our present work. But that will not deter me. Even if nobody else spins I shall go on spinning alone. When we started khadi production I was told that khadi dhoti was

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impossible to produce. I replied that I would put on sack cloth or a blanket but would not wear a mill dhoti. And hardly a month passed when Maganlal produced a dhoti; Gangabehn Majmudar also sent me one and asked me to place an order for any number of them.

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

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

J. Before asking khadi consumers to spin their own yarn we should consider how much we ourselves are devoted to spinning. Let me take the instance of the A.I.S.A. workers. Our rule requires every worker to spin at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ hanks in a month. But we have not had a satisfactory response. Further, the number of spinners among the khadi customers is quite small. Most of the spinners in the countryside spin only for wages, scarcely for their own use. This is the situation. I wonder how far the experiment you suggest can succeed under these circumstances.

G. At least this much should be clear to all that khadi is not an occupation or a craft merely for earning a livelihood. None of us should harbour this idea. For, if khadi is an industry it would have to be run purely on business lines. The difference between khadi and mill-cloth would then be that while a mill provides employment to a few thousand people in a city, khadi brings a crore of rupees to those scattered about in fifteen thousand villages. Both must then be classified as industries, and we would hardly be justified in asking anybody to put on khadi and boycott mill-cloth. Nor can such khadi claim to be the herald of swaraj. On the other hand we have claimed that the real significance of khadi is that it is a means for uplifting the villages and thereby generating in the people the spontaneous strength for swaraj. Such a claim cannot then be sustained. It will not do to continue to help the villagers by appealing to the philanthropic sentiments of city-dwellers. What is required is that the villagers should be made strong to face life's problems and march

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ahead. If we encouraged mills, the nation might get sufficient cloth. And if mills are nationalized cloth prices may also come down, people may not be exploited and may earn adequate wages. But our reason for putting forward khadi is that it is the only way to redeem the people from the disease of inertia and indifference, the only way to generate in them the strength for freedom. If other crafts are also thus revitalized, our villages could be made self-sufficient and self-reliant. They would prepare their own soap from *sajji* clay. That soap will not have the luring fragrance of soaps turned out in the factories of Tata and Godrej. Its packing also will not be so attractive. But it will have the quality of self-sufficiency even like khadi. But this grand picture of khadi as the means of all-round uplift of the villages, which I have been putting forward for so long, is not being realized. The talks I have had with the workers have led me to believe that I must now retrace my steps. As the founder of khadi, I must not grudge doing so. That is the call of truth. I retrace my steps consciously or intelligently, and not in a mood of defeatism or of cowardice. If there was any exaggeration in my claims for khadi it is but right that I must own it publicly and rectify it.

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

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

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

G. You are right.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

G. We should then renounce the tall claim we have made. We must stick to the truth. Without hesitation, without flattering

ourselves we must declare that we are weak like everybody else and that we are in no way better. It would then be clear that swaraj, if and when obtained, will not be due to any special strength of ours.

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 181-7

230. TELEGRAM TO NAGENDRA BIJOY BHATTACHARJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 14, 1944

NAGENDRABIJOY BHATTACHARJI
PRESIDENT, CONGRESS
BARISAL

ASK CONGRESS OFFICIALS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

231. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

October 14, 1944

MY DEAR MAHMUD,

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

You have to make a Press statement pending publication. "I have seen Press paragraphs making baseless suggestions against me. I have asked for permission to publish my letter which was intended to be private and confidential. I ask the public to suspend judgment pending publication of my said letter. I can say this however that I have neither broken with the Congress nor Gandhi with whom I am now staying and under whose advice I am acting."[1]

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

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

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 217-8.
[2] Private Secretary to the Viceroy

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

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 5068

232. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 14, 1944

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

This for today.

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

233. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

October 14, 1944

BHAI TANDONJI,

Is this Rashtrabhasha?[1]

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

234. DISCUSSION WITH SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

October 14, 1944

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

Then there will be the question of training workers for which we would have to start *vidyalayas* in every province and frame syllabi for them.

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

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There is a great dearth of able teachers. Our first-grade workers have confined themselves to their particular areas—to their village, tehsil or district. . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

We did settle in the villages where we provided work to the villagers. But the intellectual among us did not, to any large extent. The few who worked did not have the attitude of an anxious and earnest devotee eager to explain his viewpoint to

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the people.[1] If we had we would have become such experts in our work that we would have been in a position to declare before economists, "We know all that you know. But you lack the practical knowledge that we have. This you can learn from us."

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

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

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

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

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

Khadi: Why and How, pp. 187-9

235. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

CHI. MAGAN,

All of you may come over whenever you wish. The reason for my writing is a letter from Bhai Mayashankar. He writes about his dues. I think the matter should be settled. Jyotilal

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

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writes about Champa[1] and says that she wishes to come here. I think all these matters can soon be settled.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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

236. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I read your letter written on the *Rentia Baras* day and also read the one written by Chi. Amba[2] *alias* Sujata. Why should we fear death when we know that wherever we are we are dancing in the jaws of death and they may close any moment to swallow us? Why should we worry about it? One day we have to leave this world, then why not today? We are also aware that death is not the end of the *atman*.

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

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

Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Wife of Ratilal P. Mehta, addressee's eldest brother
[2] Addressee's wife

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237. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 15, 1944

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

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

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

238. FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

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

The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India

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239. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Silence Day, October 16, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Herewith my foreword[1] or whatever it may be called. Let me know if you want something besides this. However much I tried I could not read the whole book. It requires at least four hours; how can I spare that?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 301

240. LETTER TO P. H. GADRE

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

MY DEAR GADRE,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI P. H. GADRE
NASIK

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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241. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

October 16, 1944

BHAI RAMNARAYAN[1],

I have the letter signed by you and Bhai Umashankar[2]. I was surprised to find that you two made a common cause. The inquiry is now on under Jajuji's supervision. Hence I will not express any clear opinion at the moment. I will write again within three or four days.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA RAMNARAYAN PATHAK
BHARATI NIWAS
ELLISBRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

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

242. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS,

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

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] (1887-1955); Gujarati scholar and man of letters
[2] Umashankar J. Joshi, Gujarati poet and man of letters

243. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

CHI. JETHALAL,

Jajuji has investigated the matter. He had passed on [the relevant things] for me to peruse. He also gave me the letter addressed to you which I have read. I find that no office-bearer has made any allegation against you. Bhai Dhotre[1] never had any suspicion. And why should he? You are not asking for the return of some money that had been given away. You have only asked for the substantiation of any charges against you. There is no allegation, however. But I don't like your rejoinder to Jajuji. It reads like a lawyer's reply. It is not worthy of a votary of non-violence. Jajuji had asked the questions only to refresh his memory and you ought to have answered them. I want you to answer them even now.

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

244. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

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

[1] Raghunath Shridhar Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Seva Sangh

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arrange things so as to have a spare day which you can spend here. We shall then talk it over.

Blessings from
BAPU

VAIKUNTH MEHTA
POST BOX 422
BOMBAY

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

245. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

October 16, 1944

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

VIYOGI HARI
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY, DELHI

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

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246. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am herewith sending a booklet about Higginbottom[1]. Professor Joshi had been here to get my signature on it. I declined to sign but agreed to write about it to some friends. You might have perhaps seen his farm. Maybe, you can help it a little if you approve of it and ask others to support it. I thought of writing to Singhania also but I shall drop the idea for the moment and be content with this one.

You must have received my letter of yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

Encl. Pamphlet

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

247. LETTER TO SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

BHAI SOHANLALJI,

I have gone through both your letters. I had a vague impression that you liked my idea. It was this : It is a bad practice to over-price a book to secure donations. And associating a name with such a price-rise is worse. I have conveyed the same view to Ghanshyamdasji.[2]

What shall I say about the merits and demerits of your work? I have no capacity to judge poetry. How can I speak about poems written in my own praise ? Of course I can say you have put in a lot of labour and no worthy labour is ever wasted.[3]

If you sell your work at market price we would at least know its comparative value. No special effort should be made

[1] Sam Higginbottom, Principal, Allahabad Agricultural Institute
[2] *Vide* p. 160.
[3] This paragraph is from a facsimile of the Hindi in *Gandhi Abhinandan Granth*, p. iii.

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to sponsor the sale. Many books sell on their own merit without any effort. You may realize your own expenses from the amount you have collected and, with the permission of the donors, send the balance to me for Harijan work or donate it for some altruistic work.

You can make public use of this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

248. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 16, 1944

One can do anything when one is peaceful and happy. But the charkha is the support and solace of the unhappy and the hungry. You must not abandon it when you are in grief. I shall write to Kewalramani[1]. Get me to do so in the afternoon.

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

249. LETTER TO K. B. KEWALRAMANI

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

MY DEAR KEWALRAMANI,

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

Yours,

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

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

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250. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

7 a.m., October 17, 1944

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

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

251. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 17, 1944

BHAI AMRITLAL,

I saw your letters written to Sailen[1]. You should not have assumed that I would let the marriage[2] take place without informing you. But you have of course given your consent for it. They wanted to marry even while I was in jail. Then I did not consent to it. But now even if I tried Abha would not agree to postpone it. They have come very close to each other. They do observe the proprieties, but their mutual affection is growing. I would like the marriage ceremony to take place in Sevagram around the 5th of November.[3] I would expect your blessings for them. Do come if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Addressee's son
[2] Of the addressee's daughter Abha with Kanu Gandhi
[3] The marriage took place on November 7.

252. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 17, 1944

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Akbar[1] has gone to a village in Gujarat. Zohra[2] will join him after having had training in nursing at the Ashram.

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

253. LETTER TO ARUNCHANDRA GUPTA

October 18, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

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

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

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

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

From a photostat : G.N. 8670

[1&2] Akbarbhai Chavda and his wife

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254. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM,
October 18, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

255. LETTER TO VITHTHALDAS JERAJANI

October 18, 1944

CHI. VITHTHALDAS,

I have your detailed letter. My partiality for you is well known by now. You would think carefully before starting work anywhere. You need not insist on spinning at places where it cannot be easily popularized. If people agree either to card or spin or weave or get cloth woven for their own needs, let them do so. Jajuji will send you a note explaining my views[2] in this matter. Read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Vinaya

[2] Expressed during discussions with Shrikrishnadas Jaju; *vide* pp. 156-9, 161-5, 170-2, 174-80, 182-7, 189-95 and 196-8.

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256. LETTER TO INDU PAREKH

Kartak Sud 1 [*October 18, 1944*][1]

CHI. INDU,

New Year's blessings to you all.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

257. LETTER TO NRISIMHAPRASAD K. BHATT

Kartak Sud 1, 2001 [*October 18, 1944*]

BHAI NANABHAI,

I am sure your son's operation will be smooth and successful. Normally this kind of surgery does not involve any risk. You must pay me a visit before you return. Even if you have no questions to ask I have some. You may send Manubhai[2] and Vijaya[3] whenever you can. They may stay on as long as they like. In the mean while who will look after the work at Ambla? Blessings to Hiralal and Ponchibehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

258. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 18, 1944

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

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

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

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

[2] & [3] Manubhai and Vijaya Pancholi

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259. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 19, 1944

CHI. DAHYABHAI[1],

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

God will protect Manibehn[2].

I am writing this in great hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 162

260. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

SEVAGRAM,
October 19, 1944

BHAI BALASAHEB,

I wished to but could not reply to your letter by return of post. There is no need to issue a rejoinder to *The Free Press* [*Journal*]. It will be enough if you give an interview to some paper or to a Press agency. I consider your reply to the Government perfectly harmless and complete in itself. Your health will improve at the Kaivalyadham[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kishorelal is keeping well.

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

[1] & [2] Son and daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel
[3] A yoga institute of Bombay

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261. LETTER TO DADUBHAI DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
October 19, 1944

BHAI DADUBHAI,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

DADUBHAI DESAI
NADIAD

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

262. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 19, 1944

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

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

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Wholly unnecessary.[1] You may give something for those who are in real need.

BAPU

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

263. LETTER TO ANASUYA AND SHANKERLAL BANKER

SEVAGRAM,
October 20, 1944

CHI. ANASUYABEHN AND SHANKERLAL,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : G.N. 11565

264. LETTER TO S. P. PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
October 20, 1944

CHI. APPA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

APPA PATWARDHAN
RATNAGIRI

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

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

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265. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 20, 1944

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

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

BAPU

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

266. LETTER TO G. C. SONDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR SONDHI,

This is in reply to yours of 6th.

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

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI G. C. SONDHI
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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267. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

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

I hope all is well on your side.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

268. LETTER TO V. VENKATAKRISHNAIAH

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I would like you to make your experiment in Sevagram but I lack the faith you want to inspire in me. Your intention is wholly good, your execution is defective. Nevertheless you shall come to see me, if I feel settled down. You will know when I am.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI V. VENKATAKRISHNAIAH
KHADDAR SAMSTHANAM
BEZWADA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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269. LETTER TO GOVINDLAL

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

DEAR GOVINDLALJI,

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

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI GOVINDLALJI
15 LANDS END ROAD, MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

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

270. LETTER TO ATMARAM BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1944

BHAI ATMARAM,

I have just heard that in the name of non-violence you have given up milk and milk-products as also medicines. I do not at all approve of this. After all am I not the sole source of these beliefs? You know that I do take milk although not cow's or buffalo's. Hence there is now no point in my having given up milk. We shall all give up milk when there is someone among us who will guide us towards intelligently giving up all milk as such. Understand that the same applies to medicines. You can be said to have truly given up medicines if you ate all your food regarding it as medicine. Know it to be your dharma to preserve your body which is to be utilized for public good.

Blessings from
BAPU

ATMARAM BHATT
BHAVNAGAR[1]

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

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

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271. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

October 21, 1944

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

My blessings of course are with you.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 358

272. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 21, 1944

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

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

BAPU

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

273. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
October 22, 1944

Congressmen should read without passion Dr. Mahmud's letters to the Viceroy and his statement to the Press releasing those letters. The motive in writing the letters was undoubtedly pure. He did not want his release before that of his colleagues

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of the Working Committee and yet the Government could not, consistently with their declaration, detain Dr. Mahmud after his unequivocal dissociation from the very start with the civil resistance clause of the A. I. C. C. Resolution[1] of 8th August 1942.

Where Dr. Mahmud erred was in not informing his fellow detenus of the letters. If he suppressed himself for so long he could not, without consultation and without authority from them, write to the Government what his mind was at the time the Resolution was passed. The practical question for Congressmen is whether they are to make use of Dr. Mahmud's services or ostracize him for the 'impropriety' he admits having committed. I have no doubt whatsoever that they should make the best use possible of the services for which his long and unbroken connection with the Congress makes him eminently fit. For me, in spite of his indiscretion, he remains the same dear friend he has been since the Khilafat and before. The public know my connection with the father-in-law, the late Maulana Mazharul Haque[2].

The Hindu, 24-10-1944

274. HINTS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS[3]

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

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix X.

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

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

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

But political pacts are required because of the previous lack of friendship. Similarly khadi manufacture and its use cannot be defeated if both become fairly universal. The manufacture and use are not to be brought about by imposing them upon the people, but they have to be intelligently accepted by them as some of the necessary items of the freedom movement, when it is worked from the villages as units. Pioneers even in such programmes are likely to be obstructed. They have had to go through the fire of suffering throughout the world. There is no swaraj without suffering. In violence truth is the greatest sufferer; in non-violence truth is ever triumphant.

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

The detailed constructive programme is to be found in my pamphlet[1] on it, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad's[2] which is a running commentary on it. It should be remembered that it is illustrative, not exhaustive. Local circumstances may suggest many more items not touched in the printed programme. These are beyond the scope of a treatise on an all-India programme. They are necessarily for local workers to find out and do the needful.

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

The kisan or the peasant, whether as a landless labourer or a labouring proprietor, comes first. He is the son of the soil which rightly belongs or should belong to him, not to the absentee landlord or zamindar. But in the non-violent way the labourer

[1] *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*; *vide* Vol. LXXV, pp. 146-66.
[2] ibid., p. 263

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

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

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

Labour should be made conscious of its duty from whose performance rights follow as a matter of course.

In a concrete form:

(a) Labour should have its own unions.

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

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

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

(e) Labour should be able to support itself during strikes. (Labour should be taught the science of conducting a successful non-violent strike.)

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

Next in importance is the student class above the age of 12. Indeed if we had enough workers of the right type, I would go so far as to say that we should work among them as soon as they begin learning as infants. For they have to be taken in hand from the school-going age. Indeed, I need not say that I have not in mind their political use. For the present the schools are largely under Government control or are influenced by them. Hence the students' education is defective in a vital matter. They are untouched by the political condition of the country save what they learn from the newspapers or platform orators. They should have in a systematic manner their present education supplemented by Congress workers. How this can be fitted into the present system of education is a serious question. But it has to be tackled. Up to the matriculation standard co-operation of parents is necessary.

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

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, October 22, 1944

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

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

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275. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

October 22, 1944

BHAI HIRALAL SHASTRI,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

BANASTHALI (JAIPUR)

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

276. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI[1]

October 22, 1944

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

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuke Ashirvad, p. VI

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

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277. *TALK WITH FRIENDS*

[On or after *October 22, 1944*][1]

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

But that is just what I want. I do not want you or anybody else "to settle down" to anything. In the midst of this frightful triple slaughter of soldiers, civilians and truth, it is impossible to settle down to anything. One has ceaselessly to be on the march body and soul. My business is to stir up myself and my surroundings and shake us out of our complacency.

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

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

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

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

The amazing thing is that I still survive and can feel the joy of living. I can do so because I know the joy of dying. Because I know that joy and grief are the obverse and reverse of the same coin, I remain unaffected by either and act as God bids me.

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

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

[1] From the reference to the "Hints for Constructive Workers"; *vide* pp. 218-21.

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The friends were not satisfied. What guarantee was there that if anything happened to him as a result, it would not let loose a storm with none left to control it?

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

"Why should you not in that case invite the risk of chaos in pursuit of non-violence while you are there in the flesh to control it?" the friends returned to the charge.

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

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

278. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
October 23, 1944

Mr. Horniman[1] thoughtfully sent the following wire to Mr. Pyarelal on the 19th:

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

Pyarelal sent the following reply:

> Thanks. Report without foundation.

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

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

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

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

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

I have never looked forward to it and yet it has often brought solace to the agonized soul, for real fasting puts the soul in tune with the Maker. It puts life into one's prayer. All the while, I am discussing the feeling with friends. I am praying for light and guidance, without which there will be no fast. I ask for the co-operation of friends throughout the world in my search for light.

The Hindu, 25-10-1944

279. LETTER TO MRS. HIGGINBOTTOM

October 23, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

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

My loving regards to both of you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. SAM HIGGINBOTTOM
HOME-MAKING DEPT.
ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURE INSTITUTE
ALLAHABAD

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

280. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

BHAI MANGALDAS,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

281. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

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

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

I hope you had my previous letter[1].

I am sure Ardeshir[2] is making some progress day by day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

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

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 167-8.
[2] Addressee's son

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282. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Swami[1] has a letter from Dilip[2] from which I learn that your health has again had a set-back. How is it that you have contracted influenza, etc.? I must have the details. If you cannot write Dilip should. I am tied up with work. I hope Dilip is calm.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

283. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. PARIKSHITLAL,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Swami Anand
[2] Addressee's son

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284. LETTER TO GANGA PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

DEAR GANGABEHN,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

GANGABEHN PATEL

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

285. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

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

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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286. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 23, 1944

There is no harm in sitting near me but on such occasions do ply the *takli* as Mahadev and Kripalani used to do. Then you will not be stealing from God's time. The *takli* is our silent companion. Without making any noise it keeps turning out yarn which the world needs. While plying the *takli* we can see and hear everything. I would go so far as to believe that with God's grace, being absorbed in this sacrificial activity even your hearing may be restored to you. But if you become such a karma-yogi[1], you would hardly care for your ears. The guru in the form of a monkey shuts his ears deliberately since the surrounding noise comes in his way.[2]

BAPU

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

287. LETTER TO JAMILUDDIN AHMED[3]

SEVAGRAM,
October 24, 1944

BROTHER JAMIL SAHEB[4],

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

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 13-11-1944

[1] One who performs action without attachment
[2] The reference is to the Chinese figurine of three monkeys.
[3] The Urdu original is not available.
[4] Convener of the Committee of Writers of the All-India Muslim League

288. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 24, 1944

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

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

BAPU

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

289. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU[1]

October 25, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

The Press cuttings on the breakdown of the talks[2] between Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and me show that for the most part the criticism is unhelpful and in some cases even regrettable. In the circumstances if a representative conference is held it might prove profitable. Anyway it can do no harm. No one is better able than your good self to take the lead in this matter.[3] This conference

[1] This was sent through Dr. Beni Prasad.

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

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

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should confine itself to an examination of the Pakistan issue in the light of the correspondence mentioned above.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

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

290. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 25, 1944

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. About *sadhana* do as I have suggested. Valjibhai[2] is here and he also says that he has checked up everything with *Indian Opinion*. My information therefore must be correct. You will however not be able to render me any personal service. Besides, the sword of a fast is hanging over my head. I cannot say when the Ashram will go to pieces. Hence, I think it is best for you to continue to work among the Baraiyas[3]. I am convinced about what you say regarding education. They should therefore have the training that is offered at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL
NADIAD

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

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and indeed what I fear is that our differences will come to the surface. It is for this reason that I think that if you and Mr. Jinnah can appoint such a committee and that committee can submit a report, it may pave the way for a larger conference at that stage. I am, therefore, definitely of the opinion that a conference should not be called at this stage.

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

[2] Valjibhai G. Desai

[3] A community in Gujarat

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291. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 25, 1944

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

BAPU

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

292. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 26, 1944

From yesterday's experience learn the lesson that you are not to go anywhere alone.[1] Take someone along with you—maybe a boy or, say, a girl. And keep yourself absorbed in a lot of physical work. Weeping is no good. Be cheerful like Nandini[2].

BAPU

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

293. TALK WITH MRIDULA SARABHAI[3]

SEVAGRAM,
October 26, 1944

The unbearable forces of injustice, exploitation and falsehood prevailing in this country and the world stifle me. Government

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

[2] Daughter of Mohanlal Nayyar

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

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

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

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

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

If individual satyagraha is not approved, the prevailing falsehood of the present day should be opposed in any other way. Today our own people are depriving the public of their food-grains. If they do not do it, people will not starve. The cultivator,

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

Corruption—It is both in the Government and other quarters. If non-Governmental corruption stops, the Government corruption cannot go on. Non-violence has to bring about the union of good elements. Violence brings about unity among wicked elements. This is the first exhibition of violence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

294. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH

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

The first question that arose was one bearing on the suggestion that the word 'basic education' might be incorporated in the Trust-Deed, so as to make it clear to all concerned that the education contemplated under the Fund[2] would be only of the basic type. Gandhiji did not approve of it. He did not wish to put any restraint upon the trustees. If any unit did not want to adopt basic education, he would leave it free to follow any other system approved by the Board.

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

Basic education would forge ahead through its intrinsic merit. He knew that the reform would not come by mere argumentation. It would come by ocular demonstration. If they could carry their experiment to a

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

[2] Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund

successful end even in one village, the battle would be half won. He was, therefore, content to go slow. It was enough that the trustees had agreed to the money being spent for the education and welfare of women and children in the villages exclusively.

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

The second suggestion put forth by the Talimi Sangh was that the age of the boys to be covered by the scheme should be raised from 7 to 12.

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

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

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

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

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

Won't that be supererogation on his part?

No. Supposing I come across an old man who is dirty and ignorant. His village is his universe. It would be my job to teach him cleanliness, to remove his ignorance and widen his mental horizon. I need not tell him that I am to be his teacher. I will try to establish a living contact with his mind and win his confidence. He may reject my advances. I won't accept defeat, but continue my effort till I succeed in making friends with him. Once that is achieved, the rest must follow.

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

Some work for adult education is being done in many places. It is mostly concentrated among mill-hands and the like in big cities. No one has really touched the village. Mere three Rs. and lectures on politics won't satisfy me. Adult education of my conception must make men and women better citizens all round. To work out the syllabus and to organize the work of adult education is a more difficult task than preparation of the seven years' course for children. The common central feature of both will be the imparting of education through village crafts. Agriculture will play an important part in adult education under the basic

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

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scheme. Literary instruction must be there. Much information will be given orally. There will be books more for the teachers than the taught. We must teach the majority how to behave towards the minority and vice versa. The right type of adult education should teach good neighbourliness and cut at the very root of untouchability and communal problem.

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

The Hindu, 29-10-1944

295. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 27, 1944

I don't consider anybody to be worthless. Everybody has done his best and I am satisfied. However, my yardstick is rather long and neither you nor I have come up to it. I am firm in what I said yesterday. You should make the kitchen an ideal one. Kanchan[1] may be asked to join in that work only if she is sincerely willing to co-operate, otherwise she will be dispirited. If you get her co-operation, you two, otherwise you alone with the help of anybody whom you select, should go on working silently. Consult me whenever necessary. Everybody must be assigned his or her share of the work, and I should be informed about the arrangement. Only those who can become one with the life in this village may stay here, others should leave

[1] Addressee's wife

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and go where they like. I will help them in that. Let us be truthful and non-violent inwardly as well as outwardly.

BAPU

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

296. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

October 27, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I see several difficulties in the way of putting off Abha's wedding till December.[1] If a fast is ordained for me, it is best that the wedding should be over before that time. I can understand the love of you both and of Grandmother. But I am sure all of you will be able to understand the difficulty I have explained. If Abha's father does not attend or if, even though present, he does not insist on giving away the bride, Sumati and you may certainly do so. But since you have become so intimate [as to wish to do that], please remember that you will have to follow the simplicity of Abha and Kanu, otherwise they also will lose it. Is it not our wish that this inter-caste and inter-provincial marriage should prove to be ideal in every respect?[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

297. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 27, 1944

BAPA,

I have your letter regarding big cities. The question is not how many will stay at the main centre. The question is

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", p. 207.

