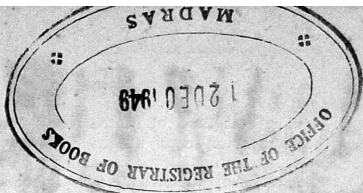


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**Review by Sri R. S. Sankariar, Retired District Judge,
Coimbatore, dated 14th November 1949**

(GANDHIJI AND SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS BY S. DEVAS)

It is a sign of the times that our talented public servants, in their retirement after almost a lifetime spent in public service, should record their observations of events and suggest lines of progress based on their ripe experience. Sri S. Devas, a gentleman of Coimbatore who spent more than 35 years in Burma in public service, brought out an entrancing book 'Rebirth of Burma' in 1947. It is a dispassionate understanding narrative of the people, prominent men, and vital events in Burma. It is singularly free from bias and fair in evaluation. Any one seeking to have a real grasp of Burmese conditions cannot do better than read that book. The style is chaste and one thinks that it is written by an Englishman, from the facility and correctness of the language. Sri Devas has followed that success with another book 'Gandhiji and Some of His Thoughts.'

He has done a most admirable service to the sacred memory of Mahatmaji. He has summed up in a consecutive narrative, in unvarnished language, the salient events in that great career. He has—with true devotion—abstained from making any comments. That gives the narration a living value. We see in our minds' picture the sole great personage and his tribulations and his conquest of them all with his faith in truth and non-violence. Future generations who have not had the magnetic contact with his personality will yet be able to make him live again, when they read this faithful and impressive narrative of that great life.

There is generally a tendency in people to make prominent some particular aspect or achievement and thus obscure the full personality. In this book, no such defect is seen. He gives a full word picture of Mahatmaji's great career in all its varied activities, frustrations, and successes.

Sri Devas has done a great service in so early drawing attention to the need for caution and restraint in taking our forward steps along the hard and stony path of Independence.

The first flush of success tends to obscure the vital value of the time-factor in all human endeavour. There should be organic growth and not a mere jumble of unco-ordinated irreconcilable schemes. A political society is an organism. Just as in a living organism, gangrene of a part will kill the whole, so too in the politico-social organism, the gangrene of corruption, nepotism, mutual jealousy, and distrust will destroy the whole society in course of time. The South American States are striking warnings to us. Sri Devas does well to draw attention to these evils which tend to make their insidious inroad into our body politic.

He has done but fair justice in his frank appreciation of the good motives and honesty of methods of the British administrators in Chapter VI. We must make a sharp division between the British Administration which aimed honestly at steady progress and culture of the people of this great country and the British Industrialists who were out to exploit our country to their personal profit. It may be that the progress of the Administrator could have been quicker. It may be that the exploiting Industrialist sometimes took unfair advantage of his belonging to the Ruling nation. The fairness and faithfulness of the administrator will be seen clearly when we consider how our economic welfare was fostered and safeguarded as against foreigners.

The moral standpoint of the British Government in India before the first World War was undeniably high. Necessity, due to the losses and hardships of that war, did make the Administration consider the progress and well-being of India as secondary when it conflicted with Britain. Such conflict was absent before. Naturally people who look back only to the Asquithian 1914 declaration for India of 'Progressive realisation of self-Government,' and weigh the actions of the British since that date, may consider the views of Dr. V. K. John, who has written the Introduction to this book, justified. But we must—in ordinary fairness—judge the work and service of Great Britain in India and for the people of India, taking as a whole, the full period from 1858 when the East India Company transferred the responsibility for this great country to the Crown. No one can deny the steady ever widening growth of the people in all directions. One may say that the very ability of Dr. John to voice his protest is proof of the benefit and progress we owe to the British administration.

When the second Round Table Conference on India heard views in London, Mr. Churchill was reported to have said 'Are you gentleman serious. You know that six shillings in every pound

earned in England comes from India. Do you propose to really surrender it?' The fact that the British have granted us Independence in spite of Churchill fully justifies the author's appreciation of the British as administrators in India.

The author's views on the Prohibition policy are narrowed by the financial loss point of view. The moral aspect is secondary. The economic aspect is compelling. The value of imports of foreign beer, wines, and liquor in the year 1938-39 exceeded $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. The actual sale value was much more than this figure. Apart from the health point of view, the drain of this large sum out of the country has been stopped.

There is no comparison in this matter between U.S.A. or U.K. and India. There, the money is in the country. The U.S.A. Drink Bill for 1940 was 3,343,848,987 dollars! But the country was not impoverished by that. In India it was an ever expanding stream going out of the country. If Mahatmaji continued to live he is likely to have made an exception in favour of the innocent country palm toddy. As a matter of policy he had then, to ban both, so as not to be accused of discrimination. The hasty and sudden imposition of prohibition has created a vast cottage industry in the manufacture of white babul tree bark arrack. It is a very injurious drink.

The author rightly complains about the way the Hindus seek to be shy of the Christians. The origin may be the old, century old, fear of the proselytising missionary. One cannot shut one's eyes to the disruptive operations of conversions from the joint family and the laws that were passed as to property and guardianship. Now that the fear of the State backing the proselytiser has vanished, there is every reason to hope that an era of real comradeship will begin.

The author has really voiced the public feeling where he protests about the harsh treatment of juvenile offenders. His expression 'spirit of the law is prostituted in this country' is strong. But when even political offenders who are minors are—without trial—treated callously, one cannot object to that terse condemnation.

The author's advice to make the criminal work and earn his keep is worth following. It saves the tax-payer and what is more important enables the criminal to be a self-supporting member of society. Jail will become a house of correction and education.

His advice to pay public servants well and to pay attention to the basic needs of man for food, clothing, and housing must receive

adequate response. The proper pay will be to give the subordinate ranks partly in money and partly in kind. The Railway supplies the staff with food, etc., at a uniform rate throughout the year. The Government too may adopt this system. As to dearness allowance, it is now given without any sense. A bachelor drawing a four-figure salary is given a dearness allowance based on his pay! This allowance must be limited to those whose salary is insufficient due to increased cost of necessities.

The claim of pensioners cannot be less well founded. They too need relief and being old and unable to earn are perhaps in greater need of relief.

It is hoped that the author will not rest content with these two admirable works but will give us more such educative publications.

**GANDHIJI
AND
SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS**

ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	
13	9	from bottom <i>for</i> as <i>read</i> at
54	4	<i>delete</i> a before the word <i>grief</i>
78	12	<i>for osservatore</i> read <i>observatore</i>
145	17	<i>for suggest</i> read <i>suggests</i>
214	2	from bottom <i>for</i> <i>anamolies</i> read <i>anomalies</i>
223	3	<i>for</i> <i>devided</i> read <i>divided</i>
243	17	<i>delete</i> the second h after <i>Jinnah</i>
297	11	from bottom <i>for</i> <i>They</i> read <i>It</i>
330	20	<i>add</i> letter d at end of line
335	18	<i>for</i> <i>healf</i> read <i>half</i>

GANDHIJI
AND
SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS

BY

S. DEVAS

AUTHOR OF 'REBIRTH OF BURMA': HON. MAGISTRATE.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

V. K. JOHN, LL.D. (London)., Bar-at-law

LEADER, UNITED DEMOCRATS, MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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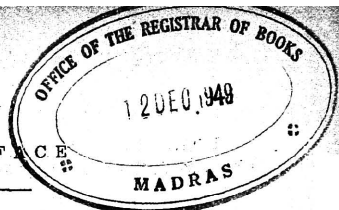
1949

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P R E F A C E

MADRAS



Numerous books have been written by eminent men on Mahatma Gandhi and it would be presumptuous on my part to write another. Among his chief European Christian admirers, Rev. C. F. Andrews describes him as 'A Saint and a Redeemer', Rev. J. H. Holmes as 'Christ returned to earth', Rene Fulop Miller as 'the Holy man', and Romain Rolland as 'the man who became one with the Universal Being'. The Indian poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, has said of Gandhiji that he was greater than the creed he professed.

The main object in publishing this little book is to present in a book-form the many tributes paid to our great patriot and leader from all over the world, with a brief history of his saintly life. This should serve as a handy reference book. Gandhiji has been acclaimed by many public men, both European and Indian, including Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, as the Father of the Indian Nation. Another object is to bring before the public the troubles that afflict India today. I have suggested, in my own humble way, how they could be surmounted.

Chapter V which contains messages of sympathy from notable personages of various countries is alone worth reading at frequent intervals. A book usually contains a collection of thoughts of a single individual, but this chapter contains the expressions, in a tabloid form, of sympathy and anguish of various people at the passing away, at the hands of a debased Hindu assassin, of a venerable soul. One can find in no other place such varied expressions of genuine sorrow. Constant perusal of these pages would give the reader some inspiration to remodel his life on right lines.

I have also added a separate chapter on Mr. Jinnah, who died during the period when I was writing this book, as his life has been interrelated politically with that of Gandhiji.

Last year, I published a book, 'Rebirth of Burma'. I have had praise of my book from several people including a senior British Officer who was till recently an Adviser to the Secretary of State for Burma. He said that he appreciated the fair-mindedness, so well combined with candour, which characterised the book. The University of London Institute of Education, in its *Colonial Review*, March 1948, stated that the book was an interesting one and written from an unusual angle. The *Saturday Review of Literature*, New York, said that the book was a very interesting one. These compliments gave me additional confidence to write a book on some of the problems of India.

I spent 35 years of my life in Burma Government service. After retirement, I have been living in India for the past ten years and have thus had ample opportunity of gauging the mind of the people in India generally.

Much of the information contained in this book was collected by me mostly from the *Mail*, and also from the *Hindu*, two leading newspapers in Madras. To both of them I offer my grateful thanks.

I am not personally acquainted with Dr. V. K. John, M.L.C., *Bar-at-Law*. In spite of his heavy professional work and other public engagements, he willingly agreed to write an Introduction to my book for which I am greatly indebted to him.

My thanks are due to my old friend, Mr. Theo. Lazarus, late of Rangoon, who helped me in various ways in finding suitable publishers to print my book and in proof reading.

'Vanjer,'

R. S. Puram,

S. DEVAS.

Coimbatore, S. India.

December 1948.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a very readable book and one reading it through will do so with profit and with pleasure. A perusal of the book will satisfy anybody that the author is exceptionally well-read and well-informed and he has digested what he has read and he has a mind of his own. I have great pleasure to comply with his request to write an Introduction to this very interesting book.

I am expected to introduce the book to the reader. It is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi and the second part dealing with four subjects, namely, the aim of British rule in India, evils of caste and communalism, prohibition and khaddar, and urgent work before the Congress Government. These various chapters, however, are related to Mahatmaji's life and teachings and, therefore, are not foreign to the name the author has given to the book.

Any book written about Mahatmaji's life and teachings is bound to attract public attention. Mahatmaji was undoubtedly the greatest man of his age and one of the greatest of all ages. He has left his mortal body but he lives in the minds of millions of men and women and he will continue to inspire not only the present generation but also generations yet unborn. Saint and seer, thinker and writer, politician and philosopher, Gandhiji practised what he preached and said what he believed. He found self in service; his activities covered a wide field; he fought many a battle with the weapons of truth, non-violence, and love, and he achieved the impossible—the withdrawal of the British power from India without bloodshed and without bitterness but in peace and with goodwill. If his

life was spared a little longer, he would have achieved inter-communal and international unity. Gandhiji, though born a Hindu, belonged to all communities; though born in India, he was a true citizen of the world—a status shared by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, his heir and successor. This book which gives an account of the life and teachings of so great a man, almost superhuman in many respects, is bound to be read widely, and the book has been made particularly readable by the simplicity of the language used and the manner in which the major events of Gandhiji's life have been presented without comment or criticism. Part I of the book, in fact, reads like a novel.

Part II of the book, however, is critical, critical even of Gandhiji's views in certain matters. But the criticism of the author is based on facts and figures; it is constructive and helpful and I would recommend strongly to the reader a careful study of the facts, figures, and opinions given in Part II particularly chapters VII, IX and X. I must confess that I am not in agreement with the views expressed by the author in chapter VI, 'The aim of British Rule in India'. Frankly speaking, I wish this chapter had not been included in the book. But my difference with the author, and any difference which any other man might have with him, ought not to minimise the value of the book. I am, however, in main agreement and I am quite sure that many will find themselves in agreement with the views he has expressed in chapters VII, IX and X, and I would earnestly recommend to those in charge of the governments of the various provinces a study of the facts and figures quoted and the views expressed by the author in chapter X entitled 'Urgent work before the Congress Government'.

It is clear from these chapters that the object of the author is the promotion of the welfare of the common man

in this country and he looks at every problem from that point of view. As I had occasion to point out to the Government in my speech in the Madras Legislative Council on the last budget in my capacity as Leader of the Opposition, the common man wants first and foremost, honest, remunerative employment; he wants fair prices for foodstuffs and other necessities of life; he wants shelter; he wants sanitary conditions of life, protected water-supply, and medical help and he wants education for his children. The real problem in this country is poverty, sickness, illiteracy, and social degradation. Statistics show that 33 1/3% of the wealth of this country is in the hands of 1% of the population, the next 33 1/3% in the hands of one-third of the population, and the balance in the hands of the rest. The disparity of wealth between the rich and the poor in our country is phenomenal. The author is distressed with the low standard of life in this country. He points out by means of statistics that the average length of life of the Indian is only 27 years. In Australia it is 63, in U.S.A. 62, in the United Kingdom it is 60, in Germany 60, in France 54, in Italy 54, and in Japan 47. He has cited figures from the statistical year book of the League of Nations and has pointed out the number of survivors at various ages in various countries out of one lakh of people born alive. Whilst infant mortality in the country is high, the mortality during the prime of manhood, i.e., between the ages of 30 and 40 is heart-rending. Out of one lakh of males born alive, the survivors between the ages of 30 and 40 in Australia are between 80,844 and 75,887, and in other countries the percentage is favourable, but in India the survivors number between 35,831 and 27,136. At the age of 50 we have 18,658 people surviving out of a hundred thousand, but in Australia the figure for the same age is 68,221 and in other countries it is very slightly less.

The author rightly points out that 'the health of the people is the wealth of the country because an unhealthy man is an economic waste to the nation'. He has given figures of the victims of various diseases. The average man has hardly any idea of the number of victims of preventible diseases, for instance, malaria. The author quotes figures to show that for every battle casualty in the Indian army during the year 1943, there were 120 casualties from sickness of which the majority were malaria cases. By strenuous work the figure was reduced to 20 in 1944 for every battle casualty and in 1945 the figure was further reduced to 10. The author points out various causes that have contributed to the appalling rate of mortality among the people of this country—causes which ought to engage the serious attention of the government. He gives many constructive suggestions and he is very critical of the Government's policy of Prohibition and Khaddar. On reading through the headings of the chapters, I got the first impression that the subject matters covered by chapters VII, IX and X were of topical interest and might not be the subject matter of a book but should be published as articles in newspapers, but on reading carefully these chapters I find the criticisms and suggestions are of permanent value.

The author deals with our social structure in chapter VII of the book. He stands for a classless and casteless society and is of opinion that we should give up provincialism and communalism and must be proud to consider ourselves Indians first, Indians second, and Indians last. I have often pleaded for the voluntary liquidation of communal organisations in public life and I am very pleased indeed that the learned author of this book is in entire agreement with me.

This book is worth reading and I have great pleasure to recommend it to the public.

‘Dadnor’,
Nungambakkam Road,
Madras.
December 1948.

V. K. JOHN,
Bar-at-Law,
Leader, United Democrats,
Madras Legislative Council.

PART I



CHAPTER I

Early Life of Gandhi, 1869—1892

October 2nd is an important day for India. This day is now observed as a public holiday throughout India, in the same way as Christmas, the day of the birth of Christ, is observed as a holiday in all Christian countries and also in India. On this day, Saturday, in the year 1869, a great son of India was born who was destined to take a prominent part in winning for the people of India their freedom from the bondage of Britain for nearly two centuries. That great man was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He was born of a Bania (Vaishnava or trading caste) family at Porbunder, Kathiawar, being the youngest of the three sons of Karamchand *alias* Kaba Gandhi, Prime Minister successively in Porbunder, Rajkot, and Vankaner States. Gandhi's mother, Putlibai, was the fourth wife of Kaba Gandhi. For two generations, Gandhis were Prime Ministers in Kathiawar States. Porbunder is a tiny principality ruled over by a Rana. Gandhi's father and mother were both deeply religious and followed the Vaishnava faith.

His mother appears to have been particularly a religious woman being strict and careful in the observance of religious obligations. There existed the strongest affection between her and Mohandas, her youngest son. In the year 1876, his parents took him to Rajkot and he was admitted into a primary school there. In that year at the age of seven he was betrothed to Kasturbai, daughter of Gokuldas Makanji, merchant. In the year 1881, he was admitted into a High School in the same town. Two years afterwards, in 1883, he was married when he was barely 14 years old. His father was ill for a prolonged period of four years before he died at the age of 63. Mohandas had been nursing and looking after his invalid father and must have acquired in these days something of the tender-

ness and self-denial which characterised his later years. He was 15 when his father died. His mother's religious life and devotion to her domestic duties must have had an effective influence on his life particularly after the death of his father.

A year later after his marriage Gandhi took to meat-eating in secret but abandoned that habit after about a year to avoid cheating his parents.

The Jain faith which regards everything as sacred and insists on *ahimsa* (non-violence) also must have influenced the life of the family and this is revealed by the fact that before Gandhi went to England, in his twentieth year, for his higher education, his mother persuaded him to take a vow before a Jain priest to abstain from meat, wine, and sexual relationships. This was her last wish to her dutiful son as she died shortly before Gandhi returned to India.

In the year 1887, Gandhi passed his Matriculation examination and joined the Samaldas College at Bhavnagar (Kathiawar), but gave up studies at the close of first term. While at school, he was a very sensitive and conscientious boy. He wrote: 'I do not remember having ever told a lie during the short period of my school life. The daily lesson had to be done because I disliked being taken to task by my teacher as much as I disliked deceiving him. The least little blemish drew tears from my eyes.'

In September 1888, he sailed for England to complete his studies in the University of London and in the Inns of Court. While he was in England he lived on vegetarian diet. A son was born to him while he was a student in England. From his autobiography it is clear that he bestowed great care on his personal appearance obtaining clothes suitable for English society. Being desirous of attaining what he considered to be the essential parts of a gentleman's equipment, he took lessons in dancing.

music, and elocution. He also took lessons in French. But he writes: 'Let no man imagine that my experiments in dancing and the like marked a stage of self-indulgence in my life. Even then I had my wits about me, and this period of infatuation was not unrelieved to a certain amount of introspection on my part. I kept account of every farthing I spent.'

In 1889-90, he read books on simple living and decided to reduce his expenses by half. He began to read Bhagavad-gita* for first time and was deeply impressed. In June 1891, he was called to the Bar and sailed for India immediately. His elder brother, who was an official in Porbandar, took him directly on his arrival in Bombay to Nasik to perform *Prayaschitam* (purification ceremony) for having crossed the sea and lived in a foreign country and to be received back into his caste.

Soon after his return to India he began his practice as a lawyer in Rajkot, but to improve his knowledge of Indian Law and to find a larger field for practice he went to Bombay and enrolled himself as an advocate of the High Court. While in Bombay he contracted the friendship of a Jain poet and religious teacher, Rajachandra Kavi, and was greatly impressed with the latter's moral and religious thought.

Like all embryo lawyers Gandhi earned very little money as a lawyer, but in the discharge of his professional duties, he set high ideals of truth and justice constantly before him. And whenever he took up a case, he reserved to himself the right to withdraw from it if he found that it was an unjust case. He was disappointed with his practice in the Bombay High Court and went back to Rajkot.

* The 'Song celestial,' a Hindu scriptural work in Sanskrit verse, composed some centuries before the Christian era, in which Sri Krishna sums up the essence of Hindu religion and philosophy.

4. GANDHIJI AND SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS

He wrote that, while in Rajkot, he got the first shock of his life. His brother was under a charge of having given wrong advice to the Rana of Porbunder. Persuaded by his brother, Gandhi intervened on his behalf with the Political Agent, an Englishman, whom he had met in England. 'Your brother is an intriguer. I want to hear nothing more from you', said that officer. But Gandhi persisted in addressing him and ignored the officer's request to leave his presence. The Political Agent then ordered a peon to show him the door and the peon, placing a hand on his shoulder, put him out of the room. Gandhi threatened to take legal action for assault and consulted Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, but the latter told him that he would gain nothing by legal action.

'I pocketed the insult', wrote Gandhi, 'but also profited by it. Never again, said I to myself, shall I place myself in such a false position, never again shall I try to exploit friendship in this way'.

It is not improbable that this indiscreet demeanour of the young British officer towards the freshly England-returned Barrister may have sown the seed of dissatisfaction with the British administration. This minor unhappy incident may be regarded as the turning point in Gandhi's early impetuous life.

CHAPTER II

Twenty Years in South Africa, 1893—1914

In April 1893, Gandhi left for South Africa having been engaged by a Muslim firm of merchants for legal work there. He left his young wife and children behind in India. At that time stern measures were introduced by the South African Government to discourage the immigration of Indians to that country. He practised in the Courts in Durban and appeared to be the same impetuous and opinionated young man that he was in Rajkot.

In 1894, Gandhi enrolled himself as an Advocate of Supreme Court of Natal, being the first Indian to be so enrolled. Describing his appearance in Court, he says in his autobiography: 'The Magistrate kept staring at me and finally asked me to take off my turban, which I refused to do, and left the Court. So here, too, there was fighting in store for me. I wrote to the Press about the incident. The question was much discussed in the papers.'

He spent much time in the study of religious literature including the Bible, the Quran, and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is within you*. Gandhi happily made friends with the Dutch and English residents and their relations with him were cordial.

His business contract with the Muslim firm for which he was engaged was only for a year, but he was urged by Indians in Natal to remain with them and watch over their interests as the Government there was introducing a Bill to disfranchise Indians. Gandhi enjoyed an extensive practice during the next two years and used his time also to educate and organise Indian public opinion. He also founded the Natal Indian Congress.

In the year 1896, he returned to India to take his wife and children to South Africa. While in India he started

an agitation on behalf of the South African Indians. Reports of his speeches in Bombay, Poona, Madras and other important towns about the conditions of indentured Indian labourers in South Africa roused the feelings of citizens there against him. On his landing at Durban, on January 13, 1897, accompanied by a large number of Indians, he was besieged and manhandled by a mob. It was a European lady, the wife of the Superintendent of Police, who protected him. The Natal Government offered to prosecute Gandhi's assailants if he could identify them, but he replied that he had made up his mind not to prosecute any one.

In 1899, when the Boer war broke out, Gandhi thought that it was the bounden duty of every Indian as a British subject, to offer assistance to the British and accordingly organised an Indian Ambulance Corps, 1,100 strong, and served with the Corps during the war. Gandhi was mentioned in dispatches and awarded war medal. Two years later, in the year 1901, he returned to India. Before his departure from Natal, the Indian community in Natal presented him and his wife with a valuable gold plate and jewellery, but he did not take them and asked that the gifts be used for some public purpose. On coming back to India, he resumed his legal practice in the Bombay High Court. But he was soon called back, in 1902, to South Africa to take further measures against the segregation of Indians by the Transvaal Government. In 1903, he enrolled himself as Attorney of Supreme Court of Transvaal and founded the Transvaal British Indian Association. In the following year he started the journal, *Indian Opinion*, to bring Indians into closer association with one another and with the European colonists. He purchased for £1,000 an estate of 100 acres near Durban and formed the Phoenix Settlement erecting also a building for his printing press. Later he started a similar colony in Natal.

When plague broke out in the Indian quarter in Johannesburg in 1904, Gandhi, even before the municipal authorities took steps to cope with the epidemic, organised a private hospital and nursing home and, with some friends, tended the patients. His work was highly appreciated by the municipality. During this period he wrote series of articles in Gujarati on dietetics which were later translated into English and published under the title *Guide to Health*.

Two years later, in 1906, the Zulus in Natal rebelled and Gandhi, again, raised an Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps. This was engaged by the Government to nurse the wounded Zulus. He was mentioned in dispatches.

During this year, Gandhi took the vow of *brahmacharya* * for life.

The movement against Asiatics culminated in the Asiatic Registration Ordinance of 1906, which required all Asiatics to register themselves, with thumb impressions. Indians, while agreeing to restrict immigration from India, opposed compulsory registration, which they regarded as a stigma on their community. In October of that year he was deputed to England to present the case of Indians to the Colonial Secretary. Indians, under Gandhi's leadership, resolved to resist the measure passively. It was thus that passive resistance or *Satyagraha* † was started. The situation in South Africa became more serious as the result of the imposition of a tax of £3 on indentured labourers who stayed in South Africa on the termination of their contracts. To add to the humiliation of Indians, the Supreme Court in a decision stated that only marriages celebrated according to Christian rites and those registered

* Celibacy.

† Recourse to truth-force or soul-force.

by the Registrar of Marriages were legal. The result was that in 1913 passive resistance was revived.

Indian labourers on the plantations struck work. Gandhi with 5,000 men marched to the Transvaal to demonstrate against the Government's measures. Numerous strikers were thrown into prison and Gandhi was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment. In the disturbances on sugar plantations the authorities had to open fire and some of the strikers were killed and many wounded. These incidents aroused strong indignation in India. By the intervention of the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed by the Union Government and finally, its recommendations were accepted by that Government. The Asiatic Act was repealed, the poll-tax on labourers was abolished, and Indian marriages, except those which were bigamous, were recognised. The Indians on their side agreed to the restriction on immigration.

In the course of his struggles to obtain justice for his countrymen in South Africa, Gandhi had to undergo many hardships and trials. In 1907, he organised passive resistance movement and gave up legal practice to devote his life to social and public service. In 1908, January 10, he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for failure to leave Transvaal; on January 30, he was summoned to see General Smuts and released on reaching a compromise. For this compromise, he was nearly killed by a Pathan who regarded it, under which Indians were expected to give their finger prints voluntarily, as a betrayal of Indian interests. This murderous attack was made on February 8, 1908, and the Pathan left him, as he thought, dead. Gandhi, however, survived the attack. His assailant was apprehended but Gandhi declined to bear evidence against him.

On August 16, of the same year, he recommenced passive resistance struggle on General Smuts's repudiation of the compromise and on October 15, he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to two months' rigorous imprisonment. In June 1909, he left for England on deputation and in November returned back to South Africa to resume his work. In the following year, he founded Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg (Transvaal). In 1912, he went on a penitential fast for a week and one meal a day for four months for moral fall of two inmates of the farm. Later he fasted for 14 days. He gave up European dress and milk and restricted himself to diet of fresh and dried fruit. He also wrote *Ethical Religion*. In November 1913, for his agitation against the unjust acts of the Union Government he was sentenced to a total period of one year's rigorous imprisonment. But he was in prison for only a month and in December he was released unconditionally. In January 1914, he suspended *Satyagraha* following an agreement with General Smuts. A few months later Gandhi decided to return to India, but hearing that Gokhale (Gandhi's political guru) was critically ill in England, proceeded there with Mrs. Gandhi. The Great War (No. I) had now broken out and Gandhi, recognising that it was India's duty to do all in her power to help the Empire in the hour of trial, set about to organise an Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, including himself and his wife. But his hard life in South Africa, combined with the long fasts through which he had passed as a means of spiritual purification, had undermined his health, and he accepted the advice of his doctor friends to return to India. He had a serious attack of pleurisy.

CHAPTER III

33 Years of Activities in India, 1915—1948

Gadhiji returned to India in January 1915. He was cordially received by the people. In recognition of his public and war services, the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal was conferred upon him by the King-Emperor. In a letter Tagore referred to Gandhi as 'Mahatma'.

He established his headquarters at Ahmedabad, the great cotton centre, the capital of his own district of Gujarat, and there founded, in May 1915, Satyagraha Ashram (later known as Sabarmati Ashram, after the name of the river) to train workers for the Motherland.

In 1915-16, he made an extensive tour of India and Burma, travelling 3rd class on the railways. In the course of his tour, Gandhiji made a notable utterance in Madras, in April 1915, about his loyalty to the British Empire. He said:

'I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. I feel, as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government, and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire.'

In the following year, 1917, he successfully agitated against indentured Indian emigration. During this year the idea of making use of the spinning-wheel to produce hand-made cloth on an extensive scale took root in his

mind. This idea was developed into action in later years and the spinning-wheel played an important part in economics and politics of the country. In April of that year, in response to a popular request to enquire into the conditions under which labourers in the indigo plantations in Bihar worked, Gandhiji visited Champaran, but was served with a notice from the District Magistrate to quit the district, on the ground that his presence there would endanger the public peace. Gandhiji disobeyed the order, stating: 'my desire is purely and simply for a genuine search for knowledge and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.' Prosecuted before the Magistrate, he pleaded guilty to the charge against him. But under instructions from the higher authorities the prosecution was withdrawn. Subsequently a Commission was appointed, with Gandhiji as one of its members, to enquire into the condition of the Bihar labourers.

In March 1918, he took up the cause of textile labourers of Ahmedabad and fasted to secure amicable settlement of dispute. In the same month he initiated *Satyagraha* in Kaira District, Bombay Province, to secure suspension of revenue assessment on failure of crops. In April of that year Gandhiji attended the War Conference in Delhi on the personal invitation of the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. He surprised the Conference by addressing it in Hindustani. He encouraged recruiting for the War and toured Kaira District to raise recruits for the army. The easiest and straightest way to win freedom, he said, was to participate in the defence of the British Empire.

After the war, Gandhiji took a leading part in the agitation for political reforms in India. But soon he was occupied with a movement directed against what were known as the Rowlatt Laws* (Indian Criminal Law

* Named after Sir Sydney Rowlatt who drafted the bills.

Amendment Act, 1919, and Emergency Powers Act, 1919). He organised *Satyagraha* urging the people all over the country to take a vow that they would civilly refuse to obey the laws, refraining from violence. He was arrested at Kosi on his way to Delhi and was prevented from going to the Punjab and Delhi. He was brought to Bombay and was required to confine his activities to the Bombay Presidency. Meanwhile, contrary to his expectations, *Satyagraha* had led to riots in various places and Gandhiji expressed his anguish at a meeting in Ahmedabad.

‘A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more. I have said times without number that *Satyagraha* admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism; and still in the name of *Satyagraha*, we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people, and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold, I should not like to be saved.’

The agitation led to serious disorders in the Punjab which culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy at Amritsar on April 13, 1919, when about 400 unarmed persons were killed and about 1,200 were wounded by the military authorities. The ex-Premier of England, Mr. Winston Churchill, regarded this episode as being without precedent or parallel in the modern history of the British Empire. On the day following this tragedy Gandhiji addressed a public meeting near Sabarmati Ashram and declared three days’ penitential fast. At Nadiad, he confessed his ‘Himalayan miscalculation’ regarding *Satyagraha*. Martial law was declared in the Punjab under the orders of the Governor, Sir Michael O’Dwyer. At the end of his fast, he suspended *Satyagraha*. Subsequently he joined the non-official Committee of Inquiry into official excesses in the Punjab.

Gandhiji took a leading part in what was known as the Khilafat movement and presided over the All-India Khilafat Conference in Delhi in November 1919. The object of the movement was to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire after the Great War, and to maintain the control of the Sultan over the holy places of Islam. He led the deputation to the Viceroy to press on the British Government not to deprive the Sultan of Turkey (who was also Khalifa of Moslems) of his suzerainty. As this demand was not granted by the Allies when the treaty with Turkey was concluded, Gandhiji started non-cooperation in India. No other proof is needed to show Gandhiji's extreme sympathy towards the Moslems in India and elsewhere. On August 1, 1920, Gandhiji started the campaign by returning to the Viceroy the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, Zulu War Medal, and Boer War Medal.

At a special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in September 1920, Gandhiji moved the resolution to resort to non-cooperation with the Government. In spite of vigorous opposition—one of the vehement opponents being C. R. Das—the motion was passed by 1,855 votes to 873. With this change of creed the Congress of the moderates was virtually dead. At the annual session of the Congress in Nagpur, in December 1920, C. R. Das seconded the non-cooperation resolution which was adopted. It was at this critical time that the authorities contemplated and practically decided on the arrest of Gandhiji. This was averted by the wisdom of Sir Stanley Reed, who was then the Editor of the *Times of India*. Advice was given to the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Lloyd that, as the Montford Reforms having come into existence, Ministers responsible to the people should go about and preach against the movement. This was practised for some time.

In February 1921, Gandhiji organised the boycott of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to India. During this year he launched a programme of enlisting a crore of members in Congress, raising a crore of rupees and setting up 20 lakhs of *Charkhas** in the country. He led a campaign for complete boycott of foreign cloth and lit monster bonfires of foreign cloth in Bombay. He was also invested with full dictatorial powers by the Congress. All Congress and Khilafat organisations were at Gandhiji's command. Accompanied by the Ali Brothers, he set out on an extensive tour to preach the new cult of non-cooperation and gained many adherents.

The landing of the Prince of Wales in Bombay on November 17, 1921, was made the occasion for a *hartal*† in that city and this led to a serious riot. As a penance for the tragedy, Gandhiji fasted till order was restored. Meanwhile, in Malabar, the Khilafat movement and non-cooperation culminated in the Moplah Rebellion though agrarian distress was also said to have contributed to the revolt.

The Government of India declared volunteering for non-cooperation unlawful, but Congress leaders like C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru chose to disobey the order and enlisted volunteers. A deputation led by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya requested Lord Reading, the Viceroy, to summon a Round Table Conference of representatives of all shades of opinion to bring about a settlement. The Viceroy pointed out that it was not possible to consider the convening of a Conference if the agitation in open defiance of law was continued, but Gandhiji refused to call off the hartal in connection with

* Spinning-wheels.

† Suspension of all work and closing of shops and other places of business as a protest.

the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta on December 24. He declared that the non-cooperation movement 'is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being today conducted, and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation offered to arrest that awakening.'

A tragedy at Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces, on February 14, 1922, when a mob set fire to a police station and burnt to death 21 constables and a sub-inspector, compelled Gandhiji to fast for five days and to abandon plan of civil disobedience in Bardoli (Gujarat). In March he was arrested at the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad, and charged, before the Assistant Magistrate of Sahibah, with sedition in respect of certain articles published in *Young India*. The case was committed to the Sessions and in the meantime Gandhiji was detained in the Sabarmati Jail. Replying to the charges against him, he complimented the Advocate-General on the firmness with which he presented the case and endorsed every statement he made regarding the charges.

'To preach disaffection to the existing system of Government' he added, 'has become almost a passion with me I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me the highest duty of a citizen'.

Gandhiji was sentenced on March 18, 1922, to six years' simple imprisonment. For two years he remained in the Yerravada jail. While in jail he developed appendicitis and was removed to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, where he was operated, on January 12, 1924, by Col. Madock, I.M.S., for whom he had a high regard. Later, after he

had left India, Col. Madock recalling Gandhiji's stay in hospital wrote to the Editor of the *Indian Review*, Madras: 'Whilst in hospital, Mr. Gandhi endeared himself to all those who came into contact with him on account of his unfailing courtesy and patience, his wonderful cheerfulness, thoughtfulness for others and complete forgetfulness of himself.' He was released from jail on February 5, 1924.

CHOICE OF GANDHIJI AS LEADER

Gandhiji was soon called upon to decide the course of political life. Babu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru proposed a scheme of non-cooperation inside the Councils while other non-cooperators stood by the Bardoli programme of boycott of the legislature and the administration. An agreement was reached by which those who cared to enter the Councils were permitted to do so, but all Congress-men were required to carry on the constructive programme including hand-spinning. Thus the Swarajist party was allowed to contest the elections on behalf of the Congress.

But Gandhiji was faced with a serious problem on account of increased bitterness between Hindus and Muslims. A series of Hindu-Muslim riots in Delhi, Gulburga, Kohat, Lucknow, and other places had their sequel in an announcement on September 11, 1924, that Gandhiji had undertaken a fast of 21 days from September 18, as a penance and prayer. A conference of all parties and denominations met in Delhi on September 26, to consider measures to bring about unity and later, in November, a second All Parties' Conference was held in Bombay. Gandhiji made great efforts to have a United Congress and he was elected President of the Congress Session at Belgaum in December 1924. He brought together Swarajists and non-changers.

He toured the country on a campaign for the encouragement of khaddar, the removal of untouchability, and the introduction of prohibition. *Satyagraha* was now being conducted in Vaikam, Travancore State, to secure the admission of untouchables to the roads around the temple there and Gandhiji had encouraged the *Satyagrahis*. His presence in Travancore resulted in a reconciliation between the orthodox Hindus and the reformers. The failure of the non-cooperation movement to achieve Swaraj had made Gandhiji more cautious and he criticised the declaration of the Congress in Madras in 1927 that 'the goal of the Indian people was complete independence'. Gandhiji wrote: 'The Independence resolution that was rejected last year, was passed almost without opposition. I know that its wording was harmless, but in my opinion it was hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed. The resolution regarding the boycott of British goods was passed with an equally light heart. The Congress stultifies itself by repeating year after year resolutions of this character when it knows that it is not capable of carrying them into effect.'

At the session of the Congress in Calcutta, in December, 1928, Gandhiji moved a resolution for the adoption of the constitution recommended in the report of the All-Parties' Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. The resolution stated: 'Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, the Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before December 19, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon. Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall

interfere with carrying on in the name of the Congress propaganda for complete independence'.

Gandhiji again toured the country to popularise the Calcutta resolutions.

On October 31, 1929, as a prelude to a Round Table Conference, to consider the political situation and to reconcile Indian opinion to the Simon Commission on Reforms, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax), made a statement about the goal of British policy in India. He declared that 'in view of the doubts which have been expressed in both Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement, it is implied in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status'.

The statement was welcomed at a Conference of leaders in Delhi. The Conference adopted a resolution, drafted by Gandhiji and amended by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that for the success of the Conference a policy of general conciliation should be adopted and that the purpose of the Conference should be to draft a scheme of Dominion Status. The Viceroy met Pandit Motilal Nehru, Gandhiji, and other leaders on December 23, but no agreement was reached.

