THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIII

(1946)

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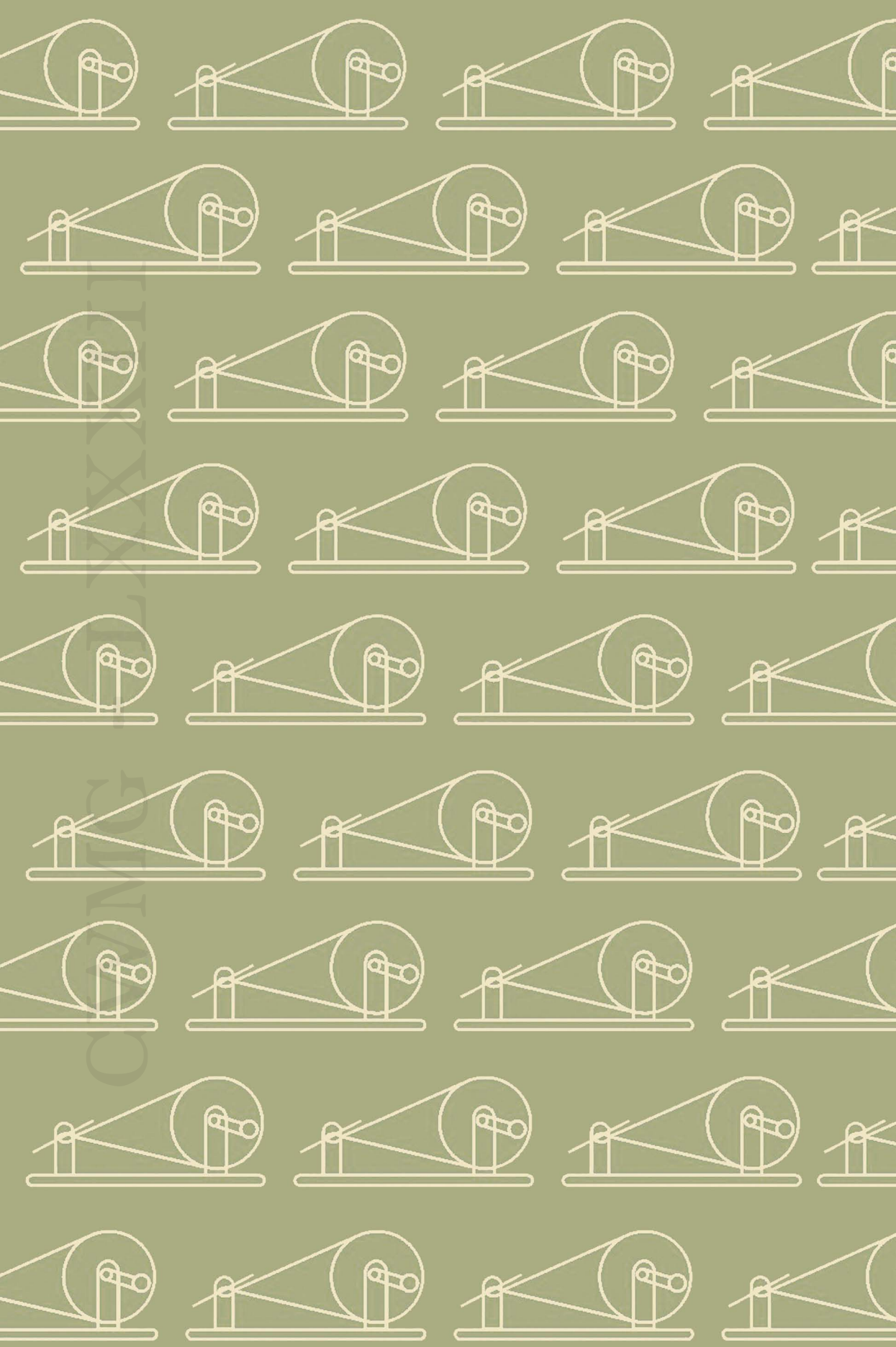
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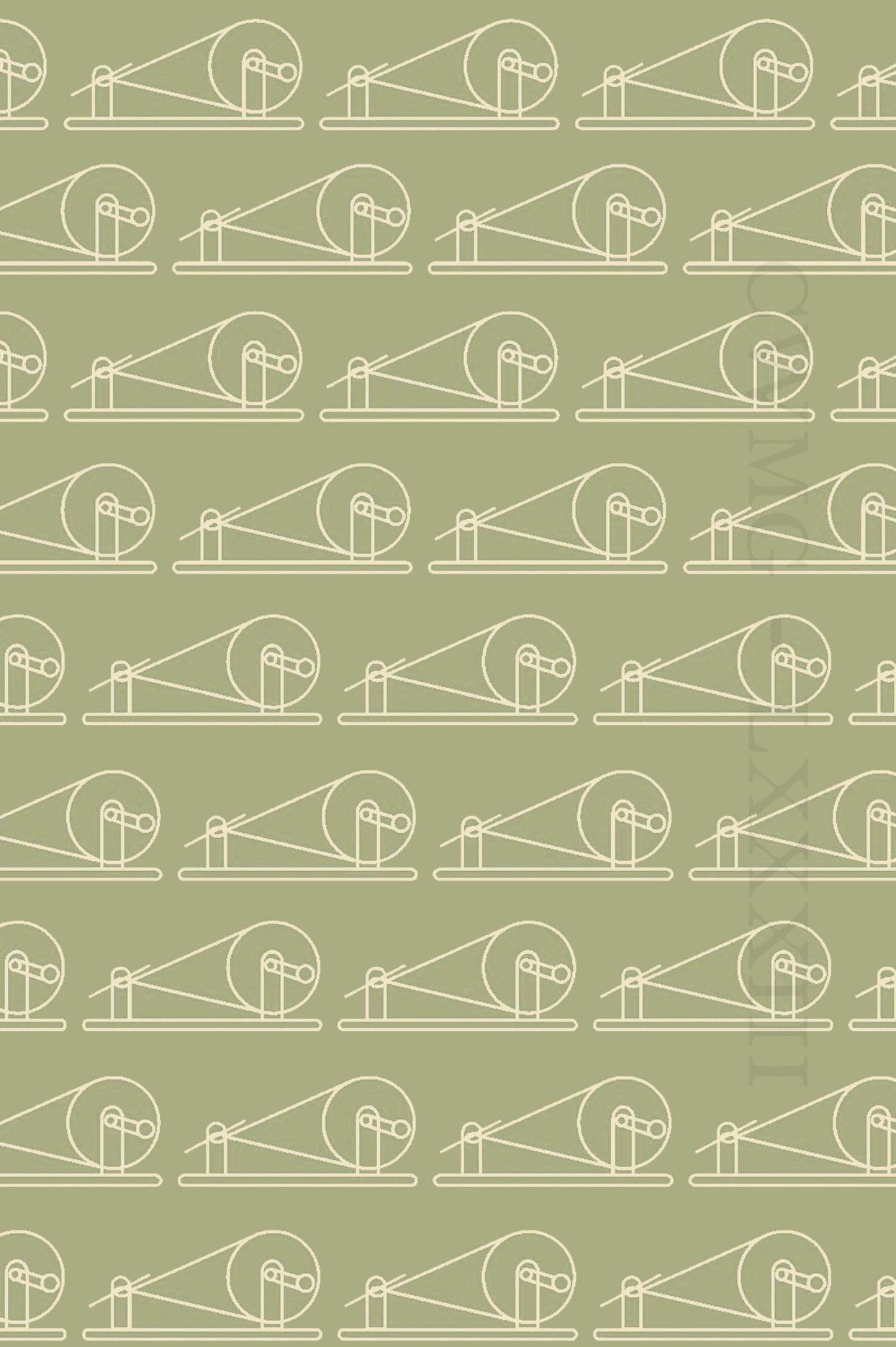


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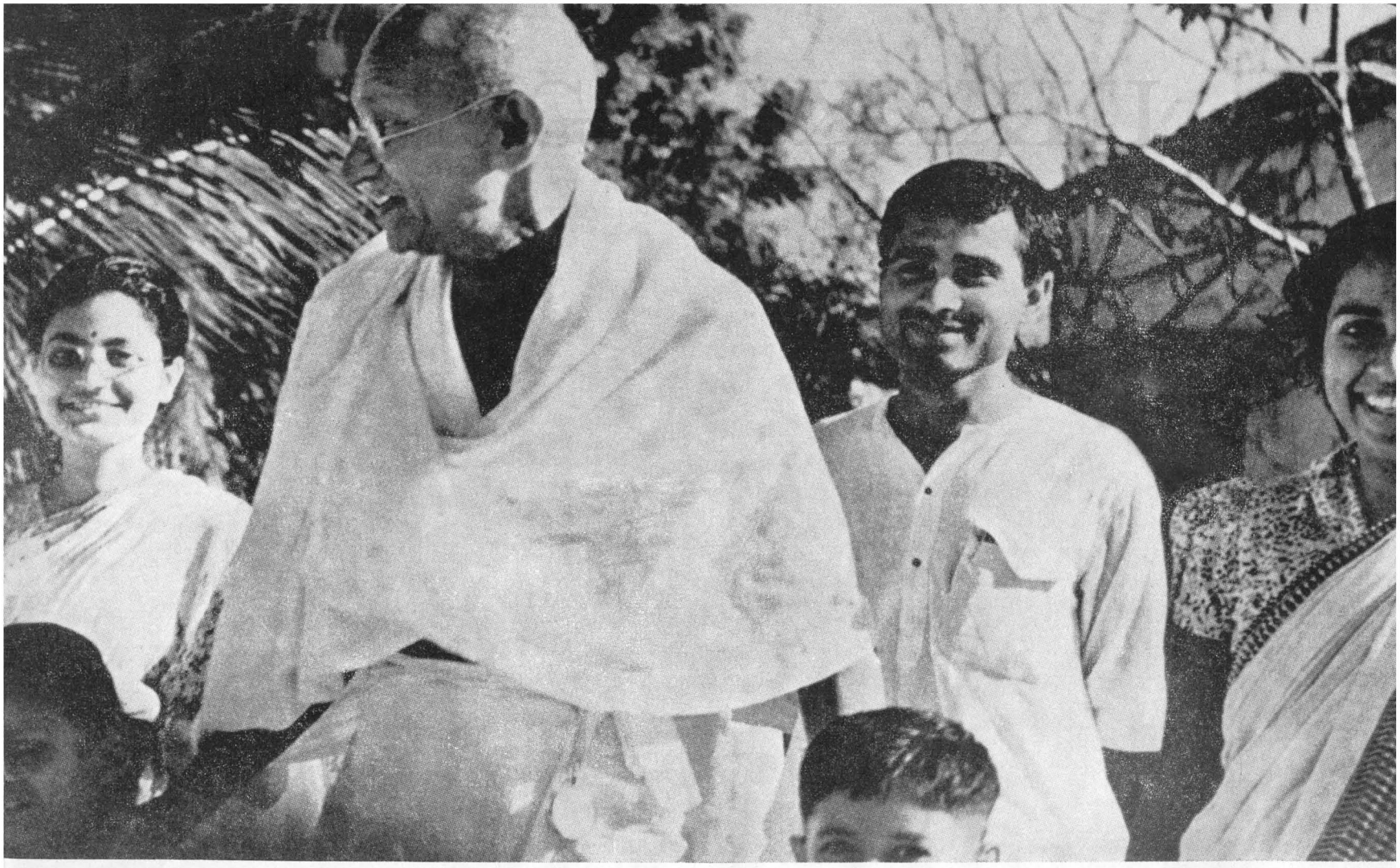


THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIII

(January 20, 1946–April 13, 1946)

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AT MADRAS, WITH ABHA AND KANU

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

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(January 20, 1946 – April 13, 1946)

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

September 1981 (*Asvina 1903*)

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PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
NEW DELHI–110 001
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY JITENDRA THAKOREBHAI DESAI
NAVAJIVAN PRESS, AHMEDABAD–380 014

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PREFACE

The period of this volume (January 20 to April 13, 1946) saw the beginning of the process which was to end in the transfer of power to Indian hands. A British Parliamentary Delegation came out early in January to make informal contacts with Indian leaders and "to demonstrate the sympathy of Parliament with Indian aspirations" (p. 15). On their return the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, announced in Parliament the decision to send out to India a Mission of Cabinet Ministers to discuss with the Indian leaders and the Viceroy the formation of an interim National Government and the setting up of a constitution-making body. This was followed up by the Prime Minister's declaration in Parliament on March 15 of the Government's firm intention to end British control of India and let the country have "freedom to decide her own destiny" (p. 432). The Cabinet Mission, consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander, arrived in India on March 24 and started formal discussions with Indian leaders on April 3.

Gandhiji welcomed these developments, but he kept politics in the background in his public utterances and devoted most of his time to guiding constructive workers and educating the people in the responsibilities of freedom. He had been touring, and after spending more than a month and a half in Bengal and Assam arrived in Madras on January 21. During an eleven-day stay in Madras, he had discussions with constructive workers and took part in the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Dakshin Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha. He noted with concern the indiscipline and with admiration the orderliness of the huge crowds that greeted him at prayer meetings and wayside stops. While the noise and commotion of the mammoth gathering in Madurai prevented him from speaking, the *shanti* of the crowd in Palni, he said, had brought *shanti* to his own soul (pp. 81-2).

Having rested at Sevagram for a week at the end of the visit, Gandhiji proceeded to Poona on February 17 to observe and guide the working of the Nature Cure Clinic there which had been converted into a health centre for the poor since the beginning of January. Realizing the impracticability of running such an institution in a city, Gandhiji paid a visit to Uruli-

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Kanchan, a nearby village, to explore the possibility of shifting the Clinic from Poona to this village. While he was there, he received a message from Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps requesting him to reach Delhi on April 1 for informal discussions with them before the start of the official proceedings on April 3.

Gandhiji had received on January 10 a letter from Sir Stafford Cripps expressing the hope that "in these coming months we shall be able by mutual understanding, respect and trust, to work out between us a happier and brighter future for India" (*vide* Vol. LXXXII, p. 405). Gandhiji was therefore inclined to trust British declarations this time. In a public statement issued on February 14 on the impending food crisis in the country he declared that "swaraj is within sight inside of a few months" (p. 128). In an interview to the English journalist H. N. Brailsford, after Attlee's statement in the House of Commons, Gandhiji said, "This time I believe that the British mean business. But the offer has come suddenly. Will India be jerked into independence?" (p. 276).

The atmosphere in the country seemed none too favourable for a smooth transfer of power. The public trials of Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army men which the Government of India had thoughtlessly staged since November had queered the pitch for the Home Government's conciliatory moves. The men were lionized by the public and violent disturbances broke out in Calcutta in the middle of February in protest against a sentence passed against one of the officers (p. 129). The rebellious spirit affected the Royal Indian Navy men, too, and in Bombay there was in February an open mutiny of the ratings which was controlled by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's intervention (p. 184). The situation was aggravated by an acute shortage of food and cloth which threatened to produce a countrywide panic.

Gandhiji was deeply concerned at these developments. "Hatred is in the air" (p. 133), he wrote in *Harijan*, which had resumed publication on February 10 after two and a half years of suppression. He explained the moral danger of the situation to Brailsford: "The tide of bitterness had risen high and that is not good for the soul" (p. 277). In Delhi Gandhiji found the atmosphere so full of bitterness against the British that he kept awake for many hours on the night of April 6, the annual day of mourning and prayer observed since 1919, wondering how the people would behave at the dawn of independence (p. 378).

Gandhiji tried patiently to reason the people back to the path of non-violence. It was no easy task, for as Gandhiji observed in a *Harijan* article, "The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell" upon the people. Gandhiji admired Subhas Bose for his patriotism and bravery, but he added, "My praise and admiration go no further" (p. 135). In Delhi Gandhiji visited the I.N.A. detenus in the Cantonment and Red Fort and was able to establish a friendly bond with them. But, after the first visit on April 4, he told the gathering in his after-prayer speech the next day: "India has accorded to the released I. N. A. men a right royal welcome. . . . Everybody seems to have been swept off his feet before the rising tide of popular sentiment. I must, however, frankly confess to you that I do not share this indiscriminate hero worship." Subhas's last message to his men, Gandhiji was told, was that on their return to India they should serve the country "as soldiers of non-violence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress", and the men assured Gandhiji that they would do so (pp. 370-1).

More than the common people, some Socialist leaders believed in the efficacy of violent revolt. Gandhiji publicly reasoned with one of them, Aruna Asaf Ali. She had gone underground during the 1942 movement and the arrest warrant against her had been recently cancelled when the R. I. N. ratings' mutiny broke out. She identified herself with their cause and strongly protested against Gandhiji's statement condemning the navy men's action and "the known and unknown leaders of this thoughtless orgy of violence" (p. 171). Gandhiji argued that, though the people might not be "interested in the *ethics* of violence or non-violence," they were "very much interested in knowing *the way* which will bring freedom to the masses—violence or non-violence", and he urged her and her comrades "to ask themselves every time whether the non-violent way has, or has not, raised India from her slumber of ages and created in them a yearning . . . for swaraj" (p. 184). Maybe Aruna remained unconvinced, and Gandhiji wrote to her: "What is the use of defeating you? I would prefer your defeating me" (p. 262).

The importance Gandhiji attached to non-violence could hardly be understood by those who did not share his moral vision. Explaining the real meaning of the phrase "Quit India", Gandhiji wrote: "It does not mean the foreigner's destruction but his willing conversion to Indian life. In this scheme, there is no room for hatred of the foreigner. . . . It is fear of him that gives rise to hatred. Fear gone, there can be no hatred."

If India could win her freedom by thus converting the British through non-violent means, it would be, Gandhiji said, "a revealing lesson for the world" (pp. 330-1). Mankind was "at the cross-roads"; it had "to make its choice between the law of the jungle and the law of humanity" (p. 242). The law of the jungle had proved its bankruptcy in the war which had ended (p. 134).

On the food front also, Gandhiji appealed to the people for co-operation with the Government. The situation looked so grave that the Viceroy felt the need to seek the help of the national leaders and sent his Private Secretary to see Gandhiji at Sevagram and request him to say something "to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions". Gandhiji issued a Press Statement in which he urged the people, irrespective of what the Government did, "to think of the skeletons of India" and do everything possible to tide over the crisis by avoiding hoarding and speculation, economizing in consumption and adopting all possible measures to grow more food (pp. 120-1). He elaborated the suggestions in a *Harijan* article and advised the people: "We must fight this foreign Government on all other fronts except this one . . ." (pp. 127-8).

Together with public statements and appeals, Gandhiji employed the means of music and collective recitation of Ramanama at his public prayers to educate the people in emotional self-discipline. It was a profoundly satisfying experience to him to see thousands of people seated in the "temple of art" consisting of "mother earth" and the "canopy" of "the fine blue sky", praying in unison and maintaining "silence and order" (p. 75). Such congregational prayer, he explained, was "a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship" (p. 152). Prayer was "the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self in the various walks of life . . ." (p. 372). It was also a means of establishing true swaraj, for "Swaraj will be incomplete without *shanti*"—without peace in the hearts of people expressing itself in mutual co-operation—and such *shanti* is a gift of God's grace earned through prayer (p. 87). During the Bengal tour of the preceding weeks, he had started the practice of including in the prayer programme collective musical recitation of Ramanama, known as *Ramdhun*. He had found, he told an audience in Bombay, that when "sung in tune to the accompaniment of *tala*, the triple accord of the voice, the accompaniment and the

thought creates an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness and strength which no words can describe'' (p. 257). He could therefore say from experience that there was ''something quite extraordinary in the recitation of Ramanama'' (p. 373). To non-Hindus, particularly Muslims, who could not join in the recitation on the ground that it was a specifically Hindu form of worship, Gandhiji explained: ''My Rama, the Rama of our prayers, is not the historical Rama, the son of Dasaratha, the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second. Him alone I worship, His aid alone I seek . . . He belongs equally to all''. A Muslim, however, could utter to himself the name of Allah or Khuda (p. 364).

Gandhiji's love of the *Ramayana* rewarded him with a precious friendship. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Liberal leader who had been an outspoken critic of Gandhiji's civil disobedience programmes, was a devoted lover of the *Ramayana* and felt his faith strengthened and enriched by Gandhiji's example. He was ailing and gradually sinking during Gandhiji's visit to Madras. Gandhiji called on him thrice. At the second meeting, on January 30, Sastri confessed with love: ''You have been a blessing to me in a hundred ways. . . . I am also a follower of truth, though at a great distance from you. The eternal truths propounded by Valmiki in the *Ramayana* have been the greatest source of inspiration to me'', as they had been to Gandhiji (pp. 62 and 64). At their last meeting, on February 4, Sastri repeated his confession: ''You are dearer and nearer to me than my own brothers and sons and members of the family. . . . We have come together by some inner affinity. No external reason can explain this friendship'' (p. 87).

Gandhiji's use of public prayer and *Ramdhun* to educate the people was part of his democratic faith in the capacity of the millions to rule their own lives and manage their own affairs. That faith did not let him approve of the Socialist and Communist method of ''generating and accentuating hatred'' in order to capture the State and then enforce equality through its power. ''Under my plan'', he said, ''the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will''. Satyagraha was ''a process of educating public opinion'' and violence interrupted that process, delaying ''the real revolution of the whole social structure'' (pp. 27-8). But sometimes the people also went wrong. In such situations, the political parties should not allow electoral considerations to influence their policy. He de-

clared clearly: "He who panders to the weaknesses of a people degrades both himself and the people and leads them not to democratic but mob rule. . . . The one leads to life and progress, the other is death, pure and simple" (p. 293).

And the citizens at large must ever be on the watch against hooligans taking the law into their own hands. In times of riots, people should not "take refuge" in the "moral alibi" of attributing the disturbances to hooligans, for the latter "are our own countrymen" and "we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people" (p. 242). It could even be said that the people themselves were the makers of the hooligans. The latter "respond to the air about them" (p. 175).

Writing the first article for the revived *Harijan*, Gandhiji referred to the "cataclysmic changes in the world" during the period *Harijan* had remained suppressed, and asserted that the atom bomb had only strengthened his faith that truth and ahimsa "constitute the mightiest force in the world". That force resided "in everybody, man, woman and child", and was "capable of being awakened by judicious training". Self-destruction could be avoided, he wrote, only by "every individual training himself for self-expression in every walk of life . . . *Harijan* will attempt from week to week to stand up for this truth and illustrate it" (p. 77).

Gandhiji's idea of ahimsa, however, could not be reduced to an intellectually defined science or Shastra. "No man has ever been able to define God fully", and that held true of ahimsa also, he said in reply to a friend's suggestion to him to write a treatise on ahimsa. A living spiritual ideal grew in meaning with experience and reflection. "I can," Gandhiji therefore said, "give no guarantee that I will do or believe tomorrow what I do or hold to be true today". The best way was for the people to let the words and actions of those whom they regarded as men of God "soak" into their "being" and germinate their meanings in their hearts (pp. 180-1).

Expressing the central core of his religious striving, Gandhiji explained to the audience at a prayer meeting that for him Shastras were not "meant only for the benefit of the soul in the life to come. . . If dharma has no practical use in this life, it has none for me in the next" (p. 312). But the practice of dharma in this life could be an experience of exquisite inner harmony. Writing the "Thought for the Day" under February 22, Gandhiji said: "Music does not proceed from the

throat alone. There is music of the mind, of the senses and of the heart'' (p. 410). Like this unheard music, the truest dharma could be unconscious and inarticulate, as Gandhiji assured some African visitors: ''The Africans have a religion of their own, though they may not have reasoned it out for themselves. . . . There are many religions, but religion is only one. . . . You should absorb the best that is in each without fettering your choice and form your own religion'' (p. 11).

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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 the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library, New Delhi; M.M.U. for the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. for the documents of the Sevagram collection, which also are available in the Gandhi National Museum. 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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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi National Museum and Library, the National Archives of India, Gandhi Darshan and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; Government of Andhra Pradesh; Shri Pyarelal, New Delhi; Shri Jivanji D. Desai, Ahmedabad; Shri Munnalal G. Shah, Sevagram; Shri Anand T. Hingorani, New Delhi; Shri Balkrishna Bhave, Uruli-Kanchan; Smt. Mirabehn, Austria; Shri Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Calcutta; Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra; Smt. Sushilabehn Gandhi, Phœnix; Smt. Shardabehn G. Chokhawala, Surat; Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur; Shri K. M. Munshi; Shri G. D. Birla, Calcutta; Shri Prabhakar, Sevagram; Shri Manilal Patel, Uruli-Kanchan; Shri Bhagwanji P. Pandya; the publishers of the books: *An Atheist with Gandhi*; *Atmarachana athava Ashrami Kelavani*; *Bapuki Chhayamen*; *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*; *Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*; *Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*; *Bapuni Prasadi*; *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47*; *Gandhi's Emissary*; (*The*) *Gospel of Selfless Action or the "Gita" According to Gandhi*; (*The*) *History of the Indian National Congress*; (*The*) *Indian Annual Register*, 1945 and 1946; *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 7; *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I; *My Master Gokhale*; *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*; *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 2; (*A*) *Thought for the Day*; *Transfer of Power*, Vol. VI; *Wavell—The Viceroy's Journal*; and the following newspapers and journals: *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, *Gujarat Samachar*, *Harijan*, *Harijan Sevak*, *Harijanbandhu*, (*The*) *Hindu*, (*The*) *Hindustan Times*, (*The*) *Hitavada* and *Khadi Jagat*.

For research and reference facilities we owe thanks to the National Archives of India and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

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1. FOREWORD TO "MY MASTER GOKHALE"

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS,[1]
January 20, 1946

Whilst I appreciate Shri Jagadisan's[2] invitation to contribute a few words by way of Preface or Foreword to his admirable collection of Rt. Hon'ble Sastriar's[3] writings and speeches on Gokhale[4] the Good, as I would call him, it embarrasses me. However strange my claim may appear to the reader, I have called Gokhale my political guru. Therefore Sastriar is a fellow-disciple. And what a disciple and yet an amiable usurper! I was to have the honour of being Gokhale's successor but I found in Sastriar a worthy usurper to whom I made a willing surrender. I could have given no satisfaction to the few well-chosen members of the society.[5] I had, and have, no gifts which Gokhale had and Sastriar has in luxurious abundance.

I confess that however great may be my attempt at impartiality, I must fail to satisfy the critical reader. Fellow-admirers need no passport from me. And of whom was I to write? As I began to read Jagadisan's selection, I did not know whether Gokhale absorbed my attention or Sastriar.

Therefore I would close these hasty and rambling remarks by warning the critical reader against his or her trying the questionable task of discovering in these pages an echo of his or her own views. It should be enough to find in them the transparent sincerity and patriotism of the writer or, shall I say, the biographer and the master.

M. K. GANDHI

My Master Gokhale

[1] Gandhiji was going to Madras to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha.

[2] T. N. Jagadisan's

[3] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's

[4] Gopal Krishna Gokhale

[5] The reference, presumably, is to Gandhiji's joining the Servants of India Society founded by Gokhale in 1905; Gokhale was keen on it. But there was difference of opinion among some members; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 298 and 306-7.

2. *FOREWORD TO "THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR THE 'GITA' ACCORDING TO GANDHI"*

The following pages by Mahadev Desai are an ambitious project. It represents his unremitting labours during his prison life in 1933-'34. Every page is evidence of his scholarship and exhaustive study of all he could lay hands upon regarding the *Bhagavad Gita*, poetically called *The Song Celestial* by the late Sir Edwin Arnold. The immediate cause of this labour of love was my translation[1] in Gujarati of the divine book as I understood it. In trying to give a translation of my meaning of the *Gita*, he found himself writing an original commentary on the *Gita*.

The book might have been published during his lifetime[2], if I could have made time to go through the manuscript. I read some portions with him, but exigencies of my work had to interrupt the reading. Then followed the imprisonments of August 1942, and his sudden death within six days of our imprisonment. All of his immediate friends decided to give his reverent study of the *Gita* to the public. He had copies typed for his English friends who were impatient to see the commentary in print. And Pyarelal, who was collaborator with Mahadev Desai for many years, went through the whole manuscript and undertook to perform the difficult task of proof-reading. Hence this publication.

Frankly I do not pretend to any scholarship. I have, therefore, contented myself with showing the genesis of Mahadev Desai's effort. In so far as the translation part of the volume is concerned, I can vouch for its accuracy. He has carried out the meaning of the original translation. I may add, too, that Pyarelal has interfered with the original only and in rare cases where it was considered to be essential, an interference which Mahadev Desai would, in my opinion, have gladly accepted, had he been alive.

M. K. GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS, January 20, 1946

The Gospel of Selfless Action or The Gita According to Gandhi

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 90-133.

[2] Mahadev Desai passed away on August 15, 1942.

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3. *WHAT EXHIBITION SHOULD BE*

The Congress session is likely to be held within two or three months. The question, therefore, arises as to what sort of an exhibition should be put up from the villagers' point of view. It is only the rural view-point which can be valid for India, if we desire and believe that the villagers have not only to survive but also to become strong and rich. If this is true, there can be no place for city articles and pomp and show. There should be no need for the entertainments that are prevalent in cities. Under no circumstances should the exhibition degenerate into cheap entertainment or a means for earning, and never into an instrument of advertisement for business men. Nothing should be sold there, not even khadi and the products of village industries. The exhibition should be educative, and it should be interesting too. It should be so organized that a villager, after returning home, would begin to feel the necessity of learning some sort of industry or craft. There should be somebody who can point out the shortcomings in all the villages of India and someone who can explain the ways and means for getting rid of them. There should be someone who can show how far we have progressed since the beginning of the movement for village uplift. There should be somebody who can explain how this exhibition helps in making village life aesthetically satisfying.

Now let us consider what should be the form of the exhibition which can fulfil these conditions :

1. There should be two models of the village—one showing the village as it is today and the other, the improved one.

The improved village will be clean. The cleanliness will be seen in the houses, the roads, the surroundings and the fields. The condition of the cattle will also be better. Maps, pictures and books should show how particular occupations can help in increasing the villagers' income.

2. Complete details should be displayed about how the various village industries should work, where the tools for them are available and how they are manufactured. All the crafts should be demonstrated. At the same time the following items should be shown :

(a) Ideal diet for the villagers;

(b) the competition between machine industry and handicrafts;

(c) a practical demonstration of animal husbandry;
(d) a model for latrines;
(e) art section;
(f) organic manure *v.* chemical fertilizers;
(g) use of hides and bones of animals;
(h) village music, musical instruments and village dramas;
(i) village games, gymnasium and exercises;
(j) Nayee Talim;
(k) village medicines;
(l) village maternity homes.

Bearing in mind the policy stated at the outset, whatever additional items can be exhibited should be there.

What I have stated is only illustrative. I have deliberately omitted all those village industries which are connected with the spinning-wheel. Without these industries the exhibition should be considered worthless.

M. K. GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS, January 20, 1946

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, February 1946

4. *SPEECH AT CUTTACK*

January 20, 1946

Gandhiji said that independence was not an easy thing to win nor was it a drama. Discipline was essential in the national life of the country and, if they got swaraj, he asked, how could they maintain it without discipline. He was very much impressed at the discipline of people in places like Balasore[1] and Bhadrak and was expecting discipline of a higher order in Cuttack, this being the capital of the Province.[2] Thakkar Bapa had asked him to break journey in Orissa. He regretted very much that he could not break journey. But he had Orissa always in his heart.[3]

It has cut him to the quick, he said, that Orissa, which he had loved so fondly and through which he had made his Harijan pilgrimage on foot,[4]

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXII, p. 442.

[2] According to report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, when the train slowed down at Cuttack around midnight, some people climbed the footboards, and Gandhiji asked them to sit down in an orderly manner; *vide* also the following item.

[3] What follows is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan.*

[4] In May-June 1934; *vide* Vol. LVIII.

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should belie his expectations. Was this their non-violence or did they imagine that freedom would be won or kept through indiscipline and hooliganism? They were living in a fool's paradise, if they did. Was it not ridiculous to pit indiscipline and hooliganism against the atom bomb which was the ultimate of brute force? It was time that they made up their mind as to their choice between the two paths. They were at liberty to scrap non-violence, if they felt that it was a played-out force. But, if they were thinking of violence while they professed non-violence, they would be guilty of deception and fraud upon themselves and the world. He remarked:

I do not want your cheers of welcome, nor your money during these stoppages. But I want you to purge yourselves of the lie in the soul. That will please me more than your gifts; the noises never will, and never have.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21-1-1946; also *Harijan*, 24-2-1946

5. *SPEECH AT BERHAMPUR*[1]

January 20, 1946

In these early hours I meet you, and I am glad. I am sorry, I could not stay with you even for a day in Orissa. You will excuse me. My health is not like before. After fifty years of age one's health weakens. That is God's will. At Bhadrak and Balasore the crowds were very disciplined. So I thought it was better that I stop at Cuttack. In the original programme, no stoppage at Cuttack of the special train was arranged. In Cuttack[2] the mob was unruly. It was about 1. 30 a. m. At such a time one should not be disturbed in his sleep and that too an old man like myself. They afterwards became orderly.

You are sitting calmly. My prayer is, not only at your place but at all places, that it should be so. Through unruliness we cannot win swaraj. You all know me and I know you. I am not new to you. You should carry on constructive work. You should take to khadi work and removal of untouchability earnestly. You have not yet completely solved the Harijan problem.

[1] The report said : "At a reception organized by the Utkal Congress Committee at the Berhampur railway station . . . at 4 a. m. . . . Gandhiji was received . . . by Harekrushna Mahtab and Viswanath Das and conducted to a dais in the open ground close to the platform." Gandhiji's speech was rendered into Oriya by Harekrushna Mahtab.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

The problems are the same in all parts of India. I agreed to come to you so early in the morning because I hope that Orissa will show the lead in these matters. I know the British will leave India tomorrow. If they go, not out of your strength, of what use is it to us? If you think you can make the British leave the country by empty shows, you are not correct. I have no doubt that through non-violence and truth alone we can achieve swaraj.

Mahatma Gandhi thanked the people for the purse presented for the Harijan fund and said :

If I have time enough, I would have collected from each one of you money for the fund.

Concluding, Gandhiji said, what had happened at Cuttack (the people behaving in an unruly manner) distressed him, but the orderly manner in which people behaved in Berhampur amply consoled him.[1]

The Hindu, 22-1-1946

6. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, VISAKHAPATNAM*[2]

January 20, 1946

Gandhiji asked whether (1) they had removed untouchability, (2)they had achieved communal unity, and (3) they had realized that Adivasis (hill tribes) should also share swaraj.

Mahatma Gandhi said, they were all of Hindustan, drinking the same water and breathing the same air. So swaraj must be of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and others of India.

Referring to the necessity of keeping themselves disciplined and peaceful at meetings, Mahatma Gandhi said that even if one crore of people congregated at one place, there should be no disturbance. Then only could they claim to be organized and disciplined. If even the few people that gathered at a public meeting, compared to the forty crores of India, could not keep themselves in order, he asked, how they could get swaraj. Even supposing they got swaraj, they would lose it, if they were not disciplined

[1] According to report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 21-1-1946, "Gandhiji's address was followed by *Ramdhun* led by Kanu Gandhi and joined in chorus by the entire audience."

[2] Then called Vizagapatam. The meeting was held at the Indian Institute. The report said: "Mahatma Gandhi's special train arrived at Waltair at 11.05 a.m. Led by Mr. Viswanatham, Mahatmaji walked briskly the distance of two furlongs to the meeting place. Purses were presented there for the Harijan and Hindi *prachar* funds."

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and orderly in their behaviour. Gandhiji said that without doubt swaraj would come but their preparedness must be shown by proper discipline. He had not come to collect funds but to test at first hand how far people were ready for swaraj by self-discipline.

Gandhiji next touched upon the lingua franca of India and said, everyone knew that he was at present on his way to Madras to preside over the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha celebrations. Two or three Andhra ladies were travelling with him, and when he spoke in Hindustani, they could not understand. They should all know Hindustani. Gandhiji asked:

Do you want to know the language that is common to all Provinces of India, or English?

Gandhiji said that he was devoting his services to all in India. When that was so, he asked, which would be preferable—whether his (Gandhiji's) learning all the languages of India or a small proportion still not knowing Hindustani learning the language for following his advice. Hindustani was a sweet language, easy to learn, which had been adopted as the mother tongue of 33 crores of people. So he believed that they should all take up the subject and learn Hindustani.

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi said, swaraj cannot be retained if it came as if by magic. They all proclaimed, they would get their swaraj through non-violence and truth. That being so, they should not behave otherwise and cheat the world. Since 25 years they had been proclaiming that they would win independence by truth and non-violence. On that account, the whole world had placed India on a high place. Supposing in 1920 they had announced that they would win swaraj by violent means and later had won it, they would have lost it by now. Gandhiji wanted them to take a pledge to win swaraj by means of truth and non-violence.

Concluding, Gandhiji said that he was glad to have noticed that the crowd had remained peaceful.

The Hindu, 22-1-1946

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7. ADVICE TO CONGRESSMEN[1]

January 20, 1946

It is necessary that you should give up English and learn Hindustani. If you want to tell me anything, tell it in Hindustani or in Telugu. You may know English but it is not necessary you should use it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21-1-1946

8. MESSAGE TO ANDHRAS[2]

ELLORE,
January 20, 1946

I am sorry for observing silence as tomorrow is Monday. I am glad to visit Andhra. I am sorry, I could not spend longer time in Andhra. I request you to excuse me as I am old. If only you work my constructive programme, that is more than seeing me.

From a copy : C.W. 10583. Courtesy : Government of Andhra Pradesh

9. FOREWORD TO "HINDUSTANI-GUJARATI KOSHA"[3]

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS,
January 21, 1946

This is the second edition of the Hindustani-Gujarati dictionary. I have not seen any other dictionary of this type in Gujarati. A dictionary giving the words both in Devanagari and Urdu

[1] The report said that at Dusi Station, Gandhiji spoke to "Congressmen who wanted to read out an address in English".

[2] According to Andhra Pradesh Government Papers, "the special train ... arrived at Ellore Station at 10.30 p. m., and stopped for fifteen minutes. About ten thousand persons including many ladies had assembled on the platform. Gandhiji ... did not speak ... but gave *darshan* by stepping out on a table placed on the platform. His message to Andhras was transmitted through loud-speaker ..." A similar message was given to people the next morning at Vijayawada, when Gandhiji received contributions.

[3] By Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai

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scripts seems to be a new venture. If the necessity of knowing both the scripts and speaking both Hindi and Urdu is accepted, a dictionary like this is a great necessity.

This dictionary is not to be used in the same way as other dictionaries are used. If the student of Hindustani consults it frequently, his knowledge of both the scripts and of words from both the branches of the language is bound to increase. Another way of using the dictionary properly is that, if any mistakes are found in it, the reader should note them, as also words which he does not find in it, and send the lists to the Editor from time to time. The Editor may make appropriate use of the suggestions when preparing a new edition; or the additions, if supplied as addenda, may enable the owner of the dictionary to use it at nominal cost, as if it was a revised edition. The addenda can also be sent as a supplement to everyone having the original edition.

I hope the people of Gujarat will welcome this venture.

[From Gujarati]

Hindustani-Gujarati Kosha

10. SPEECH AT MADRAS[1]

January 21, 1946

Gandhiji asked them to maintain silence and preserve order. He said that unless every one of them kept perfectly quiet, the vast crowd may not hear him, and he wanted every one of them to hear him.

But again the crowd shouted "*Mahatma Gandhiki Jai*". Gandhiji . . . said:

I do not expect that you, citizens of Madras, would be so undisciplined. How can I come in your midst again, if you do not conduct yourself in a disciplined manner?

Then Gandhiji called for the singing of *Ramdhun*. . . . the whole gathering took up the refrain. . . . He followed the singing of the crowd with eyes closed . . . keeping tune with the song. *Ramdhun* terminated after five minutes. . . . Gandhiji said :

[1] The report said that Gandhiji, who had alighted at Ambattur at 4.15 p. m., was taken in a car to the bungalow adjacent to the Hindi Prachar Sabha, where several thousands of people had collected but refused to disperse without seeing Gandhiji. When he came out at about 7 p. m., they shouted "*Gandhijiki Jai*". When Gandhiji raised a warning finger, they became quiet. The Hindustani speech was rendered into Tamil by Bhashyam.

Now you have seen me. I want every one of you to go home quietly and leave me to my work.

The crowd, however, was not satisfied . . . They kept shouting, "Lights, lights; we want to see him." The electrical staff . . . projected a lamp . . . on the dais and . . . Gandhiji stood in the full blaze of the light . . . for a full minute and then pleaded with the crowd . . .

I have come travelling a long distance. I have not even washed or taken food. There is any amount of work waiting for me. Do you want me to stay here all night to be with you?

The crowd in a chorus shouted, "No, no; we won't detain you." Gandhiji said:

Then let me go. But you must first of all go home quietly. That is my request to you. Are you prepared to do so?

"Yes", came the unanimous answer followed by a shout in Tamil "*pogirom*"[1]. Gandhiji said :

Good, go, all of you. Do you now give me leave to go?

The crowd shouted "Yes", and Gandhiji then slowly descended . . . and walked back to his residence. . . .

The Hindu, 22-1-1946

11. TALK WITH INDONESIAN SAILORS[2]

MADRAS,
[After *January 21, 1946*][3]

Gandhiji told them that Indian sympathy[4] they had already, as was shown by the resolution of the Working Committee[5] on Indonesia and the far East. As for the use of Indian troops against them, it was as much

[1] Meaning "We shall go."

[2] This and the following item are extracted from Pyarelal's "Lighter Interludes".

[3] Gandhiji reached Madras on January 21; *vide* the preceding item.

[4] Pyarelal reported that the Indonesian sailors had "refused to man their posts when their ship was ordered to proceed to Batavia with personnel and cargo ostensibly meant to be used against the nationalist struggle there, and had, in consequence, been discharged. They wanted India's sympathy in their cause and complained about the use of Indian troops to suppress the Indonesians."

[5] Which met in Calcutta from December 7 to 11, 1945. For the resolution, *vide* Appendix I.

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India's and Britain's shame as their misfortune. It could be ended only by India gaining her independence, which would be the forerunner of the emancipation of all the suppressed and exploited races of the earth.

Harijan, 24-2-1946

12. *DISCUSSION WITH NEGRO SOLDIERS*[1]

MADRAS,
[After *January 21, 1946*][2]

QUESTION: There are several religions in the world. They were all originated in foreign countries. Which one of these should Africa follow? Or should she discover her own religion? If so, how?

GANDHIJI : It is wrong to say that all religions were originated in foreign countries. I had fairly extensive contact with Zulus and Bantus and I found that the Africans have a religion of their own, though they may not have reasoned it out for themselves. I am not referring to the rites, ceremonies and fetishes that are prevalent among African tribes but the religion of one Supreme God. You pray to that God. There are many religions, but religion is only one. You should follow that one religion. Foreigners might bring you Christianity. Christianity as exemplified in Europe and America today is a travesty of the teaching of Jesus. Then there are Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism and so on. You should absorb the best that is in each without fettering your choice and form your own religion.

Q. How can a continent like Africa fight down the fetters of slavery when it is so hopelessly divided?[3]

G. I know your difficulty. If you think of the vast size of Africa, the distance and natural obstacles separating its various parts, the scattered condition of its people and the terrible divisions among them, the task might well appear to be hopeless. But there is a charm which can overcome all these handicaps. The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others.

[1] & [2] *Vide* footnotes 2 and 3, p. 10. Pyarelal explains that the Negro soldiers from West Africa came "with a long list of questions indicative of the deep stirring in their consciousness".

[3] According to Pyarelal, the Negroes "quoted Gandhiji's observation that to remain in slavery is beneath the dignity of man; a slave who is conscious of his state and yet does not strive to break his chains is lower than the beast."

Freedom and slavery are mental states. Therefore the first thing is to say to yourself: 'I shall no longer accept the role of a slave. I shall not obey orders as such but shall disobey them when they are in conflict with my conscience.' The so-called master may lash you and try to force you to serve him. You will say: 'No, I will not serve you for your money or under a threat.' This may mean suffering. Your readiness to suffer will light the torch of freedom which can never be put out.

Q. Africa and India both drink of the cup of slavery. What necessary steps can be taken to unite the two nations so as to present a common front?

G. You are right. India is not yet free and yet Indians have begun to realize that their freedom is coming, not because the white man says so but because they have developed the power within. Inasmuch as India's struggle is non-violent, it is a struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed races against superior might. I do not propose mechanical joint action between them. 'Each one has to find his own salvation' is true of this as well as of the other world. It is enough that there is a real moral bond between Asiatics and Africans. It will grow as time passes.

Q. Everything immoral and deadly is attributed to Africa. What steps should be taken to eradicate the epidemic of foreign prejudice against us?

G. In so far as there is a modicum of truth in this criticism, it is no special prerogative of Africa. Immorality and wrong are common in all countries. But you must not allow yourselves to take refuge in self-complacency either, by saying to yourself: 'Well, others are no better than we.' Many, perhaps most of the evils that are at the back of the prejudice against Negroes are the result of nominal Christianity imported from America. They have learnt to drink, dance immoral dances and so on. Then there are evil African customs. You must eradicate these and thus disarm foreign prejudice. It is a laborious task but a joyous one. The epidemic of foreign prejudice will then die a natural death.

They wanted to know as to how they could set up depots of useful Indian books, and what India could give them and how they could achieve "co-operative industrialization" in order to be saved from the terrible exploitation under which they were suffering. Gandhiji replied:

India can give you good ideas. It can give you books of universal worth. The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of Western exploiters. Then India can

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offer you the spinning-wheel. If I had discovered it when I was in South Africa, I would have introduced it among the Africans who were my neighbours in Phœnix. You can grow cotton, you have ample leisure and plenty of manual skill. You should study and adopt the lesson of the village crafts we are trying to revive. Therein lies the key to your salvation.

Harijan, 24-2-1946

13. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

[Before *January 22, 1946*][2]

QUESTION: In the *Bhagavad Gita* comes a *sloka*[3] : . . . If everything goes according to fixed law, then if you pray to God, can He intervene and set aside the law for your sake?

ANSWER: But the meaning at the bottom is : "Thy will be done, not mine." God's law is never interrupted, but that very law says that every act has its result. In the prayer for the child, father surrenders his will to God. The law works as if it were a person, and since every action tells, this prayer has an unforeseeable result. You should work out what I have written. The sum total of every act is a resultant. Draw a parallelogram of forces.

Jnana, karma and *bhakti*—should not they all go together? Unless you know God, how can you have *bhakti*? You cannot even offer him your karma.

You must not reason like this. If you have no work and so-called *bhakti*, the result will be lop-sided. Do you know God to whom you pray? I don't. He is unknown to you and me.

To whom shall we then pray?

To God, whom you do not know. We always do not know the person to whom we are praying.

But the Shastras say that He is knowable.

Since He is knowable we search. It may take a billion years. Even if you do not believe, you must continue to pray.

[1] & [2] This was an enclosure to a letter (G. N. 3230) dated "Thyagarayanagar, Madras, January 22, 1946", from R. P. Parasuram to Konda Venkatappayya, which read: "As instructed by Pyarelalji, I am enclosing herewith Gandhiji's scribbled answers to your questions. I am also enclosing herewith typed copy for your convenience."

[3] The verse is not given in the source.

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"Help thou mine[1] unbelief"[2] is a verse from the Bible. But it is improper for you to ask such questions. For you there must be infinite patience and inward longing. Inward longing obviates all such questions. "Have faith and you will be whole"[3] is another chip from the Bible. *Gita* has many such parallel passages.

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

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

From a photostat of a copy : G. N. 3230

14. TELEGRAM TO GOVIND BALLABH PANT[4]

MADRAS,
January 22, 1946

SUCHETA FREE DECIDE WHETHER TAKE KASTURBA OR PARLIAMENTARY WORK.[5]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The source, however, has "my".

[2] *St. Mark*, ix. 24

[3] *St. Matthew*, ix. 22, and *St. Mark* x. 52, which read : "Thy faith hath made Thee whole."

[4] 1887-1961; Leader of Congress Party in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, and its Premier, 1937-39; Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, 1946-55; Home Minister, Government of India, 1955-61

[5] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to sponsor Sucheta Kripalani for membership of U. P. Legislative Assembly. She, however, joined Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

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15. TALK WITH V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

MADRAS,
January 22, 1946

GANDHIJI: You must not hug me and excite yourself.

SASTRI : I have wanted to say one thing to you. Another opportunity for peace has been lost. They are sitting there at the Peace Conference Table. But who is there who can speak for humanity except you? I am afraid, India has failed to do her duty. Even if they do not ask you, you must go as the apostle of truth and non-violence and be on the spot. Your mere presence will have a tremendous effect. You must not stand on ceremony.[2]

Then, referring to the Parliamentary Delegation[3], he remarked, "we know nothing can come out of it. Labour or Conservative, so far as India is concerned, they are all one and the same.

[1] This is extracted from Dr. Sushila Nayyar's "Meeting Sastriar". Sushila Nayyar who explains: "Gandhiji had heard that Sastriar was so ill that probably he alone would be allowed to go in for a few minutes. Shri Jagadisan had advised my brother [Pyarelal] and me to accompany him. . . . So Gandhiji took both of us and Shri Manilal Gandhi with him. . . . The doctor, however, gave us more cheerful news. . . . Sastriar sat bolt upright . . . as Gandhiji entered . . . and moved to the edge of the bed. 'I want to come near enough to hug you, little brother,' he muttered. . . . Gandhiji took his hand and soothed him."

[2] According to Sushila Nayyar, "ever since Gandhiji's release from prison, Sastriar had been writing to him imploring him to go to the Peace Conference at San Francisco [*vide* Vol. LXXVII, Appendix XV] . . . Gandhiji's view was that his non-violence should have its effect from wherever he was. His going to the Peace Conference, unless the great powers themselves want it, could serve no useful purpose."

[3] Which reached Bombay on January 5; it consisted of Prof. R. Richards (Leader), R. Sorenson, (Mrs.) Muriel E. Nichol, A. G. Bottomley, Maj. Woodrow Wyatt, Godfrey Nicholson, Brig. A. R. W. Low, R. Hopkin Morris, the Earl of Munster and Lord Chorley of Kendal. According to *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vol. VI, p. 522, in a memorandum dated November 14, 1945, to the British Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India, Pethick-Lawrence, had said that the Parliamentary Delegation "would serve to demonstrate the sympathy of Parliament with Indian aspirations and the sincerity of British intentions in the matter of India's constitutional advance. The Delegation . . . would be free in their movements and their contacts with Indians, from any control by the Viceroy or Governors."

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G. But we must trust. Burrows[1], the new pitboy Governor of Bengal, has a sense of humour. When the Pressmen worried him and asked him what policy he was going to initiate, he replied, "Gentlemen, I am not going to initiate. I am going to carry out." That is true of all of them. The labour Government cannot afford to do otherwise.

S. What next?

G. Who knows ? The British Government itself does not know, I think. But I did not come here to discuss politics with you.

S. I see, you think I am no good for it.

G. No, but you are certainly no good for it in the present state of your health.[2]

Harijan, 28-4-1946

16. LETTER TO DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

MADRAS,
January 22, 1946

BHAI PATTABHI,

I got your letter just now. Bhai Venkatrao[3] also showed me his letter. Get well soon. I have said all that I wanted to say. You may now explain things to me when the need arises. Your duty at present is to get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
MASULIPATTAM

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

[1] Sir Frederick Burrows

[2] The report concluded : "They touched upon the topic of the communal problem. They cracked a few more jokes and then Sastriar called us near and bade good-bye saying a few kind words to each one of us. He talked a little about South Africa and Gen. Smuts with Shri Manilal Gandhi, and Gandhiji left him with a promise to visit him again if the doctor reported that the visit had had no deleterious effect upon his health."

[3] K. Venkatrao, Secretary, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee

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17. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS[1]

January 22, 1946

Gandhiji explained how *Ramdhun* was sung and how those willing to join might clap their hands in time. He explained:

This custom was started in Bengal, and, I believe, with very good results. I wish as many of you as are willing should join this *dhun*.

Gandhiji first enquired how many of them could understand Hindustani. About a tenth of the crowd raised their hands. To the question how many were unable to understand Hindustani, there was no answer until it was translated into Tamil and then the overwhelming majority raised their hands. Gandhiji said, they need not be shy or ashamed, but he would want them all to learn Hindustani.

At the outset, Gandhiji said that it gave him great pleasure to be in their midst once again after so many years. He then recalled how years ago it was in the city of Madras that satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act[2] was first launched. He had come to Madras on that occasion[3] at the invitation of Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar who had put him up with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Rajaji had then recently come over to Madras from Salem where he was a leading practising lawyer and was doing useful work as Chairman of the Salem Municipality. Gandhiji confessed that he had at first felt a bit put out at Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar putting him up with one who was a practising lawyer and a stranger to him at that time. But the late Mr. Mahadev Desai who was then with him told him the next day that Rajaji was a precious friend of Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and far from playing him a trick; therefore the latter had selected an ideal host for him. Although Rajaji had never met Gandhiji before, Mr. Desai had told Gandhiji, he had been following his work in South Africa with close attention and admiration. Mr. Mahadev Desai had further told him that Rajaji would be prepared to throw away his practice in a trice at a word from Gandhiji.

[1] The report said : "Precisely at 5.30 p. m., Gandhiji, accompanied by his party including Miss Agatha Harrison, proceeded to the grounds to the south of Hindi Prachar Sabha for prayer. . . . Gandhiji . . . addressed them . . . in Hindustani. Mr. A. Subramanyam, Hindi Pracharak from Trichinopoly, rendered the speech into Tamil."

[2] Bill No. 29 of 1919

[3] In March 1919; *vide* Vol. XV.

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I could hardly believe at that time that a leading lawyer could give up his practice like that. I, however, accepted Mr. Desai's testimony on faith. The subsequent events have, however, amply borne out Mr. Mahadev Desai's estimate. Rajaji as I see him today is just what he was on the day when we first met.

It was on that occasion, too, said Gandhiji, that he had made his first acquaintance with the late Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

Continuing, Gandhiji described how it was at Mr. Rajagopalachari's place that the observance of the 6th of April[1] which had become a sacred day to all of them was commenced. It was a great day for him and for them. It marked the birth of satyagraha in this country. The way in which it galvanized the whole nation into a new consciousness was nothing less than a miracle. It gave him particular pleasure, therefore, to recall those glorious associations and to re-visit the place that had given them birth.

Referring to his present visit, Gandhiji stated that he was disinclined to come to Madras on the present occasion. He was reluctant to come out of Sevagram in the first instance and later he would have liked to return straight to the Ashram from Bengal. He believed that it was providence that had brought him to Madras. Surely it would not be for nothing. He hoped that the present visit would prove as fruitful as the previous one. He added :

Yesterday I was rather disappointed with you. I tried in my broken Hindustani to make myself understood but could not. When I spoke in Hindustani, Rajaji himself did not fully understand it. He is the defaulter No. 1 in this respect. He addresses you in Tamil but when he goes outside the Province, he talks in English. Well, if the sea water should lose its salt, wherewith shall it be flavoured? All over the country he is reputed to be one of the finest speakers in the English language, but he has not learnt to speak in Hindustani. I want a pledge from you here and now—and you should not only give the pledge but pledge yourself to implement it too—that you will all learn Hindustani. Should you not do even that little for the country's independence? Do you expect all the two crores of people of Tamil Nadu to learn English? Or do you expect India to learn one of the four South Indian languages to be able to communicate with you? I say it is your dharma to learn Hindustani, which will link the South with the North.

[1] In commemoration of the total hartal observed on April 6, 1919, in protest against the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre which followed on April 13. The week had since been observed as "National Week" every year.

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I want you further to contribute to the Harijan fund. You must do so as a token of your determination to eradicate the blot of untouchability from the fair name of Hinduism. Another thing I want to tell you is that whatever your religion, prayer should form part of your daily life. It should mean more to you than food and drink. I thank you for maintaining perfect discipline during prayer. I will hold prayer here, every evening. The text of the prayer with the translation of the same in the four South Indian languages is obtainable from Satyanarayanaji[1]. You should learn it and its meanings. Further all those who come to the prayer should fully take part in it and join in the singing of the *Ramdhun* to the accompaniment of *tala*.[2]

The Hindu, 24-1-1946

18. ADVICE TO INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY MEN[3]

MADRAS,
[After *January 22, 1946*][4]

Gandhiji told them that they could only follow the lead of the Congress and commended to their attention Capt. Shah Nawaz's statement in which he had said that, whilst they had fought with arms for their country's freedom when they were outside India, they would now serve India through non-violence.

Lastly you should remember that it is unbecoming the dignity of a soldier to depend on anybody's charity. As soldiers of freedom, you should earn your bread by your honest industry and disdain to look to others for support, even though you may have to suffer hardships and privations in consequence.

Harijan, 24-2-1946

[1] M. Satyanarayana, Secretary, Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras

[2] Rhythmic beats

[3] Extracted from "Lighter Interludes". Pyarelal explains: "At Madras ... there was a group of discharged I.N.A. men. Gandhiji saw them for a couple of minutes as he was going to his residence. They were returning to their respective homes. They had received their training in the Military Academy at Tokyo. They asked: 'We worked under Netaji's guidance. Whose lead should we now follow?' "

[4] From the reference to Shah Nawaz Khan's statement which was made on January 22, on the eve of Subhas Chandra Bose's 50th birthday

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19. FRAGMENT OF TALK WITH V. V. GIRI[1]

MADRAS,
January 23, 1946

Gandhiji's individual opinion was that no Trade Union which respected the National Congress could do without the tricolour flag with the charkha in the middle.

He added that he saw no objection to the simple red flag with the particular Union's name on it, provided that it went side by side with the supreme tricolour.

The Hindu, 26-1-1946

20. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS[2]

[*January 23, 1946*][3]

Gandhiji said that the very best of food served to a sick person who could not digest it would act as poison. Similarly freedom or swaraj would prove a questionable boon to them, if they lacked discipline.

The Hindu, 24-1-1946

[1] 1894-1980; twice President of All-India Trade Union Congress and its representative at I. L. O., Geneva, 1927; represented Labour at Round Table Conference, London, 1930-31; Minister of Labour and Industries, Madras, 1937-39 and 1946-47; India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, 1947-51; Minister of Labour in Union Cabinet, 1952-54; successively held Governorship of Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka from 1958 to 1964; Vice-President of India, 1967-69 and President of India, 1969-74

[2] The report said: "The meeting was very noisy. Contrary to his usual practice, Gandhiji kept standing throughout the prayer."

[3] From the reference to the noise at this meeting in "Speech at Constructive Workers' Conference, Madras", *vide* p. 24.

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21. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS,
January 21/24, 1946

CHI. JIVANJI,

I send herewith a Foreword[1] for Maganbhai's dictionary. I suggest the addition of one page to explain the Urdu script. The method of forming words, too, should be explained so that the buyer, if he does not know Urdu, may learn it. Pyarelal has an impression that there are also mistakes in a few places. If you think it necessary, get the dictionary examined again from that point of view.

I am sending a Foreword[2] for Mahadev's *Gita*, too. I suppose I have nothing more to write now. Am I right?

I forced myself to find time and write all this yesterday under great pressure of other work. I put aside other reading and writing.

If Maganbhai or you wish to suggest any changes, you may do so. Never mind if that delays the publication by a few days.

Enclosure: Foreword

January 24, 1946

This is a painful thing. This is being posted on the 24th instead of on the 21st. But is it not better that it should go today at any rate rather than not at all?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9963. Also C. W. 6937. Courtesy : Jivanji D. Desai

[1] *Vide* pp. 8-9.
[2] *Vide* p. 2.

22. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

MADRAS,
January 24, 1946

CHI. JIVANJI,

I came to learn in the course of a discussion with Kakasaheb[1] that you cannot carry out the changes he has introduced in the Nagari script because you do not have such types. If this is true, you should buy the required types or give up printing in Devanagari script. We cannot cling to the old forms of the letters. The improved forms have been made current by Kakasaheb and, so far as I know, our [Hindustani Prachar] Sabha has accepted them. How, then, can we ourselves admit anarchy? If I am mistaken in this, please correct me. Kaka and Nanavati[2] have seen this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9964. Also C. W. 6938. Courtesy : Jivanji D. Desai

23. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

MADRAS,
January 24, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Two of your letters are lying with me. I am writing this during a few moments of free time. Do not worry in the least about the *samadhi*[3]. Go on doing only the task in hand. Nothing is done there (in the Spinners' Association) without my permission.

Do what is possible regarding the clinic[4]. Now I will be there in a few days.

[1] D. B. Kalelkar

[2] Amritlal T. Nanavati

[3] The reference is to the proposal to acquire the land in the Aga Khan Palace, Poona, having the *samadhis* of Kasturba Gandhi and Mahadev Desai. *Vide* also Vol. LXXXII, p. 318.

[4] Nature Cure Clinic, Poona

Kanchan[1] is with me. Her cough has not disappeared. But otherwise she is all right. She is quite cheerful. According to me she is being looked after better than a queen. I have not asked her whether she would agree.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8609. Also C. W. 7209. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

24. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI[2]

MADRAS,
January 24, 1946

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter of January 11, 1946. I have been very busy and it is nearly six in the morning. What is being done for women seems to be good.[3] Jawaharlal has done a very good job.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MRIDULA SARABHAI
SHAHIBAG
AHMEDABAD

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

25. LETTER TO JETHALAL L. GANDHI

MADRAS,
January 24, 194[*6*][4]

CHI. KAKU,

I have your very long letter. We should be charitable. We would go crazy looking for other people's faults, and we would never see our own. Hence remain silent and render such service as you can.

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] The letter is in Devanagari.

[3] The addressee, a trustee of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, had organized women's welfare activities.

[4] The source, however, has "1945", a slip of the pen.

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I should consider it a matter of shame that you should rush about in the car to do my work. All the same I am trying to be vigilant.

I shall not be able to look up Hemchandbhai and the labourers. Sorry.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

26. *SPEECH AT CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS*[1]

January 24, 1946

Gandhiji had hardly spoken a few sentences when the drone of planes overhead dropped his voice, and Gandhiji stopped speaking for a while till he could be heard better.

Gandhiji took the organizers to task because the printed programme that had been put into his hands was in English. It should have been, he said, in the local language or in the *rashtrabhasha*, Hindustani.[2]

Gandhiji sharply rebuked those workers who did not understand Hindustani for not knowing that language. He told them that the time was past when he used to address them in English, if only to please them. He had now decided to reserve his English for Englishmen and foreigners only. So far as they (the gathering) were concerned, he would prefer to speak to them in his broken Hindustani, even if he could make himself better understood by speaking in English.

Referring to the prayer gathering of the previous evening,[3] he said, he knew there were only a few at the far end who were creating the noise; but in an orchestra if even one instrument was out of tune, the harmony of the whole was spoilt. Discipline and its inculcation in the people was an essential part of constructive work.

[1] The report said, about 200 workers including a "good number" of women had gathered at the Conference, which was presided over by Shri Krishnadas Jaju of All-India Spinners' Association. Gandhiji, supported by Abha Gandhi and Kantilal, arrived at 8.20 a. m. He spoke in Hindustani.

[2] According to the report, "Some persons in the gathering did not understand what Gandhiji was saying and one of them stood up and, speaking in Telugu, said he could not follow Gandhiji's speech. Gandhiji asked him in Tamil to sit down. The gentleman, not understanding Tamil continued standing, and some of his friends made him sit."

[3] *Vide* p. 20.

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If he had time, he continued, he would have gone to inspect their latrines, their kitchen, their dining hall, etc., so that he might see for himself how they ate, sat and so on. Maintenance of proper living conditions in the camp was another illustration of fresh items that could be added to the 18-fold constructive programme.

Parliamentary programme and constructive programme were both before the country, he observed. It was not a question of one being inferior to the other, but he wanted to make it clear to them that for India to win her independence through truth and non-violence, constructive work was absolutely essential. Those who went to the legislatures should go there primarily to promote constructive work. But in any case he was of opinion that lovers of freedom should go to the legislatures, if only to prevent those who did not want freedom from getting in and posing as the country's representatives.

Referring to the Parliamentary Delegation, he said that he had given a couple of hours to them on the previous evening and another hour to some of them this morning.[1] He did not think he had wasted his time, but he did not depend on anybody for giving them swaraj. Gandhiji concluded:

> Swaraj has to come through our own strength. We might get help from other quarters. It would be welcome. But we should understand that freedom could never come as a gift from outside. We bore no enmity towards the British. We want the British rulers to quit in a friendly spirit. If they do that, it will augur well for them, for India and the world.

Gandhiji declared the Conference open and wished them a fruitful discussion[2].

The Hindu, 25-1-1946

27. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AT CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS*

January 24, 1946

The first question related to the place of khadi in the national economy and how far it would help to solve the poverty problem.

Gandhiji said that khadi was the very foundation of Indian swaraj and economic uplift of the poor. He had always linked khadi with swaraj from the beginning. The more khadi we produced, the nearer we would be to swaraj. Manual labour was an essential factor in his programme, and it

[1] For a discussion, *vide* pp. 30-1.
[2] At its afternoon session; *vide* the following item.

was as necessary for the rich also to do manual work. Spinning was manual labour *par excellence*. It enabled even poor people to lead independent lives. Explaining the symbolism of the charkha, Gandhiji said that it stood for ahimsa. Let them not get lost in minor controversies but concentrate on the work of spinning and production of khadi, the most important part of the constructive programme.

Another question asked was how khadi production could be of help to the poor man when one considered that in his budget more than 80 per cent was spent on food and only 12 per cent on cloth.

Gandhiji answered that if through khaddar they could add to the income of the people even a few annas, it would be worth while. He was looking forward to the day when khadi would become a universal gospel, though today it was confined to India. The first step he envisaged was that khadi should touch all the 40 crores of Indian people.

A question written in English and in pencil on an odd slip of paper was next put aside by Gandhiji with the remark that it was illegible and the questioner was doing violence to an old man to send the question in that way.[1]

QUESTION: What exactly do you mean by economic equality? What is statutory trusteeship as conceived by you?

Gandhiji's reply was that economic equality of his conception did not mean that everyone would literally have the same amount. It simply meant that everybody should have enough for his or her needs. For instance, he required two shawls in winter whereas his grand-nephew Kanu Gandhi who stayed with him and was like his own son did not require any warm clothing whatsoever. Gandhiji required goat's milk, oranges and other fruit. Kanu could do with ordinary food. He envied Kanu but there was no point in it. Kanu was a young man whereas he was an old man of 76. The monthly expense of his food was far more than that of Kanu but that did not mean that there was economic inequality between them. The elephant needs a thousand times more food than the ant, but that is not an indication of inequality. So the real meaning of economic equality was: "To each according to his need." That was the definition of Marx. If a single man demanded as much as a man with wife and four children that would be a violation of economic equality. Gandhiji continued:

> Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former need more. That will be idle sophistry and a travesty of my argument. The contrast between the rich and the poor today is a painful sight. The poor villagers are exploited

[1] What follows is extracted from "Gandhiji's Communism" by Pyarelal in *Harijan*.

by the foreign Government and also by their own countrymen—the city-dwellers. They produce the food and go hungry. They produce milk and their children have to go without it. It is disgraceful. Everyone must have balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children and adequate medical relief.

That constituted his picture of economic equality. He did not want to taboo everything above and beyond the bare necessaries but they must come after the essential needs of the poor are satisfied. First things must come first.

As for the present owners of wealth, they would have to make their choice between class-war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and therefore without exploitation. The State would regulate the rate of commission which they would get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children would inherit the stewardship only if they proved their fitness for it. He concluded:

Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees. But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves, beginning with *gram panchayats*, will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above, it is liable to prove a dead weight.

Q. What is the difference between your technique and that of the communists or socialists for realizing the goal of economic equality?

A. The socialists and communists say, they can do nothing to bring about economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, when they get control over the State, they will enforce equality. Under my plan, the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightaway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty

motor-cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it.

Q. What is the place of satyagraha in making the rich realize their duty towards the poor?

The same as against the foreign power. Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family, its use can be extended to every other circle. Supposing a land-owner exploits his tenants and mulcts them of the fruit of their toil by appropriating it to his own use. When they expostulate with him, he does not listen and raises objections that he requires so much for his wife, so much for his children and so on. The tenants or those who have espoused their cause and have influence, will make an appeal to his wife to expostulate with her husband. She would probably say that for herself she does not need his exploited money. The children will say likewise that they would earn for themselves what they need.

Supposing further that he listens to nobody or that his wife and children combine against the tenants, they will not submit. They will quit, if asked to do so, but they will make it clear that the land belongs to him who tills it. The owner cannot till all the land himself, and he will have to give in to their just demands. It may, however, be that the tenants are replaced by others. Agitation short of violence will then continue till the replaced tenants see their error and make common cause with the evicted tenants. Thus satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion such that it covers all the elements of society and in the end makes itself irresistible. Violence interrupts the process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole social structure.

The Hindu, 26-1-1946; also *Harijan*, 31-3-1946

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28. FRAGMENT OF AN INTERVIEW[1]

MADRAS,
January 24, 1946

If the report about the damage to communist persons and properties is true, I consider it disgraceful. Whatever may be the differences between communists and others, they must be respected, as others will wish theirs to be respected. Every act of popular violence is detrimental to the people's progress.

The Hindu, 26-1-1946

29. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 24, 1946

Speaking of the Tyagaraja *keertana* that had been sung during prayer, Gandhiji said, he knew what a high place Sri Tyagaraja occupied in South India. Wherever he had been, whether in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Desha, Karnataka or Kerala, he had heard Tyagaraja's songs sung with a sweet melody which seemed to spring from the very heart of the singer. Tyagaraja's songs and Tyagaraja's name comported ill with the spirit of provincialism and secularism that he had witnessed among them. There was rivalry of languages today which might grow into something worse tomorrow. Some wanted Tamil, some Telugu and so on. Then there was the feeling of separateness and rivalry between South Indians and North Indians. He was utterly unable to understand how this parochialism could be compatible with the growing desire for freedom for the whole of India. Supposing a Bengali achieved distinction in a particular field, would the glory belong to Bengal alone? No, it belonged to every Province and every one of the forty crores of India. That should be their first lesson, if they wanted to be a free nation. Tyagaraja had sung that if all the attributes of Rama are

[1]This was reported as stated by Gandhiji "in the course of an interview" with reference to "reports of outbreak of violence in Bombay [on January 23] in connection with the observance of Subhas Chandra Bose Day, and the attack on the headquarters of the Communist Party of India". According to *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vol. VI, pp. 86-9, although "the authorities in Bombay altered the permitted route of a Subhas Bose procession to avoid Muslim areas in the city", the "organizers of the procession refused to follow the altered route and in ensuing disturbances 11 persons were killed and several hundreds were injured".

put on one side and the glory of Ramanama on the other, the latter would far outweigh the former. Thinking of the historical Rama of Valmiki or Tulsidas, one was liable to have many doubts as, for instance, why Rama banished Sita, and so on. But when one thought of Ramanama in the abstract, forgetting who Rama was and what he did, Rama at once became the omnipresent and omnipotent God, above doubt and criticism. Similarly he asked them to forget and put behind them the confusing label of Tamil Nadu *v.* Andhra, Gujarat *v.* Maharashtra or Punjab, and so on, and just remember Hindustan and its glory. There was a potency in the two letters composing the syllable *Ram* which nothing could match or rival. Similarly there was a magic in the syllable *Hind* all its own. After all, the world knew India, not its Provinces—India which had resolved to win her independence through truth and non-violence. He exhorted them to throw their parochialism and petty quarrels and rivalries into the Indian Ocean and, in Tyagaraja's name, take a pledge that they would be Indians first and Indians last, live for India and die for India.

When Tamil translation of Gandhiji's exhortation was given, some people shouted for Telugu translation also. Gandhiji said:

All right, say it in Telugu also.

Accordingly a Telugu translation was given. Gandhiji then remarked with a laugh:

Is there no Malayalee and no Canarese here?

The Hindu, 26-1-1946

30. DISCUSSION WITH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION[1]

MADRAS,
January 24, 1946

Gandhiji gave a very clear picture of what his views were on the present political situation and the future. Gandhiji's view outlined broadly was, it is understood, that India wanted her freedom. She wanted the freedom to be given to her not as though by a superior to an inferior, but given and taken as among equals. He hoped that the British Government would soon make a declaration to that effect, for any delay would complicate the situation and harden the feelings between the different sections of opinion in India, and between India and Britain.

[1] According to the report, Prof. Richards, Lord Chorley and Reginald Sorensen called on Gandhiji. "The talks commenced at 7.30 p. m., as on the previous day, and lasted 90 minutes. . . . Lord Munster was not present."

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Once that declaration was made and Constituent Assembly was set up, an act which would prove that Britain was acting in good faith, India would begin to believe that Britain was in earnest. Of course, he realized that it would take time before the full Indian Constitution would function properly. But they would be prepared to work out these details in patience for, he is stated to have pointed out, they would have been satisfied about Britain's good faith.

Gandhiji, it is reported, also touched on the position of political prisoners and urged the need for their release.

The Hindu 26-1-1946

31. MESSAGE TO STUDENTS[1]

MADRAS,
January 25, 1946

Gandhiji's advice was that the students must observe perfect discipline and non-violence. Not only there should be no coercion of any kind, but there should be no show of force either. To take a large mass of students to another College in order to bring out the students of that College, in Gandhiji's opinion, would not be strictly non-violent. More than that he could not say. Gandhiji would like the students to act under the guidance and advice of someone in the city in whom they have faith.

The Hindu, 26-1-1946

32. SPEECH AT DAKSHINA BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, MADRAS[2]

January 25, 1946

Congratulating the Sabha on its work during the last 25 years, Gandhiji said that what had been achieved so far was certainly praiseworthy. One of the previous speakers, Mr. T. Krishnaswami, had used a type of English-mixed Hindustani, though he could talk good Hindustani, in order to emphasize how far they had succumbed to the influence of a foreign language. He did not want to make any invidious comparisons, but it seemed that the influence of English was so great, particularly in South India, that even

[1] The message was signed by Pyarelal, and it was read out to the students of Pachaiyappa's College who were stopped by police from going in a procession.

[2] Gandhiji was inaugurating the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

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Indian names assumed an English form in many places. This was a kind of slavery. Why should they continue to hug the chains, albeit golden, which enslaved them? Should they not break these asunder and try to regain their freedom? It was not difficult at all. Let them at least replace English with Hindustani. He wanted Hindustani to spread so as to unite the different parts of India and not so as to displace the local Indian languages. He was sorry to note that so many in that gathering could not understand him. He desired to serve them, enslaved as they were. It was here in Madras that he first started on his service of slaves. Many prominent citizens of Madras, highly educated persons, welcomed him and extended to him their hospitality at that time. They all fell in with the idea of promoting Hindustani as the lingua franca of India. It was soon after that the movement was set on foot here. He was glad to read the reports presented to him of the progress of work so far, and he congratulated them on it; but taking into consideration what yet remained to achieve, one should admit that it was but a drop in the ocean. So it was that he appealed to everyone in the gathering and outside to learn Hindustani as early as he or she could. If only they devoted to the study of Hindustani a sixteenth of the time they devoted to English, they would attain a higher degree of proficiency in that language. They should learn to read and write both the scripts related to that language—Nagari and Urdu—for the sake of India's independence.

Suggesting that the nomenclature for the work done by the Sabha should be changed from "Hindi Prachar" to "Hindustani Prachar", Gandhiji said that he was not quite such a fanatic about the nomenclature as some were. What was meant by *rashtrabhasha* was that common medium which was easily understood by some 23 crores of the people of India, irrespective of religion or class. That was Hindustani. It was their dharma to learn this language and in both the scripts, too. He also would like Hindi workers to learn the language of the area in which they carried on their work so that they would be able to serve the country and the *rashtrabhasha* all the more.

Referring to the difficulties over translation, Gandhiji said that he had decided that there should be no translation of his speech that day. It would save time, for one thing. Further, they could read what he said in the newspapers later on or gather the substance from friends.

It was good that they had all contributed to the Silver Jubilee Fund and come there in such large numbers. But he had seen how they had also committed a serious breach of discipline in rushing pell-mell and sitting here, there and everywhere, instead of occupying the seats allotted to them. If they did not learn to observe discipline in their everyday life, how would they be able to manage the affairs of a free India, he asked. It should be their *sankalpa*[1] that swaraj should be run on the basis of discipline.

[1] Determination or resolve

Everyone should learn to obey laws and regulations in order to promote constructive national work. Disobedience to be non-violent had to be civil; it did not mean breaking of any and every law. That would lead to chaos and mob rule. He did not wish to live to see mob rule in India. His desire to live for 125 years was in order to serve the cause of truth and non-violence. That presupposed the observance of strict discipline on their part.

Gandhiji said that he did not want to take more time. He thanked them for the silence they had maintained and bade them good-bye.

The Hindu, 27-1-1946

33. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 25, 1946

Gandhiji said that he did not put through a comprehensive prayer programme as the meeting was not observing perfect silence. He was, however, glad that the position improved during *Ramdhun*.

Gandhiji declared that henceforth there would be no translation of his speech in Tamil or Telugu.[1] Those who did not care to know Hindustani should afterwards gather from newspaper reports or from friends what he had said. If they did not wish to hear him in Hindustani, he was prepared to go away without saying anything. The incident had pained him greatly, he said. His appeal[2] of the previous evening seemed to have fallen on deaf ears.

They should at least observe elementary rules of courtesy. The rule was that even if a child was entrusted with authority, everyone should implicitly obey his or her instructions. He had heard that on the previous evening one child was crushed in the crowd. It had given him much pain. Their joining in the prayer was a meaningless thing, if it did not teach them to show consideration to women and children and give them precedence. They should let women and children go first. Why should there be such unseemly hurry to depart after the meeting?

Finally Gandhiji exhorted them to observe perfect discipline in the Independence Day[3] meeting. He was the author of the Independence Pledge[4].

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani which was translated into Tamil. After a few sentences were translated, an Andhra gentleman among the audience asked for a Telugu translation also.

[2] *Vide* pp. 29-30.

[3] January 26

[4] Originally drafted by Gandhiji in January 1930, the pledge was amended in December 1939 and to which a paragraph was added in 1941; *vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 384-5, Vol. LXXI, pp. 431-2, and Vol. LXXIII, pp. 279-80.

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He wanted to live and die for India's independence. Any indiscipline on their part would hurt him deeply. It would delay the coming of swaraj. The Independence Pledge laid it down that independence had to be won through truth and non-violence. This required on their part adherence to strict discipline. Violence did not merely mean causing physical injury. It means also giving provocation or causing inconvenience to others. To indulge in abuse or to goad others into acts of violence was worse than direct physical violence.[1]

The Hindu, 27-1-1946

34. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AT CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS*[2]

January 26, 1946

Gandhiji singled out for his first answer his favourite topic, Harijan uplift. He categorically called on the constructive workers to make Harijan uplift a major programme. While he agreed that a large majority of the people had advanced views on this question, the action taken in this regard, he regretted, was like a speck in an ocean. Their question was what step should be taken for the complete amelioration of the condition of the Harijans. He had again and again answered such questions. He would repeat that steps such as inter-dining of caste Hindus with Harijans, voluntary admission of Harijans into temples—he considered this as a vital programme—and accessibility of Harijans to roads and water sources would alone give the Harijans equal status with the caste Hindus. To depend on the Government for throwing open the temples to Harijans was to expect

[1] The report concluded: "Gandhiji then . . . walked back quickly to his residence. . . . As he approached . . . his residence, Mr. A. Subrahmanyam . . . Tamil translator . . . expressed regret that his translation should have caused Gandhiji the disturbance. Gandhiji said, he was not at all to blame. The Andhra gentleman . . . had by now come up . . . to explain himself . . . Gandhiji rebuked him saying that he should first have made his request to him either in a note or in person instead of disturbing the prayer and trying to dictate what should be done. By so doing, he had only forced him to come to a decision not to have translations at all and thus prevented his coming into contact with the people in the manner he wanted. The offender persisted in his attempts to further press his case, while expressing his regret for what had happened. Dr. Sushila Nayyar interrupted at this stage, and asked him not to cause Gandhiji unnecessary strain. The gentleman then withdrew."

[2] In the afternoon session on the third day, V. Bhashyam Iyengar presided. After his speech, Gandhiji called for questions from the delegates in Hindustani.

too much of them. People alone could voluntarily take the Harijans into temples and give them real temple-entry based on a change of heart.

Through another answer, Gandhiji announced that non-violence was also a principal item in the constructive programme. He averred that violent acts such as arson and causing injury to others would not bring them *Rama-rajya*, their birthright. Non-violence alone would lead them to freedom. But what happened? They had freedom almost in their hands and, through violent acts, they were, as it were, throwing it away into the sea.

Concluding, Gandhiji stressed the importance of co-operating with the Harijans and helping them to keep their places and persons clean.

As a few minutes of the allotted time still remained, Gandhiji invited more questions and answered them. The answers only reinforced what he had already said.

The Hindu, 28-1-1946

35. SPEECH AT CONVENTION OF HARIJANS, MADRAS[1]

January 26, 1946

At the outset, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his great pleasure in seeing before him such a large gathering of Harijans. He was also glad to notice the great awakening among them.

Englishmen often put the question, what the caste Hindus were going to do for the solution of the problem of untouchability, if the country achieved freedom? They further asked what had the people done for Harijans? Mahatmaji admitted that the question was pertinent; but at the same time he wished to make it clear that untouchability did not exist in such a horrible form, as their European friends wanted to make out.

In this connection, Mahatma Gandhi referred to his South African experience and said that there all Indians were regarded by the European people as untouchables. An Indian might be a merchant or a barrister. Still he was a 'coolie', so far as the Europeans there were concerned. Separate places were allotted for the residence of Indians. There were also other disabilities. Therefore it could not be said that Europeans did not observe untouchability. There might not be untouchability amongst themselves; but they treated Indians in South Africa as untouchables. He did all he could to remove that kind of untouchability while he was in South Africa. After returning to India he had devoted himself to the removal of untouchability in this country.

[1] Organized as part of Silver Jubilee celebrations of Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha

"Would the conditions of Harijans be the same, or would it improve when India attained freedom?" was another question asked. He visualized that there would not be any question of untouchability in free India. Their Hindu brethren would see to it that untouchability was put to an end and that all Harijans were acknowledged equals. Crores of Congressmen would devote themselves towards that end. They would work for the removal of untouchability and die for it. In his address[1] to the constructive workers, he had stated clearly the nature of work [and asked] the workers to strive sincerely for the removal of untouchability. It was not enough, if a few Harijans rose to high positions in life such as barristers or High Court judges. For the uplift of the community as a whole, all of them must strive. They must educate themselves. They must fight and win their own freedom, not by violent means, but through truth and non-violence. Untouchability should disappear by winning the hearts of the caste Hindus through peaceful means.

Mahatma Gandhi then went on to explain what was meant by real freedom. It did not mean freedom to do as they pleased. It meant freedom to do their duty, freedom to abstain from drink, and freedom to work for their own uplift. In this connection Gandhiji explained the significance of the term 'Harijan' by which he preferred to call them. The term signified people of God. He who nurtured hatred or ill-feeling towards another could not be a man of God. The Harijans had borne their sufferings patiently for ages without retaliating. Therefore they deserved to be called Harijans. True to that expression, they must believe in God and repeat His name. They must be true devotees of God, and history furnished them with classic examples of true devotees like Nandanar. On this occasion he did not wish to refer to the rights of Harijans, but only to say a few words on their duties or dharma. The so-called higher castes had their duties; so had Harijans. If they considered that inter-dining or inter-marriage was the purpose of their freedom, they would be mistaken. All these things would not bring about real happiness. By acquiring clean and healthy habits, by adhering to truth and non-violence, and by doing their work in life honestly and sincerely and with love of God, they would be promoting not only individual happiness but also the happiness of the community as a whole. Only through truth and non-violence could they establish swaraj or *Ramarajya* in this land.

The Hindu, 28-1-1946

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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36. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS[1]

January 26, 1946

Gandhiji said that festivals varied in character with the times. The Independence Day was a sacred day to them all, as on that day crores of people would be repeating their pledge for the attainment of the independence of India. He hoped that everybody had taken the pledge. If not, everybody should take it. The special feature of that pledge, he reminded them, was that the means to be adopted for the attainment of independence were unadulterated truth and non-violence.[2] Crores of people had been repeating that pledge for the last 25 years and offering prayers for the fulfilment of that pledge to the Most High, who, though far, was yet nearer to us than our hands and feet. It was the self-same Power, though known by various designations, Allah, Rama, Rahman, Rahim, God, and so on. There was no limit to His names. They were as countless as His attributes. It was to this Unseen Power which permeated and sustained the universe that their prayers were made. It would be heard only if their means were as pure and spotless as their end.

Could they expect God to crown their resolve with success, if their means included falsehood, deceit, violence and deception? Such a prayer would not ascend to heaven. It would only bring ridicule on those who offered it. True prayer must transform their conduct. How could they indulge in unseemly behaviour like yesterday's, while they professed to be votaries of truth and ahimsa? Prayer meant nothing, if it did not result in self-purification and humility. Prayer ought to purge the soul of all impurity, pride and egotism. Whilst the incident had caused him deep pain, it was not without a redeeming feature. The redeeming feature was that although one person had run amok, those around him had refused to be thrown off their legs and had not joined him in the clamour. That was as it should be in a well-behaved gathering.

In conformity with yesterday's announcement, he had discontinued giving any translations either in Telugu or Tamil of his remarks at the end of the prayer. Even the song was in Hindustani because he did not want to make the language of the song a bone of contention. He strongly deprecated

[1] The report said: "The prayer was held without the recitation of the usual *slokas* from the Upanishads and the *Gita*. *Ramdhun* was sung, and it was followed by a song in Hindustani."

[2] *Vide* also pp. 33-4.

the rivalry and recrimination between the Tamilians and the Andhras which he had noticed during his visit to the South. The Tamilians and the Andhras, the Kanarese and the Malayalees were distinct, but not antagonistic to one another. They were like branches of the same tree. They should realize the fundamental unity underlying their diversity. Then alone they would be worthy of independence.

Referring to the disturbances that continued through the prayer from the distant fringe of the gathering, he said, he realized that it was due to insufficiency of accommodation. The clamour came from those who could not find accommodation. The right thing for those who failed to get accommodation would have been to quietly sit back or wait in silence outside. Similarly, if they had assimilated the spirit of non-violence, he would not have been forced to confine himself to the precincts of his residence as he was doing at present. It was because he was afraid of the unthinking adoration of the crowds that he did not go out in the open even for his evening walk. Genuine love should be more discerning.

Concluding, Gandhiji asked them all to pray to God to either give them freedom or the strength to die for it. He said:

> Let us hope we shall not have to repeat this pledge next year but shall have attained our freedom before that. It is given to man but to try. The result is in the hands of God. But, if our weapons are unadulterated truth and non-violence, our prayer will not go unheard.

The Hindu, 28-1-1946

37. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AT CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS

January 27, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi said that many women enquired of him about the nature of work they might do. He had been telling repeatedly, and he would say again that women should go to villages and work there. They must attend to the improvement of the condition of the village womenfolk. They must attend to the health and sanitation of the villages and to the education and culture of the womenfolk. All these should be done in a spirit of love and service and not as a mere formality.

Replying to a question relating to parliamentary programme, Mahatma Gandhi said that the question of entering legislatures was a small matter. Only a limited number of women could engage themselves in this work, whereas the constructive programme provided scope for all of them. Mahatma Gandhi added that he had no objection to women standing for election to

legislatures; but they must enter the legislatures with the idea of serving the people, always keeping in mind the principle of truth and non-violence. But how many of them would be able to enter the legislatures in a spirit of service? They must also have a clear idea beforehand as to what they would do inside the legislatures. The parliamentary programme was like building from the top. Their aim must be to build from below so that the foundation would be strong and the structure good. If any mistake occurred while building from the bottom, it could be rectified immediately, and the harm done would not be much. On the other hand, if a mistake was committed in the other programme, the entire structure might collapse and the whole country stood to lose thereby.

The next question related to receiving assistance from Christian Missionaries in a free India. Gandhiji declared that they could certainly accept help not only from Christian Missionaries but from others also, if such help was offered sincerely and in a spirit of service to the country. There was before them the example of the late Deenabandhu Andrews. He was a Christian. He served India and gave his life for India. India required the help of all men of good-will who were prepared to offer that help in a spirit of love and service.

In reply to another question, Mahatma Gandhi said that the wife or dependent of a Government servant could do national work, provided she was ready to do so without fear of her property being confiscated or the education of her children suffering. If any woman thought that by doing constructive national work her children stood to lose privileges they might otherwise get from the Government, she should not undertake the work.

He said that this sphere of work was large and all were welcome. It was the constructive programme that was responsible for creating an awakening in the country. It was only through constructive programme that they would be able to retain their freedom when it was won. The important part of the constructive programme was to develop purity of body and mind and to educate their children according to the Nayee Talim or New Education. Thereby their girls and boys would grow into self-supporting and independent citizens. They wanted many workers to go out into the villages and work among the people. Educated women should make it a point to get into villages and teach the children to read and write and to lead clean lives. If these things were done, the constructive programme would have achieved its purpose.

If they had a capital of one crore of rupees, they should be able to multiply it and not allow themselves to squander away what they had. All of them were aware that he would not allow even a pie being spent unnecessarily. The constructive programme, if correctly followed, would not only pay its way but also add to the capital. Therein lay its greatness.

The Hindu, 29-1-1946

38. SPEECH AT DAKSHINA BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, MADRAS[1]

January 27, 1946

The business they had all met to transact was a solemn one, and he was glad to be able to take part in that function. If the aspirations of the people of India for freedom were to be fulfilled, they should learn the lessons of true discipline and right conduct, particularly in such large congregations. No doubt there was a president on such occasions to regulate proceedings and maintain order. But the order he wanted was that which was born of a due sense of discipline in each individual. The discipline should be so strong that even where it was a child of five that sought to enforce regulations and law, people should willingly abide by it. That he thought was real *vinaya*[2]. They should also concentrate on the main purpose for which they were assembled there and do nothing to mar the solemnity of that purpose and its fulfilment.