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

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about utilizing them within and for the sake of the villages. We shall therefore thrash it out at the meeting on the 4th. Please have patience till then.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
DELHI

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

298. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
October 27, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You must have understood what I said about *sadhana*. Think deeply over what I said yesterday. This is what I say: unsteadiness of mind implies impurity of thought, it cannot be regarded as *brahmacharya*. This is quite usual in youth, but he who aspires to be a *brahmachari* will grow steadier day by day. Discuss this matter with Balkoba[1] or reach a conclusion by looking within yourself. According to Munnalal's list for yesterday perhaps both of you would like to go to the rural areas of the U. P. You will have my blessings if you take such a decision. If you decide to stay here then this decision as to the sort of service you prefer should be made after thoughtful consideration. Take a decision, whatever it may be.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

299. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

October 27, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. It shows your inadequate understanding. I have spoiled nothing by setting up here the Khadi Vidyalaya, etc. The organizations initially started by me had to work in close association with me. If the people engaged in them could

[1] Balkrishna Bhave

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not live together as a family, then whose fault is it? Mine? Maybe, the fault is his who sees it. The Sabarmati S[atyagraha] A[shram] was remodelled after thoughtful consideration. It is my belief that we have lost nothing by being truthful. Again, after today's heart-searching we have lost nothing. We were in a slumber but now we are awake.

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

300. LETTER TO D. D. SATHYE

SEVAGRAM,
October 27, 1944

BHAI SATHYE,

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

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

D. D. SATHYE
39 PEDDAR ROAD
CUMBALLA HILL
BOMBAY

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

301. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 27, 1944

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

BAPU

[PS.]

Get acquainted with Amin.

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

302. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You must have received my wire[1]. Bhai Amrita Lal, his daughter and his younger son have arrived. The whole family is pleased. Amrita Lal is perfectly willing that you should give away the bride. This simplifies everything. I will accommodate you, Jehangirji[2] and any other people whom you may bring along in this very place. Grandmother should not be put to any trouble. Get her operated upon. Her blessings will be enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] This is not available.
[2] Jehangir Patel

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303. LETTER TO GOKULBHAI BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1944

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

304. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

October 28, 1944

CHI. MRIDU,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

[MRIDULA] SARABHAI
BOMBAY

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

305. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

October 28, 1944

CHI. SARUP,

I got your letter. I again went through my article. Personally I was satisfied with it. But if you send me a sample I shall know

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what you want. This is what I had asked Jawaharlal to do. You might have heard about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

2 MUKHERJI ROAD
ALLAHABAD

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

306. STATEMENT ON PROPOSED FAST[1]

October 29, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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injustice and the policy of exploitation among the people too cannot be ignored[1].

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-10-1944

307. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

October 29, 1944

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

It is raining today. Detain [him]. Shriram[2] may come any day after the 10th, excepting Monday.

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

308. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 29, 1944

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

BAPU

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

[1] For a statement issued from Sevagram regarding Gandhiji's contemplated fast, *vide* Appendix XIV.

[2] Son of Rameshwardas Poddar

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309. *INTERVIEW TO N. G. RANGA*[1]

October 29, 1944

PROF. RANGA: You say that the earth rightly belongs or should belong to the peasant[2]. By this, do you mean only that the peasant ought to gain control over the land he cultivates or that he should also gain effective voice and power in the society and over the State in which he is obliged to live? If the *kisans* are to have only land and not effective political power, their position will be just as bad as in Soviet Russia where political power has been monopolized by the proletarian dictatorship while peasants were first allowed to gain some holdings and later were deprived of those holdings in the name of collectivization of land.

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

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

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

When you say that a peasant "has so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him" does it include, apart from the satyagrahic campaigns and the legislative and administrative reforms, that the peasants may oblige the State through the exercise of their franchise and political

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

[2] For Gandhiji's statements quoted by N. G. Ranga, *vide* "Hints for Constructive Workers", pp. 218-21.

influence to improve their individual and collective conditions and minimize the powers of the landlords?

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

'But he might not have all that political power', you will perhaps say. My reply is that if swaraj is attained by the effort of the whole people, as it must be under non-violence, the *kisans* must come into their own and have the uppermost voice. But if it is not so and there is a sort of a workable compromise between the people and the Government on the basis of a limited franchise, the interests of the tiller of the soil will need close watching. If the legislature proves itself to be incapable of safeguarding *kisans*' interests they will of course always have the sovereign remedy of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. But as I said as early as in 1921[1] in connection with Chirala Perala, ultimately, it is not paper legislation nor brave words or fiery speeches, but the power of non-violent organization, discipline and sacrifice that constitutes the real bulwark of the people against injustice or oppression.

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

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

You are partially right. That was so in the past. But we have now completely abandoned that idea. Since you made your statement on the subject in 1938[2] the thing was completely given up. We have adopted the word Congress not in a spirit of rivalry but because we want to be identified

[1] The source has 1932. *Vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 16-8.
[2] The source has 1929. *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 23-4.

with the Congress. We will have double membership. Every member of the Kisan Congress will also be enrolled as a member of the National Congress.

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

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

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

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

Then you admit that whilst you will work under the aegis of the Congress, you will at the same time run a parallel, independent organization. My mind runs in a straight line. I do not understand this zigzag. This can only lead to trouble when the

Congress becomes an effective organization. I am thinking of the millions of our downtrodden countrymen who do not know what to hope and what not to hope. A parallel organization will only further confuse their minds. It would be more logical to keep out of the Congress altogether.

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

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

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

Of course I do.

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

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

Do not your new instructions envisage the development of *kisan* organizations from the village upwards, to provide for peasant leadership and co-operative action, but working in harmony with the local National Congress Committee and their leadership? I may say that the Haripura session[2] of the Congress has recognized the right of *kisans* to have their own class organizations. But we are anxious, in the light of these four years' experience, that Congressmen shall take the lead in organizing *kisans* into their own unions so that there can be real unity and co-operation between *kisan* organizations and Congress Committees.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 459.
[2] In February 1938

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

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

Yes, but as part of Congress reorganization work.

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

Certainly. The aboriginal is as backward as the Harijan and more neglected. He calls for all the humanitarian service that Congressmen are capable of. Unfortunately very few Congressmen have taken to it.

Can our peasants and their organizations undertake satyagraha campaigns against any oppressive measures or policies of a landlord or a revenue authority, i.e., after all possibilities for settlement by negotiations through the good offices of the local Congress Committees have failed? We are aware of the 1939 Bombay A. I. C. C. instructions[1] regarding such campaigns and we accept that when there is a National Government with which the Congress co-operates, peasants' unions as well as local committees have to seek the guidance of the Provincial Congress Committees as to when and how to start and conduct such satyagraha campaigns.

They would be fools if they did not do that.

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

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

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

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXIX, pp. 366-8.

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

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

My correspondence[1] with the Government while under detention shows that most clearly.

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

I want to say 'Yes'. But I want to understand its implications.

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

Root and branch.

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

I hope so.

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

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

[1] *Vide* Vols. LXXVI and LXXVII.

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What shall those peasants do whose Gandhi-Irwin salt privileges[1] have been unjustly withdrawn or curtailed?

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

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

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

The Hindu, 23-1-1945

310. NOTE TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

Silence Day [On or before *October 30, 1944*][2]

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

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

311. NOTE TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

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

Tell him[3] I gave the name[4]. Madalasa knows it. I forget now but she won't. Sushila too may remember.

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

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, p. 436.

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

[3] Gordhandas Chokhawala

[4] Gandhiji had suggested the name 'Ashok' for Gordhandas Chokhawala's son.

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312. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

CHI. SUNDARAM,[1]

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

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

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 3204

313. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

DEAR DESHBHAKTA,

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

Love.

BAPU

DESHBHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The superscription is in Devanagari and Tamil scripts.

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314. A LETTER[1]

October 30, 1944

DEAR BABY,

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

Love.

BAPU

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

315. LETTER TO KULSUM SAYANI

October 30, 1944

CHI. KULSUM,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. KULSUMBEHN SAYANI

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

[1] This was addressed to a friend's daughter.

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316. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 30, 1944

CHI. DHIREN,

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

DHIREN CHATTERJEE
SODEPUR

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

317. LETTER TO ZAINABEHN RAJABALI

[Before *October 31, 1944*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

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

[*Blessings*] *from*
BAPU

ZAINABEHN RAJABALI
57 C WARDEN ROAD
BOMBAY

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

318. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1944

BHAI KUKABHAI,

I carefully read your letter of the 23rd, Jajuji also read it. He has asked for a clarification, as is his wont, and says that we five should put our heads together. And I should let you all know the conclusion that I should draw from our consultations. But at

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

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the moment Jajuji does not propose to trouble any one of you. Hence, if you three come three days before the meeting of the the A.I.S.A., we could discuss things at length and also formulate our policy. We can also bring about a change in the Secretaryship, if it is found necessary. You will of course press Jajuji to accept the Secretaryship. After all it was I who had insisted upon it, wasn't it? By three I mean Vithaldas, Lakshmidas and you. You will yourself write to the two friends.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

319. LETTER TO MAHADEV A. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1944

CHI. MAHADEV[1],

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

320. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

[Before *November 1, 1944*][2]

BHAI GOPICHAND,

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

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAHORE

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

[1] Son of Anand T. Hingorani
[2] In the source this letter is placed before those of November 1, 1944.

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321. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

November 1, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I appreciate your very affectionate letter of 25th October.[1] I want all the assistance I can get from friends like you for my guidance. I have never found myself in the condition I am in today. My ultimate guide is Truth the name by which I know God best. So far as I know there will be no haste. I am going through the daily routine as if the fast is not coming at all. Please therefore do not hesitate to warn me as often as you like. I hope you had my letter[2] through Dr. Beni Prasad[3].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

322. LETTER TO N. R. JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 1, 1944

DEAR JOSHI,

It is disgraceful that I should reach only today yours of 2nd ultimo.[4] You know the reason why. As you contemplate coming to me, I defer action on your appeal pending your arrival. Do please come whenever you can barring Mondays. If I am away or

[1] *Vide* Appendix XV.
[2] *Vide* pp. 230-1.
[3] Professor of Political Science, Allahabad University
[4] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's help and guidance for raising the Higginbottom Recognition Fund which was to be used for the development of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute. Dr. Sam Higginbottom, who had completed 70 in October, was retiring from the Institute.

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anything happens to me you will learn from the papers and act accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI N. R. JOSHI
SECRETARY, HIGGINBOTTOM RECOGNITION FUND
ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

323. LETTER TO A. K. CHANDA

November 1, 1944

DEAR ARUN KUMAR CHANDA,

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

BAPU

SHRI ARUN KUMAR CHANDA
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

324. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 1, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

If you had used the wedding at least as an excuse for coming, I could have met you both. We could have talked about important matters. But I can understand your not coming. I am not happy that all of you keep indifferent health. But, knowing that you are a thoughtful man, I trust that you must be using your discretion in all that you do, and so do not worry.

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

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

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

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You will get Rs. 3,500.

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

325. LETTER TO T. R. DEVGIRIKAR

November 1, 1944

BHAI DEVGIRIKAR,

What do you want me to write regarding Vasukaka[1]? We were alike in many things. How am I to write any more?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

326. DISCUSSION WITH H. J. KHANDEKAR

[On or before *November 2, 1944*][2]

Send me your scheme[3] immediately and I shall give my thought to it.

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

If possible.

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

[1] Vasukaka Joshi

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

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

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

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

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

The Hindu, 7-11-1944

327. LETTER TO EMILY KINNAIRD

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DEAR MOTHER,

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

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

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

Your loving son,
BAPU

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

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

328. LETTER TO K. P. CHAKRAVARTY

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DEAR CHAKRAVARTY,

Your touching letter. Treasure your wife's memory and devote yourself to the service of afflicted humanity round you. No one

[1] Atonement

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really dies. Bodies are destined to perish; some today, some tomorrow.

BAPU

SHRI K. P. CHAKRAVARTY
TOLLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

329. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

November 2, 1944

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

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 204

[1] Omission as in the source

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330. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

November 2, 1944

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM
HARIJAN ASHRAM
WADHWAN CITY
KATHIAWAR

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

331. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

BHAI SATIS BABU,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Why does Arun[1] fall ill? Hasn't he completely recovered yet?

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

[1] Addressee's son

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332. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 2, 1944

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

BAPU

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

333. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

DAUGHTER A. S.,

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

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

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

There is no difference between *shabash*[1] and *dhanyavad*[2]. One is derived from Persian and the other from Sanskrit. The latter I

[1] & [2] Literally, both mean 'well done' but *dhanyavad* means 'thanks' also.

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have already sent.[1] Now I send you the former. This is Hindu-Muslim Unity!

Blessings from
BAPU

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

334. LETTER TO GOKHALE

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

BHAI GOKHALE,

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

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

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

335. LETTER TO LAKSHMAN PRASAD TIWARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 2, 1944

SHRI PANDIT LAKSHMANSINGHJI TIWARI,

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

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

LAKSHMAN PRASAD TIWARI
NARASINGHPUR
HOSHANGABAD

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

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 208.

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336. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[After *November 2*,][1] *1944*

CHI. A. S.,

You are right in saying that I have lost faith in your word; how can I have it? I am not at all angry, my only consideration is my duty towards you. I cannot share the financial responsibility. Submit your budget to Jajuji. You are sure to get the amount he sanctions. It is not proper to trouble Bari Khan[2] for your expenses. It would be better if you can get them from another brother, otherwise take them from the Ashram. There is always a place for you in the Ashram, and positively so in my absence. You should give up building castles in the air. Stick to any job you may take up.

BAPU

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

337. LETTER TO BIPINBIHARI CHATPAT

[Before *November 3, 1944*][3]

BHAI BIPINBIHARI CHATPAT,

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

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

What was wrong in Bhai Amritlal writing a reply to you? It was his effort at saving me the trouble. The work that he is doing is for putting into practice Kakasaheb's ideas. Like you he does his work regarding it as his dharma. The only difference is that I do not know you, whereas I know him well. Why can't you all work in unison although you work independently? From your letter I see that there is some difference between your way

[1] From the contents it appears that this letter was written after the letter to the addressee dated November 2. *Vide* pp. 263-4.

[2] Addressee's brother

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

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of thinking and mine. I shall not discuss the point here as I don't have the time. Tandonji[1] is likely to come here. Kausalyayanji[2] will surely come. I shall have a discussion. I shall also try to satisfy you if you happen to come some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

338. LETTER TO BAL D. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1944

CHI. BAL[3],

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

339. LETTER TO SATISH D. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1944

CHI. SHANKAR[4],

I send you the enclosed letter rather late because I wanted to send through you the letter to Bal also. Please send Bal's

[1] Purushottamdas Tandon
[2] Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan
[3] &[4] Sons of D. B. Kalelkar

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letter on to Kaka. Either you or Chandan[1] should make a copy from the aerogramme and send it. I could read it only after I had a copy made.

I hope you are all fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

340. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Express

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1944

RAJAJI
THYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

SORRY. TELEGRAPH NATURE UNSATISFACTORY HEALTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

341. TELEGRAM TO JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA[2]

November 3, 1944

SHETH JUGALKISHORE
CARE LUCKY
BENARES

DEPEND UPON IT I AM IN GOD'S HANDS.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Addressee's wife

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

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342. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

November 3, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

This is written in a hurry.[1]

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

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

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

You must keep well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

343. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

Do not get agitated on reading about my fast. What is ordained will happen. I will do only what God prompts me to do.

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

[2] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix XVI (a). The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference met at Delhi on November 18 and 19 under the chairmanship of the addressee. For the text of the resolution adopted at the meeting, incorporating certain changes suggested by Gandhiji, *vide* Appendix XVI (b). For a list of names suggested for the Conciliation Committee, *vide* Appendix XVI (c).

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But this time everything seems unusual. I don't worry, though. I am not happy that you are alone there, but in a way I am happy, too. I am happy because you are passing through a severe test. I am impatient to send back Manilal, but his going has become uncertain because of his fear regarding my fast. How can I send him away against his will? He will surely leave if he is able to muster courage.

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

344. A RESOLUTION[1]

[After *November 3, 1944*][2]

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

[From Hindi]

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

345. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

November 5, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

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

Could you tell your audience in Dacca that religious strife should be impossible especially in a place which is a seat of learning? The influence of a university should travel beyond its four walls. Religion should be a binding, not a disruptive force. I need

[1] & [2] This was drafted by Gandhiji and passed at the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust meeting on November 5. Swami Anand's letter of resignation was dated November 3, 1944.

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not elaborate this thought. It came to me as I was reading your letter.

The late Charlie Andrews used to tell me of the good that some missionaries had done among the Frontier tribes. This was corroborated by Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Your testimony therefore does not come upon me as a surprise.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA
BISHOP'S HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

346. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have your two kind letters.

As to the suggestions about the use of the K. G. M. funds I read your letter to the Trustees.[1] I shall bear your suggestion in mind. I wish you could have attended the meeting.

As to the contemplated fast, the ultimate decision will be His, not mine. I would have been untrue to friends, if I had not shared with them the struggle through which I am passing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN
VICE-CHANCELLOR
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had suggested that funds should not be spent on purposes which it was the duty of the Government to carry out; they should be utilized for the establishment of orphanages and pilgrim centres and for the selection of women to be sent to Russia and Japan to study rural uplift.

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347. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

MY DEAR LOTUS-BORN[1],

So you will presently complete another year of the allotted span of your life. Who knows what is your span? So it is forgivable to hope that you will have many years of service of the mother-land. Hope you are taking care of yourself.

Love.

BAPU

SMT. PADMAJA
HYDERABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

348. LETTER TO PRINCESS OF BERAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR PRINCESS[2],

Sarojini Devi[3] has just given me the sad news that your illustrious father is no more. All my sympathies are with you. This death reminds me of the glorious Khilafat days when for the brief period Hindus and Muslims seemed to be united so as never to be parted by any person or thing. Alas! it was not to be. Sarojini Devi also tells me how you are serving the poor in your part of India. May God bless you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE PRINCESS OF BERAR
HYDERABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Literal translation of the addressee's name
[2] Durdana Begum, *nee* Durr-e-Shahvar
[3] Sarojini Naidu

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349. LETTER TO DR. LAXMIPATHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR LAXMIPATHI,

Mine is a most unenviable position. You remember how helpless you were when Ashadevi's son died. I do not want allopathic medicine and yet I do not get out of its coil. You are very good but you refuse to see things as they are. I am now trying Pandit Shiv Sharma. I do not know how I shall fare.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. LAXMIPATHI
BEZWADA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

350. LETTER TO DR. M. E. NAIDOO

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

DEAR DR. NAIDOO,

I was glad to see your familiar handwriting. I am all with you. Only you are too impatient. Time is on our side.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. M. E. NAIDOO
KOTTAR

From a photostat : G.N. 95. Also C.W. 9197

[1] The addressee felt that the Brahmins of Mylapore and Tanjore were not really for social equality of Harijans. He wanted Gandhiji to introduce inter-caste dinners.

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351. LETTER TO P. G. MAVALANKAR[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

You have set for yourself a splendid and difficult ideal. God will help you. Come and see me some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1717

352. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. PREMA,

You are quite silly. You are dying before your death! Is not the fast but a threat as yet? It is not at all certain. Is it likely to come unless God wills? Anybody who understands its profound meaning would welcome it, and look upon the day [it starts]as a blessed day. If it comes, I alone will have to undertake it. Nobody else will be permitted to join me. After my passing away, others may be called upon to fast one after another. But why think about that just now? Remain absorbed in your work and keep others absorbed in theirs.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10432. Also C.W. 6871. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

[1] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's opinion on two of his articles, one on his ideal and the other a Gujarati translation of a tribute by the addressee's father to A. B. Dhruva. Gandhiji had handed this letter to G. V. Mavalankar saying he would send his opinion on the tribute later. *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", 28-1-1945.

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353. LETTER TO AKBARBHAI CHAVDA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. AKBAR,

I have your beautiful letter. May God bless you with excellent health. Your work is fine.

Zohra will write to you and tell you how she is doing. Sushilabehn will certainly write to you about guinea-worm. The best way is to foment the spot with hot water and bandage it. As and when the worm shows, you should tie it up and not let it snap. By and by it will come out.

I suppose you know the simple remedy of an enema. Vallabhram Vaidya's pills are available at the Majoor Mahajan. They may also be available with somebody in Palanpur. About this matter, too, Sushilabehn alone can write to you in detail.

Do not worry about my fast. Nothing is certain yet. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3235

354. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

What shall I write to you? Give up all worrying, whether on my account or Dilip's[1] or any other. You will then get well sooner. You must not write to me yourself but content yourself by dictating to Dilip. I am tied up with so much work. My health, however, is co-operating with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

MATHURADAS, BOMBAY

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

[1] Addressee's son

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355. LETTER TO DILIP M. TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. DILIP,

I have your letter. Your duty is now to serve your father. Reassure him on your side. His blessings which will be evoked by the service you render will spiritually benefit you in all ways.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

356. LETTER TO JYOTILAL A. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

BHAI JYOTI,

I had your wire and also your letter. I have had a talk with Parikshitbhai[1] who is here. You must see to it that no one does physical violence to Ratilal[2]. After all he is Chi. Champa's husband. All we have to see to is that he does not annoy Champa. In all other respects we should be considerate to him.

Doctor[3] had the Bungalow[4] constructed specially for the benefit of the Ashram; only he used to stay there whenever he wished. I was expected to accommodate my guests in the Bungalow. Now Doctor is no more. I never asked him to commit anything

[1] Parikshitlal Majmudar

[2] Eldest son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

[3] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta; a Gold Medallist of the Grant Medical College, Bombay, Bar-at-Law; was Gandhiji's "oldest friend". From the time he received Gandhiji in London in October 1888 he acted as his "guide and counsellor". A philanthropist, from whom "no deserving poor ever returned empty-handed", he rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phœnix Settlement till his death in August 1932. Author of *M. K. Gandhi and South African Problem*. For Gandhiji's tribute to him, *vide* Vol. L, pp. 335-6.

[4] The Lal Bungalow near Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad

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to writing. And then Ratilal turned out to be a mental case. How can I convince Prabhashankar[1]? Champa used to be under Prabhashankar's control, now you have become her adviser. All I wish is that you should not sell the Bungalow. You should either have a separate trust for the Bungalow or entrust its management to the Ashram. I would not in the least think it right to evict any Harijans who might be living there. But the final decision rests with Champa and you. I can say nothing definitely about Maganlal[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

357. LETTER TO SARALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

CHI. SARALA,

Got the yarn. I hope Sheth is all right now. Come when you want. In terrible hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARALABEHN
[C/o] SHETH GATUBHAI JAMIATRAM
BOMBAY

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

358. LETTER TO TOTARAM SANADHYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1944

BHAI TOTARAMJI,

Parikshitlal has given me all the information. Your body has of course grown old, it will go when it has to. You have been dedicated to service all your life, so it is your dharma to accept it from those who wish to offer it sincerely. Of course Ramanama is always there to sustain us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2530

[1] Prabhashankar Harchandbhai Parekh, father of Champa R. Mehta
[2] Youngest son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

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359. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, November 6, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If you work in the Talimi Sangh then too you will be near me, won't you? In the alternative, let me know what you would like [to do].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4450

360. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

[*November 6, 1944*][1]

I do want to write something for you but do not have a moment to spare.

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

361. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA

[On or before *November 7, 1944*][2]

The objective of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha is to popularize Hindustani rapidly. For this it is essential that those who are learning Hindustani acquire familiarity with the Devanagari and Persian scripts. It is therefore the duty of this Sabha to get the right textbooks published and arrange examinations in order to be able to certify that one knows both the scripts and can read and write Hindustani. The Working Committee should lay down details regarding the curriculum and the examinations.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 18

[1] As supplied by the addressee

[2] According to *Mangal Prabhat*, July 1952, this Resolution was drafted for the meeting held on November 7, 1944.

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362. LETTER TO RISHABHDAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
November 7, 1944

CHI. RISHABHDAS,

I have heard Guneji's reputation. He should send me the names of the medicines and their properties. I shall make use of the information. It would be best if he prepares a booklet for me. I shall have it printed if I like it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

363. A LETTER[1]

[Before *November 8, 1944*][2]

I don't know when I shall fast, but, if I do fast, it will be for the welfare of the oppressed classes of the world.

Congressmen all over India have been anxious over my intention of fasting. But there is no necessity for becoming anxious.

When people have become inactive and when the day-to-day activities of the Congress are at a standstill, the last and the only effective weapon for a satyagrahi is the fast.

The Hindu, 10-11-1944

364. A LETTER[3]

[Before *November 8, 1944*][4]

When the tongue and the pen fail, the Shastras say, man should resort to fast. Why should there be any objection to fasting?

[1] This was addressed to "a prominent Congressman of Gujarat". The Gujarati original, however, is not traceable.

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Ahmedabad, November 8".

[3] This was addressed to a Congress member of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Hindi original, however, is not traceable.

[4] The report appeared under the date-line "New Delhi, November 8".

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The soul does not die. It is the body that goes away. Why should one worry? Moreover fasting will be resorted to only when God so wills it.

The Hindu, 10-11-1944

365. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 8, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,

I have been neglecting you. You know why. I am writing this before the morning walk which commences just after 7 a.m. Dr. J. Mehta is standing by me. He has come for a day on his way to Madras where he is going to deliver an address to physicians.

Rajaji is unwell and so did not come for the various meetings.

Amtul Salaam is in Calcutta doing good work.

Kanu's wedding came off very well. Nearly 300 people dined. Harijans and caste men of Sevagram were in it. Sevagram inmates and guests accounted for over 150.

You are right in not worrying about the fast. It will come if God wants it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4148. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7783

366. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 8, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

It won't do for you to get ill. I am not going to worry you to come early. You must not strain yourself even to come to Nagpur[1]. You may even send your address or depute someone to read it for you. If however you do come to Nagpur you will give yourself a few days for Sevagram, or Wardha whichever suits you best.

[1] For the Convocation of the Nagpur University, which was to be held on November 25.

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Did I tell you I had carefully read your pamphlet about the Cripps offer? It carried no conviction to me. But you will try again if you wish. Munshi[1] had a chat with me on it. I have invited him to discuss it further. He is likely to come again.

As to the fast I have ceased to think much about it. I am simply watching myself and waiting on Truth to guide me. A double process is going on within me. Let us see what happens.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2098

367. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

November 8, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I heard from Dr. Mehta about the set-back in your health. There is nothing particularly wrong with your health. You have spoiled your health by over-exertion and worry. You ought to utilize your knowledge for the benefit of your own health. Englishmen are not philosophers, but they keep themselves free from worry so as to preserve their health and for the sake of their health they never let any external trouble overcome them. You have such capacity. Stop worrying about me and about other matters. You are giving your services even from the sick-bed. Nothing at all is definite about the fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 204. Also from a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] K. M. Munshi

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368. TALK WITH GULZARILAL NANDA[1]

[Before *November 9, 1944*]

If everyone stuck to his dharma and did his duty why should I have to fast? And how would God permit it? But if people become unsettled and remain inactive the fast will not be stopped.