The Congress met in December 1929, at Lahore, at which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided. Gandhiji moved a resolution, which was passed, reiterating the demand for independence.

Thus complete independence was declared as the objective of the Congress and the boycott of the legislatures was ordered as a preliminary step towards

organising a campaign of independence. And the Congress Working Committee invested Gandhiji with full dictatorial powers to prosecute the scheme of civil disobedience.

Before embarking on his campaign, Gandhiji wrote a letter to the Viceroy announcing his intention, and the letter was delivered to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy by Reginald Reynold, a young Englishman, who was an inmate of Sabarmati Ashram. The Viceroy replying, expressed regret that Gandhiji was contemplating 'a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace'.

Satyagraha was renewed on March 12, 1930, when Gandhiji, with 75 volunteers from his Ashram, proceeded to the village of Dandi, 200 miles distant on the sea coast near Jalalpur to offer civil disobedience by breaking the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Those who joined the *Satyagraha* or 'the war of independence', as Gandhiji called it, were required to break the salt monopoly by the manufacture of salt whenever it could be done to remove salt without paying duty and to distribute salt. Volunteers in hundreds joined the civil disobedience movement. A march of 24 days brought Gandhiji to Dandi on April 5. The next morning, after a prayer, he told the *Satyagrahis* that if he was arrested they should take orders from Mr. Abbas Tyabjee and, in the event of the latter being removed, from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The next morning at six, Gandhiji and about 80 followers, after bathing in the sea, picked up salt lying on the shore. This was a signal for action in all parts of the country. By the end of the national week, April 6 to 13, 200 Congressmen were arrested, including Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This gave further stimulus to the movement and more demonstrations and arrests followed. In the Madras Presidency Mr. T. Prakasam and

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for a similar offence.

WIDESPREAD DISTURBANCES

But although Gandhiji had insisted on non-violence, mass civil disobedience was followed by widespread disturbances and these had to be quelled by force by the police or the military. Thus many were killed or injured. In Peshawar, for example, more than twenty were killed, when the military fired on a mob, following a disturbance in which their armoured cars were set fire to. At Chittagong, a number of young men armed with revolvers attacked the police, killing six and wounding a few more.

To meet the situation, the Government of India promulgated various ordinances, including one reviving the powers of the Press Act 1910, as it was found that writings in the Press encouraged the spirit of lawlessness. Gandhiji asked the Manager of his *Navajivan* Press to allow it to be confiscated instead of paying a security under the Press Ordinance. Gandhiji's *Young India* was issued in cyclostyle for some time.

Gandhiji marched through the villages preaching against untouchability and drink. He also urged the people to wear khadder, to manufacture illicit salt, to picket liquor shops and foreign cloth shops. He called upon village officers to resign, but uttered a warning against social boycott of Government officials.

On the night of May 25, Gandhiji was arrested in his camp at Kuradi and the next day he was removed to the Yerravada Central Jail. His arrest created considerable excitement and was followed by hartals all over the country. Some people resigned from the public service or from honorary offices. Disturbances in Sholapur (Bombay) resulted in the burning of six police out-posts. The police opened fire and 25 persons were killed and a hundred

wounded. At Howrah, in Calcutta, and also in Delhi, the police were compelled to open fire on account of disturbances. At another station the police opened fire on a crowd which tried to hold up a train and some were injured.

Protests were made against Gandhiji's arrest also by Indians in foreign countries. A message was cabled to the Prime Minister of England, by about 100 American clergymen urging him to seek an amicable settlement with Gandhiji and the Indian people. Liberals in India, while condemning civil disobedience, urged that the Viceroy should hold a round table conference. A meeting of the Council of the Liberal Federation and an All-Parties' Conference were convened at Bombay, but before the meetings took place, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, made an important announcement. After pointing out how his warning to Gandhiji about the consequences of civil disobedience had been proved by recent riots, the Viceroy announced that steps were being taken to arrange for meeting of Indian representatives at a Round Table Conference in London. Meanwhile the Congress Working Committee resolved to continue civil disobedience and the arrest of more Congress-men followed. It was computed that about 100,000 were put into prison before the end of the year 1930.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE IN LONDON, 1931

The Round Table Conference began its session in London in November 1930. Early in 1931, the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald of the Labour Party, announced that His Majesty's Government had deemed it advisable to consult Indian opinion upon the work of the Conference and its Committees. The Government of India accordingly withdrew the notification declaring the Congress Working Committee an unlawful association, and

Gandhiji and members of the Congress Working Committee were released. This was followed by talks between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and on March 5, 1931, an agreement (known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact) was reached by which the Congress was to discontinue civil disobedience and the Government were to withdraw the ordinances and notifications issued to suppress the movement and steps were to be taken for the participation of representatives of the Congress in the Round Table Conference. The people on the sea coast were conceded the right of manufacturing and selling salt.

The Congress at its meeting in Karachi towards the end of March, authorised Gandhiji to go to England as the sole Congress delegate to the Round Table Conference. In London, Gandhiji stayed at East End among labourers and the poor. He was clad, as in India, in loin cloth and *chadar* * and wore Indian sandals. It was in such attire that he attended a reception in Buckingham Palace. Meanwhile Lord Irwin, whose five-year term of office as Viceroy expired, returned to England. He was succeeded by Lord Willingdon, in April 1931. The new Viceroy was previously Governor of Bombay (1913—18), and subsequently Governor of Madras (1918—24). He had thus considerable experience of India, but was generally inimical to the aspirations of the Indian people. During his whole term of five years as Viceroy (1931—36), he avoided seeing Gandhiji and even refused to give him an interview.

When Gandhiji returned to India in December 1931, the political situation had worsened, particularly as the result of agrarian agitation in Gujarat and the United Provinces and special measures were adopted by Government to put down disorder. Five days before Gandhiji's arrival in Bombay, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and

* Cloth thrown round the shoulders.

Mr. Sherwani, President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, were arrested. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution urging that the new ordinances should be withdrawn and Congress left free to proceed with its work for complete independence. It was stated that, in the absence of a satisfactory response from the Government, civil disobedience would be resumed. The Viceroy replied that Government could not subject themselves to the conditions which a political organisation sought to impose on them under the menace of unlawful action. The result was that civil disobedience was resumed. Gandhiji, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, President of the Congress, and other leaders were arrested, and the Government took possession of Congress Offices and Ashrams.

Events assumed a graver aspect, in April, 1932, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald gave his award on the question of communal electorates, referred to him by the Round Table Conference. Under the award, the Depressed Classes were to have separate electorates, with the right to contest seats in the general electorate. Gandhiji, who was opposed to the creation of separate electorates for Depressed Classes, entered on a fast unto death on September 20, after intimating to the Prime Minister of England his decision to resist the new scheme. 'I would not,' he declared 'sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India'. Government offered to release Gandhiji from jail and detain him in a suitable place of private residence under certain restrictions, but he rejected the offer. Indian leaders met and formulated a scheme by which the Depressed Classes were to forego their separate electorates and content themselves with the general Hindu electorates, in which seats were to be reserved to them. The Poona Pact, as it was called, was accepted by all parties by the

fifth day of Gandhiji's fast. On the morning of September 26, news was received that the British Cabinet had also accepted the scheme and Gandhiji broke his fast. A conference of the leaders in Bombay passed a resolution pledging the Hindu Community to the removal of untouchability.

On May 8, 1933, Gandhiji started a self-purificatory fast of 21 days. He described it as a 'heart prayer for the purification of myself and my associates for the greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan * cause'. The same day the Government released Gandhiji and he issued a statement recommending the suspension of civil disobedience campaign for six weeks. Gandhiji underwent his fast at Parnakuti, the residence of Lady Thackersay, in Poona. There was thanksgiving among his followers in all parts of India when he broke his fast on May 29, 1933. Congress-men held a Conference at Poona on July 12, to consider the political situation and authorised Gandhiji to interview the Viceroy to explore the possibilities of peace and arrive at a settlement. The Viceroy declined to grant the interview unless the Congress withdrew the civil disobedience movement. The Congress decided to continue its struggle, but suspended mass civil disobedience and advised individuals, who were willing to do so, to offer civil disobedience. Gandhiji inaugurated the campaign of individual civil disobedience by disbanding the Sabarmati Ashram and inviting his fellow workers to give up other activities and join the struggle. On August 4, he disobeyed an order to leave the limits of Yerravada village and was arrested and imprisoned. Hundreds of Congress workers courted arrest. Within a few days of his imprisonment Gandhiji began a fast as the Government refused to grant certain

* Child of God. Hari is a Hindu name of God. This term applies to people of Depressed Classes.

facilities allowed to him while he was in jail previously. On August 23, the eighth day of his fast, he was unconditionally released because of imminent danger to his life.

Having regained his health, Gandhiji devoted himself to the cause of Harijans. He toured every Province and collected funds for Harijan work. At Ajmer, he fasted for seven days as a penance for the violence committed by a reformer who seriously injured an opponent of the Harijan movement by striking him with a lathi.

On January 16, 1934, a disastrous earthquake took place in Bihar and Gandhiji helped Congress leaders in organising relief. A few months later, Congress leaders held a conference in Delhi and decided that those who did not offer civil disobedience might enter the legislature and work for the repeal of the ordinances and the rejection of the proposals contained in a White Paper issued by the British Government regarding Constitutional Reforms in India. Gandhiji agreed to this decision. On his recommendation the All-India Congress Committee suspended civil disobedience. The Committee also appointed a Parliamentary Board to run and control elections to the legislature on behalf of the Congress.

GANDHIJI RETIRES FROM THE CONGRESS

Gandhiji, in September 1934, announced his decision to retire from politics, to engage himself in the development of village industries, khaddar, Harijan service, education through basic crafts, and promotion of Hindi as India's national language. In December he inaugurated the All-India Village Industries Association. He also declared that there was a growing and vital difference of out-look between many Congress-men and himself. But he continued to be its counsellor.

In 1937, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow, the Congress contested the elections to the provincial

legislatures under the enlarged franchise granted by the Government of India Act, 1935, and was returned with an overwhelming majority in six out of the eleven provinces. These elections were the crowning victory of Gandhiji's life. Thousands all over India walked to their respective polling stations to put their ballot papers into the 'Gandhi box' without caring to know for what individuals they were voting. Gandhiji's name acted as a spell. The Congress resolved to accept office in the Provinces, 'on condition that the leader of the Congress party was able to state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference, or set aside the advice of Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities'.

A deadlock ensued and a vigorous controversy raged both in India and in England over the constitutional issue. Meanwhile the Governors formed interim Ministries in those Provinces. On Gandhiji's advice, the Congress modified its demand and an amicable settlement was reached.

In March 1939, Gandhiji commenced a 'fast unto death' at Rajkot to secure the Ruler's adherence to the pledge given to reform the administration but ended it on Viceroy's intervention. Later he confessed that the reforms in Rajkot were achieved as the result of violence on his part.

'In taking the fast', he declared, 'I sought the immediate intervention of the Paramount Power so as to induce fulfilment of the promise made by the Thakore Sahib. This was not the way of *Ahimsa* or conversion. It was the way *himsa* or coercion'.

When the war broke out in September 1939, the Viceroy invited Gandhiji for an interview. In a statement issued immediately after the interview, Gandhiji said that any negotiation or discussion on the issue of India's support to Britain in war should be between the Viceroy and the Congress, but that his own sympathies

were with England and France. He stated, 'I told the Viceroy that I could not contemplate, without being stirred to the very depth, the destruction of London . . . and as I was picturing before the Viceroy, the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down'. Gandhiji also disclosed that as one, 'who has deliberately shunned the method of war, and not without considerable success', he had written to Hitler, appealing to him 'to prevent a war which would reduce humanity to the savage state'. 'I am not, therefore, just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?'

But the Congress Working Committee expressed the view that India's support to Britain should be conditional on a declaration that Britain's policy involved the recognition of India's independence. In October 1939, the Viceroy reiterated the British Government's declaration that Dominion status for India was their objective. In November, Lord Linlithgow, in a letter addressed to Congress and Muslim League leaders suggested that they should reach a basis of agreement whereby representations of these two organisations and other groups could participate in the Central Government as members of His Excellency's Executive Council. But Gandhiji and Congress leaders again wanted a declaration on the lines suggested by Congress. The Congress Ministries in the Provinces also resigned. Communal differences had now become more acute, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, announced the observance of a 'Deliverance Day' to celebrate the resignation of the Congress Ministries. Gandhiji's opposition to the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan widened the cleavage between Hindus and Muslims.

Gandhiji disapproved His Majesty's Government's proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India, for the creation, immediately upon cessation of hostilities, of a new Indian Union constituting a Dominion. In May 1942, he appealed to British Government to quit India and on August 8, addressed the Congress Session in Bombay on the implication of 'Quit India' Resolution. At this session the Congress resolved to start a mass struggle under the leadership of Gandhiji, who described this move as an open rebellion, and that led to his arrest along with other Congress leaders. He and his wife were interned in Aga Khan's Palace at Poona on August 9, 1942.

On February 10, 1943, Gandhiji embarked on a 21 days' fast as the Government turned down his proposal to repudiate the charges made by the Government against the Congress in respect of the disturbances, or in the alternative, to be put in touch with the members of the Congress Working Committee to consider the revision of the Congress policy. He broke his fast on March 3. Gandhiji suffered two grievous bereavements during his internment in the Aga Khan's Palace. First, Mahadev Desai, who was his right-hand man for years, died suddenly on August 15, 1942, after six days' detention, and then his wife, Kasturbai, on February 22, 1944. On May 6, 1944, he was released unconditionally for reasons of health. The members of the Congress Working Committee continued to be in prison.

Following a formula proposed by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, he carried on conversations with Mr. Jinnah to bring about a settlement between the Congress and Muslim League and establish Hindu-Muslim unity.

Lord Wavell, four months after his assuming office as Viceroy, addressed the joint session of the Legislature, on February 17, 1944, and in referring to the attitude of the

Congress policy said: 'There is an important element which stands aloof. I recognise how much ability and high-mindedness it contains. But I deplore its present policy and methods as barren and unpractical. I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present and the future problems of India. If its leaders feel that they cannot consent to take part in the present Government of India, they may still be able to assist in considering future problems. But I see no reason to release those responsible for the declaration of August 8, 1942, until I am convinced that the policy of non-cooperation and even of obstruction has been withdrawn—not in sackcloth and ashes, that helps no one—but in recognition of a mistaken, unprofitable policy'.

In September 1944, prolonged negotiations between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah took place in Simla under the patronage of the Viceroy, but they failed.

In March 1945, a Cabinet delegation composed of Lord Pethick-Lawrence (Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived in Delhi and began discussions preliminary to the setting up of machinery whereby the forms under which India would realise her full independent status could be determined by Indians. A conference of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, and representatives of the Congress and Muslim League was held between May 5 and 12 at Simla to bring about a settlement. As the two Parties did not agree, on May 16 the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, presented a plan for immediate arrangements being made whereby Indians could decide the future constitution of India, an interim Government being set up. It was proposed that there should be a Union of India, with three groups of Provinces, and that a Constituent Assembly should be formed to frame the constitution. Under the proposed grouping

there were to be six Muslim Provinces, and it was claimed that this arrangement would make it possible for Muslims to secure the advantages of a Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India.

On the issue of the question of partition of India, Lord Wavell's opinion cannot be ignored. He was the Commander-in-Chief in India and knows the country well. Keital, late Chief of Staff of the German Army, described him as 'the only good General Great Britain has'. Such a great soldier was not in favour of the division of India from the military point of view. He said: 'on the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for the two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of different cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union. In Canada, the British and French elements reached a federal agreement which operates satisfactorily; the French, Italian, and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of federation. In all the above, there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States, many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous civil war. In Ireland, the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is, of course, only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have

devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also, no doubt, repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography'.

Gandhiji welcomed the scheme of the British Cabinet as 'something to be proud of'. The Muslim League accepted it stating that its ultimate attitude 'will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the Constitution-making body and on the final shape of the constitutions, which may emerge from the deliberations of that body'. But differences of opinion arose on the composition of the provincial Government, the Congress opposing the proposed parity between itself and the Muslim League in the executive, and the negotiations for the establishment of an interim Government failed. Ultimately two independent States were set up, India and Pakistan, and two separate Governors-General were appointed on August 15, 1947, Lord Mountbatten for India and Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah for Pakistan.

On the occasion of 75th birthday of Gandhiji (October 2, 1944), the people of India presented him with a purse of 110 lakhs of rupees (£825,000) for Kasturbai memorial.

Scorning rest, Gandhiji strove to unite the communities, to uplift the depressed and the under-privileged, to end the differences and disharmonies among the peoples of India, and to promote the peace, security, and progress of the country. His tours in East Bengal, mostly done on foot, to bring harmony between the Muslims and Hindus and his success, which no other person in India could have achieved, are examples of his love for the people irrespective of their creed. He was loved, honoured, and followed not only by his countrymen, but by people in all countries. A leader of humanity, he was the glory of

his times. Such a life came to an end abruptly and unexpectedly on January 30, 1948.

I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class or low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women shall enjoy the same rights as men. This is the India of my dreams.

M. K. GANDHI.

CHAPTER IV

Mahatma Gandhi's Death and Funeral

For many years I have accorded intellectual assent to the proposition that death is only a big change in life and nothing more, and should be welcome whenever it arrives. I have deliberately made a supreme attempt to cast out from my heart all fear whatsoever including the fear of death. Still I remember occasions in my life when I have rejoiced at the thought of approaching death as one might rejoice at the prospect of meeting a long-lost friend. (M. K. GANDHI.)

If someone were to tell me, in order to avoid death, to retire to the Himalayas until the end of this year, I should not do so. For I know that death is inevitable, no matter what precautions man deludes himself with. I would like you to appreciate that I am one of the very few among the public men in India who know how to preserve their health. God knows what work to take out of me. He will not permit me to live a moment longer than He needs me for His work. (M. K. GANDHI.)

I implicitly believe in the truth of the saying that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. He will save my life if He needs it for further service in this body. None can save it against His will. (M. K. GANDHI.)

O my God, I resign myself entirely to Thee, to receive death at the time, and in the manner it shall please Thee to send it. (CHRISTIAN FORM OF PRAYER.)

On Friday, January 30, 1948, just before 6 p.m. the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death was flashed throughout the world. This tragic death shocked the City of Delhi, India, and the whole world as no event in this generation has done.

Mahatma Gandhi came out of Birla House, Delhi, at 5 p.m. and walked towards the prayer meeting ground, supporting himself on the shoulders of his two grand-daughters, Ava Gandhi and Manu Gandhi. As he approached the platform, the congregation which numbered about 500 broke into two parts, leaving a passage for Mahatma Gandhi to pass. Then a man who was in the congregation, appeared to bow and then fired three shots from a seven-chambered automatic pistol at a range of about six feet as Mahatma Gandhi was approaching. It was later learnt that the assassin was Nathuram Vinayak Godse,* a well-educated Hindu, Editor of *Hindu Rashtra*, a Marathi Daily, aged about 35 years. The two grand-children who were supporting Gandhiji held him and started crying. The incident was so sudden and unexpected that no one in the congregation realised what had happened. The assailant was immediately pounced upon by some members of the congregation and seized. He was disarmed and the police took him over. Mahatma Gandhi fell riddled with three bullets, one in the chest, two in the abdomen. The first and second shots passed right through and came out at the back. The third remained embedded in the lung. His last gasp was 'Rama, Rama'. While the congregation sobbed and cried openly, showing emotion, he was gently removed by loving hands to the room where he had undertaken his recent fast for communal unity (period of fast 13 to 18, January 1948). There were signs of life, but he was unconscious. Medical aid was rushed but it was of no avail. The end came about half an hour after he was hit, shortly before 5-30 p.m. It was a scene of most solemn moment, unforgettably sad. His face was kindly and reposeful. News of the death sent the Capital into mourning.

* Tried and sentenced to death on February 10, 1949.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Home Minister, who had been with the Mahatma before he left for the prayer meeting, was the first to reach the Birla House. Dr. Jivraj Mehta came a few minutes later, examined the pulse and the eye reflexes and ruefully shook his head. Lord Mountbatten, Pandit Nehru and other Cabinet Ministers came posthaste. The most pathetic scene was when the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru buried his face among Bapu's clothes and began to sob like a child. The Governor-General looked drawn and pale. 'To-morrow' will be a day of mourning for India,' a Cabinet Minister remarked. Lord Mountbatten who was leaving Birla House was heard to remark 'It will be day of mourning to the entire world'. Outside Birla House, a seething mass of humanity, waited to see the body of their beloved Father. Inside, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel sat long beside the body and gazed vacantly and hard, overcome by great grief. As his breath was flickering away, recitations from Bhagavad Gita and his favourite hymn 'Vaishnav Janato' were chanted.

The gates of Birla House were opened at six on Saturday morning to allow a long queue to file past Mahatma's body. Thousands had waited all night to pay their homage. His body lay shrouded by spotless white khadder, from his feet to his abdomen. Dark patches made by the assassin's bullets could be seen. His face was the face of a man in prayer. Round his neck was a handspun Khaddi garland. His remains were taken from the Birla House compound at about midday, while his closest relations and associates sang 'Ram Dhun' and other favourite prayer songs of the Mahatma. Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Sardar Baldev Singh led the grief-stricken procession. The funeral procession from Birla House took many hours to traverse the five-mile route, and the bier was followed by a tremendous press of mourners, all anxious to have a last glance of a beloved leader. The whole route was lined

by hundreds of thousands of people paying their last sad tribute to a leader who had won a lasting place in their hearts.

The procession started from Birla House amid shouts of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai' from thousands of throats and the weeping of many men and women. The whole mass of humanity wept without restraint as the procession proceeded on its way. The women cried 'Bapu, Bapu'.

The Diplomatic Corps in India's capital was fully represented in formal morning attire. There were Sikh soldiers in turbans, Gurkhas in bush hats and grey tunics, Rajputana Riflemen in jungle green, and Maharatta Infantry men, some in airborne maroon, and some in commando green berets. The Governor-General's Body-guard lancers carrying white and red pennants, armoured cars of the mechanised units and detachments of the Royal Indian Air Force and of the Royal Indian Navy. At 3-30 p.m. three Dakotas of the R.I.A.F. flew very low over the cortege. For over 3 miles Major-General Cariappa and other senior Indian Army officers were walking. The Ambassadors from foreign countries were there including the Burmese and Chinese ambassadors in black dress. There was also the Parsee High Priest.

At about 11-30 the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten with his two daughters (each with a black arm band), and Sir Chandulal Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab, arrived.

There were many Muslims who came to pay their last homage to Mahatmaji and for whom Bapuji fought to ensure communal unity.

As the cortege slowly moved into the Memorial arch there was a virtual rain of flower petals of all colours, practically covering the entire cortege. The air was thick with rose petals, handful after handful being thrown by the people.

At Raj Ghat, the cremation place, there was a square platform about one foot high, and on it there was a pile of sandalwood about the length of a man, with a large piece tapering at the head-end.

People of all communities, including the Government of India officials, the daughters of the Governor-General and relatives of Mahatma had taken their places round the platform. Garlands and flowers were distributed to all. The Governor-General and Countess Mountbatten were there, the Countess having arrived in Delhi from Madras in time to attend. (At the time of Mahatma's death, Countess Mountbatten was in Madras and she, accompanied by the Governor of Madras, flew to Delhi.) As the cortege approached the last resting place, girls chanted the favourite song, 'Raghupathi Raghava Rajaram'. It was a most moving sight.

Slowly and gently two persons in Congress caps raised Bapuji from the bier, and carried the body to the cremation spot. In an atmosphere of indescribable solemnity with every face showing sorrow and gloom and a few cries of 'Bapuji, Bapuji' from those who could not control their feelings, the body was lowered. The body was covered with flowers thrown from all sides. Gandhiji was finally laid at rest.

Pandit Nehru chanted funeral prayers while Devadas Gandhi, the youngest son of Mahatma, stood with folded hands at the head-end of his father's body. When the first piece of sandalwood was lit the whole crowd rushed forward to get a last glimpse of the Mahatma's body before it was over. Thousands of men, women, and children began to weep 'Bapuji, Bapuji'. It was an indescribable scene. Slowly the flame spread and the smoke rose. Up went also cries of anguish from several thousands who broke into tears. Hundreds of garlands were flung into the

air. By 6 p.m. Mahatma's mortal remains were completely reduced to ashes.

It was proposed by some friends that Mahatma's body should be embalmed for a few days to enable millions of people to pay their last homage to him. But it was his wish, repeatedly expressed, that no such thing should happen, that this should not be done, that he was entirely opposed to any embalming of his body; and so it was decided that his wishes in this matter, however much others might have wished otherwise, should be followed.

Saturday was observed throughout India as a day of fasting and prayer. All the shops were closed and traffic of all sorts, even running of trains and buses and private cars, was stopped.

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister, broadcasting to the people of India on the night of the tragedy said: 'We must hold together, and all our petty troubles, difficulties, and conflicts must be ended in the face of this great disaster. And while we pray, the greatest prayer we can offer is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to the truth and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived, and for which he has died. This is the best prayer that we can offer him and his memory. That is the best prayer we can offer to India and ourselves. Jai Hind.' After Mahatma's mortal remains had been reduced to ashes there was a great scramble by the people who had gathered round the funeral pyre for twigs and sandal chips, as well as withered rose petals, which they collected to be kept as souvenirs. They even collected bits of ash blown by the breeze. These souvenirs will become sacred heirlooms. Even mud from the spot where Mahatmaji fell after he was shot was scooped out by many people.

Dr. R. M. Alagappa Chettiar, Ph.D., of Madras, who was an eye-witness at the funeral of the Mahatma, said of the Mountbattens thus: 'Lord Mountbatten who had

come to pay his last respects to the departed Father of the Nation, behaved in a manner which was most striking and touching. One could hardly feel that he, Governor-General of India, could be so informal. The manner in which he was discussing the small arrangements about the route the funeral procession was to take and other things, and the way he went about the crowd looking for one or the other of the Cabinet Ministers to console them, was something that should only be seen to be believed. It was also something magnanimous to see Lord and Lady Mountbatten sitting near the pyre on the bank of the River Jumna when the pyre was lit.

Messages of thanks were sent by Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister, to the three Services' Chiefs for the help rendered by the Services at the funeral of Mahatma Gandhi.

In his message to Gen. F. R. P. Bucher, Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, he said: 'Please accept my gratitude for the very great help rendered by you, the army officers and men, at the funeral of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not an easy job to cope with such a huge mass of men, women, and children on a solemn occasion like this. The disciplined devotion of our soldiers and their spirit of loyal service so ungrudgingly given has been highly appreciated by everybody, by the Prime Minister, and all members of the Cabinet. Kindly convey my heart-felt thanks to all concerned.'

Similar messages were also sent to the Flag Officer Commanding, R.I.N., and the Air Marshal Commanding, R.I.A.F.

February 12, 1948, being the thirteenth day after the death of Mahatma, was observed as a public holiday throughout India and Pakistan. The entire country observed a complete hartal. The ceremony of the immersion of the ashes of Mahatma was held at various holy

places from the Himalayas in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. The main function was at Triveni Sangam, Prayag, where the ashes were immersed at the confluence of the rivers Ganga, Jumna, and Saraswati by Ramdas Gandhi, Mahatma's son. This unprecedented tribute to the Father of the Nation was the climax of the obsequies of the departed leader according to Hindu *shastras*. The ashes were enclosed in a plain copper pitcher and were brought from Delhi to Allahabad in a special train. Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, and Pandit G. B. Pant received the urn which was bedecked with flowers and wreaths. Overhead, aircraft of the Allahabad Flying Club zoomed, dipped low, and released cascades of flower. The Ministers formed a procession led by Her Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces, Srimathi Sarojini Naidu. The urn, which was placed on a chair, was carried by Pandit Nehru and his colleagues. A contingent of the Kumaon Regiment presented arms to the urn, dipped their weapons and slowly marched ahead of the procession. The route within the railway station over which the urn was carried was spread with white khadi. The urn was then placed on a *rath* (chariot) constructed on a trallor and a statue of Mahatma with a halo round the head was placed on it. A squadron of mounted sowars, formed the immediate vanguard of the procession while ahead armoured vehicles and jeeps moved abreast. Troops in formation were deployed in the front, rear, and flanks of the *rath*. The procession passed by the All Saints Cathedral, Allahabad, where in the church compound were many people attired in black. The *rath* stopped for a few minutes in front of the Cathedral while the devotees sang the favourite hymn of the Mahatma 'Lead kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom, Lead thou me on'. The crowd swelled to over a million, including pilgrims who had come from all parts of India. The urn was placed at the centre of a white-coloured 'duck' (military amphi-

bious vehicle) which cruised on the sacred confluence while aircraft above showered flowers. The last rites were performed by Ramdas Gandhi, according to vedic injunctions, and the actual immersion took place at about 2 p.m. Before the urn was immersed, Hindu prayer hymns were sung and a passage from the Quran was recited.

Ramdas Gandhi and Devadas Gandhi, the two sons of Mahatma, were left behind in another tug to complete rites and the leaders ferried back to the bank. As the party returned, army buglers sounded the Last Post and troops stood to attention.

The following is a translation of the text from the Vedic scripture which was recited when the urn was emptied in the Triveni Sangam:

'The good deeds of self-sacrifice of the virtuous soul take shape as angel, spirits of the heaven world, and lead the holy soul towards the abode of blessedness, with sweet smiles and graceful gestures, inviting him. This is the path to the heaven of peace and universal love, where there is no evil, no hate, no sinful discord, which heaven has been created by your offerings to the fire of lifelong self-sacrifice for the well-being of humanity. O holy soul, may the sun, the air, the fire be auspicious unto thee. Thy dear ones on this earth do not bewail their lot at thy departure, for they know that thou art gone to the radiant regions of the blessed. May the waters of all the rivers and the oceans be helpful unto thee, and serve thee ever in thy good deeds for the welfare of all beings. May all space and its four quarters be open unto thee for thy good deeds.'

The Prime Minister then addressed the vast concourse a short while. He exhorted the people against violence and communalism and said: 'Soon after Mahatma had won them their freedom, they stood divided among themselves, and a wave of violence was sweeping the

country. Freeing a down-trodden people, and the way he did it, was a remarkable achievement unparalleled in the history of the world, but the free India today stood humiliated abroad and bruised in her own soul.

The Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, broadcasting on the night of the immersion ceremony said: 'The best tribute that we can pay to Gandhiji's memory is to turn our hearts, and our minds and our hands, to building a secular, democratic State in which all can lead useful, creative lives, and in which a genuinely-progressive society can be developed, based on social and economic justice.' He remarked that the death of Mahatma Gandhi came with the shock of a personal bereavement to millions of people in every part of the civilised world, not only those who worked with him throughout his life, or who, like himself, had known him for a comparatively short time, but people who never met him, who never saw him, or even read one word of his published works felt as if they had lost a friend. He added: 'Gandhiji, the man of peace, the apostle of ahimsa, died by violence, as a martyr in the struggle against fanaticism—that deadly disease that has threatened to jeopardise India's new-found freedom. He saw that this cancer must be rooted out before India could embark on the great task of nation-building which lies ahead. Gandhiji will have rendered his last and greatest service of all to the people he loved so well, if the tragic manner of his death has shocked and spurred us into sinking all differences and joining in a sustained, united effort—beginning here and now. Only in this way can his ideal be realised, and India enter into her full inheritance.'

A curious incident occurred in Madras in connection with Gandhiji's death, which shows that there are in this country educated people who still believe in the efficacy of magic and charms. A certain Swamiji claimed that he

possessed miraculous powers to restore Gandhiji to life. He approached first the Premier and then the Governor. The former told him that he could exercise his powers from Madras and the latter told him that since bullets have pierced the body it would not be possible by any human means to revive Gandhiji's life. He then persuaded a party of three eminent men who engaged a private aircraft to take them to Delhi to attend the funeral and succeeded in getting a place for himself. At Delhi the Swamiji was taken near the cortege but his alleged claim to be able to recall Gandhiji to life by merely looking at the dead body did not materialise. Then the Swamiji wanted to touch the body, and this he was allowed to do without result. Later he suggested that an incision should be made in the throat. By now his benefactors realised that the Swamiji's claims were bogus.

Every person who engages himself in public work is exposed to danger to life and Gandhiji was no exception to this general rule.

On June 25, 1934, an unknown person attempted to throw a bomb at Gandhiji during the public function when the Poona Municipality presented him an address.

On June 30, 1946, an attempt was made to wreck Gandhiji's special train near Poona.

On August 15, 1947, when Gandhiji was away in Calcutta, staying in a Muslim widow's house, some Hindu rowdies made a violent attack on him and other inmates of the house.

On January 20, 1948 (10 days before his death), an unsuccessful attempt was made to throw a bomb at him.

In addition to the above attempts on his life, Gandhiji himself on many occasions underwent 'fast unto death', the last being on January 13, 1948, two weeks before his assassination. On two or three such fasts his life almost came to an end.

A suggestion was made in certain quarters that the Government of India failed in their duty to protect Gandhiji's life from danger. This suggestion was refuted by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Home Minister, at the Dominion

Legislature meeting of February 6, 1948. He explained the precautions taken by the Government to protect Gandhiji prior to and after the bomb explosion at his prayer meetings. On the day of the assassination there were 30 plain-clothed police officers who mingled in the prayer-meeting which numbered about 500. The Police considered that, to make precautions more effective, they should search every stranger going into Birla House compound for the prayer-meeting or at other times. But Gandhiji would not agree to such a suggestion. He said that his life was in the hands of God, and that, if he had to die, no precautions would save him. He would not agree to anybody being restricted. Mahatma had almost a premonition for he had said that, if anybody wanted to assassinate him, he could do so at the prayer-meeting. God's will be done. So there was no question of the police searching any one coming to join the prayer-meeting. The assassin is said to have knelt down before Mahatma, and as he rose, whipped out a pistol, and fired before any one could apprehend him.

I am a firm believer in destiny and we must all recognise God's Power to direct the destinies of man. We have many learned astrologers in India and elsewhere and no one predicted the day and the manner of death of our Mahatma. This must be a warning to us all that we should not attach much faith in astrological calculations but we must acknowledge that God alone is the supreme Head of our destinies. In our generation we have seen several attempts on the lives of notable persons, Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India (1910—16), Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal (1927—32). The latter was shot at very close range at the University Convocation Hall by a young Bengali girl; but the pistol shot missed the target. And recently unsuccessful attempts were made on the lives of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, and the Nizam of Hyderabad. All

these attempts on life failed. Apparently their time for departure from this world had not arrived, and they all escaped their deaths. The only instance of a successful assassination which I can now recall is that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, ex-Governor of Punjab, who was shot dead at a London meeting by a Punjabi Hindu. Mahatma himself seems to have told his Secretary, Mr. Pyarelal, a couple of days before the end came, thus: 'There is nothing I would love more than to meet a shower of bullets with a smile on my face'. And God seemed to have granted him this boon. It is not known in what circumstances these painful words were uttered. But it is difficult for ordinary mortals like me to understand the motive of such an utterance by a man reputed to be a saint. Why should he have preferred a violent death than a normal one? For ourselves, if the circumstances of his death were normal, such as sickness or even a fast, we would not have felt the pain so bitterly. The real pain lies in the fact that his life had been taken suddenly and violently at the hands of a cruel assassin. We must regard the whole affair in a philosophical manner. Mahatma has said on many occasions that God would save his life if He needed it for further service in this body. None could save it against His Will.* Now God has willed that our

* My view is supported by no less a person than Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor of West Bengal. He asked whether during all these nearly 80 years the Government of India had protected Mahatma Gandhi. Had there not been times when he was in the greatest danger in South Africa and India during the last thirty or forty years?

Did the Government of India protect his life? During the last few years, there was the greatest anger and passion developed against him, but did he not live? Did the Government of India protect him? During the recent times of communal troubles could not any one of the numerous communities and groups have gone to him and killed him in anger? It was only when God willed that he had been taken away.

Mahatma should quit this world and Nathuram was probably a tool in God's hands. He lived to a good old age and we cannot possess him eternally. He preceded us in the way of all.

During the last ten years, we have heard of death visiting important personages at unexpected moments. Notable examples are the Duke of Kent, King George VI's brother, dying of a plane accident, President Roosevelt and Henry Ford dying of heart failure, and Winant, ex-American Ambassador to Britain, dying under tragic circumstances by his own hand. Our own country's great patriot, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, died somewhere near Singapore of a plane crash. And recently in Burma, seven Ministers met their deaths simultaneously through shooting, while discussing State problems. The latest unexpected tragic death was that of the 77-year old Bombay millionaire, Sir Homi Mehta, one of the 30 victims in an airliner crash in Ireland on April 15, 1948. During the war and during the riots in India, countless number died in the streets while walking, and in their homes while asleep, of bombing from the air, and of attacks by rowdy men.

Was there no anger against Pandit J. Nehru and Sardar Patel, and against everybody among their colleagues, and were they not protected by the Government of India sufficiently? Could the Government protect them if there was no good sense all around? Would it not be most ugly and intolerable if the Government of India had kept guard at the prayer ground, and in the private room of Mahatma Gandhi? It would, therefore, be idle and mischievous to go about talking in that manner. The Governor asked all to turn their eyes to God and to their hearts and not waste time in senseless accusation.

To illustrate my point forcibly I should like to record a curious incident which occurred in February 1949, near Kottayam in Travancore State. This shows how death can pursue a person in a most unexpected manner and smite him. 'A snake which was being carried by a flying eagle fell into a running motor-car and bit the occupant of the car, a planter in Travancore. The eagle which was bitten by the snake also fell dead on the ground later.'