He had again and again said that he preferred the nomenclature 'Hindustani' to 'Hindi' in this connection. The language the Sabha sought to spread was really the language of the common folk of North India, understood by an overwhelming majority. He had also stated again and again that students of Hindustani should learn both Urdu and Nagari scripts. Some people deliberately mixed more Sanskrit words and some others Arabic and Persian words, with the result that today two distinctive streams were noticeable in the language which was one. His own view was that Hindustani was the one common language containing Sanskrit words as well as Arabic and Persian words and understood by the common people. He wanted them to do their bit for spreading that language.

The Hindu, 29-1-1946

39. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 27, 1946

Addressing the gathering in Hindustani, Gandhiji said that in that song[3] there was a prayer by the devotee that God might save his honour. He then alluded to the episode in the *Mahabharata* describing how, when Draupadi was sought to be shamed in the court of Duryodhana in the

[1] At its twenty-third convocation
[2] Humility
[3] From *Ashram Bhajanavali*; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 415.

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presence of thousands of persons, Lord Krishna came to the rescue and saved her from being dishonoured. The secret of the miracle was her undying faith in God which nothing could shake. The legend says that the Lord himself reached out his arm to protect her. The poet, of course, is here referring to the omnipotence of God, who, however, becomes a living force to those who have faith.

Gandhiji said that as Draupadi was depicted as being sought to be made naked, India was already naked and was praying for protection from shame—the shame of slavery and serfdom under alien exploitation—and restoration of her independence.

Yesterday they had pledged themselves that they would either win independence through truth and ahimsa or perish in the attempt, and yet today, in spite of the spacious grounds, they were behaving like an undisciplined mob in one quarter of the prayer ground.[1] If they could not behave well even during *bhajan*, how would they behave when India got freedom? Theirs was by no means an extraordinarily big gathering, but for a people who aspired to be free and remain free through no other means than ahimsa, it should be possible to act and obey orders as one man even if they were 400 million. If 400 million could but shout with one voice, the effect would be overwhelming. But there was a proper time for shouting as for silence. Each must come in its proper place.

Gandhiji concluded by expressing the hope that if God again brought him in their midst, they would all be able to understand Hindustani, and there would be no clamour for Tamil and Telugu translations of his speech. He prayed to God to guide them all aright so that they might deport themselves in a manner worthy of the people who aspired to be free.

The Hindu, 29-1-1946

40. SPEECH TO WAITING PEOPLE, MADRAS[2]

January 27, 1946

I realize you are all here gathered to see me, out of abundant love for me; therefore I have come to you, giving up my usual walk at this time.

He then advised them to return home quickly and attend the prayer meeting the next evening. Gandhiji informed them that the prayers were now taking place on an extensive site which could accommodate many thousands conveniently. [He said:]

[1] The meeting was being held in a new venue; *vide* the following item.

[2] According to the report, Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani; he instructed A. Subbiah to translate the speech into Tamil.

Therefore come there tomorrow and bring your friends.

Finally Gandhiji stressed the importance of maintaining perfect silence during prayer and said that even if a crore of people gathered, peace and serenity should be observed. Otherwise the object of a prayer meeting would be lost.

The Hindu, 29-1-1946

41. A MESSAGE

January 28, 1946

I hope Kamala Nehru Basic School will bring credit to the name of the departed.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 1304

42. LETTER TO ANDHRA PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

MADRAS,
January 28, 1946

BROTHERS,

I got your letter yesterday. Bhai Venkatarao had a talk with me. I had told him that Doctor Saheb[1] could enter [the Assembly] when it becomes imperative. What can be the urgency now?

Although Doctor Saheb takes my advice and also abides by it, I cannot order him, nor have I done so. Who am I to stop him, if he wishes to enter the Assembly? My advice, however, is against it. He can render greater service from outside.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SIGNATORIES [*sic*]
EXECUTIVE ANDHRA PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEE
C/O T. N. VENKATARAO
PRESIDENT, DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
TENALI, GUNTUR

From the Hindi original : C. W. 4230. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Dr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya (November 24, 1880 to December 17, 1959); son of village Karnam, he took M. B. & C. M. degree in 1906; gave up practice to join Indian National Congress; was member of A. I. C. C. and Working Committee; he headed Andhra Provincial Congress for many years; edited *Janma Bhoomi* an English weekly, from 1919 to 1930; author of *The History of The Indian National Congress*

CWMG - LXXIII

43. A LETTER[1]

MADRAS,
January 28, 1946

BROTHERS,

I have your letter. All of you are earning. God has given you wealth. You may, therefore, make no payments to the clinic by way of fees but should donate to it as much as you can, to your heart's content. This is just my wish. Anyhow, I will be there in a few weeks' time.

Tell me everything then, and I shall do what I can.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

44. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

MADRAS,
January 28, 1946

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

What a coincidence! I got your letter today, a silence-day. There is so much work here that I do not write or get letters written except on a silence-day. God sustains me.

I would have been completely ignorant about your health. This I write just to satisfy myself.

Come over to Bardoli only if you have completely recovered. There is still the whole of February.

It is as well that I had better written to both of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : G.N. 11566

[1] The letter is in Devanagari.

45. SPEECH READ OUT AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS[1]

January 28, 1946

Today is my day of silence. Therefore I am not able to speak to you. You must please excuse me. What a good thing is silence! I have personal experience of it. The joy one derives from silence is unique. How good it will be, if everyone observed silence for some time every day! Silence is not for some great men; I know that whatever one person is able to do can be done by everyone, given the effort. There is a saying[2] amongst us that through silence everything can be achieved. There is much truth in this saying.

The Hindu, 30-1-1946

46. MESSAGE TO COMMEMORATION MEETING ON ROMAIN ROLLAND'S 80TH BIRTHDAY[3]

[Before *January 29, 1946*][4]

The few days I passed with Romain Rolland and his sister at Villeneuve[5] were among the happiest days of my life. He has been truly described by some of us as a Maharishi. He bore on his benign face the marks of a great sage. He lived and died[6] for humanity, leaving it the richer for having lived.

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

[1] Written in Hindustani by Gandhiji was read out by Kanu Gandhi

[2] मौनं सर्वार्थसाधनम् ।

[3] & [4] The meeting was held on January 29 at Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. The message was read out by Kalidas Nag.

[5] In 1931; *vide* Vol. XLVIII.

[6] He died in Switzerland on December 30, 1944.

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47. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AT CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS*[1]

January 29, 1946

Q. Can a worker who has taken up one item of constructive work dabble in others? Is it right for him to do so? If so, how?

A. Constructive programme as it stands today is comprised of 18 items. The spinning-wheel as the symbol of non-violence occupies the central place. So every worker must spin and know all about spinning. Supposing a worker takes up paper-making as his main occupation and has to find his livelihood also through it, he won't have much time left for other things. But he will be able to render some other service to the villagers besides that which he renders through the spinning-wheel and paper-making. For instance, he can work for improving the sanitation of the place and render advice about the care of the sick when he cannot take up full responsibility for nursing them.

Supposing another worker decides to concentrate on the spinning-wheel only and to find his livelihood also through that, he can do so. I have no doubt in my mind that the wheel can serve as the instrument of earning one's livelihood and at the same time enable the worker to render useful service to his neighbours. The thing is that every worker should decide for himself what will be his main activity besides the spinning-wheel, and what will be his subsidiary activities. Whatever he does, he should do intelligently and with knowledge. Thus, in order to ply the wheel intelligently, he should know all the processes that precede and succeed spinning. He should have full knowledge of the activities that he wishes to concentrate upon and have a general working knowledge about other items of the constructive programme.

[1] The report in *The Hindu*, said: "Gandhiji addressed the concluding session of the Constructive Workers' Conference for about twenty minutes in the morning and answered a few questions handed over to him. Gandhiji, at the outset, asked how many of those present knew Hindustani and a large majority signified they knew the language." The first two questions and answers are reproduced here from *Harijan* which published them under the title "Constructive Workers' Samagra Gramseva" as translated "from *Harijan Sevak*", 17-3-1946.

A student of astronomy cannot know astronomy without some knowledge of science in general. Similarly a worker cannot afford to be utterly ignorant about other items of constructive work.

Q. Please explain the meaning of *samagra gramseva* of your conception. How can we fit ourselves for that?

A. The 18-fold constructive programme includes *samagra gramseva*. A *samagra gramsevak* must know everybody living in the village and render them such service as he can. That does not mean that the worker will be able to do everything single-handed. He will show them the way of helping themselves and procure for them such help and materials as they require. He will train up his own helpers. He will so win over the villagers that they will seek and follow his advice. Supposing I go and settle down in a village with a *ghani* (village oil-press), I won't be an ordinary *ghanchi* (oil-presser) earning 15-20 rupees a month. I will be a Mahatma *ghanchi*. I have used the word Mahatma in fun but what I mean to say is that as *ghanchi* I will become a model for the villagers to follow. I will be a *ghanchi* who knows the *Gita* and the Koran. I will be learned enough to teach their children. I may not be able to do so for lack of time. The villagers will come to me and ask me : 'Please make arrangements for our children's education.' I will tell them: 'I can find you a teacher but you will have to bear the expenses.' And they will be prepared to do so most willingly. I will teach them spinning and when they come and ask me for the services of a weaver, I will find them a weaver on the same terms as I found them a teacher. And the weaver will teach them how to weave their own cloth. I will inculcate in them the importance of hygiene and sanitation, and when they come and ask me for a sweeper, I will tell them : 'I will be your sweeper[1] and I will train you all in the job.' This is my conception of *samagra gramseva*. You may tell me that I will never find a *ghanchi* of this description in this age. Then I will say that we cannot help to improve our villages in this age. Take the example of a *ghanchi* in Russia. After all the man who runs an oil-mill is a *ghanchi*. He has money but his strength does not lie in his money. Real strength lies in knowledge. True knowledge gives a moral standing and moral strength. Everyone seeks the advice of such a man. Take the instance of Vinoba. He is a good *ghanchi*. You all

[1] *Harijan Sevak* has: "I am myself a Bhangi . . ."

know what he does, and you can all follow his example according to your capacity.[1]

Q. Khadi work has been carried on for the last 20 years for the purpose of solving the problem of unemployment. Now if priority is to be given for an all-round uplift of the villages, then (1) arrangements should be there for the tiller of the soil so that he gets full remuneration for his labour; (2) efforts should be made to improve agriculture; (3) if there is some spare time, spinning and such other industries should be introduced in the villages. According to my scheme, khadi and gramodyog get a third place. How far am I right in this?

A. When khadi was first introduced, we used to say that it was meant for helping the poor. But at the same time I had told the country that swaraj rested upon cotton yarn. Both the things went on simultaneously. But you paid attention only to one of them. This was our ill-luck. I had brought the idea of khadi from South Africa. From there I could visualize that till we chose an occupation in which millions of men and women of India could take part, swaraj could not be achieved even through truth and non-violence. Those who have to work for their livelihood may do so. But they can spin voluntarily for their country or they can work at some occupation for their survival. I hope you understand the difference between the two.

When I came to India, then also women were carding. I placed before them the idea of swaraj as I understood it. Whether the poor earned their livelihood through khadi or adopted it as a means of swaraj, both the things could go hand in hand. I realized that real freedom could be attained only in this way. Therefore I placed before the Congress the idea of khadi. The Congress accepted khadi in 1920. You should know that till that day the Congress had no flag. When people realized the importance of khadi, the tricolour flag came into being.

In the Aga Khan Palace I used to think constantly about the place of khadi. It is a matter of shame that I was released[2] on grounds of ill-health. The Government did not want that, like Ba and Mahadev, I too should die there.[3] Therefore they released me. After my release I placed before you the same idea. Was

[1] The following three questions and their answers are translated from *Khadi Jagat*, April 1946, which published them under the title "Farming or Spinning-wheel".

[2] On May 6, 1944, having been detained from August 8, 1942

[3] Mahadev Desai died on August 15, 1942. Kasturba Gandhi died on February 22, 1944.

khadi only a means of economically helping the poor or was it a means of attaining swaraj also? If we wish to make khadi a means of achieving freedom, then we shall have to change our method of work. Many people were disappointed with spinning only for economic reasons. To spin for the whole day and get just an anna was not enough. We raised the status of women by raising the wages of the women spinners. But at the same time we emphasized the point that the spinners should also wear khadi. This was the second step.

Now the third step is that all those who wear khadi should spin. How splendid it would be, if all the people of Madras should spin and also weave the yarn spun by them. Otherwise they can get their yarn woven at a nearby place. This is the way of the village to get all things done at minimum cost and labour. The urban way is just the opposite. When I visited Lancashire, I observed that the workers never wore the cloth that they themselves produced. For them the cloth was imported from Ireland. Some embroidered cloth from Madras was also used. Now, if the villagers or the cultivators are able to spin and produce yarn for their own use, we can save them a lot of trouble. And, if they do so with knowledge, they would be bringing swaraj nearer. This is the new policy of khadi.

If you have understood my point, then the place of khadi is not third, but it remains first. I have made khadi or the spinning-wheel the symbol of ahimsa. Ahimsa is a unique thing. You can make anything its symbol. I made the charkha its symbol and not the rosary after due thought. If we spin just one length all the time taking the name of God, then the spinning-wheel itself becomes our rosary. Spinning itself becomes sacrificial work.

One who having eyes does not see the light of the sun and having a skin does not feel its warmth is dead, though living. The spinning-wheel is the life of constructive work. If you take away that, all the other seventeen items will become a lifeless corpse. If we wish to achieve swaraj for the poorest of the poor and the weakest of the weak, for the crores of women, whose only guardian is God, and not only for some educated women, it can be done only through the spinning-wheel. And, without the spinning-wheel, the constructive programme becomes a mere cipher. It becomes ten if the zero is placed after one. Zero alone has no value.

Q. Ninety-five per cent of agriculture in India depends on rains. For the improvement of farming more than 50 per cent of it should be done

through irrigation. It is the experience of the experts that in this way alone farming can be improved. Under all circumstances this sort of improvement will have a prominent place in the economic planning of India. In case such an improvement in farming is introduced, it becomes a complete industry which goes on throughout the year. In that case the spinning-wheel will not occupy the place of a supplementary industry. If we want to ply it in the villages, we will have to think of a place for it as for the handloom. Please throw light on this matter.

A. Khadi and all the activities connected with it have a direct relation with satyagraha. Whatever credit I have earned, I have earned it through satyagraha. I am not a learned man. I consider myself and feel somewhat stupid before scholars in Tamil, English, Hindustani and even Gujarati. But I have placed before you satyagraha knowingly and after careful thinking. I have not acquired it from books, but from experience. I could see that khadi industry could serve as a means of achieving [swaraj]. Farming cannot take that place. Millions of men, women and children cannot take part in it [as they can in spinning]. I live for the freedom of the country and work continuously for it. After I am worn out, I do not wish to live; not even for enjoyment. For that matter I am always happy and never sad. If I were born in free India, perhaps I would not have insisted on khadi. But, even when I was in South Africa, I knew that India was a slave country and to remove that slavery I thought of the spinning-wheel as the means.

First of all I do not possess full knowledge about agriculture. But the simple thing is that we cannot progress much without the help of the Government. Canals will have to be constructed, some trees will have to be cut down. We will have to use the new engineering devices. At every step, the Government's help will be required.

Q. An Indian villager spends about 80 per cent on foodgrains and 12 per cent on cloth. Does it not follow that agriculture holds the most important place in our village uplift scheme? Would it not be proper to give to agriculture instead of to khadi the place of the sun in the solar system [of the constructive programme]?

A. Even if all that is correct, farming cannot take the place of the spinning-wheel. It is a great thing to become industrious through the spinning-wheel and give up lethargy. The key to our swaraj lies in it. When we keep the spinning-wheel in the centre and try to remove its defects, we learn many things by the way. You must know that I talk about the charkha [only] as

regards India. I would not ply the charkha in the North Pole. If India understands the value of the spinning-wheel, swaraj can be certainly attained through it. To some extent there is propaganda of the spinning-wheel in the cities. It is welcome. But the villagers have to adopt the spinning-wheel. In order to link it with agriculture, the villagers had better adopt it.[1]

Q. Is it possible to achieve nationalization of land in a non-violent manner?

"Yes" came the answer from Gandhiji. He made it perfectly clear that *kisans*, the tillers of the land, should be the owners. Constructive workers should educate *kisans* on their rights and duties, and tell them how they should develop self-confidence and courage to assert their just rights. Satyagraha might have to be resorted to in the process of claiming ownership of the land, and the zamindars were not *rakshasas* to oppress them, for it would not be to their benefit to do so.

Q. What should be done when an unsympathetic Indian State placed obstacles in the way of the constructive programme?

Gandhiji said that the result depended entirely on the workers themselves and the extent to which they were prepared to suffer for the cause. Gandhiji, replying to another question, approved of Kaka Kalelkar's suggestion to bring in words belonging to other languages to make themselves intelligible in their addresses to gatherings. If any pandit objected to this procedure, he would be only ignoring realities. He, however, pointed out the absurdity of using bombastic words like *chathushpada peetham* for chair and *lekhini nilaya* for an ink-stand.

Gandhiji was asked as to what extent students could engage themselves in political work. Mahatmaji said that there was quite enough work for students to do alongside of their studies. They could, for instance, do a great deal in connection with removal of illiteracy. But he was not in favour of students associating themselves with party politics or controversies as they could not do justice to such work, remaining as students. If some of them felt like leaving schools and colleges with a view to engaging themselves in national work, they were free to do so.[2]

To a question whether constructive workers can go to jails, Mahatma Gandhi said:

As far as possible, constructive workers should wholly devote their time to the 18-point programme. This should be the case at almost all times. But when the situation in the country is extraordinary and the constructive worker feels impelled to go to jail,

[1] The following two questions and their answers are from *The Hindu*, 30-1-1946.

[2] What follows is from *The Hindustan Times*, 30-1-1946.

then, of course, he can go to jail. This is, however, only in extraordinary circumstances.[1]

Harijan, 17-3-1946, and *Khadi Jagat*, April 1946; also *The Hindu*, 30-1-1946, and *The Hindustan Times*, 30-1-1946

48. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, MADRAS[2]

January 29, 1946

Addressing the gathering, Gandhiji called for silence, observing that unless they kept silent, they would not be able to hear him. As there was no appreciable reduction in the noise coming from the fringes of the vast gathering, Mahatmaji called for *bhajan*.[3]

He said that he had received a purse containing about Rs. 10,000 from the Maharani of Vizianagaram, on behalf of the ladies of Madras, for which he was thankful. The Rani Saheba had told him that on account of the shortage of time, more could not be collected, but had promised to raise the amount to Rs. one lakh within three months. The vast gathering before him was witness to that promise. If the Maharani was not able to collect the entire balance within that period, Mahatmaji was certain she would make good the deficit from her own pocket. But that would not please him. It was his desire that his sisters residing in all the four linguistic parts of this Province should contribute and see to it that the fund reached the figure of Rs. one lakh.

Explaining what he proposed to do with the money, Gandhiji said that he was not going to devote the entire sum for work among women. He proposed to give a portion of it to the Hindi Prachar Sabha for the spread of Hindustani among women, a portion to Harijan work and the balance for important work for the uplift of women. He had seen many girls taking their degrees at the Hindustani Convocation. He was not satisfied with

[1] The report in *The Hindustan Times* concluded: "Gandhiji declined to bless the foundation-stone for a new building to be constructed for the Kasturba Free Reading-room and Library of the Andhra Young Men's Association, Madras, as the inscription on the stone was in English. A fresh stone was thereupon prepared with the inscription in Telugu, the mother tongue of the people in that area, and Gandhiji blessed the stone and wished the institution all success."

[2] The report said: "Mahatma Gandhi and party arrived at the pandal at 4.35 p. m. He was conducted to the dais by the Maharani of Vizianagaram, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Ambujammal and others. He was presented with khadi garlands by a number of children."

[3] According to the report, "two women sang *Raghupati Raghava Rajaram* and the audience joined in the chorus, marking time with hands."

their number. He would like to see crores of women studying Hindustani in South India. All of them were aware what a "greedy" person he was in the matter of collecting funds for specific purposes. He was never satisfied with small purses. He wanted crores so that he could spend the money on deserving causes. The sum of Rs. one lakh was not a big thing for the women of Madras Presidency to contribute. Women liked to decorate themselves with so many unnecessary things. They could avoid so much waste and contribute to good causes.

Gandhiji remarked that the Maharani had taken pity on him as sunlight was falling severely on him.[1] Resuming his speech, Mahatma Gandhi said that he saw women wearing a number of ornaments. He would prefer to see them dressed in khaddar rather than bedecked with ornaments. After all, character was the most important thing for women. It was ignorance that led them to wear ornaments. The simplicity of Sita was an example before them. In spite of carrying her away to Lanka, Ravana dared not lay his hands on her. Why was it? It was because of the character of Sita. India was a glorious country, full of such great examples. The glory of Hindustan was in the hands of Indian womanhood. Dusshasana was unable to put Draupadi to shame, though the Pandavas were unable to come to her rescue. It was her character that made the Lord come to her rescue. Swaraj or Ramarajya was after all a small thing. It was the *tejas*[2] of Hindustan that mattered. If the womanhood of India attained her complete *tejas*, the foreigner would not be here. Therefore he would impress upon them that their real asset and ornament was character and not dresses and jewels.

Finally Gandhiji spoke about untouchability and said that some of them could not drink even water given by a Harijan. Not only that, they would not give water to a Harijan in a pot. They would pour water only into his hand. This attitude should go. Other differences like Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Parsi should also go. They should strive for unity and that unity could be achieved early by all of them speaking a common language, Hindustani.

Glancing at his watch, Mahatmaji said that it was time for him to leave. He would, therefore, request them to excuse him, if he could not speak more.

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

[1] Here the speech was interrupted, while Gandhiji shifted his seat.
[2] Literally, "brightness"; here it refers to brightness of purity of character.

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49. SPEECH AT NAYEE TALIM CONVOCATION, MADRAS[1]

January 29, 1946

Gandhiji addressed an exhortation to the teachers to carry on their work in their respective areas in a spirit of loyalty and earnestness to the cause. He wanted them all to remember the several items of work mentioned in their certificates[2] and to strive their utmost to carry out their duties in that connection. It was true that there were certain very wide subjects like agriculture included there, but he was sure they would do their best to instil in those coming under their care the proper attitude in this matter. The one important matter which he wanted them to bear in mind was that they should all learn Hindustani. He added that they should in no circumstance neglect their mother tongue. In each linguistic area, the mother tongue should have the first claim. But Hindustani would not only serve as a common medium for the different language areas of their own Province but also as a means of communication between the South and the rest of India.

Another important thing he would urge them to bear in mind was that they should learn all about their immediate surroundings and gradually extend their knowledge in a widening circle to things outside. Mere memorizing would not carry them far. He remembered how as a young boy he was made to memorize "London is on the Thames" as part of his geography lesson. That kind of knowledge was not much good.

Knowledge directly derived from anything was much better than knowledge derived through a written lesson or through symbols. A child would have a much better idea of a charkha when it saw one and how it worked than by reading or hearing about it. That was an essential basis of Nayee Talim.

These were some of the ideas which he thought he might place before them, and he wanted that they should adopt whatever seemed good to them therein.

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

[1] The Convocation was held in the evening in the Hindi Prachar Sabha premises; Narahari Parikh presided. The report said: "Gandhiji . . . distributed certificates to 26 teachers trained in Wardha Basic Education course. . . . He first perused the certificates which were printed in Tamil, the caption alone being in Hindustani. Whenever he came upon a difficult word or a technical expression . . . he asked a teacher nearby to explain it to him."

[2] The Certificates, signed by Gandhiji, mentioned about training in agriculture, spinning, village sanitation, basic education, child psychology and Hindustani.

50. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 29, 1946

I hear many of you did not understand the *bhajan*[1] of Guru Nanak which was just sung. He had written the *bhajan* for men and women who are ignorant. He says, some people go to the forest to realize God. God is for the many crores of people on earth and not for those who go to the forest alone. In the forest live tigers, lions and bears. Therefore ordinary people cannot be expected to go to the forest. 'Why do you go to the forest?' he asked. When God is inside you, be in this world and do the work of this world. Gambling and operating on the share-markets are not among the works of the world. God is everywhere. He is in the scorpion. He is in the dog. The dog may bite us, but God is good. God is not far away in the forest, but He is within us.[2]

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

51. TALK WITH SINDHI MERCHANTS[3]

MADRAS,
January 29, 1946

GANDHIJI (laughingly): That is all? It is much too small! Wherever I go, I see so many of you doing good business. It should be much more.

A MERCHANT: But we have paid Rs. 50,000 already to Pandit Nehru in Sind.

The more reason why you should pay me also as much.

We will do so when you come to Sind.

The Hindu, 30-1-1946

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, pp. 424-5.

[2] According to the report, "at this stage Gandhiji had to stop his speech as a section of the audience continued to make noise".

[3] About 25 merchants led by Kewalram Chellaram met Gandhiji soon after the evening prayer, and presented to him a purse containing Rs. 10,000.

52. TELEGRAM TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

[After *January 29, 1946*][1]

SO YOU HAD YOUR WAY. EXPECT LETTER.

BAPU

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-2-1946

53. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS OF HINDI PRACHAR SABHA STAFF AND WORKERS[2]

January 30, 1946

Gandhiji, who made many kind enquiries about them, cracked many jokes and, saying that he considered them as members of his own family, urged that not only Hindi workers but the members of their families should also learn Hindustani. He compared the Hindi *pracharak* to the Gangotri, the place from where the Ganges flows. He said, the *pracharak* should be the fountain-head of learning, and through him the knowledge of Hindustani should spread throughout the country.

Gandhiji then invited questions. Pandit Sivarama Sharma of Guntur asked whether *pracharaks* could take up work in public educational institutions, such as schools and colleges in connection with the teaching of Hindustani to the students there.

Gandhiji replied that there was no antagonism regarding any place of work for Hindi *pracharaks*. It was their aim to spread Hindustani all over the country and they should deem it part of their duty to teach Hindustani to everyone who desired to learn it.

If Lord Wavell wants to learn the language, I will send him my best Hindustani *pracharak* or myself take up the duties of teaching that language to him.

[1] According to the report, the telegram was sent after receipt of news of cancellation of warrant against Aruna Asaf Ali. The warrant was cancelled on January 29.

[2] The report said : "The members of the staff. . . and workers of the Sabha's Press with the members of their families met Gandhiji at 'Mangala Bhavanam'. . . . Gandhiji guessed their unexpressed desire to meet him . . . and he had fixed 7.30 a.m. . . ."

Answering another question, Gandhiji said that the Hindustani workers should try also to contribute their bit to the assimilation in Hindustani of whatever was best in the local languages and even in other languages. Works like those of Valmiki, Kamban and Shakespeare would enrich any language. Further they should continue their studies side by side with their work as *pracharak* and, if possible, organize extension lectures and post-graduate courses in this connection. Another thing *pracharaks* should do was to try to bring about a synthesis, and exchange with other Indian languages so that the benefit would be mutual as between Hindustani and those languages.

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

54. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AT MEETING OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS*

January 30, 1946

Gandhiji first expressed pleasure at the very large gathering that had assembled. He said that though of late he had not participated in students' meetings, yet his affection for them remained the same as before. He believed that one could do more service by silent work, and this was borne out by his experience not only in South Africa, where he had moved with Madrasis, but also in this city during his short stay. People here, to whom he had not spoken, had clearly understood what he stood for and what shape their service to the country should take.

The rest of the address was in the nature of replies to questions that were placed in his hands earlier. Gandhiji had walked into the meeting bringing the questions with him. First he remarked in a humorous vein that while he would answer the questions, he would not like to leave the place before receiving their promised purse. Before he commenced his answers, he put his usual question as to how many of them could understand him in Hindustani. The response was not good. On this he remarked that it was a matter for regret that, in spite of the fact that the Sabha had been working amongst them for twenty-seven years, they had not learnt Hindustani in large numbers. He expected that students, at least all of them, would learn Hindustani and said that learning Hindustani was not as costly as college education. It was much easier also to learn the language.

Next the subject of utilization of collections made for the presentation of a purse to Gandhiji was touched upon by him. Gandhiji said that since they had made the collections with a view to giving him the amount towards the Hindi Prachar Sabha Fund, law and propriety required that they should not lay any condition on the utilization of the amount. He did not wish to say anything more on this point.

Gandhiji's opinion was sought on the practice prevalent amongst students of conversing in English. Gandhiji condemned such a practice and said that this ought not to be. Though the English language could be compared to a gold chain, yet it bound their hands and feet in slavery. The mother tongue could be compared to their mother, and to drop it in favour of English was like letting down their mother. Every student should know two languages, his mother tongue and Hindustani.

Q. Could girl students use cosmetics and boy students ape it?

Gandhiji's reply was that only inanimate things like stone-images required frequent polishing, and that human beings' natural beauty required no cosmetics. He added that in this country, where poverty and starvation was rampant, it was foolish to waste money on such luxuries.

Q. Do you approve of smoking which was at present very common amongst students?

Gandhiji said that he did smoke once or twice when he was young and, reflecting on it, he was really ashamed. But, while he did it stealthily, students were doing it at present openly (laughter). Smoking was as bad as drinking, whether it was indigenous stuff or foreign, and should be avoided.

Replying to another question which solicited Gandhiji's view on the poor percentage of students using khadi, Mahatmaji observed that khadi had its birth along with the fight for freedom. He reiterated that if they wanted freedom quickly, students must not only wear khadi, but also make it out of their own spun yarn.

Gandhiji referred the students to his latest book[1] on constructive work, when he was told that many students did not believe in the constructive programme. He added:

> How could work amongst Harijans and aboriginal prove uninteresting? To say that constructive programme was uninteresting was a vote in favour of slavery.

When asked for his advice to students who were intolerant, Gandhiji said that tolerance was the first virtue that a student should develop. He added:

> If anyone says that India can gain independence through the sword, I would patiently hear him, even though I have been preaching truth and non-violence for the last twenty years for winning swaraj.

Gandhiji, full of emotion, referred to violence such as causing destruction with the atom bomb and the victory won thereby, and said that he had applied his mind to this point. He felt that truth and non-violence were really more powerful than the atom bomb.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXV, pp. 146-66 and Vol. LXXXII, pp. 66-7.

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"I am not afraid of the atom bomb," he remarked. While they could cause physical injury, they could not kill their soul. Once they had the determination that they could not be conquered by violence, victory was theirs; for a moral protest against evil was itself a victory.

Finally Gandhiji exhorted the students to think on the various problems; for students who could not think for themselves could not learn anything.

The Hindu, 1-2-1946

55. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 30, 1946

Taking for his theme the text of the *bhajan* song—"With the grace of the Lord, everything can be achieved"—Gandhiji said, the persistence of the noise from one section of the crowd was such that it seemed that only God's grace could bring about perfect silence in that gathering. For his part, he thought, it would be impossible for him also to speak when so many were "making speeches" at the other end of the gathering. Were a similar meeting held under the auspices of the Government, there would surely be silence enforced with a lathi. But here there was only the appeal of the volunteers, which they in their sense of freedom did not care to obey. He knew they did so because of their love for him, and in their desire to see him closer. They would not be denied. But they should learn to discipline themselves in such matters and even to deny themselves what they wanted, if it was harmful to discipline and general good. How could they do it unless they became filled with Rama for, as the *bhajan* song went, when they became saturated with Rama all else would be eliminated.

In Madras, he knew, thousands were addicted to liquor. The consequent evil was enough to break one's heart. When the Congress was running the Ministry, drink was abolished in different areas. Liquor revenue fell, but the people were happy and their wives and children had a square meal and a happy home. Had the reform come from within and not as a result of something from without, then it would have been far more good. When could such a phenomenon happen? Only when people were saturated with Rama and *Gurukripa*—God's grace—as the song went.

Should a rich man offer them gold or silver from his safe room, people would crowd to his gates. But of what use would gold and silver be to a man, really? *Gurukripa* was the greatest and most valuable help one could have. God is known by different names but God is One. When His grace filled one's being, nothing was impossible for one to achieve.

The Hindu, 1-2-1946

56. SPEECH TO CONGRESS WORKERS, MADRAS[1]

January 30, 1946

Gandhiji asked, how many of them could follow his speech. About fifty people raised their hands. Noticing that Mr. Kamaraj[2] was not among the number, Gandhiji laughingly remarked: "You too?" Gandhiji said that he had hoped that Congress workers at least would all have learnt Hindustani by now, but he was disappointed. The Congress resolution about lingua franca and conducting all business in Hindustani should, he took it, be binding on them all. It was a misfortune, indeed, that after so many years of emphasis on the importance of Hindustani, Congressmen were yet unacquainted with the language. He knew the hold of English on the people of this country. He had seen sign-boards before business premises showing Indian names in Roman characters. That indicated the extent of the slavery of the people of this country to the foreign language.

Gandhiji paid a tribute to the late Mr. S. Satyamurti, and said:

He was a fine man, but I used to quarrel with him, asking him whether he would speak in English in Northern India.

Pointing to the writing on the mike before him (giving the name of the radio company concerned in Roman script) Gandhiji said that provided another illustration of his statement. But how did English or other Western people and firms go about the work? They tried to reach the people by boosting their own ware in the language of the people.

It was the duty of the people to throw off this slavery to a foreign language. A common language spoken by the bulk of the people of the country could alone be the medium linking all parts of India, and such a

[1] The report said: "Gandhiji addressed about 1,500 Congress workers for about half an hour from 7.30 p.m. in the Constructive Workers' Conference pandal. On his arrival, he was greeted with deafening cheers. An illuminated charkha electrically operated was revolving at one end of the hall and Gandhiji watched its movement with interest for some time."

[2] Kumaraswami Kamaraja Nadar (1903-76); active Congress worker from boyhood; in 1930, joined Salt Satyagraha Movement at Vedaranyam, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; was Member, Tamil Nadu State Legislative Assembly for several terms, and its Chief Minister, 1954-67; Member, Congress Working Committee, 1947-69; elected President, Indian National Congress, 1963; evolved 'Kamaraj Plan' to dispel lure for power from the minds of leading Congressmen, and to persuade them to prefer organizational activities to ministerial posts

language was Hindustani. Local provincial affairs should be transacted in the local provincial language; for all-India purposes and inter-provincial communication Hindustani should be the medium.

Gandhiji then invited those present to ask him questions. If they had no questions to ask, he would like to talk to them about the charkha for some time.

The first questioner, speaking in English, requested Gandhiji to tell them something about the future.

GANDHIJI (humoursly): What is 'future'? Is it a horse? Say it in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Kannada. Only God can say what is in the future. I am an ordinary man. I have not read as much as some of you. If I wrote 'B.A.' behind my name, people will laugh at me. Much less can I write 'M. A.' I cannot call myself Barrister-at-Law either. I have been removed from the rolls by the Inns of Court because I went to jail.

The gentleman repeated his question in Tamil. Gandhiji, replying in Hindustani, told him that he could not foresee the future; the future rested with the Almighty.

QUESTION: What is the easy method of learning Hindustani?

GANDHIJI : Devote to it one-sixteenth of the time you have spent in learning English. That is, if you have spent sixteen years learning English, spend one year for Hindustani. . . .[1]

Tell me beforehand when you want to take my picture. Then I will close my eyes so that they may not become blind (laughter).

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he could not tell them anything about the future. They might ask him about the present, if they chose, since talking about the past was not much good.[2]

Gandhiji said that he would answer such questions[3], as he could, within the few minutes still available to him. Referring to the complaint of the Harijan sweeper, Gandhiji said that it was a matter over which they should ponder deeply. If it was true, it was a matter very much to be regretted.

[1] At this stage, a cameraman took a flashlight snap. Gandhiji turned towards him as if to say something but stopped without saying anything. Just then another cameraman flashed a shot, and Gandhiji burst into laughter.

[2] Here the report added : "One of those in the audience, speaking first in English and then in Telugu, said that he was a Harijan employed as a sweeper in the Khadi Nilayam, George Town, and complained that those in charge of the Nilayam treated him as worse than a dog and refused to allow him to approach them."

[3] Gandhiji received three slips.

He wanted that all Congressmen should place God in their hearts and act as their conscience dictated. Then everything would go all right. If they should observe distinctions such as Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, untouchable and so on, the nation would go to ruin.

Answering another question, Gandhiji said that it was part of the law of his life that he should pray to God, be it Krishna, Rama, Allah or Christ. They were all one to him. All religions to him appeared to be like branches of one and the same tree. In his view, there was no conflict between different religions. He did not pray in the manner he did with any ulterior motive of preaching Hinduism or any particular religion. He merely prayed to God. If people misunderstood that, he was not to blame. People were welcome to join him in the prayer, if it pleased them; otherwise they might keep away and leave him alone.

Another member asked a question in regard to the elections to the legislatures, Congress committees and Congress executive bodies. Gandhiji said:

How can I answer this question? I am not even a four-anna Congressman. Much less can I give you advice in such matters. The advice I may give you, you may not find of much use. These are questions which you should ask of the President[1] of the Congress, who is a great and good man. You should ask these questions of a man like Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel or other members of the Working Committee. And, whatever Congress decides, it is open to you to abide by it.

It is true, Gandhiji added, that he had been connected with the Congress for many years and had also fought the Government on behalf of the Congress. To some extent he had also been responsible for shaping its Constitution. But his advice was given to the Congress Working Committee, if and when it sought his advice. So far as they were concerned, such questions should be put to the Working Committee or the Congress President. His own particular department was constructive work. They were welcome to ask him questions on that subject.

Gandhiji stated that he met them because, having come all the way to Madras, he did not want to omit meeting Congress workers. But he did not want to enter into complicated political matters which were not within his province.

One member observed that constructive work was also related to politics. Gandhiji agreed that it was in a way related to politics, but to him it was pure constructive work.

[1] Abul Kalam Azad

One gentleman asked whether the spread of Hindustani would not prejudicially affect the local languages.[1]

QUESTION: What place should the Congress assign to people who had carried on black-marketing activities during the last War and what punishment should be given to them?

Gandhiji said that if he was a Congressman, he would say, they should be horse-whipped non-violently. But as a man of out-and-out non-violence, he preferred to keep mum. Gandhiji added that he had exceeded the time which had been allotted for the function, and he asked leave of them to go.

One member asked him a question as to whether the rulers should not learn the language of the people rather than the people learn the language of the rulers. Gandhiji said that this was the proper thing to do. The rulers should learn the language of the people. But as it was, the people had allowed themselves to be suppressed and their language to be dominated by the language of the ruler.

The Hindu, 31-1-1946

57. TALK WITH V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[2]

MADRAS,
January 30, 1946

SASTRI: You have been a blessing to me in a hundred ways.

GANDHIJI: What nonsense, Sastri.

S. Ah, don't I know, Gandhi, you are the greatest fellow alive in the world today? Let your *kataksha* fall on them.[3]

He who does not see Rama and whom Rama does not see is despised by everyone in this world.[4]

Then Sastriar told Gandhiji how, on the previous day after his mid-day meal, he had dozed off and as if in a trance written a most beautiful essay

[1] Here, according to the report, C. Rajagopalachari remarked that it was like asking about the relationship of Rama and Sita after listening to the entire *Ramayana*.

[2] Extracted from "Meeting Sastriar" by Sushila Nayyar, who explains: "Dr. Srinivasan, an Honorary Physician of the General Hospital, Madras, who was in charge of Sastriar's case came to Gandhiji's residence and escorted him to the hospital as on the previous occasion"; *vide* pp. 15-6. C. Rajagopalachari, Thakkar Bapa, Amrit Kaur, Agatha Harrison, T. N. Jagadisan, Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar accompanied Gandhiji.

[3] Sastriar was introducing his grandchildren to Gandhiji "and in good humour" quoted the *Ramayana*, Ayodhya Kanda. 8

[4] यश्च रामं न पश्येत्तु यं च रामो न पश्यति ।
निन्दितः स भवेल्लोके स्वात्माप्येनं विगर्हते ॥

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on the *Ramayana* in about 15 minutes. The theme was that after Ravana's death, Hanuman goes to Sita in Ashoka Vatika and asks her:

> Mother, give me your permission and I shall severely punish all the *rakshasis* who have been torturing you.

The Divine Lady turns round and replies:

> No, what wrong have these poor things done? They are merely slaves of their master, and they did his bidding for the sake of their livelihood. Leave them alone. It is forgiveness that makes life worth living. Forgiveness is divine. It is the noblest of virtues, so I pardon them. There is no one who is wholly free of error. And who does not need to be forgiven?[1]

S. As soon as I go home I shall dictate it to Jagadisan, if he can come to me and send it to you. Will you let Pyarelal read it out to you?

G. You dictate it to Jagadisan tomorrow and send it to me. I shall read it before I go to Madura.

S. No, it will take me at least two or three days. I have to do it in bits. Marvellous as my doctor is, he has not made me well enough to do it tomorrow.

Sastriar was full of the *Ramayana*. He regretted that the great epic was not read more generally and that its ideal did not animate the people as of old. [He added]

S. The *Ramayana* has no parallel. When Sita had repulsed the evil-intentioned Ravana with the *tejas* of her purity the *rakshasis* came to her and said:

> You do not know the world. Else you would not have refused what is being offered to you.

The Divine Lady's reply was:

> Your city is beautiful, the buildings are grand, and there is every mark of civilization, but are there not two or three people who feel the wrong and can say the truth to Ravana?

That is the duty we owe to friends and that we fail to discharge. I have done that for you once or twice and, as for you, you do it, and sometimes publicly, much to the consternation of everybody.[2] But it is the noblest office of friendship.

Tell me, Rajagopalachari, out of hundred people that go wrong, is not there one whom a timely warning could have saved? Please do not think

[1] Ibid.
समयो रक्षितव्यस्तु सन्तश्चारित्र भूषणाः
पापानां वाशुभानां वा वधार्हाणामथापि वा
कार्यं कारुण्यमार्गेण न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति

[2] The reference is to Gandhiji's attitude to World War; *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 203-6.

that I am preaching at the Mahatma. I am making a confession. I have also failed in that duty sometimes.

S. (turning to Bapu): You are a seeker after truth. You and I are poles asunder in many things. I have differed from you, and you have said so without reserve. But I am also a follower of truth, though at a great distance from you. The eternal truths propounded by Valmiki in the *Ramayana* have been the greatest source of inspiration to me. I feel, I have failed to do my duty by not giving to the people what I have found for myself in that great epic.

Gandhiji reminded him of the lectures on the *Ramayana* that he had delivered, and suggested that they should be printed. But that was not enough for him.

S. If I live for some time more and good Jagadisan can spare time, I might still be able to make some atonement.

G. Jagadisan is your admirer and a devoted follower. He will be always at your disposal, unless, of course, the doctor thinks that you should not be disturbed. Then he will just not be at home.

S. (with a hearty laugh): So, like Rama, you teach falsehood. When Sumantra was driving Rama, Lakshmana and Sita to the jungle, Rama asked him to drive fast: "Man, why prolong the agony? Go fast and, if my father is angry, tell him you did not hear him."

S. (to the doctor[1]): Yes, you are right. A good conversationalist hears more than he talks. But they say 'once a schoolmaster, always a schoolmaster.' So I have gone on.

G. And we shall bear witness to that.

S. Well, this might be my last meeting with you. I am not in a position to say, 'I will come to see you when you return from Madura.' So I wanted to talk, and have talked. Now it is your turn.

G. Nonsense, this is not the last meeting. I will try to come and see you on my return from Madura.[2] And I have very little to say except this, that you must get well soon and return the visit at Sevagram.

S. You are the prince of optimists.

G. Oh yes, an irrepressible one!

Harijan, 28-4-1946

[1] Who was getting worried as the patient was talking too much and said something in Tamil

[2] *Vide* "Talk with V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", pp. 87-8. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri died on April 17, 1946.

58. LETTER TO HORACE ALEXANDER

MADRAS,
January 31, 1946

MY DEAR HORACE,

Welcome. You will meet me when and where you can. Agatha knows my movement.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G. N. 1441

59. SPEECH AT VOLUNTEERS' RALLY, MADRAS[1]

January 31, 1946

Gandhiji said that he was under the impression that the entire programme was over with the previous evening. But he was told in the night that there was this rally and that he must be present. He was glad he was able to attend the function and he was really pleased to meet them all.

Referring to the service rendered by the several departments in making the celebration a success, Gandhiji profoundly thanked them for their help and co-operation. Without the aid of volunteers, he could not believe that they could have got through such an important celebration. He considered volunteers as those sworn to non-violence, as against the police and the military who were pledged to violence and who dominated over the people. It was only with this impression that he had appealed as early as 1920 that they should organize volunteer corps all over the country so that service rendered sincerely and non-violently could get them freedom quickly.

They must learn thoroughly how to control large gatherings with tact, politeness and calmness, without distinction of rich and poor, civilized and uncivilized. He knew that people would keep order, if a policeman appeared on the scene because he posed himself as their master and paraded his lathi. But this was not what he wanted. They must make people understand by persuasion what they should do through truth and non-violence and show that these forces of law and order were only for serving the people. He had attended many parades and rallies in foreign countries where the

[1] Held in the morning

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police took an oath that they would serve the public. In London, which was considered to be very advanced in policing, policemen took an oath that they would render service to the people through their work. Why not the Commissioner of Police here take a similar oath ? If the servants of Hindustan understood this particular view-point, then freedom could easily be obtained.

Referring to the frequent noisy behaviour of the large concourse at prayer meetings in spite of the efforts of volunteers to keep silence, Mahatmaji said that the volunteers should bear in mind what he had said about their duties and make a practical demonstration that they were following them by keeping perfect order and silence in that evening's prayer meeting.

The Hindu, 1-2-1946

60. SPEECH TO MEMBERS OF MESS COMMITTEE, MADRAS[1]

January 31, 1946

Addressing the gathering, Gandhiji said that the Mess Committee had fed about 50,000 people, and he heartily thanked them for it. Proper feeding had kept people in good spirits to get through the important business at the conferences and meetings. They had done this job well and taken away a heavy burden off the shoulders of the Reception Committee. What he was particularly pleased with here was that the entire show was conducted in clean surroundings. He had toured all over the country, and he felt that they had really set an example to others in cleanliness. What should be observed on these occasions by cooks was cleanliness in body and mind. By cleanliness he did not mean that their clothes should be nicely ironed. It was enough if their simple clothes were free from dirt.

Gandhiji said that he had no time to auction the articles individually nor had he the required energy for it. He suggested that the entire lot might be purchased by a group of persons for a lakh of rupees, out of which Rs. 10,000 would go to the Harijan Fund and the balance to the Hindi Prachar Sabha. After all, they should realize that a bulk of it would be given to the Sabha as they had not reached their target.

[1] The report said: "Articles collected for presentation to Gandhiji were exhibited. . . . Referring to three walking-sticks presented, Gandhiji remarked: 'I have become old and these sticks are to aid me during walks. But I would rather like to give them away in auction.' A printed list of the articles presented was then handed to Gandhiji. It was in English. Gandhiji remarked humorously: 'I think this is in English to avoid the Tamil-Telugu controversy (laughter). But I do not approve of this. You must print it in Hindustani.' "

Closely following this appeal, Gandhiji, like a true Bania, began to canvass support for his suggestion. He singled out of the several articles a silver *vigraha*[1] of Gajalakshmi and said that that had been presented by a lady who stated that it was done as Gandhiji was a worshipper of God. But the pity was that he was a worshipper of *Avinashi* and *Avyakta* (Eternal and Unseen) God. Therefore, he said, he was not keeping it with him and wanted to part with it.

Taking out a silver idol of Muralidhara from the collection, Mahatmaji said that this was presented because he was a Krishna *bhakta*. But his Krishna was He 'Who sees me but Whom I do not see'.[2]

The Hindu, 1-2-1946

61. *SPEECH TO ANDHRA WORKERS OF KASTURBA FUND, MADRAS*[3]

January 31, 1946

Gandhiji said that on his way to Madras he passed through Andhra Desha and had opportunities to learn about the work that was being done there. He had heard the report just presented and was also aware of the efforts made by Sambamurthi for the collection of funds. On an occasion like this, the memory of the late Dr. B. Subrahmanyam of the Sitanagaram Ashram occurred to him. He was a good worker in Andhra Desha.

All of them were aware of the part played by women in the cause of India's freedom. The work connected with the Kasturba Fund was a different one. Here they received training for working in and among the villagers. He was looking forward to the day when it would be possible to say that women were working in the villages in large numbers. They must remove illiteracy and also improve the condition of village women. Then only would they have real swaraj and the ability and strength to retain political freedom when it was won.

The Hindu, 2-2-1946

[1] An idol

[2] The report concluded: "After some consultation about Gandhiji's suggestion, the merchants promised to let Gandhiji know their view in the evening. Mahatmaji then returned to his bungalow."

[3] The workers met Gandhiji, in the afternoon, in Hindi Prachar Sabha premises.

62. SPEECH GIVING BLESSINGS TO ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA, MADRAS[1]

January 31, 1946

Gandhiji said that the proper way to perform the ceremony was for him to go to the site of the buildings and lay the stone himself. That was a task physically impossible for him to do. But the women connected with the Sabha had so much regard for him that they wanted him to at least touch the stone and give his blessings. He did so with great pleasure. The Sabha should become a training-ground for workers. Mahatmaji hoped that the institution would keep up that ideal, and wished it every success.

The Hindu, 2-2-1946

63. SPEECH AT WORKERS' RALLY, MADRAS[2]

January 31, 1946

Gandhiji said that he had been delayed by another engagement[3] and he was sorry for having come later than the scheduled time to the meeting.

The truest capital was, in his opinion, one's capacity for work. Money alone could never produce goods; only through labour could goods be created. Labourers then were possessed of real wealth, but they were not rich in worthy goods and had no property. He wanted that they should all become *maliks* (men of property), but not through any process of coercion. Property got through coercion would not remain with them; a stronger man might snatch it from them. If they were to become *maliks*, therefore, they should first learn to be non-violent, truthful and peaceful. He was a worker like them and he felt like a worker. He wanted to tell them of the joy of non-violence, truth and peacefulness. He was a servant of the poorest Harijan. He wanted them to bear in mind the example of the Ahmedabad Labour Union and take a leaf from its work. There was nothing extraordinary in a labourer becoming the President of the Congress. It was not necessary that one should know English to be the President. He said:

[1] The ceremony was held, in the afternoon, in Hindi Prachar Sabha premises; when, according to the report, "Gandhiji blessed three inscribed tablets which were to be laid for three new buildings of the Andhra Mahila Sabha under construction in Luz Church Road".

[2] Gandhiji addressed them in Hindustani.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

Maulana Azad, the present Congress President, does not speak in English with anybody, although he knows the language. When Maulana Azad goes to the Viceroy, he does not speak in English, but takes a translator with him, and he speaks through him. It is not as if he does not know English. He is a very learned man. He is so wise that there is hardly anybody who equals him. But he wants that he should speak in the language of the country.

The whole country, said Gandhiji, was one. The workers were all one entity. One of them could certainly become President of the Congress. The difference between the *mazdoor* and the *kisan* was that the *kisan* stayed to work on the land, while the *mazdoor* went wherever there was work. The workers were taken there by the proprietors. Mahatma Gandhi recalled that he had always said that the real proprietor was not the person who owned the mill, but the person who worked. He himself was speaking as a worker. He said :

I have given up my ownership of property some time back. The lakhs I have with me are not my money. It is intended for carrying out the work for which contributions have been given. If anybody gives money for the Harijans, it will be spent for the Harijans.

Ever since his return to India from South Africa he had been serving the workers. The Ahmedabad Workers' Union, which was started by himself, was a model for others. He did not suggest that even there the workers had become the owners. He felt that the workers would come to own the mills and factories in which they worked, if they became more disciplined and wiser.

Appealing to them to learn Hindustani, Gandhiji said that all India was one and they should learn the Hindustani language which would enable them to be one with the rest of India. Industrial workers and *kisans* were both badly off; they were suffering alike. If all of them pulled together and worked for their common good, he was sure they could achieve a great deal through non-violence and truth. He knew he was not understood by a good number of them, but he was thankful to them for the consideration they showed him and the perfect silence they were maintaining, though he spoke in a language which all of them did not understand. He wished he knew enough Tamil to address the gathering in that language.

In conclusion, he prayed for God's blessings for them and all their kith and kin.

The Hindu, 1-2-1946

64. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

January 31, 1946

Gandhiji asked to be pardoned for coming late to the meeting. He said that it was due entirely to the heavy programme that had been arranged.

Gandhiji then referred to the Workers' Convention[1] held that evening and complimented the workers on the *shanti* (silence) that prevailed at that meeting. That was not to be found here. That labourers who had not acquired education, and who did not understand Hindustani, had behaved so well was marvellous, he said.

"Were these workers responsible for not knowing Hindustani ?" asked Gandhiji. "No," was his answer. While the Hindi Prachar Sabha should share to some extent the responsibility for this, he felt that practically the entire responsibility for such state of affairs should be owned by the educated people of this country. The educated people had neglected the education of these poor labourers. If educated people took a decision to teach them Hindustani, he was sure that before he next visited Madras—he hoped that this would happen by God's will—all of them would have learnt the language.

Speaking on the import of the day's special song, Gandhiji said that right from his youth, he was impressed by it. Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa had told him a few days ago that his sister was conducting an institution here and that the girls of that school would like to learn and sing the song, *Vaishnava Jana To*[2]. The girls today had sung the song in the best possible manner. So impressed was he that its tune and sentiments were still ringing in his ears. While the girls who sang it did their best, he had to confess that it was not rendered in the way it ought to have been done. It should be sung with a full understanding of its meaning and import. The song was by Narasinha Mehta a *bhakta kavi*, and was intended entirely for the use of the villagers. It was in a tune which could be sung by the ordinary villagers and, being sweet, was full of meaning. The *bhakta*, a worshipper of Lord Vishnu, through this song was trying to take upon himself the miseries of others and felt a supreme pleasure in doing so. This was its secret.[3]

The Hindu, 2-2-1946

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 437.

[3] According to the source, at this stage "some persons, mostly ladies, began to leave, as it was getting late for them", and Gandhiji concluded the speech.

65. SPEECH AT FOUNDATION-STONE LAYING CEREMONY, MADRAS[1]

February 1, 1946

Gandhiji said that many of them might not perhaps be aware that the function he was taking part in that morning had been pending ever since he came out of the jail. After he was released, Mr. B. Jagannath Das and Mr. V. Bhashyam Iyengar approached him on the subject. Besides his (Gandhiji's) being able to be present and perform the function, there were certain other obstacles in the way which had to be got over. Certain negotiations had to be carried on with the Madras Corporation and certain difficulties to be overcome in that connection. After putting forth some efforts, everything was settled satisfactorily, and they were able to secure this land for the Harijan Industrial School. It was not as if they were able to secure the land free; but they were able to secure it at the minimum price. All of them were thankful to the Corporation of Madras for that.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said that at this juncture, it was up to them to think deeply over the work ahead. Dr. Alagappa Chettiar, the great philanthropist he was, had given them very great help. Gandhiji felt confident that Dr. Alagappa Chettiar considered his wealth as but a means of rendering service. But all the wealth Dr. Alagappa Chettiar possessed would not suffice for the cause of Harijan service. The Hindu community had committed a great sin by the Harijans by observing untouchability. It was the duty of every Hindu to rid himself of this sin. How else could he do the purificatory ceremony than by serving the Harijans?

There was another aspect to this harsh treatment of Harijans. All men were equals and by treating a fellowman as untouchable, a person degraded himself. The real untouchable was the person who treated a fellowman as untouchable. Such a treatment was not only a great wrong but also a great sin. Men fortunately placed in this world, who gave for the cause, were but discharging their duty by the less fortunate, because wealth after all was a thing held in trust by the rich on behalf of the poor. Gandhiji, from this point of view, regarded that there was no need for offering special thanks to Dr. Alagappa Chettiar. All the same, he was thankful to Dr. Alagappa Chettiar for the munificent offer of help and for showing the way as to how rich men ought to discharge their obligation

[1] At the newly acquired site for Harijan Industrial School; Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani.

towards their less fortunate brethren. On this occasion, Gandhiji emphasized, he desired to draw the attention of everyone to the urgent need for serving the cause of Harijans through a change of heart, for, he added, a change of heart was far more important than gifts of money or other similar help.

Referring to the desire expressed by Mr. Thakkar with regard to the future development of the institution, Gandhiji said that it was very good that they were making provision for training as many as 300 persons in the institution. Gandhiji desired that the course of training should be devised on proper lines so that the institution might become a model one, serving not only this Province but also enabling people from other parts of India to come here and receive training. He also hoped that the pupils trained in this institution would be among the best workers in the cause of Harijans.

Good work carried on sincerely and truthfully would never suffer for want of financial help. God in his mercy would somehow take care of all good causes. Had He not, on this occasion, sent them help through Dr. Alagappa Chettiar? Nothing would please him more than to see that his coming to Madras had been of some help to this institution.

Gandhiji next stressed the importance of imparting instruction and training in the school in the mother tongue. Hindustani should also be taught. He was glad to note that the entire proceedings of the meeting were conducted in Tamil, though it was unfortunate that the programme of the meeting should have been printed in English. How much better would it have been, if even the programme had been printed in Tamil or Hindustani? In this connection, Gandhiji referred to an incident of the previous day when he met some merchants for the purpose of raising funds for the Silver Jubilee Fund of the Hindi Prachar Sabha. Invitation to the merchants had been sent in English. He mentioned this in order to emphasize the need for getting rid of this slavery to English. Those in charge of teaching work in the Harijan Industrial School should not forget the mother tongue just as they ought not to forget their mother. He would, at the same time, appeal to them not to forget the motherland either. They should try to learn as many languages as possible; but they must all learn Hindustani which would help unify the whole of India.

Gandhiji next suggested that the new school should be named after Mr. A. V. Thakkar. He said that Thakkar Bapa had dedicated himself to the cause of Harijans and *Adivasis* to the exclusion of everything else. All the 24 hours of his day, he devoted to this work. It was, therefore, but fitting that the Harijan Industrial School should be named after such a good servant of the cause. They might call it the "Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya" or for brevity's sake, only "Bapa Vidyalaya", for who was a greater Bapa (father) of the Harijans than Thakkar Bapa?

In conclusion, Gandhiji wished the institution a great future and useful service to Harijans. He also hoped that the institution would help to bring

about a real change of heart among the people towards Harijans and enable them to live as equals with the rest of the society. Gandhiji further hoped that this Vidyalaya would maintain steady progress and that the pupils trained at this centre would, by their life and example, be real Harijans, sons of God, pledged to serve the country truthfully.

The Hindu, 2-2-1946

66. *TALK TO VILLAGERS, KODAMBAKKAM*[1]

February 1, 1946

Gandhiji expressed his pleasure at meeting them and told them that on the previous day, he had addressed[2] a gathering of workers like them. He would ask them one simple question to which they should answer without any fear by raising their hands. Gandhiji asked:

How many of you here are addicted to drink?

Finding that a good number in the crowd had lifted their hands, Gandhiji remarked that he did not understand what benefit they derived by drinking, which was a sinful act. They all earned their livelihood by labour, and they should not spend their hard-earned money in evil habits like drink and gambling. He would advise them to spend it wisely for their own good. Gandhiji then asked them to disperse peacefully and go home.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

[1] The report said: "Gandhiji visited the Harijan Industrial School in the afternoon and remained there for nearly an hour and a half. A large gathering of men and women were present on the occasion in the school premises under a pandal. While returning to his seat in the pandal, Gandhiji noticed a crowd of villagers outside the western gate clamouring to see him. At once he proceeded to the spot and after asking them to keep silent, addressed a few words in Hindustani which were translated into Tamil by L. N. Gopalaswami."

[2] *Vide* pp. 68-9.

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67. SPEECH AT HARIJAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, KODAMBAKKAM[1]

February 1, 1946

Gandhiji recalled his visit to the School a few years ago[2], and expressed his pleasure to be present there again and see their work. He hoped that though there were practical difficulties, the trained boys would do their best to settle in the villages and see that the work they had learnt was also taught to the villagers. Urging the removal of untouchability completely, he said that the workers connected with Harijan uplift should banish from their minds any notion that the people for whom they worked were untouchables, and establish closer contact with them.

Referring to the School, Gandhiji said that at present there were 50 boys undergoing training. This was not enough. They should see that hundreds of boys were benefited by the school. The public on their part should extend financial help to such institutions freely and fully. Gandhiji also made a fervent appeal to Harijans and others to learn Hindustani along with the study of their mother tongue. He reminded them of the visit of Swami Vivekananda to Madras a few years back and the advice he had given them to study Sanskrit. Gandhiji hoped that some of the Harijans would aspire to become Sanskrit pundits.

The work which the Harijans were taught in the school, Gandhiji said, was not merely intended to eke out their livelihood; it should also enable them by their conduct to make the higher castes feel that they were equal to them in all respects, and not untouchables. If they went out doing good work, speaking good things and leading a good life, nobody would call them Harijans. Gandhiji hoped that God would guide them and the institution along the right path.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

[1] The report said: "An address of welcome was handed over to Gandhiji on behalf of several organizations working for Harijan welfare. Pupils of various institutions were asked to stand in their places, and were introduced to Gandhiji."

[2] On January 22, 1937; *vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 310-1.

68. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS

February 1, 1946

Gandhiji began his speech with a reference to the orderliness of the gathering, by pointing out that the noise that usually came from his left was absent that day, and that he had hoped to thank them for the calm and peaceful manner in which they had conducted themselves. But, he added, at the end of the prayer there was a slight disturbance in front of him. Gandhiji, however, appreciated the patience of the gathering and remarked that the prayer meetings appeared to have had some effect on them as they had learnt how to maintain silence and order.

This big maidan was really the best temple of God. They had the fine blue sky for their roof, under which there was no difference between the rich and the poor, the master and the servant, the millionaire and the worker, or the Hindu, the Muslim, the Christian and the Parsi. With sky as canopy and with mother earth, which could accommodate thousands of them, as floor, they had before them a temple of art, *kala mandir*, the like of which he had not seen in any part of the world. This was a special feature of India. He had travelled in Europe and had seen many places of worship. He had been to many mosques. He had also visited a number of temples. Before he took up the question of Harijans, he used to be taken to the temples. People believed that they would be rid of their sins by making offerings and worshipping at the temples. Though such a belief would have its own effect, Gandhiji felt that the acts of worshipping and making offerings by themselves would not make one pure. Purity was a matter of the heart, and it was this indestructible quality that they should aim at.

Gandhiji then went on to say that a person who worshipped in a Siva temple would not go to a Vishnu temple because he felt that his salvation could be secured only by worshipping Siva. This sort of bigotry was wrong. It was a mere illusion. It used to be said that once Tulsidas went to a Krishna temple and fervently wished to see there his Rama with his bow and arrows. It was also said that Tulsidas was able to see his Rama in the image of Krishna. This showed that faith and belief were matter of the heart and that one realized what one ardently desired and prayed for.

In this open-air temple, Gandhiji said, they had been assembling for the past few days. They had understood the need for orderliness, he was glad to note. But he also wanted that this orderliness and devotion should not be a mere outward show. There was no use if they appeared pious, but indulged in drink, gambling and deceit. The lessons of discipline and

orderliness which they learnt at these gatherings should not be forgotten. The peace and calmness that prevailed at the meeting was very dear to him. He was perfectly satisfied. This was probably the last meeting he would be addressing in Madras this time. But on his return from Madura, if he found time, he might address them once again in the same maidan.

Gandhiji said that he had a special attachment to South India, and whenever he came to the South, the people demonstrated their affection for him. Whatever work he had been able to do, and that too without rest, would not have been possible but for their affection and sincerity. He was old and weak and he also got easily tired. His mind was overworked, but with God's grace, which manifested through their affection for him, he had been able to do his work properly. Gandhiji said:

> After all what is my work? I have nothing to give you except my services. If you continue to show the same love to me, I am confident, God will give me strength to serve you further in the future. It is your devotion that enables you to sit calmly for such a long time. It is your calmness that gives me more and more strength.

Referring next to his visit[1] to the Harijan Industrial School at Kodambakkam, Gandhiji said that it was a small place where students were taught many useful handicrafts. One should not go away with the feeling that the institution after all helped only a few students. It was such kind of work that would go for the unification of India. In South India they spoke four languages. It could not be said that there was unity among them. That was a sad thing. It must be possible for him to hear that no feeling of difference existed between the four linguistic areas of South India or between South India and North India. Untouchability had not completely disappeared from their midst. All human beings are the children of God, and how could there be any difference amongst them? If educated people created a feeling of brotherhood among all communities and ceased to think that brain-worker was superior to a barber or an oil-monger or a Harijan and thereby helped their Harijan neighbour to feel that he was equal to them, the unity of India would be promoted and realized.

Referring to the theme of the song sung earlier, Gandhiji said that in order to realize Rama, the poet felt that he should become a saint. The poet said that one should give up outward show and keep one's heart pure so that Rama might come and reside within. That showed that God would make his abode in the hearts of only those who got rid of their sins and passions and became pure.

Concluding, Gandhiji wished the gathering happiness and the grace of God.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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69. "*HARIJAN*" REVIVED[1]

Why is *Harijan* revived? This question may have occurred to many as it has to me. I may tell the reader that no special effort was made for its revival[2]. An application for the removal of the ban was made on December 3, 1945, and the ban was removed on January 10, 1946. Many readers, including English and American, had all along felt a void, and they began to feel it more after the defeat of the Fascist Powers. The reason for the feeling was obvious. They wanted my reaction, in terms of truth and non-violence, to the various events happening in India, if not in the world. I wished to satisfy this desire.

There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith in truth and non-violence? Has not the atom bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this, I know that I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to the fact. What is more, that force resides in everybody, man, woman and child, irrespective of the colour of the skin. Only in many it lies dormant, but it is capable of being awakened by judicious training.

It is further to be observed that without the recognition of this truth and due effort to realize it, there is no escape from self-destruction. The remedy lies in every individual training himself for self-expression in every walk of life, irrespective of response by the neighbours. *Harijan* will attempt from week to week to stand up for this truth and illustrate it.[3]

ON WAY TO MADURA, February 2, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] After suspension in August 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI.

[3] *Vide* also "To the Reader", pp. 112-3.

70. SPEECH AT ACHARAPAKKAM STATION[1]

February 2, 1946

Gandhiji said that if the same *shanti* prevailed all along the route to the Sri Meenakshi Temple at Madura, he would be delighted. He said :

I have a pet idea, perhaps foolish, that I should always travel third, but I am actually travelling double first class. I have not the joy of having fellow-travellers in the train with me in the carriage. I know such travel is not for a pilgrim that I am now. I am a pilgrim today for an important reason. I have passed through Madura before but I have never turned to the Sri Meenakshi Temple because Harijans did not then have access to it. But God fulfills Himself in many ways. I am an opponent of untouchability and so is Rajaji. It was God's will that Government came into the hands of Congressmen for some time. Through your support Rajaji had the legislation made, and the Sri Meenakshi Temple is now open to all Hindus including Harijans.[2] I am no worshipper of idols. But I know the great place idol-worship has amongst Hindus. There is a place in every man's heart for such worship in that spirit. I go as a pilgrim to Madura. You are sitting here like true pilgrims and listening to me with prayerful hearts. I know, I carry your prayers with me.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

[1] The report said: "Leaving Kattupakkam at five in the morning, the special train halted . . . at Acharapakkam. . . . people . . . gathered in the station yard . . . maintained perfect silence as Gandhiji came out. . ."

[2] The temple was thrown open to Harijans on July 8, 1939.

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71. SPEECH AT ARIYALUR STATION[1]

February 2, 1946

You know I am on my way to Madura. I am a Harijan, and this pilgrimage of mine is a Harijan *yatra*. I want you to follow me to Madura in your thoughts and cast aside untouchability. You must also contribute to the Harijan Fund. But mere money contributions will not do. There must be a genuine change of heart. So long as there is no change of heart towards the Harijans on the part of the *savarnas*, we will not get freedom, and Hinduism will be ruined. I know, you do not want Hinduism to be ruined. So you must rid yourselves and Hinduism of the sin. Good-bye, good-bye.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

72. SPEECH AT LALGUDI STATION

February 2, 1946

Referring to his visit to Madura as a *teertha yatra*, Gandhiji, who spoke a few words to those gathered at Lalgudi Station, said that in olden days pilgrims from one end of the land to the other, sometimes, used to walk the whole distance. Since the Madura Temple was thrown open to Harijans, he had been longing to visit it and worship Sri Meenakshi. He was himself a Harijan who wanted to worship there. He wanted their blessings for the success of his pilgrimage.

The Hindu, 3-2-1946

[1] The report said: "Seven thousand men, women and children . . . sat in the sun patiently and . . . when the special drew up at 11.15 a. m., they lifted their folded hands in silent obeisance. Gandhiji was so impressed by the orderliness of the crowd that he called for *Ramdhun* in which the assemblage participated. . . ."

73. SPEECH AT GOLDEN ROCK[1]

[*February 2, 1946*][2]

The workers, Gandhiji said, were possessed of real wealth, for wealth really was not money but the capacity to produce goods. Money alone could produce no goods, only labour could. He wanted the workers to realize their strength and work for progress on the lines of truth, ahimsa and unity. He was confident that he carried with him their good wishes and sympathy in his pilgrimage to Madura. Addressing the women in the gathering, Gandhiji said that during the days of the Salt Satyagraha Campaign, women gave proof of their patriotism and showed themselves as not a whit behind men. They should represent in themselves the essence of truth and ahimsa.[3]

The Hindu, 4-2-1946

74. SPEECH AT MANAPPARAI[4]

February 2, 1946

Gandhiji said that he was very happy to see so many charkhas plying. He saw a similar demonstration in Bengal, but there it was mostly the men who were the spinners. The women who were spinning at the present gathering seemed to be poor people. Everyone must spin and wear khadi. The charkha should be in evidence everywhere. Gandhiji asked:

Have you all rid yourselves of the observance of untouchability?

If they had not already done so, they must at once, he added. Swaraj was close at hand, but they must realize that the charkha was the basis and the means of that swaraj.

The Hindu, 4-2-1946

[1] According to the report, "some ten thousand men and women mostly of the working classes sat in absolute silence and order."

[2] From *The Hindu*, 3-2-1946, which reported that Gandhiji's Special reached Trichinopoly at 1.30 p. m. on this date, "after reception at Srirangam and Golden Rock".

[3] *Vide* also "Some Labour Questions", pp. 100-3.

[4] According to the report, "entire maidan near Manapparai railway station was filled to capacity by . . . men and women, many of whom were spinning".

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75. SPEECH AT MADURAI[1]

February 2, 1946

I am sorry there is so much noise in this vast assembly. I came here wanting to tell you many things, but I am afraid, on account of the noise, I will not be able to say anything. People in front of the dais are very quiet and if others are not equally quiet, it will be difficult for me to stay on here. My health does not permit me to stay on here and stand noise. But when I see so many of you sitting so quiet in front, I still want to tell you how I appreciate the silence of this section of the gathering. It is a matter for regret that after so many years we have not yet learnt how to behave when we gather in such large numbers. Madura is a famous city. It is a holy city. You have opened the Temple here to Harijans. Since then I wanted to visit the shrine.

I know all this noise and commotion is explained by your love and affection for me. You are all eager to see me. But I tell you such intemperate and undisciplined affection is not love. You have only made it impossible for me to tell you what I wanted to. Prayer, to me, is no mere routine. It is dear to me and is part of my life.

His only request to them would be that when he went next morning to the Meenakshi Temple for worship, only those who had been invited should come there. Others should not go there or cause inconvenience to the invitees.[2]

The Hindu, 4-2-1946

[1] Then called Madura; the report said that "Gandhiji walked round on the dais, appealing for *shanti*, but in vain".

[2] The report concluded: "Gandhiji then appealed to the crowd to be orderly, and was preparing to leave for his temporary residence when the crowd made a rush forward. Seeing the utter indiscipline prevailing, he quietly stretched himself on the mattress and refused to budge until the crowd dispersed quietly. . . . The stalemate continued for over two hours. In the mean time the crowd, finding the hour getting late, began to melt away." *Vide* also "The Lesson of Madurai", pp. 92-3.

76. SPEECH AT ODDANCHATRAM

February 3, 1946

Gandhiji said that it was one of the very few perfect gatherings he had addressed since leaving Madras. Such discipline was good for them and would be invaluable for the country especially when swaraj came, as he was hoping it would, in a few months. He wanted them to remove untouchability from their midst and use local made khadi cloth. Gandhiji then bade good-bye, and the crowd silently joined hands in *pranam* to him.

The Hindu, 5-2-1946

77. SPEECH AT PALNI

February 3, 1946

Addressing the crowd in Hindustani, Gandhiji said, he had been ordered by his doctor that he should not go up the hill with its 640 steps.[1] His experience in Madura[2] showed how, out of love for him, the crowds could become uncontrollable. He would ask them not to follow him up the hill if he went.

He would much rather not ascend the hill than that they should be disappointed at not being able to accompany him. Obeisance offered with a pure heart, from whichever spot it might be, would receive God's blessings. When he saw the crowd's *shanti*, his own soul had *shanti*, too.

Urging them always to conduct themselves in a disciplined manner, Gandhiji said that through discipline alone could they retain swaraj and get the best service out of their own leaders. Speaking in the presence of Palaniandava[3], he would exhort them to cast off untouchability from their hearts. Removal of untouchability meant not merely willingness to suffer the touch of anyone, but readiness to treat the brother Hindu as an equal. No sense of inferiority or superiority should subsist between one section and another of the community or between Hindu, Muslim, Parsi or Christian.

Speaking of temple worship, Gandhiji said that worship of God's image would serve no good unless people cleaned their hearts of hardness against fellow-beings. God should be enshrined not in images, but in human hearts.

[1] He was, however, carried in a palanquin; *vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* p. 81.
[3] The presiding deity at Palni

He had just worshipped Sri Meenakshi at the Madura Temple because that Temple was now open to Harijans. While in the Temple he had realized a new spiritual significance. Worship in the temples must mean change of heart towards Harijans. Otherwise it was fruitless. Their silence and *shanti* made him feel confident that his pilgrimage had borne fruit.[1]

The Hindu, 5-2-1946

78. *ENTRY IN PALNI TEMPLE VISITORS' BOOK*[2]

February 3, 1946

I was happy to be here and be able today to have *darshan* in this Temple.

The Hindu, 5-2-1946

79. *ARE WE GOING DOWN?*

> Personal likes and dislikes, ambitions and jealousies should have no place in our organization. What, therefore, distresses me greatly is that dislike, hatred and vindictiveness in private life and even in public speeches are becoming common among Congressmen; and consequently indiscipline and hooliganism are increasing.

This extract is taken from a long letter from a friend. She even quotes instances and elaborates her thesis. But I have reproduced sufficient for my purpose. I whole-heartedly endorse every word of what she says. Though I do not read newspapers diligently, I feel that there is truth in her experience. Now that it seems that we are coming into our own, the evils complained of ought to go and calmness, rigid discipline, co-operation and goodwill must take the place of passion, indiscipline and jealousies, public and private. Or else swaraj machinery will crack and go to pieces and our future state may very well become worse than the present, bad and insufferable as it is. As I said in

[1] The report concluded: "Gandhiji then conducted his evening prayer at the meeting. It was a complete prayer with the usual recitals from the Upanishads, the *Gita* and the Koran followed by *Ramdhun*. He then left for the Hill Temple."

[2] The report said: "Sitting in a special palanquin, Gandhiji reached the Temple at 9 p. m. Some 200 worshippers who were present . . . sat down in perfect order and silence leaving . . . Gandhiji . . . to offer worship in comfort. . . ." *Vide* also pp. 84-6.

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Mahishadal,[1] the glow of swaraj in action must be felt by the illiterate millions of India. They must feel the vital difference between the present autocratic and ordinance regime and the orderly, democratic, non-violent regime under swaraj. I hug the hope that when real responsibility comes to the people and the dead weight of a foreign army of occupation is removed, we shall be natural, dignified and restrained. We are living just now in a state that is highly artificial and unnatural. The sooner we get out of it the better for us, the ruling power and the world. I can, therefore, only suggest to my friend and those who think like her, that they should rigidly carry out in practice what they think, even though they be a handful.

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS, February 4, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

80. ITS IMPLICATIONS

The vast meeting at Palni[2] under the shadow of the Temple was perfectly silent; there were no noises. I seized the occasion to give the audience the implications of removal of untouchability. It began with touch but it would be a wooden thing, if it merely ended there. A Brahmin may be a depraved man in spite of his learning. It would be preposterous to call him one. A Brahmin is he who knows Brahma. It is character, not occupation, that determines the man. The Bhangi is, or should be, on a par with the Brahmin in all social relations. There is no reason why he should not, other things being equal, occupy the chair which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad occupies with distinction. I would be happy to see the day when a Bhangi, working as such, is in the Presidential chair.

The ulcer of untouchability has gone so deep down that it seems to pervade our life. Hence the unreal differences; Brahmin and non-Brahmin, provinces and provinces, religion and religion. Why should there be all this poison smelling of untouchability? Why should we not all be children of one Indian family and, further, of one human family? Are we not like branches of the same tree?

When untouchability is rooted out, these distinctions will vanish and no one will consider himself superior to any other.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXII, pp. 303-4.

[2] *Vide* pp. 82-3

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Naturally exploitation too will cease and co-operation will be the order of the day.

Having dealt with untouchability, I turned to the pilgrimage. There was fear of my being unable to negotiate the flight of over six hundred steps on a chair, if crowds of people insisted on accompanying me up the hill which was too small to accommodate them. I would be satisfied with doing *darshan* at the foot of the hill. Let not the people, however, think that I was guided by any belief in the potency of images of clay or precious metal. Idols became what the devotees made of or imputed to them. For me they had no potency whilst Harijans were prohibited from entering temples. I had passed by the famous Meenakshi Temple in Madura more than once before and never cared to go inside it whilst the prohibition against the Harijans lasted. How could I, who claim to be a Bhangi, care to enter such temples? Then I was sure that the God of India was God living in the plains where the millions lived. How many could reach the Himalayas ? Many more have gone and more could certainly go to Palni, but the crores could not. I would be, as I am, one of them.

I was sure, too, that my prayer at the foot of the hill would be heard more than that of some devotees in the Temple itself. God knew and cared for the hearts of men. Outward appearance was nothing to Him, if it was not an expression of the inner. It was enough for me that the Harijans were as free as any other Hindu to enter the Palni Temple for the purpose of worship.

Nevertheless the millions who were assured that I would have *darshan* of the image itself would not understand this message and might feel that some calamity would descend upon the country, if I could not go up the hill. Their silence at the meeting encouraged the hope that I might be able to go through the advertised programme.

The speech was delivered at nearly 6 p. m. But at 8 p. m. I found that I was able to negotiate the hill and, though there was a large crowd at the entrance, none insisted on joining while Rajaji and I were being taken up the hill in chairs. Thus happily did the pilgrimage came to a successful end.

One swallow does not make summer. No legitimate inference can be drawn from this incident. However I cannot help cherishing the fond hope that it augurs well for India under swaraj, home rule or independence, by whatever name one may choose to call the thing.

Perhaps this article is the proper place for recording my thanks to the South Indian Railway and the staff for their considering

no trouble too great for making the journey as little tiresome as it was possible for it to be under the circumstances.

ON THE TRAIN TO MADRAS FROM PALNI, February 4, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

81. SPEECH AT ULUNDURPET STATION

[*February 4, 1946*][1]

Gandhiji thanked the giver[2] but added that he was no longer able to digest groundnut and had, therefore, given it up. He said:

Day by day, I am growing older but I am at the same time desirous of living 125 years. Not that I want to live in pleasure, but I want to do more service. I want to serve you and your freedom's cause. True freedom is in developing freedom-consciousness. That cannot be developed in one year or two. Twenty-five years' work among 400 millions is but a drop in the ocean. My prayer to God is that He should spare me 125 years to tender more service. Harijan *seva* is an important item in that service. If you do not wash yourselves of the sin of observing untouchability, we cannot become free, nor can our religions survive long. From the time the Madura Temple was thrown open to the Harijans when Rajaji was Premier, I have thought of visiting it. Rajaji is a servant of you all. But even ten Rajajis could not have achieved such great work unless there was public support and public opinion behind it. I want you, therefore, to eliminate untouchability from your hearts.

The Hindu, 4-2-1946

82. SPEECH READ OUT AT PRAYER MEETING, MADRAS[3]

February 4, 1946

I am very glad that I have been able to make the two pilgrimages to Madura and Palni. The people of the Province behaved with great consideration to me all along the route. The vast

[1] On his return journey from Palni to Madras, Gandhiji reached Ulundurpet on this date.

[2] Gandhiji was given a bag full of groundnuts by one of the villagers.

[3] The report said that this "message in Hindustani written on an envelope" was read out by Kanu Gandhi as Gandhiji had not broken his silence.

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gathering kept sitting in their places, observing complete silence. The best exhibition of such silence and such discipline was at Palni. It was entirely on account of the discipline of the people there that it was possible to carry me up the hill in a chair.

You, people of Madras, have given me your company at prayers for the last ten days. May I expect that through you the people of this Province will imbibe the lesson of silence and orderliness? Swaraj is on the way—that is the belief of all. But swaraj will be incomplete without *shanti*. There cannot be *shanti* without the grace of God, and there cannot be grace of God without prayer, *prarthana*. That is why I ask you to cultivate the habit of prayer. Prayer should proceed from the heart.

The Hindu, 6-2-1946

83. TALK WITH V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

MADRAS,
February 4, 1946

In reply to Sastriar's enquiry about the tour, Gandhiji wrote that it had been very nice but very taxing. Sastriar was surprised to hear that five to six lakhs had gathered at the prayer meeting at Madura, more than half of which number had come from the surrounding villages. They had sat on the roadside without food and shelter just to have a *darshan* as they felt that this might be their last chance.

Gandhiji enquired about Sastriar's health and advised him to obey the doctor. Sastriar said, he felt almost normal. He was moved beyond words. He remarked:

Brother, you have done me an exceptional honour, especially by paying this visit when you were in a great hurry. You are dearer and nearer to me than my own brothers and sons and members of the family.

His voice had become almost inaudible:

We have come together by some inner affinity. No external reason can explain this friendship. Gokhale was but the occasion of it.

And he drew nearer to Gandhiji and whispered:

[1] Extracted from Sushila Nayyar's "Meeting Sastriar". Sushila Nayyar explains: "On his return from Madura, Gandhiji had only three hours at his disposal during which he . . . saw several people, collected funds for Harijans and Hindustani *prachar* and paid hurried visit to Sastriar, on his way to the Station. It was a Monday and Sastriar was disappointed to find that Gandhiji was observing silence....Sastriar talked and Gandhiji replied by writing on slips of paper."

I won't waste words. You know what I want to say.

Gandhiji waved to him to be quiet as he was becoming breathless with emotion and got up to say good-bye.

As Gandhiji got up, Sastriar caught sight of his dangling watch. He said:

Ah! your constant companion. Somebody said, you had lost your watch and would use it no longer.

Shri T. R. Venkatarama[1] corrected him by saying that the remark related to his fountain pen. Sastriar said:

Oh! I see. But if someone steals your watch, will you give up using a watch also?

Gandhiji laughed and shook his head to say that he could not do without his watch.

Harijan, 28-4-1946

84. CURIOUS

On my return journey from Palni, someone gave me at one of the halts a letter reviling Shri Rajaji and Shri Gopalaswami[2], and informing me that they would not allow anyone against them to come near me. Now I know to the contrary. No one who wanted to say anything worth-while could be prevented from seeing me or writing to me. The delivery of the very letter disproves the allegation. Shri Kamaraja Nadar was with me on the same special. He was with me in the Temple on the Palni Hill. But there is no doubt that both Rajaji and Gopalaswami were closest to me during the journey. They had arranged it. Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for. That, in 1942, he differed[3] from me, I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was, therefore, pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji. I am neither vain nor foolish enough to feel that I could

[1] T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, one of the students of Srinivasa Sastri, who later became his intimate friend

[2] N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Chairman, Jubilee Celebration Committee of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras

[3] On the issue of demand for Pakistan, Rajagopalachari resigned from the Congress Party on July 15, 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 275.

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have had the huge public demonstrations all along the route of the pilgrimage, if he had no influence with the masses in Tamil Nadu. Congressmen in the South will act as they think best. But I would be less than loyal to the organization, if I did not warn them against losing the valuable services which no one can shoulder as Rajaji can at the present moment.[1]

En route TO WARDHA, February 5, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

85. SPEECH AT VIJAYAWADA[2]

February 5, 1946

Addressing the audience in Hindustani, Mahatma Gandhi first referred to a letter[3], handed over to him by Mr. A. Subrahmanyam, a local Congressman, saying that there was a feeling among the Andhras that he (Gandhiji) had come to Madras to set up Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as the Premier. He said that he was very sorry that there was such a misunderstanding even among Congressmen about the purpose of his trip to Madras. Even the Telugu papers, he added, were writing that he had come to set up C. R. as Premier, and that he had made his journey specially for Mr. Rajagopalachari's sake. In fact he had not even dreamt of this. Ever since his release from jail he had been thinking of visiting Madras for Hindustani propaganda. He made it clear that he had gone there as the President of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha *Rajat Jayanti* (Silver Jubilee) celebrations and not in any other capacity or for any other purpose. He was asked to speak about Mr. C. Rajagopalachari but he refused to do so. He did not answer any letter received by him in this connection. This was because he was not even a four-anna member of the Congress.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was his old friend, and he had great respect for his conduct and convictions. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was quite competent to wield the reins of Premiership. If it was necessary that he should ask Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to take up the Premiership, he would do it, but to make him the Premier or to become Premier himself was not in his hands. It was the business of the Provincial Congress Committee and the All-India Congress Committee, which were the only bodies competent to do the job.

He was not interested in the elections and the Parliamentary programme. Until today he had not done anything secretly nor did he intend to do so in the future. He came to know of their misunderstanding only after his arrival

[1] Gandhiji continued the article after he left Vijayawada; *vide* pp. 90-1.
[2] Then called 'Bezwada'
[3] For a gist, *vide* the following item.

in Bezwada. He had no occasion to think of it before. If it was his intention to interest himself in setting up Mr. C. Rajagopalachari for the post of Premiership, he need not have come all the way to Madras but could have done it from where he was. Therefore he wanted to keep silent over this matter and did not want to interfere.[1]

He wanted them not to forget what he had said about Hindustani propaganda. Although the Hindustani Pracharak Sangh had been functioning in Andhra Desha for the last many years, he was really sorry to find that a vast number of them did not know Hindustani. Today he had blessed[2] the foundation-stone of the Hindustani Bhavan to be constructed in Bezwada. He hoped that very soon all of them would take advantage of it and learn Hindustani. He would only be satisfied when he heard that there was no one who did not understand Hindustani. By this he did not mean they should neglect their mother tongue, Telugu. But Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, etc., could never become the all-India language and, therefore, people of all languages should learn Hindustani.

Gandhiji also referred to the controversy whether Hindi or English should be the common language in India. All Indian languages were being eclipsed by the popular use of English. It was just for this reason that he was strongly emphasizing the need for Hindustani propaganda.

In conclusion, he appealed to them not to waste their time with Tamil-Telugu or Canarese-Malayalam differences and said, "God bless you all."

The Hindu, 6-2-1946

86. CURIOUS [CONTINUED]

The foregoing[3] was written before Bezwada was reached at 5.30 in the morning. At Bezwada a note in Hindustani from Shri A. Subrahmanyam was delivered, the gist of which is given below:

> There is a belief spread in Andhra Desha that you have come to Madras with a view to make Rajaji Premier. Several Congressmen have been carrying on such propaganda. Taking up the theme, some Telugu newspapers have been writing even against Hindustani. Please give your opinion on this.

I felt bound, therefore, to give my reply. I said[4] that my journey was purely for the purpose of celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, now Hindustani

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[2] Soon after his arrival there in the morning
[3] *Vide* "Curious", pp. 88-9.
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

Prachar Sabha, and incidentally for Madura and Palni Temples. The visit was conceived soon after my premature discharge and before the Congress resumption of parliamentary work was even conceived. My visit has nothing to do with Rajaji being the Premier. My life had no secrecy about it. If I wanted to give an opinion, I was in the habit of giving it openly. But I had rejected the advances of friends to guide them, for I was not interested in elections and offices. But since I was challenged, I had no hesitation in saying that Rajaji was by far the best man for the purpose in the Southern Presidency and, if I had the disposal in my hands, I would call Rajaji to office; if I did not give it to myself. But the disposal was with the Provincial Congress Committee and finally with the Working Committee. My opinion was only that of an individual, to be taken for what it was worth.

AFTER BEZWADA, *en route* TO WARDHA, February 5, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

87. HINDUSTANI

How can any Indian really be averse to Hindustani? Lovers of Sanskritized Hindi are, however, afraid that Hindustani will hurt Hindi and likewise lovers of Persianized Urdu fear hurt to Urdu. These fears are futile. No language can spread through mere propaganda. If it had been so, Esperanto would have found a place amongst the populace in the West. They failed because in such a matter the enthusiasm of only a few cannot succeed. The language of a people who produce hard workers, literary experts, business men and enterprising persons spreads and is enriched. It is ours to make the effort in that direction.

Only that language which the people of a country will themselves adopt can become national. However virile the English language may be, it can never become the language of the masses of India. If the British regime were to be permanent, it would continue to be the official language of their Indian officials and, because education would be in their hands, provincial languages would suffer. The late Lokamanya[1] once said that the British had done a service to the provincial languages. This is true to some extent. But it was not their business to encourage them nor could they in reality do so. That work belongs to the people and their

[1] Bal Gangadhar Tilak

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leaders. If the English-educated neglect, as they have done and even now continue, as some do, to be ignorant of their mother tongue, linguistic starvation will abide.

We are today certain that the British Raj cannot remain for ever. They say, and we believe, that it will go even this year. Then there can be no national language for us other than Hindustani. Today there are two forms of this language, Hindi and Urdu, the former written in Nagari and the latter in Urdu script. One is fed by Sanskrit, the other by Persian and Arabic. Today, therefore, both must remain. But Hindustani will be a mixture of these. What shape it will take in the future none can say nor need we know. Twenty-three crores out of thirty speak Hindustani. This number must have increased *pari passu* with the population. Obviously in this lies the national language.

There ought to be no quarrel between the two sisters Hindi and Urdu. The rivalry is with English. This struggle itself means much labour. The rise of Hindustani will also give an impetus to the provincial languages because it is the language of the masses, not of a handful of officials.