So long as I can work otherwise, there is no possibility of my resorting to a fast. When there is no work for me or no work which can be taken from me, then alone will God ask me to go on a fast. I can hear a voice echoing that I should fast. Not that I should start a fast right away. But when God bids me no one can prevent me from undertaking the fast. Pray to God that I may not have to fast. Prayer is the only thing that matters. To do sincere work in the name of God is itself prayer. I say what I feel. There is not only one thing that disturbs me today, there are several. I have only mentioned the thing that most perturbs me. If something else comes up, I shall not hesitate to say it. These have little to do with Congressmen. People today are engaged in fraud, black-marketing and amassing of wealth somehow. There is no end to the lies they mouth. Who can change their hearts? I do not know whether my fast will do so. I can only pray. God's will be done. Nobody knows today what is going to happen. If everyone does his duty it is possible that the fast will not come off. One man cannot assume the whole burden, but the concerted effort of many people may bear fruit. Let everyone calmly do his work without being despondent or becoming agitated. This is all I ask for. God too will want no more. I am at peace.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Samachar, 14-11-1944

[1] Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, had conveyed Gandhiji's words to the Association's organ, *Majoor Sandesh*, in his letter from Wardha dated November 9, 1944.

369. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[On or before *November 9, 1944*][1]

It would be advisable to let Kanchan be examined by the vaid on Friday morning. Her health is none too good. If you can get cloth for a mosquito-net cut, have one stitched so that we may use it when required. Khurshedbehn has agreed to stitch one. Share the work in this manner.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 6973. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

370. TELEGRAM TO K. N. KATJU

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1944

DR. KATJU
19 EDMONSTONE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

GLAD HER[2] AGONY HAS ENDED. YOU ARE WISE ENOUGH TO BEAR SEPARATION WITHOUT GRIEVING. MAY GOD BLESS YOU.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

371. NOTE TO ANAND KAUSALYAYAN[3]

November 9, 1944

1. Obviously it is obligatory for a member of the Sabha to fulfil at any rate the condition laid down by you. The objective

[1] From the postmark

[2] Addressee's wife

[3] Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. This note was in reply to the following questions :

(1) It appears that, in 1942, when the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was formed, you intended and directed your efforts that persons enrolling

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of the Sabha is clearly stated in its constitution. I do wish, however, that all Indians learn both the scripts and speak a language which could be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

2. The Hindi style and the Urdu style are like the Ganga and the Yamuna. Hindustani is like the Saraswati. It is concealed and yet not concealed. The Sabha should endeavour to make it clearly discernible.

3. Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be complementary of both and will seek help from both. But its work will be distinct from theirs, which could also be regarded as the same. If the Sabha tried to undo the work of these two organizations, its own objective would be defeated. How can you have Saraswati without the confluence [of the three] ?

4. The work of the Sabha will be, and should be, uniform all over the country. The procedure may be modified here and there to suit the differing needs of the provinces.

5. The new movement of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha should not create difficulties in the work of Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, if the two co-ordinate their activities.

M. K. GANDHI

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

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themselves as members of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha must learn both the scripts of the *Rashtrabhasha*. Do you, even today, expect that thing only from the members, or do you want that everybody, both old and young in the country, must learn both the scripts?

(2) Regarding the plan of work of Hindustani Prachar Sabha, some people understand that the Sabha aims at propagating both Hindi and Urdu but there are others who say that it aims at propagating neither Hindi nor Urdu but Hindustani. In 1942, you were of opinion that the Saraswati in the shape of Hindustani had not yet made its appearance. Is the situation different at present? What is it that the Sabha will propagate if Hindustani has not yet made its appearance?

(3) Under the auspices of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan a number of institutions are working for the propagation of Hindi and the Devanagari script, and the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu for that of Urdu and the Persian script. Will the Hindustani Prachar Sabha be merely co-ordinating the activities of these two institutions or will it be complementary of the two? Or will it be a third body pursuing its own programme undoing the work of these two ?

(4) Will the policy and programme of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha with respect to South India and the non-Hindi provinces be the same as in the other provinces—that is, will the propagation of both the scripts be obligatory?

(5) Will the new policy of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha create difficulties in continuing the propagation of *Rashtrabhasha* as it is being carried on in South India and the other non-Hindi provinces for the last so many years ?

372. LETTER TO ABDUL GHANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

DEAR ABDUL GHANI[1],

I was delighted to hear from you. I do hope your wife will be fully restored and that you too will have your trouble attended to. As to the restrictions you will do as your instinct guides you. Do please keep me informed of your movements and the progress of your wife and yourself.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

373. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

CHI. MUNNALAL,

At last your father has passed away. It was for the best. He was released from suffering and was delivered from the necessity of being obliged to others for their services. You and the other members of the family have no reason for grief. Life, when it attaches itself to a body, is invariably accompanied by death. Only, it does not know the appointed hour of death. Why, then, grieve over death ? We should learn this lesson from the death of a dear one. Let us follow his virtues.

Both of you may remain there as long as necessary. Here everything is going on as usual.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8468. Also C.W. 7179. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

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374. LETTER TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

November 10, 1944

CHI. CHAMPA,

I have your letter. I was sorry to hear that Chi. Sarala had fallen ill again. I should be very happy if she comes here after she has recovered. However, the fast is hanging over me. How can I therefore assume responsibility for Sarala? We will think over this when you and Jyoti arrive here. I have gone through your letter addressed to Chimanlal. I did not fully understand it. I will ask Chimanlal to explain it. You must have read what I wrote to Jyoti about the Red Bungalow.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

CHAMPABEHN MEHTA
[C/O] M/S SHASHIKANT RATILAL
SIR LAKHAJI ROAD, RAJKOT PARA

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8757. Also C.W. 1043. Courtesy : Champa R. Mehta

375. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

Somebody had conveyed to me the news of your dear son's passing away. I had thought I would write to you a letter of condolence but being burdened with work it slipped from my memory. Last night I remembered it when I happened to read the news again in Vallabhbhai's letter to Dahyabhai. And now I write this. Please know that I share your grief. There must be hundreds like me sharing your grief. May they all lighten your burden and may God grant you peace.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Jyotilal A. Mehta", pp. 275-6.

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376. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I am sending Chi. Sankaran for six months to learn the science of village sanitation and Chi. Sharda for some homoeopathic treatment. Can I put up these two in the dharmshala in your charge? If Sharda is accommodated her husband will also stay with her. Write to me without hesitation what the position is. Ghanshyamdas left today. It was good he came. A lot of work could be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Sankaran is leaving today. He will stay with Raihanabehn[1]. But he can do so only for a few days as there is not enough room.

R. BIRLA
BOMBAY

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

377. SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH MEETING

November 10, 1944

Speaking to members of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh who are meeting here, Mahatma Gandhi said that the Sangh should now take up the entire span of national education as its field and work out a programme of national education for life in all its stages through manual activity and handicrafts. He pointed out that the future programme of national education thus became only an extension of the present programme of basic education upwards and downwards.

The Hindu, 12-11-1944

[1] Raihana Tyabji

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378. A NOTE

November 11, 1944

(1) I have read Shri Wadia's letter of 31-10-'44. I have no recollection whatsoever of having made the remark attributed to me about Shri Agnibhoj. Indeed I had nothing to do with such appointments. I was not then nor am I now a member of the Working Committee.

(2) There was no question of my refusal to have a Harijan on the executive of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a matter of fact there are Harijans on the Central Board as well as its branches. But I am opposed on principle to such appointments for the Sangh is formed of a body of caste-Hindu penitents who are vowed to eradicate untouchability. It is therefore a debtors' association. Harijans are creditors. I expressed this opinion to a body of Harijans who recently interviewed me.[1]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

379. LETTER TO K. R. R. SASTRY

November 11, 1944

DEAR PROF. SASTRY[2],

I thank you for your kind letter.

(A) My experience does not bear out the truth of your proposition. I do not claim to be a saint. But I do not regard politics as inconsistent with the strictest moral code. Politics I hold to be a noble art which every good citizen must cultivate . . .[3] not in . . .[4] the game that professional politicians play.

(B) is answered in (A)

(C) Only posterity can judge. Obviously I can't.

(D) I am sorry I cannot subscribe to your opinion. Mine is a new experiment. I plead for patience in coming to a judgement.

[1] *Vide* "Discussion with H. J. Khandekar", pp. 259-60.

[2] Of the Department of Law, Allahabad University

[3] & [4] Illegible

As to your constructive suggestions, you will perhaps forgive me if I do not argue about them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 8810

380. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA AND HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

November 11, 1944

CHI. SATISBABU AND CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have letters from both of you before me. To worry about the fast betrays a lack of faith in God. Do you not believe that I will do what God wills? Why should you worry then? Do your duty, that will be enough.

Now about khadi. The ideas contained in the circular[1] sent by Jajuji are mine. I see that you hold a different view. You must point out the fallacy in my ideas. I take it that you will attend the meeting of the Charkha Sangh.

What has to be done about Balvantsinha ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1640

381. LETTER TO SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1944

BHAI SOHANLAL,

I have had a talk with Ghanshyamdasji. I hope you have calmed down. The incident has shown me a new way. May I hope the same has happened to you? A few friends, if not many, have understood my point.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

SOHANLAL DWIVEDI

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

[1] The circular contained the gist of the discussions carried on from October 7 to 14 between Gandhiji and Shrikrishnadas Jaju.

[2] *Vide* pp. 205-6.

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382. LETTER TO SATYAVATI DEVI

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1944

CHI. SATYAVATI,

I got your letter. Send over Chandrani. If you do not get permission to go to Lahore even for reasons of health, write to me before taking any step.

Only this much today. Do not worry about my fast. I am in God's hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

SATYAVATI DEVI
JUHAR, *via* SIMLA HILLS

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

383. CABLE TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON[1]

November 12, 1944

JAWAHARLAL IS A JEWEL AMONG MEN. HAPPY IS THE LAND THAT OWNS HIM. SOMETHING IS RADICALLY WRONG WITH THE SYSTEM THAT HAS NO BETTER USE OF PERSONS LIKE HIM THAN AS PRISONERS.

The Hindu, 14-11-1944

[1] This was sent in connection with Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday, November 14.

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384. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

November 13, 1944

MY DEAR MATHEW,

Yours. Pray that God may guide me aright.
Love.

BAPU

PROF. P. G. MATHEW
S. H. COLLEGE
THEVARA, *via* ERNAKULAM
COCHIN STATE

From a photostat : G.N. 1545

385. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Your welcome letter came into my hands today. I am in the midst of a raging storm and often hum to myself:

Rock of Ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in Thee.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

CARL HEATH
WHITEWINGS, 57 MANOR WAY
GUILDFORD, SURREY (ENGLAND)

From a photostat : G.N. 1051. Also C.W. 4441. Courtesy : F. H. Chopping

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386. LETTER TO K. T. GHANASHAM

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I assure you I am giving due weight to every argument advanced against the contemplated fast. I wonder if this will reach you, as you have given me no address.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. GHANASHAM
KARACHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

387. LETTER TO ERNEST F. PATON

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

MY DEAR ERNEST,

I have your heartening letter. You will not mind if I find it helpful to publish your letter. I take it you are also a doctor. Have we ever met?

Yours,
BAPU

ERNEST F. PATON
CHRISTU KULA ASHRAM
TIRUPATTUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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388. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRAVARTY

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

MY DEAR ATULANAND,

Your letter. Thanks.

Many come whom I must not turn away. I don't want to encourage you just now. Let me settle down one way or another.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SADHU ATULANAND
C/O POST MASTER
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

389. LETTER TO CHARLES A. ISAAC

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C. P.,
November 13, 1944

DEAR ISAAC,

Yours is one of the typical letters I am receiving daily. Pray with me that God may guide me aright.

Yours,
BAPU

BRO. CHARLES A. ISAAC
KOCHUMURI
KAYANKULAM, TRAVANCORE STATE
SOUTH INDIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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390. LETTER TO P. SUBBAROYAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR SUBBAROYAN,

I am listening to every argument advanced by friends like you but the final arbiter will be the inner voice.

I do hope Rajaji won't stir out unless he is completely restored.

I shall be glad if Radhabai[1] breaks her journey.

Please warn her however that I am reaching the end of my bodily resources.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. SUBBAROYAN
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

391. LETTER TO SYED MUSTAFA

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR SYED SAHEB,

I thank you for your kind note. You have my assurance that I shall do nothing without a call from God.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SYED MUSTAFA, BAR-AT-LAW
LUCKNOW

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Addressee's wife

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392. LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C. P.,
November 13, 1944

DEAR KHANDEKAR,

I have your letter. I have become afraid of you after your unauthorized misleading report of our conversation[1]. I express no opinion on your contemplated meeting[2] or its programme.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI H. J. KHANDEKAR, M.L.A.
ITWARI, NAGPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

393. LETTER TO G. LAKSHMI AMMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

The condition you mention is truly deplorable. You and I have to do the best we can. Nothing like patience and perseverance.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. LAKSHMI AMMA
DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION
MANGALORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 259-60.

[2] Of Harijan workers and provincial leaders of Nagpur to organize Harijans under the banner of the All-India Depressed Classes League, which was to be held in the last week of December 1944

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394. LETTER TO DEVIBEHN PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

CHI. DEVI,

I have your letter. Also the money. The yarn is to be handed over to Kakubhai[1] who should use the amount realized from its sale for the service of Harijans. Vasumati[2] tells me you fall ill now and then. How is it?

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVIBEHN PANDIT
BOMBAY

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

395. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

What guidance can I offer? See if you can deduce something from what I am writing. I have had a talk with Ravishankar Maharaj[3], who will offer some [advice]. All of you should do as much [work] as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHIVABHAI PATEL
BOCHASAN

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

[1] Purushottam K. Jerajani
[2] Vasumati D. Pandit
[3] Ravishankar Vyas who worked among the Baraiyas, a backward community of Kheda district in Gujarat

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396. LETTER TO NRISIMHAPRASAD K. BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. I cannot come to such a quick decision; I can say something only after we meet. Let us hope Bachu's affairs are settled without any hitch.

Blessings from
BAPU

NANABHAI BHATT
HINDUSTAN STORES
CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

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

397. LETTER TO ADWAIT KUMAR GOSWAMI[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

BHAI ADWAIT KUMAR,

In my opinion a Congressman may, as an individual, do anything that is not opposed to the publicly stated policy of the Congress. However, you should remember that I am not a registered member of the Congress.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 804

[1] The addressee, a Congress worker of Brindaban, had asked if a Congressman could take part in satyagraha to be offered in Sind against the Sind Government's ban on the fourteenth chapter of *Satyartha Prakash*.

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398. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

November 13, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You should go on the 18th. Things will be managed somehow here. The kitchen here must not come in the way of other work.

I have seen Satis Babu's letter and I have written to him.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1948

399. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

November 13, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

May you be firm in your resolve. I like vigilance. Of course you will always remain an inmate of the Ashram and you will be living here in the Ashram. It is another thing that you may have to be associated with the Talimi Sangh in the interest of your work. For the present your personal expenses will be met by the Ashram. Whether or not you can devote some time to the work at the Ashram is something to be looked into. Experience alone will tell us that. Don't be agitated over such matters, but have faith in God. "One step enough for me."

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Give a copy of this to Chimanlal.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4441

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra and Hemprabha Das Gupta", p. 288.

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400. LETTER TO SARASWATI K. GANDHI

November 13, 1944

CHI. SURU,

Received your letter. Kanti[1] has written me a nice and long letter. May you both study well, continue making progress and rendering service. Of course I do hope to see Shanti[2]. I will some day. How do I know that you are not as silly as you used to be?

Blessings to the three of you from
BAPU

SHRI KANTI GANDHI
2994/1 VANI VILIA MOHOLLA
MYSORE

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 3456. Courtesy : Kanti Gandhi. Also G.N. 6182

401. LETTER TO ANIL K. MISHRA

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

BHAI ANIL,

If you want to draw up your programme after consulting me you will never be able to do anything. Chart your own course from what I have written for the general public.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Addressee's husband, Harilal Gandhi's son
[2] Addressee's son

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402. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

Your duty is obvious. Father is of course being looked after. You must try to get well. You will stay here or go to Andhra only to persist in this effort. Mother though alone is not helpless. Your son is being looked after. Separation has to be endured. God willing you will get well and all those who are separated today will be united. Having realized this, give up worry and be cheerful with the conviction that God does everything and what He does is for our good.

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

403. LETTER TO SHRIPAD D. SATAVLEKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1944

PANDITJI,

I have your letter. Herewith the reply from Appasaheb[1]. Please spare me of such responsibilities. I am no longer capable of taking up such work. My strength is limited and my burden heavy.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT SATAVLEKAR
AUNDH

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

[1] Pant, Ruler of Aundh

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404. LETTER TO DURLAB SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR SARDAR DURLAB SINGH[1],

This is my answer to your questions:[2]

(1) My association with Rajaji in his formula[3] could not affect the Sikh position in the slightest degree, even if Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah accepted it. The Lahore Resolution[4] of the Congress referred to by you stands. The result of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's acceptance would have been that both of us would have gone to the Sikhs and others interested to secure their acceptance. I had made this clear in my letter[5] to Masterjee.

(2) I cannot understand the Akali indignation. My meeting a deputation was unnecessary in view of my absolute assurance. If Masterjee had wanted to bring his friends to me, in spite of my assurance, I would have gladly seen them as I did other friends who sought clarification from me.

(3) Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution[6] which please see. But supposing that it is inconsistent with the Rajaji Formula and the Congress accepts the latter, there is nothing to prevent the Congress from rescinding the Resolution.

(4) How could I favour a contrary opinion when I have always given the closest collaboration to Sikh friends? Those Sikhs, who do not accept the Congress creed, naturally refrain, like many others, from joining the Congress.

(5) I know nothing about the Sikandar[7]-Baldev Singh Pact, much less about the Congress High Command's association with it. Nor do I know the details of the Azad Punjab scheme.

I could never be guilty of blessing anything which is contrary to the national interest. You can certainly have the assurance

[1] General Secretary, Central Sikh Youth League
[2] For extracts from the addressee's letter, *vide* Appendix XVII.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.
[4] *Vide* Vol. XLII, p. 359.
[5] *Vide* p. 29.
[6] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 23.
[7] Sir Sikander Hayat Khan

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that the interests of the nationalist Sikhs, as also of all nationalists, are safe in my hands, also, I presume, in the Congress hands, though as you know I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Congress.

There are many inventions about me going the round. I would warn friends against giving credence to any of them without reference to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Indian Annual Register, 1944, Vol. II, p. 222

405. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter just received. I wonder if you saw my statement[1]. If the fast comes, it will have nothing to do with the Government. For ready reference I send you a copy of my statement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

METROPOLITAN
BISHOP'S HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

406. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ANSARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR SARDAR SAHEB,

I have your letter. There was no question of ignoring you. Yours is a nationalist organization not needing any wooing by me. Neither you nor I can afford to ignore the League. We have to win it and other like forces round to our side. I tried Quaid-e-Azam. And though I may be said to have failed, we have lost nothing.

[1] *Vide* pp. 224-5.

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You and I have to work in the best manner we can, the objective being to reduce antagonism without sacrificing fundamentals.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR MOHD. ANSARI
BIHAR MOMIN CONFERENCE
DEHRI-ON-SONE, E.I.R.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

407. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1944

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have received your two letters which I find very long. The fast will come only when God sends it. He will not send it if we ask for it. How will you carry on your work in such fear? Taking care of your health, carry on your work. If all of you do your work, certainly the fast will not come off. But those who are scared at the mention of a fast do not know even the first lesson of satyagraha.

Zohra is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 487

408. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I like your note. You will see that I have made a few deletions. May I make a suggestion? Your writing is very close making it difficult to add anything in between the lines. You will find this in the present case. Paper, no doubt, has to be used sparingly. But should not there be a limit to it?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The note is enclosed.

From the Gujarati original : V. L. Mehta Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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409. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

Your letter. Let us not be in a hurry about the land. Things are being delayed, but there is God's hand in it. I understand what you say regarding my fast. Nothing about it is yet certain, nor even whether it will be for forty days or less. I continue to pray. I should like to be with you when I undertake the fast but nothing about this fast is going to be left to my choice. After all am I to seek my convenience? Is the fast to be undertaken for the sake of my health? It will be for God's work and He will take me where He wants. Please make no preparations for me. Be engrossed in your own work which will be your greatest contribution. Neither of you should worry. Let Ardeshir make progress; he has still farther to go. Teach him non-violence.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

410. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I suggest no one should rush down here at the moment. All of you should immerse yourselves in your own work. Maybe it will avert the fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI MANIBHAI PATEL
VITHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

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

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411. LETTER TO HARIBHAI DAHYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

BHAI HARIBHAI,

I have your letter. Let us not commit another wrong to undo the first. That cannot be the way of truth or of non-violence. Hence the straightforward way is to offer all that we legitimately can. If it fails to mend matters we should bear with the suffering whatever it be. If we act in this way, we need never repent.

Blessings from
BAPU

HARIBHAI DAHYA
P.O.B. 89
WELLINGTON
NEW ZEALAND

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

412. LETTER TO TEJWANTI DHIR

SEVAGRAM,
November 15, 1944

CHI. TEJWANTI,

I have your letter. If you want you may stay in Lalaji's house. If you are not perfectly all right within three months, take more time. Go to the village only when you are fully recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

TEJWANTIBEHN
ADAMPUR

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

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413. LETTER TO SECRETARY, MYSORE ASSEMBLY CONGRESS PARTY

[Before *November 16, 1944*][1]

Mr. Pyarelal . . . has sent a letter to the Secretary to the Mysore Assembly Congress Party, conveying Gandhiji's thanks for the invitation to the Party's conference (held yesterday), adding that anything that helped constructive activities and advanced the cause of popular freedom had his blessings. He also congratulated the Party on its good work in the Legislature during the first term of its existence under the new constitution.

The Hindu, 19-11-1944

414. LETTER TO J. J. SINGH

November 16, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you and other friends for your kind message.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR J. J. SINGH
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
40 EAST, 49TH ST.
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

415. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

You have not acted properly in resuming the experiment of ground-nuts and dates. It is wrong to make such an experiment. To persist in living on uncooked food is a kind of obstinacy. One

[1] The conference was held on November 16, 1944, at Mysore.

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must know how to carry out such experiments. There is no difficulty in cooking ordinary food, and that is what you should do. Or I may send back Manu there. She herself will not like to remain here after hearing about your experiment.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

416. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

CHI. LILI,

I have your two letters. People die all over the world and they will go on dying. For your part you have to excel in your studies. Everything else will follow. Try to build up the atmosphere of Sevagram as far as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

LILAVATI UDESHI
BOMBAY

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

417. LETTER TO DR. SANGANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI SANGANI,

I got your letter. You have given Sanyuktabehn[1] excellent treatment and nursing. She was in great agony. May God repay you. Tell Chi. Sanyukta that I had her letter. She can come over when you allow her to leave.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SANGANI
HARKISSONDAS HOSPITAL
BOMBAY

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

[1] Daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi

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418. LETTER TO JAYENDRA[1]

November 16, 1944

BHAI JAYENDRA,

I have read your letter carefully. I have no time to set out my arguments in reply. I shall do as God bids me. Just now there is no call from Him.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI JAYENDRA, SAHITYARATNA
HINDI PRACHARAK
AMADAL PALLEE

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

419. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

November 16, 1944

CHI. B. S.,

I am sending all the papers. I have nothing to say about others. All I wish to say about the letter received today is that it may be your duty to stay on for the sake of Kishorelal. It is for you to decide that. You are not obliged to stay on for the kitchen work. You should leave it to me. What I would ultimately like you to do, I cannot decide that just yet. Yes! I shall be very happy indeed if you acquire a scientific outlook. I have not heard anything about A. S. I have no misgivings about you. Why should I waste my time?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1949

[1] This was not posted for want of complete address.

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420. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 16, 1944

Weeping and laughing come from the heart. When grieved one weeps. One must turn that grief into joy and laugh. Hence the need for Ramanama. Surrender all to Him and there is only joy. Why grieve over the loss of hearing? You are saved from hearing a lot of drivel. What is relevant you get through the written word. Moreover I believe that if there is joy within, the ears will of themselves regain the power of hearing.

BAPU

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

421. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

I have your letter. What authority do I have to ask Jajuji to give the yarn to you? And why should the amount be in Jajuji's name? It means you cannot get yarn because the amount did not belong to you. I do not remember all the facts. I am writing this just from conjecture. You should ask for a raise if you cannot make both ends meet. Otherwise choose some other vocation. If the money belongs to you, you should get an injunction from a court of law. In case I have forgotten something do remind me.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
KHADI VASTRALAYA, MAHAL
NAGPUR

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

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422. LETTER TO H. J. KHANDEKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI KHANDEKAR,

I got your letter. I was grieved to learn about the death of your child. May God give you peace and patience. I have the notes of the talks I had with you but I do not wish to send them. Not words but your conduct alone can inspire confidence. May God bless you.

M. K. GANDHI

HEMCHANDRARAO JAGOBA KHANDEKAR
ITWARI
NAGPUR

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

423. LETTER TO DR. BALDEV

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

BHAI BALDEV,

What have you done? Why is Subhadra unhappy? Will you please write to me?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. BALDEVJI
AMRITDHARA [PHARMACY]
LAHORE

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

CWMG - LXXVIII

424. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

Gandhiji has your letter of 13th instant. He is of opinion that it will be better not to use his name in public in connection with the forthcoming conference, but if you feel you must he would not mind.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

RT. HON'BLE SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

425. LETTER TO THE NETHERLANDS TRADING SOCIETY

November 17, 1944

DEAR SIRS,

With reference to your draft No. nil, dated 14-11-1944 for £. 1,000 in my favour, I have to inform you that I have authorized the Bank of Nagpur Ltd., Wardha, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS THE NETHERLANDS TRADING SOCIETY
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

CWMG - LXXVIII

426. LETTER TO KHANDUBHAI DESAI

November 17, 1944

BHAI KHANDUBHAI,

May the Labour Day function[1] bear fruit. Labour has made great strides in Ahmedabad. But much remains yet to be done. I cannot be satisfied till the respect for labour rises higher than that for capital, nor should labour be satisfied. We will not attain that position till it has attained unity, 100 per cent honesty and education with knowledge. There is no place for caste, creed or communalism in the ranks of labour. There should be equality of rights between men and women.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Gujarat Samachar*, 3-12-1944

427. LETTER TO BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

BHAI BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT,

I read your full long letter today. I see your Union has made good progress. Do make further progress.