No amount of precautions which human ingenuity can devise will save a man's life when the time appointed by God for a man's death arrives. Only the Almighty God knows the time and the manner of death of every creature in this world. All police precautions are useless. It is not worthwhile for a man to live, always guarded by police spies. That would be an unnatural way of living. We have seen, at many State drives of Kings, Princes, Viceroys, and Governors, the danger to which they are exposed to. The carriages would move slowly and would stop at several places. At such times it is easy for any man to shoot or throw a bomb as was done at Lord Hardinge's State drive in Delhi and quite recently in Hyderabad at the Nizam's car. During recent riots we have seen many innocent persons meeting their deaths in a violent manner and at unexpected moments. Men can die suddenly of other causes too, such as snake bite, train and plane accidents. While I was writing this, a certain incident which occurred about 15 years ago came to my mind. In the Palace of the King of the Belgians, it was the custom to keep a priest to minister to the spiritual wants of the King and his family. But it was the destiny of King Albert to die a violent death, the result of a fall when he was mountain-climbing. The priest could not be at his side during the last moments of the King's life. His dead body was found by his chauffeur two or three hours after the accident had occurred. Even a king, with all the precautions, can meet a violent death. It is unreasonable, therefore, to blame the Government for not taking adequate precautions to protect Gandhiji's life.

The American Consul-General at Madras held a similar view. He attributed Lincoln's death to God's will. This is what he said at Gandhiji's death: 'Even as this noble son of India sacrificed his life in the cause of freedom and brotherly love, so was it God's will that Lincoln.

whom we call the Great Emancipator, should die that a young nation might live.'

Her Excellency Srimathi Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, in her poetic way said that it was right that the cremation took place in the midst of the dead kings, who were buried in Delhi, for he was the kingliest of all kings. It was right also that he who was the Apostle of Peace, should have been taken to the cremation ground with all the honours of a great warrior, far greater than all warriors, who led armies to battle was this little man, the bravest, the most tried friend of all. Delhi has become the centre and the sanctuary of the great revolutionary, who emancipated his enslaved country from foreign bondage and gave to it its freedom and its flag.

The only comparison, if it can be called a comparison, to our Mahatma is that of that great American patriot and emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, who gave up his life at the hands of an assassin by a pistol shot about 80 years ago. That great President too died, 'With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right'. Both laboured for the good of their countries and both died of pistol shot wounds at the hands of assassins.

Mr. D. F. Davis, of the United States of America, Manager, Public Relations, Standard Vacuum Oil Company, who was on a business visit to India at the time of the death of Mahatma, said to a Press reporter: 'We have great respect for Gandhiji. Lincoln and Gandhiji are two great names in the two countries. You see we figure it out this way. February 12, the day when Gandhiji's ashes were immersed, is the birthday of a famous emancipator, Abraham Lincoln.'

By a curious coincidence, Saturday was an important day in Gandhiji's life. It was on that day he came into this world and on that day his mortal remains were turned to dust.

CHAPTER V

World's Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi

The news of Mahatma Gandhi's death dumbfounded the world. The grief with which it was received in every part of the world was unprecedented in the history of the world. It is a compliment to India that she possessed such a great soul. There was nothing more wonderful than the way in which the news of Gandhiji's death was handled by the newspapers, radios, and other organs of publicity not only in India, but in Britain, United States and other countries also. For days nothing else counted but Gandhiji and the assassination. The tributes to this great man were things to move the heart to the very bottom. It was all praise and exaltation of the greatest and the best of men. Kings and commoners vied with each other in paying homage to the departed soul and messages of sympathy poured from all quarters of the world to India.

In many places of worship memorial services were held but the most noteworthy of all is the service of intercession, for the peoples of India and Pakistan held at Westminster Abbey, the ancient burial place of the national heroes of Britain, on February 17, 1948. Prayers were said that the policy of non-violence and co-operation for which Gandhiji gave his life might increasingly prevail to the avoidance of bloodshed and confusion, and to the promotion of mutual forbearance and goodwill. Joining in the prayers were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Parsis. The Dean, Dr. ALAN C. DON, who conducted the service, said:

"In this hour of trial through which the Indians are passing, we share their sorrow in the death of their great leader so suddenly taken from them, and we join them in detestation of the deed that brought to an end

so noble a life. We shall pray that we, who profess the name of Christ may, together with the peoples of India and Pakistan, learn from his example that the way of peace is the only sure road to freedom and prosperity. Thus may a seeming loss be turned to gain, and death prove creative of new and more abounding life."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who attended the memorial service, said: "Mahatma Gandhi stands out as a great example of spiritual strength which should help to guide us—as well as his own people—in the difficult days that lie ahead. His passage from us is a loss to all the world, for where can we find today leaders who are able to emphasise, by their own life and actions, the over-powering force of love in solving our difficulties? And yet that is the doctrine which Christ taught us, and which we as Christians profess. May the whole world learn from his life something of fundamental value: 'That it is idle to try and save ourselves from destruction by the use of force, and that our greatest weapon of salvation is the supreme and redeeming power of love.' It is our earnest prayer that in his own country his example of patience, tolerance, and love of his fellow-men may live on to bring their peoples through the troublous times which now beset them into that fair and happy future, which was ever his wish, and for which he so steadfastly worked and sacrificed his life."

From all parts of the world, from all walks of life, expressions of grief and sympathy and of horror at the assassination of Gandhiji were made. It would fill a big volume if all the messages of sympathy were published. It would be sufficient, for the purpose of this little book, if only a few examples of the love and reverence with which he was held throughout the world were given.

Messages from more important personages and Associations only are reproduced here.

KINGS, HEADS OF STATES, AND PRIME MINISTERS

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, GEORGE VI, sent the following message to the Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten:

"The Queen and I are deeply shocked by the news of the death of Mr. Gandhi. Will you please convey to the people of India our sincere sympathy in the irreparable loss which they and indeed mankind have suffered."

The following statement was issued from the PRIME MINISTER'S residence at 10, Downing Street, London:

"The tragic news of Mahatma Gandhi's death has come to His Majesty's Government as a profound shock. No man has played a greater part in his country's history. Throughout his long life he strove for peace and condemned the resort to violence. His loss will be borne by countless thousands in all walks of life in every country of the world. His moral and spiritual leadership has been an inspiring example in a distracted and troubled age and Britain will share in India's great grief at this calamity. During the last months of his life, he exerted with success his peaceful influence to restrain communal bitterness and to promote the co-operation of all Indians for the common good. It is the earnest hope of the British Government that his example will be followed and that his moral influence will continue still to guide men in the paths of peace."

PRIME MINISTER, CLEMENT ATTLEE, telegraphed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India: "News of the death of Mr. Gandhi by violence has just reached me. I have as yet no particulars of the circumstances. I hasten, on behalf of the United Kingdom Government, to express to you and to your colleagues our profound distress on the tragedy. The loss of his unique personality will be received with sorrow not only in this

country but in all parts of the world. We, all of us here, are deeply grieved at the passing of this great servant of humanity."

In response to the message of condolence sent by Their Majesties the King and Queen, H. E. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA sent the following telegram:

"My Government and I wish to thank Your Majesties for your gracious message of sympathy to the people of India in their cruel bereavement. Mahatma Gandhi's death is truly a loss to mankind which so sorely needs the living light of those ideals of love and tolerance for which he strove and died. In her hour of deep sorrow India is proud to have given to the world a man of his imperishable renown, and is confident that his example will be a source of inspiration and strength in the fulfilment of her destiny."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA sent the following message to the Governor-General of India. Earl Mountbatten:

"I am deeply grieved by the news of the assassination of Mohandas Gandhi, and I send you and the Government and people of India my sincere condolences. As a teacher and leader, his influence made itself felt not only in India but everywhere in the world and his death brings great sorrow to all peace-loving people. Another giant among men has fallen in the cause of brotherhood and peace. I know that the peoples of Asia will be inspired by his tragic death to strive with increased determination to achieve the goals of co-operation and mutual trust for which the Mahatma has now given his life."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, in a cable to PRESIDENT TRUMAN, acknowledging his message of condolence on Mahatma Gandhi's death, said:

"My Government and I are deeply moved by your message of condolence on Mahatma Gandhi's tragic death and send you our sincere gratitude on our own behalf and on behalf of the people of India. I have just returned from the banks of the Jumna, where he was cremated this afternoon. The teeming multitude that had assembled there to witness the last rites were symbolic of the human range of his influence, the grief of these crowds a measure of the veneration in which he was held by the people of this land. India, indeed the world, will not see the like of him again, perhaps for centuries. Our one consolation in this hour of unparalleled grief is that his life of truth, toleration, and love towards his fellows, may inspire our troubled world to save itself by following his noble example."

QAID-E-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN, said: "I was shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death. There can be no controversy in the face of death. Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect. I wish to express my deep sorrow and sincerely sympathise with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at this momentous, historical, and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan. The loss to the Dominion of India is irreparable and it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum created by the passing away of such a great man at this moment."

H. E. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA in a message to H. E. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, says: "I am shocked beyond words by the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death. One of the greatest figures of the world has been laid low by the hand of an assassin."

Kindly convey my profound sympathy to the people of India on their tragic and irreparable loss."

The Burmese President, SAO SHWE THAIK, said: All Burma is a grief-stricken at the death of Mahatma Gandhi "out of a sense of tender obligation and grateful goodwill for the keen interest the great Indian leader had taken all through his life in the cause of Burma's independence." The Burmese President expressed the hope that the Indian people would "rise to the occasion and face the dire misfortune that has befallen them with calmness and fortitude worthy of a great nation."

THE PRESIDENT OF EIRE, MR. SEAN O'KELLY, sent the following message to Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India:

"Permit me to offer to the Indian Government and the Indian people my most profound sympathy with them in the bereavement that has befallen them through the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. The people of Ireland, in union with lovers of liberty in all lands, mourn the loss of one whose noble self-sacrificing life in the service of his country was an inspiration to all. May it please God to grant to India and the whole world that charity, brotherhood, and peace for which he so very earnestly prayed and worked."

Prime Minister, EAMON DE VALERA, telegraphed the following message to Pandit Nehru:

"I have learned with profound sorrow of the tragic death of Mr. Gandhi, and hasten to offer you and the people of India the heartfelt sympathy of the Irish Government and people. The loss is not India's alone. The world has lost a great leader, whose influence will long survive his death. In spite of this grievous loss we hope that India will not cease to go forward undiscouraged

to the attainment of the ideals for which Mr. Gandhi strove."

EMPEROR HIROHITO OF JAPAN was deeply shocked on hearing the news of Gandhiji's death and he told the Imperial household officials, "This is an event of great sorrow."

The Prague Radio reported that **DR. E. BENES**, the **CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT**, sent the following telegram to Pandit Nehru: "My deepest sympathy at the great loss which your country has suffered by the death of Mahatma Gandhi, the representative of your independence and freedom."

Telegrams of condolence have also been sent by **M. Josef David**, Speaker of the Czechoslovak Parliament, **M. Jan Masaryk**, Foreign Minister, and **Dr. Vladimir Clementis**, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Radio added.

KING FAROUK OF EGYPT, sent the following telegram to Pandit Nehru:

"I learn with the most profound emotion the tragic death of illustrious Mahatma Gandhi, whose pacific struggle for the triumph of his patriotic and humanitarian ideal will remain for ever a sublime example of sacrifice and heroism. In these painful moments, I offer you and the family of the deceased my sincerest condolences and entire sympathy."

THE SHAH OF PERSIA cabled the Persian Ambassador to India, asking him to transmit His Majesty's condolences to Mahatma Gandhi's family and to Pandit Nehru.

The Premier, **M. Ibrahim Hakimi**, cabled condolences to the India Government while the Majlis Speaker, **M. Hekmat**, addressed the Speaker of the India Constituent Assembly.

EMPEROR HAILE SELLASIE OF ABYSSINIA: "It is with the deepest sorrow that we have heard of the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. Not only India, but the whole world will mourn the passing of a great man and a moral leader for all humanity."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF TURKEY: "Mahatma Gandhi's death is a misfortune, which hits the entire humanity."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION: "Mahatma Gandhi exceptionally personified the Prince of Peace, and his death affects all humanity. I convey to Your Excellency (Pandit Nehru), an expression of the affliction and deep sympathy of the Federal Council and the people of Switzerland."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, SYRIA: "The death of this great patriot has thrown consternation. In the name of the Government and myself, I address to Your Excellency (Pandit Nehru) and to your Government an expression of most sincere condolences."

DR. SOEDARSONO, representative of the Republic of **INDONESIA** in India: "One of the greatest leaders the world ever had as well as a great person, has been lost. His far-seeing wisdom and peace-loving mind made him a source of courage not only for your people, but for all people in need of guidance."

"May God grant us all the courage, patience, and wisdom to fulfil the task Mahatmaji set before us, and in the spirit he taught us; for the day that mankind will feel its loss is still to come."

VICE-PRESIDENT MOHAMMED HATTA OF INDONESIA: "On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, I offer to Your Excellency our deepest condolences on the most tragic death of Gandhiji. He was the

messenger of peace and freedom and we mourn his death as our own loss. Kindly convey our condolences to the Indian people and the bereaved family. May God give us wisdom to emulate his example."

PRESIDENT ROXAS OF THE PHILIPPINES said: "Mr. Gandhi was one of the foremost champions of human freedom in our age. All true lovers of freedom everywhere will mourn him."

The ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, Count Carlo Sforza, told *Reuter*: "Mr. Gandhi's murder gives the last touch to the atmosphere of bestiality, which is everywhere confusing our generation."

"Europe invented nationalism. This theory is passing to Asia and Africa now dripping with blood and stained with crime."

Mahatma Gandhi's death is regarded in IRAQ'S political quarters as the greatest loss to humanity. The news shocked everyone here—Indians living in Iraq could not believe the news at first—and then everyone began crying like children.

THE PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT, MARSHAL OSCAR CARMONA, and the Premier, Dr. Antonio Salazar, sent telegrams of condolence on Mahatma Gandhi's death to Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru.

"If all political crimes are condemnable, this case is even more tragic, as he was a leader of the masses, who wielded kindness as his arms," declared PRESIDENT VIDELA OF CHILE, commenting on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The President said: "His death is a loss for the spirit of the world. It will be irreparable if the seed of his doctrines is not rooted in millions of hearts."

FRANS VAN CAUWELAERT, President of the **BELGIAN Chamber of Deputies**, declared: "Mahatma Gandhi's life proved that man could gain victories without ceasing to have a love for peace."

"Since our last session a dreadful crime has shaken the world. Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of non-violence, has fallen a victim of fatal violence at the very moment when he was praying for the last time for peace."

His death has plunged into personal mourning all men who have not ceased to believe in the power of the spirit and the radiance of Godliness.

Let his tragic death continue to serve his noble dream of human fraternity."

The Deputies stood in silence while the President spoke.

THE GOVERNOR OF CEYLON, Sir Henry Monk Mason Moore, cabled to the Governor-General of India: "The people and Government of Ceylon are shocked at the tragic news of Mahatma Gandhi's death. We deeply mourn the irreparable loss to India and the world."

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. D. S. E. Senanayake, cabled a personal message to Pandit Nehru, extending the heartfelt condolences of the people and Government of Ceylon and of himself. He said:

"By the untimely death of Mahatma Gandhi, the world has lost a leader most needed at this hour. I have no doubt his message will live and inspire the future generations in the realisation of peace and goodwill among mankind."

The Prime Minister sent similar cables to the Congress President and Mr. Devadas Gandhi.

The House of Representatives, Ceylon, passed a resolution expressing on behalf of the people of Ceylon its grief and sympathy with the people of India on the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The Prime Minister, Mr. Senanayake, said, the Mahatma was a symbol of all that was best in the East.

THAKIN NU, PRIME MINISTER OF BURMA, in a message to Pandit Nehru, said: "The people and Government of Burma are profoundly grieved at the terrible news from India. Mahatma Gandhi's death is regarded here as a loss also to the Burmese nation, and the day is, therefore, a day of mourning for Burma,

All public offices and schools have been closed. Burma tenders to India at this supreme moment of our common grief her deep sympathy at the irreparable loss of the great Indian saint and leader."

U TIN TUT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OF BURMA, called on the Indian Ambassador to Burma in Rangoon, and asked him to convey to the Government of India how profoundly the people and the Government of Burma had been grieved and shocked by the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT in an official statement—issued by Dr. Hollington Tong, Director of the Chinese Information Department—expressed deep regret at Mr. Gandhi's death.

The statement said: "The Chinese Government learnt of Mahatma Gandhi's tragic death with a feeling of profound sorrow. A great spiritual leader has been taken from us. The world can ill spare him.

"Mr. Gandhi's death at the hands of an assassin just at the moment of India's freedom is a staggering loss to his

people. Mr. Gandhi was the architect of India's freedom. Without his heroic leadership and sacrifice, the country would still be far from its goal. He symbolised in his own person the highest ideals of his people. The Mahatma was shot down while leading his last noble fight for India's unity. His death in the cause of a united India raised him to a pedestal of supreme greatness. China feels the loss with profound grief. Mr. Gandhi was a great Asiatic. His ideals will live after him as an inspiration to posterity."

MR. CHANG CHUN, President of the Executive Yuan of the CHINESE GOVERNMENT: "I am shocked and grieved at the sudden death of Mahatma Gandhi. The loss of one of the greatest leaders of mankind is deeply felt not only by India, but also by China. In your profound sorrow, please accept my sincere sympathy. Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings will always be the torch-light for all fellow-Asians."

DR. WANG SHIH-CHIEH, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, CHINA: "My Government and myself are deeply shocked to learn of Mahatma Gandhi's death. India has lost her great leader; and the world, a most saintly teacher of the way of peace. Please accept the heartfelt condolences of the Chinese people. I am sure that you and your colleagues will carry on the Mahatma's mission with dedication and fortitude."

THE REGENT OF IRAQ expressed sorrow at the death of Mahatma Gandhi. He said: "Gandhi was the greatest leader of peace-lovers in the world. Gandhi's death is a loss not only to India, but to humanity, and the civilised world. My deep sympathy to India."

M. HAMDI PACHACHI, Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Gandhi is not dead—his teachings will live for ever. I always regard Gandhi's teachings as the only way to lead the world to peace and security."

The Iraq Government expressed their sympathy to the India Government in the loss of the man who led India through the darkest days of her struggle.

THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD in a telegram to India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, expressed his heartfelt condolence at the death of Mahatma Gandhi and also his hope that India would follow the lead which Mahatma Gandhi had given after dedicating his life for the good of mankind.

The telegram said:

"It is extremely painful to learn that Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead. He was an embodiment of truth and non-violence, and it is due to his sacrifices that India at last achieved freedom. He laid down his life for Hindu-Muslim unity. His great deeds will be ever remembered in the history of India and in the whole world. I express my heartfelt condolence to you and to members of his family, and earnestly hope that India will follow the lead which Mahatmaji had given after dedicating his life for the good of mankind."

THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL in a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, said, that the only way to console Mahatma Gandhi's soul and to do him honour was to keep burning brightly the torch of peace and goodwill that he lighted. He called upon both the Hindus and Muslims in the State to join in the mourning.

THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA sent the following telegram to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India: "Members of my family and my people are profoundly shocked to hear on radio about the death of Mahatma Gandhi under tragic circumstances. We all pray that his soul may rest in peace."

THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE sent the following message to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "Greatly shocked over the tragic demise of Mahatma Gandhi, India's greatest son."

THE MAHARAJA OF PUDUKOTTAH, said: "The news is too shocking for words, and the loss to the nation is inestimable. It has thrown a great responsibility on the shoulders of every Indian to practise and implement successfully the ideals of love, sacrifice, and toleration for which Gandhiji lived and died."

THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE in a message, said: "No greater calamity can have overtaken our country at this juncture. His saintly advice and wise guidance we shall not continue to receive and profit by. But this martyr-saint has left behind a heritage of philosophy and lessons of life which are incalculable and which we must follow. The House of Mysore has had inestimable advantage of receiving his blessings, his advice, and guidance from time to time. In this hour of sorrow to the entire nation, I and the people of my State wish to pay our profound homage and respect to the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi."

THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA in a message to Mr. Devadas Gandhi, said: "India's greatest leader has been taken away from us, and this tragedy has plunged our country into mourning and darkness. Gandhiji is no more with us, but his spirit and memory will remain with us for ever to inspire and guide us. I and my people join in paying homage to the immortal memory of the greatest man of our times."

THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN issued the following statement: "May God forgive the culprit as Gandhiji would have done with his last breath. It is a shame to our country that there should have been an Indian to lift his murderous hand against this Godly soul."

Gandhiji has given his life to redeem our nation from barbarity and crime. He died a martyr to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. Indeed, he died for the cause of God, for Truth, for peace, and for the happiness for all.

If Hindus have any shred of self-respect and honour in them, it is their duty now to dedicate the rest of their lives for the vindication of the life and teachings of this, the greatest Hindu ever born. That is the only way we can justify our existence, and more so justify our religion which has had the good fortune to have devoted followers like Mahatma Gandhi. I pray to God and the great soul that will ever be watching our destinies to give the Indian nation courage and strength to live up to the example and precept of the beloved leader who is no more with us.

In my own State, I assure Pandit Nehru that every Muslim is safe and secure in his rights and if a single Muslim life is touched, the culprit will unhesitatingly be dealt with immediately and without mercy."

A black-bordered JODHPUR GOVERNMENT GAZETTE signed BY THE MAHARAJA, said: "There are no words to express my feelings on this national calamity. Mahatma Gandhi's services and sacrifices were unique and his influence was the greatest unifying force in the country. By his death, the nation has been deprived of the most precious life in the country and the world has lost the greatest apostle of truth, peace, and non-violence."

THE DALAI LAMA OF TIBET wrote: "I am extremely sorry to hear the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of peace. I have prayed to God for his soul and I wish you to accept my heartfelt sympathy to India."

THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL wrote: "Myself, my brothers and people of Nepal are shocked to hear of the assassination of Mahatmaji. We pray to Almighty Rama to grant peace to his sacred departed soul."

Addressing a large assemblage of Gwalior, who met to pay homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, **MAHARAJA SCINDIA OF GWALIOR** said: "The history of Indian renaissance and advancement is the life story of Mahatma Gandhi. His activities were not confined to political sphere alone, but embraced every aspect of national reconstruction."

The Maharaja said that the first and foremost duty of the present and future generations was to work up to the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi laboured tirelessly throughout his life and sacrificed himself.

THE MAHARAJA OF SANDUR sent the following telegram to Mr. Davadas Gandhi:

"Utterly shocked at the irreparable national calamity. I fervently pray Mahatmaji's undying spirit will prevail and guide the people of India, who have lost their protector."

His Highness the Ruler of Sandur also sent a similar telegram to the Prime Minister and the Minister of States, Government of India, New Delhi.

The people of Sandur were plunged in sorrow on hearing the news of the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The Maharaja of Sandur, addressing the citizens, who had assembled at the Vithoba Temple, said, that he felt they had all lost their father and leader in the path of unselfishness and truth. The only way whereby they could atone for the assassination was to control their emotions and work for the ideals for which Gandhiji had lived and died.

MR. CLEMENT ATTLEE, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, broadcasting said: "Everyone will have learnt with profound horror of the brutal murder of Mr. Gandhi. I know that I am expressing the views of the British people in offering to his fellow-countrymen our deep sympathy in

the loss of their greatest citizen. Mahatma Gandhi, as he was known in India, was one of the outstanding figures in the world today, but he seemed to belong to a different period of history. Living a life of extreme asceticism, he was revered as a divinely inspired saint by millions of his fellow-countrymen. His influence extended beyond the range of his co-religionists and, in a country deeply riven by communal dissension, he had an appeal for all Indians. For a quarter of a century this one man has been the major factor in every consideration of the Indian problem. He had become the expression of the aspirations of the Indian people for independence, but he was not just a nationalist. He represented, it is true, the opposition of Indians to being ruled by another race, but also expressed a revulsion of the East against West. He himself was in revolt against western materialism and sought for a return to a simpler state of society. But his most distinctive doctrine was that of non-violence. He believed in a method of passive resistance to those forces which he considered wrong. He opposed those who sought to achieve their ends by violence and when, as too often happened, his campaigns for Indian freedom resulted in loss of life owing to the undisciplined action of those who professed to follow him, he was deeply grieved. The sincerity and devotion with which he pursued his objectives are beyond all doubt. In the latter months of his life, when communal strife was marring the freedom which India had obtained, his threat to fast to death resulted in the cessation of violence in Bengal and again recently brought about a change in the atmosphere. He had, besides, a hatred of injustice and strove earnestly on behalf of the poor, especially of the depressed classes in India. The hand of the murderer has struck him down and a voice which pleaded for peace and brotherhood has

been silenced, but I am certain that his spirit will continue to animate his fellow-countrymen and will plead for peace and concord."

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, who was the Prime Minister of England during the Second World War, said: "I am shocked at this wicked crime."

LORD ADDISON, Government Leader in the House of Lords and one of the Cabinet experts on India and Burma, sent the following message to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "I am most grieved to hear of the death of Mr. Gandhi and wish to express to you my deep sense of sorrow at this tragic event. We all mourn the passing of a great man whose life has been an example to the world."

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, life-long champion of Indian nationalist aspirations and author of books on India, said: "The world has lost its greatest figure, perhaps history has lost its greatest figure. I pray that India may act according to the spirit of Mr. Gandhi and not that of his assassin and that the whole world will catch his spirit and shall move towards the peace which Mr. Gandhi loved."

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, Britain's Deputy Prime Minister and Lord President of the Council: "This is terrible news, and a tragic end to the life of a great and remarkable man."

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON, British Air Minister: "Mr. Gandhi's death is a personal loss for me."

I shall never forget the impression of goodness he made on me when I met him in Delhi three weeks ago. I felt I was in the presence of a man of great spiritual power. Coming so closely on the heels of the culmination of the task towards which he had so unsparingly devoted

himself for nearly a lifetime his loss is tragic and grievous. Please accept, on behalf of the people of England, my deepest sympathy."

MR. L. S. AMERY, British War-time Secretary of State for India: "All Englishmen, without difference of party, will have deeply regretted the news. It is tragic to think that he, who all his life preached communal unity to Indians, should himself have fallen a victim to the frenzy of communal passion. His part in the history of India and Anglo-Indian relations in the last generation can only be assessed by history. At any rate, it can be said that no one contributed more to the particular way in which the charter of British rule in India has ended than Mr. Gandhi himself. His death comes at the close of a great chapter in world history. In the mind of India at least, he will always be identified with the opening of the new chapter which, however troubled at the outset, we should all hope will develop in peace, concord, and prosperity for India."

LORD PETHIC-LAWRENCE, a former Secretary of State for India and Burma and head of the Cabinet Mission to India two and a half years ago, said:

"It is a great shock to learn of the cruel assassination of my intimate friend, Gandhiji, beloved teacher of India. I know that there is one wish that he would have had above all else. That is that his death should not be revenged or made the occasion for further bloodshed and violence, but would lead to reconciliation among all the peoples in the great sub-continent of Asia."

MR. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, the great playwright, who at 92 is 14 years older than Mahatma Gandhi, made this comment on the news of the Mahatma's death: "It shows how dangerous it is to be too good."

Mr. Shaw telephoned the message to *Reuters* from his home at Ayot, Saint Lawrence, about fifty miles from London. He declined to say anything more. Later he told the newspaper reporter that, 'Gandhi was not a man. He was a phenomenon'.

MR. A. V. ALEXANDER, Minister of Defence, speaking in Sheffield, said that Mr. Gandhi was one of the few great towering lives that would stand out in a century of history. He would stand out not for the use of power by force, but for his principles and his adhesion to non-violence in all his work of getting people together.

LORD VANSITTART, former Chief British Diplomatic Adviser:

"The death of Mr. Gandhi is not only terrible in itself but also a sad commentary on the state of our present civilisation. The life of even a saint is no longer safe in our times. This is a direct result of the effects of two world wars and the spread of totalitarianism which has led to a steady berefting from human life of the sanctity which our creed has always placed upon it."

MR. REGINALD SORENSEN, Member of Parliament, who was one of the British Parliamentary Delegation, who visited India in 1946:

"I am quite sure he himself would desire that all who knew and loved him should neither seek revenge nor allow themselves to be obsessed by the nature of his parting. His life was so dominated by a sense of eternal values that it would be incongruous for us to do otherwise than feel gratitude at a life lived so rightly in service to his fellows. The influence he has had not only in India but upon our modern age is beyond calculation, for he bore witness to the power of the spirit and sought to implement this in his political activity. Whether we agree

in all respects with him or not we cannot withhold our sense of indebtedness to him."

LORD LISTOWEL, former Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India: "This is a ghastly tragedy. I feel that the loss of Mahatma Gandhi will be a loss not only to India but to the whole world, because he has been the outstanding figure in the struggle for peace in the present generation. His loss will be felt everywhere. It is such an appalling calamity that I can hardly gather my thoughts."

THE PRIME MINISTER OF FINLAND: "Please accept the expression of deep sympathy of the Finnish people at the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi."

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, NORWAY: "Deeply moved by the horrible and senseless crime which has bereft India of her great son, Mahatma Gandhi. The Norwegian Government send the India Government their most sincere condolences. The memory of the Mahatma and of his inspired life-long work for peace and brotherhood amongst men will always live in Norway."

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BRAZIL: "The Brazilian Government associate with the Government and people of India on their irreparable loss by the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi."

THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, M. GEORGES BIDAULT, sent the following telegram to Pandit Nehru:

"I beg you to accept the expression of sorrowful sympathy with which I associate myself in the national mourning into which the tragic removal of Mahatma Gandhi has plunged India. The life, work, and the enlightenment of the distinguished victim are to mankind a gift that will last for ever."

M. DANIEL LEVY, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN NEW DELHI, was instructed to convey to the Government of India the profound dismay caused all over France by the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death.

M. RENE MASSIGLI, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN: "I am greatly shocked and deeply grieved at the terrible news."

M. EMILE BOLLAERT, French High Commissioner for Indo-China, telegraphed to Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, the condolences of the Viet-Nam people: "The death of the apostle of peace and non-violence is regretted by all men of goodwill who, in the troubled aftermath of wars, place their hopes in moral forces. The Indo-Chinese and French people join in expressing their sorrow to the people of India."

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA sent to the Prime Minister of India on behalf of the people of Canada a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and a message of sympathy to the people of India on the death of the Mahatma.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, in conveying this message, added that the Canadian community in India would especially share the grief that India felt in the loss of a man supremely great and good, Mahatma Gandhi died, as he had lived, in the service of his country and of humanity.

THE AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR IVEN MACKAY, conveyed the following message from the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Joseph Chifley, to Pandit Nehru:

"The Government and people of Australia have learned with horror and deep regret of the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi, who will be remembered long in Australia as a man who worked for the good of humanity

and the ways of peace. We extend to the Government and people of India our deepest sympathy."

FIELD MARSHAL JAN SMUTS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER, said: "I have heard of the assassination of Mr. Gandhi with the deepest grief, which I am sure will be shared all over the world.

Gandhi was one of the great men of my time and my acquaintance with him over a period of more than 30 years has only deepened my high respect for him, however much we differed in our views and methods.

A prince among men has passed away and we grieve with India in her irreparable loss."

General Smuts, on behalf of the people of South Africa, cabled Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru his deep grief on learning of the "irreparable loss all India has suffered on the passing of Mr. Gandhi.

May this tragedy at last purge the soul of India of all communal passion. I always found him ready to discuss in a reasonable and fair-minded manner, and always searching for solution along peaceful lines. Gandhi has left behind him a name almost unequalled in the world today. He is an outstanding leader of men."

THE DANISH PREMIER, HANS HEDTOFT, said in a written statement to *Reuter* that the Danish people had heard the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death with the greatest regret.

"The fact that Mr. Gandhi in his advanced age has been killed immediately after putting his life into the battle for peace in India will, all the civilised world over, be taken as proof of the brutality the last war has created in people's minds," the Danish Premier said.

DR. HENRY F. GRADY, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO NEW DELHI, stated in London during a halt

here on his way to India: "The news of Mr. Gandhi's death comes as a great shock to me. He was a truly great leader who has made in recent months a great contribution to communal peace in India.

It is to be hoped that his tragic death will inspire the people of India and Pakistan to dedicate themselves to the ideal for which he lived and for which, apparently, he died."

Associating himself with this tribute, Mr. Waldemar J. Gallman, United States Charge D'Affaires, who is acting for the Ambassador to Britain, Mr. Leis Douglas, during his absence in America, added: "We are shocked and grieved by this news."

MR. HABIB IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA, THE PAKISTAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON, said: "Having just received the news of the dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, I am too shocked to say anything except to condemn it in the strongest possible terms."

DR. SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, SPADLDING PROFESSOR OF EASTERN RELIGIONS AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNESCO EXECUTIVE FOR 1948: "I am shocked beyond words at this fatal attack on Gandhiji. The incredible, the inconceivable, has happened. That this purest, most elevating, most inspiring man of our age should have suffered by a madman's anger shows that we have not improved since the days of Socrates, who had to drink hemlock, or Jesus, who was put on the cross.

Mahatma Gandhi, the lonely symbol of a vanishing past, is no more. We have killed his body, but the light in him, which is from the divine flame of Truth and Love, cannot be put out.

When will the world be safe for its saints? May the two Dominions, may the whole world, learn that if we are not to slide into the abyss of violence, cruelty, and chaos, there is no other way than that for which Mahatma Gandhi has lived and died."

SIR T. B. SAPRU, who was again laid up with fever, was in tears when he heard the news. He said: "I am stunned to hear this tragic news. The noblest man, the greatest patriot, and the father of Indian independence has sacrificed his life for the sake of Indian unity. I hope those of the Congressmen who are left behind will prove worthy of him and his traditions."

In San Francisco, SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR stated that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi at this juncture of India's history was a tragedy, the full import of which might not be realised outside India.

"To the world at large, he represented the essential culture and soul of India," he said. "He was the spear-point of his country's endeavours in many fields of thought and action. Very rarely in the world's history has a nation's destiny been so inextricably linked with that of a single individual as has been the case with Mahatma Gandhi and India. During the last three decades, he had been instrumental in effecting cataclysmic changes in the social and political set-up of his beloved land. It can be said without exaggeration that no one's hold over India's millions was more unquestioned than that of the Mahatma, and he utilised his unparalleled influence throughout a life of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice for the purpose of forging his country's freedom and uplift.

His death might be a circumstance that would bring peace to India.

He declared that Mahatma Gandhi's death was one of the most crucial events in Indian history. "I believe it will

produce an effect like a sudden shower. It will awaken the people of India to a realisation of the situation, and they will come together."

PRESIDENT AND MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK and other leading Chinese Government officials sent condolences to Pandit Nehru, following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's message said: "We are stunned and deeply grieved at Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. It is, indeed, a heartbreaking tragedy that the saintly crusader of peace through non-violence should fall a victim of violence.

To you, his family, to the Congress Party, and the Indian people, the Chinese people and we send heartfelt sympathy."

PREMIER CHANG CHUN in a note to Pandit Nehru, wrote: "I was greatly shocked by the sudden and untimely death of Mahatma Gandhi. Not only India but all mankind has lost one of its greatest leaders.

In your boundless sorrow, please accept my profound sympathy and know that his death will be an eternal inspiration to all fellow Asiatics to whom his life will forever be a source of pride."

FOREIGN MINISTER, WANG SHIEH CHIEH'S note said: "My Government and myself are deeply shocked to learn of Mahatma Gandhi's death. In his passing away India has lost an inspiring leader, and the world a great teacher of peace. I am sure your colleagues, like yourself, will all carry on with fortitude and dedication."

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces in Japan, said: "Nothing more revolting has occurred in the history of the modern world than the

senseless assassination of this venerable man. He had come through time, and the circumstances of his oft-repeated ideologies to be regarded as the very symbol and apotheosis of peace. That he should die by violence is one of those bitter anachronisms that seem to refute all logic. In the evolution of civilisation, if it is to survive, all men cannot fail eventually to adopt his belief that the process of mass application of force to resolve contentious issues is fundamentally not only wrong, but contains within itself the germs of self-destruction. Gandhiji, however, was one of those prophets who live far ahead of the times."

PRIME MINISTER TETSU KATAYAMA, JAPAN, said that he had always had the deepest respect for Gandhi's life-long devotion to the cause of Indian independence and freedom as well as world peace. It was especially tragic that such great a pacifist had fallen victim to brute force and violence. But he firmly believed that the will of the great Indian leader would be realized by Indian people.

THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, SIR RAMA RAU, said Gandhi was the greatest man India has produced since Buddha. It was India's special tragedy that he did not live long enough to reach the goal to which he had dedicated his life—the unity of the people of India.

The condolences of the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT were conveyed to the Indian Consul-General.

A note was also handed in from Dr. HUBERTUS VAN MOOK, in which the Lieutenant Governor-General said: "The whole world has become poorer." Dr. Van Mook added that he believed Gandhi's influence would outlive all the violence and animosity of mankind blinded by war.

THE AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNOR IN GER-MANY, Gen. Lucius D. Clay, said: "I am shocked and

deeply distressed to learn of the death of a man who has made idealism a powerful force in a world of trouble."

MR. ASAF ALI, INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, said:

"Mahatma Gandhi's death is the most appalling tragedy in India's history, and the passing away of the greatest and noblest of men of this world. He was the shining embodiment of, and the apostle of truth, love, and peace of our age. His message was for the entire human race and though he has cast off the mortal coil, humanity will continue to draw inspiration for its salvation from his sublime teaching. Like Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, Mahatma Gandhi has died on the flaming cross. For India, Mahatma Gandhi's passing away at the most critical moment of India's history, is pregnant with colossal and immeasurable consequences, but ultimately the India of his dreams is bound to arise, purified and worthy of his undying memory, united in the faith which sustained him. Personally I am stunned after a life-time of association with him."

Immediately on hearing the news of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, **MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT, INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW,** cabled Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "The terrible news of India's greatest tragedy has just come over the Radio. We have listened also to your broadcast. What can I say to you in this hour of personal and national anguish? I send you my love and pledge my undaunted service in the sacred cause for which Bapu has died."