It was for the propaganda of the national language that I went recently to the South. The name Hindi used there up till now has been changed to Hindustani. During the last few months several persons have been learning both the scripts and have obtained certificates. In the South, too, the difficulty is not about the two scripts but in regard to English. We may not blame the official world for this. The fault lies in us. It is we who are infatuated with English. I found this disease even in Hindustani Nagar. But I hope that the illusion will now disappear. A good deal has been done in the South but much still remains, if we have to reach the desired goal.

February 5, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

88. THE LESSON OF MADURAI

The crowd in Madura[1] could not have been less than five lacs and may have been even six. Human faces were to be seen as far as the horizon. It was a veritable sea of human faces. The long route to the race course was lined by people who were all to swell the crowd in the prayer ground. They must push on

[1] *Vide* p. 81.

as much as they could. I doubt if the people on the fringe could even see me, much less hear me or anyone else, even though loud-speaker arrangements were good and the rostrum high enough. The volunteers were not used to manage such vast crowds. People had come from distant villages where the Congressmen had not worked habitually, if at all. Such being the case, the din and noise and jostle were unavoidable. And then the crowd had to deal with a satyagrahi in me. But my satyagraha for the first time failed. The people's was bound to fail. They showed the greatest forbearance whilst I was passive. The vast multitude in front of me and on either side sat noiseless and motionless, in spite of the pressure from behind. But the jostling and noise from behind the rostrum continued unabated. I, therefore, cleared the dais and asked the women members of my party to go. Only Rajaji, Kanu Gandhi and Ramakrishna Bajaj remained. The latter said, the way was clear; but, as I appeared, the people became restive. I addressed the people in front and at the sides and pleaded with them to go away as I did not propose to speak. They remained silent but would not leave. So I thought I would rest where I was for the night till the crowd had either dispersed or made a way for me. Kanu Gandhi, the tempter, came again and said, the people would make a passage and let me go. The car would wait for me at a distance from the crowd. In a weak moment I yielded. I went down the few steps of the improvised strong ladder only to meet the same pressing and noisy crowd as before, though considerably thinned. It was not a safe passage through a noiseless, disciplined crowd for which I was pleading and waiting. It was neither a mischievous crowd. Making noise and pressing forward towards the idol was the only way of expressing their love towards it. Here was a living idol made of the same clay as they. And this idol could not and would not appreciate their demonstration. But I proved an impatient and inefficient teacher. Had I waited, I believe, this particular crowd would have learnt the value of silence and, knowing love, probably of discipline requisite for swaraj. I shall know much better next time, if such ever comes. Anyway it is legitimate to ask whether the exemplary behaviour at Palni was a result of the imperfect lesson of the previous night at Madura. In any case, no blame attaches to anybody in the drama and nobody has any cause for shame.

En route TO WARDHA, February 5, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

89. *NATURE CURE CLINIC*[1]

Readers are aware[2] that I have become co-trustee with Shree Jehangir Patel and with Dr. Dinshaw Mehta in his clinic at Poona. A condition of the trust is that from January 1 this year the clinic should become a clinic for the poor instead of for the rich. The conception was mine but owing to my absence on tour the condition has not been wholly fulfilled. I am hoping to go to Poona this month, however, and trust I shall be able to do some work in this connection. My fervent hope is that rich patients will, if they came, pay to their fullest capacity and yet live in the same wards as the poor. I believe that by doing so they will derive more benefit from henceforth. Those unwilling to abide by this condition need not trouble to go to the clinic. This rule is necessary.

In addition to treatment for their ailments, poor patients will also be taught how to live healthy lives. It is a common belief today that nature cure is expensive, more so than Ayurvedic or allopathic. If this is proved to be true, I shall have to admit failure. But I believe that the opposite is true, and my experience also bears out the belief. It is the duty of a nature cure doctor not only to look after the body but also pay attention to and prescribe for the soul of a patient. The best prescription for the soul is, of course, Ramanama (God's name). I cannot today go into the meaning of and method of applying Ramanama. I will only say that the poor do not stand in need of much medicine. They die uncared for as it is. Their ignorance makes them blind to what nature teaches us. If the Poona experiment succeeds, Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's dream of a nature cure university will come true.

Help of India's true nature cure doctors is needed in this great work for the country. There can be no question of making money in it. The need is for those who are filled with the spirit of service to the poor and only with a sufficient number of such doctors can the work progress. The mere title of a doctor is no criterion; a real doctor is he who is a true servant. Those who have

[1] This appeared under "Notes", as "translated from Hindustani" in *Harijan Sevak* published simultaneously with the source.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXII, pp. 101-2.

experience and knowledge and are anxious to serve may write with a list of their qualifications. No replies will be given to those whose qualifications are not up to the standard.

Readers will please note that work has increased with the revival of *Harijan*. There will, therefore, be very little scope for replying to individual letters.

ON TRAIN TO WARDHA, February 5, 1946

Harijan, 10-2-1946

90. THE LURE OF LEGISLATURES[1]

I believe that some Congressmen ought to seek election in the legislatures or other elected bodies. In the past I did not hold this view.[2] I had hoped that the boycott of legislatures would be complete. That was not to be. Moreover times have changed. Swaraj seems to be near. Under the circumstances it is necessary that Congress should contest every seat in the legislatures. The attraction should never be the honour that a seat in a legislature is said to give. The desire and opportunity for service can be the only incentive for a Congressman. Congress should have, and has, such prestige that a Congress candidate is irresistible even where a particular seat is contested. Moreover those that are not selected by the Board should not feel hurt. On the contrary, they should feel happy that they are left there to render more useful service. But the painful fact is that those who are not selected by the Board do feel hurt.

The Congress should not have to spend money on the elections. Nominees of a popular organization should be elected without any effort in the latter's part. Conveyance arrangements for the poor voters should be made by their well-to-do neighbours. For instance, if the voters from X have to go to Y, the railway fare from X to Y for the poor voters should be paid by the well-to-do people of X. That is the distinguishing feature of a well-organized, non-violent, popular organization. An organization which looks to money for everything can never serve the masses. If money could bring success in a popular contest, the British Government which can, and does, spend most lavishly should be the most popular body in India. The facts are that even Government

[1] This appeared as "translated from the Gujarati" in *Harijanbandhu* published simultaneously with the source.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 8-12.

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servants drawing fat salaries do not, in their heart of hearts, want the British Government.

Let us examine the utility value of legislatures. The legislatures can expose the Government, but that is the least service. He who can tell the people why they become victims of the Government in spite of knowing its faults, and can teach them how to stand up against Government wrongs renders a real service. The members cannot do this essential service, for their business is to make people look to them for the redress of wrongs.[1]

The other use of legislatures is to prevent undesirable legislation and bring in laws which are useful for the public, so that as much help as possible can be given to the constructive programme.

Legislatures are supposed to carry out the popular will. For the moment eloquence may be of some use in these bodies. Ultimately that will not be the need. Experts with practical knowledge and those who can give to these few their support will be required. In an organization which exists for the sake of service and which has boycotted titles and other such paltry things, the sentiment, that to be selected as candidates for the legislatures is a mark of honour, is harmful. If such a sentiment takes root, it will bring down the name of the Congress and finally prove its ruin.

If Congressmen are to be reduced to such degradation, who will put flesh and blood into India's millions of skeletons? On whom will India and the world rely?

ON WAY TO SEVAGRAM, February 5, 1946

Harijan, 17-2-1946

91. MESSAGE TO ANDHRA DESHA[2]

February 5, 1946

I expect much from Andhra Desha, and I hope the Andhras will fulfil my expectations. This is my wish: Remove untouchability altogether, throw open the doors of all temples for Harijans, strive for communal unity, wear khadi and work for its spread; learn your mother tongue and learn Hindustani as well both in Urdu and Devanagari scripts.

The Hindu, 7-2-1946

[1] Instead of this sentence, *Harijanbandhu* has: "Councils are, have been and will be, an obstruction in this work."

[2] According to the report, this was sent through Unnava Rajagopalakrishnayya, Secretary, Andhra Hindi Prachara Sangham, Bezwada, who accompanied Gandhiji from Bezwada to Kazipet.

92. SPEECH AT BALHARSHAH STATION

February 5, 1946

If people do not keep discipline, then swaraj, which is near at hand and which they are sure to get, would be swaraj only in name and will not be of any use. The British will quit India. They have to quit. Therefore you will have to change your hearts and be worthy of swaraj.

Concluding, Gandhiji urged the people to give up corrupt practices like black-marketing, etc.

The Hindu, 8-2-1946

93. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, WARDHA

February 6, 1946

I had proposed to come here on the ninth instant, but I came earlier. On the 19th evening, I am leaving for Poona for staying in the Nature Cure Clinic. After staying about ten days there, I desire to be in Bardoli Ashram on March 2 or latest on March 3, for observing Ba's death anniversary on Shivaratri Day. It may be that on February 22 the anniversary may also be observed according to the Gregorian calendar. After about a month's stay there, I will be in Poona.

The Hindu, 8-2-1946

94. STATEMENT TO THE UNITED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

February 7, 1946

I never made such an admission. What I did say, and what I believe, is that the Bengal famine of 1943, which is claimed in certain quarters to be man-made, was certainly due to hopeless

[1] The report said that this was in reply to a question put by an U. P. I. representative "whether Mahatma Gandhi had admitted to the Governor of Bengal that the Bengal famine of 1943 was not 'man-made' ".

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mismanagement passed current like other things under the military necessity. It was certainly not an act of God.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 9-2-1946

95. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

I thank you for yours of 30th ultimo received by me in Madras on the 4th instant about the proposed Medical Mission to Burma and Malaya.[2]

The attitude of the Government of Burma is somewhat strange. I had the pleasure of meeting H. E. the Governor of Burma last June in Simla. I should have thought that they would welcome any medical assistance especially when it is under the very able guidance of one of the most celebrated physicians of India, who is well-known not only for his exceptional medical talent but for his equally great organizing ability.

I am glad that the part of the offer that relates to Malaya has been accepted, for which I am thankful to His Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. E. B. ABELL, ESQ.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 75

[1] The report added that "in an interview which Dr. B. C. Roy had with members of the British Parliamentary Delegation during their recent visit to Calcutta . . . one member asserted that the Governor of Bengal succeeded in convincing Mahatma Gandhi that the famine of 1943 was not man-made and that Gandhiji had accepted that position."

[2] Replying to Gandhiji's letter of January 8, *vide* Vol. LXXXII, pp. 378-9, the addressee, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, had said that while offer of medical assistance was "declined" by the Government of Burma, the British Military Administration of Malaya, however, "accepted" it.

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96. LETTER TO JATINDAS M. AMIN

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1946

CHI. AMIN JATIN,

I would only say this much that you should stay where you are and render such service as you can. "Action alone is thy province, never the fruits thereof."[1]

The best way of undoing injustice is to persuade ourselves that no one can [really] do an injustice.

Blessings from
BAPU

JATINDAS M. AMIN
VITHTHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

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

97. LETTER TO SUCHETA KRIPALANI

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1946

CHI. SUCHETA,

I got your letter of January 30, 1946, written from Allahabad. As for me, I am quite certain about two things: one, that a member of the Assembly cannot be an Agent[2], and two, that no man should be appointed Agent. I think that Thakkar Bapa also agrees with this and, therefore, as long as he is unable to find a woman worker in Delhi, he will carry on the work through the Central Office. The committee has ceased to be since January 1.

Poornima has already sent her name [as candidate] for the Assembly. Now wouldn't you, therefore, agree to be the Agent? Rameshwaribehn[3] writes to the effect that she will quit the Assembly.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 47
[2] Of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust
[3] Rameshwari Nehru

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What you say about Priyamvada[1] is right and so too about Devdoot[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

SUCHETA KRIPALANI

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

98. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI[3]

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1946

What shall I write? I have your letter. Meet Jairamdas[4] and learn *shantipath*[5].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

99. SOME LABOUR QUESTIONS

During the pilgrimage to Madras and Palni the following document signed by 259 persons was handed to me at a tremendously large meeting[6] of labourers at Golden Rock:

> We the workers of the South Indian Railway beg to place before you some of our major problems with a view to get your support.
>
> Nearly 2,64,000 workers are going to be retrenched all over the railways. In South Indian Railway alone, 10,000 will be retrenched and till now more than 2,000 have been discharged. The Government

[1] Priyamvada Nandkeolyar who was subsequently appointed Agent of Kasturba National Memorial Trust for the Province of Bihar

[2] Devdoot Vidyarthi, worker of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Madhubani

[3] This was a postscript to Sushila Nayyar's letter to the addressee which read: "Bapuji will most probably continue to write his daily thoughts. The thoughts of the last two months I am sending through a separate book-post. Please write which dates have been left out. Till now Bapuji was not able to correct the original. Therefore I did not send them. He may be able to get them in Poona. Then I shall send them."

[4] Jairamdas Doulatram

[5] Lesson of peace

[6] *Vide* p. 80.

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contemplate absorption of ex-service men in place of railwaymen, thus putting us against the ex-soldiers.

We have been demanding a minimum living wage of Rs. 30 per mensem. At present the lowest wage is Rs. 8 to Rs. 15, and a majority of us receive less than Rs. 18 per mensem.

Out of 42,000 railway employees, only 8,000 are provided with quarters, of which the majority are infested with insanitary conditions, and are without proper ventilation.

You may be aware of the decision of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation demanding adjudication or a court of enquiry, if they refuse to redress our grievances and accept the suggestions. The suggestions were intended for improvements in the railway system and the condition of the employees. For your reference we are giving below the sixteen suggestions forwarded to the Railway Board and the Government by the Federation:

1. Reduction of work to 40 hours per week as a first step and further to 40 hours per week for all the staff including running staff without fall in wages.
2. Introduction of weekly calendar days off for all the railwaymen.
3. Leave reserves to be increased to 25%.
4. Reduction of rail length for engineering gangmen.
5. Extension of leave facilities to daily rated and inferior service staff on a par with subordinates.
6. All the work now done through contract labour should be taken over departmentally.
7. Reduction of mileage for overhaul of locomotives, wagons and carriages.
8. Expansion of workshop production, namely, construction of boilers, engine parts, etc.
9. Manufacture of locomotives, carriages and wagons in the Indian Railway workshops.
10. Rebuilding of third-class carriages so as to provide better facilities for passengers such as bath-rooms, fans and sleeping accommodation for long distance travel, etc.
11. Reopening all the lines that were closed and the restoration of all the trains stopped during the period of war and further expansion of services to meet the needs of the public.
12. A programme of house building with a view to provide decent houses for all railwaymen.
13. Construction of new lines to suit the needs of the country.
14. Laying down of double tracks wherever necessary.
15. Introduction of rail-motor transport to the distant towns and villages where railways cannot reach.

16. R. A. F. workshops now controlled by railways to be maintained and extended to serve the needs of aviation.

In the demand of ours for full work, living wages, proper housing facilities, etc., we request you to support us and give a lead in the matter to the country and force the Railway Board to accept the same and save thousands of railwaymen and others from unemployment, misery and poverty.

If the workers are to be retrenched in order to make room, as alleged in the letter, for ex-soldiers, it is, in my opinion, doubly wrong. Wrong for the ex-soldiers in that they will be favoured, and a soldier who accepts favoured treatment is no soldier. The second wrong will be to the men to be retrenched who, for no fault of their own, will be thrown out of employment. It will not do to say they were temporary hands. The State has to find work for all unemployed persons.

Coming to the railwaymen's demands, items Nos. 1-9 and No. 12 fall, in my opinion, within the sphere of labour, but whether they are reasonable or not cannot be said without hearing the railway authorities' side. They should be referred to arbitration. They cannot be made a subject of strike, before the process of arbitration has been gone through. Any lightning strike is a form of dictation which is dangerous.

Items Nos. 10, 11 and 13-16, cannot legitimately be demanded by labourers. They are passengers' grievances and passengers, i. e., the public, can take them up.

Item No. 10 I would consider quite extravagant. By far the largest number of passengers belong to the third class, and I have no doubt they deserve progressively better treatment, not the first and second class. Railway-cars of the not distant future will have no classes. Classless society is the ideal, not merely to be aimed at but to be worked for and, in such society there is no room for classes or communities. Until that time is arrived at, first and second-class comforts should be standardized and lowered where necessary and all attention bestowed upon third-class passengers. But I cannot visualize a time when third-class carriages, no matter how distant the journey may be, can carry bathing accommodation for tens of thousands of travellers. What is required is proper bathing arrangements for third-class passengers at railway stations. Third-class passengers are the most neglected in India. Railway-cars and railway stations should be utilized for proper education of the public in sanitation and cleanliness. This is not the case today. And the quicker Hindu and Mohammedan tea or water distinctions

disappear the better.[1] Why should the State recognize these unnatural and irreligious distinctions? Those who consider themselves defiled by service rendered by persons not belonging to their own persuasion may well be left to their own resources.

The association for railway passengers' relief should certainly ventilate grievances before the authorities. Their main work should be to conduct sustained education among the passengers as to their own duty towards one another and about observing laws of cleanliness and hygiene.

SEVAGRAM, February 8, 1946

Harijan, 17-2-1946

100. TELEGRAM TO JATINDAS M. AMIN

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1946

JATINDAS AMIN
VITHTHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

NO FAST. PERFORM YOUR OWN DUTY QUIETLY.[2]

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

101. LETTER TO R. G. CASEY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 8, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your three letters of January 20, 1946, January 30, 1946, and February 1, 1946.

Now that you are about to leave your office and also India, I will not trouble you any further with reference to the several matters on which I see there are differences of view-point. I cannot help mentioning my regret that I have failed to carry conviction in the matter of salt and khadi.[3] The position regarding milk is certainly extraordinary. There is no question here of

[1] *Vide* also "Hindu and Mussalman Tea, Etc.", 7-3-1946.
[2] *Vide* also p. 99.
[3] *Vide* also Vol. LXXXII, pp. 380-1 and 430-1.

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even carrying conviction. It is typical. The answer you have been instructed to give reveals to me the official mind in India which refuses to admit even obvious mistakes. Hence we have called the Civil Service 'heaven-born' and the late Mr. Montagu called it 'wooden'. Some day, if you and Mrs. [Casey] and I meet without your being trammelled by cares of office, we shall laugh heartily over the many tragedies of Bengal which, let us hope, will have been things of the past and the ludicrous mistakes lying at the bottom of these tragedies.

I understand what you have said[1] about the release of prisoners.

I hope that the Red Cross work will shape itself for the benefit of the millions.

I enclose for your information the statement[2] I have made with reference to "man-made famine". I hope that I have correctly recalled our conversation.

I thank you for the Australian wool you have been good enough to send to the Rajkumari[3] for turning into blankets. I hope to report to you how the blankets look when they come from the weavers and tell you whether Australian wool makes better blankets than the Tibetan.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL
CALCUTTA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 122-3

102. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

GRAMSEVA ASHRAM, SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You may not know X but he is a staunch Congressman. He has suffered, too. I send you the letter which he has left with me. You will see from it that Y has broken faith with the Congress.

[1] In his letter dated February 1, the addressee, *inter alia*, had said: "The process of release of all those that it is anyway safe to release will be continued hereafter."

[2] *Vide* pp. 97-8.

[3] Amrit Kaur

The Doctor left the letter with me in order to guard against his candidature being approved through mistake. Now do what seems right to you.

I hope you keep good health. The tour was quite strenuous, but God granted me the necessary strength, and it was finished without a hitch. As arranged, I hope to reach Bardoli on the 3rd. I leave here on the 17th and reach Poona on the 19th.

From the newspaper reports, you seem to have done fairly well in the Sind elections.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 293

103. LETTER TO VEENA

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1946

CHI. VEENA[1],

I got your letter as also the previous one. How can I find time to write while I am constantly on the move? It is good news that you are keeping well.

Your parents arrived here yesterday. Everyone is fine. Why are your envelopes marked 'Private' ?

It would be good, if you could come to Bardoli. I shall try to leave here on the 17th and reach Poona on the 19th.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

104. LETTER TO SANKARAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1946

CHI. SANKARAN,

I got your letter. I reached the Ashram on the 6th morning. The issue of "Jivansakha" has not yet been found. Why are your envelopes marked 'Confidential' ? Such letters are handed

[1] Daughter of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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over to me unopened, and I can see them only when I find time. For instance, though your letter had reached us in Madras, I opened it only yesterday. There was no scope for it to be opened during the journey. You do not write to Sushilabehn at all. Why is it so?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

105. PRESERVATION OF CATTLE[1]

The Goseva Sangh which has its headquarters in Wardha was the late Shri Jamnalalji's last creation. He served the public cause in a variety of ways. For years money-making had ceased to be his main occupation. If he cared for money, it was only with the object of financing public activities. Eleventh day of February was the fifth anniversary of his death, and his followers and comrades decided to celebrate this anniversary by holding a meeting of friends and workers of the Goseva Sangh.

An hour before he died, he was working for this cause. Gopuri, where the meeting took place, is his creation. His ashes rest there, and the first meeting of the Sangh was also held there. The name Goseva was chosen after careful thought. The sense of patronage contained in *goraksha* was eliminated by the substitution of the word *seva*. The Hindu believes in the cow as mother and indeed she is so. An American has described her as the "Mother of Prosperity" and the description is correct. It is another matter that they eat beef in the West. They believe, at the same time, that the cow occupies highest place amongst those animals which contribute to man's comfort and happiness. It is difficult, if not impossible, for an Indian to think of man as being able to live without cow's milk.

Preservation of cattle is a vital part of *goseva*. It is a vital question for India. And it is a tragedy that the country which worships the cow pays scant attention to her and her progeny. While we may not kill the cow, we definitely torture her. Matters have reached such a sorry pass that today cattle seem to have become a burden and people talk of killing them off in order to lighten this load. What could one Jamnalalji do to battle against such odds? And now even he is not among us.

[1] This appeared as "from the Hindustani" in *Harijan Sevak* published simultaneously with the source.

Speeches are not going to solve the problem. There is urgent need for deep study and the spirit of sacrifice. To amass money and dole out charity does not connote real business capacity. To know how to preserve cattle, to impart this knowledge to the millions, to live up to the ideal oneself, and to spend money on this endeavour is real business. Today the opposite obtains. The rich amass wealth somehow and salve their consciences by giving a paltry sum out of it towards the upkeep of *goshalas* by untrained persons and fancy that they have acquired merit. Jamnalalji was well aware of these shortcomings and was working out a scheme to overcome them. In the meanwhile, death claimed him. Perhaps even greater capacity is needed to solve this immensely difficult problem than to obtain swaraj.

SEVAGRAM, February 9, 1946

Harijan, 17-2-1946

106. QUESTION BOX[1]

Q. While in conversation or doing brain work or when one is suddenly worried, can one recite Ramanama (the name of God) in one's heart? Do people do so at such times and, if so, how?

A. Experience shows that man can do so at any time, even in sleep, provided Ramanama is enshrined in his heart. If the taking of the name has become a habit, its recitation through the heart becomes as natural as the heartbeat. Otherwise Ramanama is a mere mechanical performance or at best has touched the heart only on the surface. When Ramanama has established its dominion over the heart, the question of vocal recitation does not arise. Because then it transcends speech. But it may well be held that persons who have attained this state are few and far between.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Ramanama contains all the power that is attributed to it. No one can, by mere wishing, enshrine Ramanama in his heart. Untiring effort is required as also patience. What an amount of labour and patience have been lavished by men to acquire the non-existent philosopher's stone? Surely God's name is of infinitely richer value and always existent.

[1] This appeared as "from the Hindustani" in *Harijan Sevak* published simultaneously with the source.

Q. Is it necessary for the mind to go through different stages of progress (including collapse) before it attains absolute calm? Why is it that even when one is awake and quite calm, one's mind is often disturbed as in a dream? Why do such things as one has neither felt nor seen in real life intrude into one's conscious or sub-conscious mind?

A. Before attaining perfect calm, it is essential for almost everyone to go through stages of progress. I use the word 'almost' advisedly. It excludes those who have made consistent effort in a previous existence, but without complete success, and who will not, therefore, have to pass through purgatory in this life. When the apparently calm mind is disturbed as if by dreams, it means that the calm is outward and not inward. What does not appear to have any relation to one's life's experience and yet disturbs shows, in my opinion, that there are many things which have associations but of which one has no recollection.

Q. Is it harmful if, owing to stress or exigencies of work, one is unable to carry out daily devotions in the prescribed manner? Which of the two should be given preference, service or the rosary?

A. Whatever the exigencies of service or adverse circumstances may be, Ramanama must not cease. The outward form will vary according to the occasion. The absence of the rosary does not interrupt Ramanama which has found an abiding place in the heart.

SEVAGRAM, February 9, 1946

Harijan, 17-2-1946

107. CRIMINAL IF TRUE[1]

A letter from Karnataka contains the following information:

> On February 1, 1946, at about 10 a. m., when the Karnataka Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board was conducting its business in its office in Hubli, 20 to 25 persons effected an entrance into the meeting hall without first obtaining permission of the President.
>
> The Board had met to discuss some important matters. Some of the persons above mentioned asked for time to make certain representations. The President told them that sufficient time for this purpose had been given to them on the previous day. The Board was now engaged in serious deliberations but would see them again during the afternoon.

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

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In reply, they said, they had further important matters to represent and insisted on doing so then and there. The President opined that their attitude was quite inconsistent with due decorum and discipline, but they continued to insist, whereupon the President said that he would be obliged to leave the hall. As he stood up in order to go away, one member of the party tried forcibly to hold him down. Another snatched the office files from his hands and was going to take them away. Yet another hit Shri Diwakar on the head with his umbrella. Persons in the hall finally came to the rescue and restored order.

If such be the case, the Congress organization will go to pieces. Indeed no organization can successfully work under a system of terror. I do not go into the merits. That work will be done by the Congress Working Committee. What is reported to have taken place is not only against decency and all the rules of the game, but is manifestly against non-violence. Moreover there seems to be an indecent longing for getting into the legislatures. This indecency shows that the deciding reason for contesting elections is being lost sight of.

SEVAGRAM, February 9, 1946
Harijan, 17-2-1946

108. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Today I am dictating this letter in Gujarati.

1. Those who feel themselves poor without the knowledge of English may be taught the language. The general policy should be understood that nobody should be taught English, and that, when it is found necessary to teach anybody, my permission should be obtained.

2. The reason for stressing the importance of carding is that, if we learn it, we shall be spared the necessity of all other processes. If, in addition to carding by hand, they also think it necessary, they may use the carding-bow, but I don't regard that as essential. I see no difficulty at all in stopping the practice of procuring the gut-string of the carding-bow from outside. Good cotton can be carded with a string made of *mooj*[1] or yarn. But I don't insist on this.

[1] A kind of hay

3. General supervision work leaves no time for teaching things to others. It is another matter if, in order to improve one's efficiency in supervision work or relax one's mind, one finds it necessary to take up some other work. It is difficult to lay down any rule in this matter. The supervisor himself must decide. It is a sign of ignorant attachment to go on working till the breaking point.

4. I regard a weekly tour by Vinoba as essential. There would be no harm in his taking someone who can be spared from his work and who is eager to learn. The rule that one person should always accompany him seems laudable.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4545

109. FAMINE OF GRAIN AND CLOTH

During my wanderings in Bengal, Assam and Madras, I heard tales of distress due to shortage of food and cloth. Reports come to me from other parts of India. They support the same tale. Dr. Rajendra Prasad tells me that the Government report expressing fear of shortage of food immediately doubled the market price. This is a bad sign. Such speculation should be a thing of the past. The mercantile community should be competent to curb such greed. Let them not add to the distress caused by the Government mistakes or incompetence. There are mercantile associations and chambers. If they act patriotically, they can help most to prevent panic and speculation.

It is the fashion to blame nature for famine. Scarcity of rain is by no means a monopoly of India. In other countries, though people welcome rains, they have made themselves fairly independent of rainfall during a season or two. Here Government have used themselves and the public to the idea that famines come when there is shortage of rainfall[1]. Had the mind been framed otherwise, they would have made adequate provision for shortfalls. They only tinkered with the problem and naturally so. For the official world was taught to think no better. Originality there could be none in a close monopoly organization like the Government of India. It is the largest autocracy the world has known. Democracy has been reserved only for Great Britain. And when it rules and

[1] The source has "waterfall".

exploits millions belonging to other races, it becomes an unmitigated evil. It corrupts the whole island with the idea that such exploitation is the best thing for an enlightened democracy to do. It would be well to remember this fundamental fact, if I have correctly estimated it. If we recognize this while dealing with the immediate problem, we shall be patient with the present actors. There is no call here for patience with the evil. The distinction will enable us the better to deal with the evil.

We must then first put our own house in order as far as may be, and at the same time demand from the foreign Government that since they mean what they say, let them at once replace the irresponsible executive with elected and responsible members from the Central Legislature, however archaic and based only on a limited franchise it may be. There is nothing to prevent the Viceroy from doing this today. I do not propose to answer the difficulties in anticipation. "Where there's will, there's a way." This one act will restore confidence and allay panic.

"Grow more food" was not a bad cry during the war. It is a greater necessity now. This can be best done only by a national executive. Even its mistakes will not loom so large as those of a nominated executive, however able the latter may be. As it is, even their ability and integrity are in question—rightly so or wrongly is beside the point in this connection. Everything possible should be done to draw water from the bowels of the earth. There is talent enough in this country for the purpose. Provincial selfishness should give place to the national want. In addition to, not in the place of, these measures, grain should be imported from wherever it can be had.

Cloth famine can and ought to be averted by telling the millions to spin and weave in their own villages, the State supplying them with cotton where it is not grown or available, and with the simple instruments of production on hire or long-term purchase. The A. I. S. A. with its seasoned workers should be summoned to render assistance and guidance. This will take a few months, if the work is taken up in earnest. Indigenous mills will be called upon to assist this national process by a wise distribution of their cloth in cities and villages while the transition process is going on. Argumentation on the capacity of mills to supply all the cloth required should cease in face of the calamity which is existent and daily growing in intensity. Mills cannot find employment for the millions of unemployed villagers. The educative value of the charkha is not to be surpassed. But for the spell of hypnotism which rules our minds today, we shall all

realize this obvious truth, set ourselves working out the concrete proposition and thereby restore confidence to the millions and, maybe, even to the world which has neither enough food nor cloth.[1]

SEVAGRAM, February 10, 1946
Harijan 17-2-1946

110. TO THE READER

Harijan is being revived. For all these years I used its columns to place before people my views on several matters. The stream that had dried up in 1942 will now flow again. In fact the *Harijan* editions—the Hindustani, the Gujarati and the English —are my weekly letters to readers. But I would not be wrong, if I described the Gujarati edition as specially so. Gujarati being my mother tongue, a large number of correspondents write letters to me in that language than in the others, and I reply to them more easily and freely. If, therefore, I wrote only in Gujarati and the material for the other editions was supplied as translations, I would have to take less pains, and I would be able to enrich the Gujarati *Harijan*[2].

But one cannot easily give up a practice already adopted. And ignorant attachment also, consciously or unconsciously, would do its work. I know English. I have realized that my English writing has an appeal, though I do not know what exactly is the attraction. The same is true of Hindustani but to a lesser extent. Shri Brajkishore Babu[3] made me realize this years ago. I was then made President of the Provincial Hindi Sammelan. At that time my Hindi was much weaker than it is today. I gave him my Presidential address and asked him to revise it. But he refused to do so and it was delivered as it was. The reader puts up with my imperfect and ungrammatical Hindi. Thus unlike the proverbial recluse who, hankering after both this and the other world, ruined his prospect in both, I stand to lose three!

[1] In his "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 3-3-1946, Pyarelal says: "The grim spectre of the impending famine filled Gandhiji's mind. . . . He took the opportunity to discuss the question with the Governor of Madras . . . but did not come away from the talk reassured. . . . Mr. Abell was agreeably surprised to find, when he flew to Sevagram on February 11, that Gandhiji had anticipated his proposals in an article. . . ." *Vide* also pp. 120-1 and 127-8.

[2] That is, *Harijanbandhu*

[3] Father-in-law of Jayaprakash Narayan

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For the present, however, I wish to let things continue as they are. I cannot say at the moment where the ship will anchor. In view of this, I hope, the Gujarati reader will excuse me, if he finds in the Gujarati *Harijan* more translations of my English articles than original Gujarati articles. I can, however, give him the assurance that whatever translations appear in it will have been seen by me also, so that there will generally be no misinterpretation. I have to say "generally" because sometimes I may have no time to see the translations and, moreover, if a translation is done at Ahmedabad, I will not be able to see it at all. Be that as it may, I trust the reader will put up with this as he had been doing so far.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 10-2-1946

111. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Express

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

SARDAR PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

SORRY CANNOT EARLIER.[1]

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

112. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

Shri Sudhir Ghosh has handed me your kind note of 9th instant. You will believe me when I say that I would have responded to your invitation at once, if I could have. But I have explained to our mutual friend physical and moral reasons for my inability. He will explain them fully to you and will also put before you

[1] The reference is to Gandhiji's arrival in Bardoli; *vide* also p. 114.

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my proposition. Of course I shall be glad to meet any representative you may send.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 139-40

113. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Rajendra Babu is with me. I have your wire. It is impossible to reach Bardoli before the 3rd.

The Viceroy has sent for me.[2] But I cannot go in the near future.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 294

[1] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, pp. 73-6, Sudhir Ghosh explains: "Abell asked me, if I would . . . take a letter from Lord Wavell to Gandhiji . . . and do my best to persuade Gandhiji to come and see the Viceroy in New Delhi to discuss with him how best to handle the food situation . . . I was rather confident that Gandhiji would respond to the Viceroy's appeal . . . But . . . Gandhiji refused to come. He firmly told me that I was not to try to persuade him to go to Delhi . . . He took me to task for having acceded to Lord Wavell's request . . . I conveyed to George Abell on the telephone Gandhiji's reaction . . . Abell flew down . . . on the 11th February . . . the idea was that the appeal should be signed by Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy. . . . But it was the same old game of parity between Hindus and Muslims . . . To this sort of treatment Gandhiji's objection was, as he said in his letter to Lord Wavell, 'moral' ". For an extract from Abell's note on the meeting, *vide* Appendix II. For Gandhiji's view on the famine situation, *vide* pp. 110-2 and 120-1.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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114. LETTER TO DAMAYANTI

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

CHI. DAMAYANTI,

I have your letter. I did not read in the papers that Bhogibhai had passed away. And I don't read newspapers. I learnt about it only through your letter. You had written to me acknowledging receipt of the money; Mahendra also wrote. Was it not God's miracle that Bhogibhai passed away only after paying up the amount? Death, of course, ought not to be grieved over.

Blessings from
BAPU

DAMAYANTIBEHN
GANDHI NIWAS
GHODBUNDER ROAD
SANTA CRUZ

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

115. LETTER TO AGA KHAN

February 10, 1946

BHAI SAHEB,

I got your letter today. You certainly know my plight, and why I am unable to be present. I expect the Diamond Jubilee to be celebrated in a fitting manner, and may you live for many more years.[1]

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. THE AGA KHAN
LAND'S END
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

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

[1] The addressee, Sultan Mahomed Shah Aga Khan, was weighed against 243.5 lb. diamonds on Sunday, March 10, 1946, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Sultanette. *Vide* "Message to Aga Khan", 10-3-1946.

116. LETTER TO PRITILATA

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

CHI. PRITILATA,

It is good you wrote. Your health must now improve. I shall feel truly happy only when you both make your lives ideal. If you lead an indulgent life, it would set a bad example.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

117. LETTER TO BHAGAVATICHARAN SHUKLA

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

CHI. BHAGAVATI,

I was delighted to have your letter. I am no longer able to write many letters. The resumption of *Harijan* has added to the work.

You have given a good account. I understand why the marriage had to be solemnized at Gondia. I shall leave this place for Poona on the 17th. You can come over here or to Poona whenever you wish to. But my programme is uncertain.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAGAVATICHARAN SHUKLA

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

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118. FLAGS AND SCHOOLS[1]

I have two typical letters about flags in schools and colleges. Some boys hoist the Congress flag, therefore others hoist the League flag. Both are wrong. My correspondents report that the mischief commenced by the hoisting of the Congress flag. Probably nothing would have happened for the time being, if both the flags had been tolerated. The right thing was, and is, that boys must not take the initiative in such cases. The buildings belong to the authorities and they must decide whether or not to fly, which, if any, flag over their buildings. If boys take the law into their own hands, the result must be chaos and confusion plus breaking of heads. This would be sheer vulgarity and doing no good to anybody. Schools and colleges should be institutions for healing communal breaches, not for promoting differences. If boys and girls do not learn discipline in their school-days, money and time spent on their education is so much national loss. The one bright thing that emerges from the Lahore episode is that Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad promptly intervened and ruled that the boys who had hoisted the Congress flag were in the wrong.

SEVAGRAM, February 11, 1946
Harijan, 17-2-1946

119. LIVING UP TO 125[2]

I have not talked about wishing to live up to the age of 125 years without thought. It has a deep significance. The basis for my wish is the third *mantra* from *Ishopanishad* which, literally rendered, means that a man should desire to live for 100 years while serving with detachment. One commentary says that 100 really means 125. Even today in Madras the word 'hundred' is used to mean 116. Only the other day someone presented to me what was described as Rs. 100, but was, on scrutiny, found to be Rs. 116. 100 = 99 + 1 is not an invariable formula in our country.

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] Originally published in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*", 17-2-1946.

Be that as it may, the meaning of 'hundred' is not necessary for my argument. My sole purpose is to indicate the condition necessary for the realization of the desire. It is service in a spirit of detachment, which means complete independence of the fruit of action. Without it one should not desire to live for 125 years. That is how I interpret the text. I have not the slightest doubt that without attaining that state of detachment, it is impossible to live to be 125 years old. Living to that age must never mean a mere life unto death, like that of an animated corpse, a burden on one's relations and society. In such circumstances one's supreme duty would be to pray to God for early release, not for prolongation of life anyhow.

The human body is meant solely for service, never for indulgence. The secret of happy life lies in renunciation. Renunciation is life. Indulgence spells death. Therefore everyone has a right and should desire to live 125 years *while performing service without an eye on result.* Such life must be wholly and solely dedicated to service. Renunciation made for the sake of such service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive one, because that nectar springs from within and sustains life. In this there can be no room for worry or impatience. Without this joy long life is impossible and would not be worth while even if possible.

Examination of the possibility of prolonging life to 125 years by outward means is outside the scope of this argument.

SEVAGRAM, February 11, 1946
Harijan, 24-2-1946

120. TELEGRAM TO URMILA DEVI

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1946

URMILADEVI[1]
2/1-B HINDUSTAN PARK
RASHBEHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA

LEAVING SEVENTEENTH BUT YOU CAN COME.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Sister of Chittaranjan Das

121. TELEGRAM TO AGA KHAN

Express

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1946

H. H. THE AGA KHAN
MALABAR HILL

THANKS YOUR LETTER. TWENTY-FOURTH POONA FOUR O'CLOCK AFTERNOON WILL SUIT ME.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

122. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. Now we shall see about it only after I come. You may not fix up a woman cook for the time being. The matter about Dr. Dinshaw will also be settled after my arrival.

I propose to reach there on the 18th. From there I proceed to Bardoli on the 28th or on the 1st of March. I shall bring with me as small a party as I can. You need not obtain anything for their sake. You should lodge me where Doctor says. I am even prepared to put up in a tent. I shall be having a mosquito-net.

I shall see what I can do about *Harijan.*

Blessings from
BAPU

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

CWMG - LXXXIII

123. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[On or after *February 11, 1946*][1]

The food situation brought the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to me. I had many meetings and appointments up to a fairly long time. These I could not disregard, and I do not know how to fly, and hope I may never have to do so. Therefore in reply to an imperative invitation from His Excellency, I asked[2] that he should send me someone who could speak for him, and so the P. S. V. came yesterday[3]. The food situation alone brought him to me. Could I say something in order to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions and policy? As the matter brooks no delay, I give here the purport of what I said. So far as the Congress policy is concerned, His Excellency should invite Maulana Saheb and, if he cannot come, ask him to name his deputy. I personally feel that the present irresponsible Executive should be immediately replaced by a responsible one chosen from the elected members of the Central Legislature. I also personally feel that this responsibility should be shouldered by the elected members of the Central Legislature irrespective of parties, for famine of cloth and food is common to the millions of India. Whether the Government can accept the suggestion and whether the different political parties that compose the Central Legislature consider it practicable or not, is more than I can say. But this much I can say without fear of contradiction: I have little doubt that if the mercantile community and the official world become honest, if only in face of the impending calamity, we are such a vast country that we can just tide over the difficulty even if no help comes from the outside world, which is itself groaning. Grain and cloth dealers must not hoard, must not speculate. Food should be grown on all cultivable areas wherever water is, or is made available. Flower gardens should be used for growing food crops.

[1] From the reference to the visit of Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy; *vide* footnote 1, p. 112. Abell met Gandhiji in the evening on February 11; *vide* p. 123.

[2] *Vide* pp. 113-4.

[3] It being his Silence-Day, Gandhiji wrote down his part of the dialogue; for an extract from Abell's note, *vide* Appendix II.

This has been done during the period of war. The present is, in some respects, worse than the war period. Before we have eaten up the grain we have in stock, we must economize like misers. All ceremonial functions should be stopped. Women can play the highest part in the alleviation of the present distress by economizing in their households. In nine-tenths of our activity we can manage our daily affairs without the aid of the Government, whatever its colour may be, if only it will refrain from interfering with the people. Panic must be avoided at all costs. We must refuse to die before death actually takes toll, and think of the skeletons of India and the least little things we may do to help, and all will be well with India. Let us not hypnotize ourselves into the belief that because we can indulge ourselves, our next-door neighbour can do likewise. Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery, for if only the Government and mill-owners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked for want of cloth. We have cotton enough and idle hands enough and skill enough to make in our villages all the cloth we need.

Harijan, 17-2-1946

124. TELEGRAM TO WANDA DYNOWSKA

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

UMADEVI
7 PEDDAR ROAD
BOMBAY

LEAVING HERE SEVENTEENTH FOR POONA. NO USE COMING HERE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

125. TELEGRAM TO HARIHAR SHARMA

Express

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

HARIHAR SHARMA[1]
195 HIGH ROAD
TRIPLICANE
MADRAS

THINK OMIT MEETING. CONTINUE REPAIRS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

126. TELEGRAM TO PRESTON GROVER

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

PRESTON GROVER
["THE] TIMES OF INDIA" BUILDING
BOMBAY

DAYS HERE FILLED WITH MEETINGS. LEAVING FOR BOMBAY SEVENTEENTH EN ROUTE POONA.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

127. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

CHI. BAL,

You do not seem to have fully recovered yet.

I met Vinoba[2] yesterday. But I got a report from him only about carding and making slivers.

[1] Of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha; he was also called "Anna".

[2] Addressee's brother

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Regarding sleep, when we meet. I hope to arrive there on the 18th.

Paper which resembles mill-made paper in appearance cannot be hundred per cent hand-made paper. Explain this to me further when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 814. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhave

128. SPEECH AT SECOND GOSEVA SANGH CONFERENCE, WARDHA

February 12, 1946

The principle of succession to property should be based on a new fundamental, i. e., that those who act up to the wishes of the departed soul or carry on his work should be the real heirs and not those born in his family.

So, if Janaki Devi[1] or Kamalnayan[2] or Ramakrishna[3] do not devote themselves to Jamnalal Bajaj's incomplete work whose anniversary we are observing, they have no right to be Jamnalal's heirs, but persons like us who carry on his work.[4]

Mahatma Gandhi then referred to the impending famine and the visit of the Viceroy's Private Secretary to Sevagram last evening.

I have visited Bengal and Assam and met workers from Orissa. I have seen people who have expressed their views about the famine which is staring them in the face unless proper steps are taken. If things or food can be imported from outside, it is well and good. But this year there is little prospect for that or for transferring food from one province to another. So my advice to you would be to minimize food requirements, avoid wastage and serve both men and cattle to your utmost capacity. We must produce better milk and increase our wealth and improve our health. If you devote to cow-keeping, it will be a fitting tribute to Jamnalal's revered memory.[5] If you don't know how to serve your own people, how can you serve animals and especially cows?

Gandhiji referred to his talks with Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali when the latter told him that people served cows and other animals but there are many

[1], [2] & [3] Wife and sons of Jamnalal Bajaj

[4] *Vide* also "Oh! For Our English!", pp. 149-51.

[5] What follows is reproduced from *The Hitavada*, 14-2-1946.

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other animals in India, namely, 40 crores of Indians whom they should not forget.

The Hindustan Times, 14-2-1946; also *The Hitavada*, 14-2-1946

129. LETTER TO LABHSHANKER VYAS

[On or before *February 13, 1946*][1]

BHAI LABHSHANKER,

I got and read your letter today. May all the girls become good and bring credit to the institution[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

LABHSHANKER VYAS, PRINCIPAL
H. K. VIDYALAYA
SABARMATI

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

130. LETTER TO AGNES M. PHILLIPS[3]

SEVAGRAM,
February 13, 1946

MY DEAR AGNES,

It was a good thing to have a letter from you after such a long time. The friend to whom you gave your note has not yet turned up. He has been informed that he can come and see me.

[1] From the postmark
[2] Harijan Kanya Vidyalaya
[3] Reproducing this letter in her article "Recollections" in *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*, the addressee explains: "During the 1939 war a soldier who was going out to India told me that he would much like to meet Mr. Gandhi. I gave him a letter of introduction. Owing to illness he was not able to meet him, but sent on my letter. Later I received a letter from Mr. Gandhi, which bore my name and his signature in his own handwriting. I still have that letter and regard it as one of my cherished possessions." The addressee came to know Gandhiji in South Africa while staying with her uncle, the Rev. Charles Phillips, who was deeply interested in the Asiatic question. She did nursing work in the two World Wars and met Gandhiji during his visit to England.

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My doings you should follow from the papers. This is merely a line to tell you that my love does not suffer because I do not hear from you, or because you are so far away from me.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS AGNES PHILLIPS
ST. ANDREWS'S HOSPITAL
THORPE, NORWICH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*, p. 195

131. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 13, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You will have seen my statement[1] in the newspapers. I did not like what Jawaharlal is reported to have said. I have also written to him about it. We cannot incite people in that way. We cannot deprive the millions of poor people of what little they get. If food is available only in a limited stock, it should be made to last until the next season. I hold that we should offer our co-operation to this end. However I am reaching there on Monday. But I shall be observing silence when I arrive.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 294

[1] *Vide* pp. 120-1.

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132. LETTER TO ARUN GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
February 13, 1946

CHI. ARUN,

Have I not told you not to expect letters from me? Besides, now that *Harijanbandhu* comes out every week, is it not a letter for you too? And what a long letter! It is good that you spin. I got Chi. Manilal's[1] postcard. I have been very busy. So much the better. Pyarelalji has fallen ill.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

C/O MANILAL GANDHI
DELHI

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

133. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 13, 1946

BHAI SAHEB,

I have your long letter[2]. It is good, you have given [the details]. I already knew some of the things, but some are news to me. I am cautious and will remain so. To keep me on my guard please do write to me as much as you can with ease.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI M. R. JAYAKAR

[From Hindi]

Jayakar Papers : File No. 826, p. 38. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Addressee's father
[2] Dated February 8, 1946; for the text, *vide* Appendix III.

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134. WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE

Food crisis should be regarded as a certainty. In the circumstances, the following things should be attended to at once:

1. Every person should confine his daily wants regarding food to the minimum, consistent with his or her health requirements; and where, as in cities, milk, vegetables, oil and fruit are available, grains and pulses should be reduced as they easily can be. Starch can be derived from starchy roots such as carrots, parsnips, potatoes, yam, bananas; the idea being to exclude from present diet and conserve those grains and pulses which can be kept and stored. Vegetables too should not be eaten as an indulgence or for pleasure when millions are denied the use of these things altogether and are now threatened with starvation due to shortage of cereals and pulses.

2. Everyone who has access to any water should try himself or herself to grow some edibles for personal or general use. The easiest way to do so is to collect clean earth, mix it with organic manure where possible—even a little bit of dried cowdung is good organic manure—and put it in any earthen or tin pot and throw some seeds of vegetable such as mustard and cress, etc., and daily water the pots. They will be surprised how quickly the seeds sprout and give edible leaves which need not even be cooked but can be eaten in the form of salad.

3. All flower gardens should be utilized for growing edibles. And in this connection I would suggest to the Viceroy, Governors and high officials to take the lead. I would ask the heads of agricultural departments at the Centre and Provinces to flood the country with leaflets in the provincial languages telling laymen how and what to grow easily.

4. Reduction should be taken up not merely by the civilian population but equally, if not predominantly, by the military. I say "predominantly" for the military ranks, being under rigid military discipline, can easily carry out measures of economy.

5. All exports of seeds, such as oil-seeds, oils, oil-cakes, nuts, etc., should be stopped, if they have not been already. Oil-cakes, if the seeds are sifted of earth and foreign matter, are good human food with rich protein content.

6. Deep wells should be sunk by the Government wherever possible and required, whether for irrigation or for drinking purposes.

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7. Given hearty co-operation by Government servants and the general public, I have not the slightest doubt that the country can tide over the difficulty. Just as panic is the surest way to defeat, so also will be the case when there is widespread distress impending and prompt action is not taken. Let us not think of the causes of the distress. Whatever the cause, the fact is that if the Government and the public do not approach the crisis patiently and courageously, disaster is a certainty. We must fight this foreign Government on all other fronts except this one, and even on this we shall fight them, if they betray callousness or contempt for reasoned public opinion. In this connection I invite the public to share my opinion that we should accept Government professions at their face value, and believe that swaraj is within sight inside of a few months.

8. Above all, black marketing and dishonesty should disappear altogether, and willing co-operation between all parties should be the order of the day in so far as this crisis is concerned.[1]

SEVAGRAM, February 14, 1946
Harijan, 24-2-1946

135. TELEGRAM TO AGA KHAN

Express SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

H. H. THE AGA KHAN
KAPURTHALA

TWENTY-FIFTH WILL SUIT. THREE P.M. DOCTOR DINSHAW'S POONA.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also pp. 120-1.

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136. TELEGRAM TO BHOLANATH MASTER

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

BHOLANATH MASTER
PRAJAMANDAL
ALWAR

DELIGHTED.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

137. TELEGRAM TO SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH

Express

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH[1]
10 SUBURBAN SCHOOL ROAD
CALCUTTA

PLEASE WIRE TRUTH ABOUT CALCUTTA DISTURBANCES AND BURNING OF MILITARY LORRIES.[2]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 18-2-1946

[1] President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

[2] Disturbances broke out in protest against sentence for life passed on Capt. Abdul Rashid of Indian National Army; the sentence was, however, reduced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment by Commander-in-Chief. The addressee telegraphically informed Gandhiji that "reaction against police firing on peaceful processionists excited people and led to mob violence including burning of military lorries. In all 53 persons were killed and over 500 were injured. Congress Peace Brigades were patrolling the city but the military were interfering with their work, and the city was under military control."

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138. TELEGRAM TO JEHANGIR PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

JEHANGIR PATEL
10 CHURCHGATE STREET
BOMBAY

PROPOSAL ACCEPTED.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

139. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter, as also the cheque.

I am writing to . . .[1] What he says is strange. To me he talks sensibly. Your work has increased very much indeed.

I think you are mistaken about the food situation. Some foodgrains may be imported from abroad but I think depending on others always ends in disappointment. If the people show some enterprise, they can certainly grow more food. It may be that there would be insufficient cotton for the mills; if so, the balance may be imported. There is enough for the spinning-wheels.

More when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 295

[1] The name is omitted in the source.

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140. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. You have given plenty of news. "The lure of Legislatures"[1], though written in Gujarati, is really meant for the whole country. I am returning the Press cutting.

I will implement whatever suggestions of yours can be implemented.

Take care of your health. I will not write more as we shall meet soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 138

141. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

CHI. DINSHAW,

I shall reach there on the 19th. I shall write later by what train. We shall be about 11 or 12 people. This time I am not coming as your guest, but for the sake of the work that we want to do there. This time my party as well as I will meet our food expenses only from the funds reserved for the poor. You need not, therefore, incur any expenditure on that account. I will reimburse then and there whatever you spend [on our account]. That too would not be from my own account but from the money that is earmarked for the poor out of the hospital fund. The other that lies with me has not been earmarked for any particular purpose. And this amount belongs to my rich friends. Whatever amount now remains with you is what you have earned yourself and for your personal expenses. And I have no

[1] *Vide* pp. 95-6.

right to take a single pice out of it, for after having become a trustee I should not regard it as my right to draw anything from that amount.

As regards accommodating me, I shall put up wherever you ask me to, i. e., in the room you have reserved for me or in any part of the hospital or in a tent. I don't at all regard it as inconvenient for me to put up in a tent in this season. And I shall not find it inconvenient to stay throughout the year in a place with a tiled floor. You had such a place made for the Working Committee.

You are not to incur any expenditure on my account. If I don't proceed with a hardened heart as I do, I will not be worthy of the trust, nor will I be able to serve the poor through the trust.

I hope you, Gulbai[1] and Ardeshir[2] are fine, and I expect Maji[3] is enjoying peace and happiness. From there I shall return on the 1st of March. I expect to go to Poona again on the 19th or 20th of March.

The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

142. ABOUT RAJAJI

I have read Shri Kamaraja Nadar's Press message[4]. I am sorry. I can easily be silent, but the cause may suffer. He says he is my follower. In that case he should have referred to me before rushing to the Press and certainly before resigning[5]. I have intentionally described myself as a Bhangi. In the man-made social ladder, I want to be at the bottom. I would like Shri Kamaraj to cease to be a Nadar and to become a Bhangi with me and then in all humility withdraw his resignation. Whether it is legally possible or not, the Provincial and Working Committees alone can decide. Morally it is perfectly possible, if he himself feels he has hurt himself and the cause by resigning. Then he will rejoin the difficult post (if it is legally possible)

[1], [2] & [3] Wife, son, and mother of the addressee
[4] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[5] From the Congress Parliamentary Board

as a strong man. He was weak in resigning. He says he prevented four others from following him. It was well that they did not resign.

Why worry about the use of the word 'clique'?[1] In spite of all my love for the English language, it is a foreign tongue for me and I am as likely as not to make mistakes in using it. Of course, I have used the word 'clique' deliberately. I must not withdraw it. This is its dictionary meaning: "small exclusive party". I know that there is such a clique in Tamil Nadu against Rajaji. I am unable definitely to name one single person in it.[2] No one need wear the cap unless it fits him. There are many cliques in the Congress organization as even in the best managed organizations in the world. The fewer their number the better the organization.

Were I not challenged at the time that I was touring in the South, I would have been silent.

I must admit that I did not talk to those who were with me in that special train. I was buried in my work which was divided between meetings at frequent stoppages and writing whilst the train was in motion. And let the public know that those who are physically nearest to me have to be so forbearing that they would not come near me and interfere with my work. Such has been the usage during my stormy life. My own children thus get the least of me. Aruna Asaf Ali came for two days to see me fresh from her hiding place and was so forbearing that she had of me only as much as she could during my walks.

SEVAGRAM, February 15, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

143. HOW TO CANALIZE HATRED

Hatred is in the air, and impatient lovers of the country will gladly take advantage of it, if they can, through violence, to further the cause of independence. I suggest that it is wrong at any time and everywhere. But it is more wrong and unbecoming in a country where fighters for freedom have declared to the world that their policy is truth and non-violence. Hatred, they argue, cannot be turned into love. Those who believe in violence will naturally use it by saying, 'Kill your enemy, injure him and

[1] *Vide* p. 88.
[2] *Vide* also p. 138.

his property wherever you can, whether openly or secretly as necessity requires.' The result will be deeper hatred and counter-hatred, and vengeance let lose on both sides. The recent war, whose embers have yet hardly died, loudly proclaims the bankruptcy of this use of hatred. And it remains to be seen whether the so-called victors have really won or whether they have not depressed themselves in seeking and trying to depress their enemies. It is a bad game at its best. Some philosophers of action in this country improve upon the model and say, 'We shall never kill our enemy but we shall destroy his property'. Perhaps I do them an injustice when I call it his 'property', for the remarkable thing is that the so-called enemy has brought no property of his own and what little he has brought he makes us pay for. Therefore what we destroy is really our own. The bulk of it, whether in men or things, he produces here. So what he really has is the custody of it. For the destruction too we have to pay through the nose and it is the innocent who are made to pay. That is the implication of punitive tax and all it carries with it. Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me, therefore, to be any improvement on the technique of violence. It means slow torture and when slowness becomes ineffective we shall immediately revert to killing and to the atom bomb, which is the last word in violence today. Therefore I suggested in 1920 the use of non-violence and its inevitable twin companion truth for canalizing hatred into the proper channel. The hater hates not for the sake of hatred but because he wants to drive away from his country the hated being or beings. He will, therefore, as readily achieve his end by non-violent as by violent means. For the past twenty-five years, willingly or unwillingly, the Congress has spoken to the masses in favour of non-violence as against violence for regaining our lost liberty. We have also discovered through our progress that in the application of non-violence we have been able to reach the mass mind far more quickly and far more extensively than ever before. And yet, if truth is told as it must be, our non-violent action has been half-hearted. Many have preached non-violence through the lips while harbouring violence in the breast. But the unsophisticated mass mind has read the secret meaning hidden in our breasts, and the unconscious reaction has not been altogether as it might have been. Hypocrisy has acted as an ode to virtue, but it could never take its place. And so I plead for non-violence and yet more non-violence. I do so not without knowledge but with sixty years experience behind me. This is the

critical moment, for the dumb masses are today starving. There are many ways that will suggest themselves to the wise reader as to how to apply the canons of non-violence to the present needs of the country. The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. (I use the present tense intentionally.) His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well. It is not given to everyone to command success. My praise and admiration can go no further. For I knew that his action was doomed to failure, and that I would have said so even if he had brought his I. N. A. victorious to India, because the masses would not have come into their own in this manner. The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence. I would not have the I. N. A. man think, or say, that he and his can ever deliver the masses of India from bondage by force of arms. But, if he is true to Netaji and still more so to the country, he will spend himself in teaching the masses, men, women and children to be brave, self-sacrificing and united. Then we will be able to stand erect before the world. But, if he will merely act the armed soldier, he will only lord it over the masses and the fact that he will be a volunteer will not count for much. I, therefore, welcome the declaration made by Capt. Shah Nawaz that, to be worthy of Netaji, on having come to Indian soil, he will act as a humble soldier of non-violence in Congress ranks.

SEVAGRAM, February 15, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

144. PLEASE NOTE

I have taken up *Harijan* at such a critical moment in our country's history that, having undertaken to write, I cannot wait in certain matters for publishing my thoughts till the next number of *Harijan* is out. Then too it is published not at the place where I reside but away from me. Thus exacting readers will forgive me, if they find things in the columns of *Harijan* which have already been printed in the daily Press. The reason for

publication is obvious. *Harijan* goes to many readers who do not read the papers in which my statements may be published and in which accurate publicity can never be guaranteed. *Harijan* is not a commercial concern in any meaning of the expression. It is published purely in the interest of the cause of India's independence.

SEVAGRAM, February 15, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

145. TELEGRAM TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
February 15, 1946

SAROJINI NAIDU
SUKHNIVAS
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

LOVE. MANY HAPPY RETURNS.[1] HOPE YOU FAMILY WELL.

SPINNER[2]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

146. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 15, 1946

BHAISHRI,

In reply to your letter I should say that your ideal can be reached through a knowledge of nature cure. I am of the opinion that nature cure is at present in a very imperfect state.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

PURUSHOTTAMBHAI PATEL
69 BARODA COLLEGE HOSTEL
BARODA

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

[1] The addressee's birthday was on February 13.
[2] The addressee had given to Gandhiji the epithet "Spinner of Destiny".

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147. LETTER TO DAHYALAL

SEVAGRAM,
February 15, 1946

CHI. DAHYALAL,

I have your letter. You might be knowing that I don't hold any office in the Goseva Sangh. Please write to the Goseva Sangh direct.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

148. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA KAMDAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 15, 1946

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I have your letter of the 12th; I am very glad. I am not going to stay in Bardoli for one month, I shall stay for fifteen days only. You should ask Manibehn[1] about your staying there.

I accept your claim to my company when I am in the Ashram. But when I am away doesn't the right to stay with me generally belong to whosoever I am putting up with?

I hope you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

HARI-ICHCHHA KAMDAR
KHADIA POLE
RAJMAHAL ROAD
VADODARA

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

[1] Wife of Narahari Parikh

149. LETTER TO POONAMCHAND RANKA

[*February 15, 1946*][1]

BHAI POONAMCHAND[2],

I hear that you have deliberately formed a sort of group, excluding from it those who can be regarded as fully eligible, whereas you have sent in the names of those who don't deserve to be returned to the Assembly. I am pained to hear all this. Why such fascination for the Assembly, why the lure, and that too for a man like you? Adopt the path of humility, justice and truthfulness.

BAPU

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

150. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

[On or before *February 16, 1946*][3]

I have seen both statements[4] and I confess that I do not like them. I have not singled out any person for reference. My observation was general and took stock of the situation as I observed it. I must repudiate the charge that in making my observation I committed a serious blunder. But, if I have, my advice as an individual may be summarily rejected. My sole anxiety is that the right thing should be done irrespective of individual likes and dislikes.[5]

The Hindu, 19-2-1946

[1] In the source, the letter is placed between the letters of February 14 and 15.

[2] President of the Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee

[3] The interview was reported under the date-line "Wardhaganj, February 16".

[4] Of K. Kamaraja Nadar, and T. Prakasam, President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. They were in connection with the observation made by Gandhiji in his article "Curious", *vide* pp. 88-9 and 90-1. For the statements, *vide* Appendix IV.

[5] *Vide* also pp. 132-3.

151. QUESTION BOX[1]

Q. It is necessary to import as many foodstuffs as possible. As it is, people do not get enough to eat. Any further reduction in rations is fraught with risk. It will mean further undernourishment, making the people an easy prey to disease. It may even lead to food riots. As for increasing production, it is most difficult, if not utterly impossible, at the present juncture.

A. I am aware that many people hold the views given above. But the argument does not impress me. People will find it unbearable to have their rations further reduced when they are already not getting enough to eat. But, if we accept, as I do, that the Government figures are correct, foresight demands, and it is our duty, to swallow the bitter pill and ask the people to do like wise; that is, we should all eat less so that we can hold out till the next harvest. Today, because of the corrupt administration, the masses do not get even their just dues under the rationing system. It will be a great thing if this can be rectified so that everyone can get his or her share easily and truly. If, however, we believe the Government figures to be wrong and continue the agitation for increased rations, and if the Government concedes that demand, a time will come before the next harvest is in when we shall be left without any food whatsoever and the poor will have to die an untimely death. We should take every care to avoid such a calamity. It will, therefore, be wisdom on our part to put up with a reduction in the present rations.

Then I do not think it is impossible to grow more foodstuffs, though I agree that it is difficult. The difficulty is due to our lack of knowledge and the requisite skill. If we are all optimistic and courageous and employ ourselves forthwith to produce whatever food we can by our individual effort, we shall probably be able before long to give the people a balanced diet and shorten the period of reduced rations.

My optimism is irrepressible, but I admit that nothing will be possible without whole-hearted co-operation on the part of both the Government and the public. Without it, even the imported foodstuffs may be squandered and maldistributed. Besides,

[1] Originally published in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*", 17-2-1946.

we are not yet independent. Relying on outside help will make us still more dependent. If, however, without relying on them, we do get imports of foodstuffs, we shall gratefully accept and make the best use of them. While it is the duty of the Government to try to get food from outside, I do not think it is good for us to look either to them or to other countries. What is more, disappointment from that direction will be positively harmful for the morale of our people in these hard times. But, if the people become united and determined to look to none save God for help and do not oppose such Governmental measures as they find useful, there will be no cause for disappointment. Such action will enable the people to emerge stronger from the ordeal, and foreign countries will think of their duty to send us food of their own accord wherever they can spare it. 'God helps those who help themselves.' How can others withhold help from the self-reliant? The British Government, during their hour of need, took away all that India had, and today we have to put up with the consequences of their action. Need we then tell them and those whom they helped by depleting India's resources that their duty today is towards India ?

Q. India does not produce enough cotton. This has to be imported from Africa and America. Peasants are not allowed to grow cotton, the reason given being that they should grow more food.

A. This cannot apply to those who grow cotton for their own use. It can only be applicable in the case of those who grow cotton as a money crop. The Government has committed the crime of making cotton a commercial commodity. This sin cannot be wiped out by importing cotton. That can only aggravate the wrong. The export of cotton was made solely for the benefit of Lancashire. It thus became a commercial commodity in an artificial manner. I can understand the prohibition against growing large quantities of cotton during war in certain areas in the interests of food production. To prohibit the growing of cotton altogether and depend on imports for our needs is no remedy for food scarcity. Wherever possible people should grow cotton for their own use. I might understand, and even tolerate, the policy of importing cotton for the use of Indian cloth mills. But, if this policy prohibits the growing of cotton for the individual's own use, it becomes wholly untenable and must, therefore, be strongly resisted. This is a matter for the consideration of both the Government and the public.

SEVAGRAM, February 16, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

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152. MEANING OF GOD[1]

A correspondent writes:

> I am reading your *Gita Bodh* these days and, trying to understand it, I am puzzled by what Lord Krishna says in the tenth discourse[2].
>
> "In dicer's play I am the conquering double eight. Nothing, either good or evil, can take place in this world without my will." Does God then permit evil? If so, how can He punish the evil-doer? Has God created the world for this purpose? Is it impossible then for mankind to live in peace?

To say that God permits evil in this world may not be pleasing to the ear. But if He is held responsible for the good, it follows that He has to be responsible for the evil too. Did not God permit Ravana to exhibit unparalleled strength? Perhaps the root cause of the perplexity arises from a lack of the real understanding of what God is. God is not a person. He transcends description. He is the Law-maker, the Law and the Executor. No human being can well arrogate these powers to himself. If he did, he would be looked upon as an un-adulterated dictator.[3] This does not befit a man. They become only Him whom we worship as God. This is the reality, a clear understanding of which will answer the question raised by the correspondent.

The question whether it is impossible for mankind ever to be at peace with one another does not arise from the verse quoted. The world will live in peace only when the individuals composing it make up their minds to do so. No one can deny the possibility nor say when that will come to pass. Such questions are idle waste of time. To a good man the whole world is good. By following this golden rule the correspondent can live in peace under all circumstances, believing that what is possible for him to be is also possible for others. To believe the contrary connotes pride and arrogance.

SEVAGRAM, February 16, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] Verse 36

[3] In place of this sentence, *Harijanbandhu* has: "If he did, we see him as Emperor Nero (devil), as the Viceroy here, the Law-maker, the Law and the Executor."

153. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You cannot detain me there till April 3. I have already written[1] to you that you may keep me there for 15 days at the most. I must see through what I have started. I have even accepted engagements outside Bardoli after the 19th. You can take all the work you want from me during my fifteen days in Bardoli. I have discussed everything with Bhai Kher[2]. Of that more when we meet. I am quite busy at present.

I am sorry to hear about Bhulabhai's[3] illness. I should like to go and see him before you take me home from the railway station. My silence will not come in the way. I think Mathuradas[4] will be able to come and see me at Birla Bhavan.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 295-6

154. TALK WITH MEMBERS OF TALIMI SANGH[5]

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1946

It would not, therefore, do for you to say in the present crisis that you are occupied with your educational activity whilst the people are threatened with death due to starvation. Nayee Talim must react to the present situation by converting itself into an instrument for increasing our food supply and teaching people how to meet the danger of food shortage. If the students under

[1] *Vide* p. 125.
[2] B. G. Kher
[3] Bhulabhai Desai's
[4] Mathuradas Trikumji also was ill at the time.
[5] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter"; Zakir Husain and some members of the Sangh came in the afternoon.

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Nayee Talim can produce even a part of their food requirement, they will to that extent release food for others, besides teaching them self-help by their personal example.

You do not know the kind of land we had to begin with in South Africa. Who would give good land to 'coolies', as we were called there? But by dint of application we were able to convert it into a fruit orchard.[1]

If I were in your place, I would not use the plough to begin with. I would arm our children with the hoe, and teach them to use it effectively. It is an art. Bullock power can come later. Similarly I would not like you to be deterred by the poor quality of the soil. A thin top layer of loam or compost can enable us to grow many a useful vegetable and pot herb. A beginning can be made at once by converting night-soil into manure by the shallow trenching system. The conversion does not need more than a fortnight. Every pint of water whether from bathing and ablutions or from the kitchen should be turned into the backyard vegetable beds. Not a drop of water should be allowed to be wasted. Greens can be grown in earthen pots and even discarded old tins. No opportunity should be neglected, however trifling. The cumulative result, then, if the practice is on a nation-wide scale, will be colossal.

Harijan, 3-3-1946

155. PROCEEDINGS OF THE HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA MEETING, WARDHA[2]

[On or after *February 16, 1946*][3]

A meeting of this Sabha was held on February 15 and 16. Important extracts of the proceedings are given below:

A committee comprising Shri Kaka Kalelkar, Shri M. Satyanarayan, Dr. Tarachand, Shri Maganbhai Desai and Shri Shriman Narayan Agrawal (Secretary) be appointed to suggest necessary amendments to the Sabha's Constitution.

The following Associate Members can be appointed Members of the Sabha under Rule 5 of the Election Circular:

Dr. Jaffar Hassan, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Shri A. M. Khwaja,

[1] According to Pyarelal, "someone had complained that the land at the disposal of the Sevagram Talimi Sangh was of a poor quality".

[2] This appeared under the title "Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha".

[3] Inferred from the contents.

Shri Jugatram Dave, Shri Shrinath Singh, Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya, Shri Pyarelal, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Smt. Yashodhara Dasappa, Smt. Prema Kantak, Shri Devprakash Nayyar, Shri Shripad Joshi.

The first three examinations in Hindustani should not be conducted from Wardha but as far as possible the responsibility for them should be placed on the Provinces. The fourth, or the final examination, should be conducted from Wardha.

The responsibility for conducting the final examination and supervising the other three examinations will rest with a committee consisting of the following members:

Shri Kaka Kalelkar, Shri Shriman Narayan Agrawal and Shri Amritlal T. Nanavati (Secretary).

The syllabus for the fourth examination will be along these lines:

Paper 1: Hindustani Prose
Paper 2: Hindustani Poetry
Paper 3: Language and Grammar
Paper 4: Essay and Translation
Paper 5: Oral Examination

The work of selecting text-books for this examination will be taken up by Shri Kaka Kalelkar and Shri Shriman Narayan Agrawal, who will be assisted by the following members:

Dr. Tarachand, Shri Sudarshan, Shri Satyanarayan and Smt. Raihana Tyabji.

The final decision about the text-books will be taken by the Working Committee.

An institution named "Hindustani Pracharak Madrasa" should be opened in Wardha. It will work from July to April.

Selected students from the all-India body will be recruited in this school.

The following committee is being appointed for running this school:

Shri Kaka Kalelkar, Chairman
Shri Shriman Narayan Agrawal, Secretary
Shri Amritlal T. Nanavati, Member
Shri Shrinath Banhatti, Member
Smt. Raihana Tyabji, Member

The following subjects will be taught in this school:

Paper 1: History of the Hindustani Language and an advanced study of Hindustani.

Paper 2: Hindustani Language and the origin and development of the language Hindustani, its structure and grammar.

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Paper 3: Knowledge of Hindi and Urdu—language and literature.

Paper 4: Methods of teaching.

Paper 5: History of Indian civilization.

Paper 6: India's communal problem.

Paper 7: Art of translation.

Paper 8: Indian languages, and an elementary knowledge of their literatures.

The work of selecting text-books for the study of these subjects will be done by Shri Kaka Kalelkar and Shri Shriman Narayan Agrawal. In this work they will be assisted by the following members:

Shri Satyanarayan, Dr. Tarachand, Shri Sudarshan and Smt. Raihana Tyabji.

The final decision regarding the text-books will be taken by the Working Committee.

On finishing the course at this school, candidates passing the examination will be awarded the 'Hindustani Pracharak' diploma.

Perinbehn Captain, Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Bombay, has proposed that the area of operation of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Bombay, should not be restricted to Bombay city only and that it should be permitted to work in the suburbs of Bombay, up to Kalyan on the G. I. P. Railway line and up to Virar on the B. B. & C. I. Railway line.

It was agreed to accept provisionally the proposal of Perinbehn Captain.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 3-3-1946

156. IGNORANT WASTE[1]

Shri Jhaverbhai Patel of A. I. V. I. A.[2], who knows his subject, writes:[3]

> Since the cutting off of the supply of rice from Burma, there has been an acute shortage of rice in India. To meet this quantitative deficiency, Government prohibited the polishing of rice beyond a certain degree. If polishing had been banned altogether, the deficiency . . . would

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] All-India Village Industries' Association

[3] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> have been more than met.... Government could not introduce that measure.... but ... even the halting step taken by the Government has been put to naught without the intelligent co-operation of the people. Since the Government has begun supplying undermilled rice, consumers have begun getting the rationed rice polished.... The most effective way to get whole rice find its permanent way into our dietary is to teach our womenfolk the science of dietetics.

It is very true that this peremptory reform can be brought about quickly by educating our women in the art of conservative cookery. How this education can be imparted is a serious question. Schools and colleges are perhaps the most ready-made media, let alone the Press and the platform. If the people are to save themselves and the starving millions during this critical period, the Press and the platform have to respond to the urgent need.

SEVAGRAM, February 17, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

157. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 17, 1946

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. I should certainly like it, if Anna lives in the Ashram but the question is whether he will be able to adjust himself to the Ashram atmosphere. Hence write to him all that you should about this point. Pass on this letter to him. He had a talk with me and his response had the same tone. That is why he had said that he would be able to pull on for two or three months. It was proposed that he would work with Jagannath Das and at the same time help in the working of *Bharati*. I cannot make out what has happened about all that. His letter is not clear whether he will come alone or with his family. A lot of work can be found in the Ashram itself, and later he can be accommodated under you as it suits all. This is all I can think of at the moment. It will be all right even if you pass on this letter itself adding to it whatever you think fit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do have Ranade's book but have not read it. Maybe, I shall bring it myself or send it on.

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

158. SPEECH TO TEACHERS, SEVAGRAM[1]

February 17, 1946

We should try to draw all the children towards us. We should admit that it is our fault if some do not come to us. They should all want to come to us.

We should treat those children who come to us as our own children. If their body and mind become sound and they acquire normal discipline, we should be satisfied that our purpose has been served.

I have taught many boys. I never allowed them to indulge in mischief. If they were under my care, I would educate them in such a way that they would learn from their very childhood that the desire to destroy was a very bad thing. Whatever they do, they should create something, produce something. There is an art in making anything and whatever they make should be artistic.

I do not believe that children are either good or bad from their very birth. Some tendency is there, but we have to mould them. This means that an infant starts learning right from the time of conception. At that time I would teach the mother. That would be a part of adult education. The training of the infant begins from that stage. We have to train the future generation on these lines. Till the child is separated from the mother, I would teach the mother. The infant is ever moving its hands and feet and is able to do something. If we are able to take under our care children of two or two and a half years of age and if they learn to move their hands and feet according to our method, I cannot set any limits to their progress.

If the child is put under our care, he will not destroy anything. He will feel hurt in doing so.

Whatever education we give to the children, it should be constructive and creative but never destructive.

[1] This appeared under the title "Pre-Basic Education", as summarized by Sushila Nayyar.

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When the child starts speaking, he starts learning a language. First you should teach him to distinguish different colours. Begin teaching him the letters of the alphabet only with the help of the pictures. Don't you have charts showing 1-2, A-B and so on? Reading, writing and arithmetic will come in due course of time and the child will not be overstrained. His education should be a form of play.

Whatever thing he makes should be useful. In this way his mind and hands and feet develop in co-ordination.

There are no distinctions between work and play in basic education. For a child everything is play. I would go so far as to say that thus his whole life becomes a kind of game. I have been doing this for many years now. I never feel that it is time for play and I should go and play. For me even writing is a game. Under basic education of my conception children will learn while playing.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 17-3-1946

159. NEW POLICY AND BOMBAY KHADI BHANDAR

The following figures[1] have been received from the All-India Spinners' Association Bhandar. They deserve to be studied. The progress of khadi under the new policy will, in some matters, have to be measured in the inverse ratio. No doubt the more spinning-wheels the city-dwellers buy, the better; it means that more of them learn spinning. But the sooner slivers stop selling, the better. The only condition is that the number of persons desirous of learning carding and spinning should increase. If the people are really enthusiastic, Vinobaji's experiments should bear some fruit. Whatever it may be, this much is clear that one who spins should himself card his cotton and make slivers out of it. For this the process of carding should be made easy. The answer to this is in hand-carding.

Khadi may be kept in a bhandar, but the bhandar should present the appearance of a school. The persons working in a bhandar, if I may call them employees, should necessarily be volunteers. They do not cease to be volunteers, if they accept less than their market value and do the work because of love of khadi. All of them should be proficient in ginning, carding,

[1] Not reproduced here

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spinning and in teaching all these. The greater the number of those who can weave, the better. We have done very few experiments regarding weaving. The real bhandar of my conception is an extensive plot near a suburb of Bombay where all these processes go on and are taught.

Difficulties should not overwhelm us; we should overcome them, that is, get rid of them. If it is true that swaraj lies in khadi, there are bound to be difficulties. Here, in the path of non-violence, they will be the least.

IN THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY, February 18, 1946

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 17-3-1946

160. LETTER TO RAMESHWAR

ON THE TRAIN,
February 18, 1946

CHI. RAMESHWAR,

I have no faith in this plan. Nothing can be achieved by having the building alone. I have told them that so many trustees are not required. Even if one intelligent, honest and hard-working man is available, the work can go on. I tried to get one sister but was unsuccessful. What is the use of getting a sister from a far-off place? What would be gained by asking her to meet me in Bardoli? I shall be immersed in work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C. W. 10417

161. OH! FOR OUR ENGLISH!

How nice it would be, if we had newspapers only in our own languages. We would not then be blind persons, one mistaking the tail for the elephant, another the tusks, a third the trunk, for the noble animal—all wise in their own conceit, yet all wrong in essence. Thus I in my conceit said[1], and still say, that the opposition to Rajaji was, and is, confined to a clique. An esteemed friend and others maintain that I have made a serious

[1] *Vide* pp. 88 and 133.

blunder[1] in calling the opposition by this name. My appellation cannot be, and was not, meant to be applied to the Congress organization, whether provincial, central or any other, which, like the king, can do no wrong. A clique generally does the wrong thing. But surely both my critics and I are right, each in our own way, and both are wrong. All this bother over the use of a foreign word! If I had written in the national [language] or my mother tongue, we would not have quarrelled over a word. Only let me close the Rajaji episode by saying that if I am wrong in the use of the word or in my estimate of Rajaji, no one need follow me. I have no official authority. The loss will be purely mine in that, for a wrong estimate, I shall have lost much or some of the moral weight I possess.

My purpose, however, just now is to quarrel with the reporter who, in trying to translate my Hindustani speech[2] at the Goseva Sangh meeting into English, has made me say the opposite of what I had said and meant. A handsome and delicate compliment has been turned into an indelicate reflection. There was no 'if' about my saying that Janakibai, the widow of the late Jamnalalji, was the rightful first successor of her late husband, even as the late Ramabai was of her later husband Justice Ranade. Next to her were his children. They might fail, but those of us who had gathered together to honour the memory of the deceased were also heirs, only if we were true. We were heirs by choice unlike the heirs through relationship. I am sure that the delicate compliment I paid in my indifferent Hindustani was not lost upon the widow, the children who are all working for the cause, or the number of friends who filled the pandal which was specially constructed for the purpose. All were heirs in a common and noble service which constituted a limitless inheritance. I prided myself on the message which was altogether lost in transmission through a foreign medium. Could it have been reported and transmitted in Hindustani, it would have gone home to the readers.

I have not been able to read the whole report. Let me, therefore, complete it by briefly stating the other two thoughts I placed before the meeting. Cattle preservation was one of the major problems of India. It was not to be solved by speeches or money. It could only be solved by the Goseva Sangh possessing many cattle experts who understood and gave themselves to

[1] *Vide* p. 138.
[2] *Vide* pp. 123-4.

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the problem, and by the mercantile community doing its work in the spirit of service rather than in the spirit of self-aggrandizement and exploitation. If they applied their undoubted talent to cattle-preservation, they could render great service to India. They need not be overwhelmed by the vastness of the problem. Each one was to think what he could do, and do it thoroughly, irrespective of his neighbour or others. Therefore the central body was to concentrate on producing milk and bringing milk cheaply to every inhabitant of Wardha. In the end they would discover that they had solved the cattle problem for India.

Lastly I asked them to bear in mind Aruna Asaf Ali's well-meant taunt that in thinking of their benefactor, the four-footed animal, they might not forget their elder friend, the biped of India, who made up the forty crores and without whom cattle could not exist for one day. Therefore every honest man owed it to himself, and the country, only to eat what he must for living healthily and not a morsel for indulgence. Every man, woman and child of understanding should try to grow for the use of India two blades of grass where today only one was growing. If they worked intelligently, honestly and co-operatively in hope, they would find that they could tide over the impending calamity without fuss, without anxiety and with dignified bearing.

BOMBAY, February 18, 1946

Harijan, 24-2-1946

162. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

February 18, 1946

There is a time for laughing and shouting and a time for observing silence and being serious. I have often said that a people who want to be free should learn to mount to the gallows with a smile upon the face. But laughter becomes an offence against decorum, if it is out of season. Similarly shouting out of season is an exhibition of bad manners. It becomes a man to remember his Maker all the twenty-four hours. If that cannot be done, we should at least congregate at prayer time to renew our covenant with God. Whether we are Hindus or Mussalmans, Parsis,

[1] The speech is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". Gandhiji, taking advantage of a day's halt in Bombay on his way to Poona, addressed in Hindustani a prayer gathering at Rungta House in the evening.

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Christians or Sikhs, we all worship the same God. Congregational prayer is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship. Mass singing of *Ramdhun* and the beating of *tala* are its outward expression. If they are not mechanical performance but are an echo of the inner unison, as they should be, they generate a power and an atmosphere of sweetness and fragrance which has only to be seen to be realized.

In the police and the army, physical drill and training in the use of arms are regarded as an essential part of discipline. Military training includes marching in step and executing of movements to order in the mass noiselessly and harmoniously too. The mass singing of *Ramdhun* and the accompaniment of *tala* are as much a part of discipline in non-violence as physical drill and training in the use of arms are that of military discipline.

Gandhiji, however, warned them that his advice must appeal to their hearts, not merely to their heads, if it was to bear fruit. Dry intellect would not take them far.

Turning next to the food crisis, he said, it presented a grim prospect. They could criticize the Government as much as they liked for its share in it. He himself had not been sparing in his criticism of the Government in the past and he would do so again when the occasion demanded it even though he stood alone. He stood by what he had said in 1942. If the British had stayed in India as the servants of the people, not their masters, and purely to defeat the Axis powers, he would have had nothing to say. Instead they had in their arrogance cast to the winds the warnings and protests of the people's representatives and denuded India of her vital resources, though perhaps not deliberately, with the result that they all knew. Nevertheless he could understand the food shortage. But cloth shortage he could not understand at all. India could grow any amount of cotton. He said:

In this land of ours, fabulously rich in natural resources, there is the lofty Himalayas with its everlasting snows where, they say, dwells the Lord of the Universe. It has mighty rivers like the Ganges. But owing to our neglect and folly, the year's rains are allowed to run down into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. If all this water was trapped and harnessed to irrigational purposes by the construction of dams and tanks, there should be no famine or food shortage in India. Similarly cloth shortage can immediately be remedied by planting a miniature mill in every home in the form of a spinning-wheel or a *takli*. That would give us all the cloth that we need almost for nothing. I have cried myself hoarse in pressing this

solution on the Government. It is immediately feasible, and it is my claim that not a single person need go naked, if necessary steps are taken to put it into operation. The only obstacles in the way are the inertia and prejudice in high places.

In regard to the food shortage, I admit that Government alone has adequate resources to cope with it. But even so we need not apathetically resign ourselves to fate, fixing our gaze at the skies for the rains to come. There is an inexhaustible reservoir of water in the bowels of the earth. It should be tapped, even though we may have to dig two thousand feet deep for it, and used for growing food. We may not blame fate before we have exhausted all available means for combating a threatening calamity.

Today there is a lot of wastage in food going on in big cities like Bombay in the form of feasts and ceremonies. It is the sacred duty of every man, woman and child to conserve every grain of food and every drop of oil and ghee in this crisis. One should eat no more than necessary to keep the body in health and fitness when millions are faced with the prospect of death through starvation. The foodstuffs thus saved car be distributed among the needy poor—not as alms but as remuneration for honest labour.

The *Harijan* which resumed publication recently, had a part to play in the present crisis. He advised them to read it as it would be for their good.[1]

Proceeding, Gandhiji diagnosed the present helplessness of the country to the double slavery—slavery under the foreign yoke and slavery to our own inertia and sloth. As an instance of the latter he mentioned the fitful and inadequate response to the offer under the new khadi plan of the Bombay Kalbadevi Khadi Bhandar to provide instruments of, and instruction in, spinning and carding and the allied processes to all those who cared. If we were not under the hypnotic spell of inertia and laziness, the people of Bombay should flock to the Khadi Bhandar in an unending stream day and night and make in no time the shortage of cloth a thing of the past.

The political slavery, they all hoped and he shared that hope, would soon end. But the removal of the foreign yoke won't necessarily bring freedom to the people in the real sense of the term. The Congress President had only the other day denounced[2] the recent happenings in Calcutta as being unworthy of a people who aspired to be free. He hoped that they would never disgrace themselves again like that. They were greatly deceiving themselves, if they thought that by indulging in hooliganism they

[1] These two sentences are from *The Hindu*, 20-2-1946.

[2] On February 12, in his statement to the Associated Press of India

would be able to make the British quit India. They would belie their creed and demean themselves in the eyes of the world if, after pledging themselves to truth and non-violence as their only means for the attainment of swaraj, they exhibited their impotent wrath by indulging in looting, stone-throwing, arson and abuse. He repeated what he had previously said that if 40 crores of Indians resolved unanimously and wholeheartedly that they would have swaraj through truth and non-violence alone, it would be theirs for the asking. But, if they lacked that faith, it was open to them to repudiate non-violence openly and after due deliberation. People like him might question their wisdom but nobody would charge them with falsehood and cowardice. He was afraid, they could not escape that charge today. He reminded them of Capt. Shah Nawaz's declaration[1] that Netaji Bose had told them that on their return to India they would be expected to serve their country not by means of the sword but through non-violence.

Granted that India produced sufficient arms and ammunition and men who knew the art of war, what part or lot will those who cannot bear arms have in the attainment of swaraj? I want swaraj in the winning of which even women and children would contribute an equal share with physically the strongest. That can be under ahimsa only. I would, therefore, stand for ahimsa as the only means for obtaining India's freedom even if I were alone.

Harijan, 3-3-1946

163. PURSES FOR PUBLIC MEN[2]

An interesting case of the use of purses presented to a public person has recently come under my observation. I received many purses from the public. Thus, during my recent tour, donations covering over two lakhs were given to me between Calcutta and Madura. Some of them were anonymous, some earmarked, and some donors said, when asked, that I was to use the money in any manner I liked. I have kept no property which I can call my own. Am I entitled to use those donations or a part of them for personal needs? During the whole of my career I have never made any such use and have always advised friends to do likewise. I hold that there is no other course open to persons who enjoy public confidence and to whom the public give donations, fully believing that the money will be used more judiciously and carefully than by themselves for some public purpose. It would

[1] *Vide* p. 19.
[2] This appeared under "Notes".

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be a terrible thing, if the trust reposed in one were abused for personal purposes. Ruinous consequences of such use can be better imagined than described. Public service must be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion.

BOMBAY, February 19, 1946
Harijan, 24-2-1946

164. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, C. P. PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

POONA,
February 20, 1946

SECRETARY
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
NAGPUR

GENERAL AWARI'S FAST[1] ENTIRELY MISPLACED. HE SHOULD DESIST.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

165. TELEGRAM TO AGA KHAN

Express

POONA,
February 20, 1946

THE AGA KHAN
MALABAR HILL

THANKS WIRE. DATE DEATH[2] TWENTY-SECOND. WOULD LIKE TO VISIT CREMATION GROUND THEN. IF

[1] Manchershaw Rustomji Awari, popularly known as 'Gen. Awari' after his "movement of civil disobedience with regard to the Arms Act and the Explosive Substances Act designed for the release of Bengal detenus" in 1927, *vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 337-8, was Treasurer of Central Provinces Congress Committee, and also an office-bearer of Nagpur Parliamentary Board. He went on hunger-strike from February 18 in protest against what he called acts of injustice by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress, of which Vallabhbhai Patel was Chairman, in rejecting the nominations, including his, proposed by the Nagpur Pradesh Congress Committee for a seat in Nagpur General Urban constituency. *Vide* also p. 177 and pp. 177-8; also p. 191.

[2] Of Kasturba Gandhi

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YOU ARE THERE THEN I WOULD GLADLY COMBINE PILGRIMAGE WITH OUR MEETING. WOULD NOT CARE SPARE FURTHER TIME OUT OF LIMITED TIME MY DISPOSAL.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

166. TELEGRAM TO PIROJA WADIA

POONA,
February 20, 1946

PIROJA WADIA
PANORAMA
WALKESHWAR ROAD, BOMBAY

COME ANY DAY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

167. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
February 20, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I refer to the letter[1] I wrote on November 25, 1945, when Sir Evan Jenkins was P. S. V. He asked me to send Shri Prabhu Dayal Vidyarthi to New Delhi which I did. Since then my son has been in correspondence with me as he was seen by Sir John Thorne[2] in this connection. But I have had no official intimation of the result of the examination or what is proposed to be done.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 64

[1] It was about torture and bad treatment in prison of Prabhu Dayal Vidyarthi and Rammanohar Lohia; *vide* Vol. LXXXII, pp. 114-5.

[2] Home Member

[3] The addressee's reply dated March 12, read: "I am sorry for the delay over answering your letter of 20th February about Mr. Vidyarthi's case. The Home Member had discussed the whole matter with your son Mr. Devdas Gandhi; he had also promised to let him know the result of certain investigations which are still proceeding at Nagpur."

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168. LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI

POONA,
February 20, 1946

CHI. PUSHPA,

It is all right, if you refrain from writing in order to save my time. Otherwise you must write.

I hope you are in high spirits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9270

169. NOTE TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

February 20, 1946

Here is my idea:

At present do not admit any patient unless I send him or for whom I cannot arrange the expenses from the fund that is earmarked for the poor. This way the poor, but not the destitute, will be accommodated.