Why do you use your letter-heads as your working papers? About one-third of each page is thus wasted besides the useless expenses of printing. This is an additional loss.

Among your activities I do not find service of Harijans given its proper place.

Do you all learn Hindustani (Hindi+Urdu) ?

I don't see any Muslim names among your office-bearers. Do you have any in your Union ?

Have you seen my hints to constructive workers?[2] I wish

[1] 26th anniversary of the foundation of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad

[2] *Vide* pp. 218-21.

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your Union thinks over what I have written in it regarding students.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT
NATIONAL STUDENTS' UNION
RAIPUR
AHMEDABAD

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

428. LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

BHAI JIVRAJ,

Chi. Sushila[1] is arriving there to see Mathuradas[2] and his ailing friend. I am not very keen just now to start a maternity hospital here. Since Sushila will not devote all her time to this work I am thinking what her position in this project should be. Again I fail to see how the Committee can work efficiently if she were not on it. Sushila believes that with the time she will give, she can do justice both to the local maternity home and the Committee. She should have a doctor under her to attend to the needs of the maternity home. If you wish you may discuss the matter with her. I have told Abid Ali that he should obtain an estimate of expenditure but should not incur any expenditure just now.

I hope you are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA
BOMBAY

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

[1] Dr. Sushila Nayyar
[2] Mathuradas Trikumji

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429. LETTER TO VALLATHOL NARAYANA MENON

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

DEAR VALLATHOL[1],

May Mallika and her husband live long in harmony and serve the country to the best of their ability.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI VALLATHOL
CHERUTHURUTHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

430. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI OMKARNATH[2],

Your letter reached me today. May your pious wishes bear fruit. Your statement is very long. I shall go through it when I have the leisure and write to you if I have anything to say.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT OMKARNATH
BOMBAY

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

[1] An eminent Malayalam poet
[2] An exponent of Hindustani music
[3] *Vide* p. 315.

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431. LETTER TO ASHABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI ASHABHAI,

Since I had passed on your original letter to Bapa I did not reply to it. Ravishankar Maharaj gave me a copy of it and we also had a talk. You certainly have my blessings. Your work is fine. And it was good that all of you participated in [raising] the contributions. I suggest you should utilize the fresh amount you might have for whatever work you wish to do and not add it to the Memorial [Fund]. This will not create any difficulty and you will be able to utilize the entire sum locally. I am sure you have a local committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

432. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI SAHEB,

Sundaram showed me your letter about the Mahadeva temple. It is my request to you that the temple should be very simple. Should Mahadeva's abode be in a grand mansion or in a simple place? In my humble opinion the noblest of ideas dwell in a simple temple. The courtyard is quite good as it is. Thousands of devotees will be able to worship Mahadeva under a simple roof. There is no urgency to build the temple just now. All that is needed is there. You should be happy if a firm resolve is made and a vow taken to fulfil it.

Your younger brother,
M. K. GANDHI

BHARAT BHUSHAN PANDIT MALAVIYAJI
C/O SHRI SUNDARAM

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10359. Courtesy : Bharat Kala Bhawan

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433. LETTER TO OMKARNATH THAKUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1944

BHAI OMKARNATH,

I read your statement fully. Till this point I wrote in Hindi either inadvertently or because I was possessed by Hindi. Why is your statement in English ? Your language too does not follow the English usage and hence sounds out of tune. Very few among us have a perfect command over English. And why must we? When we cannot do without it we may scribble some kind of English to express our thoughts. You want to place your thoughts before the Indian people. They should therefore be either in Gujarati (your mother tongue) or Hindi (the national language).

This was only a point to note.

What have you to do with a charter? Your own merit deserves to be your writ. Certainly, you don't need State patronage. I think the [institutions at] Santiniketan are run without a licence and yet command global reputation. Did Vishnu Digambar[1] ever obtain a licence?

And now the third point.

Your statement is contrary to your new resolve. It smacks of Pakistan. Music till now is untouched [by it]. Please don't let it be defiled by bringing in Pakistan.

What more can you expect from a man on his death-bed except an exchange of notes ?

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT OMKARNATH, SANGITMARTAND
BOMBAY

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

[1] V. D. Paluskar, an exponent of Hindustani music and the addressee's guru

434. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is merely a love-letter. I hope when you come here, you will be fit. Winter has set in here.

Pray that I may look at your pamphlet[1] with your eyes.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2099

435. LETTER TO DR. HARIPRASAD DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

BHAI HARIPRASAD[2],

I was very pleased to meet you after so many years and that too in Sevagram.

I was glad to listen to the detailed news from Ahmedabad that you gave me. But you know how greedy I am. I shall be satisfied only if Ahmedabad helps me realize my dream, that is, if untouchability goes root and branch, men and women practise abstention as a matter of dharma and attain equality, the inequality between the rich and the labourers is removed, drink and gambling are stopped, all wear nothing but pure khadi whether at home or outdoors, ideal cleanliness of the heart as well as in outer life is observed and no one suffers hunger. Do whatever you can out of this and persuade others to do so.[3] What more shall I say? Come again.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. HARIPRASAD DESAI
AHMEDABAD

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

[1] About the Cripps offer; *vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 279-80.
[2] Ex-President of the Ahmedabad Municipality
[3] This message was sent for the 'Labour Day'.

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436. LETTER TO JIVANLAL DIWAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

BHAISHRI DIWAN,

I was pleased to read your letter. You have not yet regained your full strength. I don't like it. Do the doctors and the vaids have no remedy? Or is it that you are lax in your observance of the rules of hygiene? True, my asking you this question may sound like the pot calling the kettle black, but it is not quite that.

No doubt, you must miss Ballubhai at every step. I had regarded you two as inseparable. But he has left us all behind and gone ahead.

Herewith the reply to your student.[1] Read it and tell him what you think right.

The rest you may learn from Dr. Hariprasad.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

JIVANLAL DIWAN
AHMEDABAD

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

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

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437. LETTER TO SURYAKANT PARIKH[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944[2]

CHI. SURYAKANT PARIKH,

The sincerity of your letter is unmistakable. The leaders who are in jail are doing their duty by being there. A satyagrahi in prison never rots. He serves his cause by his imprisonment, nor can anyone say with certainty that he could have served the cause better if he had remained outside. But it is the duty of those who are outside not to forget those who are in prison. They must labour to get them out. If we had the requisite strength, many of our leaders should not be today in jail. In its absence, we must strive with whatever measure of strength we may possess. I, therefore, like the idea of students abstaining from going to school on 9th, provided they devote the whole day to self-purification and service. There should be strictest adherence to truth and ahimsa in whatever they do. Mass civil disobedience is today in abeyance; rather, it was never started but the fight for independence shall go on so long as independence is not attained.

Whatever your decision let the bounds of propriety be not transgressed and let the decision be taken after due consultation with your teachers and school management. Do not forget that yours is not a Government school.

You must also remember what I have said in another place about the duties of students.

Blessings from
BAPU

SURYAKANT
C/O JIVANLAL DIWAN
AHMEDABAD

The Hitavada, 21-1-1945

[1] The addressee, a student of the Proprietary High School, Ahmedabad, had written to Gandhiji on behalf of the School Committee asking how the 9th of each month was to be observed. Since Gandhiji was receiving a large number of similar enquiries especially from students and incomplete extracts from this letter had appeared in the Press, this authorized translation was released to the Press on January 19, 1945.

[2] The date, superscription, subscription and the address are from the Gujarati in Pyarelal Papers.

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438. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA TEACHERS' TRAINING CAMP[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 19, 1944

At the request of Shrimati Ashadevi, Gandhiji delivered a short address to them on the 19th instant, to explain the meaning of New Education. He described in a few words how the Basic Education scheme was born. In 1937 when the Congress took up power for a short term, as it afterwards turned out, in seven out of the eleven Provinces they were confronted with the question of popular education. His advice was sought. Like many others, he had been dissatisfied with the present system of education. He felt that if education was to be linked with the living needs of the masses inhabiting the villages of India, it ought to be imparted through a basic craft. He had no practical experience of agriculture. But he was saturated with the idea of the charkha which he had identified with village life. He, therefore, suggested that it should be used as a medium for the children's education. The idea appealed to Shri Aryanayakum, Shrimati Ashadevi and Dr. Zakir Husain and through their effort the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was founded.

Originally this New Education was intended to cover only the first seven years of a child's education, viz., from the seventh to the fourteenth year. The experiment had already completed six years and was now entering upon the seventh. As a result of further thought, he had come to the conclusion that this education should cover the whole of life from the moment of conception to the moment of death.

Referring to the prayer which had been recited at the beginning of the proceedings, he observed:

There are several things in this prayer which are worthy of your note but I want to draw your attention to that particular portion of it which pledged the reciter to adherence to Truth in speech and action under all circumstances and at all times. One *mantra* means: "Lead me from untruth to Truth, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality." Similarly the Islamic prayer, which has just been recited is an outpouring of the soul for Light and for being guided on to the straight path of Truth and Righteousness. This quest for Truth is the Alpha and Omega of all education.

[1] Organized by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and attended by about 50 students, the camp was inaugurated by Gandhiji in the afternoon. This is the authorized version of Gandhiji's speech, presumably in Hindi.

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After finishing your training here you will go back to your respective Provinces to propagate this New Education. You will keep this ideal of devotion to Truth before you. Your work will be that of pioneers. There will be no one to help or guide you with his previous experience. You shall have to grope your way all by yourselves. It is, therefore, not an easy task that you have before you. Then this New Education will not help you to get big jobs carrying high salaries and emoluments. But yours will be the privilege to go among and serve the villagers in their villages. Palatial buildings and costly equipment can, therefore, have no place in your scheme of work. The school of my conception is one where classes are held in the open under the shade of a tree. I know that it cannot be realized at present. Some shelter will be necessary, perhaps always for protection against the sun, wind and rain. True education can only be given under conditions of utmost simplicity.

Pointing to the building in which they were assembled, he continued:

All the buildings here in the Talimi Sangh are built of local material and with the help of local artisans. We have thereby established a living link between ourselves and the people. That by itself is an education for the people and constitutes the foundation of our future educational work.

If you thoroughly assimilate this ideal of simplicity and its importance in the New Education, you will have justified your training here. You will then appreciate your work.

That work consists of cleaning up. Cleanliness of the mind and body is the first step in education. Prayer does for the purification of the mind what the bucket and the broom do for the cleaning up of your physical surroundings. That is why we always commence our proceedings with prayer. No matter whether the prayer we recite is the Hindu prayer or the Muslim or the Parsi, its function is essentially the same, namely, purification of the heart. God has innumerable names but the most beautiful and suitable in my opinion is Truth. Let Truth, therefore, rule every action of our life, be it ever so insignificant. Let every morsel of food that we eat be sanctified with His name and consecrated to His service. If we eat only to sustain the body as an instrument of His service not only will it make our bodies and minds healthy and clean, the inner cleanliness will be reflected in our surroundings also. We must learn to make our latrines as clean as our kitchens.

As with the individual so with society. A village is but a group of individuals and the world, as I see it, is one vast

village and mankind one family. The various functions in the human body have their parallel in the corporate life of society. What I have said about the inner and outer cleanliness of the individual, therefore, applies to the whole society. In the mighty world, man, considered as an animal, occupies but an insignificant place. Physically, he is a contemptible worm. But God has endowed him with intellect and the faculty of discrimination between good and evil. If we use this faculty to know God we become a power for good. Abuse of that talent converts us into an instrument of evil, so that we become like a scourge and a plague and fill this earth with strife and bloodshed and unhappiness and misery.

The struggle between the forces of good and evil is ceaseless and eternal. The former have truth and ahimsa as weapons against the latter's falsehood, violence and brute force. There is nothing more potent in the universe than God's name. If we enthrone Him in our hearts and keep Him there always, we shall know no fear and lay for ourselves rich treasure in life.

The Hindu, 5-12-1944

439. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

DEAR BARDOLOI[1],

I have your letter with enclosures. Concentrate on producing a solid scheme for villages and the names and qualifications of those who would work it. If you can do that there might be no difficulty about funds even if you exceed your allotment. But you must be prepared for a stiff test. Don't take a full bite at once and face disaster.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI GOPINATH BARDOLOI
GAUHATI
ASSAM

From a photostat : C.W. 10493. Courtesy : Omeyo Kumar Das

[1] Ex-Premier of Assam

440. LETTER TO F. J. CURTERI

SEVAGRAM, INDIA,
November 20, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the interesting enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

F. J. CURTERI, ESQ.
425, 112 WEST DORAN
GRENDAEC 3
CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

441. LETTER TO A. KALESHWARA RAO

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

DEAR KALESHWARA RAO,

I see that I cannot bear the burden you want me to shoulder about Rajagopalarao. You should have no difficulty in bearing it.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI KALESHWARA RAO
NANDIGRAM

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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442. LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF C. P.

November 20, 1944

SIR,

Perhaps the Government are aware that I am intimately connected with the institutions[1] described in the enclosed[2] which has been prepared at my request. The figures are necessarily approximate. Apart from the question of the legality of the confiscations and without prejudice to the rights of parties interested to claim damages for losses sustained, I venture to suggest that the properties described in the enclosed may be returned to the trustees, so that the constructive and creative activities providing means of livelihood to those for whom they were designed may be resumed as before and further deterioration may be prevented.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE C. P. GOVERNMENT
NAGPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

443. LETTER TO HIRABHAI S. AMIN

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI HARIBHAI [*sic*],

I have seen Chi. Jeram's[3] letter to you. Everyone here is pleased with the service he has rendered. I approve of his desire to learn painting. However I cannot use for this purpose the money that lies with me. But I think it would not be wrong if

[1] Nalawadi and Paunar Ashrams; *vide* Vol. LXXIX, letter to the addressee, 7-1-1945.

[2] This is not available.

[3] Jeram Patel

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you encouraged him in his endeavour. The present generation will certainly want to have freedom in the choice of education, etc., when it comes of age. Whatever elders do—except the restraint they exercise upon those going astray—can hardly be anything but coercion.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

HIRABHAI S. AMIN
TARAPORE

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

444. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

November 20, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You have rightly cautioned me.[1] I shall do what I can. The result will be what we all deserve.

Who knows what will happen tomorrow? Ramji hadn't known what was to happen the next morning. You may return after straightening out things there and setting your mind at rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1950

445. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

CHI. SATYAVATI,

Received your letter.

Chi. Chandrani has arrived here. But since I am observing silence I cannot speak to her today.

You may go to Lahore if there is no answer from the Government and if they impose humiliating restrictions you may break them. It will be best if they allow you to come here, then we shall see what happens. Go to jail if they imprison you and

[1] The addressee had offered some suggestions about the Ashram administration.

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there even if you meet your death it doesn't matter. In death too the victory will be yours; it is yours even as it is. I do not see any point now in complying with the restrictions imposed by the Government. Write to them plainly that your primary duty is to recover your health. I have assumed responsibility for Chandrani.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 10234. Courtesy : Brijkrishna Chandiwala

446. LETTER TO KALAVATI

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

CHI. KALAVATI[1],

Chi. Anand has given me Rs. 10 on your behalf and has also told me all about you. Remember, we are after all made up of this country's soil. We belong to the starving millions. And so you should lead a simple life and be one with God.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 10584. Courtesy : Anand T. Hingorani

447. LETTER TO A. C. PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

How can I write to Bhaiya? I have no preferences. I have agreed to take up the responsibility only out of love—provided both the parties are willing.[2]

I treasure many sweet memories of the late Abhyankar. Reduced to words they will lose much of their worth.

Blessings from
BAPU

A. C. PATWARDHAN
"TARUN BHARAT"
NAGPUR

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

[1] Anand T. Hingorani's sister
[2] *Vide* the following item.

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448. LETTER TO V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE

SEVAGRAM,
November 20, 1944

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

I have your frank letter. I am helpless. Only today I received Patwardhan's letter. He says that I should arbitrate in this dispute also. I shall do so provided you are also willing. Patwardhan writes that you will agree only if I write to you. I have written to him that it is not my job. I have no wish to undertake this responsibility but I shall agree to arbitrate out of love provided both the parties are willing. And that too on the condition that I should have written statements from both the parties. I cannot accept oral statements. And you must allow me six months' time for the verdict. If you agree please inform him and send me the statements and the letter of authority.

Blessings from
BAPU

V. G. SAHASRABUDDHE
KHADI VASTRALAYA
NAGPUR

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

449. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 20, 1944

I saw Vidya's mobile *samadhi*[1]. It is good but I am inclined towards the simple and subtle. Let it be if you get peace and solace from it. It is also transient and if you can free yourself of attachment for it your love for Vidya will become further purified. You will better understand Vidya's true nature and your oneness will become clearer. A photograph shows difference. By identifying yourself with the unmanifest Vidya, that is with her spirit, non-difference can be attained. If you can keep the ashes in a little box which can be put in a pocket you may do so. You

[1] Memorial

do not have to do this because I am saying so, but only if you yourself fully understand its meaning and its importance. Only then can it profit you. What I mean is your peace and your joy should increase more with this sacrifice. If this does not happen then let things be as they are.

BAPU

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

450. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 21, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter came in today.

You have to submit to the relief in instalments for the sake of your brothers. Amid conflict of duties, the choice is often a very delicate affair. In every case you will be cheerful and keep your body in a fit condition. The climate there must be most bracing. I hope you had a good time with Kamalnayan[1].

I am well. Sushila has gone to Bombay to see Mathuradas. She is due any day now.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4149. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7784

451. LETTER TO KUSUM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

CHI. KUSUM[2],

Your letter after many days. It was well you spared me. Naturally I remember you very often. It is precisely for your sake that Narandas refrains from coming to me. If he himself comes whom should he bring along and whom should he leave behind? Besides, what is the point in our meeting? All of you there are busy rendering service which is more valuable than our meeting

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj's eldest son
[2] Daughter of Vrajlal Gandhi

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each other. I have Narandas's letter as also Jamna's[1]. I am not writing to either. Kanu and Abha are fine. For my part I have given them permission to go there but they will not for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[C/o] NARANDAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

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

452. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA P. PATHAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

BHAI BALKRISHNA PATHAK,

True, I had close contact with the late Anandshankarbhai[2]. My greetings for the unveiling of his portrait. But will the University be content with unveiling his portrait by way of commemorating him or will every teacher and student endeavour to follow his noble qualities?

This came off my pen in Gujarati. If a Hindi rendering is necessary do it yourself.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

DR. B. P. PATHAK
AYURVEDIC COLLEGE
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

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

[1] Wife of Narandas Gandhi

[2] A. B. Dhruva (1869-1942); Sanskrit scholar and Gujarati man of letters; Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

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453. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. You went away too soon after you arrived. I could not listen to your little confidences. I am reduced to a difficult and awkward position. The days when I could give individual satisfaction can be said to be almost over. For the present I see no possibility of getting anything better than the *dharmashala* where you have been accommodated. I hope Anand[1] does not make a nuisance of himself. I trust you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHARDABEHN CHOKHAWALA
BIRLA'S DHARMASHALA
BOMBAY

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

454. LETTER TO SUJATA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

DEAR SUJATA,

Amrit Babu is leaving tomorrow. From the account he gives me of your activity I see you are doing good work. May God bless you for it.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10511

[1] Addressee's son

455. LETTER TO J. C. GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

DEAR GUPTA,

When I saw in the papers months ago a reference to a lawyer brilliantly arguing his case before the Federal Court, I never knew that you had the honour to own that lawyer as your son. May his marriage be a blessing to him and his future wife. I congratulate her on her choice.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI J. C. GUPTA
23 CIRCUS AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

456. LETTER TO JYOTILAL A. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

BHAI JYOTI,

Your letter is fine. Obviously what you say is correct. I also know that the Bungalow has changed hands. I have raised only a question of dharma.[1] If you sell the property I shall have to bear it without a word.

Who is Keshubhai? I cannot understand why Qureshi should turn inimical. I am writing to him.

I consider it intolerable that anyone should disfigure the Bungalow. I should also consider it wrong on the part of anyone who appropriates the Bungalow. Arrange, if you can, for the property to cease to be negotiable. But you may sell it if it will safeguard Champa's interests and if you think that it will not tarnish

[1] *Vide* pp. 275-6.

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Doctor's name. I have a letter from Maganbhai of which I am sending you a copy. Just now I am not in a position to arbitrate.

Blessings from
BAPU

J. A. MEHTA
JYOTI & CO.
MORVI

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

457. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

November 22, 1944

CHI. MAGAN,

I had your letter. I have written to Champa's adviser.[1] I will forward the reply to you. I am not in a condition just now to take up a long inquiry. I am buried under public work. Hope you are all happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1031. Courtesy : Manjula M. Mehta

458. LETTER TO KUSUM M. KOTHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

CHI. KUSUM,

I got you letter. How do you meet your expenses? Where are you? You and your sisters should not give up your studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUSUM MANILAL KOTHARI
TAKHTESHWAR PLOT
BHAVNAGAR

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

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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459. LETTER TO LIMAYE

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

BHAI LIMAYE,

It is disturbing that both of you keep indifferent health. The only consolation is that you have two doctors with you. Please come when you are free.

I feel that we cannot let those who sell uncertified khadi also have Congress agency. It is not a matter of rules but of morals. You however have to work as the local committee directs.

It is good that you have taken up the work of Nayee Talim. About this when you come.

Chi. Balmohan must be progressing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA LIMAYE
925 SADASHIVPETH
POONA 2

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

460. LETTER TO SUBHADRADEVI

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1944

CHI. SUBHADRA,

I have your sorrowful letter. I have written to Dr. Baldev.[1] I shall write to you if I hear anything from him. What else can I do? What could I do for you if I called you here? Nothing is definite about me. God alone is our true help. He will protect you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUBHADRADEVI
C/O AMRITDHARA [PHARMACY]
LAHORE

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

[1] *Vide* p. 309.

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461. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 22, 1944

Do not take to heart what Mother says. All mothers say things like this. Laugh over it.

To worship God in His invisible form, watch the stars every night and look at the sun early in the morning. Mingle Vidya with the vision. Has not Vidya too gone up? The Saptarshi[1] is there and so is the Arundhati[2]. Though it is an imagination it helps.

BAPU

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

462. LETTER TO TOTARAM HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

MY DEAR TOTARAMJI[3],

Anand is somewhat reconciled to Vidya's death. He sees that a soul does not die with the dissolution of the body. His one and real unhappiness is that you are not reconciled to your wife. As a dutiful son the grief is natural to him. Is there no possibility of reconciliation? Pardon me for this intrusion. I feel for Anand.

Yours sincerely,

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

[1] *Ursa Major*
[2] A star near *Ursa Major*
[3] Anand T. Hingorani's father

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463. LETTER TO T. R. NARSIMHACHAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cautions. Everyone is useful. I shall not enter upon the fast unless I have the clearest possible call from the inner voice which is God.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. R. NARSIMHACHARJI OF TIRUPATI
SRIRANGAM

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

464. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 23, 1944

CHI. JETHALAL,

I am not at all in a condition to write to anybody, but how can I remain without sending you an acknowledgement? I got your detailed letter. I hope you will be able to make your way through the difficulties. You must have written to Jajuji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9872. Courtesy : Narayan J. Sampat

465. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[*November 23, 1944*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

This cable [from Sushila] has been just received on the telephone. I suppose it means that you should not go. But we need not act on that. Nothing is definite about the fast. If it comes, Sushila may be with me at the time instead of you.

From Gujarati : C.W. 1354. Courtesy : Sushila Gandhi

[1] From the C.W. Register

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466. LETTER TO MARUTI SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

CHI. MARUTI[1],

I was happy to have your letter. It was wise of you to have cancelled your plans of coming here. Who but Bapa would accommodate you? I have not seen many people whose generosity can match Dada's [and] Bapa's. Do as he bids. It is certainly a fine idea to build yourself a house. It is right that you and Lakshmi practise abstention. In the present circumstances it is better not to go about meeting people. It is our duty to save every single pie. I hope the children are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

467. LETTER TO SUMITRA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

CHI. SUMI,

I reach your fine letter, which I have preserved since October 21, right up to this day. For a long time I had intended to do you justice. But now I don't have the time, so I shall make do with this little note. See that you get yourself the right food. Keep writing to me regularly. I hope you are fine. Keep the promises you have made me. Have you made friends with any of the girls? Take care of your eyes.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] An inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati, married to Gandhiji's adopted daughter, Lakshmi, a Harijan

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[PS.]

I just got your letter. How did Mathuri[1] happen to fall ill? I hope she is all right now.

KUM. SUMITRA RAMDAS GANDHI
BIRLA SCHOOL
PILANI

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

468. LETTER TO NATHTHUBHAI PAREKH

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

BHAI NATHTHUBHAI,

I have your letter full of affection. This is only to acknowledge receipt of it. I just don't have the time to write more. Writing even this little thing is burdensome, but how can I forget you?

Blessings from
BAPU

NATHTHUBHAI PAREKH
C/O KISHORE BROTHERS
BANGALORE

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

469. LETTER TO SUNDERLAL

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

BHAI SUNDERLAL,

Received your letter. I had read about your case in the newspapers.[2] I felt sorry. Is there no scope for an appeal? What does Dr. Sapru say ?

[1] Mathuri Narayan Khare

[2] After the ban on the addressee's book *Bharatmen Angrezi Raj* was lifted, it was reprinted by another publisher. This led to litigation in which the addressee lost the case. Later an appeal was filed leading to a compromise. T. B. Sapru had pleaded the addressee's case.

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I understand what you say regarding the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. Dr. Tara Chand[1] could not join it, but do invite Dr. Abdul Haq Saheb[2] to come. Even though there are Muslim members in the Sabha, Abdul Haq Saheb ought to be there.

I have occasionally noticed the activities of the Hindustani Culture Society. We should welcome whatever people are able to do. I note that your lectures are going on. They must be having a good impact.

Come whenever you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT SUNDERLALJI
8 TUKOGANJ MAIN ROAD
INDORE

From the Hindi original : C.W. 10264. Courtesy : Purushottam Prasad

470. LETTER TO KHWAJA A. HAMID

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1944

BHAI HAMID,

Why in English ? I can read Urdu written in a clear hand. I can also write it but with some difficulty. I am writing to you in Hindi hoping that you can read the language. I have gone through your letter thoroughly. What have I to discuss with the nationalist [Muslims] ? I can meet the nationalists only if I can bring something from Jinnah Saheb. I did not go to him to surrender the rights of the nationalists. Our duty is to reach, if possible, an agreement with the League, is it not?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

KHWAJA A. HAMID
BYCULLA
BOMBAY

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

[1] Head of the Department of History and Politics, Allahabad University
[2] President, Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu

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471. LETTER TO AKBARALI I. LOKHANDWALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 24, 1944

BHAI AKBARALI,

I have your letter. What advice, much less help, can I offer you? I don't even fully understand this kind of work. I am sorry that you are in trouble and that things are getting worse. May God soon relieve you from your troubles.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

AKBARALI ISMAILJI LOKHANDWALA
GODHRA

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

472. LETTER TO GOPE GURBUXANI

November 25, 1944

DEAR DR. GURBUX,

Please wait till I am free. Send me a reminder at the end of December.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 1319

473. LETTER TO K. RENGARAJAN

November 25, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

You should have mer[cy] on me. I am one and senders of papers are many. How can I cope with the work except by excluding much unsolicited matter?