The Indian Embassy in Moscow went into mourning immediately, an official said. The news came as a terrible shock to all members of the Embassy which received many messages of condolence from members of the Diplomatic Corps here.

All Russian papers carried a 12-line announcement of his death describing Mr. Gandhi as "the well-known Indian political leader."

MRS. ARUNA ASAF ALI, Socialist leader, and wife of Mr. Asaf Ali, the India's Ambassador to Washington, stated in London, that there was "collective responsibility on India as a whole" for the death of Mahatma Gandhi.

"All the progressive political forces in India must be rallied immediately to fight this dreadful reactionary force which has grown up," she added.

Mrs. Asaf Ali stated: "India has for some time ceased to deserve Mahatma Gandhi. It is not the stupid fool, who murdered him, who is responsible for Gandhi's death.

PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, the world-famous scientist, in a tribute to Gandhiji on his seventy-fifth birthday, wrote:

"A leader of his people, unsupported by any outward authority; a politician whose success rests not upon craft nor mastery of technical devices, but simply on the convincing power of his personality; a victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force: a man of wisdom and humility, armed with resolve and inflexible consistency, who has devoted all his strength to the uplifting of his people and the betterment of their lot; a man who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being, and thus at all times risen superior. Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

The noted CHINESE AUTHOR, MR. LIN YUTANG, commenting on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, said: "Mr. Gandhi was the only modern saint and prophet, which his country had produced. Only in a country like

India or a continent like Asia could a man achieve tremendous political power because of his spiritual stature.

Such a phenomenon as Mr. Gandhi could not be possible in the Western world. It should convince Westerners that they should not interfere in Oriental Politics."

RELIGIOUS HEADS

POPE PIUS XII, when he learned of Mahatma Gandhi's death expressed his deep grief for "the great man, who was the spiritual leader of millions of Indians, and who had always struggled for peace."

In a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, the semi-official Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano*, said on February 3, 1948:

"This hour, so sad for our civilisation, has, indeed, been darkened by the detestable assassination of Gandhi. In killing this peace-loving man, it seems that an attempt has been made to strike a blow at peace. As in all political crimes, these fanatics think that by killing a person they will destroy the faith and ideals he represents. But these crimes have only the very opposite effect. They elevate that faith and those ideals and make them shine out all the more. The truth of this has come in the protests and horror which the murder of Gandhi has raised throughout the world."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, DR. FISHER:
 "I join with India in grief and horror that Gandhi should have died at the hands of a murderer. He devoted his life to win men from violence to peace and brotherhood. Fanaticism and hatred have now made him a martyr for that cause."

CARDINAL BERNARD GRIFFIN, ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER (LONDON): "I was deeply shocked to receive the news of the assassination of Mr. Gandhi, whose efforts to preserve order in the two new Dominions have been acclaimed throughout the peace-loving nations of the world. Whilst offering my sympathy to his family and followers I sincerely trust that his love for peace may inspire the peoples of India and Pakistan to reach a solution to their problems."

THE ACTING CHIEF RABBI FOR BRITAIN, D. H. M. LAZARUS: "On behalf of the British Jewry, I wish to convey my deepest sympathy and sorrow at the tragic death of Mr. Gandhi. The loss of one, whose saintly character and lifelong devotion to the cause of peace will cause his name always to be remembered, is irreparable. Not only India, but the whole world saw his ideals, difficult as they were of attainment, as the only practical means of reaching the ultimate aim of humanity, a lasting peace and friendship among peoples of all races and creeds."

DR. E. W. BARNES, BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM, said: "Mr. Gandhi struck a gleam amongst the religious teachers of our age, for in this era of violence he showed the power of non-violence. He had magnificent courage, complete honesty, and a strange blend of humility."

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY, DR. HEWETT JOHNSON, a personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi, said in his sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, that history would show Mahatma Gandhi was one of the best friends of mankind.

Recalling that Mahatma Gandhi stayed with him in Canterbury in 1931 the Dean said: "I rejoice to think that Canterbury showed him hospitality at that rather bitter

period of his life. I rejoice to think of what he has done for India.

Gandhi is not dead. Gandhi lives. The children of God never die."

RIGHT REV. LEO P. KIERKELS, APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE EAST INDIES, in a telegram to Pandit Nehru, said: "In this hour of India's immeasurable loss, I beg to offer you the expression of our deepest sympathy and our sincerest participation in the universal mourning for the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi, fallen for his exalted ideal of peace, and assurance of our prayers of India's pacification and greatness for which Gandhiji lived."

REV. JEROME D'SOUZA of Loyola College, Madras, and a Member of the Constituent Assembly, said that for about 30 years now the world had been filled with the echo of the unconquerable voice of Mahatma Gandhi. That voice had now been stilled. The life of the resurgent nation was the life he gave us. The Hindus could be proud that he was the finest flower of their glorious culture. The Muslims would say that he was their champion. The Harijans would say that he was their father. The women would say that he alone knew how to bring them forward. And for the Christians he was the ennobling example of one who enshrined in his heart the Sermon on the Mount. His magic personality had swept the Indian Christian community into the national movement and today they stood with their brothers in the rest of the country to maintain the dignity of our new freedom and with determination to work for its prosperity. He had been murdered, but his death would give a new lustre to the ideals he preached and a new power to the words he had uttered.

Rev. D'Souza pledged the support of his community to the leaders on whom the burden had now fallen.

DR. STANLEY JONES, American Missionary, who had stayed for 10 days in the Sabarmati Ashram during the Civil Disobedience days in 1930, speaking at a Memorial service in the Madras Tamil Church said:

"Mahatma Gandhi died a martyr to peace. He lived for peace and he died for peace. It is not yet clear what was at the back of the shooting of this great man, but apparently it was resentment that the Mahatma wanted to forgive and forget and unite the various communities of India into one great people, holding differences but living as brothers. That end is nearer through his death than ever before. The shooting only furthered it. The mad act succeeded only in shooting Mahatma Gandhi into universal remembrance. He will live on as never before. We can still say with a new reverence: 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai.'"

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ERNAKULAM, THE MOST REV. DR. AUGUSTIN KANDATHIL, said: "It is with deep regret that I came to know of the dastardly attack on the person of Gandhiji, the builder of the Indian nation and friend of all lovers of peace the world over. When the bullet laid him prostrate on the ground India had fallen prostrate and along with the motherland every Indian had fallen prostrate. The tragic end of this great Indian leader will be an indelible blot on our nation. His loss can never be made good."

THE RT. REV. P. GURUSHANTA, BISHOP IN MYSORE, said:

"Gandhiji had imbibed the essence of all religions that we have a right to call him a Christian from the Christian standpoint. I would say of him in the words of our Lord, 'Well done good and faithful servant'. He was

a saint in the strict Christian sense of the term. Though a Hindu, by his firm faith in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, he has revealed to us the Kingdom of God which our Lord Jesus came to establish on earth. Jesus said when a man loves God and loves man he enters the Kingdom of God. Gandhiji has exemplified this in his life and work and has sacrificed his life for his countrymen. He was, we all know, deeply influenced by the Sermon on the Mount. He always kept the ideal of our Lord before him and advised people to read the New Testament, and get inspiration from Christ. He is as Crucified servant. For preaching universal love and brotherhood, our Lord was crucified on the Cross. The same thing has happened to Gandhiji. His mission was to establish peace and brotherhood in our country, but this noble ideal did not appeal to a section of our countrymen and particularly to a senseless lunatic. It is now our duty to follow his ideals, to thank God for what he has done, and to work for peace and brotherhood. Let us now sing 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me. Let me hide myself in Thee'."

THE BISHOP OF BANGALORE, THE RT. REV. P. THOMAS sent the following telegram to Pandit Nehru: "On behalf of myself and the Catholic Diocese of Bangalore, please accept heart-felt condolences on the tragic death of the Father of the Nation. May the lessons of Ahimsa and unity, which he so fervently preached soon become an abiding reality."

LORD HALIFAX, VICEROY OF INDIA, from 1926 to 1931, said: "The news of Mr. Gandhi's murder is the news of a great tragedy to India and to the cause which, at any time, he was willing to give his life.

No one has tried to serve India with greater devotion, and his friends in India and elsewhere will only hope that

the lesson and effect of his tragic death may be to bring all his countrymen to understand and practise the principles that he so constantly and faithfully preached.

I suppose there can be few men in all history who, by personal character and example, have been able so deeply to influence the thought of their generation."

LORD LINLITHGOW, VICEROY OF INDIA, from 1936 to 1943, said: "The cruel hand of an assassin has achieved that which in any event nature must soon have brought about. With Mr. Gandhi dead, it is certain that nothing in India will ever be the same again, but no one can foretell what the future holds for her."

LORD WAVELL, VICEROY OF INDIA, from 1943 to 1947, said: "Mr. Gandhi's death will mean irreparable loss to the unity of India. I never imagined he would go out like that. He, an old man, seemed to indicate that he would live a long time. He never seemed to be protected in any way. His absence, and the manner of his death will not make the task of my successor, Lord Louis Mountbatten, easier."

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, said: "I am terribly shocked by the tragedy of this senseless assassination of one who was, I suppose, the most remarkable man of this century. One can only hope that his death, tragic as it has been, will help to bring the different communities of India into that closer understanding and association to which he devoted the whole of his great life."

MR. R. G. CASEY, FORMER GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, who was in London on a visit from Australia, said that many people outside India regarded Mr. Gandhi as a revolutionary, but he could only say Mr. Gandhi was one of the most remarkable men he had been privileged to

meet. Referring to "this dreadful assassination", he declared: "One can only hope and pray that in the high state of tension the people of India find themselves now, this will not supply the spark to the tinder that is India."

'The death of Mahatma Gandhi is not only a national disaster, but an international tragedy,' observed Her Excellency COUNTESS MOUNTBATTEN.

Her Excellency said that she was informed of the tragedy as soon as she reached the Government House, Guindy, and was greatly shocked. 'I want to return to Delhi as early as I can—if possible even to-night—so that I can be by the side of my husband at this grave hour.'

'My heart is so full,' added Her Excellency, 'that I am unable to find words. Gandhiji's death is a world loss. He was a great leader. The utmost we can do now is to try and carry on and live up to the principles which Gandhiji has taught us.'

Her Excellency also stated that any one who had come into personal contact with Gandhiji as she and Lord Mountbatten had the privilege during the last few months, cannot but treat his death as a personal as well as a national loss. 'This is all I am able to say at the moment.'

Speaking with deep feeling at the country's greatest loss, SIR ARCHIBALD NYE, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS, expressed sorrow on behalf of the fifty million people of Madras Province. 'There are no words which one can use to express one's horror and detestation of this crime.'

'I cannot find words to express my sorrow,' observed His Excellency. 'The whole Province will feel the same. It seems to me that this country has been given leadership which very few countries have ever had. Most countries in the world today are looking for such leaders and not

finding them. This country has been singularly fortunate in having had a world figure and a man of such character to lead them. Mahatma Gandhi has been preaching a doctrine of moderation and toleration and of love of one's fellow-being. That perhaps is the greatest need in India now when this country is passing through these sore trials and troubles. I think I can say that the people of Madras accepted his teaching in its entirety and we here have done our utmost to follow the principles which he has taught and, I think, we have done so with some success.

'I think we can say this—that it is our fervent hope—that the principles for which he has stood and the teachings which he has given should renew their inspiration to us. And although he himself has passed away, his reputation, his standing, his prestige and, above all, his example will live for all times. I think it is fair to say that he has died the death of a martyr. He has died for his principle and the best expiation which we can make to atone for this horrible crime is to do our utmost to show kindness and goodwill and toleration to men of all religions, all communities, and all political parties.'

H. E. RAJA SIR MAHARAJ SINGH, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, was stunned by the report of the death of Mahatma Gandhi. As he was listening to the details of the tragedy conveyed by an A.P.I. representative, Sir Maharaj Singh was visibly moved.

His Excellency said: "The death of Mahatma Gandhi is a great loss to many of us who knew him.

The Bombay Province, and indeed the whole world will mourn the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi. It is awful to think of the greatest man of today being assassinated. Gandhiji has lived and died for others, and for the noble cause of peace and harmony among men.

All that we can and must do is to try to emulate, to the best of our humble capacity, his wonderful example of love and sacrifice. That is what he would wish us to do."

THE GOVERNOR OF BIHAR, H. E. MR. M. S. ANEY, and MR. SRI KRISHNA SINHA, PREMIER, issued the following statement:

"Mahatma Gandhi is dead. But Mahatma Gandhi will never die in our hearts. In this great calamity that has overtaken us, we can do no less than what he would have wished us to do. Whatever the provocation, his lesson of love, charity, and goodwill must prevail, and we call upon all fellowmen of Bihar to follow that lesson in this great crisis that has occurred in our life."

THE GOVERNOR OF SIND, H. E. SHEIKH GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH,* sent the following telegram to Pandit Nehru: "Shocked to hear of the great tragedy of the Mahatma's assassination. Deepest condolences and sympathies."

H. E. SRIMATHI SAROJINI NAYUDU, GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES,* in a broadcast called upon the people of India to follow in the foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi.

"There is no occasion for me to speak now," said Srimathi Sarojini Nayudu. "The voice of the world in many languages has already spoken, and proved that Mahatma Gandhi was a world figure, loved and worshipped by all those who have a sense of ideals, of righteousness, rightdoing, and peace."

H. E. SIR AKBAR HYDARI, GOVERNOR OF ASSAM,* sent the following message to Mr. Devadas Gandhi:

* These three Governors died suddenly of heart attacks within a space of six months.

"We are all benumbed with grief and mourn with you on the death of your father, who is also the Father of our Country, and helper of the helpless. May his example and supreme sacrifice continue to inspire and guide us."

The following statement was issued by H. E. SIR FREDERICK BOURNE, GOVERNOR OF EAST BENGAL: "It is not possible for anyone now to assess the probable effects of Mahatma Gandhi's death. As yet we can only feel sorrow at the loss of a great friend to the Indian people. It would surely be true to say that he gave his life for humanity. Such a death can never be in vain. It remains for us to ensure that what he stood for in death shall illumine the road the new India is to follow."

H. E. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, GOVERNOR OF WEST BENGAL, when told of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, said: 'We have been robbed of our greatest possession by a senseless lunatic. May God help India in this hour of her greatest distress. May all hatred and all suspicion end with this sacrifice of our dearest leader.'

H. E. DR. KAILASH NATH KATJU, GOVERNOR OF ORISSA, said: 'The greatest homage we could pay him was to take vow that we will implicitly follow his ideals of truth and non-violence. We must also take a vow now that we will sacrifice all to maintain our freedom which we have won through the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and work the constructive programme of Mahatmaji.'

H. E. SIR CHANDULAL TRIVEDI, GOVERNOR OF EAST PUNJAB, said: "The greatest homage we can pay to Gandhiji is to practise in our daily life the ideals for which he lived, laboured, and died."

M., C. F. BARON, GOVERNOR OF FRENCH INDIA, said:

"For me it is one of the greatest catastrophies that could happen to the world we live in. Gandhiji belongs to all men of heart and hope. It is as if a great light had been extinguished, but Gandhiji's memory is immortal, and living India incarnates his message."

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR, HEALTH MINISTER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, and a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, in a broadcast, on the death of the Mahatma, said: "In the twinkling of an eye our greatest and most beloved leader, our friend, philosopher, and guide was taken from us. More than a leader, he was a father to us all. Not for nothing did we call him Bapu. And we are now orphans." Later addressing a gathering of Indian Christians, said that the best homage that they could pay to Gandhiji was to pledge ourselves, as Indians, that we shall love where there is hatred, and that we shall devote ourselves to the service of the country.

World Press Tributes to Greatness of Mahatma Gandhi

MIRACLE OF COMMUNAL CONCORD HOPED FOR

In all countries, throughout the world, tributes were paid by newspapers to the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. While regretting that this great leader should be assassinated, the papers hoped that this tragedy might awaken the people of India and bring about communal concord for which the Mahatma worked and died.

UNITED KINGDOM

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH: Sir Alfred Watson, former editor of the *Statesman*, in an article headed, "Mystic and Shrewd Tactician," said: "If one tries to estimate the positive achievement in Gandhi's life, it would be that he gave to Indians a new sense of power and responsibility, and the value of political agitation. People governed by

outsiders for centuries were nurtured into a belief in themselves.

His whole career, now closed at the age of 78, will enshrine him in Indian memory as the greatest man modern India has produced."

THE YORKSHIRE POST: "Gandhi has died that India and Pakistan might live in peace and harmony. It is for his fellow countrymen to show in this moment of supreme testing that they are worthy of his example and of his memory, and that he has not died in vain."

THE NEWS CHRONICLE: "What may happen now in India the mind hardly dares to contemplate. Yet after the work of Gandhi, it is not presumptuous to hope for a miracle. It may be that the death of this leader, who was held in so much reverence by so many millions, will raise men to heights they have not hitherto attained. It may be that the love against which the gun has no power will evoke out of this great tragedy the beginnings of peace and unity for India."

This newspaper also printed under the heading "The great Indian since Buddha," an article which Edward Thompson, a friend of Gandhiji, wrote before he died nearly two years ago.

FAILURE OR TRIUMPH?

THE DAILY HERALD: In its editorial column, it published world tributes paid to Gandhi. The paper's principal commentator on world affairs, W. N. Ewer, assessing the significance of Gandhi's lifework, wrote: "He has, as he would have wished, given his life in the effort to bring peace to his country. Is this a last failure, or the final crowning triumph? We cannot yet know."

THE DAILY WORKER: "Mr. Gandhi's death comes as a terrible shock to world humanity. If, in this hour of

danger for India, its leaders can clasp hands over his poor bullet-shattered body, they will display statesmanship which can act as a basis for a new unity, which will finally lead India out of the shadows into the glories of real independence."

Mr. Gandhi's death remained the main news item in the British Sunday Press. His funeral was described in front-page dispatches, and many editorials and articles were devoted to his memory or speculated on the consequences of the assassination.

Saying that the world waited with tense anxiety for what might come of Gandhi's murder, the Conservative SUNDAY TIMES wrote:

"The internal effect upon the Delhi Government themselves will be a crucial sign. Hitherto, against powerful enemies, Pandit Nehru has warred successfully to defend the concept of a non-communal State and the rights of the minorities. His hands have been vastly strengthened by Mr. Gandhi's support. The martyr's death may serve as powerfully as the prophet's life in this same cause, or it may open to Hindu extremists the supreme power that Gandhi's personal ascendancy denied them."

GERMANY

Newspaper comment in Berlin on the death of Mr. Gandhi concentrated on the essential greatness of the Mahatma as a world figure.

DEUTSCHLAND: "The assassination is hardly likely to be without consequences."

TELEGRAF: "His great soul will continue to live in his people."

BERLINER ZEITUNG: "Partition of India was Mr. Gandhi's most serious defeat."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The assassination of Mr. Gandhi was the chief front page news in the Czechoslovak press for a few days.

SVOBODNE NOVINY: "He died as a living proof of the down-trodden humanity besmirched by political fanatics."

SWITZERLAND

All Swiss newspapers paid tributes to Mr. Gandhi.

DER BUND: "The assassination was a misfortune which might have the most serious consequences for India."

LA SUISSE: "The Mahatma was the only moral force able to control the turbulence of the two States of the sub-continent in the throes of formation."

BASLER NACHRICHTEN: "His deeply religious feeling was free from all caste prejudice."

PORTUGAL

All Portuguese morning newspapers devoted several columns of news to Mr. Gandhi's death, paying homage to his work for peace.

DIARIO DA MANHA: "The man who killed Gandhi was certainly a partisan of war."

SECULO: "With his brutal act, the criminal denied the virtues of passive resistance which contributed so much to make Gandhi one of the greatest and most luminous figures of modern history."

SWEDEN

"India's soul died," summarised the Stockholm Press comment on Mahatma Gandhiji's death which shocked Sweden.

POLAND

Most Polish papers devoted their editorials to the death of Mahatma Gandhi.

THE ROBOTNIK stressed his great idealism and his unselfish devotion to the struggle for the liberation of India.

PERSIA

DEMOCRATE IRAN: "This world loss will long be felt. The coming generation will never believe that Mahatma Gandhi could astound the world by his herculean struggle for the freedom of his nation."

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE BALTIMORE SUN: "The tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi's death is not only his loss but the fact is that the most potent force in warring India has destroyed him and in doing so, denied his teaching. He, like the refugees he tried to protect, is a victim of communal self-assertion.

In the hush that this common sorrow brings to India, there is hope and an opportunity. Now is the time for temporal leaders who survive Mahatma Gandhi to slough off the despair into which this loss must plunge them, and strike with renewed vigour for an enduring settlement which will permit both India and Pakistan to harvest the fruit of the independence they have won.

Whatever the United Nations can do to advance such a settlement, it should be pressed now with the utmost vigour. Statesmanship has a solemn obligation to Mahatma Gandhi's memory.

Let us hope that the indestructible moral idea which Mohandas Gandhi bequeathed to the people of India will be powerful enough to quell their passion."

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE: "Gauged by the accomplishments of his contemporaries, Gandhi was truly a giant figure. To his contemporaries he was the Mahatma, the 'great soul'. It was only in relation to the colossal task he had set for himself that he could be said to have fallen short. If Gandhi had failed, it was a magnificent failure.

Even his failure, which Gandhi himself seems to have felt so deeply amid the bloodshed and hatred of India's young independence, may be qualified by the future. For a man whose political activities were deeply rooted in the things of the spirit, assassination may have been a fulfilment far more than a mere tragic irony. Gandhi's influence undoubtedly will extend beyond the funeral pyre. It may well be more powerful than ever as his example stands out amid the contending ambitions of the new India."

THE NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR: "The Muslims have lost a Hindu friend who loved them because they were as much as his own kin as human beings. Gandhi loved all mankind. Gandhi was before his time—perhaps a century before his time."

THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS: "Gandhi long destined to go down in Indian history as a saint, is now a martyr as well."

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE: "He, in our time, was one of the greatest spiritual leaders—among 350,000,000 the greatest. It is to be hoped that the initial reaction following his death would give way to a more solemn contemplation of the Gandhi creed. If that should happen, the spirit of Gandhi might triumph where Gandhi himself failed."

THE NOVELIST, PEARL BUCK, in a statement to the U. P. A. on Gandhiji's assassination, said that it struck a

blow to the freedom of peoples everywhere and that "everything now depends on the people of India."

She said: "The death of Gandhiji by violence struck a blow not only to India's rising prestige in the West, but to the whole cause of freedom of peoples. Now, the enemies of this cause rejoice while others mourn the passing of one of the greatest men of human history. We sorrow because his death, so cruelly and blindly committed, casts its shadow upon all who stand for world peace and co-operation.

The responsibility now rests upon India to make the death of Gandhiji a rallying point for fresh determination to carry out the principles for which he died. Our profound condolence goes first to Mr. Nehru. He stands alone now against the dark sky of India. What will India do without Nehru? For her own sake, before the world, let India support Nehru. There is no other person who can take his place at this hour.

India has become the symbol of a people freed from foreign rule, but in spite of continuing strife Gandhi's recent fast won deep respect for India. Never had his spiritual prestige and India's risen so high in the U.S.A. as during the past month. Gandhi's death comes at a strategic moment and respect is increased to reverence for a martyr. Everything now depends upon the people of India. The world watches and waits."

The universal sorrow which Mahatma Gandhi's tragic death had caused was reflected in an editorial published in the HEARST CHAIN OF NEWSPAPERS.

The editorial said: "The assassination of Mohandas K. Gandhi has had an emotional impact upon the world of today that has no parallel in human history since the similar martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln, and it menaces the peace of the world today in a manner probably not

equalled by any act of violence against any man since the assassination at Sarajevo.

Gandhi was not simply a great man, but a good man and, as the sorrowing people of many nations will know, the combination of the qualities of greatness and goodness in the man is too rarely achieved and too little appreciated.

There have been too few such men in human history and they have so often been sorely and cruelly dealt with by the men of their times.

So it has been with Gandhi who, loving all men and lending the infinite wisdom of his great mind and the incalculable greatness of his gentle spirit to the enrichment and enlightenment of his fellow-beings, is now destroyed, in a physical sense, by the insensate act of a man for whom, even the instant before death, the sign of forgiveness was made. But Gandhi, himself, is not destroyed, or his noble work, or his beloved name or his honoured place in the affections of the world today and in the eternal annals of history.

It is only the life of Gandhi which is at an end, for there is no work of destruction which could be wrought against the edifice of kindness and dignity, reason and justice, which he patiently and selflessly erected for the good of India and the peace of the world, hour upon hour, and day upon day, and year upon year, throughout the prolific time of his fruitful life."

Mahatma Gandhi's "final greatness will be voiced not through the nation he sought to create but in the aspiring hearts of all men in all nations and all times", declared the AMERICAN MAGAZINE *LIFE*, in its editorial, on February 6, 1948.

The magazine, which devoted six full pages to Mahatma Gandhi said: "In order to cut him down to the dimensions

of our experience, we of the West may soon be tempted to 'debunk' Gandhi's greatness, to restudy his weaknesses and 'black' him in the political history of these times.

"But let us start with the fact—Gandhi is not just a 'great man'—he was a universal saint, something the West had not produced for many generations."

Gandhi was described as the "greatest apostle of peace and brotherhood of man" on the news pages of the magazine.

Among 24 photographs illustrating his story was a half-page picture of the Mahatma sitting crosslegged at his spinning wheel and captioned "Mahatma Gandhi exemplifies the virtues of the simplicity that he preached."

An article in the AMERICAN NEWSPAPER P. M. about Mahatma Gandhi, entitled "Little man in loin cloth, a giant who moved the world" said: "There is still some hope for the world which reacted as reverently as it did to the death of Gandhi. The shocked sorrow that has followed the New Delhi tragedy shows we still respect sainthood even when we cannot fully understand it."

The writer maintained there were "striking parallels between the life of Gandhi and Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. Like Jesus, Gandhi was the quintessence of the man of peace and like Jesus he met a violent death.

The article concluded: "There is a profound lesson for all those belonging to a crassly materialistic age in the man who could move many millions and sweep back a mighty Empire. For those who boast vainly of the superiority of 'white culture of the western world' humbling moral might can be found in the fact that the greatest spiritual leader who trod the earth in our time was a dark-skinned man of the East."

JAPAN

ALL JAPANESE SUNDAY MORNING PAPERS gave top place to Gandhiji and editorially mourned his passing. Typical of the Japanese Press reaction was the *Nippon Times* editorial which said that "the whole world is joined in mourning the death of the saintly Indian leader by the bullets of a fanatic assassin. To all the peoples of resurgent Asia looking forward to recognition of their aspirations of peaceful self-rule, the assassination of Gandhi comes as a serious blow. It comes at a time when the world was only recently shocked by the brutal murder of the Burmese leaders. Asians must prove anew that they are capable of settling their affairs by means other than force".

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSH, THE PHILOSOPHER-SAINT of Pondicherry, in a statement on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, expressed the hope that "the power that brought us through so much struggle and suffering to freedom, will achieve also, through whatever strife or trouble, the aim which so poignantly occupied the thoughts of the fallen leader at the time of his tragic death. "As it brought us freedom, it will bring us unity." Sri Aurobindo said: "I would have preferred silence in the face of these circumstances that surround us. For any words we can find fall flat amid such happenings. This much, however, I will say that the light which led us to freedom, though not yet to unity, still burns, and will burn on till it conquers. I believe firmly that a great and united future is the destiny of the nation and its peoples. "A free and united India will be there." Sri Aurobindo emphasised, "and the Mother will gather around her her sons, and weld them into a single national strength in the life of a great and united people,"

The following telegram was sent by the PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN, MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Indian Union:

"On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I send you, your colleagues and to the people of India our deepest sympathy over the tragic death of Gandhiji. The dastardly assassination must be condemned unreservedly by everybody. His removal from the stage of Indian politics at this juncture is an irreparable loss. His great effort for the restoration of communal harmony will be remembered with gratitude by all lovers of peace and goodwill. We earnestly hope that his efforts for communal harmony, which he had foremost in his heart just before his tragic death, will be crowned with success."

Referring to the death of Gandhiji, the PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN, MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, said: "The tragic news of Gandhiji's assassination has come as a terrible shock to me. It is a most dastardly act and I am sure it will be condemned unreservedly in the strongest terms by everybody.

He was a great figure of our times and was working unceasingly to bring back sanity to the people and to establish communal harmony."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan added, "His loss will be felt and mourned by all. For the last many years he had been the soul of the Congress Party and it would be no exaggeration to say that he was the father of the Congress.

It is a strange irony of fate that a man who had been preaching all his life the doctrine of non-violence should himself be made the tragic target of violence.

His recent efforts for communal harmony will be remembered with gratitude by all lovers of peace. His removal from the stage of Indian politics at this juncture is an irreparable loss.

I send my sincere and heart-felt sympathy to his relations and to all those who mourn him."

INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF DELHI AND NEW DELHI met under the chairmanship of Dr. H. C. Mukerji, Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, and expressed deep sorrow over the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The meeting expressed the opinion that "Gandhiji was the living embodiment of the teachings of Jesus Christ, and in his death Christian India had lost a true friend."

SIR MAURICE GWYER, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, and SIR ARTHUR MOORE, former Editor of *Statesman*, in a joint statement on Mahatma Gandhi's assassination said: "As two unofficial Britons living in India, may we express on behalf of many others of our countrymen here, our deepest sympathy with the people of India in this moment of grief at the martyrdom of this, her great son, who has died in the cause of peace".

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, EX-DEWAN OF MYSORE AND JAIPUR, wrote: "In the passing of Mahatma Gandhi, the world has lost one of the greatest men and benefactors that it has ever produced. What does India not owe to him? No man ever served his country with truer devotion and greater heroism, and none toiled more ceaselessly and suffered more in its service than this great soul enshrined in a frail body. He was indeed the pride of India. He elevated his country in the eyes of the world.

I am sure it is no exaggeration to say that no man in the history of the world has been mourned to the same extent as our departed leader. Eloquent tributes have been paid to his memory in almost every country in the world, and by people of all creeds and races."

MR. FRANK ANTHONY, PRESIDENT, ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION, said, that the dastardly and insane murder of Mahatma Gandhi had removed

from the world one of her very greatest men. In a world torn by strife and ridden by bitterness, suspicion, and hatred his voice and teachings stood out almost as a solitary and yet shining beacon pointing the way back to world sanity, love, and brotherhood.

MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY, Ex-Premier of Bengal and collaborator of Gandhiji for the restoration of peace in Bengal, in a statement said: "I feel as if the bottom of the world has fallen out. Who is there who will now assuage the anguish of the oppressed, who is there who will now wipe their tears? To him we had learnt to turn for guidance—and for advice in all our difficulties, and he never failed us.

Weep India, weep until thy heart breaks, for extinguished is the light that shed truth and justice, a deep love for humanity and transcendental sympathy for the forlorn and the friendless. May we take his teachings to heart, and in the midst of our gloom and despair, endeavour to put into practice those grand tenets of peace and love of mankind for which he gave his life.

I am sure he sees what we do; let us try to fulfil his cherished dream of Hindu-Muslim unity and oneness of mind and spirit in the common service of humanity."

Members of the MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY in the Constituent Assembly met together and passed a resolution expressing their "sense of profound grief and sorrow at the dastardly assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Nation, and one of the greatest men in the world" and appealing "to all people to keep calm and self-reliant."

MR. MIR LAIK ALI, PRIME MINISTER, HYDERABAD (DECCAN), said: "The sudden and tragic end of Mahatma Gandhi has come as the most stunning blow to all of us. The world has suffered a tremendous loss and a great

source of inspiration. Gandhiji is dead but the great and noble principles for which he stood and gave up his very life will remain, and the fittest homage that we can pay to that great soul is by living up to his noble ideals."

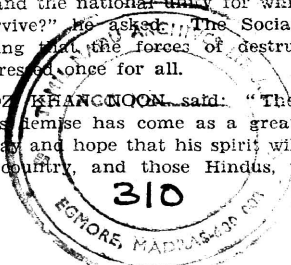
NAWAB SIR MEHDI YAR JUNG, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF HYDERABAD: "No greater loss is possible to India at the present hour when she needed her greatest leader. Judged by his character, ideals, and magnitude of his endeavours and achievements, Mahatma Gandhi is the noblest figure in the Twentieth Century.

Let us honour his memory by creating a fit monument of friendship and peace between communities."

THE NAWAB OF CHHATARI, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF HYDERABAD, said: "I am so shocked to hear of this great and heart-rending tragedy that I am dazed with a dull sense of pain and I am at a loss to comment on it. I feel deeply that India has lost her soul. Mahatmaji was a saint and now that he has departed from our midst, we poor mortals are left without his guidance in a world full of dangers. I hope and pray that my countrymen will keep alive the memory of our beloved leader by living up to his ideals."

MR. JAI PRAKASH NARAIN, the Socialist Leader, in a statement, said that at the very time that Mahatma Gandhi's wisdom and moral force were needed most, India had become fatherless. "Will the nation that Mahatma Gandhi founded, and the national unity for which he laid down his life survive?" he asked. The Socialist leader concluded by saying that the forces of destruction and evil must be suppressed once for all.

MALIK FERAZ KHAN Noon said: "The news of Mahatma Gandhi's demise has come as a great shock to me. I sincerely pray and hope that his spirit will continue to permeate the country, and those Hindus, who loved



Gandhiji, will see that the freedom, he secured for India, is not lost to the forces of militant Fascism."

KHAN IFTIKHAR HUSAIN, PREMIER OF THE WEST PUNJAB, said: Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest leader, India has produced for many centuries. His efforts for the restoration of peace had attracted world-wide attention. He will, I am certain, live in the hearts of all peace lovers for ever.

Three thousand Indians, the women sobbing and the men near tears, heard MR. BHAGWAT DAYAL, THE INDIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN BANGKOK, THAILAND, pay a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest Indian ever lived.

Mr. Bhagwat Dayal said every Christ had his Judas. this dastardly assassination only proving that Mahatma Gandhi was succeeding in his mission of peace.

The meeting sent a resolution of deepest sympathy to Pandit Nehru.

MR. BHAGAT AMINCHAND, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ALL-INDIA HARIJAN LEAGUE, in a telegram to Pandit Nehru, said: "Harijans of India are shocked to learn the loss of our saviour Mahatma Gandhi. We are orphans now, and look to you to fulfil his mission. We pray to God to grant you strength to bear this loss, and continue his unfinished work."

MR. SYED HUSAIN, INDIA'S AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO EGYPT: "The Saviour of India has been crucified. He is gone, that India will eternally walk under the shadow of his cross. No more tragic and unspeakable thing has ever happened to any nation than has befallen this unhappy and hapless people.

Not only our light has gone out, but the purest spiritual flame in the world has been extinguished, especially

at a time when its radiance and warmth were at their highest. He was affectionately called "Bapu". More millions have been truly orphaned by his passing than by that of any other figure in recorded history.

In this hour of national dislocation, let us try and pay humble homage to his sacred memory by remembering and practising his eternal gospel of Truth and Non-Violence, and by re-dedication to the service of India even as he had served."

THE NEGRO LEADERS, Mr. Joseph Michell, Secretary, League of Coloured Peoples, Mr. George Padmore, the Negro Socialist leader and Secretary of the Pan-African Congress, and Mr. Richard Hart, of the Caribbean Labour Congress, in a message to Pandit Nehru and the Indian people said: "Profoundest sympathy of all Africans and peoples of African descent in your tragic loss. With heavy hearts, we share India's sorrow, and bow our heads sadly before the mortal remains of the world's greatest humanitarian. Gandhiji's lifework will always remain the brightest beacon and inspiration to Africans struggling for freedom, and we pray that India's future be worthy of her greatest son."

"The cold blooded murder of Mahatma Gandhi came as a shock to our people so much so that one tried to believe that it was not true," said KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN, PREMIER OF THE N.-W. F. P., in a statement.

"He was one of the greatest figures in the world today. He was fighting most valiantly for peace between Hindus and Muslims, in fact between the two nations, and fell a martyr to that great cause.

Humanity has lost a man dynamic in personality, and one of the greatest of men. He will no doubt live in history long after many others have been forgotten. Let

us hope that in death he will achieve what he could not while he lived."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN regarded Mahatma Gandhi's death as a "tragic loss to the world", White House spokesman, **MR. CHARLES ROSS**, told reporters.

MR. ALBEN BARKLEY, **SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER**, said, "I regard the assassination as a great international tragedy. Notwithstanding the great sorrow this will cause the world, I sincerely hope it will not retard the peace of India and the world".

MR. ALBERT THOMAS, **MEMBER OF THE U. S. FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE**, **DEMOCRAT**, told reporters: "Mr. Gandhi's death is a loss to the whole world. Better than anyone else, he knew the need of a spiritual approach to the settlement of our difficulties.

One thing in Mr. Gandhi's loss to the world, which will temper that loss, is that Mr. Gandhi's spirit and his influence shall be both still alive. Mr. Gandhi in death may bring sense to the Indian peoples, which Mr. Gandhi in life was not able to do."

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, **CHARLES A. EATON**, told *Reuter*: "Gandhi's death is nothing short of a national calamity for the Indian people. It is a shocking revelation of the mental and moral degradation now afflicting a large portion of mankind, which constitutes the chief danger to our civilisation. Gandhi's murder is one more indication of the unbelievable spiritual eclipse that is darkening the minds of the whole world."

MR. V. D. SAVARKAR, **FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA**, in a telegram to Pandit Nehru, said:

"The sad news of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi is too sudden and shocking to find an adequate

expression in words. The first duty of every patriotic citizen is to listen to the advice of the Prime Minister of India to maintain peace and order throughout the land. Let us all close our ranks and rally round our national flag in the sense of our newly-won national freedom."

BABU SARAT CHANDRA BOSE said: "The sad and tragic news of the death of the Father of the nation at the hands of a foul assassin has staggered me. No language is strong enough to condemn such an outrage. The country is orphaned, and God alone knows what is in store for it. Mahatmaji is dead. When comes such another?"