2. Examine any poor patient, whether male or female. Give him a bath, if necessary; also the syringe, if necessary. Prescribe the diet in writing. He should himself procure it. If he asks for it, we may give it but he should pay for it. They need not be made to lie down in a large tub; should be seated to have a a hip-bath and bathed with a shower. There should be provision to clean all parts of the body. [The patient] should be given nude sun-bath. He may put on a *langoti*[1]. There should be separate arrangement for women but no separate arrangement for individual patients.

3. Let him take as much clean drinking-water as he can. Those who cannot afford oranges, etc., should be given honey, lime and water.

4. Only those for whom such treatment is enough should be attended to. This includes indigestion, fever, smallpox,

[1] Cod-piece or long strip of cloth to cover frontal nudity

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constipation, headache, eczema, eruption, measles, chicken-pox, itch, dysentery and such other ailments common among the villagers.

For carrying on this work we should take on workers, in proportion to the number of patients, and train them. We should take only those who are prepared to work at least for two years. Generally such workers should stay at their own place. Some of them should give a few hours' free service while some should be paid a regular salary. But all these things will settle down gradually. As our needs grow, a way will suggest itself and we shall know how to implement it.

5. We shall never use foreign medicines nor any organic drugs. Medicines made from plant stalks and as simple as can be procured in the village may be used to some extent. Castor oil may be used, if found necessary.

6. We would need a large number of volunteers for this work. None of them, however, should be highly paid.

7. If this work is broad-based, it can certainly develop into a seat of learning, say, a university.

8. It is my firm belief that if the project works, we shall certainly get as much land and funds as we need.

9. If you cannot appreciate this project but if you can have faith in it, you may go ahead with your work at Bombay until this is put on the rails. Examine other places. I am not inclined to invest in land or a building right now. I wish to carry on with the existing means. If you have the faith, you will, of course, peep in now and then.

10. You must keep your promise to those patients who pay. It is for you to see how it can be done. Whatever amount you get should belong to you. These people may not stay on this site but I think they can stay anywhere in Poona.

If anything is left unanswered, please ask me. I shall reply in writing.

Show this to Jehangirji. After that all three of us can discuss.

You are not to accept defeat and certainly there is no question of despairing. It is the duty of all three of us to fulfil what we have undertaken.

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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170. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

POONA,
February 20, 1946

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have your interesting letter. May the dance-and-music function that you have organized bring good results. We must not understand by music mere singing or playing on an instrument, or by dance mere rhythmic movements. I would say that one understands music only if one's whole life became full of music. Therefore a student of music ought to know how to make himself comfortable, how to communicate with others, etc., whether alone or in society. There should be sweetness in [whatever he does], in his movements, in his eating, drinking. A person who is full of music will be courteous and thoughtful in all his acts.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

171. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

POONA,
February 20, 1946

GURUBANDHU,

I have your letter[2]. Venkatrama Sastriji's handwriting is as neat as yours. I have torn up your letter. Do not worry. My support cannot be had for dividing Hindustan into two parts. I do not think Rajaji's opinion is different. If it is, it will not be acceptable to me. The Aga Khan has not offered the Palace to me, nor have I asked for it, nor do I wish to.

[1] Forwarding this letter to the addressee on February 21, Amrit Kaur said: "Bapu wrote the enclosed for you and asked me to copy it out in clear Hindi which I did. I feel you would treasure the original rough draft, and am, therefore, giving it to Jagadisanji to make over to you. . . . "

[2] In *Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*, p. 366, Jagadisan explains: "At Sastriar's bidding this letter, written from his death-bed, was delivered by me personally to Gandhiji. . . ." Dated February 18, the letter read: "The Aga Khan's offer of the palace to you is genuine and need not be doubted. He is the most acute and wily diplomat in modern India. He began the separatist game and would end it by taking it out of Jinnah's hands and making it

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May you get well and have a long life.[1] What did you do about Valmiki[2]?

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8819

172. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF REWA

DINSHAW MEHTA CLINIC, POONA,
February 20, 1946

MAHARAJA SAHEB[3],

Yesterday you presented me a cheque for Rs. 1,001. I considered whether or not I should accept it. My heart says that I should not; I am, therefore, returning it. Please excuse me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

MAHARAJA
REWA

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

173. QUESTION BOX[4]

Q. You say that one of the contracting parties in a marriage should be a Harijan. I hope you do not call other marriages taboo.

A. This is a good question. I do not believe that all other marriages are taboo. I have pointed to the ideal, the practical attainment of which it is our duty to strive for as speedily as possible.

POONA, February 21, 1946
Harijan, 3-3-1946

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his own. They may not openly work together but their ultimate aim is one. Rajaji is not sound on this matter. Do not let him lead you again. The Punjab and Bengal would be ruined and blast your memory, if you gave them up. Do not let any part of India go out and become independent. It is bound to be a lasting enemy and a blistering sore to India. This letter is written in T. R. Venkatarama Sastri's hand, but is mine."

[1&2] *Vide* p. 64.

[3] Martand Singh, the Yuvaraj who presumably ascended the throne on the dramatic deposition of the Ruler, Gulab Singh Ju Deo, while out on camp near the border, by the Resident Lt. Col. Campbell. The dismissal was condemned by Jawaharlal Nehru, for it implied British displeasure at the ex-maharaja's desire to give self-government to his subjects.

[4] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*", 24-2-1946.

174. MESSAGE TO BRITISH PEOPLE[1]

POONA,
February, 21, 1946

My life itself is a message for the English people.

The Hindu, 24-2-1946

175. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
February 21, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

Here are a few more suggestions to meet the food situation which have been sent to me by friends.

The Indian Army should be given this unique opportunity of doing constructive work. They can be moved about easily. They could, therefore, be sent to all such places where wells need to be dug most urgently.

Regarding additional foods, fish has been mentioned. Fish abounds in the seas around the coasts of India. The war is over; there are innumerable small and medium-sized vessels which were used for doing patrol and guard duties along our shores for the last five years. The Royal Indian Navy could arrange about staffing these with the Department of Fisheries giving all assistance. If everything and anything can be done during a war, why not a peace-time war effort? Dry fish does even now form part of the normal diet of a great number of people who are very poor—that is when it is available and they can afford to buy it.

All public gardens should immediately by law made to start growing vegetables. Squads of army personnel should be put to work here too. People requiring extra labour to transform their

[1] The report said that the message was given to an officer of the British Army in India whose services had been terminated. He told Gandhiji that he would go back to England and propagate India's cause for freedom as he knew how Indians were "exploited under the British rule".

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ground or garden should also be able to obtain free help through this channel.

The distribution of food should be through co-operative societies or similar organizations.

All food parcels to friends or relatives in Britain or elsewhere abroad should be stopped as also the export of groundnuts, oils, oil-cakes, etc.

All stocks of foodstuffs in the hands of the military should be released forthwith and no distinction should be made between military and civil ranks. In this connection I draw His Excellency's attention to the following A. P. I. message published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of February 11, 1946:

> It is learnt that huge quantities of decomposed *atta* are being destroyed for the last few days by throwing them into the river Shitalaksha at Narayanganj.

The campaign against despondency and for growing more food will avail nothing, unless bribery which is going on as never before is stopped and honesty and straight dealing begin to pervade the Government ranks and the public.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI,

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 141-2; also *Harijan*, 17-3-1946

176. LETTER TO ANNIE MASCARENE

POONA,
February 21, 1946

CHI. ANNIE[2],

A report of the speech you made at Bombay has appeared in the newspapers. If it is correct, what you said is not right. Even otherwise, I know that you have no control over your tongue and when you stand up to speak, you blab anything that comes to your mind. This speech also is quite a specimen, if the newspaper report is correct. I have sent the report to Bhai

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix V. The two letters appeared in *Harijan*, 17-3-1946, as "released to the Press by Gandhiji with the consent of His Excellency the Viceroy". *Vide* also pp. 110-2 and 168.

[2] Advocate and political worker; Minister for Health and Electricity, Travancore-Cochin State; Member, Constituent Assembly of India

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Thanu Pillai. You can read it. Such indiscreet talk can do good neither to you nor to the poor people of Travancore. Besides, by your act you put the whole fair sex to shame. Why all this?

Send me a prompt reply. If you address your letter to Sevagram, it will reach me wherever I may be.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

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

177. LETTER TO PATTOM THANU PILLAI

POONA,
February 21, 1946

BHAI THANU PILLAI,

I hope you are well. I send you a report of Annie Mascarene's speech that has appeared in the newspapers. I am also enclosing a copy of the rejoinder that the Sachivottama[2] has sent me. If the speech was as reported, I feel that Annie Mascarene does not deserve to be a co-minister. The Sachivottama writes that it is our duty to admit as much as is true, but to expose what is vile also becomes our duty. With this thing in view, please send me a full reply. If you do not understand the Hindustani, take the help of Bhai Satyanarayana or any other Hindi Pracharak and reply in the *rashtrabhasha* only. If this is not possible, then write in English.

Read my letter[3] to Annie and forward it to her wherever she is.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PATTOM THANU PILLAI]
TRIVANDRUM

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

[1] *Vide* also the following two items.

[2] The Maharaja of Travancore had conferred this title, meaning Prime Minister, on C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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178. LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

POONA,
February 21, 1946

BHAI RAMASWAMI,

I have your letter regarding Mrs. Annie Mascarene's speech. It is good you drew my attention to it. I had not read it before your letter came. I hardly look at any papers, and leave out many things. Though I am not making your letter public, I have written[1] to Annie and also to Bhai Pattom Thanu Pillai. Let me see what the outcome is.

My advice is that in case you do not already have one, you should engage an additional secretary knowing Hindi and Urdu and should correspond, as far as possible, with other Indians in the *rashtrabhasha* and with the Travancore people in their mother tongue. I know a simple thing like this is not beyond you.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI
TRAVANCORE

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

179. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

POONA,
February 21, 1946

CHI. CHAND,

I have your letter. That you keep longing to meet me is as good as meeting me. Get well and be ready [for service]. That is much more important than meeting me. I also like it that you consider Satyavati your ideal. God will take care of the rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 162-3.

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180. COERCIVE FAST

Telegrams and letters condemning my remarks[1] about Rajaji have been received. Some of them say that all the praise bestowed on Rajaji is well-deserved. They admit his integrity, self-sacrifice, great ability and administrative capacity. But they hold his so-called apostasy in 1942 to be unforgivable and add that his scheming to be Premier of Madras is insufferable. For me there is no offence or apostasy in resigning from the Congress and maintaining one's views. If he is scheming to get the Premiership, it is undoubtedly worthy of condemnation and would be a sad discovery for me.

But my purpose in reverting to the subject is not for the sake of defending him. My opinion carries no authority save moral which can be rejected at will. What I want is to reprehend the threat of fasting, or the fast itself, if I do not withdraw the epithet 'clique' in respect of those who are opposing him. I have given my meaning of the word. And I adhered to its use according to that meaning. Nobody should be coerced into changing his belief. There would be an end to all decency and reason, if such fasting became effective. As the author of fasting as a weapon in satyagraha, I must state that I cannot give up an opinion honestly held even if the whole world fasts against me. I might as well give up my belief in God because a body of atheists fasted against such belief. The rule of conduct stated by me is of universal applicability. Incidentally I may mention that the fasts reported of prisoners in some U. P. jails and now of persons[2] aggrieved by the decision of the Parliamentary Board elsewhere fall under the same category though for different and sound reasons.

POONA, February 22, 1946

Harijan, 3-3-1946

[1] *Vide* pp. 88-9, 132-3, 138 and the following item.

[2] The reference is to Manchershaw Awari's fast against the decision of Congress Parliamentary Board; *vide* footnote 1, p. 155.

181. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
February 22, 1946

Among messages and letters condemning my remarks about Rajaji are some from persons threatening to fast, if I do not withdraw the word 'clique'. As the author of fasting as a weapon in the armoury of satyagraha, I must reprehend such use of fasts. No one should give up opinion honestly held even if the whole world were against him. I, therefore, advise against such fasts.[1]

Harijan, 3-3-1946

182. MINUTES OF MEETING OF ALL-INDIA NATURE CURE FOUNDATION TRUSTEES

The first meeting of the trustees of All-India Nature Cure Foundation was held on February 21, 1946, at 10.30 p. m. at. . .[2] where Gandhiji stayed. Gandhiji presided over the meeting. Both the other trustees, Shri Jehangir Patel and Shri Dinshaw Mehta, were present.

I. Regarding the accounts, the following subjects were discussed at length:

1. The weekly expenditure during seven weeks.
2. The details of income.
3. Daily expenses incurred over the indoor and outdoor patients.
4. Expenses incurred on the boarding and lodging of the resident workers and servants.
5. Expenses incurred on construction works and repairs, and also on gardening and the income from garden produce.
6. Account of the bills pertaining to expenses of December 1945 or an earlier period paid in January, so that necessary adjustment can be made with the personal account of Dr. Dinshawji.
7. The statement showing the outstanding amounts, if any, to be recovered from the patients or from any other source.

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[2] Omission as in the source

II. How this institution functioned till today, i. e., January 1, 1946, to February 21, 1946, was discussed in detail. Gandhiji desired that the institution should function according to his views.

III. Elaborate discussion took place amongst the trustees as to how this institution should function in future. Gandhiji expressed his views not only regarding the management but also how treatment should be given so that poor people could derive benefit. Dr. Mehta stated that this method of treatment was only experimental and had very limited scope. But even in its limited form, if it was made available to the people of India and if a Nature Cure University came into being, he was prepared to run the treatment according to Gandhiji's views. And during that period either its success would have been proved or Gandhiji would give up the idea. According to Gandhiji, the creation of a Nature Cure University was the last mission of his life.

The meeting then adjourned to February 22, to meet at 2.15 p.m.

M. K. GANDHI

February 22, 1946

From a facsimile of the Gujarati in *Mahatma*, Vol. 7, between pp. 96 and 97

183. TELEGRAM TO H. L. SHARMA

POONA,
February 22, 1946

DR. H. L. SHARMA[1]
KHURJA

COME HERE TWENTY-SIXTH.

BAPU

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 348

[1] Managing Trustee of Surya Chikitsalaya and Dadeech Seva Sangh, Nawabad, Khurja

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184. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

POONA,
February 22, 1946

MY DEAR MR. ABELL,

In continuation of his letter[1] to you of yesterday's date, Gandhiji wishes me to bring to your notice the following information which has been given to him:

(a) The Managing Director of the New Dholera Steamships Ltd., Bombay, says that one of their boats went out last week with 2951 sacks of pulses called *moong*.

(b) The steamers *Begam* and *Jalajyoti* last month carried to Colombo 35,000 bags of pulses; *moong*, *tur* and *lang* dals on the *Begam* were 1,612, 3,011 and 26,053 bags respectively. The writer says, this is done monthly.

(c) The attached cutting[2] refers to the very large quantities of rice exported as late as September last.

Thanks for yours[3] of the 15th instant. Gandhiji quite understood about the Government communique to the Press.[4]

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 145

[1] *Vide* pp. 161-2.

[2] Pyarelal explains: "The report was to the effect that during the month of July, August, September 1945, 22,504 tons of rice valued at over Rs. 94 lakhs was exported from Calcutta port by one single firm."

[3] Which, *inter alia*, read: "What had been out to the Press was an official communique from New Delhi . . . My telephone message to say nothing except that I had gone to Wardha to apprise Mr. Gandhi of the situation . . . had not been appreciated. . . . We managed to get something into the morning's papers simultaneously with the communique to show that Mr. Gandhi's health was satisfactory. . ." Pyarelal explains: "The official communique was to the effect that Gandhiji was 'unfortunately not well enough to travel' and so the Private Secretary . . . went to see him. . . . But . . . in the communique . . . Mr. Abell was . . . reported to have said . . . that Gandhiji 'is in good health but is a bit tired due to strain of his recent long tour of the country.' " *Vide* also pp. 113-4.

[4] In his reply dated February 25, the addressee said that as he was not aware of the facts, he was "sending on to the Food Department the cutting about the alleged export of rice in July, August and September 1945". He added that they "have been exporting 3,000 tons of pulses per month to Ceylon", which "has now been stopped though the result will be a very serious situation for Ceylon".

185. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 22, 1946

I got your letter. There was nothing improper in what you said. From a philosophical point of view nobody has any right. But we were not discussing philosophy. I see nothing improper in somebody saying to his elder, 'I have a right over you'. I can understand your having such thoughts at present because of your illness. Banish them. I hope your fever has quite gone.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 209

186. LETTER TO VIKRAM SINGH

February 22, 1946

CHI. VIKRAM,

I got your letter. I approve. I am doing all that should be done in that connection.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIKRAM SINGH
C/O SHOORJI VALLABHDAS
BOMBAY MUTUAL BUILDING
POST BOX NO. 34
BOMBAY

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

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187. LETTER TO ANASUYA KALE

POONA,
February 22, 1946

SISTER,

I got your letter. How can it be a matter of right to get elected to the Assembly? It should never be a question of right. The picture of the Congress has room only for service, none for rights. You should be satisfied with what we get while rendering service. Have you forgotten that at Faizpur I had them raised their hands only at your instance and you saw, didn't you, that a very large number did not have their names on the Congress rolls? Yet they rendered service and that too gladly. Of course there were many among them who didn't. For once, even if I accept that the field of service has scope for rights too, you must understand that I neither participated nor have any interest in elections. And I am pained at the rivalry that is rampant in elections.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

SOW. ANASUYA KALE
DHANTOLI
NAGPUR

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

188. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
February 23, 1946

I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interest. This mutiny[1] in the navy and what is following

[1] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1946*, Vol. I, p. 285, the mutiny "against the quality of food supplied . . . and ill-treatment" was started "by the men of H. M. I. S. *Talwar* . . . who secured the sympathy and support of nearly 20,000 men representing the entire Royal Indian Navy personnel". On February 19, "strikers . . . in the Bombay Harbour demonstrated widely and sometimes violently for two hours . . . causing utter confusion and complete hold-up of traffic . . ."

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is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action. Inasmuch as a single person is compelled to shout "Jai Hind" or any popular slogan, a nail is driven into the coffin of swaraj in terms of the dumb millions of India. Destruction of churches and the like is not the way to swaraj as defined by the Congress. Burning of tram-cars and other property, insulting and injuring Europeans is not non-violence of the Congress type, much less mine, if and in so far as it may be different from the Congress. Let the known and unknown leaders of this thoughtless orgy of violence know what they are doing and then follow their bend. Let it not be said that India of the Congress spoke to the world of winning swaraj through non-violent action and belied her word in action and that too at the critical period in her life. I have deliberately used the adjective "thoughtless". For, there is such a thing as thoughtful violent action. What I see happening now is not thoughtful. If the Indian members of the Navy know and appreciate non-violence, the way of non-violent resistance can be dignified, manly and wholly effective, if it is corporate. For the individual it always is. Why should they continue to serve, if service is humiliating for them or India? Action like this I have called non-violent non-co-operation. As it is, they are setting a bad and unbecoming example for India.

A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy and will lead to and probably is a preparation for mutual violence—bad for India and the world.

The rulers have declared their intention to "quit" in favour of Indian rule. Let the action be not delayed by a moment because of the exhibition of distressful unrest which has been lying hidden in the breast. Their might is unquestioned. Its use beyond the bare requirement will be unworthy and even wicked, if it is made to suppress the people or a portion of them. The people have been far too long under the foreign heel.

Harijan, 3-3-1946

189. TELEGRAM TO SARALA DEVI

POONA,
February 23, 1946

SARALADEVI
CARE SARALA
BOMBAY

IMPOSSIBLE TOMORROW. CAN SEE YOU TWENTY-SEVENTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

190. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

POONA,
February 23, 1946

MIRABEHN
CARE POSTMASTER
BAHADRABAD
JWALAPUR

NO CHANCE DELHI. YOU MAY COME TO POONA ANY DATE AFTER MARCH TWENTIETH.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 6516. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9911

191. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
February 23, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I can understand the ordeal you are going through. To what a pass have things come!

Do you want to take me to Bardoli in this situation[1]? I cannot stay there longer than 15 days in any circumstances.

[1] The reference is to riots in Bombay in connection with naval mutiny.

Why need I be taken in a special train? Is it in order to save me from the crowds that the night will have to be spent in the train? I send this with Sushila in the hope that it will reach you earlier. She will give you the details.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 296-8

192. LETTER TO POTTI SRIRAMULU

POONA,
February 23, 1946

BHAI SRIRAMULU[1],

I got your wire today. Of course you have my blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 114

193. LETTER TO T. J. KEDAR

POONA,[2]
February 23, 1946

BHAI KEDAR[3],

I got your letter of the 20th today. I also had the previous one. I deliberately omitted to acknowledge it as it did not call for a reply. There was nothing in it to pain me.

Although I had hoped that you would come and show me your face at Sevagram, I appreciate the reason you give for not coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

[T. J. KEDAR]
NAGPUR

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

[1] A Congressman of Nellore who had asked for Gandhiji's approval to undertake a fast in order to awaken public conscience in favour of opening a temple to Harijans in Nellore. *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 16-3-1946, and "Letter to Potti Sriramulu", 17-3-1946.

[2] This is in Marathi.

[3] Advocate; Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University

194. LETTER TO RAGHAVDAS

POONA,
February 23, 1946

BABA RAGHAVDAS,

I got your letter and was pleased to get it. I shall surely do all I can. Do you get *Harijan Sevak*? What newspapers are you allowed? I hope you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[RAGHAVDAS]
FAIZABAD JAIL

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

195. NOT LONELY

A friend[1] wrote to me the other day how lonely he felt in the midst of company. This remark was prompted by my telling him that I distrusted the word of the official world. He did not, and had thought that I might share his trust. Behold his disappointment when he found me wanting. It may be that was not what he meant by his cryptic letter. Anyway that was my interpretation and I replied[2] that as a man of God, he must never

[1] The reference is to Sudhir Ghosh, who, in *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 77, explains: "It was the evening of 10th February. . . Gandhiji and Dr. Rajendra Prasad reviewed the whole Indian political scene, and I listened quietly to all that they said to me. What bothered me was Gandhiji's repeated statement . . . that he distrusted the word of British officialdom in India and advised me to do likewise . . . He told me that I was not to be 'thrilled' by the attention that was being paid to me by men in high authority like the Viceroy. This hurt, though there was no lack of fatherly love in what he said. . . . I brooded over what Gandhiji had told me about the need to distrust British officials. I was seized with an unusual sense of loneliness. . . . On 16th February I wrote a letter to Gandhiji to unburden myself." For an extract from Sudhir Ghosh's letter, *vide* Appendix VI.

[2] Sudhir Ghosh, who seems to have lost the letter from Gandhiji, says that Gandhiji narrated, "in his own inimitable language, the story of the Prophet Mohammed and his disciple Ali, both of whom were hiding from their persecutors in a dark cave. Ali was afraid and said to his master, 'We are alone.' The master said: 'We cannot be alone. For God is with us.' "

feel lonely. For God was ever with him. Why should he care even if the whole world deserted him? Let him trust in spite of me, as long as the trust came from his heart and not his head.

I feel differently. Mutual trust and mutual love are no trust and no love. The real love is to love them that hate you, to love your neighbour even though you distrust him. I have sound reasons for distrusting the English official world. If my love is sincere, I must love the Englishman in spite of my distrust. Of what avail is my love, if it be only so long as I trust my friend? Even thieves do that. They become enemies immediately the trust is gone.

See what is happening in Bombay[1]—the Bombay where I have passed so much time, which has given the public causes so much money, and which I had thought had fairly imbibed something of ahimsa. Will it prove the burial ground of ahimsa?

I am unable to think that the incendiarism, the looting and the insults heaped upon Englishmen are, or were, acts of hooligans. Who are hooligans? Will there be none when English rule is no more? The fashion of blaming the hooligan ought to be given up. We are the makers of the brand. They respond to the air about them.

Imagine the senselessness of looting grain shops. The looters did not help themselves. Even if they did, they were not starving. The grain was meant for the starving. If it was being misused, looting could not prevent that misuse. Usurpers will always replace the looted grain while there is any to usurp. Between the two sets of looters the starving will be more starved than before.

They who incited the mutineers did not know what they were doing. The latter were bound to submit ultimately. Or was it meant as a lesson in violence? That is not the way to understand history.

I ask myself, and perhaps others are asking, why I am not repeating what I did after Chauri Chaura.[2] I have no call in that direction. When or if it comes, nothing in the world will prevent me, ill or well. Let me reaffirm the truth that I love the Englishman as well as the Indian. Both are humans. Yet I want the rule of and for the masses of India. Lokamanya has taught us that Home Rule or swaraj is our birthright. That

[1] The reference is to the naval mutiny.

[2] The reference is to the suspension of civil disobedience after the inhuman conduct of the mob in February 1922. *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 377-9.

swaraj is not to be obtained by what is going on now in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi.

Let every Congressman, whether four-anna member or not, think for himself where Congress should stand. Let us not deceive ourselves and the world.

POONA, February 24, 1946
Harijan, 3-3-1946

196. NATURE CURE TREATMENT[1]

Nature cure treatment means that treatment which befits man. By 'man' is meant not merely man as animal but as a creature possessing, in addition to his body, both mind and soul. For such a being, Ramanama is the truest nature cure treatment. It is an unfailing remedy. The expression *ramban*, or infallible cure, is derived from it. Nature too indicates that for man it is the worthy remedy. No matter what the ailment from which a man may be suffering, recitation of Ramanama from the heart is the sure cure. God has many names. Each person can choose the name that appeals most to him. Iswar, Allah, Khuda, God mean the same. But the recitation must not be parrot-like, it must be born of faith of which endeavour will be some evidence. What should the endeavour consist of ? Man should seek out and be content to confine the means of cure to the five elements of which the body is composed, i. e., earth, water, *akash*, sun and air. Of course Ramanama must be the invariable accompaniment. If, in spite of this, death supervenes, we may not mind. On the contrary, it should be welcomed. Science has not so far discovered any recipe for making the body immortal. Immortality is an attribute of the soul. That is certainly imperishable but it is man's duty to try to express its purity.

If we accept the above reasoning, it will automatically limit the means permissible under nature cure. And man is thereby saved from all the paraphernalia of big hospitals and eminent doctors, etc. The large majority of persons in the world can never afford these. Why then should the few desire what the many cannot have?

POONA, February 24, 1946
Harijan, 3-3-1946

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared under "Notes" as "from *Harijan Sevak*", published simultaneously with the source.

197. LETTER TO DAMODAR DAS MUNDADA

POONA,
February 24, 1946

CHI. DAMODAR,

I have read the statement[1] of Gen. Awari. My opinion stands that nothing can be done under the pressure of fast. Public life will become worthless, if things could be achieved in this manner through coercion. Fast has several limitations. Fasts which transgress those limitations, I consider as disastrous to public life. Gen. Awari ought to see this simple thing and give up his fast. After that it is open to him to say what he wants to. It is not also correct to say, as Gen. Awari does, that there is no appeal against Sardar's decision. There is the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee.

You can show this letter to anybody.

The Hitavada, 27-2-1946

198. LETTER TO MANCHERSHAW R. AWARI

POONA,
February 24, 1946

BHAI AWARI,

Your hunger-strike is not right. I hope you got my wire.[2] Can such self-torture prove anything, or turn a falsehood into truth? This kind of obduracy is not worthy of you or anyone else. I think no one would stop a person who sets out to commit

[1] According to the report, this was shown to Gandhiji by the addressee, "who was deputed by Acharya Dharmadhikari to secure Gandhiji's help to persuade Gen. Awari to give up his fast". Awari had stated: "It was a farce to appoint a Parliamentary Board while Sardar Saheb had decided to sweep off the whole list selected by the Nagpur Parliamentary Board. . . . Ours was the only Province where the President of the Parliamentary Board was not a candidate for the Assembly. . . . I will go on with this fast, a death warrant and . . . no persuasion . . . shall budge me from my determination except the removal of the grievances before or even after this election."

[2] Presumably, "Telegram to Secretary, C. P. Provincial Congress Committee", *vide* p. 155.

suicide in this way. Does Bhai Pooranchand approve of this obduracy? I do hope, you will not exhibit your ignorance by claiming your action to be God's prompting. You may, if you like, file an appeal. Give up your fast.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

AWARI
NAGPUR

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

199. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

POONA,
February 24, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Write and ask Awari to give up the fast and to send a statement to the Working Committee or to the All-India Congress Committee presenting his case. And of course he may appeal to the public.[2]

You must have received the earlier letter[3] sent with Sushila. Personally I feel that you should now give up the idea of taking me to Bardoli. I will of course do as you say but you must not leave Bombay. If there is anything about which you want to see me, do come here. I shall come, if you want me there. My work here will be over in a few days.

The differences of opinion in the Working Committee are very harmful at present. Think over this. Frankness is essential. Please do not drive yourself too hard.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 299-300

[1] The addressee's reply, reported under date line "Nagpur, February 27" in *The Hindu*, 1-3-1946, read: "I had expected you to tell me where I am wrong. You say that under pressure of fast nothing can be done. This argument was advanced by the British Government whenever you launched upon a fast. I had not expected you to adopt the slogan of the British Government. Fasts against humiliation and injustice are not suicide." *Vide* also the preceding and the following items.

[2] *Vide* also the preceding item, and p. 186.

[3] *Vide* pp. 172-3.

200. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

POONA,
February 24, 1946

CHI. DINSHAW,

I continue to think about you. I also had a talk with Jehangirji. The poor will never be treated properly unless a sanitary[1] sense[2] awakens in you. The servants' chawl is a shame. Filth reigns. I think you should remove them from there. This is your task and nobody else's. It cannot be done by others. Something can possibly be done only if you hand over vacant possession of the premises. You may transfer absolute custody on a date which you would yourself appoint. You can relieve Munnalal with immediate effect [if not also a few others]. What else can I say?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
POONA

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

201. TWO REQUESTS[3]

A friend suggests that I should resume writing my autobiography[4] from the point where I left off and, further, that I should write a treatise on the science of ahimsa.

I never really wrote an autobiography. What I did write was a series of articles narrating my experiments with truth which were later published in book form. More than twenty[5] years have elapsed since then. What I have done or pondered during this interval has not been recorded in chronological order. I would love to do so but have I the leisure? I have resumed the

[1] & [2] These two words are in English.

[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX.

[5] *Harijanbandhu* has "twenty-five".

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publication of *Harijan* in the present trying times as a matter of duty. It is with difficulty that I can cope with this work. How can I find time to bring the remainder of my experiments with truth up to date? But if it is God's will that I should write them, He will surely make my way clear.

To write a treatise on the science of ahimsa is beyond my powers. I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain, and what I understand, according to my lights, to be my duty, and what comes my way, I do. All my action is actuated by the spirit of service. Let anyone who can systematize ahimsa into a science do so, if indeed it lends itself to such treatment. In the event of my inability, the correspondent has suggested three names in order of preference for this task: Shri Vinoba, Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala, Shri Kaka Kalelkar. The first named could do it, but I know he will not. Every hour of his is scheduled for his work and he would regard it as sacrilege to take a single moment therefrom for writing a Shastra. I would agree with him. The world does not hunger for Shastras. What it craves, and will always crave, is sincere action. He who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a Shastra.

Shri Kishorelal has already written an independent treatise. If his health permits, I know he would like to write further. It may not be correct to call his work a Shastra, but it may be said to be very near to one. In his present state of health, however, I do not think he can shoulder the burden, and I would be the last person to lay it on him. Like Shri Vinoba he too does not allow a moment of his time to be wasted. Much of it is given to help solve the personal problems of large circle of friends. The end of the day leaves him utterly exhausted.

Shri Kakasaheb, like Shri Thakkar, is an incorrigible nomad. Just now he has made the propagation and development of the national and provincial languages his special concern. Even if he wanted to divert a moment of his time to the writing of a Shastra, I would try to prevent him from doing so.

From the above it may be concluded that there is no need at present for the treatise in question. Any such during my lifetime would necessarily be incomplete. If at all, it could only be written after my death. And even so let me give the warning that it would fail to give a complete exposition of ahimsa. No man has ever been able to describe God fully. The same holds true of ahimsa. I can give no guarantee that I will do or believe tomorrow what I do or hold to be true today. God alone is omniscient. Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may

be described as being made in the image of God, but he is far from being God. God is invisible, beyond the reach of the human eye. All that we can do, therefore, is to try to understand the words and actions of those whom we regard as men of God. Let them soak into our being and let us endeavour to translate them into action, but only so far as they appeal to the heart. Could any scientific treatise do more for us?

POONA, February 25, 1946
Harijan, 3-3-1946

202. TELEGRAM TO S. SALIVATI

POONA,
February 25, 1946

SALIVATI
MADRAS "HINDU"
BOMBAY

PLEASE FORGIVE. TOO BUSY FOR INTERVIEWS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

203. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 25, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read your letter. I am returning it, in case you wish to preserve it. I will of course not keep you here against your wish. I have already told[1] Dinshaw. Let us see now what happens. I remember all the facts given by you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8424

[1] *Vide* p. 179.

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204. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,[1]
February 25, 1946

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have started the treatment of Chi. Kishorelal[2] yesterday. Let us see what happens.

You have to do your duty by meditating over *navadha bhakti*[3]. Scavenging and kitchen work are the key to our life. If these two are done, the rest follow.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]
Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 374

205. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
February 26, 1946

I congratulate Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali on her courageous refutation[4] of my statement[5] on the happenings in Bombay. Except for the fact that she represents not only herself but also a fairly large body of underground workers, I would not have noticed her refutation, if only because she is a daughter of mine not less so because not born to me or because she is a rebel. I had the pleasure of meeting her on several occasions while she was underground. I admired her bravery, resourcefulness and burning love of the country. But my admiration stopped there. I did not like her being underground. I do not appreciate any underground activity. I know that millions cannot go underground. Millions need not. A select few may fancy that they will bring swaraj to the millions by secretly directing their activity.

[1] Permanent address
[2] Kishorelal G. Mashruwala
[3] The nine-fold devotion
[4] At Press Conference in Bombay on February 24, 1946
[5] *Vide* pp. 170-1.

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Will this not be spoon-feeding? Only open challenge and open activity is for all to follow. Real swaraj *must* be felt by all—man, woman and child. To labour for that consummation is true revolution. India has become a pattern for all exploited races of the earth, because India's has been an open, unarmed effort which demands sacrifice from all without inflicting injury on the usurper. The millions in India would not have been awakened but for the open, unarmed struggle. Every deviation from the straight path has meant a temporary arrest of the evolutionary revolution.

I do not read the 1942 events as does the brave lady. It was good that the people rose spontaneously. It was bad that some or many resorted to violence. It makes no difference that Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala, Kakasaheb and other workers, in their impatient zeal for the movement[1], misinterpreted non-violence. That they did so only shows how delicate an instrument non-violence is. My analogy is not meant to cast any reflection on any person. Everyone acted as he or she thought best. Supineness in the face of overwhelming, organized violence would have meant cowardice. I would be weak and wrong, if I failed to give my estimate of the doings of 1942.

Aruna would "rather unite Hindus and Muslims at the barricade than on the constitution front". Even in terms of violence, this is a misleading proposition. If the union at the barricade is honest, there must be union also at the constitutional front. Fighters do not always live at the barricade. They are too wise to commit suicide. The barricade life has always to be followed by the constitutional. That front is not taboo for ever.

Emphatically it betrays want of foresight to disbelieve British declarations and precipitate a quarrel in anticipation. Is the official deputation coming to deceive a great nation? It is neither manly nor womanly to think so. What would be lost by waiting? Let the official deputation prove for the last time that British declarations are unreliable. The nation will gain by trusting. The deceiver loses when there is correct response from the deceived.

Let us face facts. The coming mission is claimed to be a friendly mission, entertaining the hope that they will discover a constitutional method of delivery. The problem is knotty, probably the knottiest that has ever confronted statesmen. It is possible that the mission will put forth an insoluble conundrum. So much the worse for them. If they are intent upon finding

[1] The source, however, has "moment".

an honest way out of the difficulties of their own creation, I have no doubt, there is a way. But the nation too has to play the game. If it does, the barricade must be left aside, at least for the time being. I appeal to Aruna and her friends to make wise use of the power their bravery and sacrifice has given them.

It is a matter of great relief that the ratings have listened to Sardar Patel's advice to surrender. They have not surrendered their honour. So far as I can see, in resorting to mutiny they were badly advised. If it was for grievance, fancied or real, they should have waited for the guidance and intervention of political leaders of their choice. If they mutinied for the freedom of India, they were doubly wrong. They could not do so without a call from a prepared revolutionary party. They were thoughtless and ignorant, if they believed that by their might they would deliver India from foreign domination.

Aruna is right when she says that the fighters this time showed grit as never before. But grit becomes foolhardiness when it is untimely and suicidal as this was.

She is entitled to say that the people "*are not* interested in the *ethics* of violence or non-violence", but the people *are* very much interested in knowing *the way* which will bring freedom to the masses—violence or non-violence. The people have, however imperfectly, hitherto gone the way of non-violence. Aruna and her comrades have to ask themselves every time whether the non-violent way has, or has not, raised India from her slumber of ages and created in them a yearning, very vague perhaps, for swaraj. There is, in my opinion, only one answer.

There are other passages in Shrimati Aruna's statement which, as it appears to me, betray confusion of thought. But their treatment can wait.

Needless to say that I have dealt with the message believing it to represent her opinion. If it does not, I apologize to her in advance. My argument, however, is not affected even if it is found that the reporter has not correctly interpreted her. For my argument is, after all, impersonal and directed only to the portions which are calculated to mislead the public, irrespective of their authorship.[1]

POONA, February 26, 1946
Harijan, 3-3-1946

[1] *Vide* also pp. 205-7.

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206. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, ALL-BENGAL ANTI-SALES TAX COMMITTEE

POONA,
February 26, 1946

SECRETARY
ALL-BENGAL ANTI-SALES TAX COMMITTEE
72 CANNING STREET
CALCUTTA

YOU HAVE EVERY RIGHT PROTEST SO LONG AS PROTEST REMAINS TRULY NON-VIOLENT AND IS JUSTIFIED BY FACTS. AM PREPARED DO WHAT I CAN IF YOU FURNISH ME WITH FACTS FIGURES.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

207. TELEGRAM TO DAMODAR M. MEHTA

POONA,
February 26, 1946

DAMODAR MULCHAND
BILKHA

REGRET IMPOSSIBLE JUST NOW.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

208. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

POONA,
February 26, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. What are you going to do about Rajaji ? He wants to withdraw[1]; let him do so.

[1] His candidature for the University seat in the elections; *vide* Appendix VII.

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If you are keen on taking me to Bardoli, I am ready. I have already suggested[1] that in a difficult situation like this your place is in Bombay. But you know best. In making the suggestion I did not have my convenience in view, but only what the circumstances of the nation demanded of us.

You will see what I have again said[2] about Aruna.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 300-1

209. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[On or before *February 27, 1946*][3]

I have been asked by several friends to save Gen. Awari's life by asking Sardar Patel to revise his decision.[4] I have refused, for I have neither the power nor the wish to do so. The judgment of the Congress Parliamentary Board is, in my opinion, subject to review by the Working Committee as also the A. I. C. C. Gen. Awari says, he is not fighting for himself but for the President of the local Board. This position is altogether wrong. It is regrettable that he should persist in committing suicide by fasting. But his friends should dissuade him. If he refuses to listen, I fear, he must be allowed to die without evoking the slightest sympathy. I say this as the author of satyagraha including fasts. Neither can be capriciously offered. Public sympathy with capricious fasting can disrupt society.

The Hindu, 1-3-1946

[1] *Vide* p. 178.

[2] *Vide* pp. 182-4.

[3] The statement was reported under the date-line "Poona, February 27".

[4] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 155. On February 20, 1946, the General Council of Nagpur Congress in an emergency meeting passed a resolution urging the Congress High Command to reconsider its decision having regard to Awari's fast. The meeting also requested Awari to revise his decision about fast, which was condemned by many Congressmen. Awari, however, in response to an appeal from Vallabhbhai Patel broke his fast on March 10, and agreed to meet him in Bombay on March 13. *Vide* also pp. 187 and 191.

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210. TELEGRAM TO POONAMCHAND RANKA

Express

POONA,
February 27, 1946

PUNAMCHAND RANKA
CONGRESS OFFICE
NAGPUR

YOUR IMPERATIVE DUTY DISSUADE GENERAL AWARI FROM CONTINUING SUICIDAL FAST.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

211. TELEGRAM TO MANCHERSHAW R. AWARI

Express

POONA,
February 27, 1946

GEN. AWARI
NAGPUR

I WARN YOU ONCE MORE YOUR FAST WHOLLY WRONG. DO NOT COMMIT SUICIDE.[1]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 1-3-1946

212. TELEGRAM TO DAMODAR M. MEHTA

POONA,
February 27, 1946

DAMODAR MULCHAND MEHTA
PRAMUKH SHRICHITAL SARVAJANIK SEVA MANDAL
BILKHA

NO PREVIOUS INTIMATION RECEIVED WHO IS FASTING WHAT FOR. IF MY OPINION HAS VALUE FAST SHOULD BE SUSPENDED PENDING DECLARATION OPINION.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also pp. 186 and 191

213. SPECIAL POWER OF ATTORNEY[1]

I, the undersigned, heir of Shah Karamchand Otamchand Gandhi, resident of Bharat Varsha hereby authorize R[ajaman] R[ajashri] Maneklal Amritlal Gandhi of Porbandar to execute and sign the sale deed on my behalf, produce it before the Registrar for registration, execute a bond relating to the said sale deed and to receive offer for our house situated in the rear side of Srinathaji's *Haveli*[2] at Porbandar, the deed (which of) stands in the name of our ancestor Harjivan Raidas Gandhi, and for which house an agreement of sale of all my rights, title, share and interest in the aforesaid property along with the construction, structure and building was made in favour of Rajya Ratna Sheth Nanjibhai Kalidas Mehta of Porbandar. I have hereby given him authority to transfer and change my right of ownership and to appear on my behalf to do all legal work which I would have myself done. The act of my aforesaid attorney in this behalf will be considered legal and binding from all points of view. For a proof of this I have set my signature hereunder.

M. K. GANDHI

POONA, February 27, 1946

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 7912

214. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 27, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You must learn to exercise control over your language. Even when thinking about individuals one should not pay too much attention to their shortcomings. You yourself should decide whether or not you should remain here. If you cannot decide, it would mean you should not stay here; for the work is so difficult that, if you cannot take full interest in it, you would not be

[1] Executed in Porbandar State under serial number 3779

[2] Temple

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able to do it. This is an important sphere of work for learning to acquire control over one's temper.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8420. Also C. W. 5606. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

215. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 27, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I understand all that you say. I do value your services. What other job would you like, if you are not kept here [in Poona]? Do you wish to return to the Ashram? What about Kanchan[2] and Hiramani? Whom should I post here in your place? Have a talk with me so that we can come to a final decision.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8422. Also C. W. 5607. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

216. LETTER TO POONAMCHAND RANKA

POONA,
February 27, 1946

BHAI POONAMCHAND,

I got your letter. I did not see what was published in *Janmabhoomi*[4], I did not give them anything. I hope you have my earlier letter[5] by now.

I do not understand what you write about Sardar. It is not his wont. I don't understand this complication. That a man like you should be involved in it is all the more painful to me.

[1] *Vide* also the following item.
[2] Addressee's wife
[3] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[4] A Gujarati daily published from Bombay
[5] *Vide* p. 138.

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Awari is now fasting for you. What is this? Fasting has no place in a situation of this kind. Besides, injustice, if any at all, was done to you, not to him. Explain to him what his prime duty is and, if he refuses to understand, it is your duty to condemn his fast unreservedly.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

POONAMCHAND RANKA
NAGPUR

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

217. LETTER TO DHARMADEV SHASTRI

POONA,
February 27, 1946

BHAI DHARMADEV SHASTRI,

I read your letter to Bapa. It is good and yet not good. It is good because it refutes all the allegations against you and not good because the denial has a touch of resentment and betrays some lack of vigilance in the matter of duty. You took up the work[2] in a spirit of service and of your own free will, not at anyone else's instance, nor at my bidding. My only part in it was that when I was told of it, I approved of it. Why should you leave it for fear of criticism or even at my bidding? If it should be given up, it will happen when your own heart tells you to leave it. I see no such occasion. One who speaks ill of me should always be a hero for me.[3] It is flatterers that we should flee from. Bapa is looking after all the other things.

Though I have written about the money, I still say that any service that is good and is rendered honestly and intelligently finds funds for itself. Why be annoyed with Mirabehn? After all you are regarded as a respectable man and occasional criticism does affect you. But why should it bother us? My advice is that you should go to Mirabehn, listen to all that she says,

[1] *Vide* also p. 187.

[2] The addressee started Ashoka Ashram at Kalsi in July 1942, but was arrested in August. On his release after eighteen months, he resumed his work of developing village industries at the Ashram. He was also running a school and hospital in memory of Kasturba Gandhi at Nagthat, near Mussoorie.

[3] A saying of the saint Dadu; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 428.

tell her all that you wish and acquaint her with the facts; render service with a steadfast mind. To face the obstacles bravely, firmly, yet with detachment—is it not an integral part of service ?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

218. TELEGRAM TO MANCHERSHAW R. AWARI

POONA,
February 28, 1946

GEN. AWARI
NAGPUR

YOUR WIRE[1]. IF YOU HAVE GRIEVANCES YOU SHOULD STATE THEM CLEARLY FIRST. SUBSEQUENTLY YOU CAN REFER THEM TO WORKING COMMITTEE ALL-INDIA COMMITTEE. THEREFORE ADVISE ABANDON FAST.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

219. LETTER TO PURATAN BUCH

POONA,
[*February 28, 1946*][2]

CHI. PURATAN,

You write to say that engine-driven flour-mills are to be found in thousands of villages. Thousands would mean that their number could be greater than ten thousand. You cannot describe them as thousands, if they were a thousand and one. If you have the statistics, give me the exact figures. You must also have

[1] The reference is to a copy of the addressee's telegram to Abul Kalam Azad which read : "My fast on important issues. Central Parliamentary Board absolutely overridden and humiliated on undesirable candidates' interference and conspiracy. We branded as cracks and illiterate. Grievances real. Please regard Province's interests." *Vide* also p. 187.

[2] The source, however, has March 28, 1946, but Gandhiji was not in Poona on that date.

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the names of the villages, only then you can arrive at the [right] figure. If the number of the villages runs into thousands, it is a very alarming situation. What would be the cost of the equipment and the engines? Calculate the cost, if you haven't already done so, and let me have the figures.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

220. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

POONA,
February 28, 1946

CHI. KISHORELAL,

Today I am attending to a few letters among which your letter catches my eye. What you write about Gomati[1] is quite understandable. Some nature cure practitioners can diagnose a case which [allopathic] doctors cannot, but this cannot be applied in the case of Gomati, and I am of the opinion that Dr. Dinshaw cannot cope with the case. He has plenty [to recommend himself]. He is liberal but has fallen into a track which he is not likely to give up all at once. He is pulling on with what is not to his liking, thanks to his boundless faith in me. I have taken up the burden of running the clinic under these circumstances. He will guide us wherever we may ask him. Hence even if Dhirubhai comes, he cannot have the benefit of Dinshawji's knowledge, his brilliance and experience. At present he can utilize my own limited knowledge. Dinshaw himself is physical culture personified but he does not instruct others. He is possessed by nature cure, by his desire to establish university for it, and he entertains a hope that it will come to be through his association with me. If this department should wholly belong to the poor, we may bid on it some hope of establishing a university. Under the circumstances, I don't think we can give satisfaction to Dhirubhai. I have a feeling that something like Ashram life might come to be here, as though I could do nothing else! Or, maybe, I was not interested in anything else! Thus I am proceeding willingly as well as unwillingly. I am sending away from what may be called the menial staff; it

[1] Addressee's wife

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remains to be seen how far I succeed. Therefore, if Dhirubhai and such others came, they will have thorough experience of sanitation and other work and will have to be content with my own knowledge of nature cure, such as it is. If, in the mean while, Dinshaw opens up and acquires the ability of transferring his knowledge to others, we can make some progress.

Bharatan Kumarappa will not be able to give such work as you expect. In fact he will be able to write independently. It[1] seems to be very well organized now. Pyarelal and Rajkumari have taken up the English work. Sushila of course very much wants to be useful but I don't take from her much work of this kind. If I did, her medical work would inevitably suffer. I am relieving Kanu for his primary job. At present I get much of his work done by Sushila Pai, and she is doing it well. She has always been in the line. I am taking from her the work of the Gujarati Department. For Hindustani I have brought Om Prakash. I trust he will be trained. He certainly wants to be. It is fairly cold here. I presume you have left Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA]
SEVAGRAM

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

221. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

POONA,
February 28, 1946

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Abha[2] handed your letter[3] only today. I read it. Sailen's letter is also before me. It can be said that nowadays I do not always stay at the Ashram. And now it has come to this: that for six months I am at the Ashram and for six months in Poona and Mahabaleshwar. In such a situation it will not be proper at all to keep you [at the Ashram] on my responsibility. I would advise you to have a talk with Chimanlal[4] and Krishnachandra.

[1] The reference is to printing work of *Harijan, Harijanbandhu and Harijan Sevak*.

[2] Addressee's daughter, Abha Gandhi

[3] Dated February 20, it was about his and his son, Sailendra Nath's future programme.

[4] Chimanlal N. Shah, Manager, Sevagram Ashram

Explain everything to them and, if they agree, stay at the Ashram. Serve the Ashram and earn your livelihood. Have a frank talk with Ashadevi[1]. It will be your responsibility to teach Bengali. How far mother can mentally adjust herself to the Ashram remains to be seen; also whether she can bear the heat during summer. Considering all these, I feel that all of you cannot stay at the Ashram permanently. Even so I am not giving any decision. Yes, this much I want to say: when Sailen says that he can decide for himself, a decision should be taken only about others. Go to Navadweep, stay there and render as much service as you can, and educate the children on the lines of Nayee Talim. It would be good to consider this also as service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C. W. 10414. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

222. NOTES

A USEFUL PAMPHLET

A friend sends me a copy of a leaflet published by the Department of Agriculture, Bombay Province. It contains hints on small-scale vegetable cultivation in compounds of bungalows, etc. This was published in 1942 during war time, in pursuance of a campaign for growing more food. What was then necessary is much more so now in view of the increasing shortage of food. It is a pity that the leaflet is printed in English. It may be, however, that only the English pamphlet has been sent to me, and that it has been translated into the provincial languages. Be that as it may, the leaflet is certainly instructive and useful and I would suggest to the readers who are interested, as they should be, in the matter that they send for and study it with a view to making use of the suggestions, if they have a plot of land available for the purpose. Among the hints contained are the following chosen by me at random:

(a) Plots selected should be well-drained and not overshadowed by trees or buildings.

(b) Beds in which flowers have been successfully grown are usually suitable but portions of lawns may also be dug up and used for vegetable gardening.

[1] Ashadevi Aryanayakam

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(c) Waste water from bath-rooms or kitchen can be utilized for the purpose.

(d) It stresses the necessity of using organic manure such as cowdung, and tells the reader what vegetables can be easily grown.

(e) A table is given at the end showing the quantity of particular seeds required, the depth at which they should be sown, the size of the beds and the distance between the rows of plants.

Helpful Suggestions[1]

A correspondent writes:

> You are at present in Poona. I understand from the papers that H. H. the Aga Khan is your friend. He has plenty of land and water supply at his disposal in his palace in Poona. The same applies to the spacious grounds of Government House at Ganeshkhind. Could not both these places be utilized for growing food? Could you suggest it to him?
>
> You believe in fasts. You have said that fasts are not merely for attaining religious merit but are also beneficial for health. Cannot you then recommend to the well-fed abstention from food either one day or for even one meal or more during the week? A great deal of foodstuffs could thus be made available to the poor.
>
> They say that even small quantity of sprouted grain, if eaten raw, provides the requisite nourishment. Is this so?

The above is condensed from a letter. All the three suggestions are sound and could easily be put into practice. The first is obviously for those who possess both land and water; the second for the well-to-do; the third applies to all. In essence it means that whatever can be eaten raw would be so eaten. By intelligently following this rule, one can make a small quantity go a long way.[2] Not only that, it is also beneficial. I have little doubt that if people understood the laws of dietetics and acted accordingly, a tremendous economy in food could be effected.

Utilization of Available Power[3]

Q. Flour grinding machines are turned by engines in thousands of villages in Gujarat. By removing them to

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] The following sentence is translated from the Gujarati version.

[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

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the source, these engines could easily be used for drawing water from rivers, tanks and wells for purposes of irrigation. Could not the Government be induced or the owners be persuaded to divert the engines for this useful work in addition to working the grinders?

A. I regard the existence of power wheels for the grinding of corn in thousands of villages as the limit of our helplessness. I suppose India does not produce all the engines or grinding machines. I fondly hope that the correspondent is incorrect and that the number of wheels and engines does not run into thousands even for the whole of India,[1] and certainly not in the villages of Gujarat. But if true, it is indicative of the utter laziness into which our people have fallen. The planting of such machinery and engines on a larger scale in villages is also a sign of greed. Is it proper to fill one's pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand *chakkis*[2] out of work and takes away employment from thousands of housewives and artisans who make these *chakkis*. Moreover the process is infective and will spread to every village industry. The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art. If it meant replacement of old crafts by new ones, one might not have much to say against it. But this is not what is happening. In the thousands of villages where power machinery exists, one misses the sweet music in the early morning of the grinders at work.

But to come to the main point: Whilst I hold that these power engines are at present being put to wrong use, it would be some compensation if the engines, in addition to their present use, were also used to pump water out of rivers, tanks and wells for irrigation. My correspondent suggests Government aid for this. Must this be necessary? Will not the owners of their own free will turn their engines towards this useful and necessary work? Or have we been reduced to such a paralytic state that without Government compulsion we are unprepared to do anything? Be that as it may, it is my firm opinion that all necessary measures should be taken at once to utilize existing power in order to save the people from the terrible fate confronting them.

POONA, March 1, 1946

Harijan, 10-3-1946

[1] The rest of the sentence is translated from the Gujarati version.

[2] Grinding stones

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223. WHOSE NEED?[1]

The institution of domestic servants is an old one. But the attitude of master towards servant has changed from time to time. Some regard servants as members of the family whereas others look upon them as slaves or chattels. Between these two extreme views may be summed up the attitude of society in general towards servants. Nowadays servants are in great demand everywhere. They have become conscious of their value and naturally demand their own conditions of pay and service. This would be proper, if it were invariably coupled with a proper understanding and performance of their duty. In that event they would cease to be servants and would earn for themselves the status of members of the family. The belief in the efficacy of violence is, however, in the air. How then can servants properly win the status of members of their masters' families? That is a question that may well be asked.

I hold that a man who desires the co-operation of, and wishes to co-operate with, others should not be dependent on servants. If anyone has to have one at a time of scarcity of servants, he will have to pay what is demanded and accept all other conditions with the result that he will, instead of being master, become the servant of his employee. This is good for neither the master nor the so-called[2] servant. It has only one thought, that of pursuing his self-interest. But if what an individual seeks is not slavery but the co-operation of a fellow-being, he will not only serve himself but also him whose co-operation he needs. Through the extension of this principle, a man's family will become coterminous with the world and his attitude towards his fellow-beings will also undergo a corresponding change. There is no other way of reaching the desired consummation.

He who wants to act on this principle will be content to start with small beginning. In spite of a man's ability to command the co-operation of thousands, he must have sufficient self-restraint and self-respect in him to enable him to stand alone.

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] This word and the sentence which follows are translated from the Gujarati version.

Such a person will never dream of looking on any person as his menial and try to keep him under subjugation. In fact he will forget altogether that he is master of his servants and will try his best to bring them to his level. In other words he should be content to do without what others cannot have.

POONA, March 1, 1946
Harijan, 10-3-1946

224. TELEGRAM TO MANCHERSHAW R. AWARI

Express POONA,
March 1, 1946

GEN. AWARI
NAGPUR

YOUR WIRE. SARDAR HAS NO RIGHT REVIEW BOARD'S DECISION. WAY OF RELIEF IS THROUGH WORKING COMMITTEE. YESTERDAY'S WIRE[1] WAS SEEN BY SARDAR AND JAWAHARLALJI. ABANDON FAST AND AGITATE FOR REDRESS GRIEVANCE IF ANY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

225. TELEGRAM TO H. N. BRAILSFORD

POONA,
March 1, 1946

H. N. BRAILSFORD[2]
FRIENDS SERVICE UNIT
1 UPPERWOOD STREET
CALCUTTA

THANKS. YOU AND MRS. BRAILSFORD CAN COME ANY DAY EXCEPT MONDAYS. PLEASE WIRE WHEN COMING.[3]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 191.
[2] Henry Noel Brailsford, journalist and author; leader-writer for *Manchester Guardian* and *Daily News*; joined the Independent Labour Party in 1907
[3] *Vide* "Interview to H. N. Brailsford", 17-3-1946.

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226. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
March 1, 1946

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY[1] TO THE
GOVERNOR[2] OF BOMBAY
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

A correspondent, writing to *Harijan*, suggests[3] among other things that I should approach the Government of Bombay to use the vast grounds of Ganeshkhind for growing edibles and use the latter for the needy. I cannot help thinking that this is a wise suggestion and, if adopted whole-heartedly by His Excellency, it is likely to be fruitful of astonishing results.[4]

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 152

227. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

POONA,
March 1, 1946

BHAI RAJA,

I have your letters from time to time. Rajkumari replies to them. From my point of view what you did[5] is quite all right.

[1] J. S. Drewe
[2] Sir David John Colville
[3] *Vide* p. 195.
[4] Replying on March 9, the addressee, *inter alia*, said : "A considerable area . . . has been brought under cultivation . . . and a great deal of the remaining area grows grass for fodder. . . . His Excellency has recently asked Agricultural Department to carry out a survey of the lands . . . to see to what area cultivation can advantageously be extended. His Excellency hopes . . . when he is in residence at Ganeshkhind to show you what has been done."
[5] Withdrawing from the elections; *vide* Appendix VII.

The sphere of service has no bounds. I on my part wish that you should take rest. Come over, if you can. If nothing else, at least we can have a good laugh together.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 2116

228. LETTER TO MAHESHDUTT MISHRA

POONA,
March 1, 1946

CHI. MAHESH,

I have your two letters. How good it would have been, if you had remained a Bhangi ? I hope you have heard of my experience. In Hardwar, somebody thought that I was a labourer and it was so much the better. Others recognized me as we moved on. I have many such experiences. But do not we learn only by making mistakes? He who does not make mistakes is either God or the greatest of fools who imagines that he never makes any mistake. It is good that whenever we make a mistake we correct it and go ahead.

What you wrote about the election[1] is all right. It was unnecessary for me, but not for you, since you wanted to make a clean breast of everything. I have not shown your letter to anyone nor do I intend to. Many things happened in the election in which I took no interest, nor did I do anything about them. You already know about Rajaji. The outcome is that Rajaji has withdrawn from it.[2] He likes it and so do I. Keep well. Write to me from time to time. And come whenever you want to after finding out my whereabouts and with prior intimation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 6713. Also C. W. 4457. Courtesy : Maheshdutt Mishra

[1] To the Central Provinces Assembly; he was unhappy about the rejection of his father C. G. Mishra's nomination.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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229. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

POONA,
March 1, 1946

BHAI JAGANNATH,

I got your letter. For you Ramanama alone is the unfailing remedy.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

230. LETTER TO SHANTI SWARUP BHATNAGAR

POONA,
March 1, 1946

BHAI BHATNAGAR[1],

Though you forbid my writing, I should at least acknowledge receipt of your letter and should also tell you from my experience that, in what we suppose to be times of difficulty, we should resort to Ramanama, even if the mind is not steady. If we keep trying, success is bound to come.

I shall, of course, do what you want me to, but there is no point in it. No one can carry another's burden. Prayer is a mighty thing but also strange. May God grant you peace.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHANTI SWARUP BHATNAGAR
NEW DELHI

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

[1] Eminent scientist

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231. REGRET

My brethren-farmers from Bardoli are unhappy because my visit to Bardoli has been cancelled. Others too have written to me. I can understand their disappointment. I am also pained that I could not go to Bardoli. Although I am short of time, I had made all preparations for going to Bardoli. I had also written to those who wanted to see me. But after the riot which broke out in Bombay I changed my plan. I wrote[1] to the Sardar that he should be in Bombay for the present. He liked the suggestion, and the programme for Bardoli was cancelled.

I hope, all will forget their disappointment when they know these facts. I take it that I will have to go to Bardoli on some other occasion.

POONA, March 2, 1946

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 10-3-1946

232. LETTER TO AGA KHAN

POONA,
March 2, 1946

BHAI SAHEB,

A gentleman has written[2] to me saying that since I am a friend of yours and at present in Poona, I could perhaps persuade you to grow food-grains and such other things on the large stretch of land that you have, since you lack neither water resources nor money. He also wants to know if this cannot be done on the land at Ganeshkhind which the Governor occupies.

I like his suggestion. If it is feasible, I hope you will take the initiative and set an example to others. On my part

[1] *Vide* pp. 178 and 186.
[2] *Vide* p. 195.

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I have already offered[1] my suggestion to the Governor regarding Ganeshkhind.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. THE AGA KHAN
BOMBAY

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

233. LETTER TO MANIBEHN NANAVATI

March 2, 1946

CHI. MANIBEHN[2],

Kishorelalbhai writes to tell me that I have not replied to your letter. If so, it is a matter of shame for me. It is, however, clear that I tend to forget. How can a forgetful person take up any responsibility? What should I do? Do become an Agent[3] and show your mettle.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN NANAVATI

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

234. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

POONA,
March 2, 1946

BHAI CAVEESHAR[4],

So at long last you have been released! You have done a brave deed too. But is there any gain? And why make allegations?

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR
LAHORE, PUNJAB

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

[1] *Vide* p. 199.
[2] A khadi worker of Bombay
[3] Presumably, for Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust
[4] Member, All-India Forward Bloc; after detention as security prisoner from 1941, he was released form Dharmasala jail on February 22, 1946.

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235. EXTRACT FORM TALK WITH A FRIEND[1]

[Before *March 3, 1946*][2]

Look at Italy. Garibaldi[3] was a great man. He brought deliverance to Italy. And Mussolini[4] did make her look great. But where is she today? Look at Japan, look at Germany. The very violence which brought them to the pinnacle of power has razed them to the ground. And has not the atom bomb proved the futility of all violence? And yet we are crazy enough to think that we can win swaraj by breaking a few skulls and destroying property which, after all is said and done, is our own. I am sure, out of this orgy of violence, the people will learn the lesson of non-violence.

Harijan, 10-3-1946

236. EXTRACT FROM TALK WITH A SOLDIER[5]

[Before *March 3, 1946*][6]

No. But, as you know, I stand for unadulterated non-violent action and open means. I abhor secrecy. . . . I laid down a programme of non-violent action in my 7th of August, 1942 speech[7] in the A. I. C. C. for evoking[8] and organizing the highest non-violence and self-sacrifice that the country was capable of. I told in that speech what the Press should do, what the students should do, what the Princes should do, what the Government servants should do, and lastly what the Indian soldiers

[1] & [2] This and the following item are extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter" dated "Poona, March 3, 1946". The friend pleaded for "independence at all costs".

[3] Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882); Italian patriot and guerilla leader

[4] Benito Mussolini, 1883-1945

[5] & [6] *Vide* footnotes 1 and 2, above. Pyarelal explains : "Several army men have been to Gandhiji's camp during the week to seek advice. One of them . . . was deeply agitated. The men were getting desperate, he said. Would Gandhiji ask them to lie low and swallow all the humiliations and injustice?"

[7] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 377-81.

[8] The source has "looking", a misprint.

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should do. If all of them had done their part as suggested by me, it would have had a staggering effect. That programme can still be acted upon. The soldiers should declare that they will do soldiering not for their bellies but to make India free and to keep her free. I do not want them to be disloyal to the Government in whose pay they are, for, if they are disloyal to the present Government today, by the same token they may be disloyal to the national Government tomorrow. But it is no disloyalty for a soldier to go and tell his superiors that he will be their man only so long as they stand for his country's freedom and that he would never bear arms to crush the liberty of his own people. If, as a result of their declaration, they were disbanded, cashiered or even court-martialled, they should not mind. Thereby they would light a spark which not all the armaments at the disposal of any power would be able to put out and before long the entire Indian army would be filled with the spirit of patriotism without having to shed blood. If, on the contrary, they resorted to indiscipline and violence or rowdyism, they would alienate all sympathy and provide the authorities an excuse to teach them a lesson.[1]

Harijan, 10-3-1946

237. CONFLICT OF IDEAS

She was unable to understand Gandhiji calling upon R. I. N. ratings to resign, if their condition was humiliating.[2] If they did that, they would have to give up their only means of livelihood. Moreover, they were fighting for principles. If they resigned now, there would be hundreds in these days of unemployment to take their places who would be subject to the same discrimination and treatment and the R. I. N. ratings would not have achieved anything. It simply does not lie in the mouth of Congressmen who are themselves going to the legislatures to ask the ratings to give up their jobs. It does not help the cause of the country at all.

Every one of the statements quoted above from Arunabehn's Press interview is contrary to the views generally held by or attributed to Congressmen. Whether she really holds or does

[1] Pyarelal concludes the talk with the following reply from the visitor: "My brain was muddled, when I came here. I now see things more clearly. You have saved us from a big mistake. We shall take no precipitate or thoughtless step."

[2] *Vide* p. 182.

not hold, the views put into her mouth is irrelevant here. For the moment it is enough to examine them on their merits and to show that they are wholly inconsistent with Congress resolutions.

The first principle of non-violent action as propounded in the Congress resolution[1] of 1920 at its special session in Calcutta under the late Lala Lajpatrai is that of non-co-operation with everything humiliating. It must be remembered that the R. I. N. was founded not for the benefit of the ruled. The men went with their eyes open. Discrimination stares one in the face. It cannot be avoided, if one enters the service which is frankly organized to keep India under subjection. One may, one ought to, try to mend the conditions. That is possible only up to a point. That cannot be achieved through mutiny. Mutiny may conceivably succeed but the success can only avail the mutineers and their kin, not the whole of India. And the lesson would be a bad inheritance. Discipline will be at least as necessary under swaraj as it is now. India under successful mutineers would be cut up into warring factions exhausted by internecine strife.

India of the Congress has made little headway in the appreciation of the fight for swaraj, if it is true that hundreds would take their places if the present ratings resigned in pursuance of their campaign against humiliation. Can we have swaraj for the masses, if we are so degraded that hundreds of us are ready to swallow humiliation even to the extent of taking the place of humiliated fellowmen ? The very thought is unworthy of Congressmen and that too at the moment when swaraj is believed to be within sight.

Those who hold that enlistment in the R. I. N. is their only means of livelihood must have a very poor opinion of them. A soldier's is a hard life. He is disciplined to work in co-operation and trained to work with the pickaxe and the spade. Such a one will disdain to think that apart from soldiering he has no means of livelihood. We have a poor opinion of soldiers, if we think that they cannot earn their bread by the sweat of the brow. A labourer is any day worthy of his hire. What is, however, true is that a soldier out of his calling will lack the glamour and the amenities provided for him. We have wasted precious twenty-five years, if we have not yet stripped the profession of killing and destroying of the thick coat of varnish that has covered it for so long.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 576-8.

Aruna Asaf Ali had been reported to have said that the ratings would have gained nothing by resigning. Well, they would have gained honour and dignity, if they had manfully given up their job, and taught the citizens of Bombay the way to save honour and dignity, and they would have spared Bombay the senseless destruction of life, property and very precious food-stuffs. Surely this would have been an achievement not quite beneath notice.

The last statement in the reported interview is surely a confusion of thought. Congressmen going to the legislatures for conserving the honour and liberty of the country is not the same as ratings serving for their livelihood with the possibility of being used against their own countrymen and their liberty. Congressmen who go to the legislatures are representatives elected by their voters and they go even if it is only to prevent those from going who will misrepresent the voters. Going to the legislatures may be altogether bad, but there can be no such comparison as has been just adverted to.

POONA, March 3, 1946

Harijan, 10-3-1946

238. WHAT, AFTER FINISHING STUDIES?[1]

A student has seriously posed this question:

What am I to do after finishing my studies?

We are today a subject race and our educational system has been devised to serve the interest of our rulers. But even as the most selfish person is obliged to hold out some lure to those whom he is out to exploit, so a number of temptations for studying in their institutions have been brought into being by the rulers. Moreover all members of Government are not alike. There are some liberal-minded among them who will consider the problem of education on merits. Therefore there is no doubt some good even in the present system. But the prevailing education is willy-nilly put to wrong use, i. e., it is looked upon as a means of earning money and position. It lends charm to slavery.[2]

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] This sentence is translated from the Gujarati version.

The ancient aphorism, 'Education is that which liberates' is as true today as it was before. Education here does not mean mere spiritual knowledge nor does liberation signify only spiritual liberation after death. Knowledge includes all training that is useful for the service of mankind, and liberation means freedom from all manner of servitude even in the present life. Servitude is of two kinds: slavery to domination from outside and to one's own artificial needs. The knowledge acquired in the pursuit of this ideal alone constitutes true study. Having had such study, one will not be confronted with the question : "What, after finishing studies?[1]".

Realizing that a form of education devised by foreign rulers could only be calculated to subserve their interests, the Congress accepted, in 1920, among other things, the principle of the boycott of all Governmental educational institutions. But that era seems to be over. The demand for entrance to Government institutions and those imparting education on similar lines is increasing faster than the number of such schools and colleges. The ranks of examinees are ever swelling. In spite of this hypnotic spell, however, I hold that true education is what I have defined.

A student who is superficially attracted by the educational ideal set forth by me and leaves his studies is liable to repent of his action later. I have, therefore, suggested a safer course. While continuing his studies in the institution which he has joined, he should ever keep before him the ideal of service set forth by me and use his studies with a view to serve that ideal, never for making money. Moreover he should try to make up the lack in the present education by application of his leisure hours to the ideal. He will, therefore, avail himself to the utmost of whatever opportunity offers for taking part in the constructive programme.

POONA, March 3[2], 1946

Harijan, 10-3-1946

[1] This sentence is translated from the Gujarati version.

[2] The source has "1", a misprint.

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239. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

POONA,
March 3, 1946

MY DEAR MR. ABELL,

I am desired by Gandhiji to thank you for your letter of the 25th ultimo and for the information contained therein regarding the export of pulses.[1]

May I also thank you for the enquiries regarding Miss Lester's[2] passage. I understand the difficulty and am writing to her.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

G. E. B. ABELL, ESQ.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 146

240. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

POONA,
March 4, 1946

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY
NEW DELHI

THANKS LETTER. MAY I PUBLISH MINE AND YOUR REPLY?[3]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 144

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.

[2] The reference is to Muriel Lester of Kingsley Hall, East End, London, who was having some difficulty in securing a passage to visit India. She could, however, come later, when she visited Noakhali in East Bengal during the communal strife, and reported to Gandhiji about the condition there.

[3] The addressee in his telegram dated March 5 agreed for the publication of the letters; *vide* pp. 161-2; also Appendix V.

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241. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

POONA,
March 4, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have gone through your letter. Write down the particulars which you think I should know, such as who are paid workers, including their names and addresses, and then leave by all means. It seems from your letter that Manibhai[1] has become familiar with everything.

Do send for Kanchan[2] and go to Vyara. Write to me after you have settled everything. If you are ready, keeping you with me might perhaps be the best way of using your services. Whatever your decision, if you communicate it to me at an early date, it will help me. But come to no decision before meeting Kanchan. Do not take any hasty step. Draw Hiramani's fare as you have suggested and debit the sum to the Ashram account. Yours can be accepted here, but perhaps it would be better to debit that, too, to the Ashram account.

If you have still any more questions to ask, you may ask again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8459. Also C. W. 5571. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Manilal Patel
[2] Addressee's wife

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242. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

POONA,
March 4, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am returning the accompanying [letters]. Decide after most careful thinking.

Meet Dr. Mehta[1]. Decide something about the workers. Think about other things also which you feel should be taken into consideration. If you do not do that, I see nothing but obstacles in the way. Take the help of all those who are there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is Pillay? What do you do about Pirone, the leprosy patient?

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8418. Also C. W. 5610. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

243. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

POONA,
March 4, 1946

CHI. SITA[2],

Why need you write if I do not? Moreover I am busy in my field of work, and you are busy in yours. Both of us being thus busy, there is nothing wrong in our not writing to each other in the absence of some special reason. See that you succeed in your examination.

I know that whenever I pass through Akola, you have to go back disappointed as I would be sleeping. But remember

[1] Dr. Dinshaw K. Mehta
[2] Manilal Gandhi's eldest daughter

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Manilalbhai's[1] *ghazal*[2] "Immortal hope lies hidden in countless disappointments" and keep on hoping.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4972

244. LETTER TO DR. DINSHAW K. MEHTA

[*March 4, 1946*][3]

CHI. DINSHAW,

I was upset in the morning. I felt as though I had erred or committed a blunder. Can we afford to hire such expensive and well-appointed premises[4] for the poor? By doing so am I not abusing the people's trust in me ? I want to serve the poor in my own way. I have a feeling, it will not need any of the paraphernalia you have arranged. My place is only in some village where I can start with a few huts and render service. Such thoughts pass through my mind and I cannot take a decision. Please do not [bother to] reply to this. Speak to me tomorrow. Ponder over it. The board of trustees ought to confer, if only to clear this confusion. I have, therefore, written to Jehangirji a letter, a copy of which I am enclosing. Please read it and think over it. I believe we ought not to persist, if we have made a mistake. Of course there is no reason to be alarmed; it is for us to find a way.

Blessing from
BAPU

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

[1] Manibhai Nabhubhai Dwivedi
[2] A Persian verse form
[3] The letter is placed among letters of this date in the source. *Vide* also pp. 217-9.
[4] The reference is to the Nature Cure Clinic, Poona; *vide* pp. 94-5.

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245. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

POONA,[1]
March 4, 1946

CHI. ANAND,

I did write to you. My blessings are always there. Do whatever you like, but remain cheerful. Sushila has gone to Quetta.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
C/O R. C. TANDON
10 SOUTH ROAD
ALLAHABAD

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

246. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

POONA,
March 4, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Yesterday Rajkumari did reply to you. Today, however, I am observing silence. I believe we should consume only cow's ghee. Even Champabehn[2] may not keep buffalo's ghee. The Ashram does not exist for providing all facilities; we ought to put up with difficulties. Then cow's ghee can be made available. Vinoba should not be troubled for this. Yesterday Rajkumari must have written to you about visiting him there from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4547

[1] This is in Gujarati.
[2] Wife of Ratilal P. Mehta

247. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

POONA,
March 4, 1946

CHI. SHARMA,

I write what I feel after listening to what you had to say yesterday. I find that you have a lot of family responsibility[1] which might entail a monthly expense of about Rs. 200. In the circumstances, you would not be able to serve the poor, and it is difficult for you to work here[2]. Therefore you may do whatever you can independently. You had better give up the trust land which is in your custody, though there is room for further consideration of the matter. The other things are going on as they are. If there is any misunderstanding on my part, clear it.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

248. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
March 5, 1946

MY DEAR MR. ABELL,

I have been commissioned by Gandhiji to write and ask you whether it is possible to increase the quota of newsprint for *Harijan*. A good deal of matter is left over every week in spite of the fact that the paper contains no advertisements and nothing but substantial reading matter. The demand from the public is immense. If you feel that *Harijan* is a need of the State as much as of the public, will you see if it can get the extra quota of paper, whether for extra reading matter or for a larger number of copies to cope with the demand.

The Manager has made the usual application, but you know the way of red tape.

The present *Harijan* contains 16 columns only. The old often used to be double. Then an Urdu number at the Navajivan Press is on the anvil.

[1]The addressee's elder brother died in October 1945.
[2] At Nature Cure Clinic

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This, of course, is besides the application in the different provinces for publication in the provincial languages.[1]

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 79-80

249. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

POONA,
March 5, 1946

MY DEAR C. R.,

I must write this in what has become as good as your mother tongue. I have written to you more than once in Hindustani and, when you wanted top lines, I gave you them. I have developed a dislike for writing to an Indian in any but the national language. So I write to Sastriar and Bidhan[2] in Hindustani.

So much for the preface.

Why do you worry about events? Do your duty, never think of results:

कर्मण्येव अधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन[3]

Let things take their course. It is enough, you and I have acted right.

Of course I was bound to write about you what I felt.[4] I would never have excused myself, if, when challenged, I had kept silent. It gave us all an insight into man's thoughtlessness. You must, therefore, cheer up and get well quickly. Tell me when you are coming.

While I was closing this, I got your love letter. Do write to me in Tamil. *Anbu*[5] I knew. What is *udan*[6]?

BAPU[7]

From a photostat : G.N. 2117

[1] Replying on March 18, the addressee agreed "to allow 1,00,000 copies per week, which meant an increase in consumption from 5 to 7½ tons per month". He also conveyed the Viceroy's appreciation of Gandhiji's "sound advice on the food situation". Writing again on March 22, Abell informed Amrit Kaur of the decision "to release 10 tons".

[2] Bidhan Chandra Roy

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 47

[4] *Vide* pp. 88-9, 90-91 and 132-3.

[5] Love

[6] With

[7] This and the two italicized words are in Tamil.

250. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

POONA,
March 5, 1946

CHI. SITA,

I got your postcard. I like your confidence that you will pass. It will bear fruit. Keep up your courage and peace of mind at the time of the examination, too. You may come whenever you wish to. Your place will be reserved.

I wrote[1] to you one letter yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4973

251. LETTER TO A. V. THAKKAR

March 5, 1946

BAPA,

I got your reminder. I have taken up Santhanam's [thesis][2]. The first chapter shows that we (i. e., the Harijan Sevak Sangh) cannot print it. All that is there about Muslims should go. It adversely affects the other chapters. It is an excellent work. He has really taken pains over it and it deserves to be published. It seems perfectly all right to me, if the Hindustan Times [Press] publishes it. It will sell without any effort. You may show this to Santhanam. The proofs should be corrected carefully. I shall send over the corrections in a few days. Of course I will not be able to examine them very carefully. You need not rush through the job.

BAPU

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
KINGSWAY
DELHI

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

[1] *Vide* pp. 211-2.

[2] Titled "Ambedkar's Attack" this was published by Devi Prasad Sharma at the Hindustan Times Press, New Delhi. The "Author's Note"

CWMG - LXXII

252. *MESSAGE TO FOREIGN PRESS*[1]

POONA,
[On or after *March 5, 1946*][2]

I have seen Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's message, and I have nothing to add to what he has said.

The Hindu, 8-3-1946

253. *MY CONFESSION AND CURE*[3]

It is plain to me as it has become to some of my friends that I am incorrigible. I can learn only by my mistakes.[4] I do not know why I could not learn through objections or warnings from others.[5] I can learn only when I stumble and fall and feel the pain. As children we all used to learn this way. My condition is just like a child's even in my 76th year. I have just discovered myself making a mistake which I should never have made.

I have known Dr. Dinshaw Mehta for a long time. He has dedicated his life solely to nature cure of his conception. His one ambition is to see a full-fledged nature cure university established in India. A university worth the name must be predominantly for the prevention and cure of the diseases of the poor villagers of

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dated July 7, 1946, bore the sub-title "A Critical Examination of Dr. Ambedkar's Book: *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*." It was circulated by the addressee for favour of review.

[1] The report said that "this was in reply to a cable asking for a message to the foreign Press". Gandhiji was requested to give a statement on the recent events in India and on the proposed visit of the British Cabinet Mission—Sir Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander—which reached India on March 24 to discuss with Indian leaders the framing of India's Constitution.

[2] From the reference to Vallabhbhai Patel's message, given in response to a similar request made in Bombay, which was published on March 5; *vide* Appendix VIII.

[3] A Gujarati version of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu* published simultaneously with the source.

[4] The Gujarati version has: "I can learn only by making mistakes and then acknowledging and correcting them."

[5] This and the following three sentences are translated from the Gujarati.

India. No such university exists in the world. The institutes in the West are designed more for the rich than for the poor.

I feel that I know the method of nature cure for the villagers of India. Therefore I should at once have known that nature cure for the villagers could not be attempted in Poona city. But a Trust was made. Very sober Jehangirji Patel permitted himself to be a co-trustee with Dr. Mehta and me, and I hastened to Poona to run for the poor Dr. Mehta's erstwhile Clinic which was designed for the rich. I suggested some drastic changes; but last Monday[1] the knowledge dawned upon me that I was a fool to think that I could ever hope to make an institute for the poor in town. I realized that if I cared for the ailing poor, I must go to them and not expect them to come to me. This is true of ordinary medicinal treatment. It is much more so of nature cure. How is a villager coming to Poona to understand and carry out my instructions to apply mud-poultices, take sun cure, hip and friction sitz-baths or certain foods cooked conservatively?[2] Will it not be impudence? The villager would go away nodding, but at the same time he would smile and think that the person who advised him to undergo nature cure was a fool. He would expect me to give him a powder or a potion to swallow and be done with it. Nature cure connotes a way of life which has to be learnt; it is not a drug cure as we understand it. The treatment to be efficacious can, therefore, only take place in or near a man's cottage or house. It demands from its physician sympathy and patience and knowledge of human nature. When he has successfully practised in this manner in a village, or villages, when enough men and women have understood the secret of nature cure, a nucleus for a nature cure university is founded. It should not have required eleven days' special stay in the institute to discover this simple truth, and that I did not need a huge building and all its attendant paraphernalia for my purpose. I do not know whether to laugh or weep over my folly. I laughed at it and made haste to undo the blunder. This confession completes the reparation.[3] I have not learnt to give up any work once begun and therefore there is only one alternative left for me. In which village should I start this work?

I should like the reader to draw the moral that he should never take anything for gospel truth even if it comes from a

[1] March 4, 1946; *vide* p. 212.
[2] The following two sentences are translated from the Gujarati.
[3] The rest of the paragraph is translated from the Gujarati.

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Mahatma unless it appeals to both his head and heart. In the present case my folly is so patent that even if it had continued for some time, very few, if any, would have succumbed to it. The real villagers would not have come for relief to this institute. But if the discovery had come too late, it would have blasted my reputation for I would have lost in my own estimation. Nothing hurts a man more than the loss of self-respect. I do not know that now I deserve the confidence of my fellowmen. If I lost it, I know that I shall have deserved the loss. To complete the story I must tell the reader that not a pice of the money earmarked for the poor ailing villagers has been spent on this abortive enterprise. What shape the present institution will now take and where and how poor man's nature cure will be tried is no part of this confession. The result of the initial mistake must not, however, be an abandonment of the new pursuit that I have taken up in the so-called evening of my life. It must, on the contrary, be a clearer and more vigorous pursuit of the ideal of nature cure for the millions, if such a thing is at all practicable. Possible it certainly is.[1] So far as I am concerned it is enough if this mistake makes me more cautious in realizing my ideals. Time alone can say whether or not poor villagers would welcome nature cure. There is no reason to doubt that it should be welcome.

POONA, March 6, 1946
Harijan, 17-3-1946

254. QUESTION BOX[2]

Q. How can a person in the military do constructive work?

A. A military man who has any grit in him can take up spinning together with the anterior and posterior processes. He can go in for paper making or any other village craft during his leisure hours. Army men have plenty of leisure when they are not fighting. Even when there is fighting, all are not [and should not be][3] engaged in it though they have to stand by ready. Thus they can learn all those activities which are being conducted for the freedom of India. They should learn the national language in the two scripts. All this study must be coupled with a burning

[1] What follows is from the Gujarati.

[2] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[3] From the Gujarati

love of freedom and the courage to stand true to one's conviction and to act accordingly even if one is left alone. In no way does this conflict with military discipline. I do not believe in indulging in indiscipline especially in military service. Nor is there any room in my scheme of things for secret activity. Adherence to these principles is the only correct course for an individual or a people.

Q. It is supposed to be a sign of ill-breeding not to leave some food on one's plate after finishing a meal. The contrary is supposed to be the correct thing to do.[1] Why is it so? And can it be tolerated when people are starved?

A. It passes my comprehension how such action can be tolerated, especially in the face of the threatened famine. I do not know the reason for this practice, and it would be waste of time to enquire into it. I consider it to be a sign of vulgarity and lack of perspective to have more on one's plate than one requires. In the present time no one is really entitled to full meals. Waste would be sign of callousness. On the other hand, I consider it good breeding and discrimination to leave one's plate clean of leavings. It saves too the time of those who wash up. It is thoughtful and correct before beginning a meal to remove what one considers excess from one's plate on to a clean plate. Hosts should be discriminating and have enough delicate regard to find out what their guests require in the way of food and then give them no more than what they want.

Q. Writing letters in blood and using blood for auspicious marks is becoming almost a fashion. Ought it not to be stopped?

A. To my mind this is a revolting practice. It causes no hurt to take a little blood from oneself. In these days, in particular, blood letting can be performed without the slightest pain or inconvenience. If too much is taken from him, the donor experiences weakness. But to write or sign letters in one's own blood is neither bravery nor does it connote any sacrifice or suffering. It is nothing more or less than criminal folly and ought to be abjured. Not only that, it is a duty to stop it. The easiest way is for all leaders not to countenance such a vulgar and uncivilized practice.

POONA, 6-3-1946

Harijan, 17-3-1946

[1] The rest of the question is translated from the Gujarati.

CWMG - LXXII

255. SATYAGRAHA IN FACE OF HOOLIGANISM[1]

A friend has gently posed the question as to what a satyagrahi should do to prevent looting by *goondas*[2]. If he had understood the secret of satyagraha, he would not have put it.

To lay down one's life, even alone, for what one considers to be right, is the very core of satyagraha. More no man can do. If a man is armed with a sword, he might lop off a few heads but ultimately he must surrender to superior force or else die fighting. The sword of the satyagrahi is love and the unshakable firmness that comes from it. He will regard as brothers the hundreds of *goondas* that confront him and instead of trying to kill them he will choose to die at their hands and thereby live.

This is straight and simple. But how can a solitary satyagrahi succeed in the midst of a huge population? Hundreds of hooligans were let loose on the city of Bombay for arson and loot. A solitary satyagrahi will be like a drop in the ocean. Thus argues the correspondent.

My reply is that a satyagrahi may never run away from danger, irrespective of whether he is alone or in the company of many. He will have fully performed his duty, if he dies fighting. The same holds good in armed warfare. It applies with greater force in satyagraha. Moreover the sacrifice of one will evoke the sacrifice of many and may possibly produce big results. There is always this possibility. But one must scrupulously avoid the temptation of a desire for results.[3] Here I am indicating only a possibility. May no one regard results as a temptation.

I believe that every man and woman should learn the art of self-defence in this age [and in all ages][4]. This is done through arms in the West. Every adult man is conscripted for army training for a definite period. The training for satyagraha is meant for all, irrespective of age or sex. The more important part of the training here is mental, not physical. There can be no compulsion

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] Rowdies

[3] The rest of the paragraph is translated from the Gujarati version.

[4] From the Gujarati

in mental training. The surrounding atmosphere no doubt acts on the mind but that cannot justify compulsion.

It follows that shopkeepers, traders, mill-hands, labourers, farmers, clerks, in short everyone ought to consider it his or her duty to get the necessary training in satyagraha.

Satyagraha is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument. It is the weapon that adorns the strong. It can never adorn the weak. By weak is meant the weak in mind and spirit, not in body. That limitation is a quality to be prized and not a defect to be deplored.

One ought also to understand one of its other limitations. It can never be used to defend a wrong cause.

Satyagraha brigades can be organized in every village and in every block of buildings in the cities. Each brigade should be composed of those persons who are well-known to the organizers. In this respect satyagraha differs from armed defence. For the latter the State impresses the service of everybody. For a satyagraha brigade only those are eligible who believe in ahimsa and satya. Therefore an intimate knowledge of the persons enlisted is necessary for the organizers.

POONA, March 6, 1946

Harijan, 17-3-1946

256. PERSECUTION OF HARIJANS[1]

Sri Parikshitlal Majmudar[2] writes:

> There was high mortality due to some epidemic in a village in Wadhwan State, Kathiawar. The superstition of the villagers ascribed this misfortune to Harijans and they began to intimidate the Bhangi families. The latter fled from the village through fright. Harijan workers . . . approached the State authorities to take immediate steps to protect the Bhangis. . . . The State acted promptly and the families returned. . . .

The only remedy for this kind of superstition is the spread of correct knowledge. The reason for its existence in Kathiawar seems to be that the reform movement has not yet touched the

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] Secretary, Gujarat branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh; only an extract from his letter is reproduced here.

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villages there. Workers must make Herculean efforts to remedy this defect. But wherefrom are such workers to come? Even those already working in Kathiawar fight shy of going to the villages. And, even if they go, one can well imagine the immense difficulty of the task confronting them. Man's endeavour at its highest consists in continuing to perform one's duty undeterred by difficulties. The Kathiawar incident must be taken to heart. Both the State and the people understood their duty and took prompt and firm measures in the instance quoted and the difficulty was surmounted for the time being. If this example were to be widely followed, it would cut at the very root of superstition. And that would be true education.

POONA, March, 6, 1946
Harijan, 17-3-1946

257. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

POONA,
March 6, 1946

ABUL KALAM AZAD
CONGRESS PRESIDENT
FAIRFIELD
LAHORE

HOPE TO BE WITH YOU ON TWELFTH.[1]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

258. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

POONA,
March 6, 1946

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I will have to go there on the 11th. I, therefore, think it useless for you to come here just for two days. I shall be busy with *Harijan*. My health is good. I hope you got my message.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANILAL GANDHI
C/O NILKANTH MASHRUWALA
SOUTH AVENUE, BOMBAY-25

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4974. Also C.W. 1387. Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] In Bombay to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting

259. *HINDU AND MUSSALMAN TEA, ETC.*[1]

Hindu and Mussalman tea is sold at railway stations. Separate arrangements for meals for the two communities are sometimes made and none seems to be there for Harijans. All this is a sign of our pitiable condition and constitutes a blot on British administration. One can understand their not interfering in religious matters, but for them to allow separate arrangements for tea, water, etc., for the two communities is to set the seal of approval on separatism. Railways and railway travelling offer a golden opportunity which could be used for social reform and for educating the public in sanitation and hygiene, good manners and communal unity. Instead, however, an utter neglect of and indifference to these desiderata are shown. Railway travel serves to strengthen, rather than mitigate, evil customs and bad habits. First and second-class passengers are pampered, luxurious habits encouraged. Third-class passengers on whom the railway revenues largely depend are denied even elementary amenities and exposed to all kinds of hardship. In either case weakness is exploited. And when, in addition to this, separatism and untouchability are recognized by the railway authorities, it is the very limit. If any passenger wishes to impose restrictions on himself, he is at liberty to do so at his own expense and suffer, maybe, even hunger and thirst. But let him not demand special facilities for himself from railway authorities.