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10232. Courtesy : Gandhi Seva Sangh, Sevagram

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474. LETTER TO KAILAS HAKOOR

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

DEAR SIR KAILAS,

I am late in acknowledging your kind letter of 28th ultimo. I am so much pressed for time. I send these lines to thank you for your letter.

Pray don't be anxious about the contemplated fast. It won't come except in answer to a call from God.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR KAILAS HAKOOR
SIMLA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

475. LETTER TO KRISHNABAI NIMBKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

DEAR KRISHNABAI,

I am late in answering your letter. I see you are incorrigible. Obstinacy is both a virtue and a vice. Which it is depends on circumstances. In your case I would fain believe that it is a virtue. You ask for permission to do certain things. Who am I to give or withhold permission ? I can only advise where advice is sought. I have given you my answers.

Your attack on Rajaji is ill-founded.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SMT. KRISHNABAI NIMBKAR
192 POONAMALLEE HIGH ROAD
VEPERY, MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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476. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

November 25, 1944

BHAI JETHALAL JOSHI,

I could not reply to your letter immediately. I have received other letters similar to yours and I am drafting a statement[1] with reference to them. Please read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1353

477. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

November 25, 1944

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I was glad to hear that all of you reached there safely. I am better now. Now in place of Kanu Sushilabehn sleeps here. The massage and bath are given by Kanaiyo. Krishna's teeth caused some anxiety. He had some relief after Sushila arrived. He had sound sleep last night. I have accommodated him in Rustom Bhavan. Your decision to go is perfectly correct. I am in God's hands. I have started sleeping in the verandah since last night. Do not worry about me in the least. I sent you Sushila's cable. I wrote a couple of words below it.[2] You must have received it by now. My blessings to Kishorelal and Gomati and the rest. Let no one worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANILAL GANDHI
C/O SHRI NIRMALABEHN SHROFF
ISHVARDAS MANSION
BLOCK-A, 5TH FLOOR
NANA CHOWK, GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4940

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 343-6.
[2] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 334.

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478. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I like your letter very much. You can take both the examinations. You will see a statement that I am issuing.

I have correctly understood what you write about music. You should not take anything from the Harijan Sevak Sangh. You should cease to be a burden. Service of Harijans is the warp and woof of our lives. Music is your life's mission. It is the legacy left by Panditji[1]. Merge yourself into music. I should regard it not at all improper if you earned your maintenance through it. But I am prepared to write to Jivanlal if right now you are shrinking from doing it. He is a sound and dependable person and your relationship with him is not confined to that of a father-in-law and son-in-law. Hence you need not be embarrassed if he pays your expenses for the sake of your music. I shall not write without your consent. You may also consult Narandas and let me know if both of you think of something else. I know that Vijaya[2] is fully cooperating with you. I had also learnt that Aruna[3] is progressing. You are lucky. Acquire full control over your body. Charge only those who are rich and not the poor.

Blessings from
BAPU

PURUSHOTTAM N. GANDHI
RAJKOT

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

[1] Narayan Moreshwar Khare
[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and daughter

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479. LETTER TO SATYACHARAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

BHAI SATYACHARANJI,

I have your letter. I am considering what I ought to do. I am also having a talk with Ghanshyam Singhji.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SATYACHARANJI
D. A. V. HIGH SCHOOL
ALLAHABAD

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

480. LETTER TO V. N. BARVE

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1944

BHAI BARVEJI,

I had your letter. With such a rush of work I forget whether or not I have replied to the letters. I value your Harijan service highly. I admit that our work is proceeding very slowly. I do not know how to quicken its pace.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

V. N. BARVE
PRESIDENT, HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
DHULIA

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

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481. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 26, 1944

DEAR KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU,

Bapu was delighted to see your letter of 4th instant. He was sorry to learn that you are not keeping well. You have got to keep well.

He is not anxious to undertake a fast. He is praying for light.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DESHABHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a photostat : G.N. 3227

482. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

At present, the Hindustani *prachar* work is being carried on in Gujarat by Shri Amritlal Nanavati. This work is in accordance with the scheme prepared by Kakasaheb in consultation with me. Hindi *prachar* work is being conducted by the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, appointed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Both these activities are supposed to be undertaken for spreading the national language. I regard myself as the founder of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. In 1925, the resolution about Hindustani was passed at the Cawnpore session of the Indian National Congress. But no attempt was made to act upon the resolution. The Hindustani Prachar Sabha was, therefore, established in Wardha on the 2nd May, 1942. The Sabha has defined Hindustani as follows :

> Hindustani is that language which the Hindus, Muslims and all other people of villages and towns in Northern India speak, understand

[1] This was issued on January 10, 1945, by Shriman Narayan, Honorary General Secretary, All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha, in order to remove misunderstandings about the object and work of the Sabha. The Gujarati original appeared in *Gujarat Samachar*, 2-12-1944.

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and use for mutual intercourse, which is written and read in both the Nagari and the Persian scripts, and the literary forms of which are recognized today as Hindi and Urdu.[1]

But before the work of the Sabha could be started properly, many people of the country, including the founders of the Sabha, were thrust into jails on account of the August Resolution[2] of the Congress. Shri Nanavati was not in jail, and he felt that he should start the Hindustani *prachar* work. In my opinion he has served the country by doing this work.

Hindi and Urdu are the two literary styles of the same national language. These two styles are, at present, diverging from each other. From the point of view of *Rashtrabhasha*—Hindustani—it is necessary to bring these two styles nearer to each other. Without the knowledge of both these styles and the scripts this is impossible to achieve.

The venom of Hindu-Muslim differences has entered the sphere of language as well. I have been possessed with the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity ever since my childhood. In order to eliminate this poison of disunity in the domain of language, it is necessary to learn both the styles and the scripts. If the Congress desires to conduct its work without English—and this must be done—it is the duty of each Congressman to learn both the styles and the scripts. This will result in the happy fusion of Hindi and Urdu, and the language that will thus evolve will be the natural Hindustani.

A question is asked whether the enthusiasm for learning both the styles and the scripts should be among both the Hindus and Muslims or only in one of them. A misunderstanding lurks behind this question. Those who make progress in the knowledge of languages will stand to gain: those who do not will be the losers. Moreover, he who cherishes unity will take special pains to know both the styles and the scripts. It should also be remembered that, in provinces like the Punjab, the Hindus, Muslims and all others know only Urdu. To know at least this much is the duty of every patriot. In a vast country like India, the more languages we strive to learn the better equipped shall we become for national service.

Should both the scripts and the styles be learnt by national workers and Congressmen only or by all?

[1] *Gujarat Samachar* has this paragraph in Hindi.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix X.

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My answer to this question is that all Indians should become Congressmen, and thus everybody should learn both the styles and the scripts. In fact, the very question is irrelevant, because only a very limited number of men and women have so far developed this hobby of learning the national language. We cannot go into raptures over the fact that a few thousands or a few lakhs of people appear at the Rashtrabhasha examinations. Even the number of persons in the non-Hindi and non-Urdu areas who desire to learn only Hindi or Urdu is not sufficient to satisfy our ambition.

Is it not enough that those who desire to learn Urdu should do so through the Anjuman[1] and those who desire to learn Hindi should do so through the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan?

Not at all. It was precisely because of this that the Congress passed the resolution on Hindustani and the need of establishing the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was felt. The scopes of both the institutions (Sammelan and Anjuman) are restricted, and from my point of view, narrow as well. It is my cherished desire that both these sister institutions should co-operate with each other. When that auspicious day will really dawn, the work of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be deemed to be over. So long as this situation does not arise, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha should continue to perform its duty. I do hope that these two sister associations will not only tolerate but also welcome this third sister institution which seeks to establish unity between them.

In Gujarat many workers who are at present engaged in Hindi and Hindustani *prachar* work are my colleagues. Some of them have sought my guidance. This statement is my guidance to them. If those who are working for the Wardha Samiti of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan agree with my views on Hindustani *prachar*, they should take up this work as well. They can certainly teach and coach for the Sammelan examinations those students who desire to learn only the Hindi style and the Devanagari script. But they themselves should popularize both the styles and the scripts and should also try to persuade as many persons as they can to do the same. So far as language is connected with the welfare of the nation, I regard Hindustani *prachar* work to be most essential. There should never develop any conflict between the two activities (of Hindi and Hindustani).

Now a question arises as to what should be done by those who have so far learnt or may learn in future only Hindi or only

[1] Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu

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Urdu. Such persons should learn the other style or script and sit for the Hindustani examinations which are to be conducted in both the scripts. Those who have already learnt one style and script will find it very easy to answer the question papers.

The Hindu, 15-1-1945

483. LETTER TO MALIK WAHID

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

You will please forgive me for being late in replying to your letter of lst ultimo.

Munshiji[1] cannot be disqualified for holding certain political views. He has rendered assistance to the trust in a variety of ways.

I thank you for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MALIK WAHID SAHEB
JOGESHWARI
B. S. D.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

484. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRAVARTY

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR ATULANAND,

Do be merciful to me. Don't ask me to read anything and don't seek my opinion. Of course you must pursue your mission, come what will.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] K. M. Munshi

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485. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BABOOJI,

I have treasured your letter of 28-9-44 all these days in the hope of answering it. I came across it today while overtaking arrears.

You lay upon my shoulders a burden they are ill able to carry. I am ill-equipped for the task you call me to.

I hope you are keeping quite well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BHAGWANDAS
BENARES CANT.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

486. LETTER TO S. M. PINTO

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

DEAR PINTO,

As to my fast do your duty and leave me in the strong hands of God. Trust Him to guide me aright. I shall do nothing without His guidance. As to the Trust[1] do you not see that the trustees were self-constituted? Their business was to collect from whomsoever gave. Then I came on the scene. I was permitted to add names of those who I thought would carry out best the object of the Trust. The whole of India now comes in to see that the money is spent on and for the women and children excluding males beyond an age in the 700,000 villages of India. Here there is no religious or other distinction.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

S. M. PINTO
NATIONALIST CHRISTIAN PARTY
FORT, BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

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487. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. SITA,

I have your letter. The handwriting is beautiful. You should make your letters slightly bigger. It has now grown pretty cold here. Build up your body with the same devotion with which you are pursuing your studies. Do not be lax about anything.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SITA
C/O NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA

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

488. LETTER TO BALUBHAI P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI BALUBHAI,

I have your letter. I am no more useful for personal work. My strength is limited. I can hardly cope with public work either. There are hundreds who are afflicted like you. Would I have the time if I set out to meet all of them? One should find out one's own way out of one's troubles.

Blessings from
BAPU

B. P. MEHTA
GANJIKHET
NAGPUR

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

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489. LETTER TO VIKRAM A. SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. VIKRAM,

I have your letter of the 16th. You have taken a lot of pains but the job can be done only if we have power in our hands. A 'Gallup poll' is conducted by newspapers and it means nothing. Besides, the number of newspaper readers in our country is so small that a research of this kind will not give any worth-while result. Let us see what the Sapru Committee[1] does.

Blessings from
BAPU

VIKRAM SARABHAI
BANGALORE

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

490. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BAPA,

I have gone through your letter. Some people are capable of sitting idle enjoying their leisure. You are certainly not one of them. Your enjoyment lies in doing work. Well, enjoy yourself. Narahari is coming tomorrow and he will examine your statement. Sushilabehn is examining it. It seems it will be delayed to some extent. I hope you are getting some peace of mind. Yesterday Pakvasa[2] came and took my signature.

BAPU

THAKKAR BAPA
S[ERVANTS OF] I[NDIA] SOCIETY
POONA

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

[1] The Conciliation Committee appointed by the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference under the Chairmanship of T. B. Sapru; *vide* Appendix XVI(b) and (c).

[2] Mangaldas Pakvasa

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491. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

CHI. LILI,

By all means have a mosquito-net. For this you don't have to go up to the Dean. Whatever the rules, one should observe them ungrudgingly. Of course it is a different matter if they are morally wrong.

It is good that you reported your talk with the Dean, which shows that you must clear all the examinations with perseverance. That is your dharma. Forget Sevagram and devote yourself to your studies. About my fast we shall see when one actually comes up. You have to be guided by the straight line that has been chalked out for you. You are not so much as to glance aside this way or that.

You already sign your letters as 'obediently'. Well, you have got my command.

Blessings from
BAPU

LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
MEDICAL HOSTEL
PAREL, BOMBAY

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

492. LETTER TO DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

November 27, 1944

BHAI JIVRAJ,

I have your letter. Your worrying about my health is misplaced. It is quite unnecessary to give any importance to the reeling sensations. Nothing would have happened if I were not observing silence. I am exhausted, no doubt. I have therefore increased the amount of rest and I shall go on increasing it if I feel the need. Yes, the stomach is slightly better. But it is an old story, don't worry about it. I have no desire to move

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out. The cold does not bother me. There is still the month of December to go. Besides, the echoes from Bengal are resounding in my ears. If the need arises Sushila will send for all three of you.

It is good news that Mathuradas is better.

True, I am no more as keen as I was about the medical section of the Memorial. For the present we are not going to have anything on a large scale here as decided earlier. Let us see what finally comes off. Sushila is trying to do something herself. She is training a few girls, and she will carry on as she thinks right.

Thinking about a board of trustees I see that any scheme coming from outside will necessarily have to be examined. So there will have to be a board. I am considering its final form. You too should think over it and write to me. The onslaught of Ayurveda, homoeopathy, etc., is crushing. All this confuses me. But a way has to be found. I shall watch where we land.

The Charkha Sangh meetings start tomorrow.

I hope you are up on your two feet. I hope Hansabehn[1] and the children are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA, BOMBAY

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

493. LETTER TO KAMAL NARAYAN MALAVIYA

November 27, 1944

CHI. KAMAL NARAYAN,

Received your letter. Your suggestion is very good but it is beyond my capacity to carry it out. To establish a school and a library in every village is a Herculean task. I am glad to know that Babuji[2] is well.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI KAMAL NARAYAN MALAVIYA
BHARTI BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD (U. P.)

From the Hindi original : C.W. 10556. Courtesy : Municipal Museum, Allahabad

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya

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494. LETTER TO SHIVLAL GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI SHIVLAL GUPTAJI,

It is from the Provincial Congress Committee that you should ask for help for Bhai Sant Ram. I am helpless.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHIVLAL GUPTA
JAIPUR

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

495. LETTER TO TEJRAM BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI TEJRAMJI,

You spend money needlessly. I can no longer attend to personal problems. I cannot look into your case. I have no time at all. Please have mercy on me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

TEJRAM BHATT
DEHRA DUN

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

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496. LETTER TO RADHAKANT MALAVIYA

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1944

BHAI RADHAKANT[1],

What you say is correct. No doubt I promised but now I plead helplessness. I feel exhausted and the burden of work is quite heavy. I know what you want to tell me. Spare me, if you can. Come if you must but after December 5.

M. K. GANDHI

RADHAKANT MALAVIYA
ALLAHABAD

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

497. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 27, 1944

Inspect everything in Andhra and meet the patients. If you find anything lacking in the matter of sanitation report it to the doctor, undergo the treatment he advises and if you do not find it good come back.

Get to know Babaji[2] and Gokhaleji who accompanies him and extend whatever help they need. Write to me fully. See what the treatment is. Do not become disheartened if you do not recover your hearing. There is no harm in not hearing. There is harm only in forgetting God.

BAPU

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

[1] Son of Madan Mohan Malaviya
[2] Babaji Moghe

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498. LETTER TO LLOYDS BANK LTD.

November 28, 1944

DEAR SIRS,

Ref: Your letter marked Exchange dated 24-11-1944

With reference to your letter above enclosing your receipt in duplicate dated 24-11-1944, for £539-12-6 in my favour, I have to inform you that I have authorized the Bank of Nagpur Ltd., Wardha, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS LLOYDS BANK LTD.
HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

499. LETTER TO R. K. KARANJIA

November 28, 1944

BHAI KARANJIA[1],

I have your letter. I read the journal. Is not offering satyagraha also subject to some rules? No satyagraha violating its own rules can be offered even if it were to bring in millions of rupees. One invariable rule is that it is to be offered by one who suffers tyranny. The country should be able to stand by him. I or anybody else who might lead the band of satyagrahis must drift with the current. As things stand now it seems to be impossible.

Blessings from
BAPU

R. K. KARANJIA
BOMBAY

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

[1] Editor of *Blitz*, a Bombay weekly

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500. LETTER TO MAHADEV A. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 28, 1944

CHI. MAHADEV,

Anand says that you get quite scared at night. Why should you be afraid in the night? God does not sleep at night. He keeps watch for us even while we are asleep, why should we be afraid then? Sleep after reciting Ramanama and have no fear at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

501. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 28, 1944

You are going not only to have your ears treated but for nature cure in a wider sense. My opinion is that your deafness is closely connected with the state of your mind. Nature cure includes mental activity. In this sense uttering Ramanama, reading the *Gita*, and so on, are part of nature cure. Perhaps Rajuji's[1] centre will provide this. I have a feeling that Raju looks at nature cure in a spiritual way. You too should make such an effort. Give up all other thoughts. Go there determined that you will be cured and you will get back your hearing. Take the treatment that Raju advises and eat what he says you should. Do some reading and writing. Leave all thoughts of Vidya, Father, Mother, myself and Mahadev (son). You will be doing good to them all by giving up their thought. Detachment will help cure your ears. Do not think about the ears. Think about work. Try and remove the shortcomings you notice in Raju's centre. Get to know the patients there. Speak to Gokhale or Babaji. Learn the *Gita* from them.

[1] Krishnaraju

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Learn Telugu. We from the North neglect the four Southern languages. It is a great mistake. In short you are going to Andhra for a new life. You must give there what you have taken from here and you have to bring here what you find there. Do spinning and other allied work regularly. What more? God is with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It will be good if you show this to Gokhale and Babaji. But do as you please.

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

502. INTERVIEW TO N. G. RANGA

November 28, 1944

At the second interview[1] Prof. Ranga placed before Gandhiji two alternative proposals for the re-organization of the Kisan Sabhas and their co-ordination with the Congress organization. They were :

(1) To include in the *kisan* councils that may be formed one-third representation from corresponding Congress Committees. This would secure for them the co-operation and the advice of the Congress.

(2) (a) To adopt Congress membership as a basic membership for the *kisan* organization.

(b) To constitute *kisan* councils out of rural delegates to the Congress Committees elected as per the present constitution. Such *kisan* councils would be part of the Congress Committees while retaining their separate corporate existence for dealing with the problems relating to the *kisans*.

(c) In addition to Congress members some non-Congress but not anti-Congress members also might be taken on the *kisan* councils to provide a suitable representation.

He felt that the first formula would be more acceptable than the second to most Kisan Sabhaites. The final clause in the second formula too had the same object in view, namely, to make it acceptable to them.

GANDHIJI: But this is a variation upon what you suggested last time. Then you suggested that the Kisan Sabha will have no member who is not a member of the Congress also.

[1] For the earlier interview, *vide* pp. 246-52.

PROF. RANGA : We want to have in our organization some non-Congress *kisans* also who are not anti-Congress but for various reasons could not afford to join the Congress.

GANDHIJI : Why do you want that? You said that you did not want anything in opposition to the Congress. So, if you have for your members only Congressmen, the *kisan* organization will deal with matters relating to the rights of *kisans* as against landlords and employers. It won't deal with political questions. I thought that I could reconcile myself to it. I said I approached it with hesitation while it was for you to dispel my doubts. So you better stick to your original proposal.

PROF. RANGA : It has been forcibly brought home to us that the Congress people feel nervous about this double membership. So I thought the Kisan Sabha had better remain as a distinct body. Our workers are used to that idea. I have been able to persuade them that so far as politics is concerned we must accept Congress leadership. The idea is that after the Congress elections are over the rural delegates will form themselves into a *kisan* council. This *kisan* council will deal with matters relating to the *kisans* and in politics accept the lead of the Congress.

GANDHIJI : My suggestion is this. You have your own organization where you register all the *kisans*. As soon as the *kisan* becomes your member, he becomes also a Congress member. Matters particularly bearing on the *kisans* and their relationship with the landlords, etc., are then tackled by your organization while political matters will be tackled by the Congress.

PROF. RANGA: In that case may we retain one anna for the *kisan* council out of the Congress membership fee of four annas?

GANDHIJI : You can do that subject to Congress approval. This would mean that the Congress allows a gratuity of one anna to you for doing this special work. If I were at the head of Congress affairs I would certainly allow it.

PROF. RANGA : In the mean time may we start with one-anna membership from now on on the clear understanding that those who are now enrolled are to become members of the Congress as soon as the Congress organization again begins to function? Or we can take five annas from each member now and out of it keep four annas in trust for the Congress.

GANDHIJI : I am afraid you cannot do it today. You must do it openly or not at all. Do not collect the four annas Congress membership fee in advance. I will suggest a better plan which I recommended to Shrimati Rama Devi. Have a register of workers only. Don't have Congress members just now.

PROF. RANGA : Can't we have something like a Congress Seva Sangh, an *ad hoc* body of Congress workers but not Congress members, to carry out Congress work?

GANDHIJI : Yes, you may do that. But seeing that ours is a non-violent body their work will only be to carry on the fifteen-fold constructive programme. That will avoid tussle with the Communists also. Today you are not working for power but as Congress servants. If you carry on your work silently and unostentatiously you become irresistible. No one will come in unless he wants to work with you. There will be no eloquence or Press publicity to attract power seekers.

PROF. RANGA : Eloquence by itself, I admit, is no good but has it not its use when coupled with solid public work?

GANDHIJI : Work by itself is eloquence. Here there are workers in Khadi Vidyalaya, Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Gram Seva Sangh, working themselves to death. They make no speeches. They speak to the villagers through their activity.

PROF. RANGA : As regards the Communists they have done a lot of harm so far as *kisan* work is concerned and as a result have become very unpopular. There are two *kisan* organizations in Andhra, one Congress-minded, the other Communist. So far as we are concerned we keep the Communists out of our organization.

GANDHIJI : You won't be able to keep anybody out of primary membership by merely making rules. But you can keep out trouble if you work on the lines I have indicated.

The Hindu, 23-1-1945

503. MESSAGE TO STUDENTS' CONFERENCE[1]

[Before *November 29, 1944*][2]

The fourteen-point programme is dear to Gandhiji and if you can implement it and give it a dynamic drive you will advance the country towards freedom, peace and progress. The blessings always go to workers in the cause of freedom.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-12-1944

[1] This was sent by Pyarelal. The Conference was scheduled to be held at Allahabad on December 2 and 3.

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Allahabad, November 29, 1944".

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504. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

My heart goes out to you all. Give my love to Maud[2]. She is brave. I hope that the impending examination will show nothing worse.[3] How has Beryl[4] taken the thing? Shummy[5] must be soldier-like and face all this bravely. Of you what shall I say? Do send me a cheerful wire, if you can.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4203. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7839

505. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I had asked you to write again regarding the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. There were other letters too, on the basis of which I have issued a statement[6] which both of you should see, and write to me if you have anything to say. You ought to get some guidance.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMNARAYAN PATHAK
ELLISBRIDGE
AHMEDABAD

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

[1] This is a postscript to Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee dated November 29, 1944. *Vide* also footnote 3, p. 366.

[2] Consort of Maharaja of Kapurthala

[3] The addressee's sister-in-law, Raniji, had undergone an operation and was to be treated at the Tata Memorial Cancer Hospital, Bombay.

[4] Maud's daughter

[5] Shamshere Singh, addressee's brother

[6] *Vide* pp. 343-6.

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506. LETTER TO KALANGI

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

BHAI KALANGI,

I have your letter as well as the money order. I hope you will get this letter. One cannot put an end to the misery of the masses by ending one's life in the way you describe. A number of things happen in the world to which we are helpless witnesses. We should do our utmost and leave the rest to God. He also bears with whatever His creation does, doesn't He? You have no idea at all about what I do and what I refrain from doing. Therefore I would advise you to give up your idea of suicide. If you want I shall return the money.

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. KALANJI [*sic*]
FIRE SERVICE 2
UTTARPADA
DIST. HOOGLY

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

507. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1944

CHI. SHARMA,

There is a letter from Bhai Vichitra[1] from which I gather that you have raised a grand structure. But you have no one to help you. The question is what and how much you will be able to do by yourself. Who can bear your expenses ? How and from where can I draw money for what does not look promising? I am convinced that you should do what you can with your own efforts. At times I feel that I have entered your life only to disorganize it. You belong neither here nor there which means you

[1] Vichitra Narayan Singh

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have lost your moorings. Now forget me and make your own decision. I shall make the final decision regarding the trust after hearing from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

HIRALAL SHARMA
SURYA CHIKITSALAYA
KHURJA

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

508. LETTER TO VANAMALA N. PARIKH

7.15 a.m., November 30, 1944

These chapters[1] are not bad, but they do not come up to my expectations. Perhaps I should not have entertained those expectations. I have not permitted you to have enough experience or education for that. You could certainly have worked harder. Since you are not lethargic, I assume that you did not get the necessary time for putting in more work. Now revise the writing at the places I have indicated and hand over the manuscript to Jivanji[2] to deal with it as he likes. You need not at all feel discouraged.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5845. Also C.W. 3068. Courtesy : Vanamala M. Desai

509. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have had a talk with Rajaji. The position is as I have explained, namely, that the Princes can preserve their independence and Pakistan can exist only if British power remains. How can I tolerate this? It means that a part of India can be independent, and the British rule will continue in the States ruled by the Princes and in the Muslim majority Provinces. I can never be a

[1] Of *Amaran Ba*
[2] Jivanji D. Desai, Manager, Navajivan Press

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willing witness to this. I cannot understand how you can be. You may, if you wish, meet Rajaji and seek clarification. I have stated here the position as I have understood it. See that in trying to secure something you do not lose everything. Go thoroughly into the details.

Sarala[1] must be doing fine.