MR. H. ROWAN HODGE, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, INDIA, issued the following statement:

"The European community are profoundly shocked at the tragic news of Mahatma Gandhi's death. Gandhiji, had he lived, would not have wreaked vengeance. It is to be hoped that all communities will come together in the country's loss; and will strive even more for peace and non-violence as Gandhiji would himself have wished."

THE BURMESE AMBASSADOR IN INDIA, U. WIN, said: "The world has suffered an irreparable loss. The father of the Indian nation is now no more. He has become a victim of forces of evil. We now see to what length such forces of evil will go. We are completely stunned by this most cowardly act, and an unexpected tragedy.

"Just as Jesus Christ suffered to save the erring humanity so had Mahatmaji suffered now. To us, Burmans, it is more than a national loss no less painful than the loss of our own leaders in July 1947. The Burmese people had a special reverence for Mahatmaji. The world has lost its greatest man in history—the living personification of love and truth.

The light has gone from this world. Let us re-ignite this torch by following Mahatmaji's example, and pray that the national unity and communal harmony which has been so dear to Mahatmaji will be achieved over his death-bed."

MRS. HANSA MEHTA, A GREAT SOCIAL REFORMER, said that to the women of India the loss was irreparable and they felt orphaned. India was fortunate in her spiritual leaders and the Mahatma was a shining star among them. The greatest homage that the women of India could pay to him was to come forward and work to build up the State which he wanted.

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF Y.W.C.A. OF U.S.A.: "The National Board of the Y.W.C.A. of U.S.A. extends its deep sympathy to your country and the world in the tragic loss of a great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who laboured so valiantly for the brotherhood of man."

PROF. JULIAN HUXLEY, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO, cabled:

"Please permit me to convey my personal profound sympathy with you and the people of India at the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. He will survive as an immortal symbol of understanding between men in the world torn with misunderstanding."

PAUL ROBESON cabled: "Can hardly believe news of assassination of Gandhiji. Know that I share deep sorrow of all the Indian people. May the unity so dearly desired by the Mahatma be realised."

THE PRESIDENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN'S COUNCIL OF BOMBAY in a telegram to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said:

"In Mahatma Gandhi's death, Mussalmans of India have lost a true friend and the world the greatest apostle

of peace and goodwill. May Almighty bless our path with the Mahatma's teachings."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, PROVINCIAL SCOUT COMMISSIONER, wrote on behalf of the Joint Board of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides' Association, Madras:

"On behalf of the United Board of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides' Association of Madras Presidency, we convey our inexpressible sorrow at the tragic loss of the greatest Scout of the world, Mahatma Gandhi. May his inspiring message and life guide all Scouts and Guides throughout this great country."

MR. MANILAL GANDHI, Mahatma Gandhi's son, who is Editor of the newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, Durban, South Africa, which his father established, said:

"I have lost my father, but he is not my father—he is father of the whole of India and sincere friend of the whole world.

I must surrender to the will of God. He must have a purpose in taking him away from us. He is no more with us physically but his spirit will guide us from above."

MR. J. L. P. ROCHE-VICTORIA, M.L.C., PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE, MADRAS, in a statement said:

"The Christian community mourns with the people of India at the irreparable loss the nation has sustained. We bemoan the death of the Father of the Nation not only as our Father but as a protector and champion of all minorities. We have also a special reason to be deeply grieved as we consider him as one of the greatest exponents of Christ's teachings and example. Though he is no more, his spirit will live for ever. It is up to us now to faithfully carry out his wishes in the cause of the Indian unity and practise in our lives the great principles of Truth, Service, and Ahimsa for which he laid down his life."

ELEGY.

Never, since Calvary, has there been
Such power in such weakness seen.
He conquered by the stern denial
Of conquest, undergoing trial
The noblest souls this world has known
Have undergone, nothing his own
But holy trust, humility,
And pity for the world to be
Without the cleansing change of heart
His own had been. And his frail part,
Miraculously magnified,
Till that dark hour when he died
No desperation brought though grief
Has stunned the world beyond relief.

These first few hours we feel the loss,
The sublime sacrifice, the cross
All martyrdom that ever was
Has raised above the last recess
Of every greatness gentleness
Has brought about. No conqueror
By guile or force has heretofore
Enlisted such a following
As has this Son of Man, this king
Of sons of men who know their quest
Of rectitude and honour blest
By his exhorting words of peace,
His martyrdom and his release.

Now, beyond words, this saddening news
Crowns the long story of abuse
His life was, until the divine
Equity gave the world a sign.
And this the dispensation is:

Our very grief, our elegies
 And eulogies in every tongue
 The wide world over, said and sung
 Unite in deeper sympathy
 Our darkened lives that we may be
 Linked by his humble heart's bequest
 In all our restlessness and rest.

'Mount Stuart',
 Ootacamund,

E. E. SPEIGHT,

*late Senior Professor of English
 in the Imperial University of Tokyo, Japan,
 and the Osmania University, Hyderabad.*

[By kind permission of *The Hindu* and the author.]

The following resolutions of the Government of India were published in a black-bordered *Gazette Extraordinary*, issued on February 2, 1948:

"The manner of Mahatma Gandhi's death is a grim and urgent reminder of the forces of hate and violence that are at work in our country, and which imperil the freedom of the nation and darken her fair name. These forces must be swiftly controlled and rooted out; only thus can India proceed along her appointed path, and fulfil her destiny. Success in this endeavour demands the willing help of her people. The Government have no doubt that the great majority of the Indian people demand that this action be taken and this duty performed.

The Government will, therefore, act with determination and justice, and they trust that the people, while offering their co-operation, will not take the law in their own hands.

There is no place today in India for any organisation preaching violence or communal hatred. No such organisation will, therefore, be tolerated. No private armies will

be permitted. The Government call upon all citizens and particularly those serving the Government in any capacity, to abide by these standards of behaviour, and to act strictly in accordance with the declared policy of the Government in this respect."

The second resolution read:

"Sudden and overwhelming tragedy has befallen India and the world. On January 30, shortly after 5 p.m. the fell hand of an assassin ended a life of supreme value to humanity, a life round which had revolved India's destiny for half a century. Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation, and beloved of his people, apostle of non-violence, saint and prophet of peace, great soldier for freedom, and lover above all, of the lowly, the humble and the oppressed, perished while on his way to prayer, to which his fellow-countrymen flocked every evening to listen to his message. The evening sun set in mourning over a nation's tragedy.

The last great act of Gandhiji was his decision to sacrifice his life to bring about peace and harmony among the people of India. On Sunday, January 18, he terminated his fast, on a solemn pledge being taken on behalf of the people, and India heaved a sigh of relief.

The greatest and noblest of India's sons has passed away, and the world mourns him, and pays homage to his mighty achievements, and the splendour of his spirit. Overwhelmed by sorrow, the Government of India still think with pride and thankfulness of their great leader, who has been an inspiration to hundreds of millions of people and has taught them the path of high endeavour, and right action. In death, as in life, he was smiling, serene, and full of love for all, the very embodiment of his message of truth and ahimsa. His life was one long struggle for justice and tolerance between man and man.

The Government of India, in paying reverent homage to the glorious memory of Mahatma Gandhi, declare their determination to strive to the utmost to fulfil his great message. To him the call of duty was paramount, and duty demands of the Indian people today courage, vision and faith, and the pursuit of truth and the practice of tolerance. They urge upon their countrymen to remember, even in this hour of national bereavement, this duty and to face the future with stout hearts, and steady gaze.

They must assist the Government to fight the dark forces of evil, and violence that are at work in our midst, and that have succeeded in putting an end to the most precious treasure that India possessed.

But even this act has only heightened the splendour of his spirit which shines today, and will always shine upon the Indian people, and on humanity. As in life, so now, that great spirit will guard India, which he loved so passionately, and served so unceasingly, and with such devotion. India and India's message were embodied in his own magnificent self.

Let us, therefore, be true to Gandhiji and to India, and strive our utmost to realise the India of his dreams."

United Nations Security Council's Tribute to Gandhiji

THE COUNCIL HELD ITS MEETING AT LAKE SUCCESS, U.S.A.,
ON JANUARY 30, 1948

U. N. FLAG HALF-MASTED

It was announced here to-night that because of Mahatma Gandhi's death the United Nations Flag will fly at half-mast for three consecutive days. Other flags will not be flown.

This is the first time that the United Nations flags were lowered for anyone who was not the head of a State or member of a United Nations body.

M. Fernand van Langenhove, President of the Security Council, said:

"Mr. Gandhi set to the world a great example of absolute devotion to the most noble ideals. The far-reaching effect of his life and teaching will continue despite his death. All those in his country as well as in the rest of the world who remain faithful to his memory will go on spreading his ideals of non-violence and understanding on which the United Nations is founded."

The Acting Secretary-General, Mr. Byron Price, telegraphed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the condolences of the United Nations to the Government and people of India.

The message from Mr. Byron Price read: "The tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi is an irretrievable loss to mankind particularly at a time when the world is in such need of spiritual leadership to surmount grave problems besetting peoples.

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of peace and as such exemplified the highest principles of the United Nations. We mourn his passing and hope his sacrifice may serve to further the lofty ideals to which he dedicated his life. Please convey to your Government and people of India our deep sympathy."

After standing in silent tribute for Mahatma Gandhi for a minute, the Security Council adjourned until next Tuesday.

M. Fernand van Langenhove, President of the Security Council, opened the Security Council proceedings this afternoon with this tribute to Mahatma Gandhi:

"A tragic event dominates our thoughts. We are met today under the spell of emotion which has gone through the world at the death of Mr. Gandhi.

We know what this event represents and particularly for the populations of India. In the name of the Security Council, I express to the Indian representative, to his Government, and his entire nation, our profound sympathy and the sorrow which we feel at the act of a mad man.

Mr. Gandhi gave to the world a great lesson. Few people have shown such absolute devotion to the generous ideas to which he had vowed himself. On many occasions, he offered the sacrifice of his life so that these ideas might triumph.

From the distance he appeared to us to be already above this world as a great symbol. He represented in the highest degree and in its most noble aspect, the spirit of the independence of his people.

He lived long enough to see India become fully sovereign. But he represented something more—the idea of non-violence which is the very principle which inspires our organisation.

This alone would justify the respect in which we will hold his memory. He represented also the spirit of unity, understanding, and fraternity. For these reasons, his name was on several occasions brought into our debates. Somehow we felt that in our efforts for pacification and mutual understanding, we had in him a great ally.

The death of Gandhi will not end his beneficial work. Gone from this world, he will still be the noble symbol which he was in life. All those who in his country and in the world glorified his memory, will remain faithful to the great principles of non-violence and unity for which he lived and for which he died."

MR. NOEL-BAKER

Mr. Philip Noel-Baker (Britain) said: "Some of the greatest men in human history have fallen by assassins' hands. Others, like Mr. Gandhi, have known that their lives were menaced. None have shown such selfless contempt for danger. None in his death has shown so clearly how senseless and sterile is the act of murder, and the fanaticism from which it springs.

We believe that his greatest achievements are still to come.

Mr. Gandhi was the friend of the poorest, the loneliest, and the lost.'

M. GROMYKO

M. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Delegate, said:

"In the name of the Soviet Delegation, I express to the Indian Delegation and the Indian people the deepest condolence for the tragic death of Mr. Gandhi.

As one of the outstanding leaders of India, Mr. Gandhi has certainly left a deep mark on the history of India.

The name of Mr. Gandhi will always be linked with the struggle which the Indian people led over such a long period for their national liberation."

DR. TSIANG

Dr. T. F. Tsiang (China) said: "In the death of Mahatma Gandhi, Asia has lost her greatest living saint. No other man typified the wisdom and nobility of the old continent as Mahatma Gandhi. His principles had universal significance."

ZAFRULLAH KHAN

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, said: "On behalf of the Government and people

of Pakistan, and my own desire, I associate myself with the tributes paid by the members of the Council to the memory of one who illustrated the noblest ideals of enlightened Hinduism in the present age.

His tragic death constitutes as grievous a loss to Pakistan as to India. Indeed, it is an irreparable loss to the cause of peace throughout the world.

Mr. Gandhi was beloved by hundreds of millions, deeply revered by all who hear his name. One of his many claims to greatness was the faculty which always enabled him to win through to sanity in every one of the crisis which he faced during his life. It was inconceivable that anybody would wish to do him harm."

Continuing, Sir Zafrullah said: "The irony is that he should have fallen by the hand of an assassin. The poignancy and tragedy is enhanced by the realisation that he was the keystone of the arc that is at this moment subject to so many stresses.

The keystone has been removed by a dastardly hand. It is difficult to assess what this disaster may portend. Yet one should be permitted to indulge the hope and utter the prayer that, through the supreme sacrifice, Mr. Gandhi may have accelerated the achievement of those ideals for which his whole life was dedicated."

MR. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Indian Representative to the Security Council debate on Kashmir, said: "On behalf of the Indian Delegation, I wish to express our profound gratitude for the sympathy which you have shown us in our bereavement. It will be some consolation to a nation stricken suddenly with an event whose possible repercussions on their life it is not easy to assess now.

Our hearts are filled with unspeakable grief. A great tragedy has overtaken us, the greatest, perhaps, in Indian history in recent years.

His life will be a great inspiration to the people of India. It will serve as a beacon light to those races and nations who believe that force is not needed in human existence, that the highest achievement of the human race is only possible through non-violence.

If there was one man in the world who embodied in his life and conduct, who preached through all his life, the principles upon which the United Nations was founded, it was Mahatma Gandhi."

In the course of his address, Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, the Indian Delegate, also said: "In India he (Mahatma Gandhi) stood for unity and nothing made him regret his work so much as having to acquiesce in a policy which compelled the division of the country."

Mr. Ayyangar continued: "Yet, after that division took place, it was his endeavour to do all he could to remove animosities between communities, promote brotherhood, and to encourage a bond between the two States.

He battled most insistently against the forces which tried to prevent union, which tried to prevent goodwill; he did that, in spite of opposition, in spite of the spread among people of the spirit of retaliation which, perhaps, has been more responsible for all the ills of India than anything else.

His gospel was to return good for evil. It was in preaching this gospel that he became a martyr for his cause. We could ill lose his services at a time when they were more necessary than at any other time.

It has been said that perhaps this martyrdom is an instrument through which the ideals for which he stood

could be realised in future. We hope that result will materialise.

We in India who carry a heavy responsibility will consider it our duty, now that he is dead, to keep his principles alive, to regulate our conduct according to those principles and bring about that harmony and goodwill which he preached.

Let us pray that his spirit will remain with us to guide us in this great endeavour and to bring peace and harmony to the ancient land which he revered and for which he has sacrificed his life."

UKRAINE DELEGATE

M. Vassily Tarasenko (Ukraine) said: "Mr. Gandhi convinced his followers that internal strife was not in the interests of the people, but in the interests of those who wanted to maintain the domination of India.

It is my hope and conviction that the death of Mr. Gandhi will not halt the work of the Indian people in its struggle for a stable Government and the building up of their sovereignty."

SENATOR AUSTIN

Senator R. Warren Austin (United States), declared: "It is tragic that this (Mahatma Gandhi's) death has come at a time of tension and crisis, when the qualities of toleration are so badly needed. We earnestly hope that his martyrdom will inspire the peoples of the United Nations to press forward with greater determination the ideals for which he stood."

FARIS EL KHOURY

Faris Bey El Khoury, the Syrian member of the Security Council, said: "It is a great misfortune for the world that this saint should have died that way. But his

views may be respected after his death, perhaps even more than in his life. He will not have died in vain if the people of India are encouraged to continue in the ways of peace for which he sacrificed his life. His memory should be sanctified."

ARGENTINE MEMBER

Dr. Jose Arce (Argentina) said: "Mr. Gandhi was without doubt one of the great leaders of his time. He proved, by his life and preaching, the force and power of the spirit. He gave a great example to all.

He is the new martyr in the cause of justice. If we believe in his principles we may have confidence in the ultimate success of our work. We hope for the victory of the peace-loving forces of the world."

FRENCH ENVOY

M. Guy de la Tournelle (France) said: "With the death of Mr. Gandhi, one of the greatest and finest figures of humanity has gone. There is not a Frenchman who did not know and revere the name of Mr. Gandhi. He fell for his ideals and crowned a most noble life with a martyr's death."

CANADIAN DELEGATE

General Andrew McNaughton (Canada) said: "The death of Mr. Gandhi is a catastrophe not only for India, but for men of goodwill everywhere. In our sorrow at his passing, we who share his aspirations can only hope his influence will ever widen and harmonise men's minds in search for peace and freedom."

TRIBUTES IN INDIA DOMINION LEGISLATURE

The India Dominion Parliament, on February 2, 1948, paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi in an atmosphere of

profound grief. There was nothing of the familiar look about the Chamber, no laughter, no exchanges of pleasant-ries, not even cheers or cries of approval when speaker after speaker rose to heights of eloquence, in voices surcharged with emotion.

In the Governor-General's box were seated Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, West Bengal Governor, Srimati Sarojini Nayudu, Governor of the United Provinces, Sri Mangaldas Pakvasa, Governor of the Central Provinces, and Sir Chandulal Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab.

"WE HAVE FAILED TO PROTECT OUR TREASURE"

The Prime Minister, and Leader of the House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a moving tribute said:

"It is customary in this House to pay some tribute to the eminent departed, to say some words of praise and condolence. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or any others in this House to say much on this occasion. For I have a sense of utter shame, both as an individual and as the head of the Government of India, that we should have failed to protect the greatest treasure that we possessed.

It is our failure, as it has been our failure in the past many months, to give protection to many an innocent man, woman, and child. It may be that the burden and the task were too great for us or for any Government. Nevertheless, it is a failure. The fact is that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because of us. It is a shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is a shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed, and done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age.

“WE ARE THE CHILDREN OF HIS SPIRIT”

We praise people in well-chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness. How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, because he was not of the common clay that all of us are made of. He came, lived a fairly long span of life and has passed away. No words of praise of ours in the House are needed, for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in history, and during these two or three days since his death, he has had the homage of the world. What can we add to that? How can we praise him, we who have been the children of his, and perhaps more intimately children of his than the children of his body, for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit?

The glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark. Yet he would not have us feel this way. After all, the glory that we saw all these years, that man with the divine fire, changed us also, and such as we are, we have been moulded by him during these years, and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened us, made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned. And so, if we praise him, our words seem rather small; and if we praise him, to some extent we praise ourselves.”

Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them, but this man of divine fire managed in his life-time to become enmeshed with millions and millions of hearts so that all of us became somewhat of the stuff that he was made of, though in infinitely lesser degree. He spread out over India, not in palaces only, or in selected places, or in assemblies, but in every hamlet and hut of the lowly and those who suffered.

In a large measure, he made this country during these last 30 years and more and attained to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere. He succeeded in that. Yet, ultimately, things happened which, no doubt, made him suffer tremendously. Though his tender face never lost its smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone, yet he must have suffered for the failings of this generation whom he had trained, suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us and, ultimately, the hand of a child of his—for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian—struck him down.

Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures. We are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened and what has not happened. All we know is that there was a glory and it is no more. All we know is that for the moment there is darkness, not so dark certainly, because when we look into our hearts, we still find the living flame which he lighted, and if this living flame exists there will not be darkness in this land and we shall be able with our effort, remembering him and following his path, to illumine this land again, small as we are but still with the fire that he kindled in us.

He was perhaps the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and may I say of the India of the future that we could have had. We stand on this perilous edge of the present, between that past and the future to be, and we face all manner of perils, and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us, when we see ideals becoming unreal, and we see the great things that we talked about somehow becoming empty words, and life taking a different course. Yet I do believe that perhaps this period will pass

soon enough. Great as this man of God was in his life, he has been greater in his death and I have not the shadow of doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life.

We shall always mourn him because we are human and cannot forget our beloved master, but I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest went away, only a firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So, he would chide us if we merely mourned. That is a poor way of paying homage to him. The only way is to express our determination, to pledge ourselves anew, to dedicate ourselves to the great tasks which he undertook and accomplished to such a large extent.

So we have to work, we have to labour, we have to sacrifice and thus, to some extent at least, prove worthy followers of his."

ROOT OUT EVIL OF VIOLENCE

The Prime Minister declared that this tragedy was not merely the isolated act of a mad man. "It has come out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years, more especially the past few months. That atmosphere envelops us and surrounds us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us, we have to face this atmosphere, combat it, struggle against it, root out the evil of hatred and violence. So far as this Government are concerned, I trust that they will spare no means, no effort, to do that, because if we do not, if we in our weakness, or for any other reason that we may consider adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence, and this spreading of hatred by word of mouth, or writing, or act, then indeed we are not worthy of being in this Government, we are

certainly not worthy of being his followers, and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed.

In, ages to come, centuries and, might be, millenia after us, people would think of this generation when this man of God trod the earth, and would think of us who, however small, also tread the holy ground where his foot has been," said Pandit Nehru. "Let us be worthy of him."

SPEAKER'S TRIBUTE

The Speaker, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, who was the first to pay his tributes, said: "We are meeting today under the shadow of a double calamity, the sad demise of the tallest man of our age who has led us from slavery to independence and the reappearance of the cult of political violence in our country. Ever since Mahatmaji came on the Indian political firmament, he opposed violence and we had thought that he had succeeded beyond measure. Though our belief was rudely shaken by the recent communal disturbances and by the exhibition of popular temper in recent months leading to mass migrations, we had hugged the hope that the idea of cold, calculated murders for achieving political ends had left this country. The unfortunate and dastardly outrage has disillusioned us and has placed before us the problem of rooting out from the soil the idea of violence for political ends.

It seems we have yet to realise that political violence is the greatest enemy of individual liberty and, therefore, of democracy. We cannot condemn this idea of violence for political ends in too strong terms. Mere condemnation of the misguided and mad perpetrator of the tragedy is not enough. On every thinking citizen rests the responsibility of so acting and shaping his life as to ensure that the cult of terrorism cannot have a favourable soil to germinate and grow in our country. As Gandhiji often

used to say, real democracy is not possible without non-violence."

The Speaker concluded his tribute by praying that "Mahatma Gandhi's spirit should ever be with us and lead us to our goal."

The Speaker, Mr. E. V. Mavalankar was the first speaker, and others were Mr. M. R. Masani, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mr. Frank Anthony, Mr. Hanumanthiah, Giani Gurmukh Singh, Mr. K. H. Khandekar, and Acharya Kripalani.

Following the speeches, the members rose and stood in silence for a time in honour of Gandhiji. The House then adjourned.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

Four resolutions, all dealing with the death of Mahatma Gandhi, were adopted by the All-India Congress Committee, when it met at New Delhi on February 21, 1948.

The resolutions expressed the A.-I. C. C.'s profound sorrow and shame at Gandhiji's assassination, congratulated the Central and Provincial Governments for having banned communal organisations which deliberately spread 'communal poison,' called upon the people to counteract disruptive forces, and reiterated its faith in the ideal of a secular and democratic State.

Replying to criticisms by members of the Congress High Command and the Central and Provincial Ministries for their failure to take prompt action against communal bodies, Sardar Patel declared that it was not possible to perform miracles expected of them.

Deep-rooted prejudices could not be wiped out in a short time. In trying to wreck communalism, they should not wreck themselves, he added.

Another resolution, endorsing the Working Committee's move to raise a Gandhi National Memorial Fund, called upon the Congress Committees not to dissipate their energies by making separate collections for local memorials.

The Working Committee's recommendations for the new Constitution of the Congress were taken up for consideration, when the meeting adjourned until Sunday afternoon.

SHAME AT GANDHIJI'S ASSASSINATION EXPRESSED

The All-India Congress Committee adopted a resolution moved from the Chair, placing on record its 'sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi,' when it met here this afternoon at the Constitution Club, Dr. Rajendra Prasad presiding.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, members of the Cabinet and Provincial Premiers, were among those present. Six national flags and a portrait of Gandhiji formed the background of the dais.

The Congress President, in his opening speech, said he found it difficult to imagine an A.-I. C. C. or Congress meeting without Gandhiji. He called upon all Congressmen to purge the organisation of the weaknesses to which Mahatma Gandhi had drawn attention before his tragic death.

It was a matter of great shame for the entire Hindu community that Mahatma Gandhi, who had devoted his life for their emancipation, was killed by one of them. They would never be able to wipe out this stain on their name. What, however, the people of India could and should do now was to follow in the footsteps of Gandhiji.

'We could not act up to his teachings during his lifetime, but we should resolve now not to deviate from the path shown by him. This is the main object of the A.-I. C. C. meeting today.'

The A.-I. C. C., Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, would consider the draft Constitution of the Congress and give a directive to the Constitution Sub-Committee about the basic principles on which the future Constitution was to be drawn up.

Referring to the question of setting-up a suitable memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, he said that the idea had received support from all parts of the country. But Gandhiji's memorial was not to be a structure in stone. Nothing would have displeased him more than the erection of big buildings or statues in his memory. His great memorial, of course, was his own life. He had devoted his life to bringing happiness to the poor people of the world, and the memorial, which they proposed to set up, should be in harmony with that ideal of Mahatma Gandhi. They should establish a central organisation for the uplift of the down-trodden and let that be the monument of their love and esteem for him.

For the successful functioning of such an organisation, they needed not only money but also men capable of working selflessly. In the past, whenever Gandhiji had made a call for workers, a large number of people had volunteered. He was not there today to ask once again for workers, but his soul was present among them, urging them to offer their services for that noble work.

IDEAL OF A SECULAR STATE IN INDIA

MR. SHANKER RAO DEO moved the resolution expressing the A.-I. C. C.'s faith in the ideal of a secular and democratic State.

The resolution, seconded by MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, read:

'The A.-I. C. C. calls upon all Congressmen in particular, and the public in general, to exert themselves to the utmost to fight the demon of communalism, which,

unless immediately checked, may destroy our freedom and defeat our objective. The A.-I. C. C. can never forget the fact that shortly before his foul assassination, Mahatma Gandhi risked his life by undertaking an unlimited fast to fight communalism and to restore peace and harmony between different communities and that the fast was terminated on the sixth day when pledges were given to ensure that Muslims could live with honour and security in India.

The foul deed was, therefore, all the more reprehensible and condemnable, as it was perpetrated at a time when efforts were being seriously made to eradicate this communal poison, to restore sanity, peace, and harmony, and to end communal strife.

Though the father of the nation is no more physically with us to remind us of our duty and to inspire us with his faith in our mission, the A.-I. C. C. takes this opportunity, of solemnly reaffirming its determination to continue to follow the path he has lighted for us, and to do everything possible to fulfil the great task he has left only partially accomplished.

The A.-I. C. C. further approves of the resolution recently passed by the Working Committee at its meeting on February 6, calling upon the people and the Government to take note of the forces of hatred and violence, acting in the open or in the dark, to disrupt the roots of social life and to take effective action to counteract them.

The A.-I. C. C. congratulates the Central and the Provincial Governments on having taken speedy steps to ban such communal organisations as were deliberately trying to spread this poison, and whose propaganda of hatred was responsible for vitiating the minds of some of our misguided countrymen, resulting in the commission of foul deeds.

The A.-I. C. C. further assures the Government of its active support in getting rid of such elements which are responsible for inculcating communal hatred and encouraging disruptive tendencies. To become an effective instrument for carrying out the heavy and responsible duty which devolves upon the Congress, it would set its own house in order, and the Committee calls upon Congressmen to purify the organisation, even at the risk of shrinkage of its membership. It should be remembered that, during his last days, Gandhiji was distressed by the fall in the standard of conduct of the Congress, which he expressed in unambiguous language at the time of his last fast.

It is up to every Congress worker to exercise introspection and help the great organisation which has been built up at tremendous sacrifice, and to recover and re-establish the standard which Gandhiji had set before it. Possession of power should make Congressmen sober and humble. They should realise their responsibility and turn themselves into fit servants of the people.

The A.-I. C. C. reiterates its faith in the ideal of a secular and democratic State based upon social, economic, and political justice, wherein every citizen, irrespective of his or her religious profession, will be assured equal rights of citizenship, and reaffirms its determination to strengthen the foundations of such a secular State.'

MR. RANBHIR SINGH MEHTA moved an amendment which called upon the Congress High Command instead of all Congressmen to exert themselves to fight communalism. He sought to exclude the East Punjab Government from the paragraph congratulating the Central and Provincial Governments on taking speedy steps to ban communal organisations.

MR. RAMNARAYAN SINGH moved an amendment seeking to exclude the Bihar Government.

MR. MOHAN SINGH SAHNI, by an amendment, sought to exclude members of communal organisations from Central and Provincial Cabinets. Further, he demanded the expulsion from the Congress of all those who had connexions with the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha or Akali Party.

SWAMI SAHAJANAND SARASWATHI moved an amendment seeking to impose a ban on all communal organisations, to outlaw all members of such organisations.

MR. ANSAR HARWANI moved an amendment which wanted the A.-I. C. C. to direct the Working Committee to get rid of those members of the Central Government who were responsible for encouraging communal strife.

MR. DEVRAJ SETHI, supporting the resolution, said that while in the new Constitution of India, separate electorates would be abolished, the principle of reservation of seats was still sought to be maintained. Unless that too was removed, it was not possible to ban communal organisations like the Akali Party, Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League. It was wrong to say that the R. S. S. S. had not been suppressed in East Punjab.

J. P. NARAIN'S CHARGE

MR. JAI PRAKASH NARAIN, Socialist Leader, said that he was astonished when he went through the resolution. It contained certain things which were incorrect, and hence should not have been included. At the same time, certain other important things had not been mentioned. After the tragic assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, it was incumbent on the Government to admit their fault.

For Gandhiji's death, blame must be laid not only on communal organisations but also on the Central and

Provincial Governments, he said. Why was it that the Government realised the danger of communalism only after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination? Where was the secret police? If the secret police did inform the Government in advance about the real position, why was no action taken to meet the danger?

The nature of work done by the R. S. S. S. and the propaganda carried on by them was a matter of common knowledge. Instead of taking any action against them, some of their responsible Ministers attended their rallies, and even praised their work.

Three organisations were described as a menace in the resolution passed at the last meeting of the A.-I. C. C. The A.-I. C. C. now had a right to ask what steps were taken in pursuance of that resolution to put down the menace. The Government Services were the stronghold of the R. S. S. S. and similar organisations.

But the steps taken to counteract their influence were not only mild but also belated. Surely the A.-I. C. C. could not congratulate the Governments on not acting properly.

Communalism today was not confined to Hindus and Muslims only, Mr. Narain added. It had now intensified in the form of caste distinctions and constituted a serious danger to the democratic, secular State of their dreams. India's future Constitution should include a specific clause disallowing communal organisations from contesting elections.

MISS MRIDULA SARABHAI said that the Government were late in banning the R. S. S. S. and other bodies. She did not feel called upon to congratulate the Government.

MASTER MOTA SINGH urged that communalism should be wiped out with a heavy hand.

MR. PUNJAB RAO opposed the resolution.

MR. MAHABIR TYAGI, opposing the amendments, said that they should not act in haste. The Congress had a heavy responsibility in that it had no opposition, and had to look after the interests of all elements in the country.

SARDAR PATEL'S PLEA FOR UNITY

Speaking on the resolution, SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL said that as a member of the Working Committee and also of the Government, he did not feel called upon to speak on the subject. But, in view of the trend of the debate, his colleagues in the Working Committee had asked him to elucidate certain points.

Some members who had moved amendments had taken objection to that portion in the resolution which congratulated the Central and the Provincial Governments for the steps they had taken to ban certain communal organisations. Others had utilised the opportunity to criticise either the Punjab or the Bihar Ministry, and presumably there were others who would like to criticise the other Provincial Ministries as well.

As a member of the Government, he was not particularly anxious for the congratulations. The Working Committee had, after due deliberation, had come to certain conclusions and had formulated a resolution. It was up to the house to accept, amend, or reject it. He, however, took exception to the criticisms of the Provincial Ministries at A.-I. C. C. meetings.

Sardar Patel said that the A.-I. C. C. was not an appropriate forum to dethrone Ministries. They had Provincial Parliamentary Boards which had set up these Ministries. It was open to such Boards in the Provinces to withdraw their support to the Ministries concerned, and install a substitute Ministry.

They were now working Parliamentary democracy. It was not open to the Centre to remove Ministries in the

Provinces. If, however, they did not like this Parliamentary procedure, they were free to adopt any other procedure. Nevertheless, the great strain and the difficult circumstances under which the Ministries functioned today should be recognised.

MISTAKE OWNED

Mahatma Gandhi had been assassinated. It was a great tragedy, and they were all weighed down with grief. It was no use, at this juncture, advancing arguments and assertions. It was no use, at the present time, to say that events had been foreshadowed in the past, and that if certain steps had been taken, certain consequences would have been avoided. He was not saying that mistakes should not be owned. In fact, the Prime Minister had stated in the Parliament that they had failed to protect Mahatmaji.

The Congress High Command, as such, had been criticised. He did not know who constituted this High Command. If they had a genuine grievance against the Ministries, the best course would be to approach the Congress President and the Central Parliamentary Board for a remedy.

Referring to the pleas made for the banning of all communal organisations, he said that they would do well not to act in haste but to reflect calmly that the cure should not be worse than the disease. Mahatma Gandhi was well aware as to what the various Governments were doing. For example, it was criticised that a Minister attended an R. S. S. S. rally. He did not know why he went there to advise R. S. S. S. men.

Sardar Patel said that the blame for the tragedy could not be laid at the door of any particular individual or organisation. The Ministries functioned on the principle

of joint responsibility. So if anything went wrong they were all responsible.

Referring to the criticism of the Punjab Ministry, he said that they should realise the conditions under which that Ministry came into existence. The Province was prostrate and literally bled white. Under utmost difficulties the Ministry was functioning. If they wanted to replace that Ministry, they could hold elections. But it was difficult for him to imagine an alternative Government coming into existence. He thought it was unfair to attack the Ministry in the manner in which some members had done.

Dealing with the demand for the obliteration of communal and sectarian parties, Sardar Patel said that it was not possible to perform the miracles expected of them. Deep-rooted traditions and prejudices could not be wiped out in a short time. In trying to wreck communalism, they should not wreck themselves.

It was true that many Government servants had joined the R. S. S., out of ignorance or because of misplaced sympathies. They would have to work hard to bring about peaceful conditions in the country, and to build and to achieve the ideal of a secular and democratic State.

MR. SHANKER RAO DEO, replying to the debate, said that the form of Government which they had chosen for the country was a democratic one which did not permit of the use of force against political opponents. The best way of dealing with misguided sections of the people was to educate them, and that was being done.

The amendments were rejected, and the resolution, as originally drafted, was passed.

The A.-I. C. C. adopted the resolution on the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, moved by Dr. P. C. Ghosh and seconded by Mr. S. K. Patil.

It approved the action of the Working Committee in starting a memorial fund, and supported the appeal issued by the President to the people to contribute at least 10 days' income to this Fund.

The A.-I. C. C. also adopted a resolution moved by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was in the chair, calling upon all Congress Committees and Congressmen to help the Gandhi National Memorial Committee in the collection of funds, and not to dissipate their energy and funds by making separate collections for local memorials.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE CONGRESS

MR. S. R. DEO, moving the resolution on the Congress Constitution said that under the changed conditions prevailing in the country after the withdrawal of British power, it was necessary to draw up a new Constitution for the Congress. A group of people were of the opinion that the Congress should be dissolved. He did not agree with that view. Freedom was visualised by Congressmen in terms of economic and social well-being, and not merely political freedom.

The main features of the new Constitution proposed in the resolution were the abolition of four-anna membership and greater stress on Panchayat Raj. The distinction between Indian India and British India was removed, and greater emphasis was laid on constructive work by members.

MR. R. R. DIWAKAR, seconding the resolution, said that having achieved political independence under the banner of the Congress, they should set about achieving, through the same organisation, social and economic progress and advancement. The provision that no member of the Congress could be a member of any other political party, which had a distinct membership, was necessitated

by the fact that after independence, the Congress could no longer function as a common front for different parties.

The Congress had now become a party in the sense that political parties existed in any other country, and cohesion was needed to implement a Parliamentary programme.

He said that if the Congress was dissolved, there would be a vacuum which could not be filled by any other party. Creation of such a vacuum was not desirable at this stage of their development.

ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV, on behalf of the Socialists, criticised the resolution as a poor and incomplete copy of the draft prepared by Mahatma Gandhi, while Prof. N. G. Ranga contended that great weight had been given to Gandhiji's suggestions. Mrs. Asaf Ali wanted the Congress to work among the people without any political aims.

SOCIALIST CRITICISM

The All-India Congress Committee on February 22, 1948, resumed discussion on the principles of the future constitution of the Party. In the absence of the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad conducted the proceedings.

Some 40 amendments had been tabled to the resolution. Maulana Azad directed that the amendments should be collated, and six out of the 40 were moved subsequently.

The Congress Working Committee's resolution recommended the following principles as the basis for the new constitution of the Congress:

The establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth in India; a primary Panchayat for a village or a group of villages, with any person of the age of 18 years and over eligible to vote; elected members of the Panchayat to be roughly in the proportion of 1 to 500 inhabitants; mem-

bers of the Panchayat to pay an annual fee of Re. one; should wear khadi, should have abjured untouchability, and be a believer in inter-communal amity; and teetotaler, the Indian States that have acceded to India to be included in the Congress organisation; and the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries' Association, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and the Goseva Sangh be affiliated.

Acharya Narendra Dev, Socialist leader, characterised the draft as 'a poor and incomplete copy of the draft prepared by Mahatma Gandhi'. The basic principles suggested by Mahatma Gandhi had not been incorporated at all. The spirit of what he had wanted was not to be found in the resolution presented by the Congress Working Committee. Even the structure of the resolution was vitally different from what Mahatma Gandhi had intended it to be.

Mahatma Gandhi had made suggestions in regard to the Congress constitution on three different occasions, and the idea underlying his suggestions on all those occasions was that the largest possible number of the people of India should be associated with the working of the Congress. In 1935, he suggested that at least all the electorate should be Congress members, and now, when adult suffrage was going to be introduced, his suggestion was that the Congress membership should be thrown open to all adults.