That vegetarians and non-vegetarians should be catered for, is another matter. That is already being done.

POONA, March 7, 1946
Harijan, 17-3-1946

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.

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260. LETTER TO JAIKRISHNA P. BHANSALI

POONA,
March 7, 1946

CHI. BHANSALI,

Would it not be wholly improper, if you had undertaken the three days' fast because you are angry with either Pushpa or Kamala ? Such a fast can never have a place in our ethics. And, if you had undertaken it with calm deliberation, shouldn't you have my permission for it? Don't you remember my having suggested that no one was to undertake a fast without my permission? If you don't, henceforth please bear it in mind. Now that it is over, let us not bother about it. Surely you are not going to undertake any more [fasts]; so let bygones be bygones. This letter is for the future.

From a man like you I expect the perfection of human qualities. It would be wrong, if Pushpa or Kamala or any other worker, man or woman, was careless while working for you or for anyone else. The remedy, however, is that the person should be patiently taught to be more careful.

We should do without the services of persons who are careless about their duties. Such persons would then gradually become careful.

Blessings from
BAPU

[J. P. BHANSALI]
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

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

261. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

POONA,
March 7, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I did write a few letters to you. And whenever I dictate letters or ask someone to write to you, these too should be looked upon as letters from me. A number of letters have now gone from here. It cannot be said that anything remains to be answered.

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I do not consider Bhansalibhai's fast to be right, and nobody in the Ashram has any right to undertake a fast like this. I have always said that if one wanted to undertake a fast, one must take my permission. The rule still applies. It may be asked, what is to be done when I am away. The answer is that the Manager of the Ashram should be consulted and, if he is in doubt, then some senior member like Vinobaji or Kishorelalbhai and others should be consulted. If there is time to consult me, then it is, of course, better to do so. Observance of this rule would save one from any possible conflict of duties.

I think you should now give up your insistence on buying an ox. We may not be able to become the poorest among the poor, but let us try to be like the poor in every way we can. Crores of people cannot afford an ox, and there are very few people in India who have good oxen. Why should we not try to be like them? It would be a sign of perverted reason to cite the instance of the Goseva Sangh in this connection. Let us see how much we can achieve with mere manual labour without oxen and without Western machinery. You will see that a great deal can be done in this way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4548

262. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
March 7, 1946

Letters and wires continue to come to me seeking my aid in saving Gen. Awari's life which seems now to be sinking. I know Gen. Awari. He is a lovable worker. But I know too that he is often improperly obstinate. The present occasion is a case in point.[1] If a man, however popular and great he may be, takes up an improper cause and fasts in defence of the impropriety, it is the duty of his friends (among whom I count myself), fellow-workers and relatives to let him die rather than that an improper cause should triumph so that he may live. Fairest means cease to be fair when the end sought is unfair. Let me say once more where Gen. Awari's end is improper and unfair. He may be wholly right in his statement that a great

[1] *Vide* pp. 155 and 177-8.

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wrong has been perpetrated by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. But who can right the wrong? Not Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Gen. Awari tells me he can. He is but an individual Sardar[1] though he has pronounced the decision of the Board. A judge cannot review his own judgment. The Sardar is out of the picture. The Central Board cannot, must not, review its own judgment. It has no authority. No institution can act capriciously in a well-managed democracy. Gen. Awari and his friends have the right of appeal or review by the Working Committee, then the A. I. C. C.; finally the Congress. This procedure may appear to him too long. It is not, unless he is fighting for an individual or individuals and not for a principle, as he assures me, he is doing. Time always runs in favour of the defence of a principle. If the general session of the Congress which is the highest tribunal for vindicating justice decides against Gen. Awari, he has to submit to its verdict. The Congress is the panchayat. Like the king it can do no wrong. This is merely a necessary and legitimate conception for guidance in the observance of an infallible duty. In truth, however, decisions of human organizations in all climes have been sometimes found to be wrong. So it may be in the case under discussion. Then, but not till then, will Gen. Awari have in theory the right, if he chooses to exercise it, to stir public conscience into action by a fast to the finish. In practice, it will be ludicrous. For the principle behind such action can only euphemistically be so-called. In democracy even pure men may unconsciously give wrong decisions. The remedy is more and purer education, greater awakening of the public and, in such quickened atmosphere, the rise of a number of public workers whose sole duty will be to speak, write and act so as to serve as bright examples for the public.

Now I hope the friends of Gen. Awari will understand me when I say that those who wrongly support him and his fast and thus encourage him will hasten Gen. Awari's death, not those who will not swerve from well-recognized canons of justice even for the sake of saving the life of an erring friend. Let justice triumph though the heavens weep.

Harijan, 17-3-1946

[1] Literally, 'chief'

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263. SPEECH AT MEETING OF TRUSTEES OF ALL-INDIA NATURE CURE FOUNDATION, POONA[1]

March 7, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi explained that nature cure therapeutics as practised in the cities of India and in the West was not suitable for the masses in the villages of India and that they should be based on the material available in and around the villages as well as in keeping with rural economics. Principally the mass awakening was to be made from the point of view of prevention of diseases rather than from the point of view of cure of the same. From the latter view-point he emphasized the need for evolution of a system of nature cure therapeutics based upon Ramanama and the five elements of Nature: earth, water, air, sun, sky.

Mahatma Gandhi particularly emphasized the importance of Ramanama as the basis of his system, and its spiritual significance in nature cure science. He explained that once he started the practice of nature cure of his conception in one of the villages around Poona, his idea would evolve a system of therapeutics which can be spread throughout the rural population of India. . . .

Mahatma Gandhi then suggested that Dr. Dinshaw Mehta should undertake a trip to the different parts of India with the idea of studying various nature cure institutions existing in the country. . . .[2]

From a facsimile : *Mahatma*, Vol. 7, between pp. 96 and 97

[1] The speech is extracted from "Minutes" of the fifth meeting of trustees held under the chairmanship of Gandhiji in his room in Nature Cure Sanatorium. Dr. Dinshaw K. Mehta and Jehangir P. Patel were present. Gandhiji permitted Gulabanoo D. Mehta also to attend the meeting.

[2] Dr. Dinshaw Mehta accepted the suggestion which was supported by Jehangir Patel and Gulabanoo Mehta.

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264. TELEGRAM TO HORMUZD

POONA,
March 8, 1946

HORMUZD
HEAD PRIEST PARSI 'AGIARY'
NAGPUR

REVISION ON MERITS ALWAYS POSSIBLE FROM INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR BODY. WISH YOU SUCCESS. PERSUADE AWARI ABANDON FALSE POSITION.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

265. TELEGRAM TO FEDERATION OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS EMPLOYEES' UNION

POONA,
March 8, 1946

SECRETARY
FEDERATION POSTS TELEGRAPHS
GAYA

WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF CASE[1] DIFFICULT GIVE OPINION.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The reference, presumably, is to the union's demands in regard to scales of pay and pensions; the Federation had threatened to go on strike from March 23, if their demands were not met by the authorities.

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266. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

POONA,
March 8, 1946

CHI. MANILAL,

I think it would be better, if you joined the deputation[1]. If you cannot agree with the draft[2] of the memorandum to be presented to the Viceroy, that is, if you oppose it, then it would be another matter. It would have been good, if you could have got time to come and see me, but it does not matter. If I can put on paper the shape that the draft is taking in my mind, there will be no need to see me just now. If, after finishing the business in Delhi, all of you return soon, you will be able to see me in Bombay itself. But failing that you will certainly be able to see me here at any rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4975

267. DRAFT MEMORANDUM TO VICEROY[3]

[On or after *March 8, 1946*][4]

We the signatories hereto are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for receiving us at short notice in spite of your multifarious preoccupations.

The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the Indians in Natal but also on the mother country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape [Town] had practically no Indian question worth the name.

[1] Of South African Indians led by Aga Khan, who, according to *Gandhi: 1915-1948—A Detailed Chronology*, called on Gandhiji on March 3

[2] *Vide* the following item; for extracts from the memorandum submitted to the Viceroy on March 12, *vide* Appendix IX.

[3] & [4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The location system later known as segregation had its rise there. The whites in Natal had deliberately and for their own sake invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations. This indentured population naturally drew the independent mercantile Indians.

One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the union of all the races of South Africa, i. e., the African (the Negro), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians). What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world. But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and anti-Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants as will be clearly seen by reference to the appendix A[1] hereto attached.

We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made, in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. Political inequality was their end. The wedge has now expanded into all round inequality and inferiority. Thus there are three segregations in which the whites are inviting segregations for themselves in order to compel the segregation of the other two. God has made man one great human family. The white races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts.

We have come all the way from South Africa not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the mother country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the F. M. himself.

It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then we submit that it is Your Excellency's

[1] Not reproduced here

double and special duty to enunciate and so far as possible enforce that policy in no uncertain terms in connection with the question being submitted to you.

We submit that the least Your Excellency's Government can do is to withdraw the High Commissioner from South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter-measures will cause no hardship. But our loss we count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement.[1]

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

268. LETTER TO SORABJI RUSTOMJI

[After *March 8*,][2] *1946*

CHI. SORAB[3],

Chi. Manilal met me. He does not wish to join the deputation. According to him, the deputation is a farce. Many of the members were drafted here. A deputation so composed can have place on it only for dummies. If that is so, what purpose will Manilal's inclusion serve? You and he are like blood-brothers, but there are differences between you two even in the method of work. What can be done in these circumstances? So much from Manilal's point of view. But you also need to think. Do not involve me at all in this business unless it is perfectly above board. If Manilal is making a mistake, point it out to him and to me also. But if you yourself are making a mistake, wake up. In the matter of public work, I want to see you in the form of a second Rustomji. I have always known you to be that. You are, of course, a man of bright intellect. Use it always to strengthen your spirit of service. The draft[4] I have prepared deserves the most careful attention. Cling to it at all costs. Improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 1386-A. Courtesy : Sushila Gandhi

[1] *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 18-3-1946.

[2] The source has "March 5"; but from the contents this letter appears to have been written after "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", *vide* p. 230.

[3] Son of Parsee Rustomji

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

269. FRAGMENT OF TALK WITH GOKULDAS D. RAICHURA[1]

[Before *March 9, 1946*][2]

I want to live for 125 years and, if God fulfils my wish, I want to create a new world in India.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Samachar, 10-3-1946

270. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

POONA,
March 9, 1946

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Permit Chi. Pyarelal to draw up to Rs. 25 every month as long as he wishes.

Leave the decision about Babudi[3] to herself. She has great love for Gordhandas, and that is as it ought to be. I have told her, too, that she can come to me whenever she wants.

How are things getting on there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10649

271. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

POONA,
March 9, 1946

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I have both your letters. Your mind is not stable. Has the Ashram now become worthless?[4] Is there not someone who

[1] A Gujarati novelist

[2] The talk was reported under the date-line "Baroda, March 9, 1946".

[3] Addressee's daughter, Sharda Gordhandas Chokhawala

[4] The addressee had written to Gandhiji that in his absence she found the Sevagram Ashram empty.

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is all right? If there is even a single person who is so, then know that it is good. Write to me frankly what is wrong there. I have told them to employ servants. But they are to be treated as brothers. This is one way to serve them. If this does not work, we ought to introduce some reform. If you permit, I shall send both the letters to Chimanlal and ask for an explanation.

Maganbhai must improve his health where he is. Krishnachandra can take work from those who want to work. They can refuse, and you can say no.

What should I do, if I send for you here? You can come over, if you very much want to. I do not know that Abha is going. My staying here is not certain. I go to Bombay on the 19th. No patients are admitted here. Dr. Mehta is not on duty. He will be out of station. They have not yet started [the treatment] for the poor. You may go to your mother, if you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 504

272. MESSAGE TO AGA KHAN[1]

[On or before *March 10, 1946*][2]

May you live for many years.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 17-3-1946

273. RAMANAMA, THE INFALLIBLE REMEDY[3]

Shri Ganesh Shastri Joshi, *vaidya*, tells me after reading my article on nature cure[4] in Harijan of 3rd March, 1946, that in Ayurveda too there is ample testimony to the efficacy of Ramanama as a cure for all diseases. Nature cure occupies the place of honour and in it Ramanama is the most important. When

[1] & [2] According to report in *The Hindu*, 12-3-1946, Aga Khan celebrated "his diamond jubilee" on March 10, 1946. Gandhiji had expressed his inability to be present on the occasion; *vide* p. 115.

[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[4] *Vide* p. 176.

Charaka[1], Vagbhata[2] and other giants of medicine in ancient India wrote, the popular name for God was not Rama but Vishnu. I myself have been a devotee of Tulsidas from my childhood and have, therefore, always worshipped God as Rama. But I know that if, beginning with *Omkara* one goes through the entire gamut of God's names current in all climes, all countries and all languages, the result is the same. He and His Laws are one. To observe His Law is, therefore, the best form of worship. A man who becomes one with the Law does not stand in need of vocal recitation of the name. In other words an individual with whom contemplation of God has become as natural as breathing, is so filled with God's spirit that knowledge of observance of the Law becomes second nature as it were with him. Such a one needs no other treatment.

The question then arises as to why, in spite of having this prince of remedies at hand, we know so little about it, and why even those who know do not remember Him or remember Him only by lip-service, not from the heart. Parrot-like repetition of God's name signifies failure to recognize Him as the panacea for all ills.

How can they? This sovereign remedy is not administered by doctors, *vaidyas*, hakims, or any other medical practitioners. These have no faith in it. If they were to admit that the spring of the Holy Ganges could be found in every home, their very occupation or means of livelihood would go. Therefore they must perforce rely on their powders and potions as infallible remedies. Not only do these provide bread for the doctor, but the patient too seems to feel immediate relief. If a medical practitioner can get a few persons to say 'So and so gave me a powder and I was cured', his business is established.

Nor, it must be borne in mind, would it really be of any use for doctors to prescribe God's name to patients unless they themselves were conscious of its miraculous powers. Ramanama is no copy-book maxim. It is something that has to be realized through experience. One who has had personal experience alone can prescribe it, not any other.

The *Vaidyaraj* has copied out for me four verses. Out of these Charaka's is the simplest and most apt. It means that if one

[1] Principal exponent of Ayurvedic system of medicine and author of *Charaka Samhita*

[2] An ancient professor of Ayurveda

were to obtain mastery over even one out of the thousand names of Vishnu, all ailments would vanish:

विष्णुं सहस्रमूर्धानं चराचरपतिं विभुम् ।
स्तुवन्नामसहस्रेण ज्वरान् सर्वान् व्यपोहति ॥[1]

Poona, March 10, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

274. LETTER TO SIR FREDERICK BURROWS

Nature Cure Clinic,
6 Todiwala Road, Poona,
March 10, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

Your predecessor Mr. Casey purposely left for you a legacy and told me that you would have to deal yourself with the remaining political prisoners or detenus of Bengal.

I have no desire to worry you in the beginning stage of your career, but the letter[2] I have just received from important prisoners or detenus in Dum Dum jail encourages me to do so. The letter speaks for itself. I simply say by way of comment that it is a tragedy or, may I say, even a disgrace, to keep these people in jail without trial even on suspicion, however strong that may be. I plead for courageous wholesale release.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. Sir Frederick Burrows
Governor of Bengal
Calcutta

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 136-7

[1] *Charaka Chikitsa*, III, 311

[2] For extracts from the letter, *vide* Appendix X.

[3] Replying on March 19, the addressee, *inter alia*, said: "I am pursuing the policy of my predecessor though I think I may fairly claim to have speeded things up especially when account is taken of the fact that the persons still detained are those who have been regarded as the most dangerous. In the first fortnight of March, sixty-one detenus were released, and the number still held in detention on the 15th March was 115. This figure will be substantially reduced by the end of the month."

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275. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

POONA,
March 10, 1946

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. You must learn to remain calm and composed everywhere and in all conditions. You have to sit daily with Anand[1] regularly for one hour at least and help him with lessons without getting impatient. In this way at least at that time, at meal-times and during walks, he will regularly get your company.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10066. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

276. LETTER TO ANAND G. CHOKHAWALA

[*March 10, 1946*][2]

CHI. ANAND[3],

You must start writing to me now. I hope you will now learn to be a good boy. Have you started eating vegetables regularly?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 10066. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

[1] Addressee's son
[2] & [3] This and the preceding item appear on the same sheet.

277. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

POONA,
March 10, 1946

CHI. A. S.,

I got your letter. I tore it up. If Maganbhai cannot bear the heat, he may go home. If he sits in the tub for long hours, he may be able to bear the heat. You have to go to your mother. You will get enough work in Kanu's camp. Anyway a silent and sincere worker will always have some work to do. Spinning should be regarded as no mean work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 505

278. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

POONA,
March 11, 1946

MY DEAR C. R.,

It is just 6.15 a. m. I am to be off to Bombay by 7.30 a. m.

If we discover a mistake, must we continue it?[1] We began making love in English—a mistake. Must it express itself only by repeating the initial mistake? You have cake and eat it also.

Love is love under a variety of garbs—even when the lovers are dumb. Probably it is fullest when it is speechless. I had thought, under its gentle unfelt compulsion, you will easily glide into Hindustani and thus put the necessary finishing touch to your service of Hindustani. But let it be as you will, not I.[2]

[1] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book 1, p. 157, Pyarelal explains that the addressee in his letter dated March 3 had said: "Your Nagari is so illegible that I have only with great difficulty gathered what you wished to tell me. . . . It won't do to discard what we both know well and handle as medium and adopt deliberately a difficult medium except occasionally as a joke! I shall begin replying in Tamil, if you write to me in illegible Nagari!"

[2] Replying on March 13, the addressee said: "Regarding Hindustani I plead guilty and ask for mitigation. Old age (not youth) being the excuse. But don't argue further. Your very sweetness makes me feel so guilty."

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I do not like your despondence. You have to be thoroughly well. Why not come to me? I hope to return in five or six days.

This *tamasha* will vanish leaving the water of life cleaner for the agitation. If it does not, what then?

Anbudan[1].

BAPU[2]

From a photostat : G. N. 2118

279. *LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN*

POONA,
March 11, 1946

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN[3],

You never write for the sake of writing. But the letter before me is the first such.

A highly industrial system under capitalism and full employment are incompatible.

Your proposition about Manilal needs revision. But all such things when we meet, if we do.

The rest from the papers and Manilal.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

280. *SHOCKING IF TRUE*[4]

The Joint Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh, Shri Hemantkumar, writes that apart from Karadi nowhere are temples open to Harijans, and nowhere may they use public wells.

If this is true, I may say it is a good thing that I have been unable to go to Bardoli.[5] How can those Gujaratis, who do not look upon Harijans as part and parcel of themselves, who do not permit them to draw water from public wells nor enter

[1] & [2] These words are in Tamil. However, the source has *ambudan*, a slip for *anbudan* which means 'with love'. *Vide* also p. 215.

[3] Gandhiji's secretary in South Africa

[4] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared under "Notes" as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[5] *Vide* p. 202.

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temples for the worship of God, who even attribute epidemics to Harijans[1] and are prepared to beat them for practices which superstition attributes to them, how can they welcome me? Or what value can their welcome hold for me?

I have long since counted myself as Bhangi in my speech, in my actions and above all in mind and spirit. Anyone who looks upon them with contempt does the same to me. Indeed I hold it an honour to be among the despised Harijans and among the Bhangis. Any welcome to me under the circumstances would be tantamount to an insult.

Therefore I make this request to Gujaratis that they atone for the grievous wrong they continue to do to fellow human beings. I shall consider their repentance adequate when they admit Harijans into their fold, and only then will I consider them capable of maintaining swaraj. I do hope that the people of Bardoli Taluka will understand and respond to my message in a special manner.

BOMBAY, March 11, 1946

Harijan, 24-3-1946

281. QUESTION BOX[2]

Q. You ask people not to eat polished rice but I fear the disease is too far gone. Polished rice is washed again and again and the water thrown away. It is then boiled and that water too is emptied into the drain thus depriving the cereal of all its vitamin value. The rice thus served, with each grain separate, is pleasant for both the eye and the palate. The practice obtains even in students' hostels. How are we to get rid of it?

A. I am aware of the above-mentioned malpractice. We live in the poorest of poor countries and are yet unable or unwilling to give up such harmful habits. Each one thinks only of himself. We look upon our neighbours as strangers instead of as our kith and kin. What does it matter to us whether they live or die? If they die, it is their own fault. If they live, it is accredited to their merit. Life and death are not in our hands. Therefore let us eat, drink and be merry!

[1] *Vide* pp. 222-3.

[2] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

In such a distorted view of life, we have to follow what we consider to be our duty and believe that what is true will one day be followed. Until then, whenever occasion arises, we must proclaim from the house-tops what we consider to be right.

Q. You say that those who eat fish should be provided with the same. Does not this entail violence both for him who eats and him who provides the fish?

A. Both commit violence. So do those who eat vegetables. This kind of violence is inherent in all embodied life, therefore, in man too. It is in this condition, and in spite of it, that we have to practise non-violence as a duty. I have often indicated how we may do so. Then man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it. Fishermen, fish-vendors and fish-eaters are probably unaware of any violence in their action. Even if they were, they might look upon it as unavoidable. But the man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman. Those who quarrel among themselves, those who will stoop to anything in order to amass wealth, those who exploit or indulge in forced human labour, those who overload or goad or otherwise torture animals, all these knowingly commit such violence as can easily be stopped. I do not consider it violence to permit the fish-eater to eat fish. It is my duty to suffer it. Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain, as far as is humanly possible, from violence.

BOMBAY, March 11, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

282. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

March 11, 1946

The news of the recent events in Bombay has filled me with shame and humiliation as it must have you too. Let me hope that none of those who are here took part in these disgraceful happenings. But that alone would not entitle you to my congratulations. We have reached a stage when nobody can afford to sit on the fence or take refuge in the 'ambiguous middle'. One has to speak out and stand up for one's convictions. Inaction at a time of conflagration is inexcusable. Is it too difficult an ideal

[1] This appeared under the title "For Shame!". The meeting was held at Rungta House.

to follow? Let me tell you, however, that this is the only course that will take us safely through the present difficult times.

It has become the fashion these days to ascribe all such ugly manifestations to the activities of hooligans. It hardly becomes us to take refuge in that moral alibi. Who are the hooligans after all? They are our own countrymen and, so long as any countryman of ours indulges in such acts, we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people. It matters little whether those who were responsible for the happenings are denounced as *goondas* or praised as patriots—praise and blame must equally belong to us all. The only manly and becoming course for those who are aspiring to be free is to accept either whilst doing our duty.

In eating, sleeping and in the performance of other physical functions, man is not different from the brute. What distinguishes him from the brute is his ceaseless striving to rise above the brute on the moral plane. Mankind is at the cross-roads. It has to make its choice between the law of the jungle and the law of humanity. We in India deliberately adopted the latter twenty-five years back but, I am afraid, that whilst we profess to follow the higher way, our practice has not always conformed to our profession. We have always proclaimed from the house-tops that non-violence is the way of the brave, but there are some amongst us who have brought ahimsa into disrepute by using it as a weapon of the weak. In my opinion, to remain a passive spectator of the kind of crimes that Bombay has witnessed of late is cowardice. Let me say in all humility that ahimsa belongs to the brave. Pritam[1] has sung: "The way of the Lord is for the brave, not for the coward." By the way of the Lord is here meant the way of non-violence and truth. I have said before that I do not envisage God other than truth and non-violence. If you have accepted the doctrine of ahimsa without a full realization of its implications, you are at liberty to repudiate it. I believe in confessing one's mistakes and correcting them. Such confession strengthens one and purifies the soul. Ahimsa calls for the strength and courage to suffer without retaliation, to receive blows without returning any. But that does not exhaust its meaning. Silence becomes cowardice when occasion demands speaking out the whole truth and acting accordingly. We have to cultivate that courage, if we are to win India's independence through truth and non-violence as proclaimed by the Congress. It is an

[1] A Gujarati poet

ideal worth living for and dying for. Every one of you who has accepted that ideal should feel that inasmuch as a single English woman or child is assaulted, it is a challenge to your creed of non-violence, and you should protect the threatened victim even at the cost of your life. Then alone you will have the right to sing: "The way of the Lord is for the brave, not for the coward." To attack defenceless English women and children, because one has a grievance against the present Government, hardly becomes a human being.

The British Cabinet Ministers' Delegation will soon be in our midst. To suspect their *bona fides* in advance would also be a variety of weakness. As brave people it is our duty to take at its face value the declaration of the British Ministers that they are coming to restore to India what is her due. If a debtor came to your house in contrition to repay his debt, would it not be your duty to welcome him? On the other hand, would it not be unmanly to treat him with insult and humiliation in remembrance of past injustice? Let the British Government prove for the final time that they do not mean to act according to their professions. It will be time to act, if they do so. Till then the only manly course is to maintain dignified silence.[1]

Harijan, 7-4-1946

283. TO PATIENTS

Letters are being received in large numbers from patients wanting to be admitted to the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona. Let me inform them that no such facility exists at present. The standard of cleanliness that was intended to be introduced into the institution has not been reached. Work for the village people has not yet been started. So long as the preliminary adaptations are not complete, nothing can be done. The patients have, therefore, to wait. Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic at Bombay is no doubt there. He may open branches at Poona and Sinhagarh also. But since he has undertaken heavy responsibility in connection with the Nature Cure Trust, all this may take time. For private patients the scale of his fees will continue as before.

BOMBAY, March 12, 1946

Harijan, 17-3-1946

[1] According to a report in *The Hindu*, 13-3-1946, after prayer Gandhiji declined requests for his autograph; he, however, agreed to give it the next day.

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284. QUESTION BOX

Q. You have declared that freedom seems to be near. But I cannot follow the point. The Pakistan problem is only one complication against you.

A. Hope knows no insurmountable complications. But why ask, when the answer will be known within a few months, if not weeks. And I am not the only optimist this time.

BOMBAY, March 12, 1946

Harijan, 24-3-1946

285. LETTER TO AGA KHAN

BOMBAY,
March 12, 1946

BHAISAHEB,

I have your letter dated March 4, 1946. Thank you. How can people like you be remiss in growing trees? When I was a prisoner in the Transvaal, my batch was made to dig up a patch of rocky soil. A beautiful garden now stands there. If only there is water, then food-grains, vegetables or fodder can be easily grown on any kind of soil. I wish you would be the first to start this venture. In the Birla's mansion here they have laid out a garden after covering the terrace with earth. Now they think of growing vegetables, etc., there.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. THE AGA KHAN

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

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286. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY

March 12, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi, speaking at the conclusion of the prayers this evening, made a reference to the collection of money and ornaments during his recent tour of Bengal[1] and Madras[2]. He said that he had recently been on a long tour of Bengal, Assam and Madras, and passed through Orissa when he came back to Wardha. A large number of sisters and brothers gave him ornaments and money for the Harijan Fund. He collected them every day. But today, he said, somebody had given him some presents which he wanted to auction. He demanded that they should have to pay double the price of those presents.[3]

Mahatma Gandhi announced that he would not sign autographs this evening and asked the seekers of his autographs to send their books with a sum of Rs. 5 per autograph to him later.

The Hindu, 14-3-1946

287. TALK WITH SHAH NAWAZ KHAN AND P. K. SEHGAL[4]

March 12/13, 1946[5]

Gandhiji repeated to them the advice[6] he had previously given to some discharged I. N. A. men who had met him in Madras. He had told them that it should be derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of a soldier to live upon charity. The ideal which they should set before themselves was to earn their

[1] From December 1, 1945 to January 19, 1946

[2] From January 21 to February 4, 1946

[3] At this stage the loud-speaker arrangement failed, and Gandhiji had to curtail his speech. Kanu Gandhi then auctioned a silver charkha and a silver flask, which fetched Rs. 250 and Rs. 200 respectively.

[4] The talk is extracted from Pyarelal's "Ideals for the I. N. A."; Pyarelal explains: "I. N. A. men . . . were anxious . . . to distinguish themselves in national service on the non-violent lines but unless they were suitably absorbed in civil activities and properly guided they might be exploited and led into devious ways by unscrupulous agencies. . . ."

[5] From a report under the date-line "Bombay, March 12" in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 13-3-1946, which read: "Maj. Shah Nawaz Khan and Capt. P. K. Sehgal . . . had about 90 minutes' talk with Gandhiji at Birla House tonight. The talk . . . will be continued tomorrow evening."

[6] *Vide* p. 19.

bread by honest industry. The I. N. A. Relief Fund was there but it would be wrong to use it for providing doles. He described to them how in South Africa he had provided relief to dependents of satyagrahi prisoners by settling them on Tolstoy Farm where they had to labour according to capacity. The merit of this method was that it could be multiplied to any degree without proving costly and burdensome. The real test of the I. N. A., he told them, was to come only now. In the fighting line there was the romance and incitement, not so in civil life. The country was today faced with the spectre of famine. Would they help the people to fight it with the same courage, cohesion, doggedness and resourcefulness which they had shown on the battlefield? Would they show the same diligence, mastery and skill in handling the spade, the pickaxe and the hoe as they did in shouldering the rifle? Digging of wells and breaking stony ground to grow food, and plying the wheel and the shuttle to clothe the naked was the nation's need today. Would they respond to the call? They had physical stamina, discipline and, what was more, a feeling of solidarity and oneness, untainted by narrow communalism. All that ought to put them in a singular position of vantage for introducing non-violent discipline and organization among the masses. Constructive activity could absorb every one of the I. N. A. men who was willing and worthy of his name. If they took up that work, not one of them need or would remain unemployed.[1]

Harijan, 31-3-1946

288. HIGH-HANDEDNESS EXPOSED

The Bombay High Court has just delivered an illuminating judgment, allowing two habeas corpus applications of H. K. Shah and B. E. Sathe against detention orders extended from time to time. Chief Justice Stone and Justice Lokur have delivered a considered judgment setting at liberty the two applicants who were evidently illegally detained and might have remained under detention but for the fact that Advocate Purushottam Trikumdas assisted them to bring their cases before the Bombay High Court. I have just time to give below the few important extracts from the judgment.

After observing that the two affidavits filed by Mr. Simms, Home Secretary, Government of Bombay, in relation to the two

[1] According to a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-3-1946, P. K. Sehgal told the United Press of India that Gandhiji would "still believe" in his heart of hearts that Subhas Chandra Bose was alive.

accused cannot be distinguished from each other except for the numbers at the tops, the learned judges go on to say:

> In the case of Mr. Sathe, there is no suggestion in the reasons given that he assisted or supported any underground organization or organized anything underground, though it is suggested that he assisted the activities of an organization, the object of which was to commit acts of sabotage, and even if it is to be presumed that such an organization would work underground, the very fact that these two affidavits of Mr. Simms are in identical terms, though they deal with the circumstances of two different cases, demonstrates a very casual approach to the grave responsibilities and duties, which devolve on every Government servant charged with these wide powers of detention without trial.
>
> In Gokhale's case, a full bench of this High Court had occasion to comment upon detention orders being made on cyclostyled forms inappropriate to the facts of the particular case, and it now appears that, unless checked, the era of the cyclostyled affidavits is about to dawn. Even passing over such irregular features in Mr. Simms's affidavits as referring to an affidavit without stating whose affidavit it is he refers to, his affidavit does not even state that all the circumstances of the petitioner's case were fully considered before the extension orders of the 7th January, 1946, were made.

Commenting upon the further affidavit of Mr. Simms which he filed after declining to attend the court in order to submit himself to cross-examination, the judges observe:

> That is a very remarkable document for anyone to file who has been given an opportunity by the Court to attend the Court in order to give *viva voce* evidence. It is even more remarkable by its omission than by what it says, for it leaves unchallenged the affidavits for the 22nd February of the two petitioners filed in answer to Mr. Simms's two affidavits which are in identical terms, and which the last affidavit seeks to amend.

Referring to the extension orders, the learned judges go on to observe:

> But once the original order has run its course, the legislature has provided certain safeguards for the protection of the persons detained. Before the six months expired, the person detained will have received the notice giving him the grounds for his detention, and he may have a representation under Section 7. The extension order itself has to be made within thirty days immediately preceding the expiry of the previous order and, lastly, there is added to subjective satisfaction an objective test that the detaining authority shall have further considered

all the circumstances of the case. In our opinion emphasis is to be placed on the word "all", and the question at once arises what is the nature of "all the circumstances" which have to be considered. That must be a question of law.

[Upholding][1] the defence plea that the detaining authority had not considered all the circumstances of the case, the judges observe:

Mr. Purushottam Trikumdas advanced various heads of circumstances which he submits it is obligatory for the detaining authority to consider. In our opinion it is clear that such circumstances must include:

1. A consideration of the matters and things which the detenu did, or was suspected of doing, when the original order was made.

2. These matters and things must be considered in conjunction with, and in the highlight of, the present state of affairs. That is to say, the state of affairs existing in India at the date when the proposed extension order is to be made.

3. A consideration of any representation which the person detained may have made under Section 7 (4), and consideration of the person detained since his detention, and the present state of his health.

Turning again to the circumstances of the two cases before us, having given the whole position our careful consideration, we are not prepared to accept the affidavits of Mr. Simms filed on either of these petitions as affording any reliable answer to the assertion of the petitioners that all the circumstances of their cases have not been considered in the light of the state of affairs current in India on the 7th January, 1946. On that date, as the petitioners point out, there was no successful prosecution of a war for the mass movement to hinder, and the various committees of the Congress, previously unlawful, had been legalized, and the members of the Working Committee of the Congress Party and its leader had been released from detention. These are all circumstances which already ought to have been considered before the renewal orders of the 7th January, 1946, were made.

The judges then draw attention to the fact that Mr. Simms did not state that H. E. the Governor had considered the papers and agreed to the extension orders of 7th January, 1946, being made. The judges say:

It is extremely significant that His Excellency did not consider and agree to the making of these extension orders though he had considered and agreed to the making of all the orders in both the cases in 1944 and 1945. If he had done so when the orders of the 7th January, 1946,

[1] The source has "Holding that".

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were made, it is inconceivable that Mr. Simms should not have stated that most important fact which is bound to inspire confidence that any order which has been so considered and agreed to has been made after due care, attention and consideration.

Therefore they hold that the two petitioners have

successfully challenged the two extension orders of the 7th of January as not being validly made, because, having referred to the facts stated by the petitioners, it is impossible to come to the conclusion that the detaining authority complied with the objective test of having considered all the circumstances of the petitioners' cases. . . . That being so, it is our clear duty to order their immediate release.

In my opinion the released men are entitled to damages for illegal detention. This, however, may be debatable. But there can be no doubt that all persons similarly detained, no matter in which province, should immediately be discharged without a doubt. There is no danger of the Government being overturned by reason of the discharges.

BOMBAY, March 13, 1946
Harijan, 17-3-1946

289. LETTER TO J. S. DREWE

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
March 13, 1946

DEAR MR. DREWE,

I am desired by Gandhiji to thank you for your letter[1] of the 9th instant, in reply to his of the 1st. He will look forward to the opportunity of seeing the grounds of Ganeshkhind one day with His Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

J. S. DREWE, ESQ., I.C.S.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
BOMBAY

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 154

[1] *Vide* footnote 4, p. 199.

290. LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI

BOMBAY,
March 13, 1946

BHAI ANANTRAI,

I have your letter of the 7th.

1. It will have to be ascertained whether the Peasant Relief Fund has any authority to donate the amount for such a purpose. There are likely to be some documents relating to it.

2. I think three members on the Trust will suffice. The chief thing will be to see that the majority should be representatives of the [All-India] Village Industries Association. It will be for Kumarappa[1] to consider whether the members should be three or five. The whole plan is his. I have given no thought to it at all.

3. I can understand the stipulation that if the Village Industries Association does not wish to run the project, everything should be returned to the State[2]. The Trustees of the Association will not say that they cannot run it. It will be for the others, that is, the State, to say that the former are not able to run it. I cannot welcome, and nobody should welcome, such a position in any circumstances.

The papers with me mention the annual grant to be of the order of Rs. 28,600, and that for a period between five and ten years. I think further clarification on this point can be given only by Bhai Kumarappa and Bhai Jhaverbhai[3]. Hence I can say nothing in this matter. I cannot go into the details, nor do I wish to do so just now.

I hope you keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9559

[1] J. C. Kumarappa, Secretary, A. I. V. I. A.
[2] Bhavnagar State, of which the addressee was Dewan
[3] Jhaverbhai Patel

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291. LETTER TO JHAVERBHAI PATEL

BOMBAY,
March 13, 1946

CHI. JHAVERBHAI,

I got the papers sent by you. I have written[1] to Pattani Saheb and a copy of the letter is enclosed.

I doubt very much whether you will be able to carry out this project. If the people and Government of Bhavnagar State do not fully co-operate with you, the buildings will remain empty and be a burden on you. I know that this has happened before.

If Bhai Kumarappa and you have not taken care to enlist the support of the people and are banking on the State Government's help, think over the project again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I cannot say much about Gujarat. But I would suggest that you should do nothing without Sardar's fullest consent.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9558

292. A LETTER

BOMBAY,
March 13, 1946

Even if Chi. Nalin wishes to embark on the venture by himself, I would not advise him to join in this project. Nanabhai[2] also should consider it from the same point of view. This is my view. However, I will not interfere with any decision you two may arrive at. As for myself, you will have to bear this in mind, namely, that I have made a rule in so far as Gujarat is concerned. I will take interest only in such work as has the fullest approval of Sardar Patel. I have been acting on this rule from the beginning, and I have advised others to do the same.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Nrisinhprasad K. Bhatt

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Hence you should obtain Sardar's approval, if you have not already done so. I will not mention this matter to the Sardar even if he is here, for I have no time for that.

I have snatched some time with the utmost difficulty to write these few letters.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9557

293. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

March 13, 1946

Gandhiji explained a certain *bhajan*[2]—God's path is that of a brave man. He said that the words God and Truth were synonymous. Of the million names of God, the best and the choicest was Truth.

Truth itself is God, and non-violence is just a synonym for truth.[3]

People ought to be prepared to uphold truth and non-violence at all costs, even at the cost of death, just as they would be prepared to sacrifice their lives for God, as was stated in the *bhajan.*

Briefly referring to the recent disturbances in Bombay, he said that those who were responsible for looting did it in ignorance and under misguidance. They did not do it of their own free will. Gandhiji said, he would not call them hooligans.[4] In Bombay much violence was indulged in recently and many shops were looted. Nothing would be gained by such violence and looting. On the other hand, only truth and non-violence would achieve the freedom of India.

In the end, Gandhiji exhorted the audience to pray to God so that He may grant them strength and determination to die in the cause of the country.

Earlier Gandhiji asked for the approval of the audience, if he could speak in Hindustani at tomorrow evening's prayers and day after's. He offered the option of Gujarati. But the approval of the audience went in favour of Hindustani.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-3-1946; also *The Hindu*, 15-3-1946

[1] Held at Rungta House
[2] A Gujarati composition by Pritam
[3] This and the following paragraph are reproduced from *The Hindu.*
[4] The rest of the paragraph is reproduced from *The Hindu.*

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294. *CONVENIENCE* v. *NECESSITY*

One whom many Congressmen know writes:[1]

As I was talking with you, I realized how greatly you were worried about the condition of the masses today. . . . I find that during the last five to six years, conflicting experiences have only strengthened my faith in non-violence. . . . to thousands like me, non-violence has become the Life Force that alone is capable of creating democracy and humanity. Our non-violence now is a matter of conviction and not a matter of convenience or cowardice.

But then there are others who . . . are still thinking in terms of power and organization for power. I personally feel that that is a phase in their development . . .

There are also many that are confused with this game of politics and find it difficult to square it with the non-violent way or are rather confused by the spectacle of many attempting to square non-violence with the game of politics. . . .

I feel that we are fighting a war for humanity and . . . that only with rugged fearless experience, and perhaps a few stumblings, shall we be able to grow into non-violence.

Perhaps there are many who experience my difficulties.

BOMBAY, March 14, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

295. *COMMUNAL UNITY AND NON-UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE I. N. A.*

The Azad Hind movement in East Asia solved many problems. And one of them was the major and intricate problem of communal unity. Although efforts towards this direction were made ever since the inception of the movement in 1942, it became a reality only after the arrival of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. There was another question and that was of untouchability, though on a minor scale. . . . Anyhow this ill too was remedied as a result of universal training of Indians in the I. N. A. camps and offices after Netaji's arrival. . . . Netaji had asked for 'total mobilization' for the coming armed struggle for India's freedom. To

[1] Only extracts from the letter are reproduced here.

this call . . . all sections of the community . . . offered their services as . . . volunteers. Some of these volunteers were absorbed in the Azad Hind Sangh, the party behind the Azad Hind Fauj and the Azad Hind Government. Others—a majority of the volunteers—joined the ranks of the Fauj. The Sangh had a network of branches throughout East Asia. In every branch workers consisting of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians . . . lived together, ate at the same table and worked together. Same was the case in the Indian National Army. . . .

Note: Except for repetitions, the foregoing[1] is published as it was received. The information is revealing. The natural question is: Now that these soldiers have returned, will the same comradeship persist? It ought to.

BOMBAY, March 14, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

296. TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BOMBAY,
March 14, 1946

ANAND HINGORANI
CARE TANDON
10 SOUTH ROAD
ALLAHABAD

YOUR LETTERS RECEIVED. REPLY SENT.

BAPU

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

297. MEMORANDUM ON INTERVIEW TO G. E. B. ABELL[2]

March 14, 1946

I understand H. E.'s proposal to be this: "He, as President, and Qaid-e-Azam[3] Jinnah, possibly Nawabsaheb of Bhopal and I should control and regulate food situation." I told you that the situation created by the acceptance of the proposal would be unreal and, therefore, defeat the purpose in view. Then you asked

[1] Of which only extracts are reproduced here

[2] This was an enclosure to "Letter to G. E. B. Abell", March 14, 1946; *vide* the following item. Abell met Gandhiji on March 13.

[3] Meaning "supreme leader"

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whether I could see the possibility of Maulana A. K. Azad being invited to work with me assisting him. I said, there might be a possibility in it, I being regarded as an expert in such matters. But I added that everything else without an executive of elected representatives was tinkering with the serious situation involving the fate of millions of hunger-stricken villagers.[1]

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 150

298. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

BOMBAY,
March 14, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

Although you said I need not put down anything in writing, and I gladly accepted the dispensation, I thought, when I had slept over the conversation, that I ought not to be lazy, and should reduce to writing the propositions we discussed. Here is the memo[2] containing them which I hope I have correctly remembered.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 149

[1] According to *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vol. VI, pp. 1207-8, in his dispatch dated March 15 to the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy, *inter alia*, said: "I sent Abell to Bombay to see Gandhi, and he saw him on the 13th evening. That day Working Committee had decided that an Advisory Committee on food would be useless without a popular Government at Centre and that Congress should not co-operate. Gandhi . . . reminded Abell of long dispute about representative capacity during his conversations at Bombay with Jinnah. He was determined not to be representative of Congress and he admitted that if Azad was put up by Congress, Jinnah would never accept. Abell suggested that willingness of Gandhi and Jinnah to . . . discuss . . . in the interest of India . . . would augur well for immediate future. Gandhi said, if he thought it right to do this, he would do it, but his instinct was strongly against it. . . . I see no use pursuing matter further and shall drop it with minimum publicity. . . . In incidental conversation, Gandhi said to Abell that Jinnah could certainly have for his Pakistan the genuine Moslem areas."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] In his reply of even date, the addressee said: "I have explained to Pyarelal that my own summary of what was said last night would differ a little from yours . . . H. E. would prefer that we should not commit ourselves to writing because of the danger of its leading at some stage or other to recriminations. . . . I will make clear to him the reasons you gave for being unable to accept the proposal."

299. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

BOMBAY,
March 14, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

Many thanks for your kind note.[1] The reason for my putting in writing my impression of our talk was only to guard against any misunderstanding about the position. I would not like to put you or me in any false position and certainly not H. E. As it is you will agree with me that it was good I write out my own understanding of the message you had brought me. Of course I have no intention of publishing anything. I have to say something to the Working Committee in a general way, nothing to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 151

300. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY[2]

March 14, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi thanked the gathering for the atmosphere of silence and calm in which the prayers were conducted.[3]

The singing of *Ramdhun* is the most important part of congregational prayer. The millions may find it difficult to correctly recite and understand the *Gita* verses and the Arabic and Zend-Avesta prayers, but everybody can join in chanting Ramanama or God's name. It is as simple as it is effective. Only it must proceed from the heart. In its simplicity lies its greatness and the secret of its universality. Anything that millions can do together becomes charged with a unique power.

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 255.

[2] This appeared under Pyarelal's "Satyagraha—the Art of Living and Dying" as "gist" of Gandhiji's "important address in Hindustani" at Shivaji Park. The text has been collated with version of the speech published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-3-1946, and in *The Hindu*, 16-3-1946.

[3] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

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I congratulate you on your success in the mass singing of *Ramdhun* without any previous training. But it is capable of further improvement. You should practise it in your homes. I am here to testify that when it is sung in tune to the accompaniment of *tala*, the triple accord of the voice, the accompaniment and thought creates an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness and strength which no words can describe.

Gandhiji said that by prayer, will-power and mental concentration were developed. This lesson he had learnt during his experience over many years, from the time he first started satyagraha.[1]

I introduced the practice of having congregational prayer some time before the commencement of the South African satyagraha struggle.

He said that in India there were only a few foreigners, and the native population numbered millions. Yet the former dominated over the latter. In South Africa, on the other hand, Indians were few while Europeans and the natives there numbered several millions.[2]

The Indian community there was faced with a grave peril. We did all that was humanly possible. All methods of seeking redress, agitation through the Press and the platform, petitions and deputations were tried but proved of no avail. What was the Indian community consisting of a mere handful of illiterate indentured labourers mostly, with a sprinkling of free merchants, hawkers, etc., to do in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Negroes and whites? The whites were fully armed.

What could a handful of Indians . . . do against the armed might of the South African Government? The utmost that they could do was to plead with the Government in power. The richer sections might even send deputations to England. Beyond that they could not go. In these circumstances there was nothing that one could do. He could not give guns in the hands of this handful of men and say: "Fight". He could not drill them into an army and then parade them.[3]

It was clear that if the Indians were to come into their own, they must forge a weapon which would be different from, and infinitely superior to, the force which the white settlers commended in such ample measure. It was then that I introduced congregational prayer in Phœnix and Tolstoy Farm as a means for a training in the use of the weapon of satyagraha or soul-force.

[1] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*
[2] This paragraph is from *The Hindu.*
[3] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

As a practising satyagrahi and the author of satyagrahas, he could say that its seed lay in prayers. Satyagraha could be pitted against all earthly powers for it was a divine power.[1]

The root of satyagraha is in prayer. A satyagrahi relies upon God for protection against the tyranny of brute force. Why should you then be always afraid of the British or anybody playing you false? If someone deceives you, he will be the loser. The fight of satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. Satyagraha teaches us the art of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals.

These higher attributes of how to live worthily and lay down one's life nobly, were what satyagraha could teach man. A person who did not understand these twin arts was no true satyagrahi.[2] In the vast world every creature had to live, work and die. It was a very common phenomenon. But these creatures could not realize the potent force that could be derived from God. That was because they did not know the art of sacrificing their lives, which satyagraha involved.

Gandhiji said that so far as purely animal functions like eating and breeding and living and dying were concerned, there was no difference between man and beast and birds. But man rose above them all, for he alone could recognize the good and the true, he alone could realize God.[3]

What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within. The last eighteen verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* which are recited at the prayer give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living. It is given there in the form of a description of a *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady wisdom, i. e., a satyagrahi, in reply to Arjuna's query to Lord Krishna.

The art of dying follows as a corollary from the art of living. Death must come to all. A man may die of a lightning stroke or as a result of a heart failure or failure of respiration. But that is not the death that a satyagrahi can wish for or pray for himself. The art of dying for a satyagrahi consists in facing death cheerfully in the performance of one's duty. That is an art which the people of Bombay apparently have not yet learnt.

Referring to the mutiny of the ratings of the R. I. N. in Bombay and the disturbances that followed, Mahatma Gandhi said that everything that was done during these days was motivated by a desire for freedom. But those

[1] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

[2] These two sentences are from *The Bombay Chronicle.* The rest of the paragraph is from *The Hindu.*

[3] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

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who took part in these did not know the art of satyagraha. Unfortunately many buildings were looted and burnt, many people were assaulted and many died.[1]

Judged from these standards, the men who died in the recent disturbances had thrown away their lives. It was a waste of many lives. There was nothing worthy or artistic in looting shops, and exercising violence on the foreigners who were going about their business. The men who did it were no satyagrahis. The men who looked on without helping were also no satyagrahis.

It is not enough not to want to hurt or take the life of your enemy. You are no satyagrahis, if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands in India learnt that art, the face of India would be changed and no one would be able to point his finger of scorn at her non-violence as being a cloak for weakness. We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings on the hooligan elements. We would convert and control the hooligan elements too.

We are passing through a crisis in our history. Danger besets us on all sides. But we shall convert it into our opportunity, if we realize the power of satyagraha than which there is nothing more potent on earth.[2]

In a brief reference to the impending Cabinet Mission to India, the Mahatma counselled patience. He would indicate the next step, if the mission failed to implement the pledges and promises made to India.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

301. THOUGHTLESSNESS[3]

[Q.] You are aware that *pari passu* with the growth of popular outbreaks, the lawlessness of the military is also becoming more and more brutal. You have condemned the hooliganism of the masses but you say nothing about the brutality of the military.

[A.] This is a specimen of thoughtlessness. People have no right to commit excesses whereas the military is the very embodiment of madness. Condemnation of military madness

[1] This paragraph is from *The Hindu*, and the one that follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[2] What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared under "Notes" as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

would be meaningless when the very institution of the army is condemned. But criticism of their conduct becomes necessary as a warning to the Government. There is a time and occasion for everything. It would be out of place when condemning popular excesses.

What is the duty of a satyagrahi general? Should he reform his own army or that of the opponent? If he reforms his own, the power of the opposing force is sterilized. If the process continues over a sufficiently long period, the opponent is *ipso facto* completely transformed. The critic's remark can only be meant for me. Others have already condemned military excesses. In my opinion, we have not as yet got sufficient material to judge them. I expect that this is being prepared. The duty of the people, however, is to turn the searchlight inwards. Too much brooding over the wrongs of others is apt to lead one imperceptibly to act likewise. It would then be a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

BOMBAY, March 15, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

302. "A TEMPLE TO GANDHIJI"

Under this strange heading I read a newspaper cutting sent by a correspondent to the effect that a temple has been erected where my image is being worshipped. This I consider to be a gross form of idolatry. The person who erected the temple has wasted his resources by misusing them, the villagers who are drawn there are misled, and I am being insulted in that the whole of my life has been caricatured in that temple. The meaning that I have given to worship is distorted. Worship of the charkha lies in plying it for a living or as a sacrifice for ushering in swaraj. The *Gita* is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teaching. Recitation is good and proper only as an aid to action according to its teaching. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength. Hinduism is degraded when it is brought down to the level of the worship of the image of a living being. No man can be said to be good before his death. After death too he is good for the person who believes him to have possessed certain qualities attributed to him. As a matter of fact, God alone knows a man's heart. Hence the safest thing is not to worship

any person, living or dead, but to worship perfection which resides only in God known as Truth. The question then certainly arises as to whether possession of photographs is not a form of worship carrying no merit with it. I have said as much before now in my writings. Nevertheless I have tolerated the practice as it has become an innocent though a costly fashion. But this toleration will become ludicrous and harmful, if I were to give directly or indirectly the slightest encouragement to the practice above described. It would be a welcome relief, if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the building into a spinning centre where the poor will card and spin for wages and the others for sacrifice, and all will be wearers of khaddar. This will be the teaching of the *Gita* in action and true worship of it and me.

BOMBAY, March 15, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

303. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

BOMBAY,
March 15, 1946

CHI. JIVANJI[1],

Pyarelal must have replied to your letter yesterday. This morning Lilavatibehn drew my attention to a Gujarati article, "*Vicharonun Gharshan*"[2] in *Harijanbandhu*. I would not call such Gujarati as lucid or simple. I have no time to suggest improvements. Here I will give only guidance. The translation should not be literal. The sense should be rendered in Gujarati. We may keep the English before us in order to preserve continuity of thought, but the translation should be free. The rendering "Praised *khichri*[3] sticks at the teeth",[4] is no translation at all. We should think and find an English equivalent for the Gujarati saying. One way of saying it would be, "Praise spoils"[5]. Complex sentences in English may be broken up for facility of translation. This is not by way of criticism, but a first lesson.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9965. Also C. W. 6939. Courtesy : Jivanji D. Desai

[1] Manager of Navajivan Press
[2] A translation of "Conflict of Ideas"; *vide* pp. 205-7.
[3] Kedgeree
[4] & [5] The reference is to a Gujarati saying meaning 'A much admired thing turning against one.' Gandhiji has used the expressions in English.

304. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

BOMBAY,
March 15, 1946

CHI. ARUNA,

I have your letter. Why have you written to me in English? Your Hindustani is much better than mine.

Will you be a rebel in all matters? I thought of publishing your letter in *Harijan*, but changed my mind. What is the use of getting into a controversy with you in public? What is the use of defeating you? I would prefer your defeating me. So I shall write in public only when I cannot help it. If I can build up poser from out of your letter, then I shall discuss it in *Harijan*. Now I have no time.

Whatever you do, do calmly. During your Assam tour, you observed ahimsa in its true sense. Congratulations.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 2200

305. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

March 15, 1946

Announcing that this was his parting speech, Gandhiji said that he had been told that on the previous day many people did not understand what he said. He asked those present, if they could follow Hindustani. On their assenting, he congratulated them and said that it was the good fortune of India that there were so many languages in it. These languages were not barbarous or something to be discarded. They were great languages; but in places like Bombay it was necessary for the people to know more than one language. Bombay's women folk had some knowledge of both Gujarati and Marathi merely by living together. But he wanted that they must make some special effort. They must learn their mother tongue; otherwise it

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—I". The text has been collated with the report in the *The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-3-1946. The meeting was held at Rungta House.

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would amount to treachery. They must also know Hindustani. Every man in whose heart burnt the flame of Indian freedom must know Hindustani. In places like Bombay it would be necessary to know a third language also.[1]

Gandhiji said, he was leaving Bombay the next day. Therefore he wanted to give them a parting message. He wanted to tell them about nature cure. He had written about that subject but had not done much work. Nature cure was not like a doctor giving medicine in a bottle. It was really the natural way of keeping health and happiness. They might be surprised to hear him say so; all the same he would assert that Ramanama was an item in nature cure.

It is not claimed that nature cure can cure all diseases. No system of medicine can do that, or else we should all be immortals. But it enables one to face and bear down with unperturbed equanimity and peace of mind an illness which it cannot cure If once we decide that what cannot be shared by the millions should be taboo for us, we are driven to nature as the only cure —all for the rich and the poor alike.

In the armoury of the nature curist, Ramanama is the most potent weapon. Let no one wonder at it. A noted Ayurvedic physician[2] told me the other day: 'All my life I have been administering drugs. But since you have prescribed Ramanama as a cure for physical ailments, it has occurred to me that what you say has too the authority of Vagbhata and Charaka.' The recitation of Ramanama as a remedy for spiritual ailments is as old as the hills. But the greater includes the less. And my claim is that the recitation of Ramanama is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also. A nature cure man won't tell the patient: 'Invite me and I shall cure you of your ailment.' He will only tell about the all-healing principle that is in every being and how one can cure oneself by evoking it and making it an active force in his life. If India could realize the power of that principle, not only would we be free but we would be a land of healthy individuals too—not the land of epidemics and ill-health that we are today.

For a long time he had been preaching that if all India learnt the doctrine of satyagraha, it would get freedom. He was so convinced of it that if the whole world opposed him, he would still assert it. He was equally convinced that Ramanama could help a man in ill-health.[3]

[1] This and the following paragraph are from *The Bombay Chronicle.*
[2] The reference is to Ganesh Shastri Joshi; *vide* p. 234.
[3] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

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The potency of Ramanama is however subject to certain conditions and limitations. Ramanama is not like black magic. If someone suffers from surfeit and wants to be cured of its after-effects so that he can again indulge himself at the table, Ramanama is not for him. Ramanama can be used only for a good, never for an evil end, or else thieves and robbers would be the greatest devotees. Ramanama is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure. It can never be a means for self-indulgence. The remedy for surfeit is fasting, not prayer. Prayer can come in only when fasting has done its work. It can make fasting easy and bearable. Similarly the taking of Ramanama will be a meaningless farce when at the same time you are drugging your system with medicines. A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vices of his patient degrades himself and his patient. What worse degradation can there be for man than that, instead of regarding his body as an instrument for worshipping his Maker, he should make it the object of adoration and waste money like water to keep it going anyhow. Ramanama on the other hand purifies while it cures, and, therefore, it elevates. Therein lies its use as well as its limitation.[1]

Gandhiji explained that he had been practising nature cure even from the days when he was a barrister. But the realization had come to him late in life that he could use it for work in the villages, for the service of the hungry millions.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

306. TELEGRAM TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

[On or before *March 16, 1946*][2]

SRIRAMULU FASTING AT NELLORE UNDER MY ADVICE[3] FOR OPENING A TEMPLE TO HARIJANS. PLEASE GO IF PHYSICALLY ABLE OR SEND SOMEONE AND DO WHAT IS PROPER. I HAVE CONFLICTING WIRES. WIRE POONA.

The Hindu, 17-3-1946

[1] What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.
[2] The telegram was reported under the date-line "Bombay, March 16".
[3] *Vide* p. 173; also p. 268.

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307. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

[On or before *March 16, 1946*]

If I find that I have a talent for the service[2] of the poor and do not make full use of it, I shall be set down as a fool.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

308. TALK WITH AGATHA HARRISON

[On or before *March 16, 1946*]

AGATHA HARRISON: Won't you ask people to grow flowers on a small piece of land? Colour and beauty is necessary to the soul as food is to the body.[3]

No, I won't. Why can't you see the beauty of colour in vegetables? And then there is beauty in the speckless sky. But no, you want the colours of the rainbow which is a mere optical illusion. We have been taught to believe that what is beautiful need not be useful, and what is useful cannot be beautiful. I want to show that what is useful can also be beautiful.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

309. TALK WITH A CASUAL VISITOR

[On or before *March 16, 1946*]

In the case of the ordinary method of treatment, the patient comes to the doctor to take drugs that would cure him. The doctors prescribe the drug. With the relief of abnormal symptoms in the patient, his function ends and with that his interest in the

[1] This and the following two items are extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—I" in which they appeared under sub-title "Five Days in Bombay", that is, from March 11 to 16.

[2] The reference is to nature cure treatment. *Vide* also pp. 217-9.

[3] According to Pyarelal, Agatha Harrison was twitting Gandhiji on his suggestion to Seth Rameshwardas Birla to dig up the flower beds in terrace garden in Birla House, Bombay, and grow vegetables instead.

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patient. The nature cure man does not 'sell a cure' to the patient. He teaches him the right way of living in his home which would not only cure him of his particular ailment but also save him from falling ill in future. The ordinary doctor or *vaidya* is interested mostly in the study of disease. The nature curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under nature cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. Nature cure is thus a way of life, not a course of 'treatment'.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

310. WHY FOR HARIJANS?[1]

Q. The Harijans are specially favoured by the Government. Special facilities are provided on an extensive scale for their education, employment and advancement. Why should you again seek our help on their behalf? There are equally poor and even poorer people among the *savarnas*. Why don't you work for their betterment?

A. This is a curious question. It is no wonder that Harijans are favoured by the Government. Whatever the reason, the fact is not to be deplored, if the favour really does them good. All Government favours do not. The motive behind seems to me to divide them from the so-called touchables. The reason lies with the latter. If touchables had not misbehaved themselves, there would have been no division possible. And even though the Congress has been championing them all these years, have the *savarna* Hindu masses improved their manners? The answer has to be 'No' even though there has been considerable improvement. The Congress influence is most powerful for ending foreign rule. It is weak on social matters. Therefore, without entering into an unholy competition with the foreign Government, it is necessary for the reformers to do their duty by the Harijans until the bar sinister is completely removed. As for the *savarna* poor, there are many to look after them. Some go to the extent even of spoon-feeding them.

BOMBAY, March 16, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

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311. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

March 16, 1946

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

Bring the three friends[1] tomorrow at four. It will be necessary to think about the expenditure. The experiment, however, is to my liking. Vinoba has taken up the responsibility for Waroda[2]. However, write to me a short note about it at your convenience. I may use it for *Harijan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 815. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhave

312. INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS OF INDIA[3]

BOMBAY,
March 16, 1946

GANDHIJI : What news have you brought for me?

On the United Press representative drawing his attention to the morning papers, which contained Mr. Attlee's speech[4] in the House of Commons, and saying "Bapuji, swaraj is coming", Gandhiji gave a hearty laughter and said:

Is that so? But you have been telling me so often that swaraj is coming. I shall be glad when you will bring me the news that swaraj has already come.

On being requested to express his views on the implications of Mr. Attlee's speech, Gandhiji said that he had read that speech, but did not propose to say anything on it at present.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1946

[1] The reference is to Motilal Kothari, an incense manufacturer of Poona, Bhansali, a village worker in Uruli, and Pannalal who had offered to meet the expenses of the addressee's project.

[2] A village near Wardha. Vinoba Bhave had taken up the project of its uplift.

[3] The special representative met Gandhiji during his morning walk in Birla House.

[4] The British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee's speech on March 15 in the House of Commons during a debate on India; *vide* Appendix XI.

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313. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
March 16, 1946

Shri Sriramulu is an unknown poor Congressman and servant of humanity working in Nellore. He has been labouring single-handed for the cause of the Harijans of that place. There was a time when high hope was entertained about removal of untouchability and other social work in Nellore. An ashram was built near Nellore but for a variety of causes the activity received a set-back. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya was, and still is, though very old, the moving spirit in connection with these activities. It is in this place that Shri Sriramulu has been quietly and persistently working for the removal, root and branch, of untouchability. He has been trying to have a temple opened to Harijans. He asked me the other day whether, in order to awaken public conscience in favour of such opening, he could, if all other efforts failed, undertake a fast. I sent him my approval.[1] Now the place is astir. But some persons have asked me to advise Shri Sriramulu to suspend his fast for removing legal difficulties of which I have no knowledge. I have been unable to give such advice. As I am anxious that an unobtrusive servant of humanity may not die for want of public knowledge and support, I bespeak the interest of the journalists of the South, if not all India, to find out for themselves the truth of the matter and, if what I say is borne out by facts, shame by public exposure the opposing parties into doing the right and save a precious life.[2]

Harijan, 24-3-1946

[1] *Vide* pp. 173 and 264.

[2] In the source the statement was followed by a note dated March 17 by Gandhiji, written after receipt of Shri Sriramulu's telegram informing him that he had given up the fast, *vide* p. 273.

314. TALK WITH HORACE G. ALEXANDER

[On or after *March 16, 1946*][1]

[ALEXANDER:] As outsiders we hope we can play a useful part by providing a link between the people and the Government. The Government is not suspicious of us, and they have the reassurance that we won't suspect their motives. What is more, we are not regarded with suspicion by the people as the Government is. If you think that we should go ahead, you might say something which would encourage and help us and also strengthen the hands of our agents in America in obtaining an adequate quota of food supplies.

Gandhiji in reply commended the example of Ruey Alley, the New Zealander and his companion George Hogg in connection with the organization of Indusco[2] in China. Although they were foreigners, they inspired the Chinese with self-confidence. There was, of course, the other side[3] of the picture too. As for F. A. U.'s[4] plan of work for the prevention of famine, while generally approving of it, Gandhiji did not like the idea of what he called "begging for food from outside".

If food comes, it would be welcome. But we should not depend on it. India is the granary of the East and now she has to go a-begging for food to America and other countries. I do

[1] The talk appeared under the title "Constructive Non-violence", as reported by Pyarelal on March 23, 1946, from Uruli-Kanchan. According to Pyarelal, Horace Gundry Alexander, a Birmingham lecturer and member of Quakers' India Conciliation Group, "accompanied Gandhiji to Poona", presumably, when Gandhiji returned from Bombay on March 16, after the Congress Working Committee meeting.

[2] A war-time plan of Chinese co-operatives in India whose activities were carried on under abnormal circumstances with the backing of the Chinese National Government

[3] According to *Harijan*, the work of foreign missionary enterprise, which organized Indusco, "was tainted by the proselytization motive".

[4] Friends Ambulance Unit's; Horace Alexander was one of its members. Pyarelal explains that the Unit, formed as a war-time organization in 1914, was in action during Bihar earthquake (1934), Midnapore cyclone (1942) and Bengal famine (1943). Another like-minded body, American Friends Service Committee, joined the Unit in 1944, and "the two have been working as a single agency . . . operating food canteens and orphanages for children. . . providing medical relief . . . employment . . . and forming . . . co-operatives. . . . With the threat of India-wide famine . . . the Friends Ambulance Unit has again begun to organize for action."

not like this. Somehow or other, if we rely on self-help, strength comes, we do not know from where. Probably it comes from the original source, and people feel they need not die. Moreover arrival of food in the ports by itself would not solve the problem unless it is made available where it is most needed. Distribution is the real problem. Unless it is tackled, there is danger that the food will rot in the ports while people are dying in the interior. At present it seems almost a hopeless task through the present corruption. A Government official sent a note the other day showing how it would be at least two months between the arrival of the food ships in the ports and the food actually reaching the affected areas. In the mean time what are the people to do? I have, therefore, suggested that they should utilize the sub-soil water to grow whatever they can by their own efforts. If crores take up the cue, they can do much to save themselves even before the food arrives from outside.

Horace next told Gandhiji that the F. A. U. are developing work of a more permanent nature for the upliftment of Bengal villages. For instance, they are trying to attack the problem of poverty from four or five different angles simultaneously. They had discussed the question with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had approved of the idea for two reasons. With the coming of freedom, he felt, we might help in post-war economic rehabilitation so that the high expectations entertained by the people of the national government might not be belied. Besides a body of people from the West serving the people here would act as an antidote to racial feeling which might otherwise oversweep the country in the first flush of freedom. Gandhiji agreed entirely with Pandit Nehru.

Any person who does such work is worth his weight in gold. Pandit Nehru has done well to point to the danger signal.

But he felt that the danger was even deeper. The face of the picture as he viewed it seemed horrifying. The feeling towards Europeans was rising all through the East. There were so many complex forces working on the mass mind. If the maelstrom broke out, the F. A. U. might have to bear the brunt of it. They must be prepared for that sacrifice. But whilst they should be prepared for the worst, he wanted them to share with him the hope that all would be well in the end.

To see the danger clearly and yet to remain unperturbed in the face of it, trusting to God's goodness, is true wisdom.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

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315. DECIMAL COINAGE AND ITS COST

After due sanction required by Section 153 of the Government of India Act, 1935, a Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, is said to have been introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February, 1946. If it becomes law, the rupee will be equivalent to 100 cents instead of 64 pice. The consequential changes will naturally follow. The object[1] is stated to be:

> Modern trade and commerce demand speed and simplicity in the methods of computation, to achieve which there is nothing to compete with the decimal system which has gradually displaced all other systems in most of the advanced countries of the world. Public opinion has expressed itself largely in favour of the adoption of decimal coinage in India . . .

And a note[2] says:

> During the transition period when both the . . . coins will circulate side by side and prices might be quoted in terms of either . . . the Bill provides for conversions involving smaller fractions to be made in rupees of any one transaction . . .

Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala has studied the question carefully and has come to the conclusion that whilst in theory the introduction of the decimal coinage may be defensible, in practice, for some years to come, the poor will be sacrificed as usual in the interests of the modern trade, i. e., the rich merchants. It is unnecessary here to summarize his convincing argument in support. It is given in full in the columns of the *Harijanbandhu*. It is sufficient here to state that even in the country of the rulers, the decimal coinage has not been introduced. Public opinion there commands respect and affects the decisions of the House of Commons. In India, public opinion, such as it is, has very little force and, moreover, the opinion of the millions who will be the sufferers is inarticulate. Shri Mashruwala very aptly points out that the poor will be taxed without the odium of additional taxation. Wisdom would have suggested that if the power is to be transferred inside of a few months to the representatives of the people, it would be improper for the Government to embark upon an experiment even though claimed to be scientific and yet manifestly against the immediate

[1] & [2] Only extracts of these are reproduced here.

interests of the poor. In a poor country like India, often the immediate is, as in this case, the decisive factor. It is to be hoped that the Central Legislative Assembly will throw out the Bill if, on re-consideration, the Government do not withdraw it.[1]

POONA, March 17, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

316. CAN WE AFFORD THE DECIMAL SYSTEM?

Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala writes:[2]

This letter deserves to be studied. He has pointed out a few instances of the immediate impact of decimal system on ordinary people. Thoughtful readers can think of other instances which will go to prove that the loss to the poor on introducing the decimal system is likely to be very great. It is easy to support the system on scientific grounds. But popular dealings are not based [on science]. India is an unfortunate country where all manner of experiments are carried on in a high-handed manner, and at the cost of the public exchequer, and the people have had to suffer in the name of science. Would this be the last gift [of the British] to India on the eve of their leaving? Even though the purpose of this Bill may be good, it should be abandoned. When the people come to power, they may adopt the decimal system. They may put up with the losses, if any, in adjusting to it. But it is the duty of the Legislature to defeat this Bill.

POONA, March 17, 1946
[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 24-3-1946

[1] *Vide* also the following item.
[2] The letter is not translated here. *Vide* the preceding item.

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317. FOREWORD

I have gone through some of the chapters of Bhai Jugatram's *Ashrami Kelavni*[1]. The language is not only simple and interesting, but it is apt even for the villagers. The author has described in a very interesting way all the trivial as well as vital aspects of the Ashram life. He has shown that though the Ashram life is a simple one, real joy and art are to be found in it. Whether my assessment is right or wrong, the reader should judge after reading the entire book.

M. K. GANDHI

POONA, March 17, 1946

[From Gujarati]

Atmarachana Athava Ashrami Kelavni

318. LETTER TO POTTI SRIRAMULU

POONA,
March 17, 1946

MY DEAR SRIRAMULU,

I write in English because others may understand what I have written.

Here is a letter from G. Ramachandra Rao. Your fast is good. I know you are suffering. I do not mind it. I am doing all I can to reach a proper solution on merits. Your fast is intended, or should be intended, only to quicken lazy conscience, if conscience can ever be lazy. If what Ramachandra Rao says can be sustained, you may postpone the fast as distinguished from abandoning it altogether. If approval by the Provincial Government is necessary, and if the trustees honestly work for it, there is no occasion for the fast. I hope you will survive the ordeal.

Yours,
BAPU

[1] Ashram Method of Education, by Jugatram Dave of the Ashram at Vedchhi

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[PS.]

Since this was written, your wire was received. I hope this means that the opening is a certainty.[1]

BAPU

From a photostat : G. N. 113

319. A NOTE

The foregoing statement[2] was issued on the 16th instant. A wire was received today from Shri Sriramulu to the effect that he yielded to public pressure and broke his fast[3]. I can be glad only if the ending of the fast means that the public has taken over the responsibility of having the temple opened without delay. Prof. Ramachandra Rao's letter received by me shows that there is a real legal difficulty about the opening, and the principal trustee is pledged to have the formality gone through and the temple opened. It is to be hoped that the temple would be opened with the willing consent of the temple-going people. That can be the only meaning put upon the universal sympathy evoked by the fast.

POONA, March 17, 1946

Harijan, 24-3-1946

320. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
March 17, 1946

Shri Sriramulu has yielded to public pressure and has broken his fast on Saturday. A legal formality is necessary before opening the temple.[4]

The Hindu, 19-3-1946

[1] *Vide* also the following two items.
[2] *Vide* p. 268.
[3] On March 16; *vide* the following item.
[4] *Vide* also the preceding item.

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321. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
March 17, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

I thank you for your letter[1] of 12th instant.

My son[2] tells me that the Home Member has come to the conclusion that Shri Vidyarthi's case is all false regarding Delhi. Is my son's interpretation of the Home Member's finding correct? You will please answer my question when you tell me of his finding after investigations in Nagpur are complete.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 65

322. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

POONA,
March 17, 1946

MY DEAR C. R.,

Your dear letter. The Tamil lesson is good. I hope I shall not forget *anbu* and *ambu*[4]. Does not the latter also mean lotus? What is the meaning of *anbudan*? Or is the final letter '*m*'?

You are not old, and you must not feel old. You must correct the stomach. So you are so pessimistic as to think that 49 years won't be enough to see the wise people become foolish!

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 156.

[2] Devdas Gandhi

[3] In his reply dated March 28, Abell concurred with Devdas Gandhi's interpretation of Home Member and said: "The Home Member, when he met Mr. Devdas Gandhi on March 2, understood that Mr. Devdas Gandhi also had come to the same conclusion.... The Central Provincial Government have made enquiries into his allegations of maltreatment at Nagpur and state that he has totally failed to substantiate them. On this, the Home Member can offer no remark beyond saying ... he was capable of inventing the story of ill-treatment at Nagpur also.

[4] Water; *vide* also p. 239.

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When are you coming to Poona?
Romba anbudan[1]

BAPU[2]

[PS.]
Can you use *romba* as I have?

From a photostat : G. N. 2119

323. INTERVIEW TO H. N. BRAILSFORD[3]

POONA,
[*March 17, 1946*][4]

When last I was in Poona, Gandhi was a prisoner, and I was not allowed to meet him. Then the town, gloomy and angry, was involved in a general strike. Today it is celebrating the spring carnival in a mood of gaiety.

Gandhi in his turn was happy when I met him, for Mr. Attlee's speech in the Indian debate[5] had just opened the road to independence. He looked well and very much less than his age. . . . His manner was never solemn and often he relaxed in a humorous chuckle. In a way, hard to define, one felt that this man was speaking for India. . . . He warned me, nonetheless, that he would be speaking only for himself and not for the Congress. Our talk took its start from the Prime Minister's recognition of India's right to choose independence. This, Gandhi welcomed, and not only this, but the whole tone of the speech. He went on:

But I can't forget that the story of Britain's connection with India is a tragedy of unfulfilled promises and disappointed hopes. We must keep an open mind. A seeker of truth will never begin by discounting his opponent's statement as unworthy of trust. So I am hopeful, and, indeed, no responsible Indian feels otherwise. This time I believe that the British mean business. But the offer has come suddenly. Will India be jerked into independence? I feel today like a passenger who has been hoisted in a basket-chair on to a ship's deck in a stormy sea and has not yet found

[1] With much love

[2] This and the expressions in italics are written in Tamil.

[3] This appeared under the title "Gandhiji on New Spirit" by H. N. Brailsford, as "reproduced from *The Hindu*", 31-3-1946.

[4] From the reference to the "spring festival", presumably, Holi, usually celebrated on the full-moon day of the Hindu calendar month *Phalguna*, falling between mid-March and mid-April. In 1946, it was on this date. According to *Gandhi: 1915-1948—A Detailed Chronology*, the interviewer called on Gandhiji between March 17 and 21.

[5] On March 15, in the House of Commons; *vide* Appendix XI.

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his feet. There should have been some psychological preparation, but even now it is not too late. The tide of bitterness had risen high and that is not good for the soul. The last two months should have been filled with generous gestures. This is a milestone not only in India's history and Britain's, but in the history of the whole world.

Gandhi's meaning was clear. The British Government had done the right thing, but in its manner of doing it, he missed the big touch. When I asked him for concrete illustrations, he chose two. The release of the political prisoners had been gradual and was still incomplete. [He added:]

There was no danger to fear. If independence is coming, would these men have opposed it? A complete amnesty would have captured the people's imagination. When you are about to transfer power, you should do it boldly.

He went on to speak of the Salt Tax.

Its abolition would be a gesture the poorest peasant could understand. It would mean even more to him than independence itself. Salt in this climate is a necessity of life, like air and water. He needs it for himself, his cattle and his land. This monopoly will go, the instant we get independence. Then why not abolish it today? By such acts the Government could have created a feeling among the masses that the new era has already dawned. . . .

I . . . reminded Gandhi that many Englishmen find it hard to understand why Indians prefer independence to Dominion Status. His answer was startling.

There was a time when I used to swear by Dominion Status, and actually preferred it to independence. That was my attitude during the first World War. I even used, in writing[1] to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of those days, an expression that has often been quoted against me. I wanted to evoke in the Indian breast the same loyalty to the British Crown that there is in the breast of an Englishman. It was an English footballer who converted me to independence.

With a laugh, Gandhi explained that he was referring to C. F. Andrews, who had been a notable athlete at Cambridge, as well as a don. Gandhi added:

Andrews made me understand the significance of the King-Emperor's title. The British king is king also in the Dominions, but he is the Emperor of India. India alone makes the Empire.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 502-4.

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The Dominions are peopled by your cousins. But we Indians, with our different culture and traditions, can never belong to the British family. We may belong to a world-wide family of nations, but first we must cease to be under-dogs. So I set myself to win independence. You may object that by so doing I am throwing away the protection of the British army and navy. India would not need them, if she were truly non-violent. If, in the glow of freedom, she could live up to that creed, no power on earth would ever cast an evil eye upon her. That would be India's crowning glory and her contribution to the world's progress.

If only Englishmen could follow this argument of mine, they would make their offer of independence in a different tone altogether. Today they insist that Dominion Status is the best gift they can possibly bestow: still, if Indians do choose independence, they shall have it. No, that is the wrong attitude. I should like to hear Englishmen saying: 'For the world's sake and for ours as well as your own, you shall have independence today, even as we have it. . . .'

I asked Gandhi to face the anxieties of his English listeners and tell them whether Indian independence would make for Britain's security and the world's. He answered that the British need never fear an independent India. If they leave India as willing friends, she in her turn will always remain friendly. But Britain, I told him, might hope for some assurance of friendship. Would an independent India be willing to enter into an alliance with Britain? Gandhi's answer came promptly:

Supposing India said 'No', would you make the recognition of India's independence contingent upon her entering into an alliance with Britain? If you did that, it would immediately lower the value of your offer and rob it of all grace. The proper attitude is to meet India's claims as a matter of right, even if she wanted to be unfriendly and pay you back in your own coin. No calculations entered into the British mind, when they settled with the Boers at the end[1] of a bloody war, and the Boers have stayed friends ever since.

I replied that Britain has made up her mind to end the coercive connection with India. But living as she does in a perilous world it is inevitable that she should ask the question whether as an ally in a defensive war she would be entitled to use India's strategic bases and ports against the aggressor. If that question were asked in no bargaining spirit, could India give a reassuring reply? Gandhiji answered:

[1] On May 31, 1902

Englishmen must learn to be Brahmins, not Banias. The Bania, I should explain, is the trader, or as Napoleon put it, the shopkeeper. The Brahmin is the man who is intelligent enough to rank the moral above the material values of life.

A Gujarati novelist has said that Englishmen are soldiers and Brahmins, but not Banias. That was a generous verdict, but it was mistaken. Englishmen have still to evolve the Brahminical spirit. Even the British soldier still calculates and bargains like a Bania, and fails to reach the highest type of courage. I still cherish the hope that the British will respond to the non-violent spirit of India. As the author of that movement, I know what it has meant for the world. The non-violent spirit is the greatest thing in life. I feel it is my responsibility to help my brothers not to degrade themselves by bargaining. If you and we can rise to this moral height, no danger can alarm us. It is probable that many members of the Congress will not take this view and may be willing to discuss an alliance today. But independence would come free as air; don't let us bargain over it.

In reply to a further question, whether a defensive alliance might be discussed when independence is ratified by treaty, Gandhi replied:

If India feels the glow of independence, she probably would enter into such a treaty of her own free will. The spontaneous friendship between India and Britain would then be extended to other powers and, among them, they would hold the balance, since they alone would possess moral force. To see that vision realized, I want to live for 125 years. . . .

He said that he hoped for a mutually helpful commercial treaty between a friendly Britain and an independent India. For goods that India needed to import, he was even ready to give Britain a preference.

While we talked of Pakistan, Gandhi said that if no other method of solution succeeded, he was prepared to submit the whole issue to international arbitration. Nor should we forget that expedient, if any insoluble question arose between Britain and India, for example, over debts. But he saw no blank wall of difficulty ahead. His last words were that difficulties make the man.[1]

Harijan, 14-4-1946

[1] Brailsford concluded: "I came away with the sense that I had been talking to a brave man who has the courage to believe that human society can be built only on moral principles. Amid our preoccupations over military perils, he stands aloof and repeats with unshaken faith his creed that safety is attainable, only when men learn to treat each other as brothers and equals. No lesser means will avail."

324. CABLE TO J. C. SMUTS

POONA,
March 18, 1946

FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, CAPE TOWN

YOUR ASIATIC POLICY REQUIRES OVERHAULING. IT ILL BECOMES YOU. LEAST YOU SHOULD DO IS TO WITHDRAW THREATENED LAND AND FRANCHISE MEASURE AND CALL ADVISORY ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AT LEAST OF UNION BRITISH AND INDIAN GOVERNMENTS AND IF POSSIBLE OF ALL ASSOCIATE POWERS TO CONSIDER ASIATIC AFRICAN AND GENERAL COLOUR POLICY ARISING FROM ASIATIC BILL. THIS IS NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNLESS YOU SO WISH.[1]

YOUR AND SOUTH AFRICA'S SINCERE FRIEND
GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 93

325. TELEGRAM TO LORD WAVELL

Express

POONA,
March 18, 1946

H. E. VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

PLEASE ACCEPT MY SYMPATHY IN YOUR LOSS[2] WHICH MAY GOD ENABLE YOU AND LADY WAVELL AND YOUR DAUGHTER BEAR WITH FORTITUDE.

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 176

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix XII.
[2] The reference is to the death of the addressee's son-in-law, Capt. Simon N. Astley, in an accident at Quetta.

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326. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. I thought you would like my letters in Hindi. Now I know.

I am glad you have relieved Kripa of pain.

Let it now be understood between us that we must wait till occasion brings me to Delhi. You must keep well.

Rajkumari is in Delhi for a few days. Sushila in Quetta. So you may not expect long love letters from me. And now you have *Harijan.*

Here is a cheque for you sent to me by Shri Kedar of Roorkee. He has met you.

Love.

BAPU

Enclosure:

Cheque No. 354863 on Bharat Bank, Ltd., Roorkee, for Rs. 500

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

327. LETTER TO KASHIBEHN GANDHI

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. KASHI[1],

How are you now? You should do whatever you can from where you are. Both of you can give lessons to Gajaraj[2]. It must be pretty hot there. It is boiling hot here. The nights and mornings are pleasant.

Blessings to both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 9232. Courtesy : Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi
[2] Son of Hoshiari, niece of Balvantsinha

328. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. NAJUKLAL,

Your article will be printed after some revisions. It is not likely to be published before the 30th. My being at a distance from the Press is a big handicap, and, secondly, the quota for paper is only eight pages.

A complete or partial fast, steam-bath, hip-bath and friction-bath are the best remedies for Chi. Moti's[1] arthritis.

Prabodh[2] seems to be getting on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 12155

329. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You have to win over Gajaraj [with love]. Anger will consume you as well as him. If you give up anger, you will both rise high. Don't you know it is called *mahashana*[3] and *mahapapma*[4].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 1969

[1] & [2] Addressee's wife and son
[3] Arch-devourer
[4] Arch-sinner; the source, however, has *mahapaka*.

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330. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. I have left it to you to decide about teaching. The general rule is that a manager only manages. But he reserves to himself the right to make exceptions. It is true that teaching also is a part of the management.

There is no need of more land for farming, is there?

It is good that you go into the village.

I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4485

331. LETTER TO ANANTRAM PURI

POONA,
March 18, 1946

CHI. ANANTRAM,

I am glad that you have concentrated your attention on farming. Do you try any farming without the use of bullocks? I can tell you, in that too, there is something special. Keep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

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332. LETTER TO KEDAR

POONA,
March 18, 1946

BHAI KEDAR,

Shrimati Janakidevi[1] has sent me your letter dated February 22, 1946, to her and also your article. I listened to everything [being read out to me]. I do not agree with your view-point. True, we can accomplish more after achieving independence, but for neglect of cattle, we alone are responsible; the Government has no hand in it. I am afraid, you have not thought over it fully.

Thanks for sending the cheque for Rs. 500. I am sending it to Mirabehn as indicated by you.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KEDAR
(INDIAN DAIRY CORPORATION, ROORKEE)
DEHRA DUN

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

333. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[3]

Course of events has raised the question of South Africa whiteman's policy to the highest level. Unseen, it holds the seeds of a world war. The threatened Land and Franchise Bill which has brought the South African Indian delegation[4] to India, though superficially it affects the Indians of Natal and the Transvaal, is in effect a challenge to Asia and by implication to the Negro races. India in her present exalted mood can view it in no other way. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core but, being also

[1] Janakidevi Bajaj
[2] *Vide* p. 281.
[3] This appeared under the title "Indians in South Africa". According to *The Bombay Chronicle*, 20-3-1946, the statement was released on March 19.
[4] For their memorandum to the Viceroy, *vide* pp. 230-2 and Appendix IX.

an internationalist, he has made us used to looking at everything in the international light instead of the parochial. India, weak physically and materially but strong ethically and numerically, has proclaimed from the house-tops that her independence would be a threat to no one and no nation, but will be a help to noble effort throughout the world and a promise of relief to all its exploited peoples. Therefore India regards the contemplated measure of the Union of South Africa as an insult and challenge to them.[1]

The Indian deputation see in the present measure not merely an assault on Indian property rights but also on their status as free men. They do not want merely to exist in South Africa. They need not have sent the deputation all the way to India for that purpose. They want to be in South Africa as equals of the European settlers of South Africa. They know that today they are not. But they must stop deterioration and hence move forward. In that forward march India will help, of course. Indeed all the moral forces will be at their call. The brunt, however, will have to be borne by them. They rediscovered the force of Truth (Satyagraha) and that will be their only and ultimate source of power. Time for it is not yet. Let us hope, it will never come. They have to try together on their side all the moral forces of the world. They will have to clear the ground of all the weeds, all sordidness, all personal ambition which always and everywhere creeps in, if sleepless vigilance is not kept on the watch-tower. Imagine the plight of a poor barque sailing when the beacon light in front has gone out.

They must be prepared for accidents and consequent suffering. If they are in earnest and hardy enough to brave the worst, they are bound to come out the best in the end.

What about the whites of South Africa? They invited the Indians in the first instance. If they had thought the invitees would always be like slaves or that they would not be followed by their free brethren, they (the whites) were soon undeceived.

Does real superiority require outside props in the shape of legislation? Will they see that every such wall of protection weakens them, ultimately rendering them effeminate? The lesson of history ought to teach them that might is not right. Right only is might. Field Marshal Smuts is a great soldier-statesman. Will he not perceive that he will be taking the whitemen of South

[1] For resolution by the Congress Working Committee, *vide* Appendix XIII.

Africa down the precipice, if he persists in the policy underlying his measure? Let him take counsel with the Allies to whose victory on the battlefield he contributed not a little. He will surely throw away its fruits, if he persists in his plan of protecting the civilization of the West by artificial means.

POONA, March 18, 1946
Harijan, 24-3-1946

334. FAMINES AND BIRTH RATE

Maj. Gen. Sir John McGaw, President, India Office Medical Board, is reported by a correspondent to have said:

> Famines in India will recur; in fact India is today facing perpetual famine. Unless something is done to decrease the birth rate in India, the country will be heading straight for a calamity.

The correspondent asks what I have to say on this grave issue.

For me this and some other ways of explaining away famines in India is to divert the attention from the only cause of recurring famines in this benighted land. I have stated[1], and repeat here, that famines of India are not a calamity descended upon us from nature but is a calamity created by the rulers—whether through ignorant indifference or whether consciously or otherwise does not matter. Prevention against drought is not beyond human effort and ingenuity. Such effort has not proved ineffective in other countries. In India a sustained intelligent effort has never been made.

The bogey of increasing birth rate is not a new thing. It has been often trotted out. Increase in population is not, and ought not, to be regarded as a calamity to be avoided. Its regulation or restriction by artificial methods is a calamity of the first grade whether we know it or not. It is bound to degrade the race, if it becomes universal which, thank God, it is never likely to be. Pestilence, wars and famines are cursed antidotes against cursed lust which is responsible for unwanted children. If we would avoid this three-fold curse, we would avoid too the curse of unwanted children by the sovereign remedy of self-control. The evil consequences of artificial methods are being seen by discerning men

[1] *Vide* pp. 97-8.

even now. Without, however, encroaching upon the moral domain, let me say that propagation of the race rabbit-wise must undoubtedly be stopped; but not so as to bring greater evils in its train. It should be stopped by methods which in themselves ennoble the race. In other words, it is all a matter of proper education which would embrace every department of life; and dealing with one curse will take in its orbit all the others. A way is not to be avoided because it is upward and therefore uphill. Man's upward progress necessarily means ever-increasing difficulty, which is to be welcomed.

POONA, March 19, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

335. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR[1]

March 19, 1946

Your day dawns, they say, from the moment you wake up.[2] Having woken up, I cannot now rest. . . . You know, I used to stay in the East End even during the Round Table Conference[3]. East End might be described as the Harijan quarters of London. In the room I occupied there was hardly accommodation enough for two. A chest of drawers was the only furniture—no table, no chairs. One slept on the floor. All round were the slums. And yet Kingsley Hall itself would be called a model of cleanliness.[4]

Harijan, 7-4-1946

[1] The letter is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—II". Pyarelal explains that "Gandhiji has given the reasons for his deciding to stay in Harijan quarters during his forthcoming visits to Bombay and Delhi"; *vide* also "Why Bhangi Quarters?", 25-3-1946.

[2] A Gujarati saying

[3] In 1931

[4] According to Pyarelal, the addressee replied that "he would himself hereafter stay with Gandhiji in the Harijan quarters".

336. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

POONA,
March 19, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I did receive your message[1] to the Navy. I also got the same information from the Associated Press. I paid no attention to it. I did not think it worth attending to either. I feel that we should chart our course in faith, and wait and see whatever is to happen. Why should one who is already armed worry especially when the weapon in his hands is *Ramabana*[2]. These lines of Pritam constantly reverberate in my ears: Those who are in the fire feel the highest happiness while the onlookers who remain outside are scorched by it.

I hope you will arrange for me to stay in the Bhangi colony. Please do so, if you have not already done it.

For the nature cure clinic I must select some village. I am looking around for it here. My plan is that the period from February to the end of July should be spent in a comparatively cool place, including April and May in the hills. This arrangement cannot be made in Gujarat. Abu is the only hill station, and it does not have a climate comparable to that of Panchgani or Mahabaleshwar. Nor have I found cool climate like that of Poona anywhere in Gujarat. I am telling you all this in order that you should have nothing to complain about later. However, do you think one could find a place in Gujarat where nature cure work could be done and also where the above conditions be satisfied? And would you really prefer it? Nature cure is no longer a hobby with me. I must try it out in detail.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 302-3

[1] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1946*, Vol. I, p. 39, Vallabhbhai Patel had advised the striking R. I. N. ratings to "surrender unconditionally" and told them that the "Congress would do its best" to get "their legitimate demands accepted without victimization".

[2] Literally, Rama's arrow, i. e., something unfailing like faith in God

337. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

POONA,
March 19, 1946

CHI. MANUDI[1],

I had your letter of the 8th. It is sheer diffidence to keep relying on fate. What can be done if Umiya[2] does not do anything herself or does not have the spirit to fight back? I will explain this further when we meet at some leisure.

I would certainly arrange for your studies. But why set conditions for me? Laying down conditions betrays your distrust and your unhappiness. That is why I desire the presence of Jaisukhlal. Moreover I would not shift you from there as long as you are happy and contented there. Don't think that the problem about Jaisukhlal is unimportant. For the present I would insist on his being wherever you are. Moreover he also should be able to see clearly his way.

I received the copy sent by you.

Rajkumari has gone to Delhi for a few days. Sushila[3] has gone to Quetta to her sister, Satya[4]. It will be a month before she can return.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

338. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

POONA,
March 19, 1946

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. I got the book, too. Did you learn anything useful from it? Did you take down notes?

Ask Anand to write to me. You should not put a one-sided interpretation on what I write. Remaining contented and cheerful

[1] & [2] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's daughters

[3] & [4] Dr. Sushila Nayyar and her cousin, Dr. Satyavati Malhotra, who was working in the Lady Dufferin Hospital, Quetta

in every condition does not mean that no reasonable effort should be made in a detached spirit to improve or change things. I hope you are gaining strength.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 10068. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

339. LETTER TO RAI

POONA,
March 19, 1946

BHAI RAI BABU,

I got your letter of the 13th. I think your questions themselves contain the answers. Hence I have nothing to say.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

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

340. LETTER TO NAGADI

[*March 19, 1946*][1]

BHAI NAGADI,

I have your letter of February 26, 1946. I understand what you say. I take it that when the time comes you as well as the others will rise to the occasion. Your son is going to come and see me.

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

[1] The letter, written in Devanagari, is found among the letters of this date.

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341. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

POONA,
March 19, 1946

BHAI CAVEESHAR,

I have your letter of March 3. It pains me that you start writing without thinking. I feel, it is not worth pointing out the mistakes in your letter as well as in the statement.

SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR
LAHORE

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

342. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

POONA,
March 20, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am writing this letter at your demand. Since your movements were uncertain, I had thought of saving time by not writing to you. But now it is doubtful whether you will get this letter. Your letter of the 17th came into my hands just now (after the morning prayers).

I understand about Chi. Kanchan. Since my own plans are uncertain, I would advise you not to bring along Kanchan. Moreover Chi. Kanu has gone over there and is busy with the preparations for the camp. It will, therefore, be convenient, if Kanchan is there. Abha is here, for very few women are joining the camp, and Kanu has detained Abha here thinking that she will be able to go in the company of some lady from the Ashram.

What you say about Annapurna is quite true.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 10237. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

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343. LETTER TO JAIKRISHNA P. BHANSALI[1]

POONA,
March 20, 1946

CHI. BHANSALI,

You must learn to strike a balance. Maybe, it is for you the last and sole remaining step. I see no sense in a man undertaking a fast to get rid of his excess fat resulting from overeating. It is my experience that a man who eats a balanced diet and the one who eats little fare better than one who undertakes fasts. The place that is then left for fasting is divine.

I agree that the manager of the Ashram should be of mature age and experience. I shall understand better, if you elaborate the point more specifically. Is it not certain, however, that whomsoever we might find must be someone from amongst the Ashram inmates ?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BHANSALIBHAI

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

344. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

March 20, 1946

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I have not been able to write to you, but I think of you every day. I wish you to be well and render good service. Every village is a place for service.

Maganbhai should take friction-baths and must take a little nap during day-time. He should pass stools regularly. He should go on reciting Ramanama.

You have your mother's wire; you should send her a sweet reply.

I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 506

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari.

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345. LETTER TO ABDUL KARIM SHEIKH

POONA,
March 20, 1946

BHAI ABDUL KARIM,

I have your letter. I hear that you are getting help and that the Bombay [Provincial] Congress Committee has taken over the task.

The death of both your sons must indeed be a great blow to you. I too feel sorry. May God grant you peace.

ABDUL KARIM SHEIKH MAULANA

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

346. CONGRESSMEN APATHETIC

Q. I am glad that you have expressed yourself in the matter of opening a temple to Harijans in Nellore.[1] It should open the eyes of many Congressmen. The reason given for unwillingness to open the temple was that it might adversely affect the chances of Congress success in the elections.

A. If this represents the general sentiment, it augurs ill for Congress. Even a popular, democratic, India-wide organization like the Congress cannot afford to be untrue to its policy (if it may not be called creed) of removing untouchability, root and branch. Throughout my close contact with the Congress, ever since my return to India in 1915, I have found that the more the Congress has held to its main purpose, the more popular it has become. A democratic organization has to dare to do the right at all cost. He who panders to the weaknesses of a people degrades both himself and the people and leads them not to democratic but mob rule. The line of demarcation between democracy and mobocracy is often thin but rigid and stronger than steel, unbreakable. The one leads to life and progress, the other is death, pure and simple. In the ultimate analysis, the cause of our fall is to be sought from within and not from without. All the empires of the world could not have bent us, if as a people

[1] *Vide* p. 268.

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we had been above suspicion and temptation. This may not be regarded as a mere truism. If we recognize the fundamental facts, we would be true and patient and able to deal with whatever difficulty that may face us whether from within or without. Preparedness to lose all elections rather than sacrifice a principle, is the surest way to success at every election. The results prove that the policy laid down by the Congress in 1920 has led to success from stage to stage, but only to the extent that the Congress has been true to the fundamentals of the policy it accepted during that eventful year. Untouchability is to go, if India is to live and thrive as a nation.

POONA, March 21, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

347. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POONA,
March 21, 1946

I find that the paper at the disposal of *Harijan* is not enough to accommodate all that I am able to send. Moreover I have to send matter sufficiently in advance in order that the Navajivan Press might cope with the simultaneous issue of *Harijan* in English, Hindustani and Gujarati. I am, therefore, obliged from time to time to send matter of immediate importance to the Press in advance of the publication of *Harijan*. It is likely, I fear, that this would be a regular feature.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-3-1946

348. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKER P. SHUKLA

POONA,
March 21, 1946

CHI. CHANDRASHANKER,

The above demand is reasonable. Send Jivanji a copy of this letter and of my reply. But that does not mean that I or any person authorized by me cannot use these letters as may seem proper to us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 2332

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349. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

POONA,
March 21, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I am leaving for Uruli tomorrow. I shall arrange to have a telephone there. Telegrams, of course, are delivered there. Success or failure rests with God.

The report I got from the Professor[1] about Khan Saheb, etc., was quite the opposite. These people's reply must be that they would do as the Congress decided. But will you tell them this or ask the Maulana to do it?

I see what you mean about Gujarat. I do not want to go anywhere merely for a holiday.

I quite understand the difficulties about putting me up in the Bhangi quarters but do overcome them.[2]

There should be no hurry about the restitution of Durbar Gopaldas's[3] estate.

The future of Dinshaw's clinic is under consideration. Nothing is decided about the South Africa meeting.

Blessings to Mani[4].

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 303

[1] J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress

[2] The addressee had written: "It will be as you wish. But at present one cannot get enough room in Bombay to bury one's dead and you want fresh accommodation to be improvised for the living!"

[3] Ruler of the Dhasa, a principality in Saurashtra

[4] Addressee's daughter

350. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR[1]

POONA,
March 21, 1946

CHI. LILAVATI,

One should never rush in haste to a conclusion. An institution cannot transgress its framework of rules whether good or bad. What you write about the medical [technique] is not something which can be summarily dismissed. Vijaya should firmly stick to her studies. No one forbids her to study. In the meanwhile she will have an opportunity to take the examination. We can easily absorb her in the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust work when she is fully qualified even before her examination. Don't let her lose heart. Nor should you despair in her case. Let me know, if there is any hitch in her attending the classes. I shall be prepared to have her examined privately.

All of you have to learn the lesson from Vijaya's case that a degree [by itself] does not qualify one, although it will often be a sign of being qualified. One does come across such cases nowadays. If a person has the same name as a degree-holder's, or adopts it, then steals the certificate and puts up a sign-board, would people go to him for long? Have there been any such cases? I have very little knowledge of all this. Hence it would be more than having a degree, if Vijaya acquires real proficiency. I can actually point out a number of such cases.

I understand what you say about your examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. LILAVATI ASAR
BOMBAY

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

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari.

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351. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, POONA

March 21, 1946

Gandhiji said that he had fought many battles in his life. There was one more battle to be fought which was quite different from others and that was of nature cure.

He had known Dr. Dinshaw Mehta for a long time and became a co-trustee with him of the Nature Cure Trust to turn Dr. Mehta's clinic into an institute for the poor. But he had found that he could not serve the poor remaining in Poona. The rich could afford to go to hospitals and clinics and get the services of doctors, but the poor could not move away from their homes and villages. If he was to teach them the method of nature cure and serve them, he had to go to them. He had studied nature cure and practised it. Now, in the evening of his life, he had undertaken as part of his life's work the bringing of nature cure within the reach of the poor millions. He was going to the village of Uruli[1] to work and try his experiment there.

The Hindu, 23-3-1946

352. YARN CURRENCY

This adventure[2] is still at the trial stage. It may gather momentum, if it works even in a single village. At the moment I reproduce it here as a conceptual model.

POONA, [On or before March 22, 1946][3]

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 31-3-1946

[1] A number of prominent persons from Uruli-Kanchan had requested Gandhiji to see if the place was suitable for starting a nature cure clinic for the villagers.

[2] The reference is to an article by Atmaram Sharma, not reproduced here, for replacing coins by yarn.

[3] Gandhiji left Poona for Uruli-Kanchan on March 22.

353. CABLE TO J. C. SMUTS

POONA,
March 22, 1946

FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS
CAPE TOWN
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

THANKS FOR WIRE[1]. INDIA IS EXPECTED TO GET INDEPENDENCE THIS YEAR. IF YOU BELIEVE IT WAIT TILL THEN. CLOISTERED CIVILIZATION LIKE CLOISTERED VIRTUE. YOUR GOOD INTENTION UNDOUBTED. PREMISE APPEARS FAULTY. INDIA'S PROTEST AGAINST INFERIOR STATUS. PROPOSED FRANCHISE DOUBTFUL PRIVILEGE. LAND TENURE IS SEGREGATION. SHALL RESPECT YOUR WISH AVOID PUBLICITY CONTENTS OUR CABLES.

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 95

354. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

POONA,
March 22, 1946

AMRIT KAUR
LADY IRWIN COLLEGE
SIKANDRA ROAD, NEW DELHI

YOUR WIRE. GLAD YOU HAVE SUCCEEDED.[2] GOING URULI VILLAGE TWENTY MILES. YOU MEET THERE. HOPE YOU WELL.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 4173. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7809

[1] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[2] Presumably, the reference is to increase in the newsprint quota for *Harijan*; *vide* pp. 214-5.

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355. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

POONA,
March 22, 1946

MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
BAHADRABAD, JWALAPUR

NO CHANGE. COME DELHI WHEN I GO THERE.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 6515. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9910

356. LETTER TO SIR FREDERICK BURROWS

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
March 22, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter[1] through Shri Sudhir Ghosh. He takes this letter to you, and he will tell you all my thoughts about prisoners, salt, employees of Electric Corporation and khadi.[2]

With my regards to you and Lady Burrows.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 137

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 236.

[2] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 120, Sudhir Ghosh explains: "Gandhiji followed up, with Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps in Delhi, the question of the release of the rest of the political prisoners . . . in particular . . . Jayaprakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia. I was instructed to go to the Secretary of State . . . It was no problem to persuade . . . Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps . . . The . . . problem . . . was . . . the Viceroy. . . . Lord Pethick-Lawrence said: '. . . Get Gandhiji to write to me . . . the substance of what you have told me. I will then take it up with the Viceroy.' Post-haste I went back to Gandhiji and made him write. . . ." *Vide* "Letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence", 2-4-1946.

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357. LETTER TO VIJAY KUMAR

POONA,
March 22, 1946

DEAR VIJAY,

I have your letter of 10th instant. Of course Andhra is entitled to separation. As to that I have no doubt. But since independence is coming, why agitate and why threaten satyagraha ? Is Indian opinion divided on this question?

I hope you are quite well. It distresses me to think that an athlete like you can suffer from any illness. There must be something wrong in athletics which results in illness or early death.

Yours,
BAPU

MAHARAJAKUMAR OF VIZIANAGARAM
BENARES

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

358. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

POONA,
March 22, 1946

BHAI MUNSHI,

Will you please guide me regarding Kamlesh? What has been your experience of him? He wants me to take him up for Hindustani *Harijan*, but is he not engaged in propagation of Hindi under you?

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. KANHAIYALAL MUNSHI, ADVOCATE
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 7693. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

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359. LETTER TO BAPUBHAI N. VASHI

POONA,
March 22, 1946

BHAI BAPUBHAI,

How does it happen that you have contracted tuberculosis? If you could repeat Ramanama from the depth of your heart, it could prove an unfailing remedy for tuberculosis. The others who do not observe the rules of nature do not repeat Ramanama but rather bring a bad name to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

BAPUBHAI NARANJI VASHI
UMER MANZIL
GHODBUNDER ROAD
KHAR

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

360. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 22, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

A letter from the Viceroy asking me to see him on the third was received this afternoon. I have not yet replied but I shall have to go.[1]

The meeting about South Africa is to be held on the 31st evening. It will be convened by the Eastern Citizenship Association, and I am to preside. You will, of course, hear more about it there.

Here the beginning seems to be good enough. The final result we shall know by and by. I do not think your pessimism is justified.

More from Manilal Gandhi.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 304

[1] *Vide* also p. 310.

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361. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, URULI-KANCHAN

March 22, 1946

Gandhiji announced . . . that he would receive patients from the following day, examine them and prescribe treatment for their maladies. If he found the place suitable, and if he had to go elsewhere for some work, he would leave behind two competent men to continue his work.

Mahatma Gandhi said that *Ramdhun* was the most effective remedy for physical and mental ailments. He said that no doctor or *vaidya* could promise cure by medicine.

But God would certainly relieve you of your pains and worries, if you pray to him. But for the prayer to be effective, one must participate in *Ramdhun* whole-heartedly and then only one would feel peace and happiness.

In the song that we have just sung the devotee says: "O Hari, you are the reliever of the people's distress." The promise here is universal. It is not qualified or restricted to any particular kind of ailment. . . . If you are subject to anger, eat and sleep for indulgence, not solely for sustenance, you do not know the meaning of Ramanama. Your recitation of it is mere lip-service. Ramanama to be efficacious must absorb your entire being during its recitation and express itself in your whole life.[1]

Gandhiji said that he had come to Uruli because he felt that if he was to serve the poor through nature cure, he must go to their cottages in villages. He had been practising nature cure for the last 50 years, but that was for the benefit of himself and a few friends. Until this time he had not felt the urge to extend his activities and now, in the evening of his life, he had taken this work of propagating nature cure to the poor. He believed that the poor would be benefited by nature cure as also the rich.

The Hindu, 24-3-1946; also *Harijan*, 7-3-1946

[1] This paragraph is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—I".

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362. TALK WITH ARMY MEN[1]

URULI-KANCHAN,
[After *March 22, 1946*][2]

ARMY MEN: We are soldiers, but we are soldiers of Indian freedom.

GANDHIJI: I am glad to hear that. For, so far you have mostly been instrumental in the suppression of Indian freedom. Have you heard of Jallianwala Bagh?

Oh, yes. But those days are past. We were, in those days, like the proverbial frog-in-the-well. We have now seen the world, our eyes have been opened. We admit we are mercenaries. But our hearts are no longer so.

I am glad to hear that. But, let me tell you, my use of that expression[3] was not intended to cast any reflection upon you. It was only descriptive of a soldiery that serves a foreign Government for a living. My use of that expression at the time brought a hornet's nest round my ears. But I could not withdraw it; I said, our present army system should go.

What would be our position when India is independent?

Why, you will fully share that independence and breathe the air of freedom with your countrymen. Independent India will have need of you. You have had military training. You will give India the benefit of that training. You have learnt the lesson of *camaraderie* under common danger. It would be a bad day, if the moment that peril is lifted, the lesson is lost. But in free India you won't be pampered as you are today. You won't have these lavish privileges with which a foreign Government bribes you at the expense of India's poor. India is destitute. You cannot serve her unless you are prepared to share her destitution. I told[4] Capt. Shah Nawaz that if the I. N. A. people succumb to

[1] This is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—II". Pyarelal explains: "In Uruli there is a big military camp. Hardly a day passed, after Gandhiji's arrival in Uruli, when a group of Indian military men did not contact him. They met him during his morning walks, they were at his evening prayer gatherings, but particularly interesting were the two batches who saw him at his residence."

[2] Gandhiji reached Uruli-Kanchan on March 22.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 95.

[4] *Vide* pp. 245-6.

the lionization of an India pining for freedom, and forget her destitution, they will earn not the blessings but the silent execration of their countrymen. The same applies to you. Unless you are prepared to forgo your privileges, you will feel sorry when independence comes, and sigh for the return of old times and old masters.

There was a time when we were not allowed to read any civil newspaper. And now we go and tell our officers that we are going to see our greatest leader, and no one dares to stop us.

I know, there is a new ferment and a new awakening among all the army ranks today. Not a little of the credit for this happy change belongs to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method, but he had rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldier a new vision and a new ideal.

How anybody can think of dividing India into two, three or more parts, we army men are at a loss to understand. We know only one India for which we have fought and shed our blood.

Well, it requires all sorts to make the world.

May we shout slogans?

Well, you may.[1]

Harijan, 7-4-1946

363. TALK WITH AN ENGLISH FRIEND[2]

[Before *March 23, 1946*][3]

GANDHIJI: I could have understood it, if they had combined from top to bottom. That would, of course, have meant delivering India over the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125 to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames.

The Mission are coming fresh after a bloody victory. They have now an opportunity to add to it the laurels of a bloodless

[1] There was a deafening roar as they shouted "*Jai Hind*", "*Netajiki Jai*", and so on repeatedly.

[2] This is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—II." Pyarelal explains: "Gandhiji was discussing some time back with an English friend the difficult task ahead of the Cabinet Mission. There was an unprecedented upsurge for independence among the masses on the one hand and on the other, what he had called 'the unholy combination' at bottom among the Hindus and Mussalmans for a joint violent purpose."

[3] From the reference to the Cabinet Mission which reached India on March 23, 1946

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peace. It will be a glorious thing for them and the world, if they rise to the occasion and do justice to India even though it might mean reducing themselves (it won't be so in fact) to insignificance. That would be the height of non-violence. But miracles have happened in the world.

ENGLISH FRIEND: So you believe in miracles?

I do and I do not. God does not work through miracles. But the divine mind is revealed in a flash and it appears like a miracle to man. We do not know God, we know Him only through the working of His law. He and His law are one. There is nothing outside His law. Even earthquakes and tempests do not occur without His will—not a blade of grass grows but He wills it. Satan is here only on His sufferance, not independently of Him.

By justice do you mean that they should agree to withdraw the British army without stipulating any conditions?

I do. Freedom will be truly won only when the British army is withdrawn from the whole of India, not excluding Indian States.

Otherwise it would be sinister.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

364. QUESTION BOX

Q. What to do when the local Congress machinery refuses to act or work in a way which is effective?

A. A person who is a real Congressman will, in such circumstances, himself act singly or in co-operation with others purely in a spirit of service and give all the credit to the Congress organization. Supposing that many persons acted thus, Congress would rise from day to day. Ineffective workers would be shamed into becoming effective, the Congress machinery always remaining clean and intact. "In a spirit of service" is here the operative phrase. If the sprit is that of aggrandizement, although the work done may be effective, credit will probably go to the aggressor and the Congress will lose. That the aggressor will lose in the end need not be stressed.

Q. What should a Congress worker do when he faces a situation at a place which is outside his area of work?

A. Areas are prescribed for workers for their weakness, not for their strength. For a strong Congress worker all India is the area of his work, and he will be found every time in the area

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where he is wanted most. Naturally he will be never regarded as an intruder or as an officious man. Appreciation of the service will be uppermost in the minds of all. It would be ludicrous and a sign of impotence, if a Congressman passing through an area not his own and finding a battle royal between two factions does not interpose himself between them, even at the cost of his life, on the untenable plea that the trouble was outside his area.

Q. Can the same person take up parliamentary work, constructive work as distinguished from the parliamentary and the organization work of the Congress, in addition to working for his own livelihood?

A. He must be a modern Hercules who can effectively do these things at the same time. I can conceive the possibility of the same person managing all these departments with a staff of efficient secretaries and clerks working under him. The point of the question, however, is wholly different. Division of labour is a necessity. One-man-show is always undesirable and is a positive hindrance to a system of organization. An organization like the British kingship is not personal. "The King is dead. Long live the King." Hence the saying, "the King can do no wrong." A king as an individual may be a rascal but personified as an organization he is perfect in the sense the word 'perfection' is understood in a given society. The moral is that however inefficient the persons in charge may be in the beginning stages, in a progressive organization, persons taking charge should be above board and should put the organization first, themselves last. If an attempt is made to organize work through rascals, the organization will always have rascals at its head.

Q. August 1942 has brought a psychological change in the public mind.[1] They do not await orders from the Congress for observance of days, etc. Other parties often take advantage of this spontaneous effort and associate their programme with it, while official local Congress either keeps mum or inactive. It also often happens that programmes and policies as laid down by the Working Committee are not automatically adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees or are sometimes worked out half-heartedly. Some also refuse to create a machinery for it, till they are officially called upon to do so. In such circumstances, what is expected of Congressmen?

A. This is a good question. If Congressmen have really learnt to act for themselves since August 1942, it is a great

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI.

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thing. But I do not believe it. Those only act for themselves who think for themselves. It does not matter whether in doing so they make mistakes. A child often stumbles before it begins to walk. Therefore the effort ceases to be spontaneous or individual when one associates with any programme that comes his way. The secret of the August resolution was that when the Congress as an organization ceased to function every Congressman became his own master, which is wholly different from becoming a pawn in any other person's or group's or party's game.

The second part of the question shows also that 1942 did not teach Congressmen to think and act independently. If they had learnt that lesson truly and well, any programme laid down by the Working Committee would be followed by Congressmen whole-heartedly and the response from Provincial Committees and all constituent elements would be spontaneous, such that the whole organization would move like one man. Such was my expectation in 1942. That it was not so fulfilled is a matter of history. That the people acted somehow, without being paralysed by the wholesale onslaught of the Government, stands to their credit. How much more creditable it would have been, if they had fully carried out the policy of non-violence explicitly laid down in that resolution! If my argument is correct, it follows that Congressmen with understanding would follow implicitly the Working Committee's resolutions without reference to the action of their neighbours. When organizational effort stops or is neutralized or becomes ineffective, every individual belonging to it holds himself responsible for the activity of his organization and then gradually builds it up.

Q. When sporadic strikes are such as cannot be supported by the Congress, what should Congressmen and the public do to put an end to them?

A. In the first place, if the Congress organization were complete, there would be no sporadic strikes, and any other strike would be unjustified for the simple reason that a people's organization must shoulder the burden of every justifiable strike within the sphere of that organization. But today unhappily the Congress, powerful as it is, has not attained that supreme position. Hence every sporadic strike has to be judged on merits irrespective of the party that has made itself responsible for it. And, when a strike is indefensible on merits, the Congress and the public should unequivocally condemn it. The natural result would be that the men on strike would go back to work. If the strike is justified, the institution against which it has been declared would

be likewise condemned, if it employs black-legs or other questionable means to force strikers into submission.

URULI [-KANCHAN], March 23, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

365. CAPITALISM AND STRIKES

How should capital behave when labour strikes? This question is in the air and has great importance at the present moment. One way is that of suppression named, or nicknamed, 'American'. It consists in suppression of labour through organized *goondaism*. Everybody would consider this as wrong and destructive. The other way, right and honourable, consists in considering every strike on its merits and giving labour its due—not what capital considers as due but what labour itself would so consider and enlightened public opinion acclaim as just.

One preliminary question will justly arise: why should there be a strike at all in any well-regulated concern ? Strikes ought to be impossible when there is perfect understanding between capital and labour, mutual respect and recognition of equality. And since differences there would be sometimes between employers and employed even in the best-regulated concerns, why should there not be a system of arbitration between the parties so that they will always readily carry out in perfect good faith awards of arbitrators?

But we have to consider things not as they should be but as they are. As time progresses, the labour world is getting more insistent in its demands which are daily increasing, and it does not hesitate to resort to violence in its impatient enforcement of those demands. New methods of enforcing them are being employed. Workers do not hesitate to injure the property of the employers, dislocate machinery, harass old men and women who would not join the strike and forcibly keep out black-legs. In these circumstances, how are the employers to behave?

In my opinion, employers and employed are equal partners even if employees are not considered superior. But what we see today is the reverse. The reason is that the employers harness intelligence on their side. They have the superior advantage which concentration of capital brings with it, and they know how to make use of it. One individual rupee has very little potency, but when money combines as capital, the combine derives a power

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different from and far in excess of the mere sum total of the individual rupees. A million drops individually are negligible. But in combination they make the ocean carrying on its bosom a fleet of ocean hounds. Whilst capital in India is fairly organized, labour is still in a more or less disorganized condition in spite of unions and their federation. Therefore it lacks the power that true combination gives.

Moreover it lacks intelligence, so much so that individuals fight against individuals, unions against unions. Lack of intelligence leads to its exploitation by selfish and unscrupulous men even to the point of creating and promoting mischief. They know no better, being ignorant of the secret of non-violence. The net result is that the workers suffer. If labour were to understand the working of non-violence, the power generated by combination would any day exceed the power of dead metal in the hands of a few capitalists.

Hence my advice to the employers would be that they should willingly regard workers as the real owners of the concerns which they fancy they have created. They should further regard it as their duty to equip the employees with sound education that would draw out the intelligence dormant in them and gladly promote and welcome the power that this combination of the workers gives them.

This noble work cannot be done in a day by the employers. Meanwhile what should those do who have to face the destruction wrought by strikers in their concerns ? I would unhesitatingly advise such employers that they should at once offer the strikers full control of the concern which is as much the strikers' as theirs. They will vacate their premises not in a huff but because it is right, and, to show their goodwill, they would offer the employees the assistance of their engineers and other skilled staff. The employers will find in the end that they will lose nothing. Indeed their right action will disarm opposition, and they will earn the blessings of their men. They will have made proper use of their capital. I would not consider such action as benevolent. It would be an intelligent use by the capitalists of their resources and honest dealing in regard to the employees whom they would have converted into honourable partners.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 23, 1946

Harijan, 31-3-1946

366. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

URULI[-KANCHAN],
March 23, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

I had formal invitation to be present for an interview with H. E. the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation on the 3rd proximo at 4 p. m. I hope to be present for the interview.[1]

The date of my arrival will be 3rd proximo.[2] What my address in New Delhi will be I do not know at present, but any inquiry at Birla House will be answered. I shall hope to let you know later when my New Delhi address is fixed up or if there is any change in my programme. Please note that I am just now living in a village, Uruli, 18 miles from Poona, on the Sholapur line.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 177

367. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS[3]

URULI-KANCHAN (POONA),
March 23, 1946

BHAI PURUSHOTTAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am in a village where I propose to live till the 30th. I am here in connection with nature cure.

I have sent today a wire, a copy of which is enclosed.

I think, such a conference[4] comes off rarely. In your absence it will lack grace. Other things can wait but this cannot. I agree that the date should be convenient to you. What can we do about

[1] For the Viceroy's version of the interview, *vide* Appendix XIV. For Gandhiji's account, *vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 6-4-1946.

[2] Gandhiji, however, arrived in Delhi on April 1, in response to a special message from Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pethick-Lawrence who wanted to meet him informally before the official proceedings started.

[3] This was sent by hand.

[4] Presumably, a reference to the meeting of Eastern Citizenship Association of which the addressee was Chairman. The conference, however, could not be held as the Muslim League planned a separate one. *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", p. 319.

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it? When they enquired of me on the telephone, I did not know that the call was made in consultation with you. I, therefore, selected the earliest date that would suit me and conveyed it; hence the telegram.

So you have again invited cold, have you? I shall have no objection to your having somebody to read out your speech. I suggest it should be either in Gujarati or Hindustani. It is all right, if an English translation is prepared which you may issue to the papers. This, however, is only a suggestion. Please do as it suits you.

Can the road along Chowpatty still accommodate large crowds? Hasn't all the space been built upon? Why not in Shivaji Park? It seems that is the only large maidan that remains. I would not know much about this.

A draft of the resolution is enclosed. You may revise the draft, if you wish. Your letter will reach me, if you address it to Poona. Telegrams are delivered here. This Uruli is on the G. I. P. railway. There is another place called Uruli. This one is called Uruli-Kanchan.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS
NAVASARI CHAMBERS, BOMBAY

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

368. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 23, 1946

CHI. GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have decided firmly that wherever I go, I should stay where the Bhangis live. I shall reach Delhi on the 3rd because I have received the summons[1]. Even if it may be rather difficult to stay in the Bhangi quarters, you should arrange for my stay there. I am not writing about this separately to Viyogi Hariji. You may yourself talk to him as well as to Brijkisan[2].

I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C. W. 8077. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] To meet the Viceroy; *vide* p. 310.
[2] Brijkrishna Chandiwala

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369. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, URULI-KANCHAN[1]

March 23, 1946

It has truly been observed that all mental and physical ailments are due to one common cause. It is, therefore, but natural that there should be a common remedy for them too. There is a unity of cure as there is in disease. The Shastras say so. Therefore I prescribed Ramanama and almost the same treatment to all the patients who came to me this morning. But we have a knack of explaining away the Shastras in life when they do not suit our convenience. We have deluded ourselves into the belief that the Shastras are meant only for the benefit of the soul in the life to come, that the end of dharma is to acquire merit after death. I do not share that view. If dharma has no practical use in this life, it has none for me in the next.

There is hardly anyone in this world who is completely free from ailment whether bodily or mental. For some of these there is no earthly cure. For instance, Ramanama cannot perform the miracle of restoring to you a lost limb. But it can perform the still greater miracle of helping you to enjoy an ineffable peace in spite of the loss while you live and rob death of its sting and the grave its victory at the journey's end. Since death must come soon or late to everyone, why should one worry over the time.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

370. LETTER TO MOTILAL RAY

[After *March 23, 1946*][2]

BHAI MOTI BABU,

The Charkha Sangh people inform me that you are delaying to refund the sum due to them. It looks bad that a person like you can't make good even this amount. And it is not at all proper. Thus the Prabartaka Sangh has comparatively gone down in my estimation. So much so it is doing business in uncertified khadi. All this is regrettable.

[1] This is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—I".

[2] The letter is found between letters of March 23 and 26.

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A wire has been sent to you today; a copy of it is enclosed. I hope the Charkha Sangh would not have to file a suit against you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MOTILAL RAY
PRABARTAKA SANGH
CHANDERNAGORE
BENGAL

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

371. WASTEFULNESS[1]

Correspondence continues to pour in saying that stored food material, being declared unfit for human consumption, is thrown away. Skimmed milk also is thrown away for want of custom and condensed milk is lying idle owing to ignorance. Accumulation of food material at the ports will not mitigate distress unless it is promptly taken to the places where it is immediately required. Worse than this, however, is the triple waste going on now side by side with ever growing famine conditions. All such waste takes place for lack of a living contact between the people and the rulers.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 24, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

372. HAND-WEAVING AND HAND-SPINNING[2]

Shri Jajuji writes to say that whilst on the one hand hand-spun yarn is piling up, on the other handloom weavers are day by day giving up hand-spun yarn in preference to mill yarn. An appeal to the weavers through the columns of *Harijan*, whether in English or in any of the Indian languages, will be good for nothing. Hardly any weaver reads *Harijan* and, if attempt is made to read it out to him, he will not take interest in it. Hence the task of speaking to the weavers on the suicidal effect

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

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of abandoning hand-spun yarn devolves upon the devoted heads of Charkha Sangh workers. They have to reason out to the weavers how they will be ultimately responsible for killing their own occupation by excluding hand-spun yarn. As soon as the mill-owners can do so profitably, they will certainly stop selling mill yarn and will weave it themselves. They are not philanthropists. They have set up mills in order to make money. They will stop selling their yarn to handloom weavers, if they find weaving is more profitable. Therefore it is a question of time when handloom weavers will be starved. These are really fed by hand-spinners even as they in their turn are fed by handloom weavers. They are twins, complementary of each other. This fact should be brought home to the weavers by the Charkha Sangh. With loving patience and knowledge they should try to appreciate the difficulties of the weavers and learn how to remove them. Acharya Vinoba has pointed out one remedy, namely, to double and twist the yarn at the same time that the cones are unwound. If this practice becomes universal, there would be no untwisted hand-spun yarn available for weaving. It is found by experience that twisted hand-spun yarn is any day as weavable as mill-spun yarn, if indeed it is not more so. Since the time of my discharge from my last imprisonment, I have been proclaiming as vehemently as I can that the workers should master the art of weaving as well as they have mastered the art of spinning. Had they not taken to spinning themselves, they would not have solved the many difficulties of spinners. They have now to make up for past neglect, however unconscious it may have been, by learning the art of weaving and by practising it assiduously. Then and then only will they understand the difficulties that professional weavers experience in weaving hand-spun yarn and be able to solve them.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 24, 1946
Harijan, 31-3-1946

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373. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, URULI-KANCHAN[1]

March 24, 1946

This is good[2], because it shows that those who need nature cure treatment are coming forward to avail themselves of it.

If the work proceeded according to plan, Gandhiji explained, he intended to stay for at least four months in the year in their midst. During his absence his colleagues would continue to direct and guide them according to his instructions. [He said:]

The practice of nature cure does not require high academic qualifications or much erudition. Simplicity is the essence of universality. Nothing that is meant for the benefit of the millions requires much erudition. The latter can be acquired only by the few and, therefore, can benefit the rich only. But India lives in her seven lakhs of villages—obscure, tiny, out-of-the-way villages —where the population in some cases hardly exceeds a few hundreds, very often not even a few scores. I would like to go and settle down in some such village. That is real India, my India, for which I live. You cannot take to these humble people the paraphernalia of highly qualified doctors and hospital equipment. In simple, natural remedies and Ramanama lies their only hope.

He had been told that there was hardly any disease in Uruli[-Kanchan]. Probably what was meant was that no epidemic was prevalent, that being the popular conception of disease. But, from the cases that had come to him during the last two days, it was clear that ill-health there was in plenty in Uruli. He told the villagers:

If you do as I ask you to, Uruli will become an ideal village, to see which people will come from far.

Man's physical body is composed of five natural elements, i. e., air, water, earth, fire or *tejas* (the energizing principle) and ether (space). The soul quickens it.

The most essential of these is air. Man can live without food for several weeks, without water for some time, but without air he cannot live for more than a few minutes. God has, therefore,

[1] This is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter—I".

[2] The reference is to increase in number of patients from 30 to 43.

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made air universally available. Shortages of food or water there may be at times but of air never. In spite of it we foolishly deprive ourselves of God's blessings of fresh and pure air by sleeping within doors with doors and windows shut. One may shut the doors and windows, if he is afraid of thieves at night. But why should one shut oneself up?

To get fresh air, one must sleep in the open. But it is no good sleeping in the open only to breathe dust and dirt-laden air. The place where you sleep must be free from both. Some people cover their faces as a protection against dust and cold. It is a remedy worse than the disease. Then there is the evil habit of breathing through the mouth. Mouth is the organ of ingestion. It is not the organ of breathing. The air passing through the nasal passages is filtered and purified and at the same time warmed up before it enters the lungs.

Anyone who fouls the air by spitting about carelessly, throwing refuse and rubbish or otherwise dirtying the ground, sins against man and nature. Man's body is the temple of God. Anyone who fouls the air that is to enter that temple desecrates it. He takes the name of Rama in vain.

In the end, he warned them that they should be prepared to find in him a hard task-master. If he stayed in their midst, he would neither spare himself nor them. He would visit their homes, inspect their streets, their drains, their kitchens, their latrines. He would tolerate neither dust nor dirt anywhere.

Harijan, 7-4-1946

374. WHY BHANGI QUARTERS?[1]

Friends are puzzled over my keen desire to reside in Bhangi quarters in the cities or towns I may visit. To ask why I have not entertained that desire all these years would be more pertinent. To answer why I did not have the desire long ago must be reserved for a future occasion. Just now I must answer why the desire has come upon me at all.

I have for some time been saying that we must all be Bhangis or untouchables. But it has worried me that I have not accorded the statement with corresponding action. It may not be possible

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.

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to establish complete accordance with the wish. But it ought to be done so far as possible. Whilst this thought was agitating me, I got the news, which I have already shared with the readers, that in Gujarat only one well and one temple is shared with Harijans and this in Karadi.[1] Whether the news is true or not is immaterial here. The material thing is the reaction produced on my mind by the news. To be angry was madness. The news quickened the desire for residence in untouchables' quarters. I said to myself: 'If I lived apart from Harijans, what right had I to question the action of others who went further in their adherence to untouchability? But whether the others changed their mode or not was not for me to judge. If it was my duty to reside in Harijan quarters, I must perform it irrespective of the reaction of the step on the others.' This is the thought which is possessing me and goading me to the adumbrated action.

Consequently I have asked Sheth R. D. Birla to arrange, if at all possible, for my residence in untouchables' quarters when I happen to be in Bombay. I have also wired to Sheth G. D. Birla to arrange likewise for Delhi, and Shri Brijkishen Chandiwala has already asked for my approval of some arrangement he has made.[2] It goes without saying that I must not impose myself on Harijans anywhere. I must not wound their feelings, if they will not tolerate my presence in their midst. But I fear no such thing.

Incidentally I notice that some critics rejoice that I shall no longer reside in the Birla House. They do not know that I have been accepting their hospitality for years. I have accepted donations from them for my many constructive activities. The critics do not know of the changes they have imperceptibly made in their life; nor need they or the public in general know these. Such changes are never made for show. At the same time it is perfectly true that there are wide differences between them and me in outlook. This is no cause for sorrow or wonder. All true change comes from within. Any change brought about by pressure is worthless. I am neither so vain nor so foolish as to hope that all would follow me. And who can say whether I am right or others in what we are doing? It is enough, if all of us abide by what we consider to be right. We are all His creatures to do His will, not ours. Doing so, we should all be friends to one another.

URULI [-KANCHAN], March 25, 1946

Harijan, 31-3-1946

[1] *Vide* also pp. 239-40.

[2] *Vide* pp. 288 and 295.

375. WHY ONE MORE BURDEN?[1]

Why have I got involved in nature cure in the evening of my life? This question is being asked of me by several people. Had I not enough work on my hands already? Was I not too old to take up new things? Could anyone expect me to add to my existing burdens? All these are pertinent questions demanding my careful consideration. But they do not evoke any echo within me. The still small voice within me whispers: 'Why bother about what others say? I have given you a colleague like Dr. Dinshaw who understands you, and whom you understand. You have confidence in your capacity, having followed nature cure as a hobby for over half a century. If you hide this talent and do not make use of it, you will be as a thief. It will ill become you. Remember the teaching of the first verse of *Ishopanishad* and surrender all you have to Me. There is nothing that really belongs to you. Only you fancied that something was yours. It is all Mine. Give it also to My creatures like the rest. It will not in any way jeopardize your other work provided only that you have cultivated perfect detachment. You have entertained the desire to live up to 125 years. Its fulfilment or otherwise should not be your concern. Yours is only to understand and do your duty and "be careful for nothing"[2].'

These are the thoughts that haunt me. It is my third day in this village. The number of patients who come for help is daily increasing. They feel happy, and I feel happy in serving them. I am receiving the co-operation of the local people. I know that if I can enter the hearts of the people here, illness will be banished and this village will become a model of cleanliness and health. But if this does not happen, what is that to me? I have only to do the behest of the Master.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 25, 1946

Harijan, 31-3-1946

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] *Phillippians*, IV. 6

376. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 25, 1946

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. The League's ways are strange. We cannot have two meetings. Let the League arrange one. There is no harm, if they get the credit for it. Purushottamdas will show you the letter I have written[1] to him. If the meeting called by the League is to be held on Sunday, and if you think it would be inadvisable for me to go there on the same day, please send me a wire.

Telegrams are delivered here. We can even get a telephone connection if we want, but why go in for all that trouble for only six days?

My business in naturopathy is flourishing. I can lose nothing in it. And it helps to advance my other work. If I find I have some capital with me and do not use it, what a big fool should I be? One must hope to live and work for 125 years. For the rest, God alone is the master of life and death. I am positive that my duty is to stay in the Bhangi quarters. You must get over the difficulties.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 304-5

377. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

URULI [-KANCHAN],
March 25, 1946

DAUGHTER,

I see no difference. You do not understand my point. You want me to agree to your wish. You can go Borkamata today at your own sweet will; I have already indicated what mine is. If you leave Sevagram, then dedicate your life to the service of

[1] *Vide* pp. 310-1.

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your mother. If this cannot be done, do just as you please. You cannot come to Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 619

378. NATURE CURE PRESCRIPTIONS-I

URULI[KANCHAN],
March 25, 1946

VITHABAI

I would advise this. She should take sun-bath in the nude, followed by a hip-bath and a friction-bath in cold water. The diet should consist of only fruit-juice and milk or butter-milk. She may possibly be cured, if she has faith in Rama. If she does this much regularly, she is sure to get better. Complete cure is rather difficult.

HIRA

She should chew fruit and throw away the residue; take milk or butter-milk; also hip-bath and friction-bath; mud-poultice on the abdomen. This will have to be demonstrated to her; also the type of earth and where to get it. She should also take sun-bath.

ARJUN

Urine will pass regularly, if he is seated in hot and cold water by turns. He should drink boiled water and take fruit-juices and butter-milk for nourishment.

SALU

Is it the same trouble? What is the use of removing cataracts from a poor person's eyes? One should live with it, recite Ramanama and, when the time is up, depart with Ramanama on one's lips. If this cannot be done, she may be taken to a hospital and have the cataracts removed. I do not remember any treatment for cataract.

Had she come yesterday? She should be given sun-bath even in this heat so that she perspires and the boils dry up. I feel that she might derive some benefit, if she lies down naked

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with a wet towel on her head. While doing so—lying down—she should constantly utter Ramanama. She should be given all this treatment here. We ought to clean the boils for her and bandage. She should be advised about her diet. If all this is done here, then only she can improve.

...[1] VITHU

What does he eat? His diet should consist of milk, fruit, vegetable and chapatis. Sun-bath, hip-bath and friction-bath should be taken. His asthma can be brought under control, if he does regular *pranayama*[2].

HIRUNANA

Fruit-juices for two days; then fruit-juice mixed with milk. Sun-bath, hip-bath and friction-bath. If the motion is not clear, he should try the syringe after two days. Mud-poultices. Tomato juice, if tomatoes are available.

RAJU

Sun-bath, hip-bath, friction-bath. Butter-milk and fruit-juices, absolutely no milk; if he cannot retain even butter-milk, then initially only fruit-juices and boiled water.

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 7, between pp. 96 and 97

379. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI[3]

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 26, 1946

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have started practising nature cure in this village. I shall leave this place on the 31st for Delhi. As regards Dr. Mehta, nothing is certain. His clinic is being vacated. Hence I don't think I can bring you here [for treatment]. The work at Uruli-Kanchan will continue in my absence. But you will not be satisfied. We wish to reach that stage [of giving satisfaction to all the patients], but that will take time. Do the following: Ramanama

[1] The first name is illegible.
[2] Deep breathing exercise
[3] The letter is written in Devanagari.

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with faith, hip-bath, friction-bath, sun-bath, *pranayama* and mud-packs on an empty stomach.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

RAMDAS GANDHI
NAGPUR

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

380. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 26, 1946

CHI. KANAIYA,

I got your letter. I like my new occupation which is going fairly well. I am keeping good health. Abha[1] has been a good girl these days; she remains cheerful. Rajkumari is expected to arrive today. Sushila Nayyar is in Quetta. She will come when I return from Delhi.

Abha will write you a long letter. I am writing this in the midst of a great rush of work. No one can take your place and to that extent I should miss you; but I refrain from entertaining such a feeling.

Blessings from
BAPU

KANU GANDHI
SEVAGRAM

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

381. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 26, 1946

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. I regret that your weakness persists as much as before. What can you do about it? Live as God wills.

[1] Addressee's wife

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It will be good if the new lady[1] brings you some peace. Do not regret your lack of hearing. Look upon it as a blessing. Address your letters to Poona or Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

382. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 26, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I shall leave for Bombay on 31st. From there I shall go to Delhi. I shall leave Bombay on Monday.

My advice about Aryanayakam[2] is: Give whatever he wants, but not Rustom Bhavan; land—as much as he wants—do not charge any price. Ownership may vest in Gram Seva Mandal. But the possession may remain with Nayee Talim as long as it pays *vighoti*[3] and an annual rent of one rupee. We should not hesitate to give as much land as he wants. After all, all work is one. Everything is ours. Still Gram Seva Mandal's opinion should be considered as final. Show this to him.

Do write about Kamble.

Here the new work is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4546

[1] Addressee's wife, Gangi
[2] E. W. Aryanayakam, Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh
[3] Revenue per acre

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383. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 27, 1946

RESPECTED BHAI RANCHHODDAS,

I have your letter. That your eyes are failing is as much a matter for rejoicing as for sorrow. You will not now have to see things which pain you. I had gathered from your previous letter that you did not expect a reply and, therefore, because of heavy pressure of other work I did not reply to it. Since you want a reply to the present letter, I am dictating this after the morning prayer. My eyes are still good enough, but the hand needs rest. I, therefore, spare it other exertion so as to be able to write for *Harijan.*

If your interpretation of ahimsa is correct, what could I achieve by living up to 125? For India would have to bear the load of my ignorance for about 50 years more still. However, so long as my ignorance seems to me to be knowledge, may I not hope to live up to 125 and go on serving up to the end? You say, moreover, that ahimsa will work in dealing with friends, but not in dealing with enemies who do not believe in it; and, in support of your argument, you cite the example of Rajputs and stories from the Puranas. Let us, for the moment, leave aside the examples. If ahimsa was limited to loving those who love us, how could it be described as the supreme dharma? Even dacoits and robbers do that. How great was the love of Alibaba's forty robbers for one another? Does not the aphorism[1] describing the distinguishing characteristics of ahimsa say that in the presence of ahimsa all ill-will subsides? If this is true, ahimsa can be tested only against an enemy. Does not the well-known couplet[2] of Shamaldas, "For a bowl of water give a goodly meal," [etc.], teach the same lesson in simple but sweet words? Besides what do the illustrations cited by you prove? The bravery of the Rajputs cannot be denied. If nothing could ever be achieved through violence, would it have acquired the powerful spell that

[1] From Patanjali's *Yogadarshanam,* II. 35—अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः।
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 34.

it has? Are the successes of falsehood, too, any the less impressive? We often see falsehood occupying seats of power and truth wandering in rags, but are you and I impressed by this fact? And what do the Puranas, etc., suggest, if not that God alone may do as He wills? He who creates may destroy, for even through destruction He creates. Prahlada and others displayed pure ahimsa in their lives. He incurred the displeasure of his demon father, but did not give up Rama's name till the last.

What more need I write? I do not wish to drown myself in the well of the Shastras. They seem to me like the great oceans, full of countless alligators. But do they not contain pearls, too? Let us, therefore, churn them to find that nectar in the form of the pearls.

I hope you will not mind your younger brother indulging in such philosophizing. Won't you forgive him? Do dictate letters to me whenever you get time. Paramanand did call on me and also gave the book he has written.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

In reply to your three questions, which you must remember, Bapu says "yes":

1. Regarding recitation of the *Ramaraksha*.

2. This question pertained to the fact of Rama giving us the strength.

3. Whether Ramanama is an unfailing remedy, occurred for the first time at the prayers.

SUSHILA PAI

From the photostat of Gujarati : G. N. 4976

384. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

URULI [-KANCHAN],
March 27, 1946

MY DEAR C. R.,

You are giving me good lessons in Tamil and incidentally in Sanskrit. From which root is Lakshmi derived? I never knew that etymologically 'Lakshmi'[1] was (ocean-born). Why not *rombu* but *romba* for 'much'? I remember having learnt *rombu*.

The news you give me about the temple-entry case is interesting and disturbing. You will tell me what happens.

[1] This is in Devanagari.

Yes, I am off to Delhi (D. V.) on 1st April. Heaven help them that a fool should go on All Fools Day!

So your son-in-law[1] is off to America with Goenka[2]. He has become a great man.

But nothing interests me so much as your stomach trouble. It may be beyond me but not nature cure. If it is beyond nature cure, it is beyond repair. Yours is not that. Rest and be thankful. I wanted to give you rest. But now I can't till after my return from Delhi.

Romba anbudan
BAPU[3]

From a photostat : G. N. 2120

385. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

URULI[-KANCHAN],
March 27, 1946

DEAR GHANSHYAMDASJI,

You will excuse my dictating this in English. You will understand the reason why.

Bapu sent a wire yesterday to Brijkishan approving of the arrangements for his stay in Valmiki Mandir. I have sent you another wire today as follows:

Bapu wired approval and also sent detailed letter yesterday to Brijkishan.

As regards telephone and electricity, Bapu says that he does not mind if they can be installed without much difficulty; but their absence won't make any difference in regard to his plans. In case electricity is installed for lighting, he expects that the arrangements will be permanent. If the wires are removed the moment he goes out of the Bhangi Nivas, the whole thing will become a farce. There should be some permanent improvement in the Bhangi Nivas as a result of his stay there. In connection with this, Bapu is very particular about plentiful supply of clean water for bath and drinking. You are to make arrangements for a bath tub for him too. So much for the present. More when we meet.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

From a copy : C. W. 7873. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

[1] Devdas Gandhi, who was Editor of *The Hindustan Times*
[2] Ramnath Goenka of *The Indian Express*
[3] This and the four italicized words are in Tamil.

386. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 27, 1946

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I could not reply to it earlier. I do not like the letter. Your old impatience is still there.

You have not to fight for money, do you have to? You have to fight for truth.[1] I am in correspondence with Gadodiaji. He had suggested[2] Bhulabhai's name. When he was told about Bhulabhai's illness, he accepted M[unshi]'s name. I am now writing[3] to M. You have to send me your brief[4]. It should be to the point. I will ask Gadodiaji to reply to it. And you will have to send in your rejoinder. I shall send all this correspondence to M. Before that there should be signatures of both of you on the award.

I have today your letter of the 22nd.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pages 356 and 357

387. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 28, 1946

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have your letter about Kamlesh. I see that you have had the same experience that I had. In these circumstances I don't think I can give him the work of Hindustani *Harijan.*

[1] The addressee had claimed remuneration from Lakshminarayan Gadodia, Treasurer and Trustee of his Nature Cure Ashram, for the treatment given to the latter and his wife for the last three years.
[2] For an arbitrator
[3] *Vide* the following item.
[4] Gandhiji uses the English word.

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Dr. Sharma is a naturopath. We have bought some land for him near Khurja Road and set up a Trust for the same. The trustees are Sheth Lakshminarayan Gadodia and Jajuji. A difference has arisen between Gadodiaji and Sharma regarding the latter's fee.[1] In itself the dispute is about nothing very important. But it involves determination of the truth or otherwise of the facts. They have entrusted that task to me. But I cannot undertake it because I myself am deeply involved in the affair. Moreover, if I have to decide the dispute, I would have to go into the minutest details. I am not in a position to do so. I am busy with so many things that if I started giving my time to individual cases, I would not be able to do justice to the public tasks I have taken up. I am, therefore, getting out of all such involvements, and so wish to put this burden on you.

Actually you should be offered a fee for this work. But I am not in a position to ensure that. Gadodiaji can pay the fee, but he has agreed to be a trustee in this venture for love of public service and, since I myself am involved in the affair, I cannot ask him to pay you any fee. And Dr. Sharma is in no position to pay the fee. Hence I must entrust this task to you purely as a form of public service as I have entrusted to many others.

What I am thinking is that Sharma may give a statement setting out this case, then Gadodiaji may do the same, and Sharma may reply to his statement. You may then, if you wish, meet both or call either; otherwise you may decide on the basis of the statements themselves. I think this will not involve much work.

If you express your inability to undertake the work in the conditions I have explained, I will not take it ill. Nobody should consider whether I would be pleased or displeased in any matter connected with my personal work, for I think I have, or rather God has, dulled all such feelings in me. If that were not so, I would be crushed under the weight that I bear, and would have to give up my aspiration to live up to 125.

If you feel that you can decide this matter, it will be necessary to draw up some kind of a rough agreement authorizing you to do so. I will get it drawn up and signed by the parties, or will do as you wish.

I am arriving there on the 31st. I will be staying in some Harijan quarters. I had forgotten that Lilavati[2] was the President

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Addressee's wife

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of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a responsible office-bearer, therefore, she will know where I shall be staying Rameshwardas, of course, will know positively, and Sardar, too. Please, therefore, find out. Come and give me your reply personally, but it will suffice, if you even send a message. I will be leaving for Delhi on Monday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 7694. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

388. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI[1]

March 28, 1946

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

You eat more uncooked vegetables than you should. A couple of *tolas* is more than enough. Increase the quantity of milk, curds, ghee. Vallabhram Vaidya is there to help you to get rid of the impurities in your blood; take *lohabhasma*[2] in consultation with him. Don't think there is harm in it. If the body is deficient in iron, you should take it from other sources as may be proper and regain your strength. Do get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

389. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

March 28, 1946

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

I have your letter. Kamble says that you consider him innocent. Is it true ? If it is, you have not written so to me. From your letter I thought that you were inclined to agree with Viramma. Write to me something definite. What do you mean by saying that you are a great sinner? "Who is a greater sinner than I," wrote Surdas[3] of himself. Do you mean the same that Surdas[4]

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari.
[2] Iron oxide
[3] & [4] Gandhiji, however, says "Tulsidas".

meant, or is there something more to it? Write to me explicitly.

My blessings to Chi. Barbara.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 9033. Also C. W. 9157. Courtesy : Prabhakar

390. IMPLICATIONS OF 'QUIT INDIA'

In terms of non-violence, 'Quit India' is a healthy, potent cry of the soul. It is not a slogan. It means the end, through means purely truthful and non-violent, of foreign rule and domination. It does not mean the foreigner's destruction but his willing conversion to Indian life. In this scheme, there is no room for hatred of the foreigner. He is a man, even as we are. It is fear of him that gives rise to hatred. Fear gone, there can be no hatred.

Thus his conversion implies our conversion too. If we cease to be inferiors, he cannot be our superior. His arsenals and his weapons, typified in their extreme in the atom bomb, should have no terror for us. It follows that we may not covet them. We often make the mistake of thinking that we must first have things before we cease to covet them. This tempting argument leads to the prolongation of the agony. Must I do all the evil I can, before I learn to shun it? Is it not enough to know the evil to shun it? If not, we should be sincere enough to admit that we love evil too well to give it up.

Let us assume that foreign rule is ended. What should the foreigner do? He could hardly be considered free when he was protected by British arms. As a free man he will discover that it was wrong to possess privileges which the millions of India could not enjoy. He will live doing his duty as behoves a son of India. He will no longer live at India's expense. On the contrary, he will give India all his talents and by his services render himself indispensable to the land of his adoption.

If this is true of the European, how much more true must it be for those Anglo-Indians and others who have adopted European manners and customs in order to be classed as Europeans demanding preferential treatment? All such people will find

themselves ill at ease, if they expect continuation of the favoured treatment hitherto enjoyed by them.

They should rather feel thankful that they will be disburdened of preferential treatment to which they had no right by any known canon of reasoning, and which was derogatory to their dignity.

We have all—rulers and ruled—been living so long in a stifling, unnatural atmosphere that we might well feel in the beginning that we have lost the lungs for breathing the invigorating ozone of freedom. If the reality comes in an orderly, that is, a non-violent manner, because the parties feel that it is right, it will be a revealing lesson for the world.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 29, 1946

Harijan, 7-4-1946

391. SPEECH AT KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST WOMEN AGENTS' MEETING, URULI-KANCHAN[1]

[On or after *March 28, 1946*][2]

Tracing his line of thought, Gandhiji explained how it was women's work, and how he had felt he must make women shoulder the responsibility of it. In no other organization, not even in the Congress, had such a tremendous responsibility been thrown on women.

The Agent's post throws all the burden of work on her in her area. It is immense but given the industry and intelligence not only will the work grow but the Agent herself will grow in stature. She is there to serve and to give, not to possess. By this giving she will become the people's trusted servant. This is the royal road to democracy.

Gandhiji gave them a clear answer in respect to political work such as volunteering at polling booths. They were not there for that purpose. It was perfectly possible for them not to be in the Congress and yet be of it as he was himself. The work before them was to make women fit to take their

[1] This is extracted from Amrit Kaur's "Inspiring for Women". Amrit Kaur explains: "Uruli village . . . was the meeting place of all the women Agents so far appointed by the Kasturba Trust to organize and supervise work in the different Provinces. . . . When Thakkar Bapa suggested to Gandhiji that an Agents' meeting would be advisable, Gandhiji welcomed the idea. . . . As Agents they had been asked, why Gandhiji who talked of democracy should have been party to the appointment of single persons to run the work of Province instead of the originally formed committees."

[2] *Vide* "Kasturba Smarak Trust", pp. 341-2.

place in society. If they succeeded in teaching them the correct way of life, they would have taught them all they needed. Today they were steeped in the Stygian darkness of ignorance and superstition. With the removal of that, women would make freedom worth while.

He cited the good example of Kanu Gandhi who had said that in his camp, soon to be started, it would be his aim to teach the students how to battle against famine by tilling the ground, scavenging, cooking, bringing their own expenses with them, so that they need not be a liability on anyone. Women have to work in famine areas with this ideal. It is ours to mitigate, not to aggravate the burden.

Asked as to what work he would lay most emphasis on, so far as women were concerned, Gandhiji felt that sanitation and hygiene, owing to the lack of knowledge of which our people suffered so greatly, should take first place. Then there were evil customs which had to go, the useless expenditure on jewellery; and he made everyone laugh by his graphic description of a much bejewelled woman patient with a huge nose ring, earrings, necklace, bracelets and anklets complete who had visited him as a patient that very morning! It was hard to know what should come first. "Really all work in its own place is of equal importance." There is the very great necessity of teaching women the care and upbringing of children, discipline in their own lives in every department including eating. He placed maternity almost last in comparison with the above mentioned. But nothing could be achieved without friendship with the women. That was the first and basic desideratum.

The pay of workers had caused much discussion. For Gandhiji it was the spirit of the worker that meant everything. Inasmuch as the labourer was worthy of his hire, a decent living wage must be paid; but it was the work and not the pay that should attract.

Were the women to be given the wheel as a revolutionary weapon as, he had said it was, in the hands of a Jawaharlal? The answer was 'No'. How could it be such in the hands of an ignorant woman? But if every woman in India span, then a silent revolution would certainly be created of which a Jawaharlal could make full use. Unless steam generated was put to proper use, the engine would not run and the person generating the steam might himself be scalded by it even unto death.

Amongst the members were some staunch feminists who were anxious for women alone to run the show. To them Gandhiji said that the men who were there were serving the memory of one who was instinctively a village woman. Long before he himself had taken to village life as being the ideal life for service, Kasturba had shown her preference for it. Her heart was in Phœnix even in the far off South African days when he himself worked in a town. The men who were honouring her memory were only serving until such time as women were ready to take their place.

I am the only one whom you may find it hard to get rid of, for I have always counted myself as a woman. I believe, I know your sex and your needs better than you do yourselves.

He said, the Kasturba Trust would have even a bigger place in national service when freedom was ours than it had today. For all would go to the winds, if women were not properly trained. He hoped that every worker in the Trust would have a great deal to give to the new government.

But we have got to generate that strength within us. We may not be frightened of making mistakes. Man is born to make mistakes, but the great thing is to see our mistakes and learn from them. We should magnify our own errors so as to be deterred from falling into them again. Those who imagine that they never make mistakes are to be feared.

He agreed with one of the members when she said that it was a great tragedy that the uplift of women had to be an item on the constructive programme. "Have we yet to find ourselves?" she asked. The reply was:

Yes, indeed, and to where better can you find yourselves than by being true to the highest traditions of Indian women by serving your unhappy sisters today?[1]

One worker asked that while he did not advocate their taking any part in politics, what would he advise them to do in case of violent outbreaks?

There is no question of any of you keeping aloof from the fiery furnace, should such ever come your way. I shall not shed a tear; I shall rejoice to hear, if any or all of you are found to have laid down your lives in trying to quell the disturbance. To be killed but never to kill is the law that governs us, and women should surely excel in this field.

Harijan, 14-4-1946 and 28-4-1946

392. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 29, 1946

CHI. KAKA,

. . . .[2] I do not know that a cheque for the Trust has been received. If Valji Lakhamsi has resigned, I see no harm in Mangaldas[3] taking his place. I should like to talk over this matter

[1] What follows is extracted from Amrit Kaur's "The Lesson of the Cross" published on April 28, 1946.

[2] Omission as in the source

[3] Mangaldas M. Pakvasa

with Mangaldas and Sardar when I go to Bombay on the 31st. But it is possible that under heavy pressure of other work, I may not be able to do so. You should, therefore, settle the matter through correspondence. If I am able to settle it, I will write to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10969

393. NATURE CURE PRESCRIPTIONS-II

URULI[-KANCHAN],
[On or before] *March* [*30*,][1] *1946*

SUBHADRABAI (the female child's mother)

Does she pass stools? She should keep the girl in the sun after covering her head; mud-poultice on the stomach. The girl should be given *mosambi*-juice. She should seat the girl on a stool in lukewarm water. This will be enough to ensure a clear motion. If she does not have a clean motion in spite of all this, she should be treated with the syringe. But then all this is for you people to do.

PARU (girl)

Sun-bath, hip-bath, friction-bath. Only boiled water and butter-milk to drink. Mud-poultices.

MANU (girl)

Sun-bath, steam-bath, cold water bath, mud-poultices. Milk and fruit-juice mixture for diet.

SADASHIV

May take tomato-juice; besides that milk, and nothing else. Sun-bath, hip-bath and friction-bath.

Now the rest may come tomorrow so that we can give the patients the baths.

AJI (girl)

Fruit-juices, sun-bath, hip-bath and friction-bath. Her clothes are very dirty.

KONDIBA/DHONDIBA

The most effective treatment for rickets is sun-bath and taking milk mixed with fruit-juices.

[1] Gandhiji left Uruli-Kanchan on this date.

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SHRIPAD

He must get himself admitted to the hospital. If he is willing and wants to have a note, he may go with one. There is no other remedy for hernia. A strap-belt can also be worn. If he does not want to do all this, he should surrender to Rama and rest content.

PARVATI

Only *mosambi*-juice. Hip-bath and friction-bath; mud-pack on the abdomen, regular sun-bath. If she does this much, she is bound to recover. In any case she should realize the greatness of Ramanama.

JAI (or) . . .[1]

Advised to take light sun-bath for some minutes, then in the shade and then again in the sun. She should do this for an hour. She should be given fruit-juices mixed with water. The water should be boiled. She should be regularly bathed to keep her clean.

SADASHIV

Advised to take milk mixed with fruit-juices. Sun-bath only in the nude; the head must always be covered. Banana or papaya leaves can also be put on the head.[2]

Should sit in the sun until he perspires. Does he take the baths? When he feels very hot after sitting in the sun, he should wipe his body with a clean piece of cloth soaked in cold water.

Today he should also be shown how to take a hip-bath.

Yes, we should keep him in the sun. He is to be given hip-bath.

He is also to be given hip-bath.

Can he see at the moment? If he takes a diet free from chillies, takes fruit, and hip-bath and friction-bath, he is likely to be all right.

Does he pass stools? What is he fed? How come, breast-feeding at this age? How old is he? How can a two year old child be allowed to suckle? He should be given only fruit-juice. He needs an enema, which can be done only here. Make the necessary arrangements. Joshi should see to all this. And, in the beginning, he should be given fruit-juice only. And both of them should be given hip-bath. The girl is very dirty. She should take friction-bath and sit in the sun reciting Ramanama.

[1] The name is illegible.

[2] What follows is 'Instructions for Various Patients'.

How many old patients are there? How many of them were asked yesterday to take the baths? They should be given the baths. The girls are as good as women. They may be treated by Prabhavati or Sushilabehn, and the men by Joshiji. What is the first woman's complaint? What has she tied to her abdomen? In the first place she should not gird up so tight. She should lie prostrate and naked in a solitary place. She should give up eating bread, and subsist on milk and fruit. Does she pass stools? What does she do? With whom has she come? Does she have anyone at home?

I hope we have a measure.

In that case you should examine closely. Send Dhirubhai for the massage.

Send for Dhirubhai also.

All this should be recorded. Ask him what his name is and what his complaint is. What does he eat? Then ask him to lie down in the sun completely nude. He should take fruit-juice only; he should sit in hot water and then in cool water and should continue this practice till he feels better. If he does not pass stools regularly, he should be treated with the syringe. For this, we shall send somebody to his place. If he will do this much regularly, the disease would be cured and then he should practise repetition of Ramanama with faith.

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 7, between pp. 96 and 97

394. INSTRUCTIONS FOR NATURE CURE CLINIC, URULI-KANCHAN

[On or before] *March* [*30*,][1] *1946*

1. All those who have come to stay should do so in a spirit of service. They should not be a burden on anybody.

2. Manibhai will be in charge of general administration. He will be the Manager.

3. Dr. Bhagwat will be the Chief Medical Instructor. Other instructors will work under his direction.

4. The treatment is to be limited to sun-bath, hip-bath, friction-bath, Kuhne-bath, mud-poultice, massage, fomentation with hot water.

[1] Gandhiji left Uruli-Kanchan on this date.

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5. Ramanama is the king of all treatments. It should be proved by our conduct. The evening prayer should be held in public even if very few attend it.

6. All should rise at 4 a. m., and the prayer should be held at 4.30 a.m. All should learn the correct pronunciation and proper rhythm. All should learn Hindustani through both the scripts, and should acquire a working knowledge of Marathi.

7. All should maintain diary and give in it their hourly programme.

8. Manibhai should keep account of every pie.

9. Hip-baths should be readily available to all. The tub should be washed with water and hot ashes after every use. A clean brush should be used for scrubbing with the ashes.

10. All kitchen work and cleaning should be done by the inmates themselves, and not with the help of the servants. The food should be the simplest possible. In this matter everyone should be guided by Bhagwat.

11. From tomorrow we have to bear all the expenses. Do not expect anything gratis from anyone.

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 7, between pp. 96 and 97

395. QUESTION BOX

Q. Horse racing is going on in many important cities. It is alike a lure for high and low, rich and poor, and it leads to moral degradation and, in some cases, penury. Many Princes spend lakhs of their people's money on buying race horses. What steps should our new governments take to check this evil ?

A. There is no doubt whatsoever about the evil. The good it is supposed to do is extremely doubtful. And, at this time of growing distress in the country, it is criminal. The new national governments can do a great deal to check the evil. But let us recognize their limitations. Being popular, i.e., people's governments, they will never be able to go far in advance of popular opinion. That is specially a function belonging to reformers. But these governments can certainly, by their own example, rob the evil of the stamp of fashion that the bureaucracy has set upon it even to the point of wasting public money on the luxury. The Princes will copy the example of good manners that the national governments may set.

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Q. We find that the Congress is reluctant to select women representatives on a large scale for elective bodies. It is surely just and necessary that more women are taken into the various bodies. How would you deal with the question ?

A. I am not enamoured of equality or any other proportion in such matters. Merit should be the only test. Seeing, however, that it has been the custom to decry women, the contrary custom should be to prefer women, merit being equal, to men even if the preference should result in men being entirely displaced by women. It would be a dangerous thing to insist on membership on the ground merely of sex. Women and for that matter any group should disdain patronage. They should seek justice, never favours. Therefore the proper thing is for women as indeed for men to advance the spread not of English or Western education among them, but such education on general lines through their provincial languages as will fit them for the numerous duties of citizenship. For men to take a lead in this much-needed reform would be not a matter of favour but a simple act of belated justice due to women.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 30, 1946
Harijan, 7-4-1946

396. HINDUSTANI[1]

I have no doubt in my mind that Hindustani, i. e., a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu, is the national language. But I have not yet been able to prove this in my own writings or speech. Let not readers of *Harijan Sevak*, however, be irritated. Perhaps it is as well that the attempt to create a national language has come into the hands of an inadept. After all the general mass of people come in this category. It will be through the efforts of all such that linguistic pundits will be enabled to create the proper mixture, easily understood by all. If readers of *Harijan Sevak* will keep on pointing out mistakes in language, it will help the journal to create and maintain a proper style. It will be the aim of *Harijan Sevak* to make its language sweet to the ear and easily understandable to every Indian. A language which is not generally understood is useless.

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "*from Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously from the source.

It is unreal, if it cannot serve its purpose. All attempts at having a forced language have proved futile.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 30, 1946
Harijan, 7-4-1946

397. IS NETAJI ALIVE?[1]

Some years ago it was announced[2] in the newspapers that Subhas Chandra Bose had died. I believed the report. Later the news was proved to have been incorrect. Since then I have had a feeling that Netaji could not leave us until his dream of swaraj had been fulfilled. To lend strength to this feeling was the knowledge of Netaji's great ability to hoodwink his enemies and even the world for the sake of his cherished goal. These were the only reasons for my belief that he was alive.

I have not the ability for foretelling the future. I have no strength except what comes from insistence on truth. Non-violence too springs from the same insistence. God alone knows absolute truth. Therefore I have often said, Truth is God. It follows that man, a finite being, cannot know absolute truth. Therefore I had nothing but my instinct to tell me that Netaji was alive. No reliance can be placed on such unsupported feeling.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence to counteract the feeling. The British Government is party to that evidence. Capt. Habibur Rahman has said, he was present at the time of Netaji's death and has brought back his charred wrist watch. Another of his companions, Shri Iyer, met and told me that my instinct was wrong and I should abandon the feeling that Subhas Chandra was alive. In the face of these proofs I appeal to everyone to forget what I have said[3] and, believing in the evidence before them, reconcile themselves to the fact that Netaji has left us. All man's ingenuity is as nothing before the might of the One God. He alone is Truth and nothing else stands.

URULI[-KANCHAN], March 30, 1946
Harijan, 7-4-1946

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.
[2] In March 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXV.
[3] *Vide* footnote on p. 246.

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398. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

URULI [-KANCHAN],
March 30, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I got your letter.

The mistake is grave enough. How can such work be assigned to the poor labourers? If they pay the fine, understanding its implication, you should accept it. But then it ceases to be a fine. We will not be benefited, if they pay it per force. Tell them that, if they do it again, they will have to go. Take what I say as a suggestion from me, and do what you all think reasonable. Do not exert yourself beyond your strength.

You may, if you want, ask for money from home. I find nothing wrong in it. But you are not duty bound to do so. In this matter, too, do what you think your dharma is. We shall improve only by making mistakes.

Have you seen what Bhansali says? Ask him. See the enclosed letter.

I understand what you say about Hoshiari. It is good that Pushpa[1] has taken over the management.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4549

399. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, URULI-KANCHAN

March 30, 1946

Before his departure from Uruli, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted the villagers of Uruli to lead a clean, healthy life and turn the village into a model village. He also stressed the importance of spinning, and advised the villagers to take to it.

[1] Pushpa N. Naik

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He referred to his activities in the village during his nine days' stay there and hoped that the villagers would follow the instructions he had given them.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 31-3-1946

400. KASTURBA SMARAK TRUST

There were two meetings at Uruli-Kanchan: on the 28th, 29th and 30th March; one of the Agents[2] of this Trust and the other of the Executive. The meeting of the Agents was the first of its kind. The Agents had many interesting questions. Why could not the Agents be members of the legislatures? The obvious answer is that, if they are to do justice to their work, they should have no time for legislative duties. The decisive reason is that the villagers will have a wrong example set to them, if they have members of legislatures to look up to.

Whatever the sphere of work they choose, they should not be non-entities. It should be remembered that the Agents have displaced the committees that were appointed for the last year. If they cover the whole Province, they have their work cut out from them. If they cannot cope with it, they have to run model *shibirs*[3] in one or more places to prepare women workers for villages. These may be teachers, nurses, spinners, weavers, sanitarians, etc. Work by women among women in the villages of India is an unbeaten track. Men are hardly fit for it. But the women have so long remained without experiences of such work that it is difficult, especially in the initial stages. If the Agents attempt at intensity and confine their activity to certain centres, they will find the work to be simple and instructive.

Then they have their advisers. They are not meant to be ornamental. Their advice should always be at the disposal of the Agents. If they are well-chosen, they must prove towers of strength to the Agents in their difficult task.

The experiment of having women only as Agents is new. It can only succeed if they are wisely guided by the Centre and

[1] The report concluded: "The public of Uruli promised Gandhiji a sum of Rs. 10,000 for opening a nature cure clinic in their village. . . . A complement of three doctors and assistants was stationed at Uruli under Gandhiji's instructions to carry on the work."

[2] *Vide* pp. 331-3.

[3] Camps

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ably advised by the advisers. Much as it is to be wished that they too were women, the fear is that in the beginning they will be mostly men. The advisers should never aspire to be more than such and never be less. It should be their proud privilege to give the Agents their advice whenever it is sought. The members of the defunct committees, it is hoped, will never feel that they have been displaced for any other reason save the patent and potent one of manning the organization with women from top to bottom. The secret of success in this as in any other organization lies in the spirit of service actuating its every limb and self being subordinated to the organization.

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI, March 31, 1946
Harijan, 7-4-1946

401. TEN SUGGESTIONS WORTH CONSIDERING

A worker has made some suggestions for meeting the threatened calamity. I give them below with only some minor changes. Possibly some of the suggestions might have been made earlier in one form or the other. I have not taken that into consideration. The best of suggestions can be misused by a dishonest person. Let us hope that the scorching heat of the Holi fire will burn out the impurities in all of us.

1. There should be a strict and impartial machinery to prevent the removal of even a single grain or a blade of grass unless enough stock of foodgrains and fodder is reserved for the requirement of the entire rural population including the cattle and livestock for the whole year.

2. There should be no difference between the purchase and the sale prices of foodgrains. The sale prices should be kept on par with the purchase prices. The overhead charges should be borne by the Government alone.

3. Foodgrains should be made easily available in every locality at controlled prices. There should be no need for futile treks of five to seven miles and returning with empty hands as at present.

4. Arrangements should be made to provide work according to one's capacity and to pay remuneration in the form of foodgrains and or clothes as the case may be to those who do not have necessary cash to purchase them.

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5. The pay of all categories of low-paid employees should be raised to meet the cost of living without waiting for any demands or agitations, but payment may be made in the form of food-grains.

6. Items of current expenditures in the budget should be pruned to provide sustenance to the people. Cuts in the salaries of highly paid officials should be introduced, if necessary.

7. The post-war schemes or other such projects could be easily suspended till the crisis blows over.

8. It should be so planned that public donations flow into a central pool from where they are canalized for combating starvation and also for increasing food production.

9. It should be considered the most sacred duty of a Government to strive sincerely to provide livelihood to the people in some form or the other.

10. Eating-houses or meal-counters should be introduced where a person without any discrimination of caste and creed can get a meal at the lowest cost or by offering some sort of labour instead.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 31-3-1946

402. LETTER TO SEVAGRAM CAMP INMATES

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1946

BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN SEVAGRAM CAMP,

Chi. Kanu Gandhi gives me all the news. I do hope that all inmates of the Camp will produce plenty of foodstuff in this period of emergency.

And I hope they will all learn other things as well.

Blessings from
BAPU

THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SEVAGRAM CAMP

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

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403. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

ON THE TRAIN,
April 1, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read your letter. I do not think you can do after a month what you are unable to do today. And what is that—whether you two can live together without seeking sexual pleasure? If you cannot, it means you do hanker after it in your mind, and doing that while refraining from physical gratification can do harm.

It is for your own sake that I have not given you specific work. Your letter itself shows that you are not ready for such work. But you know well enough that there is work you can do. Go through all [the language editions of] *Harijan* carefully and note the errors in the copies themselves. Also translate the English articles into Hindustani and show me; and the Gujarati into Hindustani. Master the Urdu script. Have you done any of these things? If not, why not? But never mind that; correct your error and start again. Do whichever of the things mentioned above you have failed to do.

Start working instead of thinking. From that you will learn the art of thinking.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8415. Also C. W. 5614. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* also the following two items.

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404. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[1]

[April 1, 1946][2]

Read your letter again. I shall be happy to discover that I have misunderstood you. I have told you that I have permanent work for you. But what about poor Kanchan?

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8426. Also C. W. 5616. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

405. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[*April 1, 1946*][3]

If you agree that your letter lends itself to the meaning I have read in it, that is enough. Do not think again now. The best thing to do is to start working.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8426. Also C. W. 5612. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

406. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR[4]

[On the Train],
April 1, 1946

BAPA,

I went through Subbalakshmi's[5] letter. It is a nice letter, and I am returning it. Write to her that the appointment of another woman as Agent[6] should not stop her from doing her own

[1] & [2] The letter is written on a note dated April 1, 1946, by the addressee in which he protested that, contrary to Gandhiji's interpretation (*vide* the preceding item), an earlier letter from him did not suggest that his mind dwelt on sex and that he was not prepared to take up permanent work.

[3] The letter is written below the addressee's note of April 1, 1946. *Vide* also the preceding two items.

[4] The letter is written in Devanagari.

[5] A well-known social worker; *vide* also p. 349.

[6] Of Kasturba National Memorial Trust

work. Only one person could be Agent, whereas there could be thousands of workers. Since this is a new experiment, she should utilize her intelligence as well as her other qualities as much as she can. That will show her real zest. Let her train the girls as she pleases. She should see Soundaram[1] and help her as best as she can. I shall also write[2] to her, if I remember. I am writing this while I am approaching Delhi.

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
BOMBAY

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

407. LETTER TO DR. SOUNDARAM G. RAMACHANDRAN

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI,
April 1, 1946

CHI. SOUNDARAM,

You have been appointed Agent. It will be your duty to meet Subbalakshmi. Take her help, and see Gopalaswami[3] too. It is not that your advisory committee should be composed of men only, you can take women as well. The committee should be competent to advise you. It is not necessary that there must be ten members; you can have a smaller number. To be in harmony with all is a sign of ahimsa.

Blessings from
BAPU

SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN
MADRAS

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

[1] Dr. Soundaram, wife of G. Ramachandran
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] L. N. Gopalaswami

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408. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI[1]

ON THE TRAIN,
April 1, 1946

CHI. KANAIYO,

I have your letter. I have already written[2] this Monday what you have asked for. I wrote it last evening.

Abha remains cheerful these days. She is keeping a diary and also doing her Urdu. And she is of course immersed in my service and finds pleasure in it. I have asked her to write, to you also, and she does. Don't hesitate to write, if you want anything to be conveyed to her.

May your work be worthy of you, and may you always have a sturdy physique, and may you deserve the title of Hanuman ever more.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. KANHAIYALAL GANDHI (KANUBHAI)
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

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

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari.

[2] The addressee was conducting a camp for the Sevagram Ashram inmates, and Gandhiji used to write a few words for the campers every Monday; *vide* p. 343.

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409. LETTER TO LAKSHMI NARAYAN[1]

ON THE TRAIN,
April 1, 194[6][2]

CHI. LAKSHMI BABU,

What is this about Devdoot? Suchetabehn's statement seems straightforward. And now he has to work under Priyamvadabehn. Bhai Devdoot must withdraw the language he has used, and he should do what Priyamvadabehn says and in the manner she suggests. If he cannot, he should quit.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMI NARAYAN
SECRETARY, BIHAR CHARKHA SANGH
MADHUBANI (DARBHANGA), BIHAR

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

410. LETTER TO DEVDOOT VIDYARTHI[3]

April 1, 194[6][4]

BHAI DEVDOOT,

There was considerable discussion in the Working Committee about you. Now Priyamvadabehn is in charge of the whole work. It is, therefore, your duty to co-operate with her loyally and sincerely. It is possible that you are more capable than her. But if we think along this line, women will never rise. Whatever it is, while under a single management it is not right for anyone to hold such an opinion about oneself.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DEVDOOT VIDYARTHI
KASTURBA [GANDHI NATIONAL] MEMORIAL TRUST CAMP
MADHUBANI (DARBHANGA), BIHAR

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

[1-4] The two items are found among the papers and the diary for 1946; the year, however, is "1945".

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411. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

ON THE TRAIN,
April 1, 1946

BHAI GANESAN,

I got your long letter. Somehow I cannot bring myself to believe [what you say about] your work. Only when you show me some results, would I be satisfied. May I hope you will not repeat your mistakes?

When will you write in Hindustani ?

Have you learnt both the scripts?

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. S. GANESAN
8 PYCROFTS ROAD
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

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

412. LETTER TO R. S. SUBBALAKSHMI

DELHI,
[*April*][1] *1, 1946*

DEAR SUBBALAKSHMI,

I have read your letter to Shri Bapa. He will have told you about the appointment by the Committee of Dr. Mrs. G. Ramachandran as Agent. This should not upset your plan of service in the wider field. You should go on with your work in conjunction with and under instructions from her, since as many women workers as possible are needed for the work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SISTER R. S. SUBBALAKSHMI, B.A.,B.T.
SHRI VIDYA COLONY
33 EDWARD ELIOTS ROAD
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The source, however, has "March".

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413. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 1, 1946

Untouchability is the blackest spot on Hinduism, and the sooner it is wiped out the better. I have of late been saying that the Hindus have to become *Ati Shudras* not merely in name but in thought, word and deed. For that token scavenging is not enough. I have, therefore, decided that I must go and actually live among Harijans in Harijan quarters.

I, however, do not delude myself with the belief that by staying here I am sharing the actual life with the Harijans. I have seen some Harijan quarters, and the squalor, the dirt and the filth in the midst of which the Harijans live. I know too that this place has been brightened up. Indeed I feel embarrassed by the amenities that have been provided here by Seth Birla for me and my party. My coming to stay here, I hope, is my first step, not the last. It is my constant prayer, and I look forward to the day, when I would actually go and stay in a Harijan hut and partake of the food they may provide me there. In the mean time, it gives me some satisfaction to be able to live in this dharmashala surrounded by Harijan dwellings on all sides.

How can I feel angry with them ?[2] I can quite understand their pent up resentment at the way in which they have been treated by the so-called *Savarnas*. They might even want to wreak vengeance.

There is such a glaring contradiction between our profession and practice. They have a right to feel impatient. I can only plead with them to bear with the Hindu society. An age-old evil cannot be eradicated in a day, I know; it has to go or Hinduism must perish. In the mean time the least expiation that we can

[1] The speech is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". According to a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2-4-1946, from which the opening sentence is reproduced, the meeting was held in the Valmiki Temple compound adjoining Gandhiji's residence in Harijan Colony. Among those present was Sir Stafford Cripps, who occupied a chair on the dais, and he accompanied Gandhiji to his room at the end of the prayers.

[2] Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji was referring to "a hostile demonstration which a certain section of the Harijans had tried to stage on his arrival".

make is to share with the Harijans their disabilities and to deny ourselves the privilege which the latter cannot share. The present conditions under which they live should be intolerable even for a day to a decent-minded person. I pray for the time when the condition of life, as regards sanitation, cleanliness, etc., in Harijan quarters will be such that even a person like myself might he able to go and stay there without any compunction.

Gandhiji appealed that no one should come to the prayer gatherings merely for the sake of *darshan*. Only those should come who were earnest about prayer.[1]

Harijan, 14-4-1946; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2-4-1946

414. NOTE TO MANIBEHN PATEL

VALMIKI MANDIR, NEW DELHI,
[After *April 1, 1946*][2]

The job of making copies was entrusted to Kanu. I had only asked you to get one made by him. Since you have made the copy, I shall approve it and forward it. But there is a defect in it. There must always be a margin. If you observe the letters that we daily received, you will see that every well-written letter has a margin. You need not make another copy now. This is only for future guidance. I have merely drawn your attention to it.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 148

[1] According to Pyarelal, however, "the crowd continued to swell daily" and the venue of prayer meeting "had soon to be shifted to the spacious maidan outside Ajmeri Gate".

[2] The source has "After 1945", but Gandhiji was in Valmiki Mandir, New Delhi, from April 1, 1946.

415. INTERVIEW TO SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION[1]

DELHI,
[After *April 1, 1946*][2]

Gandhiji remarked on the presence of divisions among them. They admitted divisions but argued that they were there even in Gandhiji's time.

GANDHIJI: The difference between then and now is this: that in those days the black-legs became isolated after a time, and it was possible to hold monster meetings everywhere. Parsi Rustomji went among the indentured labourers and, in the final struggle, they rose like one man. Repeat that history today, and you will win. Do not repeat it, and you will fail. Do you command the sympathy and support of all the interests? Will the mercantile community back you?

SORABJI: The mercantile community was not with us even then.

But we had Cachalia[3]. If you have one Cachalia amongst you, the whole of the mercantile community will be covered.

S. Suppose no merchant comes forward. Is not a struggle possible then?

G. It will then take a different turn and in the end the mercantile community will be swept out of existence.

A MEMBER: We are a difficult community at times.

ANOTHER MEMBER: And quarrelsome too.

G. I know, I know. The South Africa of today is not far different from the South Africa that I have known. In the first article I wrote for the *Indian Opinion* I said that if after all there was one true man in South Africa, he will cover all. He will build up the whole structure from within. 'Amidst a whole heap of bad coins,' I wrote, 'if there is one true sovereign, the heap will be

[1] This appeared under the title "With the South African Delegation" by Pyarelal, who explains that the deputationists headed by Sorabji Rustomji, son of Parsi Rustomji who was a leading merchant of Natal and close associate of Gandhiji, "sought Gandhiji's advice for the starting of successful satyagraha".

[2] According to Pyarelal, the delegation met Gandhiji in Harijan Colony where he arrived on April 1, 1946.

[3] A. M. Cachalia

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worth that one sovereign and no more.' If you produce one civil resister of merit, he will pull things through. Do not start the struggle, therefore, unless you have that stuff. Manage to exist you will anyhow. But that should not satisfy you. You have to live as a self-respecting community with an equal status. Indians have to make good that position by showing the real stuff.

The discussion then turned on the strategy of the proposed satyagraha. Gandhiji was definitely opposed to sitting in prohibited seats in trains and railway carriages by way of satyagraha. Satyagraha should be on a clear, unequivocal and impersonal issue and capable of taking thousands in its fold. . . .

Gandhiji mentioned how he had refused to send a message for a meeting of the West Africa Federation that was held some time back in London, because they conceived of a struggle after the way of Europe. He added:

Probably theirs is not the way of non-violence. One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their white oppressors, unless someone presents to them the weapon of satyagraha.

A MEMBER: You have said, we should associate with Zulus and Bantus. Does it not mean joining them in a common anti-white front?

GANDHIJI: Yes, I have said that we should associate with Zulus, Bantus, etc. It means that you take them under your wing when you have developed that power of non-violence. It will be good, if you fire them with the spirit of non-violence. You will be their saviour. But if you allow yourselves to be overwhelmed and swept off your feet, it will be their and your ruin. Their slogan today is no longer merely 'Asia for the Asiatics' or 'Africa for the Africans' but the unity of all the exploited races of the earth. On India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races. She won't be able to bear that burden today, if non-violence does not permeate us more than [what it is] today. I have been trying to fit ourselves for that mission by giving a wider bend to our struggle. India will become a torch-bearer to the oppressed and exploited races, only if she can vindicate the principle of non-violence in her own case, not jettison it as soon as independence of foreign control is achieved.

ANOTHER MEMBER: Race consciousness is arising all over South Africa. We Indians take advantage of the Bantus. We send our children to Native colleges. But we are ashamed to call ourselves Natives. They feel we are arrogant and aloof. We do not do enough to make an adequate return for what we have got from them. They are getting resentful and the white man encourages and promotes that feeling to widen the gulf.

G. It will be an evil day for you, if he succeeds. The trouble is that you are all worshippers of the golden calf.

CHRISTOPHER: Having never seen it, how can we worship it?

G. Worshipping is different from seeing. Don't we worship God without seeing Him?

The delegation then asked, if a leader could be sent from India to organize and lead them.

Gandhiji, in reply, told them that a leader would have to arise from among them. He hoped that they would throw up one in due time. He described to them how he had been arguing with his son Manilal to train up his children for the task. After they had finished their education in India, he hoped, they would go back and settle down in South Africa and serve the Indian community. Apropos the training that would equip South Africa born Indian children for service, he mentioned how he had refused to send his own children to Loveday and Fort Hare.

Harijan, 19-5-1946

416. LETTER TO LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

VALMIKI MANDIR, READING ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
April 2, 1946

DEAR LORD LAWRENCE,

Our mutual friend Sudhir Ghosh tells me[1] that you would like me to reduce to writing the points I told him to discuss informally with you and Sir Stafford.