Blessings from
BAPU[2]

From Gujarati : C.W. 7684. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

510. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Rajaji does not feel inclined to go there. His health is impaired. He would not be able to stand the Delhi cold. There is nothing specifically wrong with his health, only he is not keeping robust health. He has made changes in his diet. You and whoever else wants to see him should come over here.

I am also preparing to take a little rest. I think I will stick to this place but stop doing any work. Rajaji strongly insists on it. He has well spread his fragrance in Nagpur. Dr. Mahmud is fairly well although he has grown weak. He is taking Pandit Shiv Sharma's prescriptions. Krishnadas had to bear a lot of pain in having some of his teeth extracted. He is better now.

Blessings from
BAPU

DEVDAS GANDHI
DELHI

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

[1] Addressee's eldest daughter

[2] The letter bears the following instruction : "Send this with anyone going to Bombay."

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511. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Your letter. There is no need to write to Tandonji[1]. I have received the resolution.

Kedar Babu's note is good. I am herewith sending a copy of it. I want you to guide Madalasa in this respect. Talk to Shantabehn if you wish to. I appreciate the letter; something must be done. I am even prepared to meet all the teachers. But I should not be burdened with this responsibility. Owing to fatigue I wish to stop all work from the 3rd until the 31st.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 302

512. LETTER TO SHIV SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
November 30, 1944

BHAI SHIV SHARMA,

Hope you are in perfect health. Ramesh is a very nice person but he failed to reveal the wonders of Ayurveda to me. He is hard-working. He tries to compete with Allopathy. A great deal of diligence and experience is required to compete with Allopathy.

I have grown very weak. My intake of food is somewhat reduced. Two to three hours' work exhausts me. Now I am thinking of disengaging myself to some extent from public work. Ganeshshastri Joshiji had prescribed some pills. I did not take them. I am unable to decide what to do. Sushilabehn, of course, recommends her line of treatment. I am still keen on getting well with the help of Ayurveda or my own methods of

[1] Purushottamdas Tandon

treatment. Let us see what I decide to do. Instead of sending another vaidya it would be better if you yourself come over whenever you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT SHIV SHARMA

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

513. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

December 1, 1944

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have revised the draft[1] sent by you. There should be no reference to fast. You should confine yourself only to the marriage. You will see the addition about the reform.

I hope Sailabala Devi[2] is better and will soon be completely restored. How is Ronu[3]? Love to you all.

BAPU

[PS.]

Sailen's meals and residence are properly fixed up now. I do not think that Sailen can be appointed auditor for the K. B. Trust Fund. They will have well-known chartered accountants for the purpose, I expect.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10509. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

514. LETTER TO K. R. AGHARWAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Please believe that the fast will not come except for a definite call from within.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. R. AGHARWAL
DIBRUGARH

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Of a Press statement
[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and son

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515. LETTER TO JAYA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. JAYA[1],

Didn't my sending the yarn by itself mean my blessings? Since, however, you are not satisfied with that, tell Chi. Bindu[2] and Chi. Chandrakant that I bless them and wish that both of them should understand the significance of marriage which I have explained, act accordingly, lead their lives in a spirit of service and be happy.

If you can persuade Manu to go with you, she may certainly do so. I have not held her back. You should, however, understand that on an occasion like this one should entertain no expectation from anybody who may have been entrusted to me.

Blessings from
BAPU[3]

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

516. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. KISHORELAL,

You understand the matter correctly. Maybe, I should proceed in the same direction. In support of my action I quote the fasts in the past that were universally praised. But I should not waver if they were found to be wrongly undertaken or not fully justifiable. It is my firm conviction that even from a purely modern point of view fasting has an important place. It is as much necessary for the *atman* that takes on a body as for the body itself. If in the process the body drops that should

[1] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's sister
[2] Addressee's daughter
[3] The letter bears the following instruction : "Show this to Manubehn."

be no reason at all for grieving. Nevertheless I should like to read whatever Nathji[1] may write.

Improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

517. LETTER TO GOMATI K. MASHRUWALA

[*December 1, 1944*][2]

CHI. GOMATI,

I have your letter. If you have the faith that I am—in fact all of us are—in the hands of God, what is the point in worrying? I am taking all the care I can. I hope to come through. I have decided to retire immediately for rest, mainly urged by Rajaji.[3] It will start on the fourth. The weather here does not disagree with me. Manilal has given me all the news. Both of you seem to be doing well on the whole.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

518. LETTER TO V. L. MEHTA

[*December 1, 1944*][4]

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I saw your letter to Pyarelal. I think you should bring along the Maharaja's money. Maybe, we will not be able to take up the responsibility. He should entrust the amount either to the Talimi Sangh or to someone in Bihar who might take up the burden.

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni, addressee's guru

[2] The letter was enclosed along with the preceding item.

[3] According to Sushila Nayyar's letter to Amrit Kaur dated November 29, Rajaji "put the suggestion of rest to Bapu in a very original fashion. He said that just as when he fasted he abstained from food, he should take up a fast from work and religiously abstain from work for one month."

[4] In the source this letter is placed at the end of the letters dated December 1, 1944 and before those of December 2, 1944.

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It would be all right if he could accomplish the job through Badrinarayan who is in Bihar.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

Show this to Bapa if you can. Don't hesitate to write to me if you differ from me.

BAPU

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

519. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

Your letter is very frank and good. We will all discuss it after my [work] fast is over. I quite understand the importance of your college work. Organization of the students and the responsibility of the Mahila Ashram work will take up all your time. Hence I shall try to relieve you, as much as possible, from the work of the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. I will see what can be done.

You must keep yourself in good health. I hope you will not neglect your duty to preserve your health for the sake of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 302

520. LETTER TO INDUBHUSHAN BHINGARE

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

BHAI BHINGARE,

I showed your *bhajans* to Diwanji who is a poet and who has made a study of the *abhangas*[1], *Jnaneshwari*[2], etc. I enclose

[1] Compositions of Tukaram

[2] The first Marathi commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* by Jnaneshwar advocating the path of knowledge

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herewith his opinion. In this condition how can I write a preface for them? I would advise you to see Diwanji and with his help revise [the manuscript] where necessary.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

521. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am dissociating myself from all public activity, discussions, etc., from the 4th to the 31st. There is no cause for panic. It is only by way of precaution. I hope I shall be completely all right.

You have sent a telegram to Rajaji but he is reluctant to go. Nor is it necessary. Besides, he cannot be said to be too well. There is no mental exhaustion but his physical energy is at a low ebb. He won't brave the Delhi cold. He wants to leave for Madras soon after I start my [work] fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
DELHI

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

522. ADDRESS TO A.I.S.A. TRUSTEES

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944[1]

I am sorry to say that I am physically not so fit and fresh as I had expected to be and that I have decided to take complete rest for four weeks commencing from the 4th December in order that I may be able thereafter to take up the work more

[1] From *Charkha Sanghka Navasamskaran*

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energetically. However, I warn the members not to take pity on me and spare me in the deliberations.

Shri Jajuji, the General Secretary of the Sangh, has discussed with me[1] the future policy of the Sangh in all its aspects for seven days devoting one hour daily to it. The gist of those discussions has been sent to the members of the Board and other prominent khadi workers in the form of a circular letter. Replies thereto have been received from a number of members and they are all before the Board for their consideration.

The chief thing that I want the members to consider is that so far the Sangh work was directed from the Central Office, but henceforth the work is to be decentralized and any province or district which wants to be autonomous is to be allowed to do so. Workers must be prepared to go to organize such autonomous centres with the prestige and moral support of the Sangh. The worker will be paid a maintenance for five years on an annually diminishing scale. He should work there according to the fundamental principles and policy laid down by the Sangh. It is not possible otherwise to decentralize the work in seven lakhs of villages.

There are two schools of thought current in the world. One wants to divide the world into cities and the other into villages. The village civilization and the city civilization are totally different things. One depends on machinery and industrialization, the other rests on handicraft. We have given preference to the latter. After all, this industrialization and large-scale production are only of comparatively recent growth. We do not know how far it has contributed to our development and happiness, but we know this much that it has brought in its wake the recent world wars. This second world war is not still over and even before it comes to an end we are hearing of a third world war.

Our country was never so unhappy and miserable as it is at present. In the cities people may be getting big profits and good wages, but all that has become possible by sucking the blood of villagers.

We do not want to collect lakhs and crores. We do not always want to depend on money for our work. If we are prepared to sacrifice our lives for the cause, money is nothing. We must have faith and we must be true to ourselves. If we have these, we shall be able to decentralize our capital of thirty lakhs in the villages to create national wealth amounting to three hundred crores.

[1] Between October 7 and 14

To do that, the main thing that is necessary is to make the village self-sufficient and self-reliant. But mind you, my idea of self-sufficiency is not a narrow one. There is no scope for selfishness or arrogance in my self-sufficiency. I am not preaching isolation. We have to be humble as dust for a cause. We have to mix with people even as sugar mixes itself with milk. Though the villagers will be self-sufficient so far as it is possible, they will devote their time also to their intellectual development for the creation of the consciousness for the contemplated non-violent society of the future.

Cloth stands second to food as necessity. If every village begins to produce its own cloth, its strength will greatly be enhanced. But to achieve that we do not want to close down the textile factories by legislation. We want to achieve our purpose by revolutionizing the psychology of the people. By decentralization we want to produce cloth wherever cotton is grown.

But what of the city people who have taken to khadi now? I would ask them to spin their own yarn and to find out for themselves weavers to weave that yarn into cloth.

It is absurd that the cloth should come from Manchester for the poor, who produce cloth for Bombay people. It is also not proper to compel the poor to accept part of their wages in the form of khadi. They should be so educated that they may spin voluntarily and intelligently and may use with love and pride the cloth produced by them. If the people of Bombay want to wear khadi they should spin for themselves or get their children and other dependents to spin. If people pledged to khadi, spin for themselves, the practice will be contagious. Even if we are able to produce khadi worth ten crores instead of one crore as at present our object of reaching the whole of India will not be achieved.

Gandhiji then read out the resolution[1] which he wanted the Board to consider and adopt. Whilst explaining its implications he said :

The workers of all our five constructive programme institutions (Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Goseva Sangh) should possess such knowledge that the politics of the whole country may be guided by them.

Today we are all the while thinking that our work will be able to make headway only when Rajaji becomes the Prime

[1] For the draft resolution, *vide* p. 68 and for the resolution passed, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

Minister of Madras. But that is not proper. In our present politics we are looking with longing eyes to the Viceroy's Secretariat but if we do our work properly the Viceroy will have to come to us. He will see our work and realize that it is not possible to keep such people in subjection or to rule over them. When seven lakhs of villages will take up this work in the new spirit we shall not remain a subject nation. Each one of our villages will be independent and self-reliant. That is true swaraj and that is true democracy. I do not worry when we shall be able to attain our goal, but if we are sure of our path and if we have faith that it is the only true one, we should go on striving for it incessantly and uninterruptedly.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-12-1944

523. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1944

That 'man proposes and God disposes' constantly proves true in my case, as I expect it does in every case whether we realize it or not. I was contemplating a food fast for reasons I hold to be entirely spiritual. But for the time being, it is being replaced by a day-to-day-work fast. I had hoped that I had recovered sufficiently to be able to go through the routine work without interruption. But nature's warning has been sounding in my ears during the last ten days. I was feeling fatigued. Even after the noonday siesta, the brain seemed tired. There was a complete disinclination to speak or write. But I continued hoping that I would be all right without having to discontinue mental activity.

But nature would have her way. Rajaji who saw me after a month detected a marked change in my face, and he said, 'You must stop all this ceaseless mental activity if you want to avoid a disaster.' I seized the suggestion. He even went so far as to say that I should not mind disappointing invited workers of the Charkha Sangh, although I was looking forward eagerly to meeting them and discussing with them my plan for a new orientation of khadi work. But I would not listen. So I am going through these meetings in the best manner I can in the hope that no crisis will overtake me during the remaining two days of these meetings.

From the 4th to the 31st of this month, I have decided rigidly to discontinue all public activities, all interviews for public

or private purposes and all correspondence of any nature whatsoever. I shall read no newspapers during the period. This abstention will be subject to exception for unforeseen circumstances of a grave nature.

I shall not deny myself the pleasure of reading non-political literature in which I am interested. This also I shall read without in any way unduly taxing the brain. I have asked friends who were expecting to see me during the month to indulgently postpone their visits for the time being.

Let readers not be alarmed at what is only a precautionary measure. Dr. Sushila Nayyar assures me that there is nothing physically wrong with me except that my old friends, the hookworms and the amoebae, have not left me. I am able to take daily walks without the slightest strain and they will be continued. I had hoped to make one or two public statements in connection with a lot of misrepresentations of my views and doings about the communal question and some other public questions. I must forbear for the time being. But I must repeat the warning I have given before, that nothing that is not authoritatively stated by me should be accepted by the public. There are things which I have seen in the Press which I can only say I am incapable of having countenanced directly or indirectly.

There are some vital questions addressed to me by correspondents. They will forgive me for my inability to deal with them for the moment. If, after a month, they still feel the necessity, they will please repeat their letters and if all goes well, I shall gladly reply. Starvation of millions, black markets, and what I cannot but describe as gambling, will continue to worry me as they do now. I can but entreat my numerous co-workers to do what they can to ease the situation, which can be done, I am perfectly sure, if those concerned will make up their minds that the claims of the famishing millions are the first charge on their care and attention.

The Hindu, 3-12-1944

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524. NOTE TO AMINA G. QURESHI

[After *December 1, 1944*][1]

Stay over if you can. No message would be sent up to the 31st; nor a letter.

BAPU[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10776. Courtesy : Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

525. LETTER TO ANIL CHANDRA CHANDA

SEVAGRAM,
December 2, 1944

DEAR ANIL,

Satis Babu has handed me your note. I have not forgotten Santiniketan. As you know Kamalnayan had taken over the whole burden himself. Unfortunately he had to go to Mussourie to look after his wife. He has not returned. I shall attend to the matter as soon as he returns but not before my rest-cure is over.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From C.W. 10515. Courtesy : Visvabharati

526. LETTER TO AKBARBHAI CHAVDA

SEVAGRAM,
December 2, 1944

CHI. AKBAR,

I have made arrangements for a watch for you. You will get it soon. I have read all your letters. You have been doing fine work. God will bless you with success.

[1] This is written on a letter dated December 1, 1944, to the addressee from her son requesting her to get from Gandhiji a message for the students who had planned to observe the 9th of every month by engaging in patriotic activities.

[2] The signature is in the Urdu script.

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You will soon get lots of drugs, but they will not be very helpful. So long as water, fire and earth are available, drugs are not necessary.

Give the people boiled water to drink. This will cure most of the complaints. Use soda [bicarb] if you have it. Water containing soda will stop diarrhoea. Food should be stopped. Persuade the people patiently to stop eating. You may even let them die who do not listen to you. Search for village medicinal herbs. You must have *neem* trees there. If you persuade the people to chew its leaves and see that they fast, the fever will probably disappear. Boil *neem* leaves in water and wash the blisters with that. The water should be bearably hot. Cover the blisters with a mud-pack of clean earth. Get clean cloth for bandaging the blisters. If you can get tamarind you can give a solution of it in place of water mixed with lemon juice. Revive people's knowledge of nature-cure remedies. Local medicinal drugs should be made available. Give rice water instead of milk. If you mix jaggery with it, it will provide more energy. Teach people the rules of hygiene. If food is stopped to people suffering from fever or diarrhoea and they are put on boiled water, more than fifty per cent of the cases will recover. I have no doubt in my mind about this at all. Fifty per cent is a conservative guess. For guinea worm, try fomentation with hot water and tie up the thing as it comes out. Try also a poultice of onions. You must have received the suggestions sent by Kishorelalbhai and Sushilabehn. I have suggested only the simplest remedies. Let Devibehn send whatever she wishes. If cows, buffaloes or goats are offered, accept them. To meat-eaters you may unhesitatingly give meat-soup. Soup means water in which meat has been boiled. These things should be served hot after boiling them. This is not the time for doing our religious duty of propagating vegetarianism. Soup is bound to be useful where milk is not available.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3236

527. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

December 2, 1944

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Where do you want to keep Chakrayya[1]? Do you want to keep him in Adhyapan Mandir[2] or in Harijan Ashram or with you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10805

528. LETTER TO ABDUL MAJEED

December 2, 1944

BHAI KHWAJA,

I had known it even earlier that my Muslim friends who are not with the League were a little angry with me because I went to Bombay to talk with Jinnah Saheb and did not talk with them. As I have already written to you earlier, I can never be unfaithful to the Muslims or Islam. I had never thought that I would have any settlement with Jinnah Saheb which would be against the interests of my Muslim friends who have joined me in making sacrifices or which would harm the genuine interests of any community in India. Had any such situation arisen, I would have certainly consulted some of you.

I was distressed to learn that some of my Muslim friends think that in my friendliness with Jinnah Saheb I have ignored them. That certainly is not the case. It must be accepted that the majority of the Muslim community belongs to the Muslim League whose Quaid-e-Azam is Jinnah Saheb. It must also be accepted that he is opposed to our line of action. That is why I wished that either he should convert me to his course or I should convert him to mine, and if this could be done, the Hindus and Muslims would march together to freedom. I failed in my

[1] An inmate of the Sevagram Ashram
[2] Training school

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attempt. I wish that Maulana Saheb and certain other friends, particularly Maulvi Hafizur Rehman Saheb, Mufti Kifayatullah Saheb and Maulana Syed Ahmed Saheb would take the trouble of meeting me here. I would try to clear their doubts. We can all work together and pray to God to show us the straight path to freedom. If all of you cannot come, it would be enough if only Maulana Saheb comes. Or, Maulvi Hafizur Rehman Saheb who is the secretary of the Jamiat may come. Please convey my regards to all the friends.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Urdu original : A. M. Khwaja Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

529. LETTER TO VICEROY

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DEAR FRIEND[1],

This is with reference to your letter of 2nd November last.

My letter[2] of 17th July to Mr. Churchill was, in my estimation, of a sacred character, not meant for the public eye. I now contemplate an occasion or time when it might need publication without losing the sacred character. Even so I do not wish to publish it without the Prime Minister's permission. May I have it, in case I need to publish it?[3]

I should tell you that I have shown the contents to a few friends.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 15

[1] Lord Wavell
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 391-2.
[3] In his letter dated December 21, 1944, E. M. Jenkins conveyed the Prime Minister's consent.

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530. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

CHI. MIRA,

So you have the land of your choice[1]. May all your dreams be fulfilled. If I go to Delhi and get the time of course I should love to drive to your place.

Do not be anxious about me. All I need is rest from the routine work, even love-letters. So till the end of the year this is my last letter. This is the final day of writing letters.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6501. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9896

531. LETTER TO METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter of 25th November and for responding to Sir Tej Bahadur's invitation[2].

You must have seen from the papers that from tomorrow, I am imposing on myself abstention from day-to-day routine—work-fast. I see clearly that I must take rest, if I am to avoid a breakdown. The fast is to end with the month.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE METROPOLITAN
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] For the Kisan Ashram near Roorkee
[2] To be on the Conciliation Committee of the Non-Party Conference

532. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

MY DEAR KALLENBACH[1],

Manilal will give you all the news about me. I hope you are doing well. I send you these lines to tell you that the Phœnix Trust[2] requires complete overhauling.

There are now no settlers. Therefore the clause about them should go. There is no formal resignation or withdrawal by them. If the law requires it, a formal resignation should be secured from each one of them. Perhaps their physical withdrawal amounts to resignation.

The following new trustees may be added :

Manilal, Jalbhai[3], Medh[4]

Manilal should be the managing trustee and the manager of the Settlement, including *Indian Opinion*. He should draw from the Trust £100 per month for the maintenance of his family and children and live on the land free of rent with the right to use for his household the fruits, vegetables and cereals grown on the Settlement. He should maintain proper books of account in connection with the Settlement and *Indian Opinion*. He should be free, subject to its being no additional burden on the Settlement, to remove *Indian Opinion* partly or wholly to Durban.

Such changes as may be necessary may be made in the Trust-Deed. In the event of my death before the Deed is prepared and signed by me, this letter may be treated by the present trustees as authority for the changes herein suggested.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji during his South African days. He placed his "Tolstoy Farm" at the disposal of the satyagrahis during the satyagraha struggle which lasted for 8 years.

[2] For the original Phœnix Trust-Deed, *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 320-5. The addressee was one of the Trustees.

[3] Son of Parsee Rustomji

[4] Surendra Medh

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533. LETTER TO DR. PANDIT

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DEAR DR. PANDIT,

Shri Parnerkar is a valued co-worker. His mother is in Indore. She is ailing. If you can give her the treatment she needs, I shall feel obliged. You will please pardon me for giving you this trouble, even though I do not happen to know you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. PANDIT
INDORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

534. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

DAUGHTER SULTANA[1],

Now you are married. It is good that you found a partner within the family itself. May you both be happy and bring credit to Imam Saheb[2] by your selfless service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10764. Courtesy : Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

[1] Daughter of Ghulam Rasool Qureshi
[2] Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, addressee's grandfather and Gandhiji's associate since the South African days

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535. LETTER TO HAMID AND WAHID QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

SONS HAMID AND WAHID[1],

Amina[2] has talked to me about both of you. You should make very good progress. Wahid has become a cowherd. If he is a true cowherd he will produce pure milk and ghee for the country and will breed such bullocks as would attract universal attention.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10775. Courtesy : Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

536. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BHAI MOHANLAL,

I don't at all approve of your action. In fact you are no more worthy of anybody's alliance. But that will be difficult. You should therefore form a fresh alliance.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

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

[1] Sons of Ghulam Rasool Qureshi
[2] Addressees' mother; daughter of Abdul Kadir Bawazeer

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537. LETTER TO KANAIYALAL DESAI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944[1]

BHAI KANJIBHAI,

I am deeply pained that I had to stop you from coming. But what could I do? I am helpless. The month will pass quickly and God will have me restored.

I have already spoken at length to Mangaldas, who will explain things to you. The main point is that if Congressmen and Congresswomen feel sore about it, I shall carry on correspondence with none but you as the president or with anybody who happens to be the president. I did not consider Mavalankar an outsider. You may appoint whatever committee you wish for the running of the Kasturba Trust. The rules are formulated with a view to safeguarding the Trust, the purpose being that the money should be spent according to its objectives. It may be said that all parties are, or rather no party is, represented on the Trust. Individuals have contributed on their own behalf whatever they wanted. We should, in view of this, appoint a committee comprising men of all shades of opinion. Indeed, whoever is appointed on the committee should be in his or her own right a representative of India's village women. Whoever decides what is right from this point of view would be free from hatred. All our actions should be based upon love and truth.

You may read out this letter to all the men and women. Please understand it is my earnest wish that there should he no bitterness whatsoever.

Blessings from
BAPU

KANJIBHAI
SURAT

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

[1] *Sansmarano* however has " December 2, 1944".

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538. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

December 3, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Your letter. I showed it to Satis Babu. He says that you have to stay in the village itself and do what is required. The problem of water, etc., can be met; he has told you something about it and will talk to you more. You should take it that until the 31st you will not hear from me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1951

539. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

December 3, 1944

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I just now received your letter. It is full of the affection that you both have for me. However, it does not seem necessary to have a change of place right now. Let me see what happens during the [work] fast. I would enjoy spending even a little time with you, though. Hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 303

540. LETTER TO GANESH SHASTRI JOSHI[1]

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

I have been taking the little pills, which you gave me, for the last three days. I must say that they have done me some good. What is this pill?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10358

[1] This is a postscript to Abha Gandhi's letter to the addressee.

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541. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. May God cure you all. Give me all the news. You would have noticed that from tomorrow I am going to stop writing letters, etc. I shall resume in January.

Blessings to you all
BAPU

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

542. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BETI,

You have done well in not coming. Today is the last day for writing letters. I am taking a reprieve from such activities from tomorrow until the 31st. I have undergone a lot of mental strain and have to get rid of it. You must be keeping well. Akbar is working hard. I shall try and send one of his letters on to you.[1]

Don't worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 541

[1] The letter bears the following instruction in Gujarati, obviously for the secretary : "Please enclose a letter from Akbar."

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543. LETTER TO KRISHNARAJU

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

BHAI KRISHNARAJU,

My letter-writing activity ceases from tomorrow until the end of this month. Hence I am sending this letter to convey my good wishes for your success in your treatment of the three friends[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10357

544. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
December 3, 1944

CHI. DHIREN,

I have your letter. From tomorrow my silence starts. I shall not be writing letters till the 31st. I am happy to learn that you are doing well. By any means get rid of your constipation. Sailen has improved a lot.

Blessings from
BAPU

DHIREN CHATTERJEE
KHADI PRATISHTHAN

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

[1] Anand T. Hingorani, Gokhale and Babaji Moghe

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545. A STATEMENT[1]

[Before *December 4, 1944*][2]

I have never put any ban on individual satyagraha, where self-respect is in danger.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-12-1944

546. TELEGRAM TO ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA[3]

December 4, 1944

ANUGRAHANARAYAN SINHA
KADAM KUAN
PATNA

BEST WAY CELEBRATE RAJENBABU DIAMOND JUBILEE IS FOR BIHAR AT LEAST TO DO ALL HE STANDS FOR. NEED I SAY WHAT HE STANDS FOR?

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

547. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

December 4, 1944

I will not meddle with this during this month. All of you may do what you think best. Everybody has truth and ahimsa in him. This need not have been mentioned in the last meeting of the Charkha Sangh, for the circular[4] was drafted on that assumption. What you are doing about the kitchen must be all right. See that the men whom you engage are clean in body

[1] & [2] Gandhiji said this in reply to an 'enquiry' from some prominent Congress workers. The statement was obviously made before Gandhiji disengaged himself from all public activities on December 4; *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 371-2.

[3] This was in response to the request of the Bihar Students' Federation.

[4] Sent by Shrikrishnadas Jaju. It contained the gist of his discussions with Gandhiji carried on from October 7 to 14.

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and mind. Their clothes, etc., should be decent. You should look after their all-round education. This should include their children. You should also go and inspect their homes. If they are well trained, we can influence the villages sooner through them. We must go deep into whatever work we do.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5808. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

548. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
December 11, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

My idea was that the khadi work should be learnt as part of the Talimi Sangh training while working for the Talimi Sangh itself, in accordance with the sincere wishes of the couple[1]. The work going on in the Khadi Vidyalaya these days is very good. The work of the Talimi Sangh depends on khadi. Whether or not it depends as much or more on agriculture remains to be seen. What I mean to say is that I had very high expectations from you. And I still believe that they will be fulfilled. If there is anything else, you may join me tomorrow during my walk. I shall be taking a walk towards Sevagram [village].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4452

549. TALK WITH NARAHARI D. PARIKH

[Before *December 12, 1944*]

I see khadi dying. Hence if khadi, which is the main plank of the constructive programme, is to be saved, it ought to become self-supporting. Those who do not spin have no right to wear khadi. All those who wear khadi must spin so that khadi may survive.