The slogan today, Acharya Narendra Dev said, was that the State should be strengthened by all possible means. Mahatma Gandhi had approached the same question from a different angle. His idea was that the State would automatically become stronger if the people became stronger.

The final goal, as he had envisaged, was that ultimately the distinction between the Congress, representing

every section of the population, and the State would disappear.

When that stage was reached, an organisation wedded to the principle of non-violence would take the place of the State with force behind it. India had achieved political independence, but it still had a long way to go to achieve economic and social freedom. After one part of its work was finished, namely, the achievement of independence, the Congress had to work as the servant of the people for their social and economic uplift.

DUAL ROLE IS NOT POSSIBLE

The Congress, as it would emerge under the new constitution, would continue its Parliamentary functions, and would do a little bit of social service. That was not a satisfactory position. The two functions could not be performed properly by the same party.

If Congressmen wanted to continue the work of administration, then they had to confine the activities of the party to that field, and a separate party was necessary to discharge extra-administrative functions.

Mahatma Gandhi was of the opinion that the Socialists should remain in the Congress. If the A.-I. C. C. wanted to make the Congress a compact Political Party, then the Socialists and other groups would have no place in it. In that event, the Congress could not claim to represent the entire nation, and would not be in a position to replace the State as Mahatma Gandhi wanted it to do.

It was not proper to ask where the loyalty of the Socialists lay. They were loyal not to the Congress or to the Socialist Party but to certain fundamental principles.

SETH GOVIND DAS said that the A.-I. C. C. should carry out the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi and make the Congress a Lok Sevak Sangh. He, however, suggested that

if the Party was to continue its political function, its members must be called upon to pay some fee. Without the payment of subscription, their attachment or loyalty would not be definite.

He said that parties with a separate programme of their own could have no place in the Congress.

PROF. N. G. RANGA, member of the Congress Working Committee, assured the A.-I. C. C. that, when the draft before it was under consideration, the Working Committee gave the greatest amount of weight to Gandhiji's suggestions. The Committee had incorporated his most revolutionary suggestion that the structure of the Congress should depend upon the willing cooperation of the entire adult population of the country. It had also incorporated his idea of effective membership.

MRS. ASAF ALI said that the constitution suggested by the Working Committee was very much different from that proposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

While framing the new constitution for the Congress, they must keep in view the fact, as Mahatma Gandhi had put it, that the Congress had outlived its utility as an organ for political propaganda, and that now it should refrain from unhealthy political competition.

After having led the country successfully towards political freedom, the task before the Congress should be to lead the people towards social and economic revolution.

The Congress now had to be the party of those men who were prepared to work among the people without any political aims. It was also Mahatma Gandhi's wish that the Socialists should not leave the Congress.

Maulana Azad pointed out that the resolution was based mainly on Mahatma Gandhi's draft. The draft could never be interpreted to mean that the Congress should give up all political activities. He laid stress on

constructive work among the masses, no doubt. But he never wanted the party to stay away from politics.

Out of 40 amendments, Maulana Azad ruled that only six of them raised fundamental questions, and should be discussed. The rest would be handed over to the Constitution Sub-Committee.

Among the amendments was one moved by Dr. Choithram Gidwani, who sought deletion of the provision demanding 'respect for all religions', and deletion of Goseva Sangh from the affiliated bodies.

Dr. Gidwani said that religion had done more harm than good to the country, and hence should not be mentioned at all in the Congress constitution, especially when they wanted to build a secular State.

SARDAR MOHAN SINGH SAHNI wanted deletion of the provision that no member of an elected Congress Committee, including the Primary Congress Panchayats, would be a member of any other political party, which had a separate membership, constitution, and programme.

Seth Govind Das sought to introduce a provision that Congress members should pay a fee of one rupee for three years.

MR. ANSAR HARWANI wanted substitution of the words 'Co-operative Commonwealth' by 'Socialist Republic'. He also wanted the A.-I. C. C. to reaffirm the existing Congress constitution minus the objective part of it.

MR. AJIT PRASAD JAIN moved an amendment which sought to substitute the following as the object of the Congress: 'The object of the Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment of a Socialist Republic wherein there shall be equality of wealth and of political economic, and social rights, and no exploitation of man by man, and which shall aim at world peace and fellowship.'

MAULVI ABDUL GHANI characterised the resolution as one intended to stifle the progressive forces in the Congress. By including the Indian States in the resolution, the Congress opened itself to forces of reaction and communalism.

DR. KESKAR said that most of the members were under the impression that the resolution regarding the constitution would not be taken up at the current session. Otherwise a number of members would have come to participate in the discussion. The introduction of adult franchise and the abolition of the four-anna membership involved vital principles, and might entail serious consequences. The problem must, therefore, be considered carefully.

SARDAR MOTA SINGH said that there was no real difference between the Congress ideology and that of the Socialists. Yet there were differences, and some Socialists in Bombay opposed the Congress candidates in the recent elections.

That was a deplorable state of affairs which should be set right, and it could be done by consultation with the Socialist group.

NEHRU'S VIEWS

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, speaking on the proposition, said that he would have preferred the resolution being discussed item by item because it was not a single resolution but a collection of several resolutions. A number of amendments had been moved collectively, and it was difficult to assess all of them jointly. For two years now they had been discussing changes in the Congress constitution. The Committee concerned had changed its draft twice or thrice because it was a complicated question, and further there was no decision on the fundamentals.

Gandhiji had suggested that adult franchise should be introduced in the Congress, but the Committee was unable to accept it *in toto*.

The reason why they could not come to a decision was the organisation as such had appeared to have lost the requisite sense of decisiveness. Some 20 years ago they had not such a big resolution, and yet they had functioned effectively.

Eighteen months ago Gandhiji had suggested the abolition of the four-anna membership and the introduction of adult franchise. This entailed a danger as well, but that danger had to be faced and overcome. The four-anna membership had led to corruption, and a general toning down of the organisation.

Referring to the Indian States, Pandit Nehru pointed out that formerly there was a wall between the Indian States and the rest of India, and, therefore, the Congress had to function differently. But now that wall had been demolished.

Pandit Nehru said that the amendment suggesting the raising of the age from 18 to 21 for Congress membership would be acceptable because even in the new constitution for the country the age prescribed for voters was 21 years.

All the amendments were defeated by overwhelming majorities.

The fundamental principles recommended by the Working Committee as the basis for the new constitution of the Congress were adopted except for an amendment in regard to the franchise which raised the age from 18 to 21.

MAHATMA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

Two resolutions, one for the need to establish communal harmony and achieve, as a result of Gandhiji's death, what was not fully achieved during his life-time, and the other

to constitute a National Memorial Fund for Gandhiji were adopted by the Congress Working Committee, on February 6, 1948.

The Memorial Fund will be utilised for constructive activities on an all-India basis, and also to collect, preserve, and publish Gandhiji's writings and to maintain a museum.

A call was also made to purify the Congress organisation at the risk of shrinkage in its membership.

The Congress Working Committee released two resolutions, the first, which is a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi and the other on the creation of a National Memorial Fund to carry on constructive activities on an all-India basis.

Besides the members of the Committee, the Labour Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Food Minister, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Mr. Devadas Gandhi and Presidents of all the Provincial Congress Committees, except Assam and the Central Provinces, attended by special invitation.

It is understood the Committee also discussed the report of the Economic Sub-Committee, matters relating to the new constitution of the Congress, and the general political situation, with particular reference to the stand of the Congress. The concensus of opinion was that loose ends had to be tied up within the organisation itself, and a general declaration of policy of the Congress was considered essential.

It is generally recognised that the need of the hour was unity within the rank and file, and it is possible that during the forthcoming A.-I. C. C. session, a well-considered statement on this subject may be adopted.

The following is the text of the first resolution:

'The Committee places on record its sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. The foul deed is indicative of the communal poison which has been sedulously propagated for years in this country, and has recently caused reactions, and gained adherents even in circles which were immune before. It was against the spread of this poison and to establish peace and harmony that Gandhiji pitched the whole might of his great personality and risked his life by undertaking an unlimited fast shortly before his tragic murder. That fast was terminated on the sixth day when pledges were given to ensure that Muslims could live with honour and security in India.

The Committee feels that the communal poison must be eradicated if the nation has to live, grow, and prosper.

The world-wide reaction to Mahatma Gandhi's death places on India a special responsibility of fulfilling his last wish. It is, therefore, necessary to make a supreme effort to establish communal harmony, and thus achieve, as a result of his death, what was not fully achieved during his life-time.

The Committee calls upon all Congressmen and organisations to initiate and carry on an intensive drive against communalism by removing causes of friction, by ensuring to all minorities equal rights of citizenship, and by organising fraternisation among members of all communities.

More than any outward demonstration is required, a change in the mental attitude of the people at large.

The Committee asks the Government to take note of forces of hatred and violence at action in the open or in the dark to disrupt the roots of social life and take action to counteract them. It is also necessary that confidence should be created in the people that the State

is ready and prepared to preserve and protect all its citizens irrespective of caste and creed, and to meet all emergencies. All private armies or like formations should be forbidden, and organisations based on religion* for political ends discouraged.

To become an effective instrument to carry out the heavy and responsible duty which devolves upon the Congress, it should set its own house in order, and the Committee calls upon Congressmen to purify the organisation even at the risk of shrinkage of the extent of its membership.

It should be remembered that, during his last days, Gandhiji was distressed by the fall in the standard of conduct of Congressmen, which he expressed in unambiguous language at the time of his last fast. It is up to every worker of the Congress to exercise introspection, and help the great organisation, which has been built up during the course of years at a tremendous sacrifice, and to recover and re-establish the standard which Gandhiji had set before it.

Possession of power should make Congressmen sober and humble. They should realise their responsibility, and turn themselves into fit servants of the people.'

The following is the text of the second resolution:

'Mahatma Gandhi's imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. Succeeding generations will look up to them and find inspiration for them. No more fitting memorial can be raised to his memory which can never fade away. Nevertheless, there is a duty cast upon all his countrymen, as well as others, to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly. That

constructive work aimed at bettering the condition of the people of India as a whole, and more particularly the scores of millions who live in India's villages, morally, culturally, and in the social and economic sphere.

The Committee is, therefore, of the opinion that a National Memorial Fund be started with the object of carrying on these constructive activities on an all-India basis. This Fund may also be used to collect, preserve, and publish his writings and teachings in various languages, and to maintain a museum where articles connected with Gandhiji may be preserved.

The main purpose of the Fund, will, however, be to further the manifold constructive activities in which Gandhiji was interested, and such other activities of a like nature which give concrete shape to his ideas.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to contribute to this National Memorial Fund, and suggest that each individual should give at least 10 days' income to it. The method of utilising this Fund will be decided subsequently by a representative meeting of those interested in it, who will also choose Trustees and a Managing Committee.

The major part of the Fund will, as a rule, be kept apart for use in the Province or State where it is collected, and donors may earmark their contributions for specific items in the constructive programme. Details as to the use and management of the Fund will be decided by the Managing Committee subsequently.

Meanwhile, the Committee authorises the President of the Congress to take all preliminary steps, including the appointment of a provisional committee to launch this fund. The President will also appoint a provisional Secretary of the Fund, and will indicate the banks which will receive contributions.'

PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY'S TRIBUTE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

In the first Budget session of the Pakistan Legislative Assembly held on February 23, 1948, at which Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah presided, the House recorded its grief at the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The Leader of the House, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, asked the President to send a message of sympathy and deep sorrow to the people of India in their bereavement.

JINNAH'S TRIBUTE

Mr. Jinnah associated himself with the message and said: 'I have heard the deep expressions of sorrow and grief. I associate myself in the tributes that have been paid to this great man.

He died in the discharge of the duty in which he believed. He was a man of principles, and when he was convinced that it was his duty, he performed it.

His tragic death, however much we may deplore and condemn, was a noble death for he died in the discharge of his duty.

I will convey the message of the Prime Minister to the Indian people.'

What is perhaps THE LAST PUBLIC DOCUMENT WRITTEN BY MAHATMA GANDHI, a new constitution for the Congress, was released on February 7, 1948, by Acharya Jugal Kishore, General Secretary of the Congress. He said:

'In the forenoon, I went to Birla House, and got a copy of the typed draft. Mr. Shanker Rao Deo and myself wanted to meet him to discuss some of the points contained in that draft, but before we could meet him the assassin's bullet had ended his earthly life.

This draft is now being placed before the public. It relates to the future of the Congress about which he had become apprehensive because of the deterioration that was overtaking it. He wanted to stop the rot, and divert the Congress once more into a channel for effective and selfless service of the people, as he once before, in 1920, changed it into an effective instrument to fight successfully foreign domination and raise the moral standard of the people. How far we, who are left behind to shoulder the responsibilities of serving our people, are worthy of it, depends upon how much of his spirit and advice we are able to imbibe and follow.

TEN CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of **Khaddi** made from a self-spun yarn or certified by the A.I.S.A.,* and must be a teetotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family. He must be a believer in the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions, and equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

5. He shall organise the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.

6. He shall educate the village-folk in sanitation and hygiene, and take all measures for prevention of ill-health and disease among them.

* All-India Spinners' Association.

7. He shall organise the education of village-folk birth-to-death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters roll are duly entered therein.

9. He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification to acquire it, to get the right of franchise.

10. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies: 1. The All-India Spinners' Association; 2. the All-India Village Industries Association; 3. the Hindustani Talimi Sangh; 4. the Harijan Sevak Sangh; and 5. the Goseva Sangh.

The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man's pice.'

This was dated January 29, 1948, the day previous to his assassination.

GANDHIJI'S LAST MEAL

The last meal that Gandhiji took on Friday afternoon, about half an hour before his death, consisted of goat's milk, vegetable soup, and about three oranges. These were served to him by his Harijan servant, Hari Ram, helped by Mrs. Ava Gandhi.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S WILL

Mahatma Gandhi's will, which was originally made in Gujarati, on February 20, 1940, said: 'This should be considered my last will, superseding whatever wills I might

have made before. I do not think I have any property, but I hereby declare Navajivan Trust, whose declaration of trust I registered with Mr. M. M. Bhatt on November 26, 1929, with Sardar Patel, Mr. M. H. Desai and Mr. N. D. Parikh as Trustees as the heir of whatever movable or immovable is considered belonging to me by law or practice, and I hereby assign to it the copyright of all the books written, or to be written, by me and all my writings published or unpublished.

The Navajivan Trust should give every year to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for Harijan service 25 per cent of the net profit out of the sale or copyright of those books.

I appoint Mr. M. H. Desai and Mr. N. D. Parikh as the executors of this will. Either of them will act for the other in his absence, death or otherwise.'

This will was produced in the District Court, Ahmedabad, on March 24, 1949, by one of the executors of the will who applied for probate.

PART II

CHAPTER VI

Aim of the British Rule in India

On many occasions charges have been levelled at the British administration in India as being imperialistic, incompetent, and even dishonest, and it was alleged that the British Government were merely exploiting India for their own benefit.

Mahatma Gandhi, having failed in his attempts to bring the Britishers to a reasonable frame of mind in the matter of popular Government in India, appealed to them, in May 1942, to quit India. Three months afterwards, on August 8, 1942, he addressed the All-India Congress Committee's Session at Bombay on the 'Quit India' Resolution, for which act Mahatma and his associates were arrested and interned during Lord Linlithgow's Viceroyalty. It must be remembered, however, that this Resolution was passed during the time when Britain was engaged in a death struggle with Germany and when Japan was almost on the borders of India ready for an invasion. In the view of the Government, such a resolution was importune when there was a large army of British troops in India.

It would not be therefore inappropriate if I gave a short account of the circumstances under which the British supremacy was established in India. Mahatma Gandhi has several times declared that he was not anti-British and I quote passages, for the information of my readers, from his utterances made on different occasions.

- (a) 'No Indian has ever co-operated with the British Government more than I have for an unbroken period of 29 years of public life in the face of circumstances that might well have turned any other man as a rebel.' (27th Oct. 1920)
- (b) 'No one will accuse me of any anti-English tendency. Indeed, I pride myself on my discrimination. I have

thankfully copied many things from them. Punctuality, reticence, public hygiene, independent thinking, and exercise of judgement, and several other things I owe to my association with them.' (6th Mar. 1930).

- (c) 'My faith in human nature is irrepressible, and even under the circumstances of a most adverse character, I have found Englishmen amenable to reason and persuasion, and as they always wish to appear to be just even when they are in reality unjust, it is easier to shame them than others into doing the right thing.' (7th Jan. 1920).
- (d) 'I put my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire; at the time of the Boer War, when I was in charge of the Ambulance Corps whose work was mentioned in General Buller's despatches; at the time of the Zulu Revolt in Natal, when I was in charge of a similar Corps; at the time of the commencement of the War (1914-18), when I raised an Ambulance Corps in London, and as a result of the strenuous training had a severe attack of pleurisy; and lastly, in fulfilment of my promise to Lord Chelmsford (Viceroy of India) at the War Conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active recruiting campaign in Kaira District, involving long and trying marches, that I had an attack of dysentery which proved almost fatal. I did all this in the full belief that acts such as mine must gain for my country an equal status in the Empire.' (27th Oct. 1920).
- (e) 'India's greatest glory will consist not in regarding Englishmen as her implacable enemies fit only to be turned out of India at the first available opportunity, but in turning them into friends and partners in a new commonwealth of nations in the place of an Empire based upon exploitation of the weaker or undeveloped nations and races of the earth and therefore based upon force.' (5th Jan. 1922).

It is probable that some of my readers may be under the wrong impression that the Britishers came to India with a deliberate intention of conquering it. They had certainly no ambition whatever of establishing themselves as rulers in India, such as Alexander the Great of Macedon and subsequent Muslim invaders. The wealth of India

tempted the Greek and Muslim invaders. The first batch of Britishers came as traders and not as invaders. As a matter of fact, the King of England prohibited his subjects to visit or trade in the East Indies without his authority. The Charter granted in 1661 by King Charles II gave permission to a Company of Merchants to trade in the East. It said:

'We of our ample and abundant Grace have granted the Company of Merchants Trading in the East Indies that they and their Successors shall forever hereafter have the whole intire and only trade and the whole intire and only liberty, use and privilege of trading to the East Indies. And all other our Subjects we prohibit to visit or trade in the East Indies by virtue of our Prerogative Royal.'

This Company was called the East India Company. No one who did not belong to this company could trade in India, Burma, Siam, and other countries in the Far East. We can understand the enormous profit this company must have been making and it was said that the dividends ranged between 20 and 25 per cent. The shares in this company were held by a limited number of people who had great influence with the king. Charles II was an impecunious king and it was calculated that the total value of presents and bonus received by him between the years 1660 and 1680 exceeded £300,000. The company also gave the king, his ministers, and priests large presents of gold plate, diamonds, and bags of guineas. A strong company like this, with the king's authority behind it, was an influential force in India and in the Eastern countries. In 1675 the stock value of the company was computed at about two million pounds sterling and only 40 persons owned the majority of shares. At this period the French people were also trading in India.

India is a continent rather than a country, nearly as big as Europe minus Russia. Its inhabitants are varied in customs and manners, and also in dress. There were

many Rajahs and Nawabs, Muslims, and Hindus, constantly quarrelling with each other for supremacy. Then the decay of the Moghul power started, endangering the government in India. The intrigues of the French people on the East coast in India forced the officers of the East India Company to assume responsibility for the good government of the country as they had settlements in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. The Company had to safeguard their trade interests and their factories established at great cost. The Directors of the Company in London were reluctant to assume any territorial responsibility but the officers of the Company in India knew their position better and did not desire to submit to the French people's intrigues. The British adventurer, Robert Clive, took a prominent part in defeating the Frenchman, Dupleix, who was recalled to France by the orders of the King of France. Eventually the Company became the paramount power in India. It would not be incorrect to say that India became a dependency of Britain by a mere accident or force of circumstances.

In some instances, the rule of the Rajahs became so inefficient that they allowed invasion by less powerful neighbours. An example of this can be gathered by the annexation of Assam by a small State like Burma in 1821-22. There were also grave abuses by the officers of the Company in India. The absurdity of trying to govern a great kingdom by a Trading Company was pointed out to the Directors of the Company in England. In the best of countries, few men are inspired with so large a share of public virtue as to sacrifice their personal interests. There was corruption among some of the officers of the Company. Parliament had to intervene. And the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 roused the British Government and the people of England to a sense of their responsibility for British rule in India. The British Parliament passed a Bill for the Better Government of India and the Company

was superseded. The administration of India was transferred from the Board of Directors of the Company to the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet. The Directors of the Company, before being superseded by the Crown, put the case for their administration before Parliament in the following terms:

'They feel complete assurance that the more attention is bestowed, and the more light is thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it will become that the government in which they have borne a part, has been not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind; that during the last and present generations in particular, it has been, in all departments, one of the most rapidly improving governments in the world.'

Finally when the Act for the Better Government of India was passed by the Parliament, the Board of Directors offered to Queen Victoria an Empire in these touching words, 'worthy of a great occasion:

'Let Her Majesty appreciate the gift—let her take the vast territory and the teeming millions of India under her direct control. But let her not forget the great Corporation from which she has received them, nor the lessons to be learned from its success.'

At this stage, let us consider for a moment why the East India Company, though they established factories in Burma and Siam at about the same time as they did in India, did not conceive the idea of conquering these two independent countries, though they were much smaller in size than India. The answer must be obvious to any right-thinking person. These two countries were governed by their own kings and there was some unity among the people. There was no need for an outsider to interfere with the administration. But in India there were several Rajahs fighting among themselves and there was much intriguing in their Courts. The trade interests of the British were in jeopardy. They had invested lot of money in India and wanted some safeguards for their investments.

The British found the Indian soil very fertile for sowing the seeds of a Union of India. In this attempt they succeeded. The plant of a United India took firm root and the British were able to bring order out of chaos, though during this process, it must be admitted, they used at times needlessly harsh methods. There were also instances of treason and treachery among some of the British officers. The administration of India passed into one Corporation, the East India Company, to whom all the Rajahs and Chiefs of States were formally made subordinate. But the British treated the Nawabs and Rajahs generously, regarded them as friends, and allowed them to retain all the princely honours and status which they enjoyed before Britain became a Sovereign power. The Government took, however, precautions by appointing Residents or Agents of the Governor-General to see that the Princes governed the States well and did not spend their State revenues extravagantly, as is usually the practice among oriental Princes.

It was no easy achievement for an handful of Englishmen to conquer a distant and populous country inhabited by people of divers habits and languages and to administer it peacefully for nearly two centuries with tolerance, forbearance, and humanity. In spite of several drawbacks in the Indian administration, it must be conceded by even the severest critics that the Britishers made a genuine attempt to establish a rule based on justice and impartiality. Many Indians are not unaware of what they owe to England and to the liberal English education they had both in India and in England.

One of the good points of the Britisher is that he will tackle any job entrusted to him with determination and success. A few instances are given. The first Governor-General appointed by the Court of the Directors of the Company was Warren Hastings, the greatest of Anglo-Indian rulers. He knew nothing about the complex

revenue system of India but learnt 'the whole science' from its rudiments. This was not an easy task in the days when no books of reference existed. He had to learn everything out of files written in the Persian language. He even found time to read, and to take an interest in the interpretation of the *Bhagavat Gita*. Another Governor-General, Marquess of Hastings (1813—23), never went to the hills and never failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning. The same compliment must be paid to almost every British officer in India. Many people in this country are under the erroneous impression that Collectors and Governors are merely signing machines. I have been intimately connected with British officers for a number of years and the amount of work turned out by them amazed me sometimes. No detail would escape their notice.

Up to the date of Queen Victoria's Proclamation was announced on November 1, 1858, the government of the country was engaged in waging wars and putting down rebellion in many places. Such a state of affairs was inevitable in a big country like India. The chief wars were the Rohilla war, the Mysore war, the Maratha war, the Afghan war, and the Burmese war. The principal social reforms made during this long period of administration were the abolition of suttee, suppression of thuggee, and the abolition of slavery.

By the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the Crown, we come to the second stage of the British administration in India. A separate Minister of the Cabinet rank, called the Secretary of State for India, was appointed by the Crown, whose duty was to devote his whole time to look after the administrative affairs of India. He was a liaison officer between the Viceroy and Sovereign. Some of the salient paragraphs of the Queen's manifesto are quoted here:

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

During the last century, developments in the good government of India have been taking place, steadily but cautiously. The British administrators in India are noted for their cautiousness in launching out any big scheme and this cautiousness sometimes leads to tardiness. The Britishers, except when they are in a battle field, are never in a hurry to do big things. In support of my view I have included two foot-notes.* For example, the Mettur

* (1) The Earl of Halifax, a former Viceroy of India, speaking on the transfer of Power in India, at a dinner of the Indian Civil Service, said on June 11, 1948:

'Many, perhaps, would have thought that some of the immediate and tragic consequences that followed might have been avoided if the final stages had been less swift, and if the steel frame had been maintained until the new mould had had more time to set.

Others felt India could have been spared the necessity of paying for its final stages of independence in the hard, and as yet not completely tested currency of partition.

Dam project was on the anvil for nearly half a century before it took final shape. If left to themselves, they

Lord Halifax paid a tribute to the courage, resilience, and enthusiasm of the last British Viceroy, and spoke in high terms of the Indian Civil Service which was incorruptible and indefatigable, and had won the trust and confidence of the humblest citizens of India.

The Service had achieved political unity, impartiality of law, security of defence, and growing immunity from famine and disease.

(2) The Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations replied on July 7, 1948, to the statement of the Commonwealth Relations Office in London absolving Lord Mountbatten, of blame for the post-partition events in the Punjab.

The statement said, the plea that the decision not to take action against the Sikh leaders was reached after discussion with the then Governor of the Punjab, and had the approval of the British Government, cannot absolve Lord Mountbatten of the main responsibility for it. For, though the Governor was constitutionally responsible for the security of the Province, his responsibility was subject to the responsibility and authority of the Governor-General.

Referring to the question whether partition was forced too quickly, the Pakistan Ministry said:

'Surely, if, in fact, partition was too quickly forced, as is now only too disastrously patent, the plea that the British Government accepted the time-table laid down by Lord Mountbatten would not alter that fact. A somewhat lame excuse is added that the time-table had been worked out in close consultation with the respective leaders of the two new Dominions. So far as the Muslim League leaders were concerned, they were left no choice in the matter. It was repeatedly and emphatically urged on their behalf that the period allowed was wholly inadequate for a peaceful and satisfactory transfer of power.

In utter disregard of this advice, Aug. 15, 1947, was fixed, undoubtedly at the insistence of Lord Mountbatten, as the date for the final transfer of power. Even after this date was fixed, it continued to be most strongly urged on behalf of the Muslim League leader that the British Government should not divest itself of ultimate responsibility till the transfer of power was completed, and in particular, till the reconstitution of the Armed Forces between the two Dominions had been accomplished. The series of events which followed close upon the transfer of power have demonstrated only too tragically the soundness of this view, which was rejected by Lord Mountbatten, presumably with the approval of the British Government.'

would have never agreed to the partition of India which resulted in the ruin of that fertile land, the Punjab and its people. They would have found some plausible excuse for postponing the scheme. Gandhiji was always opposed to India and Pakistan becoming two separate Dominions, and when he knew partition had been accepted, he despaired of the future.

The number of people who were forced to leave their ancestral homes in search of new ones both in the Punjab and Bengal exceeded five million, an event unprecedented in history. Do you think that the British would have allowed such a monstrosity to take place had they been allowed to continue in charge of the administration even after the division of India into two Dominions? The hasty withdrawal of the British army and the division of the armed forces weakened the ability of both Dominions to control violence. I still remember the salutary effect the appearance of the British troops on the streets of Rangoon had during the Indo-Burmo riots in 1930, when the Police was unable to control them. The rioting subsided almost by magic. Who will not admire the manner in which our little next door neighbour, Ceylon, attained her independence? We must have great admiration for the British and the Ceylonese people for the way the former transferred their power and for the latter establishing it without a single untoward incident. The six million people of many races and faiths, Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Europeans now live in perfect peace and contentment. This peaceful atmosphere is due to the absence of caste and communal differences which are the curse of India.

I have been in Government service for over 30 years and can say, without being contradicted, that the policy of Government in all departments was generally to develop the country on right lines and to bring contentment to the common man. The work done by the Government

of India is perhaps the most extensive of any great administration in the world. The country is huge extending from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Bombay to Calcutta. In times of famine, it undertakes relief work on an extensive scale, unknown in any part of the world. Its system of railways helps the transport of food to deficit areas in an incredibly short time. Let us consider for a moment what would have been the fate of Madras Province where a shortage of 2 million tons of food grains was reported on account of the failure of the north-east monsoon rains, in 1947, over an area of 50,000 square miles affecting a population of 20 million people actually facing famine conditions. The British administrators in India, on the experience gained in the past famines, have made such an elaborate Famine Code that very few people will be allowed to starve. To fight against nature, the Government has constructed many irrigation works. The mighty rivers, Indus, Ganges, Irrawaddy, Godavari, Kaveri, and Brahmaputra are now spanned by railway bridges as securely as small water courses are crossed by culverts. Magnificent harbours have been built in Karachi, Bombay, Cochin, Madras, Calcutta, and Rangoon. Roads and railways climb the steep passes of the ghats. The skill of the British engineers could only be appreciated by seeing the mountain railways and roads. The development of our forests has been done on a scientific basis and the revenue derived from Government forest property is worth several million rupees. The management of the post, telegraph, and telephone system has been admirable. Many universities and colleges have been established. Some of the medical institutions in this country are known throughout the world for their efficiency. Epidemics of cholera have decreased appreciably owing to protected water supply. The introduction of vaccination and plague inoculation has done wonders and has reduced the death roll to a negligible figure. Law and order in India

is the pride of the British administration. The Indian Penal Code has been regarded by many jurists as the best drafted code in the world. Britain has given India justice such as the East has never known before; she has laid deep the foundations of justice in great legal codes. Whatever unfriendly critics might say about the British exploitation of India, it must be conceded that England had established the reign of law and sent out generations of upright officers to judge the people righteously. The British rule had ensured justice, rescued the dumb millions from oppression and arbitrary caprice.

Mr. M. K. Munshi, ex-Law Minister of Bombay, a prominent Congressite, and one of the leading lawyers in India, while unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Bar Association in Hyderabad, on January 23, 1949, paid a glowing tribute to the British legal system and said that India owed a great deal to Britain for the introduction of an independent and impartial judicial system, which had grown with time, and in the British traditions of legal administration. One could not forget, he added, that the legal system of Britain had been one of the greatest contributions of the Anglo-Saxon race not only to India but to the World. He acknowledged that British lawyers and British Judges had contributed as much to the upholding of the sacredness of the Judiciary in India as anyone else in the world.

All these improvements could have been possible only by the institution of a strong Central Government. The British Government foresaw the disadvantages inherent in loosely administered Native States and never allowed them and the Governors' Provinces to act independently in all important matters without the previous approval of the Central Government. By adopting this wise policy, the Government were able to ensure a uniform procedure throughout India in all essential matters and progress in all directions was steady.

It has been the aim of the British Government to hand over the responsibility of the Government of India to her people. Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras (1820—27), one of the greatest of the British administrators, declared that the ultimate aim of the British rule in India was to lead up to a fully self-governing India. Sixty years later, in 1880, Lord Ripon, Viceroy of India, introduced the scheme of local self-government, based on the creation of District Boards and subordinate bodies, modelled more or less closely on the English system of County Councils and Rural District Boards. He avowed that 'it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education. His Excellency-in-Council has himself no doubt that, in the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely on local administration, improved efficiency will, in fact, follow'.

Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, speaking at the Chelmsford Club Dinner at Simla on June 27, 1931, declared:

'We are all working rapidly towards the time when Indians will take over the administration of their own affairs, to the time when they will become absolutely equal partners with the other Dominions under the Crown.'

Lord Halifax, ex-Viceroy of India, when he was British Ambassador to the United States in 1946, stated that the British policy in India had aimed at India's self-government for the last 40 years.

At the 1920 annual Conference of the Labour Party in England, nearly 30 years ago, the Chairman addressed the meeting in these terms:

'I welcome the Empire in so far as it is a Commonwealth of Free Nations bound together by ties of blood

and friendly co-operation. But for an Empire held together by force I have no use. I do not believe that British Labour is prepared to stir a finger for its maintenance, and I believe the day is coming when no people will be content to rule another, or to be ruled by another, and for that day the British Labour Movement works.' That day came, when in 1946, a Labour Prime Minister said in the House of Commons: 'We do not desire to retain within the Commonwealth and Empire any unwilling peoples.'

The promises implied in the solemn declaration by Queen Victoria and Parliament regarding non-distinction whatsoever in the matter of high State appointments were redeemed gradually and cautiously, perhaps too slowly to satisfy impatient reformers. Nearly 30 years ago, a gentleman of Indian birth was created a Baron and he was appointed as a Governor of a Province. He was Lord Sinha. Among the acting Governors, were Nawab of Chattari, Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Sir Joseph Maung Gyi, Sir Muhammad Usman, Sir K. V. Reddi Nayudu. Many other Indian gentlemen were sharing in all the highest executive and judicial offices, excepting only the post of Governor-General. Most of the European officers were replaced by Indian officers. It is to be admitted that the earlier British officers, particularly those belonging to the Indian Civil Service, were better able to manage the affairs of the country than their Indian counterparts, on account of their superior English education in the well-equipped universities of European countries. There were none among the Indians to take charge of technical departments such as Forests, Railways, Telegraphs, Medicine, Engineering, and Electricity. It was only natural that all these departments were manned by European officers of high qualifications. The task of reforming and reconstructing the dilapidated fabric of a vast country like India with several Indian

States was not an easy one. It had taken many years of hard work to bring India to a reasonable state of efficiency. And the training of Indians for responsible positions of District Officers must take its own time. Every step in the training of Indian Officers to fit them to take up responsible positions was taken with great caution and the speed of Indianisation of services was necessarily slow. The government of the Governors' Provinces was not a difficult task because almost all the Provinces were following one set of rules framed by the Central Government. But the management of several Indian States, each with its own peculiar problems to solve, was a difficult job, because each State had its own ideas of Government and the Viceroy had to deal with each State with considerable tact and diplomacy. The difficulty of dealing with the Indian States should be apparent to any one who sees with his own eyes, after the declaration of India's independence, what was happening in Junagadh, Kashmir, and Hyderabad. Troops had to be used in Kashmir and there has been much needless carnage. It is a compliment to the Britisher that he has been able to maintain discipline and order in the Indian States during his long period of government.

Countless rules, regulations, and codes have been prepared for observance in every department of government and endless corrections are being made to the codes as a result of experience. We have now a perfect form of government which is the envy of the world. The system of government evolved by the British was so perfect that the Indian National Government, when they took over charge, found the machinery of government so smooth that it did not even require oiling. Even the black-bordered *Gazette Extraordinary* issued by the Government of India on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's demise was in accordance with the British procedure. There can be no

doubt that the motive behind the British Government was always the transfer of power to Indian hands and towards this motive they have been working all these years. The British Government have been wanting to give India a Dominion status. And Mr. Winston Churchill, while he was Prime Minister, stated that he did not take up the reins of Government to liquidate the British Empire. His aim was to keep India as a member of the British Commonwealth, because he believed that the safety of India lay under the protective wings of the British Empire.* But the Labour Government went a step further and said they did not desire to retain within the Commonwealth any unwilling peoples. I am a nationalist of moderate views and love, like any other human being, freedom of my country. The fact that I have been a Government servant for a long number of years has not changed my view of a free India. But I was in favour of slow advancement towards the goal by constitutional methods.

In contrast to India, Ceylon and Burma achieved their freedom by different paths. The striking fact about Ceylon's transition to liberty has been its painlessness. In Burma the Japanese conquest gave that country her freedom much earlier than the Burmese expected, but before ever the freedom came her way, her chief actor in the political drama along with six other ministers was murdered by her own people. In Ceylon not a single soul was sacrificed before her freedom was won. She adopted the procedure followed by Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The Ceylonese have advanced from bureaucratic Government

* Dr. M. R. Jayakar, P. C., and Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, in a joint statement on the issue whether the Indian Union should remain within the British Commonwealth or not, declared on May 2, 1948: "Separation may satisfy our present feelings of resentment or national elation, but will not lead to the greater security of our newly-created status or to its rapid growth."

to representative institutions gradually widening into complete responsibility. Here there is something to be said in praise of the Ceylonese. They adopted a peaceful method and constitutional development has followed much more closely the path of gradual extension of power.

There were, however, many drawbacks in the British administration of India. What galled Indians most, though it was subconscious and not always expressed, was the air of superiority assumed by Europeans. British defence policy had been marked by distrust of Indians none of whom could get a King's Commission, and although a more liberal policy was introduced during World War II, the past could not be forgotten easily. But the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was always foremost in the minds of the Army authorities whenever the question of recruitment of Indian Officers for the Army was discussed. It was only human nature and British administrators could not be much blamed for their unsympathetic attitude in the matter.

The low standard of living and poverty of the common people are matters which were left unfinished during the British administration of the country. Perhaps next to China, the Indian standard of living is the lowest in the world. But in China there has been no stable Government for many years, but in India a perfect form of Government was maintained for many years and it is a disgrace to the country that her people should be so poor. The wages of the labourers were very low before the war. It does not appear to me fair to blame the British people for the poverty of India. No one can deny the fact that ruthless exploitation of the weak by the strong is still the order in India. I remember the days when poor labourers were paid only 2 annas (2d.) a day, not even sufficient to buy one full meal. This was sweated labour. The well-to-do Indians were responsible for this. They enriched themselves at the expense of poor labourers who

were treated like slaves and who dared not ask for better wages. The labourers have now learnt to assert their rights and to demand better wages. It is hoped that the present high level of wages would be maintained in future. It was refreshing to note that Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, speaking on the occasion of the Delhi University Silver Jubilee celebration on March 7, 1948, said that the new Government's main policy was to endeavour to raise the standard of living of the common people. At the ceremony of the presentation of the flag of Indian Union to the Bishop Cotton School at Simla on May 21, 1948, Lord Mountbatten reiterated that the main policy of the Government of India was concerned with the country's future development by raising the standard of living of the crores of people living in miserable hovels, ill-clad, and undernourished, and by making enough wealth available to enable poor people to get a decent wage so that they can buy enough food and clothes and other amenities.