One is universal among all independence-minded people, as distinguished from the dumb millions, whether Congressmen or other. It is the immediate release of *political* prisoners irrespective of the charge of violence or non-violence. They cannot be a danger to the State *now* that the necessity for independence has become common cause. It seems to be ridiculous to keep, say Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia, both learned and cultured men of whom any society would be proud, nor is there any occasion for treating any person as an underground worker. To leave the question of discharge for disposal by the incoming national government would be a step no one will understand or appreciate. Independence will lose its grace.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 299.

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The other affects the masses. I refer to the salt tax. As a means of raising revenue, it is insignificant. As a means of harassing the masses, it is a measure of which the mischief is indescribable. The masses will hardly appreciate independence, if the burden of the salt monopoly continues to affect them. I must not weary you with argument. I mention the two measures as a preparation of the Indian mind for independence. They will produce a psychological effect.

I may mention that I discussed both the measures in a different setting with Mr. Casey[1], and I am now in correspondence with the present Governor of Bengal. I may add that I have today heard from Mr. Abell in regard to the salt tax that "the Government do not find themselves able to accept the suggestion."[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON'BLE LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 156-7

417. *SELF-SUFFICIENCY* v. *COMMERCIAL KHADI*[3]

We are ourselves responsible for the creation of this problem. We did not know the science of khadi. We do not know it fully even now. Therefore, like children, we stumble again and again and thereby learn to walk. In order that we may not fall so as never to rise again, we made use of a go-cart and are still using it. Having realized this, the A. I. S. A. has to make a tremendous effort to vindicate its existence or else be wiped out. By A. I. S. A. is meant all its workers and includes even the spinners. It must be borne in mind that to make the spinners self-reliant and through their activity to achieve India's freedom is, and ought to be, the Association's goal. That we may not reach that goal should not cause undue worry. It is enough for us to know that it is the correct goal and, having started the activity,

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXII, pp. 347, 381, 430-1.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Lord Wavell", pp. 374-5.
[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

we have to correct our mistakes and go forward. That is the essence of the scientific method. No science has dropped from the skies in a perfect form. All sciences develop and are built up through experience. Perfection is not an attribute of science. Absolute perfection is not possible either for man or for the science that he creates. For example, astronomy is continually progressing. Many mistakes have been made and corrected. The process still continues. The same may be said of the science of khadi.

If this is intelligently understood and fearlessly acted upon, replies to the questions presented from time to time become easy. The spinners must have full knowledge of all the processes from the beginning to the end, right up to weaving. In this lies the way to swaraj. Up till now, knowingly or unknowingly, we have been producing khadi solely for purposes of commerce. But this too has always been linked with the ideal of swaraj. Had it not been so, even commercial khadi would have failed, and most probably khadi for swaraj would have remained a mere dream.

Commercial khadi has been, and still is, our go-cart, so to speak. To the spinner to have her cotton carded by others has been, and still is, an additional prop. Only as we progressively give up these props, will we bring into being khadi for swaraj. Those branches where commercial khadi is being produced and carding carried on as an independent activity should, if possible, be closed down. Life is, however, made up of compromises. Therefore let it be said that the props should be given up as quickly as possible. Those who have faith and knowledge will be the first to do so. Where sincere and earnest efforts are made, the question of competition should not arise.

One aspect of the present situation needs attention. Those who spin for their livelihood will willingly learn the new processes because thereby their earning capacity will increase. Today this section is diminishing because other and easier sources of income are open to them. For them it is not a moral question. They take what is easiest as, for example, collection of leaves for making *bidis*. It is our duty to impart true knowledge to them and help them up the steep road to swaraj and make them healthy and hardy in the process of climbing. If we cannot do this, we shall deservedly lose our existence. Therefore we can only have dealings with the man or woman who spins with understanding.

Another thing that has to be remembered is that spinning is now one of the recognized avocations and will, therefore, continue.

So we need not worry about the production of commercial khadi. Whatever difficulties may arise from the above have to be overcome by the workers. To ask whether this or that comes within this framework is a sign of mental laziness and ignorance. He who cannot draw deductions cannot be said to know geometry. The same is true of all sciences.

NEW DELHI, April 3, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

418. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

NEW DELHI,
April 3, 1946

CHI. NARAHARI,

I return herewith Chunilal's letter and your draft reply. I have written an article[1] based on them. But I see no harm in your reply. You may, therefore, send it to Chunibhai. But I do not wish that you should publish it in *Khadi Jagat*. You should elaborate further my line of reasoning. If, however, you yourself feel that Chunibhai's letter and your reply ought to be published, by all means publish them. I do not like them because I smell in them an attitude of dependence* on others. Instead of silent workers seeking one another's guidance even in theoretical matters, it is better that they make mistakes and learn from them.

A copy of the article is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

*By 'dependence' here understand intellectual dependence.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9140

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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419. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 3, 1946

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter is bad. You should not spend a sleepless night to write such a letter in the morning. What can you have to do with the Qutub Minar or the Assembly Hall? What is there to be seen in them? What a change from Sevagram to Assembly Hall? You may, of course, visit any place you like. I am only stating my own view.

If you wish to stay with me, you should bear with me and accept me as I am. I have not kept you chained. I do not look upon you as a child, but you behave like one. Stop writing and stop discussing and go on silently doing work and work and nothing but work and that in a spirit of service or *yajna*. So many things are waiting to be done and you are tempted to go and see idle shows. Inspect the houses of Harijans, meet all residents of Harijan localities, do carding, *punai*[1], *tunai*[2], spinning, weaving, go through the language editions of *Harijan* and correct the mistakes in them, improve your Urdu, teach Abha, Gita, Prabha, etc., improve your temper, learn the *Gita* and master Sanskrit. He who wants to serve will find no lack of jobs. Now do as the good Lord prompts you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8394. Also C. W. 7211. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

[1] & [2] Methods of carding without the help of a carding-bow

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420. A NOTE

NEW DELHI,
April 3, 1946

I love all activities connected with village industries, but I have learnt from experience that the primary aim of such exhibitions should be educative, and at present it is necessary to draw special attention to such problems as to how the villagers may produce and consume their own khadi and what foodstuff they may produce in their villages for their own consumption.

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

421. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 3, 1946

Gandhiji dwelt at length on the potency of mass prayers. He said, it gave him immense pleasure to see large multitudes of people joining mass prayers, which, he added, created strength among the people. He paid a tribute to the people of Assam, who, in their thousands, joined in the music at his daily prayers and responded to the rhythm of the *Ramdhun*. Gandhiji thought that the Assamese had a natural gift for understanding the meaning of the *Ramdhun*.

Giving his concept of Rama, Gandhiji said that the Rama to whom his prayers were addressed was not the Rama described in history as the son of Dasaratha. He emphasized that Rama, Allah and God are the same. The word Rama attracted millions of Hindus, and Allah attracted the Muslims. He invited the people belonging to all faiths to join his prayers.

He congratulated the huge gathering on maintaining pin-drop silence throughout the prayers.

Referring to the talks[2] he and the other leaders were having with the Cabinet Mission, Mahatmaji said:

If you are anxious to contribute towards the success of these talks, I have a suggestion for you. We have been under foreign domination for many years. You must all pray to God to deliver us

[1] Held on Ramlila Grounds

[2] For a note on the interview, *vide* Appendix XV.

from political bondage. God alone can help us. Nobody else can help, neither you nor Englishmen. Let us pray to God to guide our talks and grant wisdom to all those participating in them, including the members of the Mission for carrying the talks to a successful termination. It is essential at this stage to invoke the help of God. We want the attainment of freedom by peaceful means. God will be our guide and witness in our efforts towards that end.

It is unmanly to disbelieve the Cabinet Mission. We must believe that the Mission has come in good faith. They will not betray us. May God give them and us wisdom, and may He be with us in this important task.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 4-4-1946

422. ADVICE TO BHANGIS[2]

NEW DELHI,
April 3, 1946

Gandhiji said that it would be better, if the money they wanted to spend on entertaining him were spent on educating a Harijan child. He appealed to Harijans to eradicate the evils of wine, gambling and prostitution. He said that they should be Bhangis like him. Defining the term Bhangis he said, it meant a well-wisher of all.

I shall consider my stay among you amply rewarded, if you give up these vices. I have enjoyed your hospitality. You can offer me goat's milk. But I will pay for it. If you are keen that I should take food prepared by you, you can come here and cook for me. My real aim in staying here is to probe into your real needs.

The Hindustan Times, 5-4-1946

[1] The report concluded that, after the meeting, when people rushed to see Gandhiji, one of the volunteers was slightly injured. "It was with great difficulty that Gandhiji could get into his car." *Vide* also pp. 361 and 365.

[2] According to the report, residents of Bhangi Colony met Gandhiji after evening prayers and "invited him to have a meal with them".

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423. ADVICE TO PEOPLE[1]

NEW DELHI,
April 4, 1946

Gandhiji asked the people to maintain complete silence. He said:

The business which had brought me to Delhi is an important one, and people should allow me to work in peace. By collecting here in this manner you interfere with my work. If you want, you can see me at the evening prayers. I know that you do all this out of sheer love for me. But even love, if misplaced, does more harm than good. Consider the happenings of yesterday.[2] While I was going towards my car, after the evening prayers, people went out of control and a volunteer was injured. Such incidents should not recur.

In the end, I appeal to you to pray to God that India may win real freedom. Neither those who have come here nor anybody from among us can deceive Him.

[From Hindi]
Hindustan, 5-4-1946

424. QUESTION BOX[3]

Q. God is a creation of man's imagination. It is not God who has created man but man who has created God. Is this not true?

A. I have taken this from a correspondent's [long][4] letter. There is a semblance to truth in what he says. The writer has, however, unwittingly created the illusion by a play upon the two words 'creation' and 'God'.

God Himself is both the Law and the Law-giver. The question of anyone creating Him, therefore, does not arise, least of all

[1] According to the report, when Gandhiji returned after his morning walk at 7 a. m., he saw a noisy crowd waiting for him outside the Valmiki Temple.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 360; also p. 365.

[3] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[4] From the Gujarati version

by an insignificant creature such as man. Man can build a dam, but he cannot create a river. He can manufacture a chair, but it is beyond him to make the wood. He can, however, picture God in his mind in many ways. But how can man who is unable to create even a river or wood create God? That God has created man is, therefore, the pure truth. The contrary is an illusion. However anyone may, if he likes, say that God is neither the doer nor the cause. Either is predicable of Him.

NEW DELHI, April 4, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

425. KASTURBA LEPROSY WORK

This work has been going on under Prof. T. N. Jagadisan's supervision since May 19, 1945. He has produced a short summary of the work done from day to day. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan is the chairman of the committee specially formed for this work. Dr. V. P. Ramaswami has specially trained himself for the work under Dr. R. G. Cochrane. He is doing out-patient work as well as conducting surveys of villages.

The first survey in Kandachipuram schools of 655 children revealed that apart from leprosy there was a high incidence of scabies and guinea worm. Over 100 children have to be followed up and 30-40 treated for leprosy. In Madavilagam village, 18 definite cases of leprosy have been discovered out of 593 inhabitants. Four of these are infective, and fourteen neural. Infection is spread by indiscriminate contact of infective cases with children.

In Adukkam village, 15 cases have been found out of a population of 323. Five of these are infective. Two other places have 29 and 15 definite cases respectively of which 9 are lepromatous.

Dr. Ramaswami has also surveyed five more villages and has so far detected 300 cases out of which 157 only, being women or children under seven years, can benefit from the Trust.

Prof. T. N. Jagadisan's summary points out that poor men patients though in need of attention cannot get the benefit of the funds. This defect cannot be removed by any departure from the terms of the Trust, but the professor can easily raise a small fund locally and bring them within the scope of his work.

NEW DELHI, April 4, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

426. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

NEW DELHI,
April 4, 1946

Many foreign and local newspaper reporters have been good enough to come to me to ask questions on the topic of the day. A newspaper man myself, I can sympathize with their desire. But they should sympathize and co-operate with me in the delicate mission of adviser to the Cabinet Mission and my own countrymen. They will readily understand me when I tell them that I cannot be advising and broadcasting to the world on the matters covered by my advice. Such a course is calculated to defeat the purpose in view. Anyway these friends will attribute my silence not to any discourtesy on my part but to my desire for successful termination of the labours of the Cabinet Mission.

The Hindustan Times, 5-4-1946

427. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 4, 1946

Gandhiji said, though his prayers contained selected verses from different religions, their purport remains the same. He wanted people to come to the prayers with calm and peaceful mind and participate in *Ramdhun*. Thanking the people for maintaining silence, Gandhiji said that the Sanskrit slokas that were recited in the prayer had been culled from those chapters of the *Gita*[2] in which Lord Krishna lays down before Arjuna the characteristics of a *sthitaprajna*. [Gandhiji continued:]

If swaraj is to be won through the non-violent strength of the millions, they must in some measure develop in them the qualities of a *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady wisdom.

That ideal is not meant for *jnanis*[3] only; it is for all, even ordinary lay people. Lord Krishna himself is depicted in the

[1] The speech is extracted from Pyarelal's "Prayer Discourses" in *Harijan*. The opening paragraph is from *The Hindustan Times*.

[2] II. 58

[3] Men of knowledge

Mahabharata as a charioteer actually driving a team of white horses while his pupil Arjuna, to whom the *Gita* discourses are addressed is pictured as being plebeian in his mental make-up and outlook. What then are the characteristics of a *sthitaprajna*? He is one who withdraws his senses from the objects of the senses behind the shield of the spirit, as a tortoise does its limbs under its shell. A man whose wisdom is not steady is liable to be betrayed into anger, evil thoughts or abuse. On the contrary, the man with the steady wisdom will remain equally unaffected by adulation or abuse. He will realize that abuse fouls only the tongue that utters it, never the person against whom it is hurled. A man of steady wisdom will, therefore, never wish ill to anyone, but will pray even for his enemy with his last breath.

Is it too difficult an ideal to follow? No. On the contrary, the conduct laid down in it is the only conduct worthy of the dignity of human beings.

Today our minds are clouded by delusion. In our ignorance, we quarrel with one another and indulge in rowdyism against our own brethren. For such as these there is neither salvation nor swaraj. Self-discipline or rule over self is the first condition of self-rule or swaraj.

All might find it difficult to correctly recite the *Gita* verses which are in Sanskrit. But all can take part in the singing of *Ramdhun*. The mass singing of *Ramdhun* to the accompaniment of *tala* is prayer reduced to its simplest terms.

'But how can non-Hindus take part in it?' The question was once raised.

I laugh within myself, when someone objects that Rama or the chanting of Ramanama is for the Hindus only, [and asks] how can Mussalmans, therefore, take part in it. Is there one God for the Mussalmans and another for the Hindus, Parsis or Christians? No, there is only one omnipotent and omnipresent God. He is named variously, and we remember Him by the name which is most familiar to us.

My Rama, the Rama of our prayers, is not the historical Rama, the son of Dasaratha, the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second. Him alone I worship, His aid alone I seek, and so should you. He belongs equally to all. I, therefore, see no reason why a Mussalman or anybody should object to taking His name. But he is in no way bound to recognize God as Ramanama. He may utter to himself Allah or Khuda so as not to mar the harmony of the sound.

Gandhiji strongly deprecated the wastage of food on marriages and other ceremonial occasions, and said that those who indulged in such extravagant habits were the enemies of the people and unfit even to pray.[1]

Tracing the cause of famine and other national calamities that occur in our day-to-day life as due to our past sins, Gandhiji added that if people did not commit sins, there would be no famine even if there were no rains. He emphasized the importance of morning prayer. Referring to day-before-yesterday's incident[2] Mahatmaji said:

There was orderliness until I came. But such arrangement ought to have continued till I left the place. All of a sudden people rushed towards us with the result I was also slightly injured. It was my own fault as the injury was caused by my *chappals*. But an innocent volunteer was badly injured. In future, nobody should get up till I leave this place. People should give up the habit of touching other's feet. They should not swarm towards us. After all we are not monkeys, we are human beings.

Harijan, 28-4-1946; also *Hindustan*, 5-4-1946, and *The Hindustan Times*, 5-4-1946

428. WHAT IS IN A NAME?

Q. From the psychological point of view, I think, the name 'Harijan' instils into the minds of the people to whom it is applied a feeling of inferiority, however sacred that name may be. This feeling is very difficult to wipe out from them—to whatever extent they are advanced—if they are always called 'Harijan'. Similarly if a man in the street is asked about a 'Harijan', the first thing he will speak of is 'untouchability and the Depressed Class'. Would it not be possible to save the 'Harijan' from involuntarily acquiring such an inferiority feeling, and other people from thinking about them without the 'qualification' usually ascribed to them? Would it not be preferable to choose a name which could also bring in its fold people from other sects?

A. This subject was years ago dealt with in the pages of *Young India*. The name 'Harijan' has sacred associations. It was suggested by a Harijan as a substitute for *Asprishya* (untouchable), *Dalita* (depressed), or for the different categories of 'untouchables'

[1] This paragraph is from *The Hindustan Times*, and that which follows is translated from *Hindustan*.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 360.

such as Bhangis, Mehtars, Chamars, Pariahs, etc.[1] The Government officers put them in a schedule and, therefore, called them the Scheduled Classes, thus making confusion worse confounded. Those who were not untouchables were classed among the Scheduled and the ones who could be so called were excluded. We have now arrived at a stage, thanks to the Government policy, when to be included among the Scheduled Classes is to be coveted. The Government have created a separate electorate agitating for seats in all elective institutions. I do not mind such ambition, if it carries honest merit with it. But it becomes positively mischievous, when seats are coveted irrespective of merit. The wish to be so educated as to be qualified for the highest post is to be appreciated and encouraged, the wish to be appointed to such a post on the basis of belonging to a caste or a class is essentially to be deprecated and discouraged.

The real remedy has been suggested by me. The feeling of inferiority must go. It is going, but too slowly. The process can be accelerated, if every Hindu would deliberately shed his superiority and in practice become a Harijan or, if you like, a Mehtar, the lowest class among Harijans. Then we will all become true children of God as the word 'Harijan' means. Until this is done, no matter which word signifies 'untouchables', it will smell of inferiority. The process has to be carried out thoroughly in every walk of life till the last trace of untouchability is removed. When that happy day arrives, every quarter will be a Harijan quarter and cleanliness of the heart and the home will be the order of the day.

NEW DELHI, April 5, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVII, pp. 244-5.

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429. WHAT IS THE LAW?

'Confused' writes:

> I grant that Italy, Germany and Japan have lost their power; but is the loss due to their faith in violence, as you would say[1], or is it due to their exhaustion brought about by fortunes of war? Will you hold that Britain, Russia and America have been successful because of their non-violence?

Thus argues a correspondent whom I have paraphrased without diminishing the force of his argument. The questioner has failed to perceive that in the writing quoted by him, I have said nothing about the so-called victorious Powers. But I have said elsewhere that their victory is an empty boast, if they do not learn the lesson while there is time and do not shape their life in accordance with the law of non-violence. I believe wholly in the truth that "those who take the sword will perish by the sword". There is no doubt that the victors employed the same means as the vanquished. There was only a question of degree. The victorious parties already seem to be on the verge of quarrelling among themselves. If another war has not already begun, it is because no one is ready to enter upon it. After all men are not machines. They cannot be continually fighting without being reduced to the state of beasts. One has to hope, for the sake of humanity, that they will do some hard thinking and discover the truth that the common man, of whom the world is composed, gains nothing by cutting his fellowman's throat and that the fruits of peace are infinitely superior to those of war. Ingenuity employed in devising methods of destruction lowers, whereas when employed in devising ways of building it befits mankind.

NEW DELHI, April 5, 1946

Harijan, 14-4-1946

[1] *Vide* p. 204.

430. LETTER TO LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

CAMP, NEW DELHI,
April 5, 1946

DEAR LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE,

I have your kind and considerate letter[1]. I note what you say. As it has turned out, I am here till 16th instant at least. Maulana Saheb wants me till then.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 180

[1] Which, *inter alia*, read: "When you and I met at my bungalow on Monday last, and again at the office on Wednesday, you were. . . prepared to have a personal talk with Mr. Jinnah. . . . But . . . the position has not yet sufficiently clarified . . . that a meeting between you now would result in any substantial agreement. I feel that I should communicate this view to you without delay as it may affect your plans, and I could not ask you to stay in Delhi indefinitely."

In *Gandhiji's Emissary*, p. 93, Sudhir Ghosh explains that on seeing the letter from the addressee, he "felt that the Secretary of State had not understood the value of keeping Gandhiji in Delhi". He, therefore, met Sir Stafford Cripps and "urged him to do everything in his power" to make Gandhiji stay in Delhi, which he at once did in letter of even date which read: "I hear that there is a chance of your extending your stay here and I very earnestly ask you to do so. We have still a number of interviews with separate interests and sections to carry out before we can come to the closer negotiations with the principal parties interested. This is, therefore, a time of formulation of possibilities, and I know how valuable your influence will be upon persons of all kinds who seek your advice. As soon as the closer negotiations start, I am sure we too shall want to seek that advice, and we should indeed most sadly miss your help, if you were to leave. It is not I, but India that needs you in New Delhi. Please stay."

431. LETTER TO SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

HARIJAN MANDIR,
April 5, 1946

DEAR SIR STAFFORD,

Many thanks for your affectionate letter[1]. Sudhir has given me your message too. I am here at least till 16th instant at Maulana Saheb's behest.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 181

432. NOTE TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

[*April 5, 1946*][3]

This[4] will not suit you. One must never pretend; but do come, if you feel like coming.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro2— :Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 305

[1] *Vide* footnote on p. 368.

[2] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 94, Sudhir Ghosh says: "I not only delivered this note of warm friendliness to Cripps but brought back another friendly little note from him to Gandhiji to say: 'I am so very glad to hear that you are staying on. The long list of your callers shows how much you are appreciated by us all!' "

[3] & [4] The note is written below the one of even date from Agatha Harrison to the addressee inviting him for silent get-together. In *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 94, Sudhir Ghosh explains: "Good old Agatha, who was everybody's mother, organized a Sunday-morning Quaker Worship meeting in New Delhi, sometimes in a little hall of the Modern School of Barakhamba Road and sometimes in a ground-floor room in the Y. W. C. A. on Ashoka Road where Agatha was staying." In *Harijan*, 28-4-1946, Pyarelal says in "Communion of Silence" that Gandhiji "has been attending the Sunday silent prayer meeting every Sunday since his arrival" in New Delhi. *Vide* also p. 379.

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433. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 5, 1946

So far, Mahatma Gandhi said, he had refrained from saying anything regarding I. N. A. men, either from platform or in the Press. This did not mean that he had no regard or love for them. He was always conscious of their sacrifices and all that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose did was for the freedom of India. Ever since his visit to the I. N. A. men in Delhi Cantonment yesterday, his love for them had increased all the more, he said, and added that they responded to his love with greater love and affection. Mahatma Gandhi declared:

Let me share with you the thoughts that have been crowding in my mind since yesterday. India has accorded to the released I. N. A. men a right royal welcome. They have been acclaimed as national heroes. Everybody seems to have been swept off his feet before the rising tide of popular sentiment. I must, however, frankly confess to you that I do not share this indiscriminate hero worship. I admire the ability, sacrifice and patriotism of the I. N. A. and Netaji Bose. But I cannot subscribe to the method which they adopted and which is incompatible with the one followed by the Congress for the last twenty-five years for the attainment of independence. Yesterday I spoke[2] to you of a *sthitaprajna*, i. e., "the man of steady wisdom", i. e., a satyagrahi. If we accept that ideal, we would not regard anybody as our enemy; we must shed all enmity and ill will. That ideal is not meant for the select few—the saint or the seer only—it is meant for all. I have described myself as a scavenger, having become one, not only in name but in fact, while I was in Phœnix. It was there that I took up the bucket and the broom, impelled by the inner urge to identify myself with the lowest of the low. As a humble fellow-toiler then let me bear witness that anyone, even a simple-minded villager who wants to, and tries, can attain the state of mental equipoise described in the *Gita* verses which are recited at the prayer. We all lose our sanity at times, though we

[1] In *Harijan*, the speech appeared under the title "Message of the I. N. A." by Pyarelal. The opening paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*.

[2] *Vide* pp. 363-4.

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may not care to admit it, or be even aware of it. A man with a steady mind will never lose patience, even with a child, or indulge in anger or abuse. Religion as taught in the *Gita* is a thing to be practised in this life. It is not a means for attaining merit in the next, irrespective of what you may do here. That would be a negation of religion.

For me the visit to the I. N. A. men in detention was a matter of pure duty. It gave me supreme satisfaction to be able to meet them, and they on their part received me with a warmth of affection which I shall always treasure. I have interpreted their welcome as a token of their recognition in me of a devoted servant of the country.

Netaji was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise under the late Deshabandhu Das. His last message to the I. N. A. was that whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms; on their return to India, they would have to serve the country as soldiers of non-violence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress. The message which the I. N. A. has for India is not adoption of the method of appeal to arms for settling disputes (it has been tried and found wanting), but of cultivating non-violence, unity, cohesion and organization.

Though the I. N. A. failed in their immediate objective, they have a lot to their credit of which they might well be proud. Greatest among these was to gather under one banner men from all religions and races of India and to infuse into them the spirit of solidarity and oneness to the utter exclusion of all communal or parochial sentiment. It is an example which we should all emulate. If they did this under the glamour and romance of fighting, it was not much. It must persist in peace. It is a higher and more difficult work. We have to die performing our duty and without killing. For that we shall need to cultivate the attributes of a *sthitaprajna* as set forth in the *Gita*.

Far more potent than the strength of the sword is the strength of satyagraha. I said so to the I. N. A. men and they were happy to tell me, as I was to hear, that they had realized this and would hereafter strive to serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag.

NEW DELHI, April 8, 1946

Harijan, 14-4-1946; also *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, 7-4-1946

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434. LET US PRAY

There is little doubt that India is about to reach her cherished goal of political independence. Let the entrance be prayerful. Prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement. Properly understood and applied, it is the most potent instrument of action.

Let us then pray and find out what we have meant by non-violence, and how we shall retain the freedom gained by its use. If our non-violence is of the weak, it follows that we shall never be able, by such non-violence, to retain freedom. But it follows also that we shall not, for some length of time, at any rate, be able to defend ourselves by force of arms, if only because we have neither them nor the knowledge of their use. We have not even the requisite discipline. The result is that we shall have to rely upon another nation's help, not as equals, but as pupils upon their teachers, if the word 'inferiors' jars upon our ears.

Hence there is nothing but non-violence to fall back upon for retaining our freedom even as we had to do for gaining it. This means exercise of non-violence against all those who call themselves our opponents. This should not mean much for a man who has used himself to non-violence for nearly three decades. It is summed up in "die for your honour and freedom" instead of "kill if necessary and be killed in the act". What does a brave soldier do? He kills only if necessary and risks his life in the act. Non-violence demands greater courage and sacrifice. Why should it be comparatively easy for a man to risk death in the act of killing, and almost super human for him to do so in the act of sparing life? It seems to be gross self-deception to think that we can risk death, if we learn and practise the art of killing, but cannot do so otherwise. But for the hypnotism induced by the repetition of an untruth we should not grossly deceive ourselves.

But the critic or the scoffer will ask, why bring in prayer if the matter is so simple as you put it. The answer is that prayer is the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self in the various walks of life culminating in the defence of one's nation's liberty and honour.

Undoubtedly prayer requires a living faith in God. Successful satyagraha is inconceivable without that faith. God may be

called by any other name so long as it connotes the living Law of Life—in other words, the Law and the Law-giver rolled into one.

NEW DELHI, April 6, 1946

Harijan, 14-4-1946

435. NOTES

EATING WITH HARIJANS[1]

Q. How can a vegetarian caste Hindu sit down to food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan?

A. A vegetarian caste Hindu can eat vegetarian food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan. Inter-dining does not imply that one should eat everything that is put before one. All that is necessary is that the food, the plates on which it is served, and the hands that have cooked it should be clean. The same applies to water. Nor does inter-dining mean that people should eat out of the same plate or drink out of the same glass. There should be no breach of hygiene.

RAMANAMA

Q. Is it not enough to have Ramanama in one's heart, or is there something special in its recitation?

A. I believe there is special merit in the recitation of Ramanama. If anyone knows that God is in truth residing in his heart, I admit that for him there is no need for recitation. But I have not known such a person. On the contrary, my personal experience tells me that there is something quite extraordinary in the recitation of Ramanama. Why or how is not necessary to know.

MINISTERIAL SALARIES

Ministers and members of the provincial assemblies are in their respective places as servants of the people in every sense of the term. The British scale of pay cannot be copied by them except at their cost. Nor need all draw payments because a certain scale is allowed. The scale fixes the limit up to which they may draw. It will be ludicrous for a monied man to draw the full or any payment. The payments are meant for those who

[1] Originally written in Hindi, this and the following note appeared as "from *Harijan Sevak*" published simultaneously with the source.

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cannot easily afford to render free service. They are representatives of the poorest people in the world. What they draw is paid by the poor. Let them remember this salient fact, and act and live accordingly.

NEW DELHI, April 6, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

436. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

VALMIKI MANDIR, READING ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
April 6, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I write this about two things that I discussed before the Cabinet Delegation on the 3rd instant.

Sir Archibald Rowlands[1] was with me last night in order to have a talk with me about the salt tax. At the conclusion of our talk he was frank enough to tell me that, had he met me three months ago, the tax would have been abolished.[2] I omit the rest of our important conversation in order to make my letter as brief as possible. Regard being had to the admission, I sent to Sir Archibald Rowlands Shri Sudhir Ghosh, whom he knows well, to have further talks with him. He now contemplates abolition within three months or so. I know that nothing can be done by a single official, however strong or able he may be, unless he is supported by his superiors. And so I invoke your assistance in this humanitarian work. But more even than that is the consideration that I put before the Cabinet Delegation, viz., that independence should be ushered in with the greatest good grace which the poorest villager in the remotest village can at once realize. More of this you can glean from Sudhir Babu, if you

[1] Finance Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[2] Pyarelal explains: "In the course of their conversation, Sir Archibald Rowlands, while admitting to Gandhiji that he had been converted to the proposition for the abolition of the salt tax, seemed to favour the retention of the salt monopoly by the Government even after the salt tax was abolished. Gandhiji felt that this would largely defeat the end in view. In compliance with Sir Archibald's request, he sent him [on April 25] a draft of a proclamation announcing the termination of the levying of the salt tax and a note on the proposed proclamation." *Vide* Vol. LXXXIV.

feel inclined and can spare the time. He is carrying this note.[1]

About prisoners, I will not say anything as I understand that their release is imminent.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 157-8

437. LETTER TO VAIKUNTHLAL L. MEHTA

HARIJAN MANDIR,
April 6, 1946

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

I have your note. Balasaheb[3] also saw me. Join the [Bombay] Ministry for the sake of service. If you can afford to forgo the salary, you may not accept it. Do what you think best.[4]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 1366

[1] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, p. 126, describing the Viceroy's silence in response to his appeal, Sudhir Ghosh says: "It was a rather disconcerting experience. I did not know whether I had succeeded or failed to make an impression on the Viceroy's mind. Feeling somewhat uneasy, I went back to Gandhiji to report . . . whereupon Gandhiji decided that he himself had better go and see the Viceroy . . ." *Vide* p. 382.

[2] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VII, p. 162, the addressee who forwarded this letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, said: ". . . I have ascertained that it is correct that Rowlands saw him and, without any consultation with myself or his colleagues, agreed that the Salt Tax could be abolished. I think you will like to know this. I make no comment at the moment on the conduct of my Finance Member, but should like to discuss the matter with the Delegation tomorrow morning, since this is one of the questions which Gandhi raised with them."

[3] B. G. Kher, Premier, Bombay

[4] The addressee joined as Minister for Finance, Co-operation and Village Industries.

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438. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 6, 1946

Twenty-seven years ago when the late Swami Shraddhanandji[2] was alive, satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act was inaugurated[3] on this day. History was made the following week. For the first time the entire masses of India from one end to the other rose like one man. It was an entirely spontaneous demonstration.[4] I had myself not imagined that its outcome could be so miraculous. I could feel God's hand in this miracle.

That was the time when Hindus and Muslims for the time forgot all their differences. The Ali Brothers[5] and I used to go all over the country together like blood-brothers. We spoke with one voice and delivered the message of Hindu-Muslim unity and swaraj to the masses. We resolved that thereafter we should address our prayers to God alone, instead of the British Government, and so satyagraha was born in India[6] after it was first initiated in South Africa. On April 13, unarmed civilians were subjected to firing. The Ali Brothers readily fell in with the programme of a national day of fasting and prayer. People fasted on the 6th and 13th of April. They realized that they were all children of the one God, destined to live together and die together in the land of their birth, which was India. They assembled together in their thousands and offered prayers in temples, churches and mosques. The climax was reached when in Delhi a monster gathering, consisting of both Hindus and Mussalmans, was held in the Juma Mosque and was addressed by the late Swami

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani. The *Harijan* report, which appeared under the title "The Sacred Week" by Pyarelal, has been collated with the Hindi version in *Harijan Sevak* published simultaneously with the source.

[2] Munshiram Manekchand (1856-1926), known as Mahatma Munshiram before he became a sannyasi; as member of Aryasamaj, he took active part in public activities in Delhi and the Punjab; was assassinated on December 24, 1926.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XV.

[4] The following two sentences are translated from *Harijan Sevak*.

[5] Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali

[6] The rest of this sentence and the one that follows are translated from *Harijan Sevak*.

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Shraddhanand. It was a glorious day in India's history, the memory of which we shall always treasure.

But the situation has changed today. We have gone wrong somewhere. The hearts of Hindus and Muslims are sundered. The air is poisoned with communal bitterness and rancour. A section of the Muslims has begun to claim that they are a separate nation. This, however, is not the time to go into the reason for it. I confess that it baffles my understanding.

Since then we commence our proceedings, as today, with prayer.[1] If we believe in prayer, we cannot fly at one another's throat, or regard anybody as our enemy. At Amritsar people lost their heads. But we promptly confessed our mistake and made expiation for it by fasting and praying to God for forgiveness. To err is human. By confessing we convert our mistakes into stepping stones for advance. On the contrary, a person who tries to hide his mistake becomes a living fraud and sinks down. Man is neither brute nor God but a creature of God striving to realize his divinity. Repentance and self-purification are the means. The moment we repent and ask God for forgiveness for our lapse, we are purged of our sin and new life begins for us. True repentance is an essential prerequisite of prayer.

Prayer is not mere lip-service. It must express itself through action. How shall we then pray during the Sacred Week? We can pray by purging our hearts of any taint of communal hatred and ill will that might be lurking there and invoking God's aid for the same. Achievement of communal harmony would thus be one form of prayer. Then we can pray by doing sacrificial spinning for the attainment of non-violent swaraj. I have a vivid recollection of how in 1919 every home in the Punjab hummed with the music of the spinning-wheel. A mountain of yarn was presented to me on one occasion during my tour, which was never equalled before, nor has it been since, except recently at Madura during my Madras tour. What are the sisters of the Punjab doing today? That is the question which you must ask yourselves during this week of introspection. If the four hundred millions of India took to spinning in earnest, and span for sacrifice, i. e., not for self, with the name of God in their hearts and with the common purpose of winning India's freedom through non-violence, their united effort would not only bring us freedom assuredly, but also provide us the means for safeguarding it after

[1] This sentence and the paragraph that precedes are translated from *Harijan Sevak*.

it is won, and enable us to point the way out of darkness to the whole world.

The other day I was talking[1] to the I.N.A. men in the Red Fort. We were discussing as to what they should do on their release. They assured me that they would, on their release, serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag. I told them that today a true soldier of India is he who spins to clothe the naked, and tills the soil to grow more food to meet the threatening food crisis. The Congress has declared that she would carry on the struggle for India's independence through the method of non-violence. But she has not yet decided whether she would adhere to that method for the protection of that freedom against possible foreign aggression. To me it is a self-evident truth that if freedom is to be shared equally by all—even physically the weakest, the lame and the halt—they must be able to contribute an equal share in its defence. How that can be possible when reliance is placed on armaments, my plebeian mind fails to understand. I, therefore, swear and shall continue to swear by non-violence, i. e., by satyagraha or soul force. In it physical incapacity is no handicap and even a frail woman or a child can put herself or himself on equal terms against a giant, armed with the most powerful weapons.

The eighteen-fold constructive programme with the spinning-wheel as its centre is the concrete expression of that spirit in organized society. Let us realize that spirit by devoting ourselves prayerfully to the carrying out of the constructive programme during the National Week.

Harijan, 21-4-1946

439. A REMARK[2]

[*April 7, 1946*][3]

I have been praying to God to give me the right word, so that it will induce those to whom it is addressed to act with the courage and wisdom which the occasion demands.

Harijan, 14-4-1946

[1] *Vide* pp. 370-1.

[2] & [3] The remark is extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji was "describing to one of his companions" how he "kept awake for better part of the night on Saturday", April 6, 1946. Being aware of the people's "deep hatred of the British rule", Gandhiji was "concerned as to how they would behave" at the dawn of independence "after the long servitude . . . full of bitter memories", and apprehended "conflagration".

440. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 7, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi referred to his visit to the Quakers' silent prayer meeting this morning, and said that people at this meeting sat in absolute silence for half an hour. They were busy in worship of God and realized the sense of God's presence in their midst. Mahatma Gandhi said that he had himself felt the presence of God during silence. He asked the people to observe silence once a week as it played an important part in the individual's life.

Gandhiji described how his own experience tallied with that of the Quakers.

Emptying of the mind of all conscious processes of thought, and filling it with the spirit of God unmanifest, brings one ineffable peace and attunes the soul with the infinite.

The question may, however, be raised: Should not one's whole life be an unbroken hymn of praise and prayer to the Maker? Why then have a separate time for prayer at all? Brother Lawrence testified that "with him the set times of prayers were not different from other times; that he retired to pray according to the directions of his superior, but that he did not want such retirement, nor asked for it, because his greatest business did not divert him from God." Gandhiji does not question that view. He observed:

I agree that if a man could practise the presence of God all the twenty-four hours, there would be no need for a separate time for prayer.

When the mind is completely filled with His spirit one cannot harbour ill will or hatred towards anyone and reciprocally the enemy will shed his enmity and become a friend. It is not my claim that I have always succeeded in converting enemies into friends, but in numerous cases it has been my experience that when the mind is filled with His peace all hatred ceases. An unbroken succession of world teachers since the beginning of time have borne testimony to the same. I claim no merit for it. I know it is due entirely to God's grace. Let us then in the Sacred Week seek His grace through the communion of silence and, maybe, the experience will abide us ever afterwards.

Harijan, 28-4-1946; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-4-1946

[1] The speech is extracted from Pyarelal's "Communion of Silence". The opening paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

441. VANASPATI AND GHEE

Sardar Sir Datar Singh has been putting up a fight on behalf of the cow in India. The cow includes the buffalo. In that case both can live. If the buffalo includes the cow then both die. "The cow is the mother of prosperity." To understand how this is so, the reader should see Shri Satis Chandra Das Gupta's two instructive volumes[1]. Here I want to confine myself to ghee which is in danger of being swamped by *vanaspati*, as the so-called vegetable ghee is called. In reality ghee is pure animal product. One thoughtlessly uses the expression vegetable ghee or *vanaspati*, but it is a contradiction in terms. Sardar Datar Singh has shown in a considered note that the sale of *vanaspati* has risen from 26,000 tons in 1937 to 1,37,000 tons in 1945, i.e., it has increased more than 400 per cent during seven years. *Pari passu* the ghee industry has declined. Those who would study the whole note should procure a copy from Sardar Datar Singh or the Goseva Sangh in Wardha. I condense below the Sardar's conclusions:

1. *Vanaspati* as an article of diet is a very poor substitute for ghee. It not only lacks absorption by the human system, but has no vitamin potency.
2. Due to its similarity with ghee in texture and flavour, most of it is being used as an adulterant or is passed off as genuine ghee, and is, therefore, a great menace to ghee.
3. Due to great margin of profit in this industry, it has developed from 26 thousand tons per annum in 1937 to 105 thousand tons in 1943, and there are proposals afoot to at least double this production in the near future.
4. The ghee industry is India's greatest cottage industry involving production of 2,30,00,000 maunds of ghee per annum at a cost of one hundred crores of rupees.
5. The destruction of the ghee industry will not only adversely affect the welfare of the cultivators, but it will have a very deleterious effect on the cattle industry upon which the prosperity of the whole nation directly depends.

[1] *The Cow in India*

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In order to overcome the difficulties explained above, the following remedial measures are suggested:

1. If, due to some reasons, the Government cannot actually ban the manufacture altogether of *vanaspati*, it must at least be brought under strict control immediately.

2. All manufacturers and wholesale and retail dealers of *vanaspati* should be licensed. Such persons should not be permitted to trade in or stock ghee on their premises.

3. It should be made compulsory to colour all *vanaspati* at the source of its manufacture in India, and to colour all such imported product immediately on its landing at an Indian port. Manufacturers must mix ten per cent of *til*[1] oil with *vanaspati*. The advantage of this would be that, if pure ghee is adulterated with *vanaspati* containing 10% *til* oil, the detection will become extremely simple. The presence of *til* oil can be most easily detected by well-known chemical reactions.

4. The addition of synthetic essences to give *vanaspati* a semblance of ghee should be prohibited.

5. Persons selling food products in the preparation of which they use *vanaspati* should be required, under marketing law, to display a sign to that effect. The presence of *vanaspati* on the premises not displaying the sign should be made an offence under law. This will eradicate the evil of *halwais*[2] and confectioners using *vanaspati* for their preparations and passing them off as made from genuine ghee.

6. *Vanaspati* should not be allowed to go in the market under names such as 'Vegetable Ghee' or '*Vanaspati* Ghee' or any other name which is apt to deceive the customers as to its real origin of composition.

7. *Vanaspati* should not be allowed to be marketed in packages of the same pattern as used for packing ghee and all packages containing *vanaspati* should be distinctly labelled.

It is clear that the mischief arises principally from the greed of the very persons who worship the cow. *Vanaspati* is wholly superfluous. Oils may be refined of injurious property, but they do not need to be solidified nor need they be made to look like ghee. An honest manufacturer will not stoop to counterfeits.

[1] Sesame
[2] Sweetmeat sellers

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The market is flooded with them. Counterfeit coins are heavily punishable. Why not counterfeit ghee, since the genuine article is much more precious than coins? But the sovereign remedy lies in all round honesty among dealers who are in a hurry to become rich even at the cost of the health of the nation.

NEW DELHI, April 8, 1946
Harijan, 14-4-1946

442. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

VALMIKI MANDIR,
April 8, 1946

DEAR MR. ABELL,

I feel that I have not got across to H. E. my innermost thoughts on the matter covered by my letter[1] of day before yesterday's date. I would love to see him, if he can spare me a few minutes from his busy time. Will you please let me know, if H. E. can and, if yes, when?[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. E. B. ABELL ESQ.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 158

[1] *Vide* pp. 374-5.

[2] In *Gandhi's Emissary*, (p. 127), Sudhir Ghosh explains: "There was no response from the Viceroy who, evidently, was not prepared to talk any more about salt. The Viceroy was furious when he heard that Sir Archibald Rowlands had given Gandhiji to understand that he would, within three months, abolish the salt tax. . . . But Gandhiji was not the man to give up his struggle for the abolition of the salt tax." He, however, discussed the matter with the Viceroy again the following day. For Viceroy's version of the interview, *vide* Appendix XVI.

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443. LETTER TO MANIBHAI DESAI

[NEW DELHI,][1]
April 8, 1946

CHI. MANILAL,

It is not right that I should have no letter from you. Are the rules[2] framed by me being followed? If no patients come, you may visit the sick in their homes, though not outside Uruli. Has the name been changed to Kanchan only? The Doctor informs me that Pillay has left. Ask Joshi and Dhiru to write. How is the air of that place? I shall have to stay here up to the 16th. The exact date will be known by and by. Is it not very hot there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 2753. Courtesy : Manibhai Desai

444. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

DELHI,
April 8, 1946

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. My advice is that you should continue to do there whatever you can. Grow new food crops, vegetables, etc. Stimulate the sympathy of the people.

I am glad that your activities are going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM
HARIJAN ASHRAM
WADHWAN CITY
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 403. Courtesy : Bhagwanji P. Pandya

[1] The source has "Bombay".
[2] *Vide* pp. 336-7.

445. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI[1]

VALMIKI MANDIR,
April 8, 1946

CHI. KANAIYO,

Abha has slight fever today. Of course, Dinshaw who is available is treating her. She is not worried on her account, nor is there any cause for worry.[2]

My letter[3] of last Monday addressed to the campers has, I hope, reached you. All I can think about today is whether all of you are fully observing truth and non-violence. Are you enthusiastic about all that you do, and is it done with humility? I shall be encouraged to write for the third Monday when I get your replies to my two earlier letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANU GANDHI
SEVAGRAM

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

446. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

NEW DELHI,
April 8, 1946

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

I have your letter. Kamble has been proved to be a liar. Where he is, nobody knows.

Boiled milk is certainly better. Add some potassium permanganate in water. It is, no doubt, against nature. The same is true of quinine also. But when we are helpless, we have to violate nature.

I have already written about natural diet. Milk, fruit, leafy vegetables, potatoes, etc., are included in it.

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari.
[2] What follows is in Hindi.
[3] *Vide* p. 343.

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It is good to throw some lime into the well. You may also throw some bleaching powder. If pure water is available, then there is no need of disinfectants.

It irks me that the grinding stone cannot be stopped even for two minutes for the sake of silence. Two minutes is nothing. Just the same, Babaji[1] may do what he thinks right.

You have explained well what you meant when you talked about being a great sinner.[2]

I would not consider eggs and fish as opposed to natural diet. They cannot be included in a vegetarian diet, but then neither can milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 9022. Also C. W. 9146. Courtesy : Prabhakar

447. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

April 8, 1946

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. The idea that Krishnachandra should earn and pay up the money is not right. The decision I have taken is the only proper one.

Chi. Hoshiari comes now and then. Her father also paid a visit. She is not steady at home. My faith in her steadiness has somewhat weakened. She ought not to have brought along Gajaraj. The child is being spoiled.

Part of the Ashram ought to be reserved for farming. I think it would be a mistake to put up buildings all over the place.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 1970

[1] Mahadeo Moghe
[2] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 329-30.

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448. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

NEW DELHI,
April 8, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I think the hostel land, the well and the building should be handed over.[1] They may use it as they wish. You may retain Rustom Bhuvan as long as R. stays there. He may vacate it, if he can. It should not be given to any outsider. I understand this is what Ashadevi has said. You cannot devote one day in a week to prepare slivers for the other six days. Whatever the difficulty, one should do oneself all the processing up to spinning. Have I not written[2] about it in *Harijan*?

I shall be here up to the 16th at any rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4550

449. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[*April 8, 1946*][3]

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

Don't you go to the patients?[4] I have sent over whatever spinning equipment of yours I could find. Let me know what still remains so that I can send for it. Even these things I found only with difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 507

[1] To E. W. Aryanayakam for Nayee Talim
[2] *Vide* pp. 355-7.
[3] The letter was an enclosure to Amrit Kaur's letter of April 8 to the addressee.
[4] At Uruli-Kanchan, to give instruction in spinning

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450. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

HARIJAN MANDIR, NEW DELHI,
April 8, 1946

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

I have your letters. I am very busy. Stay on where you are. Learn a lot. Learn the art of being well at any place. It is good if Rajuji learns Hindi. He may come to Sevagram whenever he wishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9117. Also C. W. 9186

451. LETTER TO ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

NEW DELHI,
April 8, 1946

BHAI ACHYUT,

Yesterday I wasted time wondering whether to write or send a wire to you and, owing to the burden of work, I could do neither. Today I received your letter. The release is hardly a cause for congratulations, but I am glad that you are well. Everything is uncertain about me. I would, of course, like to meet you soon, but let us see when God makes it possible. I am very glad that you are going to Vinoba. You might possibly meet Kishorelalji and Kakasaheb too in Wardha Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ACHYUT PATWARDHAN
VINCENT SQUARE
TRAM TERMINUS
DADAR
BOMBAY

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

452. SPEECH READ OUT AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI

April 8, 1946

I am both happy and sad as I could not speak today because of the silence I observe on Mondays. The fact that I am not able to speak before you makes me unhappy, and happiness lies in the very fact of my being able to complete my vow of observing silence.

[From Hindi]

Hindustan, 9-4-1946

453. LETTER TO MANIBHAI DESAI

[After *April 8, 1946*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your and Dhiru's beautiful letter. Keep me informed about the details. Admit only as many patients as you can easily look after. The chief thing is to teach the people the secret of not falling ill. If we succeed in that, I shall believe that our health-mission has succeeded to perfection. And, therefore, teach that to boys, girls, grown-ups and everybody else.

A person suffering from any infectious disease may have been bathed in the tub; but, if it has been cleaned afterwards with burning-hot ashes, you may take it to be as good as a new one and bathe me in it. I will have no hesitation whatever.

For morning breakfast, I think, it might be better, instead of eating *ghensh*[2], to eat home-made biscuits which require to be chewed, and some fruit. You may cap that with milk, or may have milk in the afternoon. This is only a suggestion. It is good that Joshi has gone there. Ask Gokhale to write. I shall be here up to the 24th at any rate. After that it is uncertain.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 2754. Courtesy : Manibhai Desai

[1] The letter was, presumably, written after the one of April 8, 1946; *vide* p. 383.

[2] Porridge made from coarse grain

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454. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

DELHI,
April 9, 1946

BHAI MUNSHI,

I am scribbling these few lines early in the morning. Your letter is worthy of you. I will now get ready the papers[1] which will cost you the least labour.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANU MUNSHI, ADVOCATE
26 RIDGE ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 7695. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

455. DRAFT LETTER OF AUTHORITY[2]

[*April 9, 1946*][3]

We submit the dispute existing between us to Shri Kanhaiyalal Munshi, Advocate, Bombay, for his decision which we shall accept as final. We shall forward our submissions through Gandhiji and, if Munshiji wishes to have any clarification, we shall present ourselves and witnesses, if any, wherever required. Munshiji may kindly give his award within three months of the receipt of our submissions by him. The award when conveyed to Gandhiji will be deemed to have been conveyed to us.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 328.

[2] & [3] Copies of the draft letter were sent to H. L. Sharma and Lakshminarayan Gadodia, *vide* p. 391. The draft bears the following note in Gujarati: "Two clean copies of the above to be prepared. This may be done today by Munnalal." *Vide* also the preceding item.

456. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

HARIJAN MANDIR, NEW DELHI,
April 9, 1946

DEAR RAMACHANDRA RAO,

I have your letter[1]. Though there is a resemblance between your thought and practice and mine superficially, I must own that yours is far superior to mine. Having made that admission let me emphasize the fact that deep down there is a fundamental difference between you and me and, therefore, your thought and mine. For you consciously ignore God. Equally consciously, probably more progressively, I rely upon God. Therefore your complaint is hasty. You will be better able to judge, if you survive me and *vice versa*.

Do not think of passing any time with me whilst I am wandering. I may be said to be not wandering when I am in Sevagram. Therefore come to me whenever I am there.

Yours,[2]
BAPU

An Atheist with Gandhi, p. 48

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVII. The addressee explains that the letter was written "some time in March 1946 or so" to congratulate Gandhiji on his decision to stay with Harijans, about which the addressee came to know from newspapers.

[2] The addressee says: "There was an episode associated with the above letter. It was written in another hand and Bapuji signed the letter. The letter was closed at first with 'Yours sincerely'; but when Bapuji signed it, he scored out 'sincerely' and left 'Yours' to stand. I did not understand why 'sincerely' was scored out and so I wrote to Bapuji. . . . I got the following reply from . . . Amrit Kaur. . . . ' "Yours sincerely" is too formal; therefore the word was struck out. What else could there be in it?' "

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457. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

DELHI,
April 9, 1946

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYAN,

Enclosed with this are the letter of authority[1] for Munshiji, and Bhai Sharma's statement of complaint. Duly complete the letter of authority with the signatures, date, witnesses, etc., and return it to me; also a reply to the statement. I shall ask[2] Sharma for his rejoinder to the reply and after that I shall send everything to Munshiji.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

458. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

DELHI,
April 9, 1946

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. How can one be called a naturopath, if one acts with so much impatience and forgets one's dharma?

Why don't you give up the land and house since you are resting at home?

Your statement of complaint is not as it ought to be, but I have sent it over to Gadodiaji for his reply.[3] The letter of authority for Munshiji is enclosed. Put your signature on it and return it. Your signature should be accompanied by the date, place and the signature of a witness.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, facing p. 358

[1] *Vide* p. 389.
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

459. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 9, 1946

Referring to the Quakers' Association of New Delhi, Gandhiji said that people from different religions observed silence there for long time. According to him, there is only one God or Allah in every religion. We should thus not hate followers of other religions. We should also learn the method of keeping peace by observing silence like the Quakers. Peace is a great strength. If we fail to understand the way of keeping peace, no doubt the country will get independence but the freedom thus achieved would serve no purpose. If plunder and pillage and murders were still there, you would soon lose interest in swaraj.

Gandhiji said that we should not kill or torture others. We should rather learn how to kill ourselves and never others. Those who know how to die, also know how to live. But those who torture and kill others remain as burden on earth.

In the end, Gandhiji appealed to women to maintain silence in the prayer meeting in future.

[From Hindi]
Hindustan, 10-4-1946

460. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

DELHI,
April 10, 1946

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter. Why 'Yours' only?

The letter is not good. It stinks of pride. Bhansali is a noble soul. One should not mind, if he says anything. You should not feel hurt, if anyone says anything. These are the qualities of a *sthitaprajna*. I offer a word of advice even in a meeting of thousands. Let noble people be our watchmen. It does not mean

[1] The report said: "Contrary to his practice of addressing only after the prayer, Gandhiji, who heard some noise from the side of women, spoke even before the prayer and particularly advised the women on the importance of maintaining silence.

that we should do all that they say, but we should be more alert when they say things to us. Where is the point in laying down a condition for me? When I lose faith in you I will tell you so, as I did in the case of Dahyalal.

Explain clearly to Appa the condition regarding *brahmacharya*. Tell him about all the rules.

Mulkraj has been removed. He is silly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 4551

461. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 10, 1946

In that hymn there is an assurance that whom God protects, no power on earth can injure. The message of that hymn has a particular relevancy in the present times when the whole world is plunged in strife. Although the war has ended, the causes that brought it about still continue. This is not peace; it is only silent preparation for another war.

Look at the mutual recrimination, abuse and threats of violence that poison the atmosphere in Delhi itself. But, if you have faith in God, you will remain unaffected by all these threats and abuse, and feel secure in the assurance that not a hair of your head will be injured so long as you are under God's protecting care. There is a saying to the effect that the outer is only the reflection of the inner. If you are good, the whole world will be good to you. On the contrary, if you feel tempted to regard anybody as evil, the odds are that the evil is within you.

The Choudhary Saheb[2] has had great regard for me. If, therefore, somebody comes and tells me that he has abused the Hindus and called them names, I must refuse to believe it or think ill of him. How can a person who till yesterday was like a blood-brother to me turn all of a sudden into a hater of Hindus? I would rather think that some Hindus had exasperated

[1] Extracted from Pyarelal's "Prayer Discourses"

[2] The reference is to Khaliq-uz-Zaman. According to Pyarelal, "an outburst against the Hindus . . . attributed to Khaliq-uz-Zaman . . . had appeared in the Press".

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him by their behaviour and made him lose his balance. Similarly I am quite sure that if the Choudhary Saheb were to meet me today and I were to ask him if he really believed that the whole mass of Hindus had turned bad overnight, he would laugh at the remarks attributed to him and dismiss them as absurd. We must neither think evil about others nor suspect others of thinking evil about us. Proneness to lend ear to evil reports is a sign of lack of faith.

Harijan, 28-4-1946

462. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

April 11, 1946

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I have your letter. Badshah Khan[1] has arrived here. He has not met me, but will do so today. You may, if you wish, go on the basis of the letter you have received. You need not wait for my permission. Forget Borkamata. You may go there after you are fully restored. You have to cultivate peace of mind to improve your health. You must also see that Zohra[2] improves. Do only as much as you can. Don't go out in the heat. Also do the work connected with spinning only as much as you can. It seems I shall be able to return only after the end of this month. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 508

[1] Abdul Ghaffar Khan
[2] Zohra Chawda, wife of Akbar Chawda

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463. LETTER TO MANIBHAI DESAI[1]

April 11, 1946

CHI. MANILAL,

There is no letter from you. I assumed, you did not write because Amtussalaam has written. All of you should work hard. Dhiru and Gokhale should also write.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANILAL DESAI
URULI

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

464. LETTER TO DR. BHAGWAT

April 11, 1946

BHAI BHAGWAT,

I have your letter. Stay where you are. Do not worry, if nobody comes up. We should visit people in their homes and instruct them about the rules of hygiene. We should go into the schools and undertake to teach there. For every moment there is some work to be done. Write to me regularly. How is the heat there?

See Zohrabehn and also Amtul.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : C. W. 2756. Courtesy : Manilal Patel

[1] The letter is written in Devanagari

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465. TALK WITH I. N. A. PRISONERS[1]

April 11, 1946

What particularly delighted Gandhiji during both these visits[2] was to see so many officers and men representing so many different religions and races of India drawn together in a common cause—the cause of India's freedom—and living together like members of one family. It was like a whiff of fresh invigorating air from the free India that is to be. The absence of the third party had enabled them to obliterate all communal distinctions and develop a perfect spirit of *camaraderie* in exile, but in detention, these distinctions were again being brought home to them.

"We never felt any distinction of creed or religion in the I. N. A." remarked one of them. "But here we are faced with 'Hindu tea' and 'Mussalman tea'. What are we to do?" Gandhiji asked:

Why do you suffer it?

"No, we do not," they replied. "We mix 'Hindu tea' and 'Mussalman tea' exactly half and half, and then serve. The same with food. Gandhiji replied (laughing):

That is very good.[3]

Harijan, 21-4-1946

466. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI

April 11, 1946

Summing up his reactions of his second visit[4], Gandhiji, in the course of his remarks at the evening prayer, narrated how Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, speaking for the I. N. A. prisoners in the Red Fort, had told him that they were finally convinced that India could not win or retain her independence

[1] This and the following items are extracted from Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter". Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji met "some 35 I. N. A. prisoners . . . detained in the Red Fort". According to report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 12-4-1946, Gandhiji, who was accompanied by Vallabhbhai Patel and Pyarelal, met the officers in the afternoon for about half an hour.

[2] The earlier visit was at Kabul lines on April 4, 1946; *vide* pp. 370-1.

[3] *Vide* also the following item.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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except through non-violence. They had further assured him that after their release they would serve India as true soldiers of non-violence. "We shall disdain to depend on anybody's charity for our support," they had told him. "We would rather dig the ground and till the land than compromise our self-respect by living on subscriptions." Gandhiji said:

I told them that they would be sadly disillusioned, if they thought that a free India would be able to provide them all those emoluments, honours and perquisites which a foreign Government gave to the army men by the exploitation of the masses, while education, public health and the allied nation-building activities were starved. India was a poor country, her children were born in poverty and grew up in poverty into anaemic, stunted specimens of humanity. If they wanted to become true soldiers of India, they must be prepared to share her destitution and try to ameliorate it to the best of their capacity, not expect to be pampered at the cost of the poor. A true soldier would prefer death to charity. In reply, they assured me that Netaji had inculcated upon them the twin lessons of poverty and equality.

Among us, officers and men live together and dine together without any distinction. There is no high, no low.[1]

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi mentioned how he had asked the military officer-in-charge of the camp whether the I. N. A. personnel were well-behaved. The officer had replied that he was very pleased with their behaviour. The I. N. A. people on their part had no complaint to make about the treatment they were receiving. He considered all that to be a very healthy sign. He interpreted it as an indication of things to come. A free India would not want to harbour bitter memories against anyone and would like to make friends with all including the Britishers.

In conclusion, he referred to the labours of the Cabinet Mission and suggested that all should pray during the National Week so that God might guide them as well as the people into right at this critical juncture in India's history.

Harijan, 21-4-1946; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 12-4-1946

[1] What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

467. WHAT ABOUT WOMEN?[1]

> I am glad to read your reply[2] to the complaint that enough women have not been put up for elections or selected for official posts. . . . Neither in the ministries and legislatures nor in local bodies is merit given first consideration in the matter of selection of candidates. Consideration of caste, community and province come into the picture and are the determining factors. The argument proffered in favour of such action is that none of these interests can be ignored. If the argument holds, what about the interests of women ? . . .

The above is from the letter[3] of an esteemed sister. The sister's argument boils down to this, that where everything is on a wrong basis, another wrong will not matter. But, if we go on thus, the evil will grow and we shall be hopelessly caught in a vicious circle. My appeal to women, therefore, is that they should intelligently become the personification of renunciation and thereby not only adorn but also raise the status of their sex and the nation.

So long as considerations of caste and community continue to weigh with us and rule our choice, women will be well-advised to remain aloof and thereby build up their prestige. The question is as to how best this can be done. Today few women take part in politics and most of these do not do independent thinking. They are content to carry out their parents' or their husband's behests. Realizing their dependence, they cry out for women's rights. Instead of doing this, however, women workers should enrol women as voters, impart or have imparted to them practical education, teach them to think independently, release them from the chains of caste that bind them so as to bring about a change in them which will compel men to realize women's strength and capacity for sacrifice and give her places of honour. If they will do this, they will purify the present unclean atmosphere. So much for women.

As to men, they should consider it their duty to come out of the impure atmosphere wherever it exists. They will not be

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as from "*Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

[2] *Vide* p. 338.

[3] Of which only extracts are reproduced here.

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guided by considerations of caste and community, if these are banished from their own minds. The best and easiest way to achieve this is for both men and women to stoop to conquer by becoming Harijans and that too of the last class, i. e., Bhangis or Mehtars.

Where capable women have been left out, men should make amends. It is their duty to give such encouragement to women as will enable them to outshine men. If both parties act as suggested, the atmosphere will soon become pure. Whether men do so or not, women's duty is, to my mind, clear.

NEW DELHI, April 12, 1946
Harijan, 21-4-1946

468. LETTER TO SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

NEW DELHI,
April 12, 1946

DEAR SIR STAFFORD,

What I wanted to say and forgot last night was about the States of India. Pandit Nehru is the President of the States' People's Conference and Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir its Vice-President. I met the committee of the Conference last Wednesday. Their complaint was that they were ignored by the Cabinet Delegation whereas the Princes were receiving more than their due attention. Of course this may be good policy. It may also be bad policy and morally indefensible. The ultimate result may be quite good, as it must be, if the whole of India becomes independent. It will then be bad to irritate the people of the States by ignoring them. After all the people are everything and, the Princes apart from them nothing. They owe their artificial status to the Government of India but their existence to the people residing in the respective States. This may be shared with your colleagues or not as you wish. It is wholly unofficial as our talk last night was.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON'BLE SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 182

469. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI

April 12, 1946

When I look at you I find very few people wearing khaddar. It is a sign of our misfortune. It is estimated that we pay over seven crores of rupees in purchasing foreign cloth. We used to supply cloth to the whole world, but today all of our trade in textiles is gone.

Since 1919 we have been trying to revive it. The Charkha Sangh has chalked out a programme for the revival of khadi. Some people sell away all the yarn they spin because they get money for it, and when asked if they have kept yarn for their own use, they say that they could get cheaper cloth made in Manchester or Japan. Khaddar should occupy a higher status, if we really want to attain swaraj through it. The yarn should be spun and woven into cloth in the villages.

People should go to Khadi Bhandars and get the cloth in return for handspun yarn.

The Hindustan Times, 13-4-1946

470. FASTING IN THE AIR[1]

Fasting has become a veritable epidemic. The blame lies at your door.

So writes a correspondent and adds:

One can understand the efficacy of a fast for purposes of inward purification as also for the outward. But fasts are undertaken nowadays for an increment in one's own pay or in that of one's group, for being selected as a candidate for the Assembly or for various other causes. You encourage one man for fasting for the removal of untouchability and yet you are willing to let another die who is doing the same for a different cause. Is this not injustice? Should you not lay down rules as to when to fast and when not to, what should be its duration, should fruit-juices be taken or only water? You talk of the

[1] Originally written in Gujarati, this appeared as "from *Harijanbandhu*" published simultaneously with the source.

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inner voice where you are concerned. Would it not really be best, if you were to stop undertaking fasts yourself and stop others too?

There is force in the above argument. It is, however, impossible to lay down rules. Experience alone can suggest rules. In particular cases it is open to a person to frame his own law or he can refer to me, if he believes me to be an authority. I have had the temerity to claim that fasting is an infallible weapon in the armoury of satyagraha. I have used it myself, being the author of satyagraha. Anyone whose fast is related to satyagraha should seek my permission and obtain it in writing before embarking on it. If this advice is followed, there is no need for framing rules, at any rate, in my lifetime.

One general principle, however, I would like to enunciate. A satyagrahi should fast only as a last resort when all other avenues of redress have been explored and have failed. There is no room for imitation in fasts. He who has no inner strength should not dream of it, and never with attachment to success. But, if a satyagrahi once undertakes a fast from conviction, he must stick to his resolve whether there is a chance of his action bearing fruit or not. This does not mean that fasting cannot bear fruit [or is fruitless][1]. He who fasts in the expectation of fruit generally fails. And even if he does not seemingly fail, he loses all the inner joy which a true fast holds.

Whether one should take fruit-juices or not depends on one's physical powers of endurance. But no more fruit-juice than is absolutely necessary for the body should be taken. He probably has the greatest inner strength who takes only water.

It is wrong to fast for selfish ends, e. g., for increase in one's own salary. Under certain circumstances it is permissible to fast for an increase in wages on behalf of one's group.

Ridiculous fasts spread like plague and are harmful. But when fasting becomes a duty, it cannot be given up. Therefore I do fast when I consider it to be necessary and cannot abstain from it on any score. What I do myself I cannot prevent others from doing under similar circumstances. It is common knowledge that the best of good things are often abused. We see this happening every day.

NEW DELHI, April 13, 1946
Harijan, 21-4-1946

[1] Translated from *Harijanbandhu*; the source, however, has : "that fasting cannot or can bear fruit".

471. LETTER TO DR. DWARIKESH JOSHI

NEW DELHI,
April 13, 1946

BHAI JOSHI,

The arrangements you enquire about in 1, 2, 3 do not exist. The efforts suggested in question 4 are surely to be undertaken. It is difficult to say at present what the future will be. We shall think more about it, if you see me when I am near Poona. Please come only by appointment.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

DR. DWARIKESH JOSHI
367-8 KALBADEVI
BOMBAY

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

472. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, NEW DELHI[1]

April 13, 1946

Today is the last day of the National Week which I have also called the Sacred Week. It was on this day that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh was enacted. The 6th of April [1919] saw the birth of satyagraha in India. The awakening among the masses resulting from it was so phenomenal that the Government could suppress it only by having recourse to the method of frightfulness. It culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, when Gen. Dyer with a party of fifty sepoys opened fire on an unarmed and peaceful gathering, resulting in the death of at least 500 people and the wounding of thrice that number. There was only one exit and it was held by the firing party so that the innocent men and women who were trapped there had no alternative but to be shot down like rabbits in a hole. It is true some excesses were committed by the mob before the massacre. But they were nothing as compared to the savage reprisals taken by the Government. That is the way of all imperialisms. In no

[1] This was reported under the title "Signs of the Time" by Pyarelal.

other way could a handful of foreigners maintain their rule over a nation of 400 millions.

Why have I recalled these incidents? Not to stir up bitter old memories or to keep alive the embers of hatred, but only to emphasize the distinction between the old order which they symbolized and the new that is in sight. I have not the slightest doubt as to the *bona fides* of the Cabinet Mission. I am convinced that they have finally made up their mind to withdraw *in toto*. The question which is exercising their minds is how to effect the withdrawal in an orderly manner and to that end their energies are bent. This is not the occasion to rake up old sores.[1] Gentlemanliness requires that if a person is sincerely trying to make amends, he should be thanked and congratulated for it, not that his past should be flung in his face.

You know Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia[2]. Both of them are daring men of action and scholars. They could easily have become rich. But they chose the way of renunciation and service. To break the chains of their country's slavery was their one passion. Naturally the alien Government regarded them as dangerous to its existence and put them into prison. We, however, have different scales to weigh merit, and we regard them as patriots who have sacrificed their all for the love of the country which has given them birth. That they would be found wanting in the scales of non-violence is irrelevant today. What is relevant is that independence of India is today common ground between the British and ourselves. Their freedom, therefore, is no longer considered dangerous by the Government. Viewed in that light, their release as also the release of the I. N. A. men yesterday, must be regarded as an earnest of the honesty of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. We must be thankful to them for this earnest, and prayer of thankfulness should ascend to heaven for the wisdom with which God seems to be endowing them.

The Satyagraha Week which is closing today is devoted always to communal unity and khaddar. Communal unity is not confined to Hindus and Muslims only, it extends to all including Englishmen. It must not become a menace to anybody or group. That is the message of non-violence.

The National Week is a week of self-introspection and prayer. Prayer is not for the impure in heart.

Harijan, 21-4-1946; also *The Hindustan Times*, 14-4-1946

[1] This sentence is from *The Hindustan Times*.
[2] Ram Manohar Lohia

473. DISCUSSION WITH WOODROW WYATT[1]

[*April 13, 1946*][2]

WOODROW WYATT: Do you think we are getting off your backs at last?

[GANDHIJI:] I have no doubt as to the sincerity of your intention. The question is whether you will have the strength and courage needed for it. It is so difficult to get out of conventional groves of thought and action.

We must not precipitate a solution. We must let India decide for herself. At the same time, one does not want to leave the country to chaos when an unprecedented famine threatens it.

Your difficulty will remain so long as you retain the belief that your rule has benefited India. None of us believes it.

One or two have testified to the contrary.

That is neither here nor there. I too believed it once. Such benefit as has really accrued to India is not part of foreign rule but is the result of contact with a robust people. The good is incidental, the evil of foreign rule is inherent and far outweighs the good. Communal divisions in India can be demonstrably proved to be a British creation. Even famine as we know it today is your creation.[3]

Mark the true meaning of my words. Famines may be said to be godsent. But a well-equipped country should be able to pull through a deficiency period and not helplessly succumb. Famines in India today are not due to rain or lack of it merely, but due to the fact that India is ill-equipped to tide over the dry periods. Nothing has been done to safeguard her population against the threat of recurring famines. Take South Africa. There they fight against the locusts, drought, etc., manfully and with infinite resourcefulness. Here famine is simply blamed on the rain gods, and there is nothing to be done for it.

[1] The *Harijan* report, which appeared under the title "Heart Searching" by Pyarelal, has been collated with the version in *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*.

[2] From *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VII

[3] Here Pyarelal adds: "The last remark startled the visitor; Gandhiji noted the effect his words had produced."

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Would India have been better equipped, if Britain had not been here?

Yes, there would have been no railways.[1] If there were no railways, etc., we would be living in a natural state as they used to in England and Europe in the Middle Ages when every feudal baron had his castle with its stocks of grain and water. Before the advent of railways in India, every village had its granary. In that sense we were better equipped. Moreover we had our system of domestic crafts to fall back upon, if crops failed. Now railways have depleted the countryside of its stocks and killed the handicrafts. Whatever cash the cultivator gets in return for his produce runs through his fingers like water, thanks to the invasion of his economy by the revenue collector and the imported foreign goods without which he thinks he can no longer do. The British have told him: 'Do not stock grain, do not hoard silver.' There is no provision made for a deficit period. Railways have become a snare, cheap transport, a trap. The Princes practised tyranny in olden times too. But it could not go far. The natural means of redress, viz., insurrection, retreat or migration, were still open to the people. They were not then disarmed or emasculated. Odds were even. Today the odds are so heavy that a handful of British soldiers can terrorize millions. That is what British rule has done to us. It is most demoralizing. The British must realize this and leave us in an exemplary manner. If the virus has gone so deep that it cannot be cured without applying a strong blister, even then they must go. A few lakhs might be killed in internecine warfare but real peace will come at last.

But it is a big responsibility to leave India faced with anarchy.

Not a bigger responsibility than you were prepared to face during the war out of strategic considerations.[2]

Supposing we imposed what we considered to be a just solution and went?

All would be upset.

So it must be left to India's decision?

Yes, leave it to the Congress and the League. Thanks to Jinnah's genius and British co-operation, he had built up a powerful

[1] Here Pyarelal remarks: "This was another shock to the visitor who . . . with most Westerners regarded railways as the proudest achievement of the British rule in India to combat famine. . . ."

[2] What follows is from *The Last Phase*. Pyarelal explains: "Mr. Wyatt mentioned the difficulty created by the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan."

organization comprehending not all but the major part of the Muslims. I will advise you to try him and, if you feel he cannot deliver the goods, take the Congress into your confidence. . . . But in any case the British occupation must end forthwith.

And what happens after the British leave?

Probably there will be arbitration. . . . But there might be a blood-bath. It will be settled in two days by non-violence, if I can persuade India to go my way, or the ordeal may last longer. Even so it would not be worse than what it is under the British rule. . . .

Suppose we set up an Interim Government and went? . . . If the Congress concedes Pakistan, it will then be their job.

That will be a good beginning. Even if the whole of India goes under the League in this way, it won't matter. It won't be the Pakistan of Jinnah's conception. India would then have something to live for and die for.

Whom shall we put in the place of the present Government?

You can ask the elected legislators to nominate their representatives. Supposing the Congress has an overwhelming majority, she will choose the names for the Interim Government. If the Congress can come to terms with the League, there will be no difficulty. But if Jinnah should ultimately choose not to come in, Congress and you must not be frightened. Or, as I have already said, you let Jinnah nominate out of the present legislators.

Supposing the Muslim League starts destruction, will you jail them?

I won't. But, maybe, the Congress will decide to fight. It will then be a clean fight, not the cowardly hit-and-run that you see today or taking of a hundred lives for one *a la* the British.[1]

Harijan, 19-5-1946; also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. 1, Book 1, pp. 191-2

[1] For Woodrow Wyatt's note on the discussion, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

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474. A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY[1]

IN TRAIN ON WAY TO MADRAS,
January 20, 1946

Without the maximum possible non-attachment, it is inconceivable for anyone to live up to the age of 125 years.

ON NEARING MADRAS,
January 21, 1946

If there is any hope for a man whose mind remains impure in spite of himself, it is Ramanama.

MADRAS,
January 22, 1946

Only that work which is done after anger has subsided can bear fruit.

MADRAS,
January 23, 1946

A foreigner deserves to be welcomed only when he mixes with the indigenous people as sugar does with milk.

[1] Originally written in Hindi, these 'thoughts' were translated and published under this title by Anand T. Hingorani, who explains in Preface that, after the death of his wife Vidya on July 20, 1943, during his eight-week stay in Sevagram from September 30, 1944, Gandhiji would greet him "every morning, after the prayer . . . speak words of sympathy and solace, and . . . write down something to meditate upon . . . From October 13, 1944, onwards, he wrote continuously for a fortnight, and then off and on . . . ." Before leaving Sevagram for nature cure treatment at Bhimavaram, Hingorani had requested Gandhiji to write something for him daily, which Gandhiji began to do from November 20, 1944. In June 1946, when Hingorani sought Gandhiji's permission to publish the 'thoughts' in book form, Gandhiji remarked: "What is there about them that you are so keen on publishing them? If, however, you wish to publish them, do so after my death. Such writings are generally never published during the lifetime of their authors. Who knows I may not be able to live up to what I have written! But if I live up to it till the last breath of my life, then alone will it be worth while to publish these thoughts." Gandhiji, however, discontinued the practice by the end of 1946, which he explained: "For the sake of my Noakhali mission, I renounced practically everything . . . I gave up the Ashram, all my companions and even writing for the *Harijan*. So I said to myself, why not give up writing these daily thoughts as well. . . ."

MADRAS,
January 25, 1946

Mere confession of a wrong does not erase it. Whatever is possible must be done to undo the wrong.

MADRAS,
January 26, 1946

Truth should be accompanied by firmness of purpose.

MADRAS,
January 27, 1946

Superstition and truth cannot go together.

MADRAS,
January 28, 1946

There can be no perception without steadfastness of mind.

MADRAS,
January 29, 1946

It is sin to regard anyone as helpless who has God for his support.

MADRAS,
January 30, 1946

Renunciation is true enjoyment.

January 31, 1946

Real weakness is internal, not outward.

February 1, 1946

A sage has said that it is through silence that we become fit for self-realization, and our outer life keeps in tune with the inner.

MADURA,
February 2, 1946

The same sage observes that where there is peace of mind there is inner strength which is unfailing.

MADURA–PALANI,
February 3, 1946

Man is endowed with intellect and with an inner voice which transcends the intellect. Both are, however, necessary in their own spheres.

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MADRAS (IN TRAIN),
February 4, 1946

The true mark of success in life is the growth of tenderness and maturity in a man.

February 5, 1946

Man spoils matters much more by speech than by silence.

SEVAGRAM,
February 6, 1946

Silence inspired by fear is no silence.

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1946

When the world rejects a man, God befriends him.

SEVAGRAM,
February 8, 1946

The world may call us weak but we must not weaken our ideals.

SEVAGRAM,
February 9, 1946

Outward peace is useless without inner peace.

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1946

He who harps on his woes, multiplies them manifold.

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1946

We can do nothing right, so long as we are not blessed with inner light.

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

Only he can be a leader who never loses hope.

SEVAGRAM,
February 13, 1946

Contemplation of an ideal does not broaden its scope, but it certainly increases its depth.

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SEVAGRAM,
February 14, 1946

Knowledge of self is an invaluable asset; we want to acquire it without effort. Riches, fame, etc., are worthless; for them we are willing to give anything.

SEVAGRAM,
February 15, 1946

He who has neither peace nor determination, how can he have realization?

February 16, 1946

Without selflessness, how can there be fearlessness?

IN TRAIN,
February 17, 1946

We seek the company of the good, for that is the food for our soul.

BOMBAY,
February 18, 1946

Humility does not work, if it is a mere pretence; nor does simplicity.

BOMBAY,
February 19, 1946

Deeds, like seeds, take their own time to fructify.

POONA,
February 20, 1946

Slavery to the environment dulls a man's mind.

POONA,
February 21, 1946

He whose mind does not remain unruffled in all manner of circumstances is certainly not at peace, howsoever much he may appear outwardly to be so.

February 22, 1946

Music does not proceed from the throat alone. There is music of the mind, of the senses and of the heart.

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February 23, 1946

In fact there should be harmony in life. The melody will pervade all activities and behaviour.

POONA,
February 24, 1946

God is omnipresent. Hence it is that He speaks to us through stones, trees, insects, birds, beasts, etc.

POONA,
February 25, 1946

Why seek outside that which is within you?

POONA,
February 26, 1946

We have no existence outside and apart from God.

POONA,
February 27, 1946

There can be no safety for us save in the lap of God.

POONA,
February 28, 1946

The humility of one who is humble by nature, as it is in the nature of water to flow downwards, becomes like water a blessing to the world.

March 1, 1946

We have made ourselves what we are.

POONA,
March 2, 1946

Our faith should be like an ever-burning lamp which not only gives us light but also illuminates the surroundings.

POONA,
March 3, 1946

Selfishness keeps us worrying for ever.

POONA,
March 4, 1946

When will the Ganga go dry? The moment it cuts itself off from its source. Likewise the soul will wither up, if it is cut off from the Eternal Source of Life, i. e., God.

POONA,
March 5, 1946

Whether we have to cover one mile or a thousand, the first step always remains the first, for the second step cannot be taken until the first has been taken.

March 6, 1946

What greater wonder can one wish for than the star-spangled sky and the inner firmament of the human heart equally adorned with excellences?

March 7, 1946

Reflection shows that heaven is here on earth, not in the sky above.

March 8, 1946

He who talks in tune with the rhythm of life is never weary.

March 9, 1946

He who always treads only the path of Truth never stumbles.

POONA,
March 10, 1946

An egoistical utterance should always be regarded as false.

March 11, 1946

To be guilty of a lapse, small or big, is certainly bad; but to hide it is even worse.

March 12, 1946

He who follows Truth through and through must always hold himself in readiness to die for it and, when the time comes, must lay down his life.

March 13, 1946

Not to own our mistake is to repeat it and to commit the additional sin of concealing it.

BOMBAY,
March 14, 1946

He alone can be a true satyagrahi who knows the art of living as well as of dying.

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BOMBAY,
March 15, 1946

There is a limit even to the potency of Ramanama. Can a thief, for instance, ever expect to gain his object by taking to Ramanama ?

POONA,
March 16, 1946

True happiness does not come from obtaining what one likes. It comes from cultivating a liking for what one dislikes.

POONA,
March 17, 1946

He whose eye says one thing, his tongue another, and his heart yet another, is a worthless fellow.

POONA,
March 18, 1946

When we know that Death may snatch us away at any time, what right have we to put off till tomorrow what we can do today?

POONA,
March 19, 1946

Good deeds let us do right now; the bad ones let us always keep on postponing.

POONA,
March 20, 1946

He who has God for his companion, why need he be sorrowful or anxious or look for another companion?

POONA,
March 21, 1946

To remember God and forget others is to see God even in them.

URULI-KANCHAN,
March 22, 1946

The more I think about it, the more I am convinced that Ramanama, recited from the heart and with realization, is the panacea for all our ills.

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URULI,
March 23, 1946

Attachment, aversion and so on, are also diseases, and worse than bodily ailments. How can they be banished except by Ramanama ?

URULI,
March 24, 1946

Uncleanliness of the mind is far more dangerous than that of the body. The latter, however, is an indication of the former.

URULI,
March 25, 1946

Who can describe the joy that lies in finding refuge in God?

URULI,
March 26, 1946

A good thought is like fragrance.

URULI,
March 27, 1946

All activities that are born of one and the same seed merge into one another.

URULI,
March 29, 1946

When the ego dies, the soul awakes.

URULI,
March 30, 1946

When the soul awakes, all sorrow vanishes.

ON WAY TO DELHI,
March 31, 1946

He who fears, fails.

DELHI,
April 1, 1946

Man can smile away his sorrows; by crying he only multiplies them.

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DELHI,
April 2, 1946

When a man sleeps under the sky, who can rob him?

DELHI,
April 3, 1946

There is not a single moment in life when man cannot serve.

DELHI,
April 4, 1946

Opposition makes the man.

DELHI,
April 5, 1946

If the inside is clean, the outside is bound to be so.

DELHI,
April 6, 1946

This day deserves to be written in letters of gold for, on April 6, 1919, India discovered herself.

DELHI,
April 7, 1946

When a man empties his heart, God enters it.

DELHI,
April 8, 1946

Ramanama helps only those who fulfil the conditions for its recitation.

DELHI,
April 9, 1946

He who has God on his side, has all.

DELHI,
April 10, 1946

He who has everything but God on his side, has nothing.

DELHI,
April 11, 1946

Living with God there are no difficulties.

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DELHI,
April 12, 1946

God is our Help as well as the Helmsman.

DELHI,
April 13, 1946

If all become teachers, who will be the pupils? So let us all be pupils.

A Thought for the Day, pp. 427-508

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON INDONESIA[1]

The Working Committee have watched with admiration and sympathy the valiant struggle in defence of their newly won republic and independence which the people of Indonesia have been carrying on with steadfast courage and determination against British and Dutch forces. This Committee emphatically condemn the wanton invasion of Java and other parts of Indonesia in order to impose Dutch imperialist domination on their inhabitants against their unanimous demand for a free State. Any support from any quarter to imperialist designs in Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere is resented throughout Asia as culpable violation of the professed aims of the United Nations and the undeniable right of Asian nationals. This will destroy the chance of international understanding and the very basis of any future world organization. The Committee regret that the United States of America have by their passive attitude encouraged these imperialist aggressions. While expressing their heartfelt sympathy with the Indonesia and Indo-Chinese nationalists for the enormous loss and suffering inflicted upon them by the imperialist powers, this Committee are particularly distressed to find the units of the Indian army arrayed against the Indonesians and Indo-Chinese and view with deep indignation this mischievous misuse of the Indian forces by the British Government. This Committee note with resentment that the Government of India has not granted necessary facilities to enable Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Java in response to Dr. Soekarno's invitation and reaffirm their determination to put an end to India's political subjection to which the present intolerable state of humiliating helplessness is due.

The Indian Annual Register, 1945, Vol. II, p. 101

[1] *Vide* p. 10.

APPENDIX II

G. E. B. ABELL'S NOTE ON INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI[1]

SEVAGRAM,
February 11, 1946

At 1 p. m. exactly I was taken along to Mr. Gandhi and was given a chair beside him. He sat on a mattress on the floor. Mr. Pyarelal, Mr. Ghosh, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and an anonymous young girl also sat on the floor.

It was Mr. Gandhi's day of silence. When I asked if I might speak first and deliver His Excellency's message, he nodded assent.

I said, His Excellency hoped he had recovered from the fatigue of his Madras tour. He wanted me to explain the grave food situation and ask for Mr. Gandhi's help and co-operation. I had come without any high hopes as Mr. Ghosh had told me over the telephone that Mr. Gandhi's attitude was thoroughly hostile—I said this in a joking way and Mr. Gandhi laughed heartily. His Excellency had toured in the scarcity areas of Bombay, Mysore and Madras. In these areas there were practically no crops. Food had to be found for the people of these areas for 8 to 10 months; otherwise there would be a disaster. There was a very heavy all-India deficiency and the world food situation was such that in spite of our best efforts we might get very little in the way of extra imports. Two different policies had been suggested. The first was to maintain the present basic ration of 1 lb. and rely on getting imports. The other was to cut down the rations everywhere, impose equal sacrifices on all, and thus ensure that even if no extra imports were obtainable, the people in the villages of South India would not starve. The Government of India were quite clear that the second was the right alternative. Mr. Gandhi signified that he agreed.

I said that we had very slender reserves, and that hoarding was a grave danger. If political parties used the opportunity of the ration-cut to agitate against the Government and undermine confidence in the food administration, the result might be to make a large-scale disaster inevitable. We had no desire to shirk responsibility, but there was a clear humanitarian issue to which everyone must face up.

On the political side, the scarcity involved a grave risk to the success of the efforts that would be made shortly to form a National Government and to get ahead with deliberations on a new Constitution. It would also be

[1] *Vide* pp. 114 and 120.

a very serious obstacle in the way of the new Ministries in the Provinces. The present Government was prepared to incur the odium of cutting the ration now in order that every available ounce of foodgrains should be saved for the scarcity areas, and a fair field given to the new Executive Council and the new Provincial Ministries.

Though the Government of India would have welcomed the nomination of a Congress representative on the delegation now going to London, His Excellency realized that Mr. Gandhi might find it difficult to help in this particular matter. Mr. Gandhi nodded emphatically, and I did not pursue the point.

It had also been suggested that Mr. Gandhi's support to an appeal for imports would be valuable. I did not think His Excellency would press this either. Again an emphatic nod from Mr. Gandhi.

His Excellency did, however, urge very strongly indeed that Mr. Gandhi should assist by not embarrassing the administration on the food issue—Party capital should not be made of it as the result of agitation would be panic, hoarding and the loss of many lives. Mr. Gandhi's influence would be invaluable and His Excellency hoped he would use it.

Mr. Gandhi was in a more friendly mood than I had expected. He wrote down that he had written at 5 a. m. that morning an article for the *Harijan* which met His Excellency's requirements. This he produced. I read the article and said that though it contained some very useful advice to the public, the emphasis, which was on the futility of the administration, was wrong, I thought he could do better than that.

Mr. Gandhi wrote that the emphasis was a matter of opinion. His article showed a way out, which was to put in a National Government at once. I said His Excellency wanted such a Government as soon as possible but the President of the Congress himself had deprecated the formation of a new Executive Council until after the elections were over in the Provinces. Mr. Gandhi said that he personally disagreed with this. An Executive Council could be formed in two days. I said, I did not agree. A serious attempt would have to be made to get the Muslim League into such a Government. This would be very difficult and at the best take time. If it were urged that the League should be by-passed, at once I would say that this could not possibly be done during the elections. Nor, at such a critical time, could we have two changes of Government in the space of two or three months. (Mr. Gandhi made it clear he thought only of a short-term Interim Government to give way to another Government in April or May.) Finally there was the obvious difficulty about the budget. Mr. Gandhi seemed to be impressed with the practical difficulties and did not pursue the idea further.

Mr. Gandhi then said, it would be helpful, if I would give him in writing suggestions as to what he should do. I said, if he wanted anything

authoritative, I would ask His Excellency to send him a letter on my return, but I emphasized that we were short of time and wanted a lead from him in the next few days. He said it would help, if I wrote down my ideas "as a man". I wrote down a few suggestions in the following words and got Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to give me a copy before I left:

1. Put about the idea that sacrifices are necessary by all, rich and poor, in order that the poor may live.
2. Encourage thrift, especially by housewives.
3. Discourage hoarding as a criminally wicked act.
4. So far as possible give the lead to electioneering speakers either to speak helpfully on food or at least not to say anything that will tend to destroy confidence.

Other moves in the same direction will occur to you. May not the shortage be a blessing in disguise, if all parties and people work together both now and under a new government to mitigate the suffering of the poor?

Mr. Gandhi read this and indicated that he was fully prepared to help on these lines. I asked him whether he would give a lead at once to Congress and electioneering politicians all over India. He refused to commit himself firmly on this point, but sent a message after I had left him that he would consider making a Press statement. . . .

Mr. Gandhi advised that His Excellency should send for Maulana Azad and say to him what I had said to Mr. Gandhi. . . .

Before leaving I asked what I should say to the Press. I told him that I had suggested that the Press should only be told today that I had gone to see Mr. Gandhi on His Excellency's behalf to apprise him of the food situation in India as a whole. He said, he would like us to say no more than that, unless we added that His Excellency had asked Mr. Gandhi to see him in Delhi but I had gone to Sevagram instead, because Mr. Gandhi, owing to his engagements, could not make the journey at once. He wanted no mention made of fatigue or ill-health and indeed he seemed very fit and spry.

The Transfer of Power, 1942-47, Vol. VI, pp. 932-5

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APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM M. R. JAYAKAR[1]

BOMBAY,
February 8, 1946

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

You will kindly excuse this letter, which is consequent on the eventful news in today's Press that H.H. the Aga Khan is meeting you on the 20th at Poona. This is an astute move, which he foreshadowed during his interview on reaching India a few days ago. Why should he be bothering you with his attention instead of meeting Mr. Jinnah, it is not difficult to understand. You have done your best to meet Mr. Jinnah's point of view by offering a division of India, though on the basis of a friendly transaction between two brothers. Mr. Jinnah contemptuously spurned it wanting the division as between two separate nations. With this background, the Aga Khan should be busy in meeting Mr. Jinnah and not you. But he won't do this because he knows that Mr. Jinnah will show him the door, if he tried to interfere. So he turns in your direction.