[From Gujarati]
Sandesh, 12-12-1944

[1] E. W. Aryanayakum and his wife Ashadevi

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550. REMARK IN VISITORS' BOOK[1]

December 12, 1944

For me this is a place of pilgrimage. I wanted to visit the institution ever since it was started, but there was no opportunity. May God help the afflicted through this institution. Only He can reward Bhai Manhar Diwan for his pioneering work in this field. But the fact is that for him service is its own reward.

M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Maharogi Seva Samiti Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

551. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 16, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I understand what you say. Obviously I expect you to become an ideal teacher in Nayee Talim. That sums up everything. Wherever you go it will be at my instance only. But you must develop the ability to get along with Aryanayakum and Ashadevi. I am in no hurry. You will yourself understand that the experience of comradeship with them is in itself a part of your training in Nayee Talim. After all you have started your own Nayee Talim, haven't you?

Yes, I consider it very essential that you acquire complete mastery of carding. Start [learning] it in the Khadi Vidyalaya after taking permission from both of them. You have already been given one responsibility, haven't you? Do you want another person besides Anantramji?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4453

[1] This is recorded in the Visitors' Book of a leprosy relief society in Dattapur Colony near Wardha.

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552. NOTE TO CHANDRANI

December 21, 1944

I hope you will prove to be a very good *sevika*.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

553. A NOTE[1]

December 22, 1944

You have done the sums very well. There is room for improvement in the handwriting.

BAPU

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

554. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI[2]

December 23, 1944

This is good enough, but there is plenty of room for neatness. Whatever you do must be neat.

BAPU

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

[1] Presumably this was meant for Manu Gandhi; *vide* the following two items.

[2] This and the following note to the addressee appear in the form of remarks on the lessons done by her.

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555. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

December 25, 1944

It is indeed an achievement that most of the sums are correct. Take your own time to improve the handwriting. See that henceforth not a single [sum] is incorrect.

BAPU

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

556. A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

SEVAGRAM,
December 25, 1944

I had hoped that I would be able to speak a few words today. But God willed otherwise. Today is Christmas Day. We hold all religions in equal respect and all such festivals deserve respect. But our respect is different from the common kind. For us such festivals are for meditation and introspection. On such occasions we should search our hearts and cleanse it of all impurity. We should know that God is one, whether we call Him Ishwara or Khuda, and that His commands are the same for all. We should not harm others for what we regard as Truth or right. We should be prepared to die for Truth and when the call comes give our life for it and sanctify it with our blood. This in my view is the essence of all religions. On this day we should ponder upon this and remember that Jesus mounted the Cross for what he considered to be the Truth.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 7903. Also C.W. 4271. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur

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557. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

SEVAGRAM,
December 27, 1944

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

It is natural to feel sad at Father's passing away but if we reflect for a moment we shall realize that it is futile to grieve over the inevitable. Why then should one grieve? And who is it that dies? Surely not the *jiva*[1] which was always associated with us, which is with us now and will remain with us hereafter.

Father's last words are very precious to me. I shall regard them as a blessing.

Blessings from
BAPU

PANDIT BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD
DISTRICT AGRA (U. P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2575

558. A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY[2]

November 20, 1944

Innumerable are the names of God; but if a choice were to be made of one, it would be *Sat* or *Satya*, that is, Truth. Hence verily Truth is God.

November 21, 1944

Realization of Truth is not at all possible without ahimsa. That is why it has been said that ahimsa is the supreme dharma.

November 22, 1944

The quest of truth and the observance of non-violence are impossible without *brahmacharya*, non-stealing, non-possession,

[1] Soul

[2] At the request of Anand T. Hingorani Gandhiji on November 20, 1944, started the practice of writing 'a thought' for each day and continued it for about two years. Those written during the period covered by this volume are given here as a single item under the last date, namely, December 31, 1944. The thoughts were originally written in Hindi.

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fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, removal of untouchability and the like.

November 23, 1944

Brahmacharya here means control over the sense-organs—in thought, word and deed. One who, while remaining bodily chaste, is impure at heart shall not be deemed a true *brahmachari*.

November 24, 1944

Non-stealing does not mean mere abstention from theft. To keep or take what one does not need is also stealing. And of course stealing is fraught with violence.

November 25, 1944

Non-possession means that we should not hoard anything that we do not need today.

November 26, 1944

Fearlessness should connote absence of all kinds of fear—fear of death, fear of bodily injury, fear of hunger, fear of insult, fear of public disapprobation, fear of ghosts and evil spirits, fear of anyone's anger. Freedom from all these and such other fears constitutes fearlessness.

November 27, 1944

Let us respect other religions even as we respect our own. Mere tolerance thereof is not enough.

November 28, 1944

Removal of untouchability means not merely touching the Harijans, but also looking upon them as our own kith and kin; in other words, treating them in the same way as we would our own brothers and sisters. None is high, none low.

November 29, 1944

Yogah Chittavrittinirodhah—This is the first aphorism of Patanjali's *Yoga Darshan*[1]. Yoga is controlling the activities of the mind. Restraining the surging passions, suppressing them, that is yoga.

November 30, 1944

How can one in whose mind passions keep surging ever realize truth? The upsurge of passions in the mind is like a

[1] Philosophy of Yoga

tempest in the ocean. The helmsman who holds fast to the helm in a storm remains safe. Likewise, he triumphs who relies upon Ramanama when the mind is restless.

December 1, 1944

The *bhajan* "Take Thou a Lesson from the Tree"[1] is worth laying to one's heart. The tree bears the heat of the sun, yet provides cool shade to us. What do we do?

December 2, 1944

Let us always beware of false knowledge. That which keeps or turns us away from Truth is false knowledge.

December 3, 1944

For the realization of Truth it is necessary to read the lives of the saints and reflect upon them.

December 4, 1944

Against whom shall we harbour enmity when God Himself says that He dwells in all living beings? (Translation of today's *bhajan.*)

December 5, 1944

The great lesson that we learn from the life of Mirabai is that she renounced her all—even her husband—for the sake of God.

December 6, 1944

What can a person not accomplish by faith? He can do everything.

December 7, 1944

Man can overcome mountains by faith.

December 8, 1944

He who concentrates on any one thing with singleness of purpose, will ultimately acquire the capacity to do everything.

December 9, 1944

True happiness does not come from without; it comes from within.

[1] By Surdas

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December 10, 1944

He who loses his individuality loses all.

December 11, 1944

The straight path is as difficult as it is simple. Were it not so, all would follow the straight path.

December 12, 1944

"Compassion is the essence of religion," so Tulsidas has said. And he adds : "Abandon not compassion as long as you live." Suppliants for compassion ourselves, all of us, how shall we take compassion, and on whom?

December 13, 1944

A sister said : "I used to pray, but have now given it up." I asked : "Why?" She replied : "Because I used to deceive myself." The reply is of course correct. But let her give up deceiving. Why give up praying?

December 14, 1944

Yesterday's *bhajan* was very melodious and worth pondering over. It says in essence : God dwells neither in the temple, nor in the mosque. Neither within, nor without. If at all He is anywhere, it is in the hunger and the thirst of the humble folk. Let us spin daily in order to sate their hunger and quench their thirst, or, with Ramanama on our lips, engage ourselves in some such labour for their sake.

December 15, 1944

Why is it that even ordinarily we do not escape untruth be it out of fear or even shame? Would it not be better to adopt silence instead, or, shedding fear of one another, speak frankly what is in our mind?

December 16, 1944

Even a little untruth ruins a man, as a drop of poison ruins milk.

December 17, 1944

We are loath to devote time to things that matter, but hanker after worthless things and find pleasure in them!!!

December 18, 1944

"Man is not God; call him not that. But of Divine refulgence he is part."

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December 19, 1944

Listen to the discourses of the sages, study the scriptures, become learned. But if you have not enthroned God in your heart, you have achieved nothing.

December 20, 1944

We all desire *mukti*[1] but, perhaps, we do not know precisely what it means. Deliverance from the cycle of birth and death is one of its several meanings.

December 21, 1944

The poet-saint Narsinh says : "A man of God seeks not deliverance from birth and death; he asks to be born again and again." Viewed from this angle, *mukti* takes on a somewhat different form.

December 22, 1944

Extreme non-attachment is salvation, according to the *Gita*, and we find the same meaning given in the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*.

December 23, 1944

How to develop non-attachment? This can be done by regarding joy and sorrow, friend and foe, mine and thine, as all alike. Thus another name for non-attachment is equanimity.

December 24, 1944

As drops add up to make the ocean, we can be friendly and become an ocean of friendliness. The world would be transformed if everyone in the world lived in a spirit of mutual amity.

December 25, 1944

Today is Christmas Day. For us who believe in the equality of all religions, the birth of Jesus Christ is as worthy of veneration as that of Rama, Krishna, etc.

December 26, 1944

Illness itself should be a matter of shame for man. Illness betokens some lapse. Illness should not beset one whose body and mind are wholly sound.

[1] Salvation

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December 27, 1944

Evil thoughts are also a sign of illness. Let us, therefore, avoid evil thoughts.

December 28, 1944

One infallible means for escaping evil thoughts is Ramanama. The Name should come not merely from the lips but from the heart.

December 29, 1944

Numerous are our ailments; numerous, too, are physicians and their treatments. But we would be spared much bother if we regarded all diseases as one and Rama as the one and only Physician who can eradicate them.

December 30, 1944

How strange that we run after physicians who are mortals themselves but forget Rama, the immortal, eternal and never-failing Physician!

December 31, 1944

Stranger still it is that, knowing that we, too, are mortal and that a doctor's treatment can at best but prolong our life for a few more days, we still run from pillar to post to seek it.

A Thought for the Day, pp. 1-42

559. TELEGRAM TO ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA[1]

Express [*1944*]

ANUGRAHANARAYAN SINHA
KADAM KUAN, PATNA

HOPE SOMEBODY DEFENDING MAHOMMED YASIN'S CASE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] This is found in the file of documents belonging to the year 1944. The exact date of this and the following item is not ascertainable.

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560. LETTER TO PRANLAL D. NANJI

1944

If you have to go to Deolali, you can have exemption from having to come to Wardha. Coming here is chiefly a matter of sentiment, whereas going to Deolali may be your duty.

From a facsimile of the Gujarati in *Pranlal Devakaran Nanji Abhinandan Granth*, between pp. 14 and 15

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A RESOLUTION[1]

The Working Committee have given their full and earnest consideration to the proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the War in September 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to enable them to do so to be created. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realization of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the War in the Pacific, it was stated that : "Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war."

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee, while recognizing that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic State. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation. The Committee recognize that

[1] A copy of the resolution, passed by the Congress Working Committee, was handed over to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 2, 1942. The Resolution however was released to the Press on April 11 after the negotiations failed. *Vide* p. 12.

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future independence may be implicit in the proposals but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion. The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the States have no voice in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the State as well as of the rest of India.

The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian Union. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognizing this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a Union and thus create friction just when the utmost co-operation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present. The Committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should

give to those who look to them for guidance. For the present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the Defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during war time it is all-important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent government during the pendency of the War. The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental prerequisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present is their realization as a fact that they are free and are in charge of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even at this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanize the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India, through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them.

The Committee, therefore, are unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.

The Indian Annual Register: 1942, Vol. I, pp. 224-5

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM K. M. MUNSHI[1]

BOMBAY,
August 9, 1944

RESPECTED BAPU,

I had been to Lahore in connection with a case and returned today.

1. Khizr's man had contacted me. He himself was out of town. He wishes that no commitments be made with Jinnah regarding the Punjab. He is not concerned with whatever else you may do. He will oppose the

[1] *Vide* p. 25.

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partition. He is not a man of daring. Glaney[1], Sir Zafrulla[2], Sultan Ahmed[3], are on his side. He will send a messenger to you in a few days.

2. Chhoturam[4] and his party are greatly upset. They are preparing against the partition of the Punjab and are against Pakistan.

3. The Hindu leaders too are very much enraged. Your message was conveyed to Sir Tek Chand Bakshi[5] by telephone at Dalhousie. He is keeping indifferent health, otherwise he would have come to see you. It is naturally difficult to comprehend from your statements how the Rajaji Formula and Akhand Hindustan can be reconciled.

4. Dr. Gopichand[6] met me here. They will not violate discipline; but their minds are greatly perturbed. They are not satisfied with the written consolation you gave them at Juhu.

5. The Sikhs who were the protagonists of Azad Punjab have now become supporters of Akhand Hindustan, at least for the present. Master Tara Singh sent a message that he would meet me; but did not turn up. He is anxious to meet you. He is possibly nursing a grievance that he was not accorded a proper reception during one of his visits to Wardha.

6. I had talks with Sant Singh and other Nationalist Sikhs also. They do not mind if some final settlement is arrived at.

7. Jinnah had held several secret negotiations and part of their trend has come to be known : (1) He would start by demanding 50% in the National Government; but would accept 42% in the end. (2) He had discussed five plans for plebiscite, though it is not known what those plans were.

8. As far as possible, I am keeping quiet about the Rajaji Formula. But (my) mind remains perturbed. Friends press me and in most cases misunderstandings arise. My Congress friends hint that I am thus staging a come-back to the Congress. Others say that I am betraying the cause of Akhand Hindustan on your account. Should I say something explicitly or should I maintain silence?

According to my humble opinion, (1) Akhand Hindustan is a fundamental principle for me. I am unable to change anything in it. (2) Whatever the Constitution, only the areas having Muslim majority in India should constitute separate units. We cannot reconcile ourselves till the Punjab and Bengal are not partitioned. (3) It does not seem probable that the policy of Hindu-Muslim unity which has been a failure for the (past) 25 years

[1] Sir Bertrand Glaney, Governor of the Punjab
[2] Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan
[3] Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council
[4] Sir Chhoturam, Minister in the Punjab Cabinet
[5] Ex-Chief Justice of the Punjab
[6] Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, leader of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly

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will now succeed. (4) Today, none but the Muslims are honestly welcoming the Rajaji Formula. You are of course powerful. There would be many who, for several reasons, would accept whatever you say. But what is rankling in their hearts would no doubt continue to do so. (5) By supporting the Rajaji Formula you have been able to prove your readiness to arrive at a communal settlement. (6) Jinnah's ambition of 25 years to determine the future of India in partnership with you is fulfilled. He is now convinced that the British are out to hit at him in the Punjab, and so he is eager to arrive at some settlement. If the settlement arrived at is such that it could be misused or if there is a deadlock, the situation is likely to be worse than it was. I am so disturbed about this thing that I am relieving my burden by expressing myself to you. If, in your opinion, I should publish my viewpoint in the proper form, do kindly let me know. I shall prepare it and send it for your prior approval.

Yours respectfully,
KANU MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, Vol. I, pp. 437-8

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 10, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

With reference to our talk yesterday, September 9th, I understood from you that you had come to discuss the Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity, and not in any representative character or capacity on behalf of the Hindus or the Congress, nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be someone on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and, if possible, come to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent, and that this raises great difficulties in my way. As you know, I can only speak on behalf of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League, as the President of the organization which I represent, and as such I am subject to and governed by its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realize and will admit that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is the foremost and the major hurdle, and unless the representatives of these two nations put their heads together, how is one to make any headway with it?

[1] *Vide* p. 92.

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Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, and tried to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in that resolution, but you not only refused to consider it but emphasized your opposition to the basic position indicated in the resolution, and remarked that there was "an ocean between you and me", and when I asked you what is then the alternative you suggest, you put forward a formula of Mr. Rajagopalachari, approved of by you. We discussed it, and as the various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant, and what were its implications, and asked you for explanation and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that Formula. After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing my points that I thought required or called for explanation and clarification, and to communicate with you and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday, September 11th, at 5.30 p.m. I am, therefore, submitting to you the following points which required clarification :

1. With regard to the preamble : in what capacity will you be a consenting party if any agreement is reached between you and me?

2. Clause 1 : With regard to "the constitution for free India" referred to in this clause, I would like to know first, what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it, and when will it come into being?

Next, it is stated in the Formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence." Does it mean the Congress demand for Independence as formulated in the August Resolution of 1942 by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term, for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but also by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for the freedom and independence of the whole of this subcontinent, and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan.

Next, it is stated that the Muslim League "will co-operate with the Congress in the formulation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period". I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it.

3. Clause 2 : Who will appoint the Commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings? What is the meaning of "absolute majority" referred to in it? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken district-wise, or, if not, on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise or other practicable franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation

be entitled to choose to join either State or also those outside the present boundaries would have the right to choose to join either State?

4. Clause 3 : Who are meant by "all parties" in this clause?

5. Clause 4 : I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the "mutual agreements" referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by "safeguarding defence and commerce, communications and for other essential purposes"? Safeguarding against whom?

6. Clause 6 : "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India." I would like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency, and when?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and hope that you will let me have full details with regard to the various points that I have raised, in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before I can deal with them satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 11, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I received your letter of September 11 at 5 p.m. today. I note that you have approached me as an individual, and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take it that I acquiesce in the position that you have adopted, for which there is no precedent. Nevertheless, I proceeded to discuss matters with you naturally because I am anxious to convert you to my point of view, if possible. I urged you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, and proceed to settle the details forthwith. You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the Resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary, he has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech

[1] *Vide* p. 93.

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which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on the 30th of July, 1944.

2. You say the "first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then, too, I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together". This in my opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse, and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All-India Muslim League, and you are only holding on firmly to the August Resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India, it is essential, in the first instance, that there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement. Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me, but that is not enough in my judgement, although it will be a very valuable help to me. I once more ask you, please, to let me know what is your conception of the basis for the formation of a Provisional Interim Government. No doubt it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think in fairness you should at least give me some rough idea of the lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now, and I would like to know what are your proposals or scheme for the formation of a Provisional Interim Government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

3. You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the Commission, and also it is not clear to me what you mean by absolute majority, when you say it means "a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province". You have not even replied to my question as to who will decide the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the Formula.

4. The answer does not carry any clear idea when you say "all parties means parties interested".

5. You say "mutual agreement means agreement between contracting parties", who are the contracting parties once a Provisional Interim Government is established of your conception? Who will appoint the Central or Joint Board of Control, which will safeguard defence, etc., and on what principle, through what machinery and agency, and subject to whose control and orders will such a Central or Joint Board be?

6. You say "the power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the Provisional Government". That is all the greater reason why I would like to know full details of the Provisional Government as contemplated by you and of your conception.

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

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APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 14, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I received your letter of September 14 at 4.45 p.m. today in reply to my letter of September 11 (and not of September 13 as you state, which seems to be a mistake) and I thank you for it.

1. Please let me have as soon as you can your promised letter indicating in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is "indefinite".

2. With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence", I asked you in my letter dated September 10, "does it mean the Congress demand for independence, as formulated in the August 1942 Resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term?", to which you replied by your letter of September 11, "The Independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands." Hence I again ask, does it mean on the basis of a United India? I find that you have not clarified the point satisfactorily.

As regards the next part of the clause, the Formula proceeds to lay down that "the Muslim League will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of the Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period". I requested you by my letter of September 10 to let me know "the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it" to which you replied by your letter of September 11 under reply that "the basis for the formation of the Provisional Interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress." But that is not meeting my request for clarification, or giving me at least the outlines of such a Government. And that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed Provisional Interim Government according to the Formula, so that I may have some idea. Of course, I can quite understand that such a Provisional Interim Government will represent all the parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence at the present moment of all the parties. I can quite understand that when the moment arrives, certain things may follow but before we can deal with this Formula in a satisfactory manner,

[1] *Vide* pp. 100 and 103.

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I repeat again that as it is your Formula, you should give me a rough idea of the Provisional Interim Government that you contemplate and of your conception. What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a Provisional Interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, and what will be its composition, etc. You, being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the Formula means.

In your letter of September 14 in reply to my letter of September 11, you inform me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. "I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties", but that is just the point. Unless I have some outlines or scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to discuss in order to reach any agreement?

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 17, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have your letter of September 15, and I thank you for it. I note that you have for the moment shunted the Rajaji Formula and are applying your mind very seriously to the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League. It is my duty to explain the Lahore Resolution to you today and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity. I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners, and if I can convert you, exercising as you do tremendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on these talks in your representative character or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested with a representative status and authority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

You have stated in your letter dated September 11 that the Lahore Resolution is "indefinite". I, therefore, naturally asked you to please let me know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite, and now I have received your letter of September 15 under reply.

[1] *Vide* p. 116.

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The third paragraph of your letter is not seeking clarification, but a disquisition and expression of your views on the point, whether the Mussalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whether the Mussalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this sub-continent. For the moment, I would refer you to two publications, although there are many more—Dr. Ambedkar's book and "M. R. T.'s" *Nationalism in Conflict in India*. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation. Now I shall reply to your various points :

1. Yes, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned in the Resolution and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution.

2. This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

3. This point is covered by my answer that the Mussalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the Resolution.

4. Surely, you know what the word "Muslims" means.

5. This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore Resolution.

6. No. They will form units of Pakistan.

7. As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

8. In view of my reply to (7), your question (8) has been answered.

9. Does not relate to clarification.

10. My answer to (9) covers this point.

11. Does not arise out of the clarification of the Resolution. Surely, this is not asking for clarification of the Resolution. I have in numerous speeches of mine and the Muslim League in its resolutions have pointed out that this is the only solution of India's problem and the road to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of India.

12. "Muslims under the Princes" : The Lahore Resolution is only confined to British India. This question does not arise out of clarification of the Resolution.

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13. The definition of "minorities" : You yourself have often said minorities mean "accepted minorities".

14. The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for minorities referred to in the Resolution are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective States, viz., Pakistan and Hindustan.

15. It does give basic principles and when they are accepted, then the details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties. (a & b) Does not arise by way of clarification; (c) The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslim India; (d) No. See answer (C).

As regards your final paragraph, before receiving clarifications from me you have already passed your judgment and condemned the Lahore Resolution, when you say, "As I write the letter and imagine the working of the Resolution in practice I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India." I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence, not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India, but when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours. It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realize your true position and the realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India today. I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully. As I have said before, you are a great man and you exercise enormous influence over the Hindus, particularly the masses, and by accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of the Hindus or of the minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greater gainers. I am convinced that true welfare not only of the Muslim but the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed by the Lahore Resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme, in which you have persisted, which has been the principal factor of 'ruin of the whole of India' and of misery and degradation of the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than anyone else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having talks with me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you may yet revise your policy and programme.

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

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APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 21, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 19, and I have already given you my answers to all your questions relating to clarification of the Lahore Resolution or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say it may be that "all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore Resolution", but you particularly emphasize your points 15 (a) and 15 (b).

I regret to say it has no relation to the context of the Resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspondence, which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification, so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11.

1. You say, "My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity, which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together."

2. The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14, while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, you were pleased to observe : "I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement." In your letter of September 15, you say "Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. Resolution of 1942." It is, therefore, clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy and that you adhere firmly to your policy and programme, which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass civil disobedience in terms of the August 8, 1942, Resolution, and you have made it more clear again by stating in your letter of September 19 as follows : "As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree

[1] *Vide* pp. 117 and 122.

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to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant." You know that the August 1942 Resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. Then again, in the course of our discussion when I asked you for clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, you were pleased to say, by your letter of September 15 as follows : "For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League." We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to our point of view. I discussed the Resolution at great length with you, and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though you have emphasized more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15 you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore Resolution : "Believe me, I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself," and that you were open to conviction and conversion. You had informed me by your letter of September 11 as follows: "It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The League Resolution is indefinite." I naturally, therefore, proceeded in reply to ask you by my letter of September 11 as follows: "You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the Resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite," and I sent you a reminder on September 13, to which you replied by your letter of September 15, not confining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters, with some of which I had already dealt, in reply to this letter of yours of September 15, by my letter of September 17 and furnished you with all the clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence. I have already given you all the clarifications you require so far as the Lahore Resolution goes and its text is concerned. You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds and continue to persist in a disquisition on the point, amongst others, whether Muslims of India are a nation, and then you proceed further to say : "Can we not agree to differ on the question of two nations and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination ?" It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the word "self-determination". Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated above, can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birth-right?

Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of "a territorial unit" which, by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet; and there is no Union or Federal Constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign Central Government. Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign States by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union, which is non-existent in India. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Mussalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

I hope you will now understand that your question 15(a) does not arise out of the Lahore Resolution or of any part thereof. As to 15(b), again it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign body representing Pakistan *vis-a-vis* the constitution-making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There cannot be Defence and similar matters of "common concern" when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign States. I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore Resolution, in the hope of converting you as an individual "seeker".

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX VIII

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 23, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 22 and thank you for it. I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently from 15(a), when you say there will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity. My answer, already given, is that it will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent States.

I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterize as a sweeping statement of mine, that the August 1942 Resolution is

[1] *Vide* pp. 123 and 126.

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inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The Resolution in its essence is as follows :

(a) Immediate grant of Complete Independence [and] setting up immediately of a Federal Central Government on the basis of a united, democratic Government of India with federated units or Provinces, which means establishing a Hindu Raj.

(b) That this National Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly, which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India, which means that the Constituent Assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of the Hindus, nearly 75 per cent.

(c) To enforce this demand of the Congress the August Resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole Dictator of the Congress.

This demand is basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals and demands of Muslim India of Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of resort to mass civil disobedience is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India, and if you succeed in realizing this demand it would be a death-blow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful resolution.

From the very first day of our talks, you made it clear to me, and you have repeatedly said in the course of our correspondence and talks that you have approached me in your individual capacity, and you assured me that you were a seeker of light and knowledge and that you seriously and earnestly wanted to understand the Lahore Resolution and were open to conviction and conversion. Therefore, in deference to your wishes I made every effort all these days and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence to convert you, but unfortunately it seems I have failed. And now you have made new suggestions and proposals by your letter under reply.

1. You say, "I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be". I really do not know what this means, and I would like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours, as to how and when the division is to take place, and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore Resolution.

2. You say, "Let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us". May I point out that you have repeatedly made clear to me that you are having these talks as an individual seeker? How can any question of a third party or parties to guide or arbitrate between us arise?