The pay of the Government servants, particularly in the lower ranks, is very low * and it requires much improvement. We cannot raise the standard of living of poor people without a substantial increase in the pay of Government and Municipal servants. Mrs. M. W. Nicol, M.P., who visited India in 1946 as a member of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation, in addressing a meeting in London, said: 'The people of India are poor, because they accept poverty. They will not attain higher standards until they are educated to demand them. How is that to be done if teachers are so poorly paid? Clearly one of the most important services in India is teaching, but it ranks among the lowest paid

* To this view, I find support in Nehru's, 'The Discovery of India.' On page 184 of his book, speaking of the late Srinivāsa Ramanujam, who was employed as a clerk in the Madras Port Trust, he says: 'A clerkship in some office on a pay that is usually far less than the unemployment dole in England.'

jobs in that country. The under-graduate teacher receives only Rs. 20, and the graduate teacher is paid between Rs. 80 and Rs. 100 monthly. Good food and good books are essential for teachers, and they should be paid enough to enable them to lead a truly cultural life.' The Governor of a Province has said on many occasions that the people generally should be well-paid. It was the right policy. If they did not keep a man satisfied morally and physically, he was not going to do his work as well as he could. I was glad to observe that Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, made a pointed reference to the lowness of the pay of Government servants, in his Dacca University Convocation address of March 1948. He said: 'Our experience is that an M.A. earns less than a taxi-driver and most of the so-called Government servants are living in a more miserable manner than many menial servants, who are employed by well-to-do people.'

Mr. H. Heap of the British Information Service, at a meeting held in Madras on February 21, 1948, spoke on 'Corruption and the way it is tackled in England'. He said: 'Corruption was not so rampant in England as in some other countries and it could be said that it was an exception rather than a rule in England. Wherever it existed it was promptly exposed by the Press. It should be remembered that no one in England was vested with absolute powers which often led to corruption. The methods by which corruption was tackled in England included the permanent nature of officials, provision of appeals against dismissal of an official on political grounds, safeguards against nepotism, parliament censuring corrupt persons, severe penalties for corruptions, etc. The Government ensured the workers good pay and conditions of work, which kept them above corruption.'

For the lowness of pay in government offices and railways, our own Indian officers, who advised the European

officers, were responsible. This view is based on my personal knowledge gained in Government offices. In Commercial European firms the rate of pay was fixed on the scale given in Government departments. European officers, who finally fixed the pay of Indian officials, did not know the standard of living of Indians and they relied entirely on the advice given by their Indian subordinate officers. In eastern countries, India, Burma, China, and Siam for many generations, before the advent of the British regime, no proper salaries were paid to the Government officials who had to get as much as they could out of the people. The habit of giving free supplies to Government officials has been ingrained so deeply in the people that it is difficult to shake off this habit. And this custom has been continued unauthorisedly even during the British rule. About 50 years ago the pay of a police constable was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 6, but he had the power of arresting and handcuffing a person suspected of having committed a crime. In these circumstances could it have been possible for a policeman to resist a tip of Rs. 10 for not handcuffing a person? It was an impossible position; even the angels would not be able to resist the temptation. This custom has taken deep root in the country and could not be eradicated even after the pay has been raised. Similarly sub-magistrates were paid ridiculously small salaries and they could use their discretion in the matter of granting bail to accused persons. And in India, going to jail is a great disgrace and a person who is imprisoned would be treated as an outcaste. People were only too willing to offer bribes to escape imprisonment; and the magistrates were given discretionary powers which they could abuse without much trouble and detection. No British graduate was appointed on less than Rs. 350 and in addition to this he got overseas pay, in all about Rs. 500 a month, but an Indian graduate with an equal educational qualification is started on about Rs. 50 a month.

The plea of the Government, as they said in the case of non-gazetted officers recently in Madras, would be financial stringency. The whole system of taxation in India requires overhauling on a scientific basis so that the standard of living may be raised to a reasonable level. Mahatma Gandhi, in one of his prayer meetings, deplored that corruption and bribery were on the increase after the grant of independence to India.

And yet another reform is the restoration of agricultural lands to the dispossessed cultivators. This is a problem which should not be postponed indefinitely as agrarian troubles might start at any moment in this country as it happened in 1921, in Malabar. A young country like Burma has already tackled this problem soon after the grant of independence to that country; no one is allowed to possess more land than he could cultivate himself. Some attempt has been made in some provinces restricting the alienation of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. In the Madras Province recently the Zamindari system was abolished. The same principle might be applied to lands possessed by absentee landlords. In the past, agricultural lands seem to have passed from the hands of cultivators to rich banias and traders, and to men of the legal profession. Owing to the absence of heavy industries in India, people who had money found money-lending a simpler method of earning money by lending their surplus money to needy cultivators at exorbitant rates of interest. For such loans, lands were demanded as securities and when cultivators failed to pay back their loans, foreclosures of mortgaged lands were made. And lawyers took lands as their fees from litigants. This process was going on for several years and the British Government took no notice of the poverty of cultivators. Eventually money-lenders and lawyers became rich landholders at the expense of farmers. And farmers became

tenants and labourers. How then have the Brahmans, whose profession is not farming, acquired so much landed property in this country? Many Brahmans of the legal profession and Vysia merchants have become rich landlords. This is all bad agricultural economy as no tenant is going to cultivate the lands as well as he could if he is not the actual owner of the land. If this process is allowed to go on unchecked the production is bound to decrease and there will not be enough food for the steadily rising population of the country.* Apart from this consideration, discontent is bound to generate among the tenants who have been dispossessed of their lands by the rich landlords, leading eventually to agrarian trouble. The idea of communism is spreading rapidly in India and unless this evil of landless farmers is checked in time we may witness agrarian revolt at any moment.†

Owing to the law of inheritance in India, agricultural lands get cut up into tiny plots which become unprofitable

* To this view I find support in Bombay Premier, Mr. B. G. Kher's address, on May, 11, 1918, at the Conference of the Landholders' League, who pleaded for the ending of absentee landlordism, as it permitted men to hold large areas of land who did not themselves cultivate, and were not interested in cultivating it, but only in getting rich at the expense of other people's toil. Mr. Justice Lokur, who presided, stated that the tenant system worked against the improvement of the soil and increased production.

† Several persons sustained injuries including an old Vellala woman whose right hand was smashed in a clash which occurred recently between mirasdars and Harijan kisans in the Manamedu firka in Mayavaram taluq, Tanjore district, Madras Province. The Police proceeding to the spot have arrested two mirasdars, their three farm-servants and about 12 kisans. The situation is said to be tense.

It is reported that the kisans of Putthagaram, Kattakam and Uthayathimangalam, arming themselves with knives and other country-made weapons, blocked the Vellala Street and attacked all

to cultivate in course of time. Perhaps the British law of primogeniture, with certain modifications to suit the conditions in India, might prove a useful remedy. In Germany, under Hitler's Government, a sensible law was passed under which each farm was large enough to give a family enough food, clothes, and all other necessities of life. It also prevented farms from being too big, thus stopping one person buying up too much land and driving others from the land. The farms created by this law cannot be broken up and divided, nor sublet nor pledged to money-lenders in return for loans. In Norway, according to an ancient law, the farm should remain in the possession of the family, descending to eldest son or daughter. Even if the farm is sold to an outsider, the new owner cannot refuse to sell it back should a descendant of the original owner claim the right to buy it. In other European countries such as France, Denmark, tenant-farmers are a minority.

Industries have been neglected very badly in India and the British Government must accept responsibility for their failure in encouraging industries in this country. In some cases they even killed certain industries, such as hand-looms, so that British power-looms industry may thrive; Dacca muslin was famous throughout the world. The famous sailing shipbuilding industry in India which was the craze of experts in other parts of the world died

the houses of mirasdars there. The mirasdars, as well as their womenfolk, were alleged to have been assaulted and beaten.

The Mayavaram Agricultural Association has sent a telegram to the Premier stating that daylight looting had begun in Puthagaram. The Revenue Divisional Officer of Mayavaram has gone to Puthagaram to study the situation.

It is felt here that the unrest was due to the Government's failure to enforce by a statutory order the Mayavaram Agreement reached between the mirasdars and kisan leaders. (*The Mail*, Madras, 7-3-48).

during the British regime; the place of sailing ships was usurped by the British modern steam-ships. At the same time, capitalists were slow in building up industries. If Jamshedji Tata could have managed to build in India the biggest steel factory in the British Empire, which is among the twelve biggest in the world, what were others who had plenty of money at their disposal doing? Why blame the British Government for everything? India has built up her textile industry successfully. Birlas and Dalmias have also built factories for various industries during the British regime.

It must be admitted that, in a sense, the British people were the saviours of India. They succeeded in building up a huge Indian Empire and they were responsible for the unification of India. It was not an easy task for any Government to rebuild a crumpled empire left by the Moghuls in a chaotic condition full of intrigues among the Indian Princes. At times they may have been harsh in quelling rebellion but they were certainly humane in their methods. They were not cruel or ferocious like the Muslim invaders. No Indian Prince, however powerful he may have been, would have been able to bring India under one rule. Past history supports this view. It was inevitable therefore that some outside power was necessary to restore order in India; and of all the European nations, the British were the best administrators as we have seen in the Far East in our generation what the French and the Dutch are doing in Indo-China and Indonesia respectively.

Lord Curzon, who was Viceroy of India for an unusual period of seven years, 1899—1905, and who was regarded as the ablest Viceroy India had, from an administrative point of view, has recorded: 'I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and the West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away To me the message is carved

in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.’

Having pacified India the British administrators were always alive to that part of Queen Victoria’s Proclamation of 1858: ‘In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.’ They always strove to bring peace and contentment to the Indian people. When the power for the Government of India was transferred from the Honourable East India Company to Queen Victoria, the Board of Directors said: ‘Let the Queen not forget the great Corporation from which she has received India, nor the lessons to be learned from its success.’ During the last century, 1858—1948, India has seen many improvements and much prosperity. Though she was a subject country, Britain helped India in her development in various matters, political, educational, and scientific; and India was regarded as the best administered country in the East. The transfer of the Government of India from the British to the Indian hands was made not with any bitterness but with grace, good wishes, and blessing of the King, the Parliament, and the whole British nation. Perhaps the most praiseworthy service Britain did for India was that she saved India the horrors of Japanese invasion. In October 1943, the Japanese enemy was almost on the point of crossing Assam-Burma border. He was poised ready to strike a series of blows which could have been disastrous to India. But the British Military Command, aided by the Indian army, resisted the foe and the invasion of India was checked. Britain gave India back to the Indians intact like a ripe plum. The British Government have every reason to be proud of their administration of this sub-continent, India, and they can repeat with greater pride the words uttered by their predecessors, the East India Company, a century ago in a slightly modified form, thus:

'Let the Indians not forget the great British Government from which they have received back India, nor the many lessons to be learned from their successful administration.'

The success and the good intentions of the British administration of India should be gauged by reading accounts of foreign observers. Whether the British were justified in keeping India as a dependent country for a long number of years cannot be answered without bias, by either an Indian or a Britisher. For this, it would be fairer to take the opinion of a third party. Let us read what Dr. Chia Luen-lo, the Chinese Ambassador to India, said in his broadcast, made on August 25, 1947. He said: 'It is a miracle in the history of mankind that the four hundred million people in this great sub-continent are winning their freedom and independence without fighting a war. It is a happy coincidence that the great-grandson of the first Empress * of India is the last Viceroy † to have worked so assiduously and cheerfully for the transfer of power of a great part of a great Empire to a great people. The dawn of Indian freedom is, I think, an opportune moment for a student of history to say a fair word for the British people, who, as many will agree, are a unique piece of God's creation meant for experimenting political tolerance and adaptability.'

All well-intentioned Britishers and Indians should be glad to know that the prophetic words of Sir Henry Lawrence have at last come true in the blessed year of 1947. His prophecy was: 'We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves . . . as, when the connection ceases, it may do so not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection.'

* Queen Victoria.

† Earl Mountbatten of Burma.

Now that Independence of India has been won, let us keep it and not lose it again through our folly. Let us all remember a song of one of our great poets, a Muslim, Mohammad Iqbal,

The finest country in the world is our India,
We are its nightingales, it is our rose-garden;
The highest mountain-range, the neighbour of the sky,
Is our sentry and our protector;
In its lap play thousands of rivers
Which make of it a garden that is the envy of the
world;
Religion does not teach us to bear enmity towards one
another,
We are Indians and our country is India.

Let us never lose sight of the seventh line in the above verse. If we do that, our India will be a heaven on earth, but if we ignore it, our India will be a hell on earth.

Not only an Indian sang in such high praise of his own country but also great foreign scholars like Max Muller and Romain Rolland, have commented on the greatness of India. The former has said: 'If we were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India.' The latter declared: 'If there is one place on the face of the earth where all the dreams of living man have found a home from the every earliest days when man began the dream of existence, it is India.'

And all these words were uttered when India was under the rule of the British people.

This chapter would be incomplete without a reference to the farewell messages given to India by the last of the British Governors-General in India and his consort, Lord

and Lady Mountbatten. The attack made by Mr. Winston Churchill, war-time Prime Minister of Britain, on the Labour Government's policy on the transference of power to Indian hands and the Deputy Prime Minister of India's rejoinder are also published. These utterances are worth recording for any reader to appreciate the British policy towards the discontinuance of their rule in India after World War II.

NEW DELHI: Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, in a farewell message, broadcast from All-India Radio, on June 20, 1948, said:

'When I was first asked to interrupt my naval career to become the last Viceroy of India, I must confess that I viewed the prospect with considerable trepidation. After serving in South-East Asia from 1943 to 1946, during all of which time I had a rear headquarters in Delhi, I felt that I could, to some extent, appreciate the complexity of the situation which would confront the Viceroy on whom the task of transferring power would fall. But when I arrived out in India, and was able to see the problem for myself at close quarters, it appeared to present even more difficulties than I had supposed. There was one bright feature, however, in the general gloom—and it was perhaps the most important feature that one could have wished for. This was the determination of all those with whom I had to deal—whether they were leaders in the political field or in any other walk of life—that a realistic solution could, and must be found. And from the moment that I arrived, difficulties, which had seemed insurmountable, began to melt in the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill with which those leaders combined to help me in my task. I can never say with what emotion I received the invitation, which was generously ratified by the Constituent Assembly as its first act during the midnight meeting of August 14-15 to be the first constitutional Governor-

General of free India during the interim period. I gladly agreed to stay on until March 31, 1948 (the date specifically mentioned in the Indian Independence Act as the end of the interim period) and, later, I was deeply honoured by the invitation to extend this time until June. It has been difficult to decide at what juncture it would be in India's best interests that an Indian should be appointed in my place, but I hope that time will show that I have stayed long enough to be useful; but not too long, so as to deprive India of the right which her freedom has conferred on her, to choose one of her own people to be the head of the State. It is a particular pleasure to me that the choice should fall on my friend, Rajaji, for no one is better qualified to take over the post. It has been an unforgettable experience for myself and my family to have been privileged to be in India during these past historic 15 months. India has a great history behind her—and she has a great history ahead of her. She has many grave problems such as would be bound to face any nation suddenly achieving freedom—but magnified in her case by the fact that this freedom has been attained at a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties, and in a country that contains nearly one-sixth of the human race. But I know that she will solve these problems, and that her difficulties will be surmounted. India is destined to fill a high place in the world, and to play a high part in the world's affairs. India is potentially as rich a country as any in the world. Quite apart from the wealth within the ground itself, such as coal, iron ore, manganese, and all the other valuable minerals, quite apart from the immense possibility of further prosperity from hydro-electric power and irrigation schemes, there remains the greatest source of wealth that any country can have—the hundreds of millions of its ordinary people. For with them rest not only the age-long traditions of manual labour, but the inheritance of the new technical age, and of the ever-increasing skill which further training

will provide. Inventive genius, which is latent in the Indian people, can now be harnessed as never before for the benefit and prosperity of themselves, and of the whole world. Clearly the spread of universal education, and the advance of social service and conscience are essential if those creative forces are to be fully realised. These things will come about but for all that India's greatest asset will, I am sure, always lie in the character of her people. I myself saw the most stupendous crowds in my life in India—on Independence day, at Gandhiji's funeral, at the mela at Allahabad, and on other historic occasions. The good nature, and friendliness of these vast masses were unforgettable. I realised then that I was seeing before me the raw material of India's future greatness. Your Draft Constitution takes its place among the great documents of liberty and human rights. Be worthy of it. Goethe wrote that only he is worthy of true freedom who is prepared to establish it himself in his everyday life. It is not the fact that high ideals are written into your constitution that will help you, but the stern resolve with which you yourselves determine to suppress all that could militate against these ideals being put into practice. I would like to end this talk on a personal note. During the last 15 months in India, my wife and I have visited every province, and the majority of the major States; and wherever we have gone, we have been received with universal friendliness and kindness. My wife, who has been so closely associated with welfare work, particularly among refugees and abducted women, has had an even greater opportunity of meeting the people than I have had myself; and I know how deeply she has appreciated the help and co-operation given to her by all officials, and the way that she has been received by all the people with whom she has come in contact. Wherever we may go in the future, both of us will remember with a sense of pride and of real humility the wonderful kindness and friendship we

have received on all sides. We shall continue to love India, and to take the deepest personal interest in her future welfare.'

Lady Mountbatten said on June 19, 1948:

'My farewell message to the people of India on the eve of my departure from this great country will be personal and informal because that has been the whole basis of my partnership and friendship in these past historic months. From the moment I arrived I was touched by the generosity of spirit and the warmth of sympathy and understanding shown to me, and at the confidence and trust which each one of you so quickly extended. You accepted me, my husband, and my daughter as your friends and colleagues, and we felt grateful and humble beyond words. It has been a true privilege to serve India, and to work side by side with so many of you in these recent testing times—from north to south, east to west, in towns and villages, in mountains, hills, and plains. I have felt proud to share your joys and sorrows, your hopes and disappointments, and I have valued, above all else, the fact that you have looked on me as one of you. I have joined you in moments of supreme achievement and happiness, and rejoiced with you at India's long-awaited freedom and independence and at the great things she has already accomplished. I have been with you also at the moment of the nation's greatest calamity when Gandhiji's tragic death numbed the whole country and the entire world, and I felt cast down and saddened like each one of you. I have seen also much suffering and a scale of tragedy unparalleled except possibly in a state of war. Evil things have happened, and at times a temporary madness prevailed. But these things have not been because of the will of the people, but as a result of circumstances and inevitable upheavals. During all these times, I have marvelled at your courage, your devotion to

duty, and your fortitude in the face of untold misery and beset by obstacles and difficulties which, I thought, would have daunted even the bravest. But I have never seen you fail. I have watched with pride the devotion of the medical, nursing, and welfare services, who have so nobly lived up to the true traditions of their professions. I have seen the ceaseless and uphill work of those entrusted with the moulding of the minds and character of the future citizens of this country. Your magnificent leader and his colleagues are fully conscious of the task ahead, and are ceaselessly struggling to that end. I am grateful to you and to India for so many things—for your example of high courage, selfless devotion, and true service—for giving me glimpses of your glorious heritage of culture—for your natural courtesy and hospitality, and the wondrous beauty of your country, and the spirit and bearing of your people. At this moment, you stand between the past and the future, beset, of course by problems and even perils on a gigantic scale—but so does the whole world. You face all manner of them, but here, in India, I know there will be no lack of faith or unity of purpose in your determination to overcome everything that stands in the way of justice and progress. You could never depart from your brave ideals or your high hopes and constructive plans. Even if sometimes you are beset by feelings of frustration, disappointment, and even despair, these are only natural and transitory, and I know you are bound to triumph, and that you will never lose your confidence nor relax your efforts. It is obvious that freedom confers immense obligation no less than privileges, and a Himalayan task faces new India in building up her medical, educational, and social structures. An early revolution in health, education, housing, and the general standard of living is vital if the Indian people are to benefit from their newly-won independence. In these last days I have been immeasurably touched by the number of people of all communities and creeds who

have come to me from many parts of India, bearing messages and gifts as a token of their friendship. The gifts made by refugees, by social workers, and by many colleagues and friends of the last months, will always be amongst my most treasured possessions, and I thank them from my heart for their thought of me at this moment, and my appreciation and good wishes for the future goes out to each one of them. Although in a physical sense my husband, Pamela, and I will be leaving India so soon, we shall always be with you in spirit, and I think you know that you will have our affection, our gratitude, and our prayers at all times. The close links of comradeship that have been forged between us are such that can never be broken, and I know it is inevitable that I shall return. So this is not farewell but *au revoir*.'

At the reception held in London on June 29, 1948, Lady Mounbatten said she and her family were very sad to leave a country of which they had grown so very fond. 'We were heartbroken', she added, 'to leave a people who gave us, in the 15 months we were there, unbelievable generosity of spirit, confidence, and real inspiration, as well as true friendship and affection'.

NEW DELHI, June 20: A meeting of the Cabinet, held on June 18, 1948, asked the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, to convey a message to Lord Mountbatten.

Conveying the message, the Prime Minister, in a letter to Lord Mountbatten, wrote:

My Dear Lord Mountbatten,—At the meeting of the Cabinet today I was asked to convey the following message to you. I gladly do so.

You will believe me, I am sure, that this is not just a formal message on behalf of the Government of India,

but is a real expression of our affection, and gratitude to you, and our sorrow at your departure.

Yours very sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

The message was: 'This period was one of upheaval and great difficulties. When all those who were concerned with the Government of India, had to carry a heavy burden, Lord Mountbatten, functioning completely as a constitutional Governor-General, nevertheless helped greatly in lightening that burden, and in helping to face and solve the problems that confronted the country. His period of office has been memorable in the history of India, and he will be remembered by the people of India with affection as one who co-operated in the great task of building a free India, and who applied his great abilities and energy to this end. The Cabinet also wish to record its deep gratitude to Lady Mountbatten for her magnificent work in the cause of suffering humanity in India. The Cabinet trusts that the bonds of friendship and co-operation in the common task, which have been forged, will not weaken even after the departure of Lord and Lady Mountbatten from India. The Cabinet desires to convey its good wishes to Lord and Lady Mountbatten for the future.'

Lord Mountbatten replied:

My Dear Prime Minister,—Thank you for your letter of June 18, conveying the message of the Cabinet on our departure. I never thought that the day would come when I would be emotionally moved by any Cabinet resolution, but this is exactly what your resolution has done to me. I particularly appreciate the kind terms in which the tribute to my wife has been paid. We will keep this copy among the most treasured possessions in the family archives. I should be grateful if you would convey our

deep appreciation and thanks to the members of your Cabinet, and inform them that it has been an inspiration, and privilege to have been allowed to work with them during the stirring times through which India has passed. We wish India the greatest possible success in the future.

Yours very sincerely,

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA."

Pandit J. Nehru, Prime Minister, speaking at a farewell banquet given to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten by the Cabinet at Government House, New Delhi, on June 20, 1948, said: Fifteen months ago, almost to a day, some of us went to the Palam airfield to welcome the new Viceroy and his wife. These 15 months seem a long time, and yet it seems but yesterday that Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Pamela Mountbatten came here, and yet if you look again it seems that an age has gone by, because of the accumulation of sensation and experience, of joy and sorrow, that has come to us during these 15 months.

During this period Lord Mountbatten and his family have become very dear and intimate friends of ours, and I do not know that any words of mine are needed here to say much about Lord and Lady Mountbatten. I do not know—at the most I can only guess—how it was that an Englishman, and an Englishwoman could become so popular in India during this brief period of time, and that brief period being a period certainly of achievement and success in some measure, but also a period of sorrow and disaster. It surprised me that after this period of storm and stress and difficulty, the Governor-General and his wife, who were in some sense associated with all this, should still be able to win the affection of the people in such a tremendous degree. Obviously, this was not connected so much with what had happened but rather with

the good faith, the friendship, and the love of India that these two possessed. They saw them working hard with indomitable energy, with perseverance, with optimism which defied everything. They felt even more than they saw the friendship which they had for India, and they saw that they were serving India to the best of their ability. We have many failings and many weaknesses in India, but when we see friendship for India and service for India, our hearts go out, and those who are friends of India and those who serve India are our comrades, whoever they might be or wherever they might be. And so the people of India, realising that Lord and Lady Mountbatten undoubtedly were friendly to India and the Indian people, undoubtedly were serving them, gave you their affection and love. So when you have seen all this, I have little to add except to say we have been actors also in this historic scene. It is difficult for me or for anyone to judge of what we have done during the last year or so. We are too near it and too intimately connected with events. Maybe we have made many mistakes, you and we. Historians a generation or two hence will perhaps be able to judge what we have done right and what we have done wrong. Nevertheless, whether we did right or wrong, the test, perhaps the right test, is whether we tried to do right or did not, for if we did try to do right with all our might and main, then it does not very much matter, although it does matter in the sense that it turned out to be a wrong thing. I cannot judge our own motives, but I do believe that we did try to do right, and I am convinced that you tried to do the right thing by India, and, therefore, many of our sins will be forgiven us and many of our errors also.

To you, Madam, I should like to address myself also. A love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and who are in distress, amazing mixture of qualities resulted in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch. Wher-

ever you have gone, you have brought solace, you have brought hope and encouragement. Is it surprising, therefore, that the people of India should love you and look up to you as one of themselves and should grieve that you are going?

Hundreds of thousands have seen you personally in various camps and other places and hospitals, and hundreds of thousands will be sorrowful at the news that you have gone. May I say a word of Pamela Mountbatten? She came here straight from school, and possessing all the charm she does, she did a grown-up person's work in this troubled scene of India. I do not know if all of you who are present here know the work she has done, but those who know, know well how splendid that has been, and how much of it has been appreciated. I do wish to say more, but to repeat what many, no doubt, have told you, that while we say goodbye to you we do not look upon this as a goodbye and farewell. The bonds that tie the Mountbattens to us are too strong to be broken and we hope to meet here or elsewhere from time to time, and whether we meet you or not, we shall remember you always.

Replying to the Prime Minister's speech Lord Mountbatten paid tributes to H. E. Sri Rajagopalachariar, the Prime Minister, and other Ministers.

Lord Mountbatten, who spoke extempore, said:

'This is a very inspiring moment in the lives of the Mountbattens. It is also a very sad moment. Everything that the Prime Minister has said has made us feel that the moment is as inspiring as it is sad. It is hard to pick out individually all one's friends, particularly as so many have become such close ones. My successor, Sri Rajagopalachariar, the wise and elder statesman of India, is eminently fitted in every way to be the first Indian to hold this high office. He has such a delightful sense of humour,

even in the letters that we have been writing to each other on business. I was warned before I came to India that I should meet my match in a very tough guy, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, but when we met I came to the conclusion that he could not be quite as tough as the act that he put on. He is so very apparently hard and firm and unyielding, and I think he is like that because he doesn't want the world to know what a very warm heart beats behind that rugged exterior, and I regard him as one of the greatest friends I have made here, and am sad that he can't be with us tonight. About the Prime Minister it is difficult to speak for the exact reasons that he has mentioned. He has become such a friend of the whole Mountbatten family that we shall be lonely when we leave India and are without him, but I share entirely the view he has already expressed that the friendship that has counted the most during our time out here, has been the friendship of the ordinary man and woman in the street and in the field. It is almost inexplicable to us why they should have taken so kindly to us except that we felt a tremendous reciprocal feeling of friendship towards them. The most touching and quite unbelievable things have happened. Refugees have collected together their pies and their annas in order that one of their number might travel sometimes a journey of 24 hours or even 48 hours to bring up some of the gifts they have made as a token to my wife that they were pleased with what she did. And the people in the streets today were so very friendly, an experience I shall never forget as long as I live. I could go on talking like this a long while, but I should only be repeating myself. What I am trying to say is that we are desperately sorry to be leaving India. In less than ten hours from now our physical bodies will go, but our hearts will always remain here. I would now like to refer to this tray that has just been given us. Ladies and gentlemen, this is no ordinary tray. I doubt whether in history all the Cabinet

Ministers of a great Central Government and all the Governors of the Provinces of a great sub-continent have joined together to have their names inscribed on one object like this. It makes it of a value quite beyond computation, and will always remain by far the most historic heirloom of the Mountbatten family. I thank the Ministers and the Governors on behalf of my wife, and my daughter and myself most heartily for this gift.

THE KING'S GIFT

When I was last in London, the King said that he wanted to give some gift, when we left, to the Government and people of India, and we discussed what form this could take. I reminded His Majesty that there was in this House a set of gold plate, or rather heavily silver-gilt plate which had been given personally to his Father by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, one of the ancient City companies, which had been specially designed and built with the approval of King George V to fit into the State Dining Room at New Delhi, and which he gave for use in the house of his Viceroy. It is His Majesty's own personal property to do with as he pleases, and it is his particular desire to give this in token of friendship, not only on behalf of himself, but as a symbol of the friendship of all Englishmen and women and, indeed, of all the people in the United Kingdom to the people of India. I shall now draw aside our two National Flags which cover the plate in token of transferring it to my successor and to the Government of India, as a gift.'

The set weighs over 100 lbs., and has been the centre of attraction at many State banquets at Government House, where it is laid out on display. The biggest of the pieces is a large cup, nearly three feet high, with a cover surmounted by the figure of St. George and the Dragon. Other pieces include ornate bowls, trays, and cups bearing

the Coat of Arms. The set is reputed to be one of the finest examples of British craftsmanship on heavily gold-plated silver.

DELHI'S PUBLIC FAREWELL

Over one lakh citizens of Delhi bade farewell on June 20, 1948, to Lord and Lady Mountbatten at a public reception arranged in Gandhi grounds by the Delhi Municipal Committee.

Speaking a few words in Hindi, Lord Mountbatten said: 'We have come here to bid you good-bye, and to tell you how sad we are at leaving you. Our hearts will remain with you always.'

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister, who also made a brief speech, said that the crowds collected there bore testimony to the high esteem and great affection in which the people of India held Lord and Lady Mountbatten. During the past 15 months, India had had to face a number of difficulties, but that did not stop the people of India from having genuine affection for the Governor-General. This, he said, was so because Lord and Lady Mountbatten had served the country in an honest and selfless manner, and had thus gained the confidence of the people.

He paid a tribute to the excellent work done by Lady Mountbatten, and the help given her by her daughter. The entire family has loved India so dearly that we cannot but think of its members as our dear comrades and friends.

Lord Mountbatten was presented with a silver casket with a relief map of India on the surface of the wooden platform. In the centre of the casket, stood a 15-inch statue in ivory of Mahatma Gandhi, and on one side of the wooden frame were engraved Pandit Nehru's words on Gandhiji.

'Where he sat became the temple,

Where he walked was hallowed ground.'

As the Governor-General saluted the people and Lady Mountbatten said namaskar, the crowd rushed to the dais, breaking through all barriers and cordons, and for a few moments it became almost impossible for the Police and the Civic Guards to keep the situation under control. At the end of the function, when Lord Mountbatten left the place in an open car, thousands of people ran after it shouting Mountbatten-ki-jai.

Earlier, presenting the farewell address, on behalf of the Municipal Committee, Mr. Yudhvīr Singh, said: 'Due to your sincerity, statesmanship, and mature wisdom, Delhi was spared the sight of the involuntary end of British Power in India. On the other hand, this city witnessed, on August 15 last year, that great important and historic ceremony in which you entrusted the reigns of the Government to the care of the great sons of India.'

The address also paid a tribute to Lady Mountbatten, and to her work for the women of India.

It added: 'We are grieved that the Father of the Nation is no longer in our midst, at this time, but we are certain that you will have the blessings of his soul.'

The Prime Minister and the Ministers of the Government of India gave a farewell reception in honour of the Governor-General and Lady Mountbatten at Government House. Over 6,000 guests were present.

The Moghul Gardens, where the reception took place, were brilliantly lit with multi-coloured lights and illuminated fountains. As it was impossible for Their Excellencies to shake hands with every guest, they moved among the guests, and took leave of them. The guests visited the Banqueting Hall, where the gold plate presented to the Government of India on behalf of the King was on view.

On this occasion Lord Mountbatten presented to the people and the Government of India a set of 10 pieces of

gold plate, the property of the King, as a gift from His Majesty as a symbol of friendship from the British people.

Pandit Nehru presented a silver tray on which were inscribed the signatures of the Cabinet Ministers and the Governors of Provinces.

The tray also bore the following inscription: 'To the Mountbattens on the eve of their departure from India with affection and good wishes as a token of their friendship.'

Relinquishing charge of the Governor-Generalship, after 15 months in India—the last Briton to hold this high office—Lord Mountbatten, accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, and his daughter, Lady Pamela Mountbatten, left Delhi on June 21, 1948, by air for the United Kingdom.

Delhi gave Lord and Lady Mountbatten the most affectionate send-off ever given to any Governor-General.

The time of the Mountbattens' departure had been announced earlier, and despite the early hour, large crowds filled the expansive forecourt of Government House by 7 a.m.

At 7-15 a.m. Lord and Lady Mountbatten and their daughter came out to the entrance in front of the Throne room. The Governor-General-designate Sri C. Rajagopalachariar and Pandit Nehru followed them. Descending the red-carpetted steps of Government House, Lord Mountbatten took the Royal salute from a Guard of Honour provided by the 6/5th Gurkha Rifles and the Central Reserve Police. The band struck, "God Save the King" followed by Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana*.

While Lord Mountbatten was inspecting the parade, Lady Mountbatten, who stayed at the foot of the staircase chatting with Sri Rajagopalachariar and the Prime Minister, recognised familiar faces among the small crowd which was nearby, and shook hands with many friends.

MOUNTBATTENS SHAKE HANDS WITH PEONS

It was a touching scene when Lord and Lady Mountbatten bade farewell to their bearers, chaprassis, and other members of Government House staff. They warmly shook hands with all of them. From every parapet, and doors and windows opening out from Government House, men, women, and children were eagerly peeping out to get a last look at the departing Governor-General.

CHURCHILL V. PATEL

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL told a Conservative Party rally at Luton (England), on June 26, 1948, that the renunciation of King George's title as Emperor of India was a 'melancholy event.' He said:

'Nearly half a million Indians have already paid the forfeit with their lives in this fateful tale of the casting away of the British Empire in India and of the misfortunes and slaughter which have fallen, and are falling, upon its peoples. All the blame cannot be thrown on one Party, but the Socialists, on gaining power, threw themselves into the task of demolishing our long-built-up and splendid structure in the East with zeal and gusto, and they certainly have brought widespread ruin, misery, and bloodshed upon the Indian masses to an extent no one can measure. Power has been recklessly confided to Indian Political Parties which in no way represent the needs or feelings of the four hundred million people who had dwelt so long under the protection of the British Crown.

Already there has been something like a collapse in the process of internal administration and we must now expect an indefinite epoch of internecine and religious strife. We have witnessed the violent action of Mr. Nehru's Hindu Government against Kashmir, four-fifths of whose peoples are Muslims. It may be that soon this same Government, using the modern weapons, we left behind,

will attack the ancient State of Hyderabad with its 17 million people and overthrow the Government of the Nizam.

Burma is now a foreign country already descending rapidly into a welter of murder and anarchy, the outcome of which will probably be a Communist Republic affording dangerous strategic advantages to Soviet Russia in this important part of the world on which we depend for vital supplies of tropical produce and which is on one of our sea roads to Australia and New Zealand.

In Malaya the long arm of Communism, unchecked by feeble British administration, has begun a campaign of murdering planters and their wives as part of the general process of our ejection.

All over the world, the prestige of Britain had fallen grievously since the nation fell flat on its face in the moment of its greatest victory. The Government of Chile and Argentina thought that we were so completely finished that they occupied some of our possessions in the Antarctic near the Falkland Islands. The invading parties are still there. At this juncture the Board of Admiralty, who seem strangely affected by the Socialist moon, have offered to sell the cruiser *Ajax* to the Chilean Government so that she can help to protect this wrongful intrusion upon British territory. The *Ajax* is the most famous warship in the South Atlantic. Nothing could do more at this moment to humiliate Britain than the sale of this ship. I suppose that the Admiralty thought they could get a few more dollars out of the Chileans on that account. It is like selling the shirt that Nelson wore at Trafalgar to Gen. Franco and getting a little extra for the blood-stains. The continuance of experiments in Socialist theory and of ineptitude in practical administration, will bring upon us economic ruin and the depopulation of the British Isles on a scale which no one has ever imagined.

Mr. Churchill compared the Berlin situation to the Munich crisis of 1938 and added that the Russian Government had made up their mind to drive the Allies out, and turn the Russian Zone of Germany into a satellite State. This raises issues as grave as those we now know were at stake at Munich ten years ago. It is our heart's desire that peace may be preserved, but we should all have learned by now that there is no safety in yielding to dictators, whether Nazi or Communist. The only hope of peace is to be strong to act

with other great freedom-loving nations, and to make it plain to the aggressor, while time remains that we would defend ourselves and our cause by every means, should he strike a felon's blow. I am sure that such a course is the only chance of preventing a third war.'

It was estimated that at least one hundred thousand people heard Mr. Churchill, many lying on the grass listening to loud-speakers relaying the speech. The demonstration was organised by Liberal as well as Conservative organisations.