As for the Aga Khan's credentials to be an intermediary in such a vital cause, you will no doubt remember that he was the sponsor of the deputation to Lord Minto in 1906, asking for separate electorates—a deputation which the late Maulana Mohammed Ali described as a command performance. Further if you were aware of the proceedings of that deputation and knew, as I do, the activities of the Aga Khan during the four years of the Round Table Conferences in London, you would have no difficulty in realizing that, under the cloak of an international diplomat, he is as vicious a communalist as any in India. You will also recall what is now well-known, though at one time a part of the secret history of that time, that, on the occurrence of a European crisis, the Aga Khan went to Turkey to carry on negotiations, but the Ata Turk Kamal Pasha, on becoming aware of his visit, summarily ordered him out of the country.

These are some of the Aga Khan's antecedents which I have been able to recall. So I am writing this letter, as I did during your talks with Mr. Jinnah, with the view of conveying a caution—perhaps unnecessary—about the subtle nature of this attempt.

As reported in this morning's papers, the Aga Khan talks of a Pakistan State as part of an 'Indian and South Asiatic Confederation'. The

[1] *Vide* p. 126.

South Asiatic Confederation is not in his power to establish. It may or may not come. But, if you accede to his delusive scheme, the Pakistan in India will be established and the other ingredients of the scheme may evaporate into thin air. His clever device is to sink Pakistan in an attractive scheme of an Asiatic Confederation, but a little search into the matter will reveal that it is an astute method for obtaining for the Muslim League its cherished object of a divided India. I need not say anything more. I am aware, as you said in one of your replies to me, that you will not be wanting in caution, remembering that, anything which you think of conceding, it will be difficult for the country later to avoid. Such is your great influence in the country.

Begging you to excuse once more, I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. R. J.

MAHATMA GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers. File No. 826, p. 36a. Courtesy : National Archives of India

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENT OF K. KAMARAJA AND T. PRAKASAM[1]

KAMARAJA'S STATEMENT

After Gandhiji's recent article, I feel that I can do nothing else than resign from the Parliamentary Board because all this conflict has come about only on account of the parliamentary programme. Yesterday the Parliamentary Board met, as already arranged. But meanwhile Gandhiji's article appeared. That needed serious attention. So I adjourned the Board meeting, so that I may consider Gandhiji's statement. It came as a shock to me.

I am the official head of the Tamil Nadu Congress. According to the Constitution, I nominated the Working Committee. Therefore Gandhiji's reference can only be applicable to me. I have paid my respects to Gandhiji in person, and have been in his calling distance in Madras and during his Tamil Nadu tour. So have been many of the other members of our Working Committee. It pains me much that Gandhiji did not talk to us anything about the Tamil Nadu Congress affairs while here. His use of the word "clique" affects me deeply.

[1] *Vide* pp. 132 and 138.

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Neither I nor my colleagues believe in the parliamentary programme except as a means to further the country's struggle for freedom. I had made my position clear on dozens of platforms since my release. At any rate I am no aspirer to any kind of office under the parliamentary activities.

As for the public agitation against Rajaji, it is only the reaction among Congressmen and the public to Rajaji's action and his speeches since his Pakistan resolution and resignation from the Congress. But, after Gandhiji's recent article, I feel that I can do nothing else than resign from the Parliamentary Board, because all this conflict has come about only on account of the parliamentary programme.

My four colleagues, Messrs T. S. Avinashilingam, C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar and Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathy felt compelled to quit also. I have persuaded them to remain for the very simple reason that the short time available for the election work ahead could not admit of such wholesale resignations. I thank them for the spirit in which they have agreed to continue on the Board. They would certainly have been within their rights, if they had followed my example. But they and I do not want to disturb the election work.

For my part, I cannot but quit. For 20 years Gandhiji has been the leader whom I have unswervingly followed and my faith in him continues unabated. That I should occasion him pain drives me to take the action I have decided to take. I assure everybody concerned that every decision taken by the Board here or at the centre will command my whole-hearted acceptances.

Prakasam's Statement

February 13, 1946

Mahatma Gandhi, who had declared more than once that he had nothing to do with Parliamentary politics and that he was not interested in anyone particularly, was led into a serious error when he characterized the official Tamil Nadu Congress as a "clique".

I feel strongly that Gandhiji should make amends in this matter, and I have every hope he will.

Shri Kamaraja Nadar did well in resigning the presidentship of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Parliamentary Board. He fought well over a big constitutional issue until it became impossible for him to continue any further.

The Hindustan Times, 13-2-1946 and 14-2-1946

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM G. E. B. ABELL[1]

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
February 26, 1946

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st February making suggestions to meet the food situation. His Excellency, to whom I have shown your letter, is grateful to you for writing, and will have the various proposals examined where this has not been done already.

2. Only a day or two ago His Excellency suggested to the Commander-in-Chief that it might be possible for the R. I. N. to assist with fishing. Recent events may make this difficult, but meanwhile His Excellency has initiated enquiries about the possibility of importing dried fish from Canada and Newfoundland, and also about the securing of suitable vessels and equipment so as to make a start with developing on modern lines the fisheries industry. Already the Army is doing a good deal in the Grow More Food campaign and is releasing machinery for digging wells, levelling ground, etc.

3. In Delhi, a considerable part of the Central Vista is to be ploughed up and the gardens of bungalows are to be used for growing vegetables on a larger scale. The sending of food parcels to friends or relatives outside India has been ordered to be stopped and an urgent examination is being undertaken of the question of exporting groundnuts, oil-cakes, etc.

4. Bribery and corruption is admitted to be one of the worst enemies of efficient food administration. This is also one of the most difficult to defeat. The detailed implementing of the controls is mainly in the hands of Provincial Governments, and perhaps the new Ministries may be able to achieve results in this direction.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 143

[1] *Vide* pp. 162 and 209.

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APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM SUDHIR GHOSH[1]

During the conversation I had with you at Sevagram you talked about 'distrusting' one's friend. I pondered over it after I left Sevagram. It made me feel that I ought to say something about what I am trying to do and why. It is difficult to talk about it. But I enclose a letter which a young Englishwoman wrote to me when I left Cambridge. I hope you will have a look at it in a spare moment. She was a Quaker and a deeply religious person. We worshipped together in the Friends' Meeting House during our three years at the University. You know how young people get drawn towards each other and become fond of each other. We were very fond of each other; but we succeeded in keeping this friendship free from any sentimental bonds. She says in this letter : "You have not chosen to do anything easy and I fear that, humanly, you will often be lonely. But you have a source of strength which will not fail you in the worst trials and desolation. If my friendship can help, I shall be more than glad and shall send you my love as I do now." She helped me to understand the good that is England, and Cambridge gave me the inspiration to work for peace between the British and the Indian peoples. When I left Cambridge in the summer of 1940, she sent me a copy of the *Oxford Book of Mystical Verses* along with this letter. I experienced when I left Sevagram this time something of the 'loneliness' which she talks about in the letter. I know you will understand what I am trying to say.

Gandhi's Emissary, p. 78

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[2]

MADRAS,
February 21, 1946

MY DEAR BAPU,

What you said about me publicly has, like the churning of the ocean, brought up all the poison, and you have to swallow it like Rudra! I know you can. But it has made my old longing for peace too strong to resist. I

[1] *Vide* p. 174.
[2] *Vide* pp. 185 and 199.

haven't the strength to stand it any longer. I bore much all these days. I struggled hard to work without minding the calumniators but I give it up now. I have often asked myself the question: 'Is it worth while?' I feel it is not. I must yield to the longing of my heart not to be misunderstood. Why should I be thought to be seeking 'power' when it is not the case at all? I must prove it, although the proof is one that leaves no good behind but the mere proof.

Now that the urgent job of selections for the legislature is all over, let me leave the scene.

For my place (the University seat) there is Sambamurti available. He has not been given any seat nor did he apply. The position he has occupied in Andhra's public life for over a quarter of a century, the unrivalled manner in which he fulfilled his duties as Speaker and his drive and energy are well-known, and it would be wrong to leave him out. He can easily take my place in the nomination for the University.

I beg of you to approve of my action and pass it on at once to Sardar so that he may do the needful. Nominations must be officially filed before 1st March.

Love.

C. R.

[PS.]

I slept over this last night and am posting it this morning.

C. R.

Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50, Vol. 2, pp. 219-20

APPENDIX VIII

VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S MESSAGE TO FOREIGN PRESS[1]

BOMBAY,
March 4, 1946

Being a witness to the recent happenings in Bombay, I can say, nothing like it has happened within this generation. The destruction of property was wantonly thoughtless. There is no doubt that what happened was a direct outcome of the lessons of the war that has only officially closed, and an echo of what is happening in the West.

The inequality which still seems to reign supreme and which it was hoped would die out, was galling for the Indian Ratings and resentment of distinction between Europeans and Indians made them impatient to the point of hurling what was bound to be a futile defiance on the part of an ill-armed few against overwhelming odds fully armed.

[1] *Vide* p. 217.

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The populace, whose sympathy has always been with the fighters against imperialism, readily joined hands and brushed aside the wise counsels of leaders who love liberty no less than they.

It was not without the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the Ratings to surrender unconditionally, giving them at the same time the assurance that whatever was just in their cause would be championed by the Congress, that so far as was humanly possible, full justice would be done and that there would be no victimization. I am only hoping that the authorities will not hark back to old, worn-out methods and senselessly insist on false prestige.

Those who seek to uphold imperialism and perpetuate inequalities can ill afford to talk of prestige, much less of vindicating it in the present awakening and consequent determined opposition of which the recent events were convincing evidence.

As a confirmed believer in the method of truth and non-violence adopted by the Congress for the past quarter of a century, I deplored the destruction of property, incendiarism, stopping of locomotives and insult and injury to whitemen, but they must not be used so as to postpone the declaration of independence even by a day.

The national Congress will, of course, insist on the observance of truth and non-violent ways by the people but insistence on these ways ill lies in the mouths of those who have constantly denied both or either in their dealings especially with exploited peoples such as those of India.

We have been looking forward to the coming of the official Deputation and only hope that it is coming with the determined purpose of withdrawing British rule from all India and laying the foundations for a lasting friendship between Great Britain and India while there is yet a moment left. Let not history record that it was too late.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-3-1946

APPENDIX IX

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN DEPUTATION'S MEMORANDUM TO THE VICEROY[1]

NEW DELHI,
March 12, 1946

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the undersigned, Sorabjee Rustomjee, Sooba Rama Naidoo, Azumshah Ahmed Mirza and Ahmed Sadek M. Kajee, delegates of the South

[1] *Vide* pp. 230 and 284.

African Indian Congress, duly appointed at its seventeenth session of the Conference held in Cape Town from the 8th to 13th February, 1946, together with members co-opted, being South African Indians at present in India, under authority of the resolution of the Conference, respectfully beg to submit to you this statement on the proposed legislation, as announced by Field Marshal Smuts, in Union Parliament on 21st January, 1946, when he made known the intention of the Union Government to introduce legislation this session adversely affecting Indians in Natal and the Transvaal.

2. We are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for receiving us at short notice in spite of your multifarious pre-occupations.

3. The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the Indians in Natal but also on the Mother Country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape had practically no Indian question worth the name. Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had, and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The "location" system, later known as segregation, had its rise there. The whites in Natal had deliberately, and for their own sake, invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations and other industries. In their wake followed the traders and others, and the Indian population today is therefore a composite one.

4. One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the union of all the races of South Africa, i. e., the African (the Bantu), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians). What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world ! But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and anti-Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine, and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants, as will be clearly seen by reference to the Appendix A hereto attached.

5. We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts, which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa, is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made, in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. The wedge has now extended into all-round inequality and inferiority. Thus there are zones of segregation, one of which the whites are reserving for themselves in order to force by legal compulsion the segregation of the other races. God has made man "one great human family". The white races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts based on colour.

6. Bad enough as the threatened land legislation is, the prospective franchise legislation is worse. It is a mockery of franchise and a poignant reminder of the low status to be accorded to us—so low that we are not to be deemed even fit enough to choose one of our own as our representative.

7. We have come all the way from South Africa not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the Mother Country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the Field Marshal himself.

8. It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then may we ask whether it is not Your Excellency's double and special duty to enunciate your stand in favour of equality and, so far as possible, enforce it in no uncertain terms?

9. The announcement of the intention of the Union Government to introduce legislation so alarmed the Indian community that the South African Indian Congress at its Conference aforesaid resolved to send a deputation to Field Marshal Smuts. This deputation made representations to him not to proceed with the intended legislation, and to convene a Round Table Conference of the Union Government and the Government of India in fulfilment of the recommendation of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission made in March 1945. This request was refused by him, whereupon the Conference, after deliberating at great length, adopted the following resolution:

CAPE TOWN,
February 12, 1946

This Conference of the South African Indian Congress, after having heard the report of the deputation that waited on the Prime Minister, expresses its grievous disappointment at his refusal to abandon the proposed legislation and to convene a Round Table Conference between India and South Africa.

This conference interprets this refusal as the very negation of the principle of solving human problems by negotiations and mutual discussions and as indicating a legislative design of repressing the community and settling its fate at the altar of political expediency and sacrificing it to appease extreme white-reactionaries in this country. The legislation dealing with land tenure and communal representation to be introduced by the Prime Minister, which is totally unacceptable, is an insult to the national honour and dignity of the Indian nation.

This Conference of the South African Indian Congress, having regard to the Prime Minister's refusal, resolves to mobilize all the

resources of the Indian people in this country in order to take every measure possible to secure the lapsing of the Pegging Act and to oppose the proposed legislation of the Government by:

1. Sending a deputation to India:

(a) to urge the Government of India for convening of a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa;

(b) failing which to request the Government of India (i) to withdraw the office of its High Commissioner in South Africa, (ii) to apply economic sanctions against South Africa;

(c) to carry out a campaign of propaganda in India to secure the fullest support of India's millions;

(d) to invite Indian leaders to come to South Africa.

2. Sending deputations to America, Britain and other parts of the world.

3. Proceeding immediately to prepare the Indian people of South Africa for a concerted and prolonged resistance, the details of which this Conference instructs its Executive to prepare for submission and action to its constituent bodies.

10. We would, therefore, ask Your Excellency to use your influence to secure the holding of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to settle, in the words of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, "all matters affecting Indians in South Africa". But should your efforts in this connection unhappily fail, then we ask, in terms of our resolution herein before embodied, to withdraw the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter-measures will cause us hardship. But our loss we would count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement of the sanctions.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's obedient servants,
SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE (LEADER)
S. R. NAIDOO
A. S. M. KAJEE
A. A. MIRZA

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. II, Appendix III, pp. cxxxviii-cxl

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APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM SECURITY PRISONERS[1]

DUM DUM CENTRAL JAIL,
January 17, 1946

MAHATMAJI,

We offer you our allegiance—to you personally for your ideal and methods and to you as the leader of the nation. . . . We had liquidated the Jugantur Party and joined the Congress without any party reservation. . . .

We started working honestly and sincerely; and our doubts and differences melted away particularly in view of the ever-developing policy of the Congress during the war. But we were arrested in May 1941. . . . Just after our arrest we had some correspondence with you. You then wrote: "I have no difficulty in accepting your limitations of non-violence. If worked honestly, it will automatically expand." Now we can say, we have no difficulty in accepting your non-violence—not only as the best means for achieving Indian revolution but also for saving the common man of the world as against the rising world Fascism based on naked violence. . . .

We have been working in and with the Congress since 1921—of course retaining a second love sometimes dormant and sometimes dominant. In 1938 we outgrew that and made the Congress our only vehicle for serving the cause of Indian independence. Now we believe your method and programme is the only right way to be followed. . . .

We hope, the moment of the psychological break-away from the past would not be allowed to slip away and, under your inspiration and insistence, every effort would be directed to organizing the masses on the basis of your 18-point programme.

After our release we shall be working with the outlook stated above. We shall try to stay with you for some time before we start work here. In our future work we shall seek your guidance and help. . . .

Before concluding we must say a few words regarding our detention. The Government plea of terrorism is wholly false. Even before our arrest, Sir Nazimuddin, then Home Minister, personally told us his police reports had confirmed his personal information that we were doing nothing but Congress work. This was barely two months before our arrest. In 1943, as Premier, he made almost the same statement in the Assembly. This bogey

[1] *Vide* p. 236. Only extracts are reproduced here.

of terrorism is simply a police trick—to serve a double purpose—to misrepresent us to the public and thus to create difficulties for our work, and secondly to keep a broad hint that terrorist groups are still active so that guileless and sincere young men may be duped, and an atmosphere of terrorism kept up to serve imperialist purposes as against the Congress programme. . . . There has been no case of terrorism in Bengal since 1934, and it is simply insulting our intelligence as well as our patriotism to say that we are thinking—or for that matter any other political group is thinking—of terrorism at this hour of the day.

Yours sincerely,
ARUN CHANDRA GUHA
BHUPENDRA KUMAR DATTA
AND FRIENDS

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 311-3

APPENDIX XI

CLEMENT ATTLEE'S SPEECH[1]

March 15, 1946

I find from our friends in this House who had been out to India and returned, from letters received from Indians and from Englishmen in India of all points of view, complete agreement on the fact that India is today in a state of great tension and that this is indeed a critical moment. At the present moment the idea of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia. . . . It is not good applying the formula of the past to the present position. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920, 1930 or even 1942. The slogans of earlier days are discarded. Sometimes words that seemed at that time to Indians to express the height of their aspirations are set on one side and other words and ideas thrust forward.

I would like today, therefore, not to stress so much the differences between the Indians, but let us all realize that . . . there is this underlying demand among all the Indian people. . . . It is worth remembering . . . a nation of 40,00,00,000 people that twice sent her sons to die for freedom . . . should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny (cheers).

My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide, but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith a machinery for making that decision.

[1] *Vide* pp. 267 and 276.

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There you have met with the initial difficulty of getting that machinery set up but we are resolved that a machinery shall be set up, and we seek the utmost co-operation of all Indian leaders to do so.

India herself must choose as to what will be her future situation and her position in the world. Unity may come through the United Nations or through the Commonwealth but no great nation can stand alone by herself without sharing what is happening in the world. I hope that India may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantage in doing so, but if she does, she must do it of her own free will, for the British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free people.

If, on the other hand, she elects for independence—and, in our view, she has a right to do so—it will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible. . . .

We want to set up an Interim Government—one of the purposes of the Bill which has been discussed today—to give the Viceroy greater freedom in order that in the period which is to elapse while a Constitution is being worked out, you may have a government enjoying the greatest possible support in India. I would not like to fetter the Viceroy's decision in any way in regard to the choice of portfolios. . . .

I am hoping that statesmen of Britain and of princely India will be able to work out a solution of the problem of bringing together the various constituent parts. . . . I do not believe for a moment that the Indian princes would lag behind in the forward march of India. . . .

I am very well aware of the minority problem in India. I think all Indian leaders are realizing more and more the need for getting a settlement . . . and I believe that due provision will be made for them in the Constitution.

With regard to the treaty, we are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be to the disadvantage of India. . . .

In the mass of Asia, an Asia ravaged by war, we have here the one country that has been seeking to apply the principles of democracy. I have always felt myself that political India might be the light of Asia. It is most unfortunate at the time when we have to deal with these great political issue . . . we have very grave anxiety over India's food supply. . . .

Whatever we can do to assist, we shall do. My colleagues are going out to India resolved to succeed, and I am sure everyone will wish them Godspeed.

The Indian Annual Register, 1946, Vol. 1, pp. 130-2

APPENDIX XII

CABLE FROM J. C. SMUTS[1]

CAPE TOWN,
March 21, 1946

MAHATMA GANDHI
POONA

I MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST AND YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH IS WARMLY RECIPROCATED. INDIAN DIFFICULTIES IN NATAL HAVE BECOME MUCH MORE ACUTE IN RECENT YEARS AND NOW HAVE TO BE URGENTLY DEALT WITH TO PREVENT DETERIORATION FROM WHICH INDIANS MAY BE GREATEST SUFFERERS. REPEATED LOCAL CONFERENCES WITH INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS HAVE PRODUCED NO SOLUTIONS AND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE WITH OUTSIDE POWERS IS NOT POLITICALLY FEASIBLE. AS REGARDS PROPOSED LEGISLATION CONFERMENT OF POLITICAL STATUS ON INDIANS HAS BECOME HIGHLY EXPEDIENT AND IS GREAT STEP FORWARD EVEN THOUGH REPRESENTATION IS BY EUROPEANS UNDER SOUTH AFRICA ACT. TO ALLAY FEARS OF FURTHER PENETRATION BILL PROPOSES DEMARCATION OF FREE AREAS IN NATAL WHERE INDIANS AND OTHERS CAN BUY AND OCCUPY LAND FREELY AND QUESTION OF INDIAN SEGREGATION DOES NOT ARISE. DEMARCATION TO BE MADE BY JOINT BOARDS ON WHICH INDIANS ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED. ALTHOUGH BILL CURTAILS RIGHTS OF INDIANS TO BUY AND OCCUPY ANYWHERE IN NATAL IT IS ESSENTIALLY NOT UNFAIR IN INTENTION OR EFFORT AND WILL PROVIDE WORKABLE BASIS FOR INDIAN DEVELOPMENT AND RACIAL PEACE FOR MANY YEARS. AS SUCH I COMMEND IT TO YOU WHO KNOW HOW GREAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING HARMONY AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN [S] OF ALL RACES. I ASSURE YOU OF THE FRIENDLY SPIRIT IN WHICH I AM ACTING IN A SITUATION WHICH MAY EASILY GET OUT OF CONTROL. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION. I SEE NO HARM HOWEVER IN STATEMENT THAT YOU AND I

[1] *Vide* pp. 280 and 298.

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HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY IN COMMUNICATION OVER THIS MATTER IF YOU CONSIDER IT DESIRABLE.

SMUTS

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 94

APPENDIX XIII

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA[1]

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay", and of broken promises and declarations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on Coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-white peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic Bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

[1] *Vide* p. 285.

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The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war would have been fought in vain, if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and Coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realize that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, fain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its white settlers would listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.

Harijan, 24-3-1946

APPENDIX XIV

VICEROY'S NOTE ON INTERVIEW TO GANDHIJI[1]

April 3, 1946

I thought the interview with Gandhi, naked except for a dhoti and looking remarkably healthy, was rather a deplorable affair. The Secretary of State began with his usual sloppy benevolence to this malevolent old politician, who for all his sanctimonious talks has, I am sure, very little softness in his composition. He began with the demand for the abolition of the salt tax, which he led up to by a lot of rather hypocritical sob-stuff. (In the five years I have been in the Government of India, I have never heard from anyone but Gandhi a suggestion that the salt tax was really oppressive, and it brings in nine crores; but Gandhi wants it be removed as a sop to his vanity, because he went to prison over it 15 years ago.)[2] He rambled on in his usual rather vague way, approaching the Pakistan issue, by the way of his drunken son who had become Muslim for a while in the hope that it would

[1] *Vide* p. 310.

[2] In the source, Penderel Moon explains: "The tax on salt, which dated back to long before the advent of the British Raj, was so light that no individual was conscious of it as a burden. But its abolition was one of

cure him of drink; spoke of his efforts to meet Jinnah by Rajagopalachari's formula, and his Bombay talks; and finished with the meant-to-be plausible proposal that Jinnah should be asked to form a Ministry—the catch being that he would be subject to the Hindu majority in the Central Assembly (I had heard this idea put forward before). As usual Gandhi refused to be pinned down to details. The interview closed by a little speech of Secretary of State expressing 'penitence' for Britain's misdeeds in the past !

Wavell—The Viceroy's Journal, p. 236

APPENDIX XV

NOTE ON INTERVIEW TO CABINET MISSION[1]

Secret *April 3, 1946, 4 p. m.*

The Secretary of State said that what the Delegation would like best would be to have Mr. Gandhi's advice as to what he would like to see happen, especially in regard to the position as regards the Muslim League. Mr. Gandhi said that he would rather such a question should be put to the authorized representatives of the Congress. He had come, in reply to the invitation sent to him, to help and not to hinder and what he was most anxious about was that there should be the right atmosphere. He had asked in writing for certain action which would let the people feel that independence was coming.

The Cabinet Delegation would have a much greater measure of difficulty to contend with than any other mission to India. If they meant business, he would advise them to take action which would produce a hearty friendship. This could not be done without the release of the prisoners now in British custody. The flowers of the Indian nation were in prison—whether they were violent or non-violent did not matter, but if the Delegation was sincere, it was bound to release them. Jayaprakash Narayan was one of India's most learned men. For the same reasons, the salt tax should be removed. Salt should be free for the poor man. The humanitarian clause introduced by Lord Halifax as a result of Mr. Gandhi's movement in 1930 had worked well in some places. But whatever the legal difficulties were, the tax could be removed, and a message of independence be brought to every village in India. He was very sorry, he had received a letter from Mr. Abell saying that this could not be done. It had been written, if he might

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Gandhi's fads, and he had made defiance of the Salt Laws and illegal manufacture of salt—its manufacture was a Government monopoly and the tax was included in the price at which it was sold to the public—the main feature of his Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930."

[1] *Vide* p. 359.

say so, unthinkingly. Much taxation had been introduced by the Viceroy for war purposes, and he could as easily remove this salt tax.

Mr. Gandhi said that he had passed 18 days with Mr. Jinnah. He claimed to be a sincere friend of the Muslims, but had never been able to appreciate the Pakistan which Mr. Jinnah says he means. Mr. Jinnah had never in concrete terms given a definition of Pakistan. His Pakistan was a sin which he (Mr. Gandhi) would not commit. The substance of Pakistan as he understood it was independence of culture and a legitimate ambition. In Rajagopalachari's Formula he (Mr. Gandhi) had given concrete shape to a proposal to meet this demand. He differed from Rajagopalachari, but when the latter produced his Formula, he was on his last legs and said that he accepted it.

If this was what Mr. Jinnah meant, he accepted it and did so in writing. Mr. Gandhi's conception of Pakistan is there in concrete form. If that were put into shape and all the snags removed, it was to form the basis for negotiations and, unless he was reasoned into it, he could not go further because beyond that Pakistan is an untruth.

The two-nation theory is far more dangerous. The Muslim population is a population of converts—only a microscopic minority are not. They are all descendants of India-born people. Jinnah is sincere but his logic is utterly at fault especially as a kind of mania possesses him. He himself was called a maniac and he, therefore, honoured Jinnah for his mania. In 18 days Mr. Gandhi failed to be convinced of this two-nation theory. He asked Jinnah whether his own son who had gone over to the Muslim religion changed his nationality by doing so. Mr. Gandhi's Formula did not solve the difficulty unless we could get agreement. But why should the Delegation worry? They must lie on the bed they had prepared and this situation is a legacy of British rule. Wrong does not become right to give it another lease of life. If you have undone the past, you must write on a clean slate and cannot have two nations or two Constitution-making Bodies. The difficulty would not be solved if the Muslim League refused to join the Constitution-making Body. After having exhausted all friendly resources, if you feel a stage must arrive when you feel you must say that there shall only be one Constitution-making Body, you must take the risks of that. There must be a considerable interim period. What is to happen in that period and what is to happen to your promise? Let Mr. Jinnah form the first Government and choose its personnel from elected representatives in the country. The Viceroy would appoint them formally but, in fact, Mr. Jinnah would choose. If he does not do so, then the offer to form a Government should be made to Congress. After all, it is no light responsibility. The food situation is most serious, and you will not be able to deal with this famine without producing a psychological effect on the people. The best administrative organization will not help without this.

Mr. Gandhi said, in reply to questions, that there were two formulae of his, one by Mr. Rajagopalachari and the other in his correspondence with Mr. Jinnah which had been published. The Interim Government must be absolutely national. Mr. Jinnah could choose who he liked for his Government. They would be subject to the vote of the Assembly from which they were drawn. He would not mind the Council being responsible to Lord Wavell, if there were honest conventions. The Secretary of State said that, of course, Mr. Jinnah in existing circumstances had not got a majority in most of the Legislatures. If he had to choose Ministers to be responsible to Provincial Legislatures, most of them would have to be drawn from parties other than his own. Mr. Gandhi said, it was inescapable that the Congress had a majority in most of the Legislatures. His idea was that the members chosen from the Provincial Legislatures would be transferred to the Central Legislature, places being made for them by arranged resignations. They would then be responsible to the Central Legislature. The Secretary of State said that, even so, the Legislature would be, of course, very predominantly Hindu. If Mr. Jinnah were not prepared to form a Legislature on this basis, the Congress could be called upon to do so.

Mr. Gandhi said, he did not underrate the difficulties of the situation which the Delegation had to face. If he were not an irrepressible optimist, he would despair of any solution.

The Transfer of Power, Vol. VII, pp. 116-8

APPENDIX XVI

VICEROY'S NOTE ON INTERVIEW TO GANDHIJI[1]

Tuesday, April 9, 1946

In the afternoon, Gandhi came to see me about the salt tax. He professed to be coming purely as a friend of Britain, so that the British would get the credit of removing this unjust tax before the National Government came into power and did so. The old humbug, I wonder whether he suspects that a National Government would do nothing of the sort and that the British are easier to bounce. I refused, naturally, to commit myself in any way, and merely said, I would look into the matter. (He had sent Amrit Kaur to see Q. and try to influence her in helping bounce me.) He then asked for the release of Jayaprakash Narayan, whose wife is apparently one of his followers ('adopted daughter', he called her). I did not commit myself, though I expect we shall have to release him shortly. Gandhi then started on the I. N. A. and I told him exactly what the I. N. A. were—the weaklings and cowards of those captured in Malaya—and what folly it

[1] *Vide* p. 382.

had been for Congress to make heroes of such men and to neglect those who had remained true in spite of starvation, ill-treatment and torture. When we parted, I gave him a warning that the threat of mass movement by Congress was a dangerous weapon, there were still a great many thousand British soldiers in India who did not subscribe to his doctrine of non-violence, and might be very violent, if British lives or property suffered. He took this with a grin, and was very friendly throughout.

Wavell—The Viceroy's Journal, pp. 241-2

APPENDIX XVII

LETTER FROM G. RAMACHANDRA RAO[1]

I and my co-workers have been trying this method of residing and eating with the Harijans for the last five or six years. Our experience proves that it is an efficient method to remove the social isolation of the untouchables. But our work is spreading slowly. If a man like Bapuji took it up, as he did at Bombay, it is bound to gain wide publicity and attract more workers to the method.

In this connection, another suggestion might be considered. Side by side with the mixing up, an attempt also might be made to discourage the use of labels of caste and creed which raise imaginary barriers between man and man. Not only should the practice of untouchability go, but the Harijan should not be allowed to continue a Harijan; he should be united with the general stream of humanity. Similarly the Hindu and Muslim differences might be solved by discarding the labels. Such an attempt will no longer keep the form of communal harmony, but it would lead to the growth of one humanity. Communal harmony presupposes the existence of communities. In one humanity no communities exist. Though a powerful personality like Gandhiji might harmonize communities for a while, when the personal influence weakened the communities would clash again. So a permanent solution of communal differences is the growth of one-humanity outlook rather than communal harmony.

The growth of one-humanity requires the rejection of communal labels. Perhaps even the rejection of the labels of religion would involve a change of the belief in god, for every denominational label is associated with faith in a particular form of god. But, though every religion talked only of one god, in practice, however, belief in god always deteriorated into sectarianism and fanaticism because god is a falsehood. So atheism is the most suitable attitude for the establishment of one humanity.

[1] *Vide* p. 390.

In order to set up happy human relations, communal harmony is the utmost limit to which the theistic mind can be stretched inasmuch as belief in god has to be somehow preserved. But communal harmony is beset with definite drawbacks; so the desirability of atheism as the best means to establish one humanity and thereby to lay strong foundations for permanent peace in human relations might be considered.

An Atheist with Gandhi, pp. 47-8

APPENDIX XVIII

WOODROW WYATT'S NOTE ON DISCUSSION WITH GANDHIJI[1]

1. He thinks that the Cabinet Mission has come with the intention of getting off India's back. Their function here is to devise a means of doing it gently. He agreed that it should also be their function to precipitate a situation in which Indians must decide the future structure of India themselves.

2. It would be wrong, if the three Cabinet Ministers were to imagine that they could arrive at a just and fair solution of India's problems. They cannot, and it is not their affair.

3. If the British were to make a decision, and impose it, it would be overturned as soon as they had gone.

4. Pakistan is a British creation. (Incidentally, so is the famine.) He agreed that it would be much better for Congress to concede Pakistan than for the British. If Congress conceded it, it would be something much more glorious.

5. He thinks there may well have to be a blood-bath in India before her problems are solved. He would urge non-violence on Congress but does not expect them to observe it. The only thing he expects from Congress in the event of civil war is that they will fight decently and take one tooth for one tooth, and not a hundred teeth for one tooth as the British do.

6. The Interim Government should be formed on the basis of the Central Legislature; members of the Central Legislature should nominate the members of the Executive Council. Nominated members of the official block must be left out of the picture. If the Central Legislature nominated people who were not members of the Central Legislature, then seats would have to be found for them in the Central Legislature.

7. He would urge on Congress that they should offer seats on the Executive Council to the Muslim League.

8. If the British do not wish to accept the nominations of Congress, then they should accept the nominations of the Muslim League. He would then tell Congress that they must play fair with the Muslim League.

[1] *Vide* p. 406.

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9. He agrees that it might well be unfair for the British to form an Interim Government and not give it its support. They should certainly advise it in any case.

10. He thinks it would be reasonable to announce that after a certain date there will be no British support for the Interim Government so forcing the Interim Government to solve India's internal problems before that date.

The Transfer of Power, Vol. VII, pp. 261-2

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CHRONOLOGY

(*January 20 to April 13, 1946*)

January 20: Gandhiji was proceeding to Madras (from Sodepur) to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. In train, wrote Foreword to *My Master Gokhale* and *The Gospel of Selfless Action or The "Gita" According to Gandhi.* Addressed people at Cuttack, Berhampur, etc.; in message to people of Andhra, regretted his inability to stay with them.

January 21: In train, wrote Foreword to *Hindustani-Gujarati Kosha*; in Madras, was put up at bungalow adjacent to Hindi Prachar Sabha office.

January 22: Called on V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at General Hospital; in the evening, addressed prayer gathering.

January 23: Informed V. V. Giri that Trade Union red flag could be used along with the Congress tri-colour; after prayer meeting, received Parliamentary Delegation.

January 24: Inaugurated Constructive Workers' Conference; urged members of Parliamentary Delegation need for release of political prisoners; addressed prayer meeting.

January 25: In message, asked students of Pachaiyappa's College going in procession to observe perfect discipline and non-violence.

January 26: Answered questions at the Constructive Workers' Conference; spoke at convention of Harijans, organized by Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha; after prayer meeting, exhorted deputation of Nationalist Muslims to cultivate love and good-will towards their neighbours.

January 27: Answered questions at Constructive Workers' Conference; spoke at twenty-third convocation of Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha; received deputation of Harijans.

January 29: Addressed Constructive Workers' Conference; spoke at Women's Convention; addressed Nayee Talim Convocation and distributed certificates to teachers trained in Wardha Basic Education Course.

January 30: At meeting with staff and members of Hindi Prachar Sabha invited questions; later attended convention of teachers and students; exhorted Congress workers to throw off slavery to foreign language; called on Srinivasa Sastri.

January 31: Spoke to volunteers and members of mess committee; addressed Andhra Pradesh workers of Kasturba Fund; blessed tablets to be laid for new buildings of Andhra Mahila Sabha; appealed to workers to learn Hindustani.

February 1: Laid foundation stone for Harijan Industrial School, which he suggested could be named after Thakkar Bapa; at Harijan Industrial School, Kodambakkam, expressed hope that some Harijans would aspire to become Sanskrit pundits.

February 2: In *Harijan*, explained why the weekly was revived; left for Madura; *en route* spoke at Acharapakkam, Ariyalur, Lalgudi, Golden Rock and Manapparai.

February 3: At Madurai, visited Meenakshi Temple; at Palni, visited the temple and wrote in Visitors' Book.

February 4: Returned to Madras; during short interval before boarding train to Wardha, called on Srinivasa Sastri.

February 5: At Vijayawada, blessed the foundation-stone of Hindustani Bhavan; in speech, dispelled rumours that he came to set up Rajagopalachari as Premier; appealed to people not to waste their time on language differences; reached Wardha late in the night.

February 6: Addressed prayer meeting.

February 7: In reply to U. P. I. representative, denied report of his having admitted that Bengal famine was not man-made.

February 8: In *Harijan*, answered questions of Golden Rock workers.

February 10: Rajendra Prasad met Gandhiji before latter began his silence; *Harijan* weeklies resumed publication.
In letter to Viceroy, Gandhiji regretted inability to accept his invitation to go to Delhi and discuss food situation with him.

February 11: Viceroy's Private Secretary G. E. B. Abell called on Gandhiji for discussion on food crisis.
Gandhiji wrote down his answers.
Aruna Asaf Ali called on Gandhiji after prayer meeting.

February 12: At Wardha, Gandhiji spoke at second Goseva Sangh Conference.

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In statement on his talks with Abell, reiterated stand that Viceroy should invite Abul Kalam Azad so far as Congress policy was concerned.

February 14: In *Harijan*, suggested guidelines for facing foods crisis.

February 15 and *16:* Attended Hindustani Prachar Sabha meeting.

February 16: Advised Zakir Husain and some other members of Talimi Sangh that, in addition to their educational activity, they should become instruments for increasing food production.

February 17: Spoke to teacher-trainees on Basic Education; left for Poona.

February 18: In Bombay, addressed prayer meeting.

February 19: In *Harijan*, dissuaded public servants from misusing for personal ends trust reposed in them by the public.

February 20: Reached Poona.

February 21: In message to British people, said: "My life is a message."

February 22: In Press statement, condemned coercive fasts.
Presided over the meeting of All-India Nature Cure Foundation Trustees.

February 23: In Press statement, condemned mutiny in the navy.

February 25 and 26: The Aga Khan and Nawab of Bhopal met Gandhiji.

February 26: In Press statement, Gandhiji said that Aruna Asaf Ali betrayed "want of foresight to disbelieve British declarations".

February 27: Warned Manchershaw Awari against fast.

February 28: In telegram to Awari, Gandhiji reiterated his advice to give up fast, and suggested that he should refer his grievances to Congress Working Committee and A. I. C. C.

March 1: In telegram, again advised Awari to abandon fast and agitate for redress of grievances, if any.

March 3: In *Harijan*, Gandhiji answered Aruna Asaf Ali's criticism of his call to R. I. N. men to resign, if their condition was humiliating.

March 4: In letter to Dr. Dinshaw K. Mehta, repented for "the blunder" in having expensive premises for Nature Cure Clinic.

March 6: In *Harijan*, confessed his mistake in attempting to practise nature cure in Poona instead of in a village. Recommended formation of satyagraha brigades in every village and every block of building in cities, to help prevent looting.

March 7: In *Harijan*, deplored practice of communal discrimination in sale of Hindu and Mussalman tea, etc., allowed by railways.

In letter to J. P. Bhansali, desired that none should undertake fast without his prior permission.

In All-India Nature Cure Foundation Trustees' meeting, emphasized importance of Ramanama as basis of nature cure.

On or after *March 8:* Drafted memorandum to be presented to Viceroy by deputation of South Africa Indians.

March 11: Left Poona at 7.30 a.m.; reached Bombay for the Congress Working Committee meeting.

March 12 and 13: At Birla House, advised Shah Nawaz Khan and P. K. Sehgal of I. N. A. to absorb themselves in constructive work as it was derogatory for a soldier to live upon charity.

March 14: At Shivaji Park, in prayer meeting, explained the way of living and dying in satyagraha.

March 15: In *Harijan*, described reported worship of his image in temple erected for him as insult and "gross form of idolatry"; suggested the place be converted into a spinning centre. At prayer meeting, explained significance of Ramanama in nature cure.

March 16: In statement to the Press, commended Potti Sriramulu's service for the cause of Harijans at Nellore.

March 17: In *Harijan* and *Harijanbandhu*, explained the disadvantages of the decimal coinage system and appealed to Central Legislative Assembly to reject Bill for its implementation. Gave interview to H. N. Brailsford.

March 18: Condoled with Viceroy on the death of his son-in-law at Quetta in an accident.

March 19: In letters to Amritlal V. Thakkar and Vallabhbhai Patel, expressed his desire to put up in Bhangi quarters during visits to Bombay and Delhi.

March 21: At prayer meeting, announced decision to go to Uruli-Kanchan in order to make nature cure available to the poor.

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March 22: At Uruli-Kanchan, at prayer meeting, announced that he would receive patients for nature cure treatment from the following day.

March 23: In letter to G. D. Birla, reaffirmed his decision to stay in Bhangi quarters wherever he went.

March 25: In *Harijan*, explained reasons behind decision to put up in Bhangi quarters.

March 28 to *30:* At two independent meetings, spoke to Agents and Executive Committee of the Kasturba Smarak Trust.

March 30: In *Harijan*, announced that there was "strong evidence to counteract the feeling" that Sub has Bose was dead.
Opened library named after Kasturba.
At prayer meeting, advised people to lead healthy lives and turn the place into a model village.

March 31: Left for Delhi in response to Viceroy's invitation.

April 1: In Delhi, met Cabinet Ministers in the evening; spoke at prayer meeting.

April 3: In letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, pleaded for abolition of salt tax and release of prisoners.

April 4: Appealed to the Press to excuse him from answering questions on Cabinet Mission.
At Delhi Cantonment, met I. N. A. men.

April 5: At prayer meeting, paid tributes to I. N. A. men and Subhas Chandra Bose.

April 6: In *Harijan*, reminded Ministers that they were "servants of the people" and that payments were meant only for those who could not "easily afford to render free service".
At prayer meeting, explained the origin and significance of the National Week observed from April 6 to 13.

April 8: In letter to G. E. B. Abell, asked for an interview with Viceroy.

April 11: Visited I. N. A. men detained in Red Fort.

On or before *April 13:* Had discussion with Woodrow Wyatt.

April 13: At Prayer meeting, commended Government gesture in releasing I. N. A. men, Jayaprakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia.

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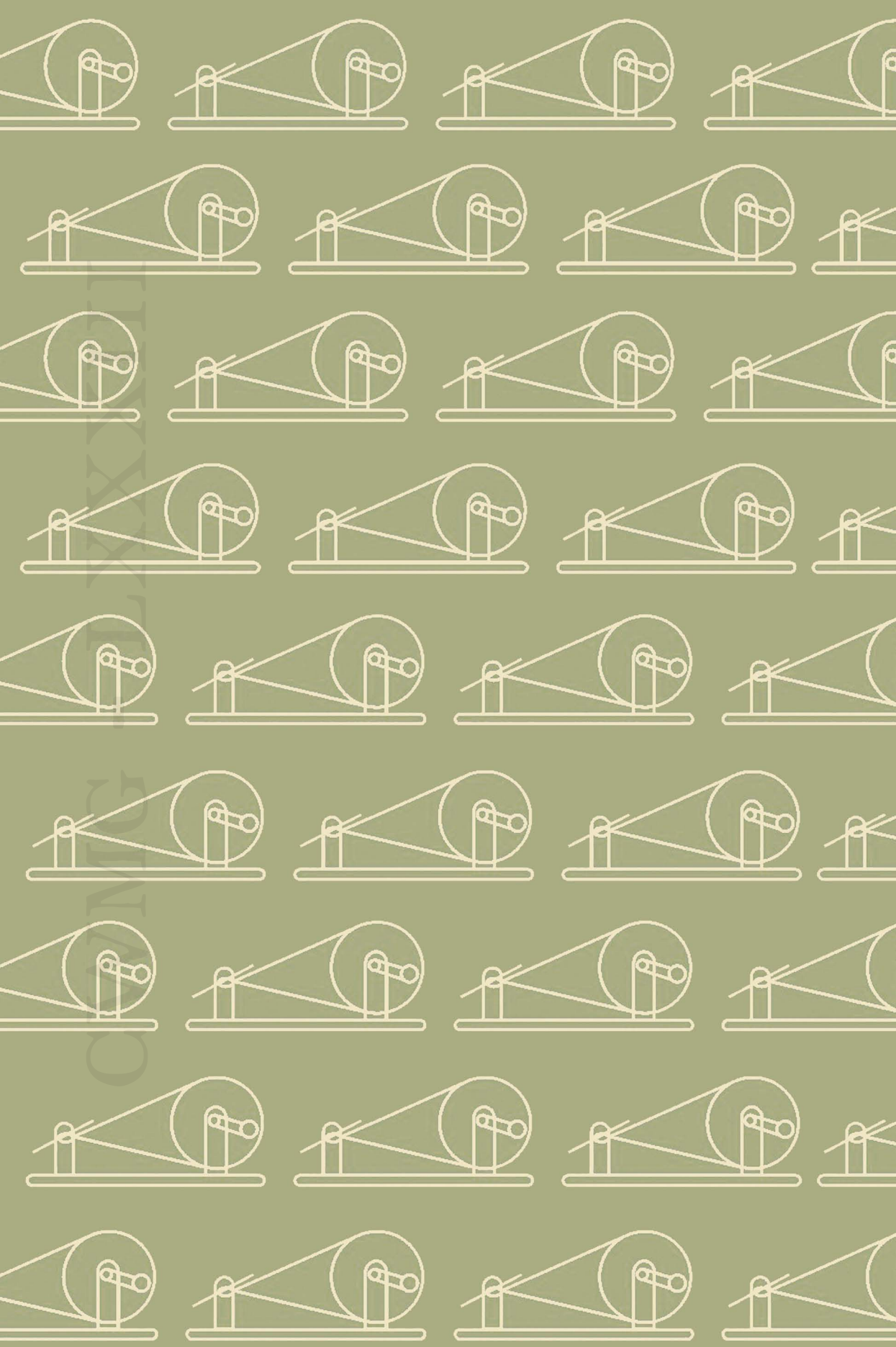
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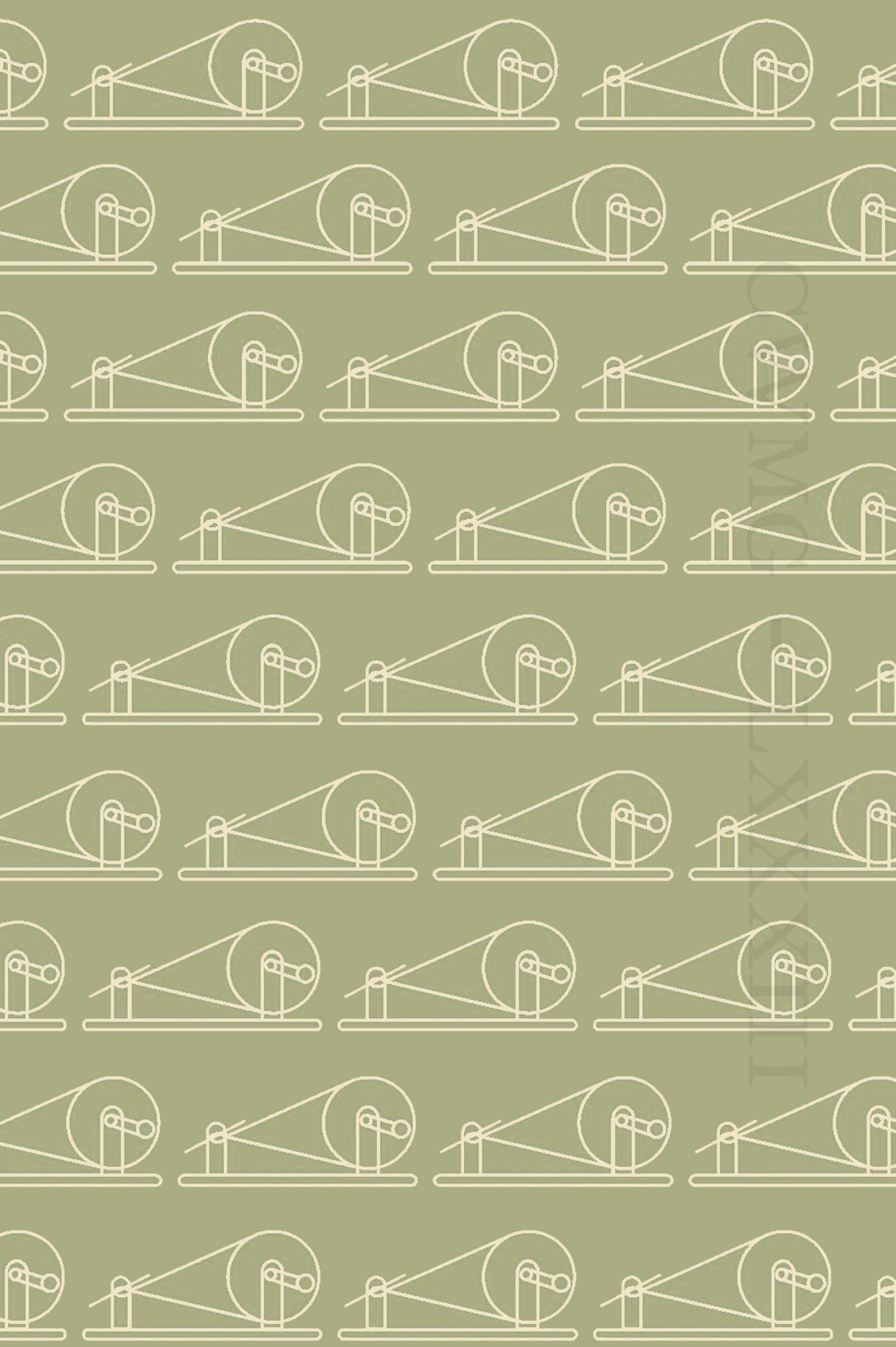
ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
183	* Last paragraph, line 4	statement	statesmen
230	* Footnote 2	Appendix X	Appendix IX
236	* Footnote 2	Appendix IX	Appendix X
249	* Item 289, last line	seeking the grounds	seeing the grounds
284	* Footnote 4	Appendix X	Appendix IX
323	* Footnote 1	Ganga	Gangi
329	* and 384 Titles	Prabhakar Parekh	Prabhakar
336	* Item 393, last line	for Ramanama	of Ramanama
352	* Footnote 1, line 4	advice to the starting	advice for the starting
405	* Line 8	crops if	if crops
427	* Footnote 1	p. 236	pp. 230 and 284
429	* Paragraph 5, line 1	after making	after having
431	* Footnote 1	pp. 230 and 284	p. 236
439	* Appendix XV, last but one line	irresponsible	irrepressible

* Due correction made.

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- The following kinds of corrections with proper and disciplined documentation have been made in the respective volumes; these changes can be verified with *archival- source-images* as well:

a.	Listed dummy errors of the original editions :	corrections done;
b.	Listed errata / corrigenda :	corrections done;
c.	Fresh errata / corrigenda :	added;
d.	References to editions later standardized :	corrected and / or listed as fresh errata / corrigenda

- List of abbreviations appearing in the following note with details of corrections made in the current volume :

I = Item Number; P = Paragraph; L = Line; LL = Last Line; LP = Last Paragraph;
D/A = Date Area; SL = Source Line; p. = page number; pp. = page numbers;
SPG = Spacing;
FN = Foot-Note; SS = Super Script;
APP = Appendix; RS = Right Side; LS = Left Side;
I.O. = Indian Opinion; NJ = Navajivan; Y.I. = Young India;
HJ = Harijan; HJB = Harijan Bandhu;
M.D.D. = Mahadev Desai's Diary;
REF-OD = Record of Errors from : Old Dummy;
REF-P-E/C = Record of Errors from :
Source Edition - Printed as Errata/Corrigenda;
REF-Vols.-001-I- Ed. 1969; 002-II- Ed. 1976; 003-III- Ed. 1979;
* ADDED - Remark = Necessary remark added;
ADDED = NEW : ERRATA / CORRIGENDA;
For other abbreviations :
Refer : Items 'ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS' and 'SOURCES'.

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xv	L-3	ACKNOWELEDGE-MENTS	ACKNOWLEDGE-MENTS	TEXT
xviii	I-132, DATE	(13-3-1946)	(13-2-1946)	Vol. 083 : 126 & C. B. Dalal Chronology
xxi	I-261	KIRSHNACHANDRA	KRISHNACHANDRA	Vol. 083 : 028, 109, 193, etc.
xxii	I-274	FREDRICK	FREDERICK	Vol. 083 : 016, 236, 299, etc.
xxiv	I-389	PRABHAKAR PAREKH	PRABHAKAR	REF-P-E/C; G. N. 9033 (Hindi)
xxvi	I-446	PRABHAKAR PAREKH	PRABHAKAR	REF-P-E/C; G. N. 9033 (Hindi)
4	FN-4	May 1934;	May-June 1934;	REF-OD
4	I-4 P-1, L-1	win or was	win nor was	REF-OD
8	I-8, P-1, L-1	tommorrow	tomorrow	TEXT
13	I-13, P-2, L-5	unforseeable	unforeseeable	TEXT
15	FN-3, L-2	Nichol	Nichol,	REF-OD
16	P-1, L-4	I am going.	I am going	TEXT
16	I-16, Title	PATTABHAI	PATTABHI	Vol. 083 : 042, 453, 473
17	LP, LL-8	laywer	lawyer	TEXT
18	P-1, L-3	of	on	REF-OD
18	LP, L-2	Hindustani, to	Hindustani to	REF-OD
24	I-26, P-3, L-1	Hir dustani	Hindustani	TEXT
25	P-1, L-3	Maintenarce	Maintenance	REF-OD
28	LP, LL-3	clements	elements	TEXT

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29	I-29, P-1, L-3	nad	had	TEXT
33	FN-1, L-2	Ardhra	Andhra	Vol. 083 : 034, 038, 042, etc.
35	P-1, L-2	reart	heart	TEXT
36	P-2, LL-7	mistaker	mistaken	TEXT
38	P-1, LL	indeper der ce	independence	TEXT
38	P-2, L-3	accommouation.	accommodation.	TEXT
43	I-44, Salutation	*ſrom* (*ſ*-TURNED)	*from*	STYLE
53	I-49, P-1, L-5	connecion	connection	TEXT
53	FN-2, L-1	training in,	training in	REF-OD
54	I-51, Title	SINDH1	SINDHI	TEXT
58	P-1, L-3	conquerred	conquered	TEXT
65	I-59, P-1, L-3	He was glad,	He was glad	REF-OD
79	I-72, P-1, L-1	Gandhji	Gandhiji	TEXT
81	FN-2, L-4	matress	mattress	TEXT
82	I-77, P-3, L-4	untouchabilty	untouchability	TEXT
82	I-77, D/A	I ebruary	February	REF-OD
83	I-78	PALN1	PALNI	TEXT
83	I-78	VISTIORS'	VISITORS'	TEXT
83	I-78, SL	5-1-1946	5-2-1946	TEXT
84	I-80, P-1, LL	Preisdential	Presidential	TEXT

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85	P-3, L-4	experssion	expression	TEXT
86	I-81, P-2, L-5	Twnty-five	Twenty-five	TEXT
87	I-83, P-1, L-1	Gandhji	Gandhiji	TEXT
88	P-7, L-1	Gandhji	Gandhiji	TEXT
89	P-1, L-1	demonstratations	demonstrations	TEXT
93	P-1, L-22	poeple	people	TEXT
96	P-5, L-2	skeletones	skeletons	TEXT
101	NO. 5, L-1	dailyrated	daily rated	TEXT
102	P-3, L-4	solider who	soldier who	TEXT
105	I-103, P-1, L-2	thc	the	TEXT
107	P-1, L-11	meanwhile.	meanwhile,	TEXT
112	I-110, P-1, L-2	serveral	several	TEXT
114	FN-1, LL-6	Mr Jinnah	Mr. Jinnah	TEXT
115	I-114, P-1, L-4	aslo	also	TEXT
120	I-123, P-1, L-1	Secreraty	Secretary	TEXT
120	I-123, P-1, L-1	Priavate	Private	TEXT
131	I-141, D/A	Febraury	February	TEXT
138	FN-1, L-1	source, letter	source, the letter	REF-OD
139	LP, LL	Besides	Besides,	REF-OD
141	FN-1, L-2	simultaneouly	simultaneously	TEXT

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143	I-155, P-2, L-1	Kalelker	Kalelkar	Vol. 083 : 144, 145, 146, etc.
143	P-3, L-8	coversion	conversion	TEXT
147	LP-3, LL-3	chidren	children	TEXT
148	LP, LL-2	lesst	less	TEXT
150	P-1, LL	mornl	moral	TEXT
154	LP, LL	bv	by	TEXT
154	I-163, P-1, L-1	in tersting	interesting	REF-OD
155	P-1, L-4	Ceasar's	Caesar's	TEXT
170	I-187, P-1, L-2	Assmbly	Assembly	TEXT
178	P-1, SL	Courtesy : Pyarela	Courtesy : Pyarelal	TEXT
178	FN-1, L-5	Brtish	British	TEXT
183	P-3, L-3	the	If the	HJ. 3-3-46
183	LP, LL	wrose	worse	TEXT
183	LP, LL-3	statesment	statesmen	REF-P-E/C
187	I-212, P-1, L-1	RECEVIED	RECEIVED	TEXT
198	I-224, LL	ANY	ANY.	TEXT
203	P-1, L-2	Ganeshkind	Ganeshkhind	Vol. 083 : 199, 202, 203, etc.
209	I-239, SL	Gandhji's	Gandhiji's	TEXT
212	I-244, P-1, L-2	such an expensive	such expensive	REF-OD
212	I-244, P-1, L-5-6	paraphernelia	paraphernalia	TEXT

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214	I-248, P-2, L-1	applicaton	application	TEXT
215	P-1, SL	Gandhijis	Gandhiji's	TEXT
215	P-1, L-1	diflerent	different	TEXT
215	I-249, P-4, SNK	कर्मण्येव वाधिकारस्ते	कर्मण्येव अधिकारस्ते	TEXT
218	P-2, LL-14	efficatious	efficacious	TEXT
220	LP, L-3	lettting	letting	TEXT
221	P-3, L-3	Bomay	Bombay	TEXT
223	I-257, ADD, L-2	PREISDENT	PRESIDENT	TEXT
227	FN-1	Literaly	Literally	TEXT
228	SL	fascimile	facsimile	TEXT
230	FN-2, L-2	Appendix X	Appendix IX	REF-P-E/C
232	I-268, SL	1386-A	1386-A.	TEXT
236	FN-2	Appendix IX	Appendix X	REF-P-E/C
243	P-2, LL-5	rememberance	remembrance	TEXT
246	P-1, L-10	bettlefield	battlefield	TEXT
248	NO. 2, L-3	aflairs	affairs	TEXT
249	I-289, P-1, L-3	seeking	seeing	REF-P-E/C
250	I-290, P-5, L-4	Bahi Jhaverbhai	Bhai Jhaverbhai	TEXT
254	P-1, L-3	behined	behind	TEXT
254	P-1, L-7	together ate,	together, ate	REF-OD

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255	I-298, P-1, L-2	glady	gladly	TEXT
256	I-300, P-2, L-2	dfficult	difficult	TEXT
257	P-6, L-4	circumtances	circumstances	TEXT
258	P-6, L-4	satygarahi	satyagrahi	TEXT
259	P-2, L-3	ships,	shops,	REF-OD
260	P-2, L-2	oppponent	opponent	TEXT
261	I-303, P-1, LL-5	sticks of	sticks at	REF-OD
263	P-4, L-6	Charaka.	Charaka.'	TEXT
268	LL-9	to advice	to advise	REF-OD
271	P-1, L-5	equivalant	equivalent	TEXT
272	I-316, P-2, LL	Legislalture	Legislature	TEXT
278	P-4, L-3	Britian	Britain	TEXT
280	I-325, SL	Gandhijis	Gandhiji's	TEXT
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284	FN-4	pp. 230-2.	pp. 230-2	TEXT
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285	P-2, L-3	exsit	exist	TEXT
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314	P-1, LL-6	spinnners	spinners	TEXT
323	FN-1	Ganga	Gangi	REF-P-E/C
324	LP, LL	tha	that	TEXT
326	I-385, Salutation	GHANSYAMDASJI	GHANSHYAMDASJI	Vol. 083 : 311
329	I-389, Title	PRABHAKAR PAREKH	PRABHAKAR	REF-P-E/C
329	Header	PRABHAKAR PAREKH	PRABHAKAR	REF-P-E/C
330	I-389, SL	Prabhakar Parekh	Prabhakar	REF-P-E/C
331	FN-1, L-2	Kaur,	Kaur	REF-OD
332	LP-2, L-4	women	woman	REF-OD
332	P-3, L-5	jewellary	jewellery	TEXT
332	LP, L-1	femininists	feminists	TEXT
333	P-7, L-2	furnance	furnace	TEXT
333	Header	KALELKER	KALELKAR	Vol. 083 : 022, 050, 143
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336	P-5, LL	for	of	REF-P-E/C
337	SL, L-1	Mahatma–Life	Mahatma—Life	REF-OD
342	I-401, P-1, L-5	SUGGSTIONS	SUGGESTIONS	TEXT
346	I-407, P-1, LL-3	advice	advise	REF-OD
350	I-413, P-1, L-1	blackiest	blackest	REF-OD

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352	FN-1, L-4	to the	for the	REF-P-E/C
356	P-4, L-6	colllection	collection	TEXT
359	FN-1	Ramalila	Ramlila	TEXT
362	I-425, LL-2	R. G. Conhrane	R. G. Cochrane	HJ. 14-4-46
362	I-425, P-3, L-3	lepromatons	lepromatous	TEXT
364	P-1, L-3	plebian	plebeian	HJ. 28-4-46
365	I-428, P-1, L-2	instills	instils	REF-OD
368	FN-1, L-6	yout o	you to	REF-OD
369	FN-3 & 4	on a	in a	REF-OD
376	P-2, L-4	Mulsim	Muslim	Vol. 083 : 029, 052, 061
380	P-1, L-10	contraditction	contradiction	TEXT
381	P-5, L-1	*vana sap ati*	*vana sp ati*	Vol. 083 : 380, 455
384	I-446, Title	PRABHAKAR PAREKH	PRABHAKAR	REF-P-E/C
385	I-447, P-2, L-2	streadiness	steadiness	TEXT
385	SL	Prabhakar Parekh	Prabhakar	REF-P-E/C
386	FN-4	*g* ive (ITALIC)	give (NORMAL)	STYLE
391	I-457, P-1, L-1	Musnhiji	Munshiji	REF-OD
392	LP, L-3	are he	are the	REF-OD
395	I-464, Salutation	Blesssings	Blessings	TEXT
399	P-1, L-4	class.,	class,	TEXT

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400	I-469	469	469.	TEXT
404	LP, L-2	godsend.	godsent.	TEXT
405	P-2, L-7	fall backupon, crops if failed.	fall back upon, if crops failed.	REF-P-E/C
405	P-2, LL	warfare but,	warfare but	REF-OD
406	P-1, L-2	Mulsims	Muslims	TEXT
407	I-474, P-2, L-1	man,	man	REF-OD
407	FN-1, L-11	in a book	in book	REF-OD
412	P-2, L-2	adorened	adorned	REF-OD
415	LL-5	Aprill	April	TEXT
420	SL	Power.	Power,	TEXT
427	FN-1	p. 236.	pp. 230 and 284.	REF-P-E/C
427	P-5, L-2	will lie	ill lies	REF-OD
429	LP-3, L-1	after making	after having	REF-OD
431	LP-3, L-2	world not	would not	REF-OD
431	FN-1	Vide pp. 230 and 284.	Vide p. 236.	REF-OD
435	APP-XIII, P-1, L-4	Vic roy	Viceroy	REF-OD
435	APP-XIII, P-1, L-5	progressve	progressive	REF-OD
435	APP-XIII, P-1, L-6	member or	member of	REF-OD
439	P-2, L-2	irresponsible	irrepressible	REF-P-E/C
439	P-1, L-2	Rajagolapalchari	Rajagopalachari	Vol. 083 : 017, 018, 062, etc.

Page No.	Location	Source Images	Finished Digital Searchable Images	Corrected as per - what
439	APP-XVI, Title	VICEROY	VICEROY'S	TEXT
440	LP-2, LL-3	weakened,	weakened	REF-OD
443	L-6	Balavantsinha	Balvantsinha	Vol. 083 : 182, 281, 282, etc.
444	LL-8	publihsed	published	TEXT
446	FEB-1, L-3	Industriral	Industrial	TEXT
447	FEB-14	14	*14*	STYLE
448	MARCH-15, L-2	idolatory	idolatry	TEXT
448	MARCH-15, L-4	Rananama	Ramanama	Vol. 083 : 030, 094, 107, etc.
448	MARCH-17, L-1	Hrijanbandhu	Harijanbandhu	REF-OD
448	MARCH-6, L-2	practice	practise	REF-OD
449	MARCH-30, L-3	liberary	library	TEXT
451	RS, L-5	Gokhle	Gokhale	Vol. 083 : 001, 087, 247, etc.
451	RS, LL-16	H. N ,	H. N.,	TEXT
457	LS, L-5	Bhajanavali	Bhajanavali,	TEXT
458	RS, LL-16	R. C.,	R. G.,	Vol. 083 : 103, 452
459	LS, L-7	ASSEMBLY	ASSEMBLY,	TEXT
460	LS, L-5	DiSEASES	DISEASES	TEXT
463	LS, L-3	ndustani	Hindustani	TEXT
466	LS, L-4	KHWAZA	KHWAJA	Vol. 083 : 143
469	LS, L-17	PARLIAMENTRY	PARLIAMENTARY	TEXT

Page No.	Location	Source Images	Finished Digital Searchable Images	Corrected as per - what
469	LS, L-2	31*f n* (*f*-TURNED)	31*f n*	STYLE
470	LS, LL-12	63	63,	TEXT
473	RS, LL-15	SUBHDRABAI	SUBHADRABAI	Vol. 083 : 334
473	LS, LL-14	equlity	equality	TEXT
473	LS, LL-12	Asitic	Asiatic	TEXT
473	RS, LL-16	A,	A.,	TEXT
473	RS, LL-14	34*f n* 89	34*f n*, 89	TEXT
474	LS, L-12	62*f n.*,	62*f n*,	TEXT
476	Page No.	Footnote 3	Footnote 4	Vol. 083 : 284
SEE ALSO				
476	ERRATA			REF-P-E/C

CWMG CELL, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD; 2019.

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ABOUT THE ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY OF

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI:

CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994 (ENGLISH SERIES):

VOLUMES – I (001) TO C (100):

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CONTENT LIST OF THIS USER DOCUMENT *

- NOTE TO THE READER [2018] ..... (pp. 3-4 of 15)
- NOTES FOR INFORMATION AND RECORD ..... (pp. 5-7 of 15)
- AVAILABLE AS OF NOW ..... (pp. 8 of 15)
- TABLE OF STANDARD EDITIONS USED ..... (pp. 9-15 of 15)

.....

* FOR THIS USER DOCUMENT &

THE RESPECTIVE DATA OF THE CWMG-KS-1956-1994 (ENGLISH SERIES),

PLEASE REFER THE URLs :

www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi &
www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist

.....

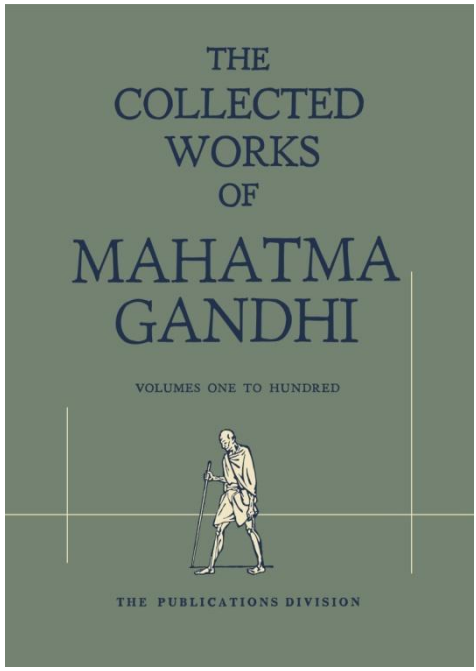
COURTESY:

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION,

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING,

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

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". . . But to cut out words or passages from a letter without reference to the writer may lead to dangerous interpretations or interpretations not intended by the writer. . . . My letters are all thought out and conceived as one piece. They contain mostly ethical matters. The removal of a word may change the meaning. I should not like my letters to be interfered with without my knowledge. . . . / I wish you could grant relief in this matter by no means trivial to me."

MKG, January 16, 1933; CWMG-Vol.-053-LIII-p.61.

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"It was after much thought that I declared a trust in connection with my writings. . . . I preserved fully the idea lying behind dislike for copyright, i.e., for personal gain for one's writings. The idea also was to prevent profiteering by publishers or distortion or misrepresentation, wilful or unintentional. . . ."

MKG, July 5, 1944**;** CWMG-Vol.-077-LXXVII-p.353.

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NOTE TO THE READER [2019]

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) is a monumental document of Gandhiji's words as he spoke and wrote, day after day, year after year, beginning with the year 1884 till his assassination on January 30, 1948. In this series his writings, scattered all over the world, have been collected and constructed with stringent academic discipline and with an ethical sense of loyalty.

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) (CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition, called so after Prof. K. Swaminathan, the chief architect of the original series, who had led uniquely qualified team of editors) had taken about 38 years in the making (1956-1994). They are a series of one hundred volumes, intricately connected across the series, as an integrated whole. The CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition volumes were published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India in the years 1956 to 1994. The exercise was directed by the CWMG Advisory Board of the Gandhi veterans closely connected with him. Some details in this respect can be viewed in volumes I, XC, XCVIII, XCIX, C, and the standard edition table.

The Electronic Master Copy as reproduced from the scanned images of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition (Volumes I to C – 1 to 100) (1956-1994) is in the form of refined (finished) electronic images, matched with the original-KS-edition, word by word, verified with the original source-documents where necessary. This will now form the basis for all future printing, as impressions of the images thereof.

The Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original architecture – volume structure, font structure, line structure, page structure – including its visual look – fully and loyally. The Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original editorial edifice and content entirely and loyally.

The reproduction from the CWMG-original-KS-edition for volumes from I to XCIII-Supplementary III, and for volumes XCVIII-Index of Subjects and XCIX-Index of Persons has been done from the respective editions as printed at the Navajivan Press (Mudranalaya), Ahmedabad, India. The reproduction from the CWMG-original-KS-edition for volumes from XCIV-Supplementary IV to XCVII- Supplementary VII has been done from the respective editions as printed at different Printers from Delhi, India. The details of editions used for reproduction for individual volumes can be seen in a table given on pages 9 to 15 of this user document.

The original manually prepared indexes – appearing at the end of each volume, and in the two volumes, of Subjects and of Persons – as appearing in the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition – give varied, numerous and logical profiles of Gandhiji's life and thought, action and engagements. Also, the Prefaces, as written for respective volumes when published, take us on an epic journey through his life and the nation in the making. Together, these navigators guide us far and wide and into the depths where computer technology may not lead us.

In the Volume C (100), texts of the individual Prefaces, as written for each volume as and when they were published, have been picked and stringed together to avoid any error of reproduction. Also, the Forewords that appear in volumes I (001), XC (090), XCVIII (098), XCIX (099) and C (100) (1994-Ed.) have been repeated here to give an overview and a perspective of the effort that took place in the years 1956 to 1994.

The task of preparing the Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-1956-1994-edition has been accomplished by the Gujarat Vidyapith (university founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 as part of non-co-operation movement and for holistic education to help win swaraj), Ahmedabad, India, through a specially set up CWMG Cell in its premises.

Execution of the task involved an intensely focused, organic, and stringently supervised effort over a period of more than five years. A lot of research, customization, and innovation have gone into the process. The research and trials had started in the years 2006-07; the real work had started in the years 2009-10.

The preparation of the Archival Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-1956-1994-edition was accomplished in the year 2015. The same is in the following forms for every page of the full series of hundred volumes: (a) Cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images*; (b) *Finished-digital-image-PDFs* with *searchable text* as hidden layer in the backend; (c) *Finished-digital image-PDFs* as print-ready static, non-editable images organized in suitable folders for jacket cluster, including photographs, maps, etc. and the text from cover-to-cover, so as to facilitate all-time printing as an ongoing process; (d) The above data suitably reduced for web-display; (e) The entire record including the work record for all-time archivation.

The above work was first presented to the Government of India in March 2015. The BETA version of the Electronic Master Copy of the *digital-searchable image-PDF*s for the full series of hundred volumes was dedicated to the people of the world on September 8, 2015, in two forms: i. DVD SET / PEN-DRIVE; ii. Downloadable form – in volume-wise manner – on the Gandhi Heritage Portal hosted by the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust (SAPMT). A full, unbroken set of the hundred volumes of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition-1956-1994 has been reprinted by the Publications Division, GoI, New Delhi from the Electronic Master Copy thus prepared at the CWMG Cell set up at the Gujarat Vidyapith, and has been rededicated to the people of the world in June 2017.

The Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, through the CWMG Cell specially set up at its premises, has performed the specific task of preparing such archival electronic record on behalf of the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, with the permission of the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad.

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION,
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

- This record of CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition-1956-1994 – from volume I to C is one integrated whole and is to be treated as such;
- Its integrity is not to be violated; and it is not for commercial purpose.

1. On display at :

i. www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
The cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images* of every page for the full series of hundred volumes, suitably reduced in property for web-display;

ii. www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist
Finished-digital images corresponding to the finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, with necessary corrections (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); these images are of every page for the full series of hundred volumes, suitably reduced in property for web-display.

Remarks :

- These *images* can be compared with each other, if so desired;
- These *images* can be viewed individually page-wise and volume-wise;
- These *images* are reduced in property suitably for web display view;
- These *images* are also printable in such lower resolution;

2. Downloadable from : www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
Finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, with necessary corrections (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); these *image-PDFs* are for the full series of hundred volumes, in downloadable form – in volume-wise manner – replacing the BETA version;

a. The download searchable PDF icon to be clicked;
b. Fully searchable image-PDF files can be opened in any PDF reader;
c. They contain individual files of finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, volume-wise from cover to cover, arranged in sequential order;
d. They contain archival images of refined (finished) quality in the form of image-PDFs; the searchable text is hidden in the background;
e. These image-PDFs are fully searchable for English text; the same are fully searchable for non-English text as well;

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f. Any text area from the same can be selected and copied and pasted in any text-based document;

g. Such copied and pasted text would retain the volume structure, page structure and line structure and font structure;

h. Such copied and pasted text would be in in-built fonts, i. e.: TimesNewRoman font (different from regular Times New Roman font);

i. Readers are requested to convert the text thus copied and pasted to: Times New Roman font for reading comfort;

j. Readers are also requested to check the text thus copied and pasted on text-based document word by word with the given image-PDF;

k. These image-PDFs can be printed in high resolution; they are water-marked, non-editable and locked;

3. Volume structure :

a. Volumes I to XC (001 to 090) are the main series.

b. Volumes XCI to XCVII (091 to 097) are the supplementary series.

c. Volume XCVIII (098) is Index of Subjects for volumes I to XC (001 to 090).

d. Volume XCIX (099) is Index of Persons for volumes I to XC. (001 to 090).

e. Volume C (100) is a compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes as and when they were published.

f. Each volume from I to XCVII (001 to 097) carries its own Index.

4. Authentic navigational guide-posts : as in-built in the original series :

i. For every volume individually :
   a. Contents – Item-wise and Date-wise;
   b. Index of Titles; Index (Subjects and Persons together);

ii. For volumes upto XC collectively:
   a. Volume of Index of Subjects (XCVIII – 098); and
   b. Volume of Persons (XCIX – 099);

iii. For all volumes: Volume of Prefaces (C – 100);

5. The following records is for archiving of the Master Copy with dedicated Gandhi-archives and some of it with The National Archives of India, New Delhi, as well :

i. *Archival-source-images* in high-resolution scanning;

ii. *Corresponding black-&-white images*;

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iii. *Finished-digital images, with necessary corrections* (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

iv. *Finished-digital-ready-to-print images, with necessary corrections* (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15) (in singe PDF volume-wise); these images are from cover-to-cover – with separate folders : text, jacket cluster, photographs, maps, etc. in suitable formats, so as to facilitate printing as an ongoing process;

v. *Finished-digital-searchable images* in the PDF format volume-wise :

a. As a full, sequential series of hundred volumes to be made available on demand in DVD SETS / PEN-DRIVES; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

b. In volume-wise downloadable form from the web-portal; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); (a record of the same is attached at the end of each respective volume);

vi. Full work-record including project-story of the CWMG Cell - Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.

Remark : All the above records are in multiple formats, in original property, as well as suitably reduced property, where and in a manner necessary.

6. * Note on corrections – for record :

Out of the above, matter indicated with '*' bear the following kinds of corrections with proper and disciplined documentation; these changes can be verified with *archival-source-images* as well:

a.	Listed dummy errors of the original editions :	corrections done;
b.	Listed errata / corrigenda :	corrections done;
c.	Fresh errata / corrigenda :	added;
d.	References to editions later standardized :	corrected and / or listed as fresh errata / corrigenda

7. Standard edition of each volume : Table of standard edition used for reproduction of each respective volume separately attached herewith.

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI :

CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) : ENGLISH SERIES

AVAILABLE AS OF NOW:

1. Linkage with :

   www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi

   (For the cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images*)

   www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist

   (For *finished-digital images corresponding to the finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs with necessary corrections* – a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume)

   – Request for linkage can be made by :

   Educational institutions / libraries / museums / archives / and Gandhi study centers of the world.

   – Request for linkage to be made to :

   The Gandhi Heritage Portal hosted at the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust - SAPMT, Ahmedabad

2. In printed form – as hard copies : FROM :

   The Publications Division, Min. of I & B, Govt. of India,
   New Delhi, INDIA; Telephone no.: +91-11-24365609
   Website : www.publicationsdivision.nic.in
   E-mail : businesswng@gmail.com

3. E-copy of the *fully-searchable image-PDFs* –

   as a two-DVD SET and/or PEN-DRIVE : FROM :

   i. The Publications Division, Min. of I & B, Govt. of India,
   New Delhi, INDIA : Telephone no.: +91-11-24365609
   Website : www.publicationsdivision.nic.in
   E-mail : businesswng@gmail.com

   ii. CWMG Cell, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ashram Road,
   Ahmedabad -380 014, Gujarat, INDIA;
   E-mail : cwmg.gv@gmail.com

   iii. Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust – SAPMT,
   Gandhi Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad – 380 027;
   E-mail : sales@gandhiashramsabarmati.org;

   iv. National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat, New Delhi : 110 002;
   Telephone no. : 011-23310168;
   E-mail : nationalgandhimuseum@gmail.com
   Website : www.gandhimuseum.org

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CWMG CELL, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD, OCTOBER 2018

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
001 - I	1884 – June 4, 1896	*Second revised edition: January 1969* (*Māgha 1890*)
	{**EDITIONS NOT USED** *First edition: January 26, 1958* (*Māgha* 6, *1879*) *Reprinted: August 1958* (*Srāvana 1880*)}	
002 - II	May 26, 1896 – December 17, 1897	*Second Edition: October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*)
	{EDITION NOT USED *First Edition: January 1959* (*Pausa 1880*)}	
003 – III	February 28, 1898 – October 1, 1903	*Second Revised Edition: June 1979* (*Jyaishtha 1901*)
	{EDITION NOT USED *First Edition: April 1960* (*Chaitra 1882*)}	

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
004 – IV	October 8, 1903 – June 30, 1905	*August 1960* (*Bhādrapad 1882*)
005 – V	July 1, 1905 – October 20, 1906	*June 1961* (*Asādha 1883*)
006 – VI	October 20, 1906 – May 30, 1907	*December 1961* (*Pausa 1883*)
007 – VII	June 1, 1907 – December 31, 1907	*July 1962* (*Asādha 1884*)
008 – VIII	January 3, 1908 – August 30, 1908	*December 1962* (*Agrahāyan 1884*)
009 – IX	September 1, 1908 – November 12, 1909	*April 1963* (*Vaisākh 1885*)
010 – X	November 18, 1909 – March 31, 1911	*September 1963* (*Bhādra 1885*)
011 – XI	April 1, 1911 – March 29, 1913	*March 1964* (*Chaitra 1886*)
012 – XII	April 1, 1913 – December 23, 1914	*August 1964* (*Shrāvana 1886*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
013 – XIII	January 9, 1915 – October 4, 1917	*November 1964* (*Agrahāyana 1886*)
014 – XIV	October 9, 1917 – July 31, 1918	*March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*)
015 - XV	August 1, 1918 – On or after July 30, 1919	*March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*)
016 – XVI	Before August 2, 1919 – January 31, 1920	*July 1965* (*Shrāvana 1887*)
017 – XVII	February 1, 1920 – Before July, 1920	*September 1965* (*Ashvina 1887*)
018 – XVIII	July 1920 – November 17, 1920	*November1965* (*Agrahāyana 1888*)
019 – XIX	November 19, 1920 – April 13, 1921	*March 1966* (*Phālguna 1888*)
020 – XX	April 15, 1921 – August 19, 1921	*May 1966* (*Vaisākha 1888*)
021 – XXI	August 21, 1921 – On or after December 14, 1921	*August 1966* (*Bhādra 1888*)
022 – XXII	December 15, 1921 – March 2, 1922	*November 1966* (*Agrahāyana 1888*)
023 – XXIII	March 4, 1922 – May 7, 1924	*March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*)
024 – XXIV	May 8, 1924 – August 15, 1924	*March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*)
025 – XXV	August 16, 1924 – January 15, 1925	*May 1967* (*Vaisākh 1889*)
026 – XXVI	January 16, 1925 – April 30, 1925	*November 1967* (*Agrahāyana 1889*)
027 – XXVII	May 1, 1925 – July 31, 1925	*March 1968* (*Phālguna 1889*)
028 – XXVIII	Before August 1, 1925 – November 22, 1925	*April 1968* (*Chaitra 1890*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
029 – XXIX	November 22, 1925 – February 10, 1926	*June 1968* (*Jyaistha 1890*)
030 – XXX	February 11, 1926 – June 14, 1926	*September 1968* (*Asvina 1890*)
031 – XXXI	June 15, 1926 – November 4, 1926	*February 1969* (*Māgha 1890*)
032 – XXXII	November 5, 1926 – January 20, 1927	*April 1969* (*Chaitra 1891*)
033 – XXXIII	January 21, 1927 – June 15, 1927	*May 1969* (*Vaisākha 1891*)
034 – XXXIV	After June 15, 1927 – September 15, 1927	*June 1969* (*Asādha 1891*)
035 – XXXV	September 16, 1927 – January 31, 1928	*August 1969* (*Srāvana 1891*)
036 – XXXVI	February 1, 1928 – June 30, 1928	*January 1970* (*Māgha 1891*)
037 – XXXVII	July 1, 1928 – October 31, 1928	*February 1970* (*Māgha 1891*)
038 – XXXVIII	November 1, 1928 – February 3, 1929	*March 1970* (*Phālguna 1891*)
039 – XXXIX	February 3, 1929 – February 14, 1929	*September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)*
040 – XL	On or after February 15, 1929 – May 31, 1929	*September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)*
041 – XLI	June 2, 1929 – October 15, 1929	*October 1970 (Asvina 1892)*
042 – XLII	October 16, 1929 – February 28, 1930	*December 1970 (Agrahāyana 1892)*
043 – XLIII	March 2, 1930 – June 30, 1930	*January 1971 (Pausa 1892)*
044 – XLIV	July 1, 1930 – December 15, 1930	*May 1971 (Vaisākha 1893)*

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
045 – XLV	December 13/16, 1930 – April 15, 1931	*July 1971* (*Asādha 1893*)
046 – XLVI	April 16, 1931 – June 17, 1931	*August 1971* (*Srāvana 1893*)
047 – XLVII	June 18, 1931 – September 11, 1931	*September 1971* (*Bhādra 1893*)
048 – XLVIII	September 12, 1931 – January 3, 1932	*November 1971* (*Agrahāyana 1893*)
049 – XLIX	January 4, 1932 – May 30, 1932	*January 1972* (*Pausa 1893*)
050 – L	June 1, 1932 – August 31, 1932	*March 1972* (*Chaitra 1894*)
051 – LI	September 1, 1932 – November 15, 1932	*August 1972* (*Bhādra 1894*)
052 – LII	November 16, 1932 – January 10, 1933	*October 1972* (*Asvina 1894*)
053 – LIII	January 11, 1933 – March 5, 1933	*December 1972* (*Pausa 1894*)
054 – LIV	March 6, 1933 – April 22, 1933	*April 1973* (*Chaitra 1895*)
055 – LV	April 23, 1933 – September 15, 1933	*August 1973* (*Bhādra 1895*)
056 – LVI	September 16, 1933 – January 15, 1934	*November 1973* (*Kārtika 1895*)
057 – LVII	January 16, 1934 – May 17, 1934	*January 1974* (*Pausa 1895*)
058 – LVIII	May 18, 1934 – September 15, 1934	*March 1974* (*Chaitra 1896*)
059 – LIX	September 16, 1934 – December 15, 1934	*November 1974* (*Kartika 1896*)
060 – LX	December 16, 1934 – April 24, 1935	*December 1974* (*Agrahāyana 1896*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
061 - LXI	April 25, 1935 – September 30, 1935	*May 1975* (*Vaisākha 1897*)
062 – LXII	October 1, 1935 – May 31, 1936	*October 1975* (*Asvina 1897*)
063 – LXIII	June 1, 1936 – November 2, 1936	*January 1976* (*Māgha 1897*)
064 – LXIV	November 3, 1936 – March 14, 1937	*April 1976* (*Chaitra 1898*)
065 – LXV	March 15, 1937 – July 31, 1937	*July 1976* (*Asādha 1898*)
066 – LXVI	August 1, 1937 – March 31, 1938	*October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*)
067 – LXVII	April 1, 1938 – October 14, 1938	*December 1976* (*Pausa 1898*)
068 – LXVIII	Before October 15, 1938 – February 28, 1939	*January 1977* (*Māgha 1898*)
069 – LXIX	March 1, 1939 – July 15, 1939	*July 1977* (*Asādha 1899*)
070 – LXX	July 16, 1939 – November 30, 1939	*September 1977* (*Bhādra 1899*)
071 – LXXI	December 1, 1939 – April 15, 1940	*January 1978* (*Pausa 1899*)
072 – LXXII	April 16, 1940 – September 11, 1940	*March 1978* (*Phālguna 1899*)
073 – LXXIII	September 12, 1940 – April 15, 1941	*April 1978* (*Chaitra 1900*)
074 – LXXIV	April 16, 1941 – October 10, 1941	*June 1978* (*Jyaistha 1900*)
075 – LXXV	October 11, 1941 – March 31, 1942	*January 1979* (*Māgha 1900*)
076 – LXXVI	April 1, 1942 – December 17, 1942	*July 1979* (*Asādha 1901*)

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
077 – LXXVII	December 17, 1942 – July 31, 1944	*October 1979* (*Asvina 1901*)
078 – LXXVIII	August 1, 1944 – December 31, 1944	*December 1979* (*Pausa 1901*)
079 – LXXIX	January 1, 1945 – April 24, 1945	*May 1980* (*Vaisākha 1902*)
080 – LXXX	April 25, 1945 – July 16, 1945	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
081 – LXXXI	July 17, 1945 – October 31, 1945	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
082 – LXXXII	November 1, 1945 – January 19, 1946	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
083 – LXXXIII	January 20, 1946 – April 13, 1946	*September 1981* (*Asvina 1903*)
084 – LXXXIV	April 14, 1946 – July 15, 1946	*November 1981* (*Kārtika 1903*)
085 – LXXXV	July 16, 1946 – October 20, 1946	*February 1982* (*Māgha 1903*)
086 – LXXXVI	October 21, 1946 – February 20, 1947	*August 1982* (*Srāvana 1904*)
087 – LXXXVII	February 21, 1947 – May 24, 1947	*February 1983* (*Māgha 1904*)
088 – LXXXVIII	May 25, 1947 – July 31, 1947	*May 1983* (*Vaisākha 1905*)
089 – LXXXIX	August 1, 1947 – November 10, 1947	*September 1983* (*Asvina 1905*)
090 – XC	November 11, 1947 – January 30, 1948	*April 1984* (*Vaisākha 1906*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME I		
091 – XCI	1894 – January 14, 1929	*April 1989 (Chaitra 1911)*

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME II 092 – XCII	January 13, 1929 – December 21, 1934	*June 1991* (*Asādha 1913*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME III 093 – XCIII	January 16, 1935 – July 15, 1941	*March 1993* (*Phālguna 1914*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME IV 094 – XCIV	July 18, 1941 – April 1947	*August 1994 (Bhādrapad 1916)*
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME V 095 – XCV	June 29, 1900 – After December 25, 1947, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VI 096 – XCVI	July 3, 1905 – December 3, 1944, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VII 097 – XCVII	November 25, 1903 – April 22, 1947, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
INDEX OF SUBJECTS 098 – XCVIII	Index of Subjects for volumes upto XC	*April 1988* (*Vaisākha 1910*)
INDEX OF PERSONS 099 – XCIX	Index of Persons for volumes upto XC	*December 1992* (*Pausa 1914*)
PREFACES 100 – C	Compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes	* SEE SPECIAL REMARK BELOW

* SPECIAL REMARK : CWMG VOLUME 100 – C PUBLISHED IN 1994 IS REORGANIZED IN 2015 AS FOLLOWS :

IN THE VOLUME C (100), TEXTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL PREFACES, AS WRITTEN FOR EACH VOLUME AS AND WHEN THEY WERE PUBLISHED, HAVE BEEN PICKED AND STRINGED TOGETHER TO AVOID ANY ERROR OF REPRODUCTION. ALSO, THE FOREWORDS THAT APPEAR IN VOLUMES I (001), XC (090), XCVIII (098), XCIX (099) AND C (100) (1994-Ed.) HAVE BEEN REPEATED HERE TO GIVE AN OVERVIEW AND A PERSPECTIVE OF THE EFFORT THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE YEARS 1956 TO 1994.

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