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 25, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 24, and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basic and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution.

1. You do not accept that the Mussalmans of India are a nation.

2. You do not accept that the Mussalmans have an inherent right of self-determination.

3. You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination.

4. You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six Provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Provinces, Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals above mentioned are accepted, and for that purpose, machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore Resolution for safeguarding the minorities. . . .

. . . I asked you . . . to give me rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, and now you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24 under reply. . . .

The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with and is opposed to the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore Resolution. Now let me take your main terms :

(a) "I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations, but as one family consisting of many members, of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India." If this term were accepted and given effect to, the present

[1] *Vide* p. 127. Only extracts are reproduced here.

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boundaries of these Provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk, and it is opposed to the Lahore Resolution.

(b) That even in these mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims but by the inhabitants of these areas so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution.

(c) That if the vote is in favour of separation, they shall be followed to "form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination", whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately and by our united front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.

(d) Next you say, "There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Communications, Customs, Commerce, and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties." If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or [any] other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States. As regards the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding the minorities is fully stated in the Lahore Resolution.

You will, therefore, see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore Resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you both in the correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposals and negotiate . . . unless they come from you in your representative capacity. That was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, and I made it clear to you, at the very outset, but the Formula was discussed as you asserted that it had met the Lahore Resolution in substance. But while you were furnishing me with the clarification of this Formula, you shunted it and we confined ourselves to the Lahore Resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this Formula. But now you have, in your letter of September 24, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis, and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying : "In your letter of 23rd September, you refer to 'the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution' and ask me to accept them. Surely, this is unnecessary when as I feel I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance." This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution and proceed to settle the details?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 26, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 25. It is entirely incorrect and has no foundation in fact, for you to say that our conversations have come about as a result of my correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his Formula. It is equally baseless to say "and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon". It was entirely in response to your letter of July 17, 1944, which I received while I was at Srinagar, with a fervent request on your part to meet you, and you ended that letter by saying, "Do not disappoint me." In my reply, again from Srinagar, dated July 24, 1944, I intimated to you that I would be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which would probably be about the middle of August. This was long before the meeting of the Working Committee or that of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and long before I reached Lahore, and when you arrived here and told me that you were approaching me in your individual capacity, I at once made it clear to you and informed you, both in our talks and by my letter, that the position you had taken up had no precedent for it, and further that it was not possible to negotiate and reach an agreement unless both the parties were fully represented. For, it is one-sided business, as it will not be binding upon any organization in any sense whatever, but you would as an individual only recommend it, if any agreement is reached, to the Congress and the country, whereas it would be binding upon me as the President of the Muslim League. I cannot accept this position. I hope you do see the unfairness and

[1] *Vide* p. 131.

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the great disadvantage to me, and it is so simple and elementary for anyone to understand.

As regards your proposal of yesterday, which you have simplified in your letter of September 24, I have already sent you my reply.

With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your "offer" the matter should be put before the open session, let me inform you that only a member or delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberations of the meetings of the Council or in the open session respectively. Besides, it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice.

As regards your proposal for arbitration and outside guidance, I have already replied to you, and it is not merely technical but a matter of substance. I fully reciprocate your desire for securing a Congress-League settlement.

However, I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX XI

LETTER FROM M. A. JINNAH[1]

September 26, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have received your letter of September 26, and I note that you have written it with Rajaji's advice. Of course, it is for you to follow such advice as you may choose to do, but I am only concerned for the moment with you. I note that at the last moment you have resurrected the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, although it was shunted all this time and you proceed to say that this Formula gives me virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution. You further say that on the same plan you have tried to formulate your latest proposals, as mentioned in your letter of September 24 and you maintain that either gives me the substance of the Lahore Resolution. In your previous letter you asserted that your Formula gives me the "essence" of the Lahore Resolution. I see a very close family resemblance between the two, and the substance of one or the other is practically the same, only it is put in different language, and I have already expressed my

[1] *Vide* p. 132.

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opinion, that in my judgment they neither meet the substance nor the essence of the Lahore Resolution. On the contrary, both are calculated to completely torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. I have never asked you to accept certain theses nor have I introduced any theories in the Lahore Resolution. Theses and theories are matters for scholars to indulge in.

I am very sorry I have to repeat, but I am compelled to do so, that I cannot agree with you that my references to your not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. On the contrary, they have an important bearing, as I have already explained to you more than once. You again repeat that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, you may use what influence you possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. I have already stated from the very beginning that that is not enough, for the reasons I have already given. Your representative capacity comes into play when you are making counter-proposals, and I cannot understand how you can say that it is irrelevant. No responsible organization can entertain any proposal from any individual, however great he may be, unless it is backed up with the authority of a recognized organization, and comes from its fully accredited representative. However, I need not labour this point any more, as I have already explained it in our previous correspondence.

If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact, it is so. If a break comes it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong, and the next thing is that many are waiting prepared, in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes, but I must face all threats and consequences, and I can only act according to my judgment and conscience.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hindu, 29-9-1944

APPENDIX XII

M. A. JINNAH'S STATEMENT[1]

September 27, 1944

Mr. Gandhi from the very commencement of our talks made it clear that he had approached me in his individual capacity and that he represented no one but himself. However, he assured me that he was really open to conviction and conversion to the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of March 1940.

Without prejudice to my objection that in order to reach any settlement, negotiations can only be carried on properly when the other side is also fully represented and vested with authority, in deference to Mr. Gandhi's wishes I agreed to the task of persuading and converting him to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution.

I have placed before him everything and every aspect of the Muslim point of view in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, and we discussed all the pros and cons generally, and I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi.

We have, therefore, decided to release to the Press the correspondence that has passed between us.

Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered, and we trust that this is not the final end of our effort.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, p. 40

[1] *Vide* p. 134.

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APPENDIX XIII

LETTER FROM K. M. MUNSHI[1]

BOMBAY VIEW,
MATHERAN,
October 12, 1944

RESPECTED BAPU,

Received your letter dated the 9th. . . .

I too believe in freedom of speech. But the question before me on the night of 1-8-39 was to quell the dreadful riot that had just begun. It was my duty to take promptly all the measures that were imperative to bring the situation under control. And I had (also) to see that some three or four papers that fanned the (communal) passion did not add fuel to the fire. I did not think I was disregarding the principle of freedom of speech in keeping a check on it when it was misused. Even today I do not think so.

My Jaipur speech was the result of my study of that problem. You will not find any contradiction in it if I put it (before you) point by point. . . .

(1) Sanskrit is our most valuable treasure. With its help alone we can make our languages as powerful as English and French. . . .

(2) The power of our language which can express thought and creative endeavour belongs in general to the Sanskrit element. And so, if we are going to evolve in India a medium for expressing our thoughts and literature there is no alternative except resorting to the use of Sanskrit words. . . . Today I have before me the problem of the technical terms for law, philosophy and psychology. Where can we have the Indian medium except from Sanskrit? . . . I do not think I have drifted away from your stand at Nagpur (and) Indore and which I had accepted.

(3) I do not also see any opposition to the Congress policy in my address. As I have understood, the Congress aims to make the colloquial Hindustani a common medium for the whole country. . . . But how can the colloquial Hindustani be the medium of thought or literature? The moment it attempts to be (any) such thing, it has got to seek the help of Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic words. . . . I cannot speak in that language unless I use Sanskrit words. There is no intentional Sanskritization; nothing else is possible.

(4) If Hindustani is to be the medium in the legislatures or the colleges, there are bound to be two forms of the language: one will be Sanskritized (and) the other Persianized. . . .

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here; *vide* p. 166.

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(5) One reason why you have not liked my address may be that in one paragraph the experiment of the 'Hindustani Samiti' (carried on) under your guidance is criticized. What the Samiti is attempting to do is not the propagation of 'colloquial Hindustani' but evolving a new style. Among its characteristics are: (1) abandoning the *tatsama* forms of Sanskrit words, (2) incorporating the *tatsama* forms of Persian words, (3) introducing an Arabic or a Persian word in the form of an Urdu word even if a *tatsama* Sanskrit word has been traditionally accepted, (4) giving preference to Persian words in cases where both Sanskrit and Persian words are current. . . .

Yours respectfully,
KANU MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 446-9

APPENDIX XIV

A STATEMENT[1]

SEVAGRAM,
October 29, 1944

Talks about the possibility of Gandhiji going on a fast have upset many friends and co-workers. Their love for him makes them shudder at the very thought of his undergoing the ordeal of another fast at his age and in his present state of health. Although he is keeping fairly fit and is putting in a full day's work his reserve of energy is low. He is still slightly anaemic and the two intestinal parasites, hook-worm and amoebae, which are lying latent at present, can get the upper hand at any moment if his general condition is run down. Moreover, they feel that a fast on his part at this stage will add to the general demoralization and increase the popular bitterness against the Government.

Gandhiji is not perturbed by considerations of his age or his frailness. His stand has always been that if God wants to take work from him He will spare him. If his work is over, there is no point in prolonging his sojourn in this world. However, friends have a right to feel that it is not wise to tempt Providence too often.

As for the risk of increase of demoralization and bitterness as a result of the fast, he does not think it likely. A purely non-violent act cannot result in such a thing.

Asked as to why he thinks he may have to fast, he said that ever since his release from prison he had an instinctive feeling that another fast lay in store for him. Of late that feeling had taken a more concrete form. The

[1] *Vide* p. 245.

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organized violence and slaughter of Truth all over has oppressed him deeply. To take a few illustrations, the cause of millions dying of starvation according to him is not altogether scarcity of food. Food is allowed to rot in godowns while people die for the want of it. It is a sad tale of mismanagement and corruption. Those who grow food have to go without it. The Government officials, instead of being their protectors, are acting as their exploiters. And it is not the Government officials alone who are to blame. Our own people, middlemen, petty traders and big merchants have not hesitated to make money at the cost of human life. It is a tragedy. Unofficial and official exploitation go on side by side. Without the former, the latter can have no *locus standi*. From top to bottom the whole system is corrupt. The Government connives at unofficial corruption. That is the way in which violence works. It organizes all the forces of evil. As against this non-violence must act by organizing all the forces of goodness. If the nation had the control of the Government, this terrible bribery and corruption, which might if at all find its parallel in the bribery and corruption of Lord Clive's days, would not take place. A national government having the confidence of the people can very largely mitigate their sufferings. But there seems to be no chance of it. He described to what lengths he had gone to woo the Viceroy. But the Government were blinded by the intoxication of power. The vision of victory, which would be no victory but merely preparation for another war, had made them indifferent. How was he to demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence under the circumstances? How could he relieve the sufferings of the dumb millions? By conducting a mass movement? He had already showed why it was not to be thought of. He could not lead or bless a mass civil disobedience movement today. Then what could he do? He had claimed that non-violence was always more than a match for violence however well organized. How could he make that claim good? At the beginning of the War, English friends had written to him asking how individual pacifists could fight spreading wave of violence and bloodshed. He had suggested fasting as one of the remedies. Some of them had laughed at the suggestion, but he stuck to it. A time might come for him to test that remedy in his own case. That was perhaps the only way to wake up the conscience of mankind.

Untouchability was another manifestation of violence. He had repeated it from house-tops that if untouchability lived Hinduism must perish. The two could not go on side by side. Though much progress was made why did it still persist?

Then there was the question of communal disharmony. It was also a manifestation of violence. He had striven against it from his early youth.

Why did his non-violence appear to be impotent in the face of these various manifestations of untruth and violence? Was he an unworthy exponent of non-violence? Should he not again crucify the flesh in order to

become a better instrument? Knowing the remedy, how could he evade it? That the fast might fail to bring about the desired result or might end in death should not be a deterrent.

Asked about the nature of the fast, he said he did not know it himself. He was still groping. He was not aware as to when it would come, if at all. All he could say was that the call was insistent.

If the fast did come, he hoped that the people would not become panicky or grief-stricken. He expected them to co-operate with him in clearing the air of violence in every shape or form. That was the best way of ending the fast and even of preventing it.

Gandhi–Sapru Papers. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

APPENDIX XV

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU[1]

Personal *October 25, 1944*

MY DEAR GANDHIJI,

I have just read in *The Hindustan Times* of the 24th of October your statement issued after the enquiry made by Mr. Horniman as to whether you are contemplating another fast to achieve communal unity. I know I have no place as an adviser in these matters and I am most reluctant to offer advice to anyone in regard to any matter which is based on spiritual considerations. I am approaching the whole thing from a secular point of view. I think it would be a great mistake to undertake a fast at this time of your life. The consequences might be disastrous. I do not think that your fast will be helpful in the solution of the communal problem. You may undertake a fast by way of penance, purification or protest, but the real question is as to what effect it is going to produce on the minds of those without whose agreement there can be no communal settlement. I do not think those who are taking a different view will be at all influenced by your fast. Indeed some of them may uncharitably suggest that you are putting undue pressure on them. Personally speaking I think that it is very necessary that you must continue to live. Your failure on the last occasion does not mean that you will always fail. Your motives are pure and I think your approach to the whole question is sound, if I may respectfully say so. What you have not been able to achieve so far, God willing, you may achieve it a few months later. I consider it my duty to write to you as plainly as I possibly can against the step which is said to be within your contemplation.

[1] *Vide* p. 257.

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You will forgive me if I have encroached upon your time . . . .

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA, C.P.

Gandhi–Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

APPENDIX XVI

(*a*) *LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU*[1]

Personal and Confidential

GYAN BAGH,
HYDERABAD DECCAN,
November 4, 1944

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Your two letters of the 1st and the 3rd of November were handed over to me yesterday at the Wardha station by Devdas. I also received your letter through Dr. Beni Prasad.

I have not issued any statement about an All Parties Conference but have written to certain friends and am awaiting their replies. The idea seems to me to be vague and indefinite. We must decide as to who are the persons to be invited and what will be the agenda. It is quite clear that the gentlemen whom we invite will not come there in their representative capacity. Your presence at the Conference will be a source of great strength and you can certainly make a statement telling us in plain language as to what led to the breakdown of the conversations at Bombay. You say the Conference may meet to consider the causes of the failure of the talks and to find whose fault it was which led to the breakdown. I should not advise that Conference to find whose fault it was, because once we do it it will lead to interminable controversy. If we call such a Conference and hear you I think we may consider what further steps it is necessary to take to solve the problem. From this point of view the proposed conference will be an exploratory one and may thus 'inform and educate public opinion'.

I am very anxious that you should on no account undertake a fast. I know how deeply spiritual you are and I also know that in your case the call of religion means much more than in the case of 99 out of a hundred. You will pardon me if I take a matter-of-fact and practical view of the

[1] *Vide* p. 268.

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thing. I am definitely certain that although it may bring solace to your heart and you may feel that you have done the penance for what you consider to be the evils of the present day, your fast will not melt the heart of your opponents. On the contrary I feel some of them may be uncharitable enough to attribute to you unworthy motives. Never before in our history was it more necessary than now that you should live to guide the people of this country on the true path of nationalism. My own conviction is and has been for years that irrespective of what the British Government may or may not do this monster of communalism should be killed. Whatever your critics may say I honestly believe that you are the one man in the country who does not think on communal lines and it would be a disaster for the country if it was deprived at this juncture of your guidance. You are the one man who can withstand opposition, ridicule and even the attribution of unworthy motives to you. Above all you have the courage to take the right line. I am saying that in absolute sincerity even though I differ from you and have differed from you in regard to civil disobedience.

I have told Devdas that according to my information some changes in high quarters may be expected, but whether that information is true or not, the existing situation cannot last very long and when the time comes for practical steps to be taken towards the settlement of national differences I believe your voice will be the determining factor. I do not want that voice to be silenced. I am, therefore, appealing to you with all the earnestness I am capable of not to undertake such a fast.

As regards my coming to Wardha if I can get away on the evening of the 7th or the 8th and arrangements can be made for reservations from Wardha to Itarsi and from Itarsi to Allahabad I should in response to your message like to break journey at Wardha for a few hours. . . .

With my profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA, C.P.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

(*b*) *A RESOLUTION*[1]

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference, having considered the present situation in view of the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal issue, hereby resolves to appoint a committee which

[1] This was sent to T.B. Sapru by Devdas Gandhi under instructions from Gandhiji. *Vide* pp. 268 and 349.

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will examine the whole communal and minorities question from a constitutional and political point of view, put itself in touch with different parties and their leaders including the minorities interested in the question and present a solution within two months to the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference. The Standing Committee will take all reasonable steps to get that solution accepted by all parties concerned.

The Standing Committee authorizes the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to appoint members of the Committee and announce their names in due course.

Gandhi–Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

(*c*) *NAMES SUGGESTED FOR CONCILIATION COMMITTEE*[1]

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference should meet at Delhi on the 18th November 1944 and appoint the following committee for the purpose mentioned hereinafter:

1. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chairman;
2. Sir B. N. Rau;
3. The Metropolitan of Calcutta;
4. Sir Maurice Gwyer;
5. Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar;
6. Mr. Syed Abdulla Brelvi;
7. Sir Mirza Ismail;
8. Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan;
9. Sir S. Radhakrishnan;
10. Mr. J. R. D. Tata (or Sir Homi Modi);
11. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh;
12. Dr. Zakir Husain;
13. Dr. Abdul Huq;
14. Mr. Muniswami Pillai; and
15. Sardar Sant Singh

The purpose of the committee will be as follows:

In view of the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal issue the committee will examine the whole question from a constitutional and political point of view, put itself in touch with the parties and their leaders interested in the question and present a solution within two months and take all reasonable steps to get that solution accepted by all parties concerned.

WARDHA,
9-11-1944

Gandhi–Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

[1] *Vide* p. 268.

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APPENDIX XVII

LETTER FROM DURLAB SINGH[1]

LAHORE,
November 12, 1944

RESPECTED BAPUJI,

. . . The Congress had promised in its Lahore Resolution of 1929 that no constitution would be acceptable to the Congress which does not give the fullest satisfaction to the Sikhs. You know a large number of Sikhs are perturbed over Rajaji's proposals. Supposing Mr. Jinnah had accepted the proposals in full, or in an amended form, what would have been the position of the Sikhs in that?

Even the Akalis feel very indignant because you did not touch the question of meeting a Sikh deputation as suggested by Master Tara Singh in his letter. Can you please make it clear why it was not considered desirable to invite the Sikh leaders before proceeding to Mr. Jinnah for the talks?

Mr. Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution clearly states that the Congress would be no party to the vivisection of the country. Is it not a fact that Rajaji's proposals run counter to that resolution? The Sikh public is made to believe that Gandhiji does not favour the idea of the Sikhs remaining in the Congress because of their belief in the sword. . . .

Master Tara Singh and other responsible Akali leaders have often declared in the Press and on the platform that the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact was enacted with the consent and blessings of the Congress High Command and Sardar Patel's special representative who was present in the Punjab throughout the negotiations and that the Sardar was kept informed of all the developments. Further, it is said that the Azad Punjab scheme was introduced with your consent and blessings. The nationalist Sikhs regard both the schemes as anti-national and opposed to the interests of the country and the community. Can you kindly guide us in the matter?

In the end I will request you, Bapuji, to give a general assurance to the nationalist Sikhs that their interests are safe in your hands and that they will not be sacrificed at any cost. The heart of the Sikh masses is with the Congress and nationalism and patriotism are their proud heritage. They cannot depart from these principles, but let them have this satisfaction at

[1] *Vide* p. 300.

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least that the Congress will do no injustice to them and . . . that they will have their proper place in free India.

Praying for your long life,

Yours sincerely,
DURLAB SINGH

The Indian Annual Register, 1944, Vol. II, pp. 221-2

APPENDIX XVIII

RESOLUTION PASSED BY A.I.S.A.[1]

[On or before *December 3, 1944*]

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Charkha Sangh was held at Sevagram on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd December 1944, under the presidentship of Shree Gandhiji and the following decisions were taken:

The roots of the spinning-wheel lie in the villages and the consummation of the ideal of the Charkha Sangh is to be completely decentralized among the villages of India to bring about an all-round improvement of village life. This meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Charkha Sangh therefore resolves that with a view to this end the following changes should be made in the policy of the Sangh:

(i) As many qualified workers as are ready and are selected by the Board should be sent to work in the villages.

(ii) The activities of the existing sale depots and production centres of khadi should be curtailed.

(iii) Necessary changes should be made in the curricula of the existing khadi training centres and their scope broadened. New training centres should also be opened.

(iv) If in any area (not bigger than a district) the workers ask to be made self-sufficient and autonomous in order to begin work on the new lines laid down by the Charkha Sangh the Sangh should, if it approves of their plans, withdraw from that area but continue to give its recognition and moral support so long as the work is carried on according to its policy.

(v) A Joint Board of the nominees of the Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh and Goseva Sangh should be constituted to meet from time to time and issue instructions in terms of the new policy.

The Sangh shall be represented in the Joint Board by its President, its Secretary and Shri Dhirendra Majmudar, while the other four Sanghs shall have two nominees each besides Gandhiji.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-1-1945

[1] *Vide* p. 370.

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CHRONOLOGY

(*August 1, 1944—December 31, 1944*)

August 1: Gandhiji left Panchgani after a month's stay.

August 2: In Bombay; gave interview to *Daily Worker.*

August 3: Reached Sevagram.

August 5: Issued statement to Press on how to celebrate 9th of August.

Gave interview to Shyama Prasad Mookerjee.

August 7: Gave interview to United Press of India.

August 8: Issued statement to Press.

August 9: Inaugurated 60-minute mass spinning in connection with August 9 celebrations in Sevagram.

Had discussion with T. B. Sapru.

August 10: Discussed Rajaji Formula with Bengal Congressmen.

August 15: Gave interview to Duty Society Deputation.

Before *August 17:* Gave interview to Peggy Durdin.

August 18: Gave interview to Associated Press of India on his correspondence with Viceroy.

August 30: Sent message for All-India Students' Federation.

August 31: In statement to Press appealed to people to pray for success of his talks with M. A. Jinnah.

September 1: Addressed A.I.S.A. meeting.

September 2: Addressed A.I.S.A. meeting.

September 3: Gave statement to Press.

Addressed A.I.S.A. meeting.

September 5: Presided at A.I.V.I.A. meeting.

September 6: All-India Hindu Students' Federation delegation picketed Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram to protest against his meeting M. A. Jinnah. Gandhiji assured them that he would not do anything without consulting Bengal.

September 9: Reached Bombay.

Met M. A. Jinnah; talks began.

September 11: Discussion continued.

Gandhiji spoke at prayer meeting.

September 12 to *15:* Talks with Jinnah continued.

September 16: Talks continued.
Gandhiji addressed prayer meeting.

September 17 and *18:* Talks with Jinnah continued.

September 19: Talks continued.
In prayer speech Gandhiji warned people against speculations both in Indian and foreign Press.

September 20 to *23:* Talks with Jinnah continued.

September 24: Talks continued.
Gandhiji in statement to Press rejected rumours regarding disbandment of Sevagram Ashram.

September 25 and *26:* Talks with Jinnah continued.

September 27: At prayer meeting Gandhiji announced breakdown of talks with Jinnah.

September 28: Gave statement to Press on breakdown of talks.

September 29: Gave interview to *News Chronicle* on failure of talks.

September 30: In afternoon left for Sevagram.

October 1: Reached Sevagram.

October 2: Gandhiji's birthday celebrated.
Gandhiji addressed Kasturba National Memorial Trust meeting; received purse of Rs. 80 lakhs.

October 7: Started discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju regarding reorientation of All-India Spinners' Association.

October 8: Discussion continued.

October 10: Discussion continued.
Gandhiji sent congratulations to Raja of Phaltan on introduction of full responsible government.

October 11: Through Press acknowledged birthday greetings.
Discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju continued.

October 12: Discussion continued.

October 13: Gandhiji had discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju.

October 14: Concluded discussion with Shrikrishnadas Jaju.

October 16: Wrote foreword to *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India.*

October 22: Wrote "Hints for Workers on Constructive Programme" for conference of Congressmen to be held at Bombay on October 28.
Issued statement to Press regarding Syed Mahmud's release and his correspondence with Viceroy and appealed to Congressmen not to ostracize him.

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On or after *October 22:* Had discussion with friends about his proposed fast.

October 23: Gave statement to Press on proposed fast.

October 25: In letter to T. B. Sapru suggested convening of conference to examine "Pakistan issue".

October 26: Had talk with Mridula Sarabhai on proposed fast.

Before *October 27:* Had discussion with representatives of Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

October 29: In statement to Press said that fast would be unnecessary if exploitation and injustice were destroyed.
Gave interview to N. G. Ranga.

On or before *November 2:* Had discussion with H. J. Khandekar.

November 7: Blessed marriage of Abha and Kanu Gandhi.

Before *November 9:* In talk with Gulzarilal Nanda stated: "If everyone does his duty it is possible that fast may not come."

November 10: Addressed Hindustani Talimi Sangh meeting.

November 12: Sent message for Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday celebration in London.

November 17: Sent message for "Majur Din" of Ahmedabad.

November 19: Inaugurated Basic Education Teachers' Training Camp.

November 27: In statement clarified objects and work of Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

November 28: Gave interview to N. G. Ranga.

Before *November 29:* Sent message to Allahabad Students' Conference.

November 30: Felt fatigued and weak, decided to take rest.

December 1: Addressed trustees of A.I.S.A.
Through Press conveyed his decision to take complete rest and "discontinue all public activities" from 4th to 31st December.

December 2: Attended A.I.S.A. meeting.

December 3: Attended A.I.S.A. meeting.

December 11: Visited *samadhi* of Jamnalal Bajaj.

December 12: Visited Leper Ashram.

December 25: Sent message on Christmas Day.

December 30: Romain Rolland died in Switzerland.

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CORRIGENDUM

Page 381, paragraph 2, for the last two sentences read :

It will be proper only when all work is done in this spirit. Then alone shall we be able to utilize the one crore rupees for our village sisters. There is no place for distinction between rich and poor, Congressmen and non-Congressmen. I indeed desire that a Congressman should harbour no hatred in his heart. All our actions should be based upon love and truth.

ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
45	* Para 2 line 3 from bottom	this	his
55	* Item 75, title and address	*B. L. RALLIA RAM*	*K. L. RALLIA RAM*
112	Item 143 line 3 from bottom	are too here.	are here too.
114	* Footnotes 3 & 4	[3]&[4] Addressee's daughters	[3] Addressee's daughter [4] Ramdas Gandhi's daughter
166	* Footnote 1	H. P. Mody	Homi Taleyarkhan
285	* Item 374 line 5	hree	here

* Due correction made.

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