SARDAR PATEL, Deputy Prime Minister of India, in a rejoinder to Mr. Churchill, said on June 29, 1948:

'Mr. Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Leader of the Opposition, and Britain's war-time Premier, while bemoaning 'the disappearance' of the title of Emperor of India, from the Royal titles, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant but extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India, both as member of Government and in opposition is well-known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country, and in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unashamed imperialist and at a time when Imperialism is on its last legs, he is the proverbial last-ditcher, for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency gain more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build up friendship between India and Britain has been wrecked by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predilections. It is well-known that when the Cripps's Offer was made, it was he who prevented negotiations from achieving success. It was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice was done to India's legitimate aspirations, and its free and willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla Conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of

India, and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of the freedom struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the evil of partition, and the disasters that attended it. Fortunately for Britain, the cup of disasters was by then full, and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy, followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen, Lord Mountbatten, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been, to a large extent, undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still seized by his favourite disease, Hinduphobia, and is determined to wreck all that good work by his most unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence. It might well be expected of a man of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he would exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked, in such terms, the Government, and the people of a sister Dominion, I shall leave to His Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine. I shall only say this, that we have been patient for too long with such unseemly, prejudiced, and mischievous attacks by high-placed Britishers on our administration, our leaders and our people.

I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged the world's conscience by a bare-faced and wanton policy of racial prejudice, and an open disregard of the fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter. But Mr. Churchill's elastic conscience, with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest. I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great

Britain, they must see that India is, in no way, subjected to malicious, and venomous attacks of this kind, and that British statesmen, and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deep-seated prejudice and owing to ignorance, it may be difficult for some of them to do so. but, in future, disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done. That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all-Parties' responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves foresaw that, if the final stage of the grant of freedom to India were made a Party issue, it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as difficult a legacy to India as possible. Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large-scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the peak of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was actuating many of the Churchillian agents in power here. We, therefore, decided to drink the bitter cup, and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all Parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all Parties that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man, and would abide by the obligations inherent in the Agreement. But obviously, he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country. If proof of his deep-seated prejudice and his mediaeval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifth Muslim, he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is fourth-fifth Hindu and that a creation

of the 18th century as the Nizam State is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an ancient State. The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind prejudice that must come out prominently. We can well realise what a disaster the British public avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seals of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune, administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that, through his ancestors Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or unlearn anything. Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously, it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors.

While no one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide-and-rule policy followed with such masterly activity by Mr. Churchill himself, and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Europeans of his way of thinking in this country, whether under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of recent history of India would fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and the attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of history.'

CHAPTER VII

Evils of Caste and Communalism

CASTE

Mahatma Gandhi's considered opinion about the caste system in India is quoted here verbatim for people to understand his mind. This is what he said at the prayer meeting held at Kamalapur, Tipperah District, Bengal, on February 21, 1947. He was asked: 'You have said that caste should go. But then, will Hinduism survive? Why do you thus mix up Hinduism, with progressive religions like Christianity or Islam?'

Answering the question, Gandhiji maintained that caste as it was understood must go if Hinduism was to survive. He did not believe that Christianity and Islam were 'progressive' and Hinduism 'static and retrogressive'. As a matter of fact he noticed no definite progress in any religion. The world would not be the shambles it had become if the religions of the world were progressive. There was room for *Varnas* as a duty. This was true of all religions whether the name used was or was not *Varna*. What was a Muslim moulvi or a Christian priest but a Brahmin if he taught his flock his true duty not for money but because he possessed the gift of interpretation? And this was true of other divisions.

He was asked a second question. 'As you are an advocate of the abolition of caste, are we to take it that you favour intercaste marriage? Many occupations are now the monopoly of specific castes. Should not this be abolished?'

Gandhiji said that he was certainly in favour of inter-caste marriage. The question did not arise when all

became casteless. When this happy event took place, the monopoly of occupations would go.

He was asked another question. 'If there is only one God, should there not be one religion?'

Gandhiji replied that it was a strange question. Just as a tree had a million leaves, similarly though God was one, there were as many religions as men and women though rooted in one God. They did not see this plain truth because they were followers of different prophets and claimed as many religions as there were prophets. As a matter of fact, while he believed himself to be a Hindu, he knew that he did not worship God in the same manner as one or all of them.

On an earlier occasion he said: 'The caste system, as we know, is an anachronism. It must go if both Hinduism and India are to live and grow from day to day.'

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, K.C.S.I., ex-Dewan of Travancore, speaking in San Francisco, on January 27, 1948, during his American tour when asked about his opinion about Communism in Travancore State, declared that industry, agriculture, and labour were being affected. The agitators appeared to be local ones, not Russian, but there was much talk in Travancore that Russian money financed certain propaganda publications. That was one reason why he *clamoured for the abolition of the caste system*—it was an excellent field for Communist propaganda.

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, President of the Theosophical Society, in addressing a meeting on February 8, 1948, of the Young Men's Indian Association, Madras, described Gandhiji as the conscience of India and said that Gandhiji wanted to build a casteless India.

There was a lengthy debate in the Dominion Assembly on February 17, 1948, on a resolution moved by Mr. R. R. Diwakar urging the Government not to 'recognise any caste, sub-caste, sect or religion' in the State Services, and that 'in future it shall abolish the mention or entry of caste, sub-caste, sect or religion in forms supplied by the Government or in records kept by the Government. Replying to the debate, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, assured the House on behalf of the Government, that the question would be considered in the light of the resolution. He was of the opinion that the free Government of India must do away with it. At an earlier meeting held on February 5, 1948, Mr. Gadgil appealed for the liquidation of the caste system and all those traditions which had created social bitterness and inequality in Hindu Society. Mr. Gadgil pointed out that the superficial differences were already gradually disappearing. After August 15, 1947, India knows only one caste, that is Indian, and one religion, that is humanity (cheers). He said that the recruitment in all Government services was made through competitive examinations, with the only exception of the Scheduled Castes. Caste and religious distinctions could not be abolished simply by the enactment of law. The real, vital, and abiding progress of the country depended on the social consciousness, and a general awakening against artificial differences. Moving the resolution, Mr. R. R. Diwakar said that his aim was not to tackle the enormous communal problem from all aspects. It was only a step towards the complete abolition of it. He felt the measure urgent for the proper functioning of a democratic Government. Many members participated in the discussion and made various suggestions, including inter-caste marriages.

The safety of India depends on its unity. But it is not possible to obtain unity so long as the present caste

system as is practised and understood in India is perpetuated. It would surprise many people when I say that 3,000 distinct castes, more or less, exist at the present day. But this is so and this statement is made on the authority of an estimate by Shridar V. Ketkar.* No other country in the world, whether civilised or uncivilised, has such a rigid caste system as that obtaining in India. The caste system is peculiar to India and is believed to be three thousand years old. There must have been a time when there was no caste in India. Caste system seems to have been founded on the intellectual and moral superiority of the Brahmans. This pernicious caste system is the bane of India and is injurious in many ways to the advancement of India according to modern ideas. I am glad that my view has found support in the Independence Anniversary message issued on August 15, 1948, by Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, the Brahman Minister of the Madras Cabinet. It said: 'Caste as prevails in South India today is a misnomer and is a stumbling block to national progress.'

Times have changed considerably since the caste system was introduced in ancient days and it is time that we changed our methods of the caste system. The village was a self-contained unit in ancient days, when there were no good roads and no railway system. It was practically cut off from neighbouring villages. Every village had to have its own temple and its priest; there were farmers, carpenters, masons, weavers, potters, barbers, washermen, ironsmiths, goldsmiths, leather workers, scavengers, according to the nature of the work the people had to do. They classified themselves into different groups. Each group of workmen lived as a separate unit and lived in their own streets. It is probable that out of this separate living the caste system must have developed. The man who did the

* History of caste in India.

meanest work such as scavenging was of the lowest grade in human society and the man who did service to God, became the highest. That was how the caste system must have evolved, denoting high and low grades of society.

The terms castes and *varnas* should not be confused. According to the laws of Manu there were originally four *varnas*. The term *varna* means class or order. This does not mean caste. This little explanation would be helpful in following the trend of Gandhiji's mind when he expressed his opinion that there was room for *varnas* as a duty. The ancient Hindu writers classified mankind under four *varnas*, having regard to their occupations, namely:

- (1) the learned, literate, and priestly order or class as Brahmans;
- (2) the fighting and ruling classes as Kshatriyas;
- (3) the trading, weaving, and agricultural people as Vaisyas;
- (4) the common humble folk, labourers and unskilled workers whose business it was to serve their betters, as Sudras.

Scavengers, leather workers whose occupations are obviously unclean were regarded as standing outside the four *varnas* or orders. They are described as 'outcastes'. The common notion that there were only four original castes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra is therefore false.

This is all changing, under modern conditions of life, and in South India, for example, all Hindus who are not Brahmans fall under the denomination of Sudra, as the designations, Kshatriya and Vaisya, are practically unknown.

Nowadays, a Brahman is only a Brahman by name. Under modern conditions of living, he cannot keep to his original profession of serving God. He has, by force of circumstances, to do the work previously allotted to Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras by joining the army, by trading and farming, and by doing menial work in the restaurants in having to remove the cups and plates left by their customers. Worst of all, he has become an out-caste, by doing the work ordinarily done by a scavenger, that is, by being obliged to handle dead bodies during a post-mortem examination. All these he does for earning a livelihood and not from a humanitarian point of view. People belonging to other orders, have also changed the occupation of their ancestors. A Reddi, whose profession is farming, has become a Premier, a Chetti, whose normal occupation is trading, has become a Cabinet Minister. Weaver caste people have become lawyers and doctors, men of the Harijan class, have become great men such as doctors, teachers, and Government servants. Even women of the scavenging caste are school mistresses. All these changes were possible under the liberal educational policy followed by the British administrators. Is there any sense therefore in following the caste system introduced 30 centuries ago, which has become quite obsolete? I shall illustrate the ridiculousness of the observance of the caste system by some Indians. This is all a matter of convenience and necessity. For example, a labourer who was doing wood-cutting work in our house preferred to drink water direct from our house water-pipe rather than from a brass tumbler offered to him, simply because we belong to the Christian faith. Brahmans, however, take water from the same municipal pipe as scavengers do. This is tolerated as a matter of necessity. How absurd and superficial are the caste prejudices in India?

I have mentioned the incident that happened in our house to show how illiterate people have been trained to abhor and even to despise people of non-Hindu faiths though the latter may belong to a higher status and caste. And the whole country is generally under the impression that any one other than a Hindu is a low class fellow. On the other hand, more enlightened Brahmans have no objection to take tea and other refreshments in non-Brahman and Christian houses. How then can we expect any unity and friendliness among various communities in this country? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his book, *The Discovery of India*,* says: 'Christianity comes here eighteen hundred years ago and settles down and gradually develops its own castes.' It is not clear to me what he means exactly by this. I do not know much of the conditions prevailing in North India but in South India, people who have embraced the Christian faith retain rigidly their original castes and customs of their fore-fathers though they have changed their religion. As a general rule they marry among their own castes. In such circumstances, it was always a puzzle to me why Christians were not treated on equal terms by the Hindus. The caste system in India has taken such a deep root in the minds of the Indians that even people of the Christian faith still cling to the castes of their fore-fathers. Caste in India, according to tradition, was introduced 1,000 years before the birth of Christ and Christian missionaries never preached against the abolition of the caste system. In southern parts of India where I now live I have not yet come across any Christian priest of the Harijan community. Priests are drawn from communities of the Brahman, Reddi, Gownder, Mudali, Chetti, and Pillai castes. Such is the position of the caste prejudice in India.

Within India caste* breaks up society into thousands of separate units, frequently hostile one to the other, and always jealous. The institution necessarily tends to hinder active co-operation for any purpose, religious, political, or social. All reformers are conscious of the difficulties thus placed in their path. The restrictions of caste rules collide continually with the conditions of modern life, and are the source of endless inconveniences. The institution is a relic of the ancient past and does not readily adapt itself to the requirements of the present day. Further, the institution fosters intense class pride, fatal to a feeling of brotherhood between man and man. The caste observance is worst in Malabar. A high-class Brahman will not allow an outcaste to come anywhere near him without being polluted. I have seen with my own eyes, an educated Nair placing the wage due to a sweeper on the ground for the man to pick it up. And yet these high caste people fondle their dogs, cows, and buffaloes. Are these unfortunate outcaste men lower than animals? Thiyas, although well polished in manners and highly educated—and this community can boast of High Court Judges—are not allowed to mix on equal terms with the Nairs and Menons, even though I have seen them inter-dining on many occasions. Inter-dining was possible in Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon, because they are Buddhist countries which have no caste system. But when Nairs come to their home country they make much fuss about their social intercourse with the people with whom they mixed and dined freely during

* Acharya J. B. Kripalini, ex-President, National Congress, speaking in Madras on July 16, 1948, urged that Provincial and caste distinctions should go. We were only justifying what foreigners said that after their departure there would be a civil war, communal strife, and Provincial rivalries. The caste problem and the provincial problem would tear India into pieces till the liberty we had won disappeared.

their sojourn in a foreign country. How are these high caste people expected to interest themselves in the uplift of their less unfortunate brethren?

The Madras Brahman is a shade better. He is unaffected by pollution but his exclusiveness is painful to observe. To him, outside his fold, every one is a Sudra and treats him almost with contempt. He would never mix with a non-Brahman on equal social terms. This is very apparent in his marriage feasts and other ceremonial occasions where community feeding is done. However dear a friend may be, a non-Brahman would never be invited to a Brahman's marriage feast. He would only feed the Brahmans, when feeding has to be done for charitable purposes. Real charity consists in feeding the hungry and the needy poor people and beggars and not the Brahmans who are never in want of food and clothing. No one was able to give me a satisfactory answer why Brahmanism forbids the feeding and clothing of non-Brahmans. In the eyes of God this cannot be charity. It has no merit whatever. Among the Brahmans, particularly among the upper official class, there are some who indulge in drinking and eating forbidden food, which only the lowest class of other communities will do. Such Brahmans are admitted to the marriage feasts without any objection whatever. In such circumstances do you not think that the caste, as now observed, is all mockery, hypocrisy, and fraud? Many of them observe it because their ancestors observed it and for no other purpose. 'Not by birth, but by his conduct alone, does a man become a low-caste or a Brahman', so preached Lord Buddha.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, one of the foremost leaders of the Brahman community, has favoured the abolition of the caste system. It was first in the Travancore State, while he was Dewan, that temples were thrown

open to the untouchables.* The Brahman has great powers of adaptability and can adjust himself to any conditions. His chief patron, the white man, is no more in power in India and in his own interests he would do well to throw his dignity to the winds and to be on equal social terms with the non-Brahmans. Hitherto, there was never any fusion or even cementing of Brahmans and non-Brahmans. They have been hitherto living lives apart. The Brahman is only 3 per cent of the population in the Madras Province. An anti-Brahman movement was started about 20 years ago; it was a partial success. Unless the Brahman changes his attitude towards his more powerful opponent, he would find himself submerged in the sea of non-Brahmanism. He may even be replaced by non-Brahmans in the temples.

Our Mahatma Gandhi addressing a prayer meeting in Delhi on July 3, 1947, spoke of complaints he had received that the hopelessly insignificant minority, the Brahmans, were faring badly in that the admission of Brahman boys and girls to colleges or services was becoming increasingly difficult, because of the anti-Brahman movement. He said that he sympathised with the Brahmans in their lot but did not share their grief or disappointment. In the first instance, he could not appreciate their considering themselves a minority. He suggested that Brahman friends should feel happy that they were no longer exposed to the temptation of having to go to colleges, or to service under the Government. Such persons could only be few and far between. Those who refused to take part in the

* An incident which occurred in April 1948, during Governor-General Mountbatten's tour in Mysore is the closing of a Hindu temple at Seringapatam by the priest in charge for purification purposes and is worthy of notice. If a visit by such an illustrious person could pollute a temple it is needless to comment on the denial of the privileges of worship of God to members of the Depressed Classes.

unseemly struggle for entrance to colleges or to services were the real servants of India. A Brahman's duty was to know God, and to enable others to do likewise. And the right that was derived from the duty would be to be fed and clothed decently and honourably by the community which he served.

In the Madras Province, Brahmans formed only 3 per cent of the population. Yet over 50% of the appointments in Government superior service were monopolised by this community. This is because no Brahman is illiterate in this country and he belongs to the learned, priestly, and intellectually superior class of Indo-Aryans. He has, besides, had the advantage of an earlier English education over other community people. In the early days of British rule, a good knowledge of English was a prerequisite to entry to Government service. Since education is spreading among non-Brahman communities, the Brahman should be content with his lot and be prepared to take a lower ratio in Government service according to population basis. Besides, Government service, owing to the lowness of pay, is losing its glamour and many intelligent people, particularly of the Brahman community, are taking to trade and business.

There has been a tendency among people to take the advice of Gandhiji when it is favourable to them and to reject the rest. This is not the right attitude. One must not be selfish but try to help the once backward communities.*

* Sir Archibald Nye, Governor of Madras, replying to an address presented, on June 19, 1948, at the Government Nandanar Boys' High School, Chidambaram, said: There was no equality of opportunity for all people in the country at present, and if given opportunities, he was sure that the Harijans would be holding the highest positions in a short time.

It is true that caste within India cannot be either abolished or extinguished within a reasonable time. We may be able to educate the urban population of the futility of adhering to the caste system in these modern days, but to awaken the huge mass of the Indian rural population who would continue to walk in their ancestral ways is a huge task. Caste is a man-made institution. It was made by man and it can be removed by man. It is not beyond our power and competence to remove it provided we have the right will to do it. Every Indian acknowledges that Gandhi is a great man and a leader and endeavours to follow his advice. Gandhiji has preached on many occasions that the caste must disappear if both India and Hinduism were to survive. Unless we are prepared to accept his advice, we are not his true followers and his preaching becomes merely empty words.

Our woman Health Minister to the Government of India, addressing a meeting, on April 10, 1948, of the Bombay Women's Association exhorted women to work for communal unity and to 'discard old customs and traditions which hinder their progress'.

We have before us the revolutionary changes made by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (otherwise known as Ataturk) in Turkey. His boldest step was a decision to rid the country of the influence of the Caliphate and to separate the Church from the State, thus putting a stop to religious fanaticism and any tendency towards pan-Islamism. Did he not replace the old Arabic characters previously used for writing Turkish by the Latin alphabet? The veil, which is the traditional headwear for Muslim women, has given way to European form of dress by the younger women.

If Ataturk could have successfully removed a religious institution of Caliphate which was so dear to the Muslim, it is not beyond the competence of our national leaders

to tackle the caste question in a rational way. The magic word of 'Gandhi' will work wonders. The villager has the greatest regard for his utterances and if there is proper propaganda that Gandhiji's sacrifice was due to the caste and that he wanted to abolish the caste system if Hinduism were to survive, then there is some chance of success. The present Indian Cabinet Ministers are all men of broad views and the Cabinet consists of Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. This is the time for introducing caste reform.

Even a British officer (F. W. A. Morris, Collector of Coimbatore), has urged the abolition of the caste system. Speaking at a meeting of the Harijan Hostel Committee, on October 13, 1948, he said *inter alia*: It was high time the caste Hindus realised their responsibilities and gave up the caste system.

It would be interesting to know what that enlightened Brahman of Madras, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar said when he addressed the Foreign Policy Association in New York, on March 13, 1948, on 'India without Gandhiji'. He declared: 'After Gandhiji, who was essentially a reconciler and harmoniser, the one hope for the future will be in active recognition of the place to be occupied in human affairs by reconciliation. Indian leadership has to concentrate on reconciliation of Hindu and Muslim policy, of higher and depressed classes, elimination of by-products of the caste system and an active programme of social justice between capital and labour, landlord and tenant, and Government and people.'

In the Central Provinces Legislative Assembly, Mr. Hifazata (Muslim League), recommended, on March 3, 1948, to the Government to enact a law abolishing caste among Hindus on the basis of birth or vocation. He also favoured inter-communal marriages as a step for the promotion of communal harmony and pleaded for liberalisation of marriage laws in India.

Another member in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly suggested the abolition of communal representation in Municipal Councils on the ground that such distinctions retarded the unity among Hindus and Muslims.

There is considerable merit in these two resolutions and they deserve notice. As a keen observer of things in India, our slavery was brought about by disunity in India owing to the prevalence of the caste system which tended to hinder active co-operation among Indians in times of invasion by foreigners who found very little resistance by the Hindus. China, in spite of her misgovernment for several years, was able to preserve her independence merely because there was no caste and people were united.

In any country, human society requires that there should be some differences among persons of varying occupations for the purpose of maintaining order and discipline. A farmer cannot be expected to move on equal terms with a scavenger, an officer of the army with a common soldier, a rich land-lord with a tenant, a collector with his clerk or a peon. There must be degrees in social position of citizens. But is there any necessity to have 3,000 castes in India? Class distinction is tolerable in a society but not caste distinction. Let us take a few concrete examples and analyse the evils of the caste system as it exists today in India. A goldsmith is regarded as of a lower caste than a cultivator. The absurdity of this distinction in status cannot stand the test of reason. A goldsmith's job is to work with precious metals, requiring skill and intelligence. But a farmer's job is at times dirty as he has to clean the stables and frequently has to work in the dunghill. How can the latter person's caste be superior to that of the former? There are several anomalies too numerous to mention in the caste system.

The Brahman generally assumes an air of superiority over other classes and is proud of his superior birth and brains. It is true that he is more receptive, more industrious, and more eager to gain knowledge than an average person of other communities but on that account he cannot claim superiority. He prides himself in the fact that he takes a leading part in the worship of God in the temples, but there are also men of a lower caste, pandarams, doing similar duties in certain important temples in South India. Among non-Brahmans, there have been great scholars, poets, and engineers. The architecture of the famous temples at Rameswaram and Madura bears testimony to the superior brains of non-Brahmans. The old city of Vijayanagar was regarded by the Portuguese traveller, Paes, who visited India about the year 1500 as the 'best provided city in the world. It was as large as Rome'. He saw one room which was 'all of ivory, as well as the chamber as the walls from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such'.

Given equal opportunities, non-Brahmans can do as good work as the Brahmans. At the moment in Madras, both the Premier and the Chief Justice are non-Brahmans. This seems to be a mild indication that the superiority of the Brahman is on the wane. The slogan 'Down with Brahmans' raised by many people after the re-election of Mr. O. P. Ramasawmy Reddiar as the leader of the Congress Legislative Party, on March 26, 1948, was not a healthy sign of unity between Brahmans and non-Brahmans of Madras. Such class-disunity is bad for the country and should be avoided.

It is to be admitted, however, that during recent years there have been great changes for the better. From my

own personal knowledge, I can say that the Brahmans show now more friendliness towards other classes which was unheard of fifty years ago.* In a Ladies' Club in the town where I am living, the membership of which was mostly Brahmans, both the Vice-President and the Secretary were ladies of the Christian faith. Readers of the *Illustrated Weekly of India* might have been amused seeing a picture recently of the British Governor of Madras and his wife squatted on the floor having their dinner along with the members of the Raja of Kollengode (Malabar). In former days the touch of the hand of an Englishman, however distinguished he may be personally, would have been regarded as a pollution by a high caste Malayalee. To marriage feasts of non-Brahmans, Christians are freely invited. Very frequently in the houses of better class Christians, Hindus and sometimes Muslims take food. Hindu cooks mostly of the Nair class serve in Christian houses.

The services of Brahman priests at marriage functions, which were at one time considered indispensable, are not now requisitioned by certain classes of Hindus, for example, the influential Devanga community have their own men as priests. A big industrialist of South India, at whose

* In the course of the debate in Madras Legislative Assembly in July 1948, the Minister for Harijan uplift, paid a tribute to the services of Brahmans, particularly in the Andhra Desa, for the cause of Harijan uplift even before Gandhiji took up this work. During the debate, it was revealed that the oppression of Harijans by caste Hindus, particularly by the backward Hindu communities, like Thevars, Marars, and Nadars, continued.

It must also be admitted that in earlier years, persons like Swami Vivekananda, Sri C. Ramaswami Iyengar (founder of the Ramakrishna Mission in Madras), Dr. Annie Besant, Madame Balavatsky, and Col. Olcott rendered yeoman service in raising the status of *Panchamas*. These efforts acted as a foundation for Gandhiji's work.

daughter's wedding the British Governor was a guest, had the marriage solemnised without a priest.

Much of the trouble in India can be attributed to an air of superiority shown by the Hindus towards Muslims and Christians. In support of my view, I quote an extract from a book recently published, 'An Australian in India'. This is the opinion of an unbiased Australian, a competent and impartial observer, the Hon'ble Mr. R. G. Casey, ex-Governor of Bengal, who said: 'Caste Hindus have always denied the Muslims a fair deal.'

In May 1947, I wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi about the disabilities Indians of the Christian faith suffer at the hands of the Hindus to which I received a letter from one of his Secretaries, dated Patna, 2nd June 1947. 'You are quite right in your criticism of the attitude of the caste Hindus towards other communities especially the Muslims and Christians. Gandhiji has times without number referred to this evil. God knows when we shall live in an age where these barriers would no longer be existing and even be forgotten. Till then we have to satisfy ourselves with whatever little progress the society has made in removing the evil of caste system.'

Religion is the personal faith of each individual. Gandhiji had admitted that though he believed himself to be a Hindu, he knew that he did not worship God in the same manner as one or all of them. His leanings were more towards theosophy as he had great regard for all religions. In such circumstances, it is not understandable why the Hindus look down on Christians even though the latter may have belonged to good families and high castes. All my life I have been living in the Hindu quarter and have been noting with regret the average Hindu's prejudices towards others. On the other hand I found the Muslims more sociable than the Hindus. The cause of the estrangement noticed between the Hindus and Muslims

during recent years is probably due to the fact that the Muslim, as he gets more educated, feels hurt at the superiority complex ordinarily displayed by the Hindu. Even Brahmans who embrace Christianity are treated as outcastes and treated with contempt. The word Christian is regarded as a separate caste in this country. Whether he was a Brahman, a Pillay or a Chetti previously, he is regarded as having lost his caste and is ostracised. And yet for the humanitarian task of the recovery of abducted women and children during the recent migration from the Punjab, co-operation of Christian missionaries was solicited. When the Hindu-Muslim riots became serious in Delhi it was only the Christian women who could go to both communities without fear and in this the members of the Y. W. C. A. did very good work. As a rule, people who embrace the Christian faith retain their old customs and manners and in a crowd you cannot distinguish a Christian from a Hindu.

I must ask my Brahman and Nair friends not to be offended with me for my plain speaking. We must realise that we lost our freedom through disunity among ourselves brought on through the observance of the caste system. We do not want to lose our hard-won freedom by continuing in the same old rut. I have more friends among Brahmans than among non-Brahmans. As Mahatma has said, the Brahmans are more receptive, more industrious, and more eager to gain knowledge. I have a great respect for their higher level of intelligence, their habits of cleanliness, their adaptability to changing conditions, and their resourcefulness. In their own interest they must change their exclusiveness, their individualism and try to merge with other communities like their great leaders, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar (ex-Premier of Madras, and now Governor-General of India), and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar (ex-Dewan of Travancore), have taught

them. They ought to realise that they form a small minority of only 3 per cent of the total population and with the disappearance of the white man from the country and with people becoming more socialistic-minded they cannot wield the same authority as they did all these years. The idea of equality of man is now ingrained in all people's minds. With some effort the present generation of Brahmans may be able to retain their individualism and their superiority. India of today is not the same India as when the caste system was introduced about 3,000 years ago by our ancestors. It has come in contact with other countries and our men and women have seen other casteless countries and mixed and dined with people of other countries learning the benefits of non-caste system in foreign countries. Every right-thinking person knows, or at least ought to know, that the caste was the main cause of disunity in India and helped the foreigners to entrench themselves comfortably in India and to impoverish our rich country. Since we have won freedom at great sacrifice, we must all work unitedly for the removal of the evil which impoverished us. Brahmans should take a leading part in this campaign and help others also.

I do not suggest inter-marriages. That problem can be left to the coming generations to solve. What I want to suggest is that we must endeavour to live on equal terms. Inter-dining should be encouraged. Non-Brahmans must be made to feel that they are no longer treated as inferiors by Brahmans. Muslims and Christians must also feel that they are not despised by the Hindus on account of their faiths. Unless we do this, the ugly slogan 'Down with Brahmans' will take a deeper root in the minds of non-Brahmans; the inevitable result would be that the Brahman, on account of his small minority, would go to the wall. The hostile attitude now shown by non-

Brahmans towards Brahmans will have to be expunged from public life at all costs and we must live as one people.

Unless the Hindus treat their own people who have embraced Christianity as their equals in all respects and treat them as such, there can be no affection and love between the two communities, and in the long run the bitterness, that has been created between the Hindus and the Muslims, would extend to the Christians also. That would be bad for the unity of people in India and the blame would be fixed solely on the Hindus. Christians would always welcome friendship with Hindus and Muslims but it is the Hindu who hesitates to extend his hand of friendship to a non-Hindu. If India is to prosper as one single country, the sole responsibility rests on the Hindu who occupies a prominent place in the country. In his own interest, he should cultivate close friendship with every other non-Hindu in the country whether he be a Muslim, a Christian, or a Parsi.* Let every Hindu honestly search his heart and see whether the bitterness, that exists in the country today between the two great communities, is not due to the unfair treatment meted out in the past to the Muslim as was observed by the ex-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Casey. Both Hindus and Muslims have learnt a very bitter lesson at an enormous cost to life and property in Bengal, the Punjab, and in the great City of Delhi. Let them now settle down to the real business of reconciliation and live in peace in future.

* Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor-General of India, replying to a welcome address presented by the Delhi Municipality on July 11, 1948, said that during the present troubled times, unity was most important. He added: 'Let us live as brothers, although we worship God in different ways, following the custom of those who brought us up. We are facing very tough problems, some of which had never before been faced by any Government in the world and have therefore to be solved by us without the help of a tried precedent.'

Our leaders, Gandhiji, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have set noble examples to their countrymen in boldly breaking the barriers of caste by marrying their children outside their communities. Among the Muslim leaders, the late Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan have married their daughters outside their fold. Among the higher class Christians, inter-class marriages are becoming not uncommon, notably among them being the families of Sir Samuel Ranganadan and Sir T. Thumboo Chetty. The latest event of great importance is the marriage, in April 1948, of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Law Minister of the Government of India), a member of the Depressed class with Dr. Laxmi Kabir of the Saraswat Brahman community.

In the Buddhist countries of Burma and Ceylon where there is no rigid caste as in India, frequent inter-marriages take place between Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. An eminent scholar of history has written: 'Buddhism in practice was a cheerful religion in India long ago, as it is in Burma now. The change to Puranic Hinduism has made India a sadder land.'

We see great changes taking place in our caste prejudices and we must all work for the eradication of the caste system. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, addressing a meeting at Patna, on April 18, 1948, said:

'Although communalism was giving way in the country, *caste-ism* was raising its ugly head, and unless active efforts were made to root out the evil, it would prove more dangerous, and more certainly ruinous than communalism. He added that he had foreseen the dangers of caste distinction 25 years ago, when caste alignments were taking shape, and had warned his people to guard against it. But his warning went unheeded with the result that it had now assumed alarming proportions.

Gandhiji had fought all along against caste distinctions, and if they wanted to respect the memory of the Mahatma they should do away with *casteism*.'

The last meal that Gandhiji took on the day of his assassination was served to him by his Harijan servant, Hari Ram. Let us see how many of us who are admirers of the Mahatma follow in his footsteps and his teachings. I do not believe one in a thousand has the moral courage to engage Harijan servants in his household. We cannot call ourselves followers of the Mahatma by merely wearing Khaddar jackets, Khaddar dhotis, and Khaddar caps. The inner hearts must be changed and we must treat every human being, however low his birth may be and to whichever faith he may belong to, as a fellow being and treat him with love, kindness, tolerance, and respect. What made Gandhiji great throughout the world was not his outer garment—half-naked fakir's clothes, a phrase used by one of our great British Statesmen—but his inner heart.

Twenty-five centuries ago, a great Indian, Gautama Buddha, preached against superstition, ceremonial, and priestcraft of the Hindu religion. He did not recognize caste in his Order. Many great men in India have given repeated warnings against priestcraft and the rigidity of the caste system. And now our modern leader, Gandhiji has also spoken against the caste system as it exists in India today.

Let us hope that a new order, a new awakening in the minds of the people, may arise out of the ashes of our departed Mahatma, who laboured assiduously for the removal of the disabilities of the poor and down-trodden people for which caste was wholly responsible. He once wrote to a Congress leader in Madras, 'In the man-made social order, I want to be at the bottom'. He removed the word 'Untouchable' from the Indian dictionary, and gave

it a new name 'Harijan', meaning 'People of God'. He maintained that untouchability, besides degrading the community, devided Hindu society and fostered strife.

Let us pray that this GANDHISM may survive and live in India for ever.

COMMUNALISM

"While the whole of India—nay, the whole world—mourns the loss of Gandhiji, if there is any one community that should feel most grief-stricken today, it is the Indian Muslims. For there can be no doubt that the Mahatma gave his life to save the life of Muslims. It was his fearless, humanitarian stand against the rising tide of anti-Muslim sentiment (provoked by the communalism and the two-nation theory of Muslim Leaguers) that earned him the bitter hatred of the fanatical, chauvinistic protagonists of 'Hindu Raj', culminating in his cold-blooded assassination." Thus wrote a great Muslim soon after the assassination.

We have noticed an indication of the Communalists' growing hostility to Gandhiji at his prayer meetings. Sometimes he had to abandon his prayers when any Hindu or Sikh members of the audience objected to the verse from the Holy Quran being recited along with the Hindu, Christian, and Zorastrian hymns.

Let us pause for a moment and see when the demon of communalism began to show its head in India. We have been living peacefully as one nation for many centuries even during the Moghul period. But why and when did the two-nation theory start? Mr. Jinnah was at one time a prominent member of the Congress but left it on account of its forward policy and non-co-operation movement. After leaving the Congress he built up a powerful Muslim League. The activity of the Muslim League began with

its annual session at Allahabad in April, 1942, at which Mr. Jinnah insisted on having Pakistan. Evidently he must have felt that the Muslims did not have a fair deal at the hands of the Hindus who were a majority in the Congress. In any case the two-nation theory is a fantastic one and is bound to fail in the long run. To divide a country into two parts is an unnatural process. We have not known of any partition in history which has really worked well. We have before our eyes the cases of Ireland and Palestine.* Their problems have not been settled and will never be settled satisfactorily. On the other hand, the British and the French, whose temperaments vary very much, have been able to live amicably in Canada. To my mind, Pakistan is only a temporary phase. It would come back to the Union of India.† This is something like a prodigal son. The Muslim leaders were displeased with the Hindu leaders and decided to leave the parents' home and to set up a separate house of their own. India is not going to perish in a generation or two. It will live till the end of the world. Pakistan may, after a decade or two, when better counsels prevail, find herself unable, as a separate unit, to manage her affairs and would come back to her parents. It is wasteful to run two separate governments in one country. This is a needless waste of the poor tax-payer's money.

* The latest news is that, after a long period of trial, Eamon de Valera, former Prime Minister, and John Costello, present Prime Minister of Eire, have appealed to the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada for help in abolishing the 'artificial barrier' between Eire and the North. (Reuters news, April 17, 1948).

† Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Home Minister, Madras, speaking at a meeting on March 22, 1948, hoped that the union of both India and Pakistan would come about soon. He warned that the peace of the world depended on that union.

In unity lies our strength. About 80 years ago, when the Southern States in America unanimously threatened to secede from the Northern States, that great President, Abraham Lincoln said that he would rather have 100 years of Civil War than allow any particular group of States to break away from the Union. But for this wise and stern act, the United States of America would not have been the same country as it is today, the most prosperous and industrial country in the world. The unwise division of India has widened the gap between the two major communities and has created a new sense of communal separateness and hostility and bitterness on both sides. This is a great calamity for our India and its unfortunate people of the present generation. The future greatness of India depends more and more on unity and we should all think ourselves as Indians first and everything afterwards. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President of the Indian National Congress, said on Independence Day: 'We sought to achieve freedom for an India that was one and, to us, indivisible. But we had to accept the separation, however painful, because freedom from foreign rule was the imperative necessity of our national existence and unity without freedom had turned into disunity. Freedom achieved unity may return, a unity truer than we had before.'

For the secession of Pakistan from the Indian Union, my own personal opinion is that the Hindus were to a certain extent responsible. From my talks with Hindus I invariably found that very few Hindus had any real sympathy for the Muslim community. They were always ready to find fault with the Muslims. This is not the right attitude when we are all citizens of one country. There ought not to be even an atom of ill-will towards our neighbour. Love begets love. It is by love that we must win over the Muslim. If we are the true disciples of Gandhiji, we must follow his teachings. He was an enemy of communalism and preached against it. Dear

reader, you and I are not likely to be assassinated. But think for a moment why such a decrepit saintly man was killed. It was because he was ever preaching against communalism and wished that Muslims and Hindus should live as brothers.* Many Hindus did not like this preaching and Nathuram was only a tool in their hands.

The Indian nation has lost its greatest treasure, because there was no good will by a certain section of the Hindus towards their fellow citizens, the Muslims. Sir Mirza Ismail, ex-Dewan of Mysore, stated that it was correct to say that Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life for the Muslims of India and that he had no doubt that the Muslims would always gratefully cherish his memory and would follow faithfully the principles he had laid down for their guidance.

Our great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with his inimitable bluntness and extreme sincerity, speaking at a meeting, in Delhi, on February 2, 1948, where over quarter of a million people attended, said:

'The act of a mad man had created a great upheaval not only in India but in the entire world. Anger and rage over what that man had done was quite natural, but the people must realize that they would achieve nothing by losing their tempers. The vital question today was not to take revenge upon that misguided young man or his associates, but to think coolly and find out why and how India produced a man who was capable of inflicting such a terrible wound on the soul of the Indian nation. That man and his action could not be treated as an isolated incident. It was the outcome of various evil forces which had been let loose in the country during the past few months.

Communalism 'was preached freely and hatred against the other community was glorified by certain organisations. For

* It was heartening to hear Pandit Nehru's speech in Madras on July 24, 1948. He said: 'we have declared war against communalism; it is such a vicious thing, and such an evil, that we will not tolerate communalism, and India will take whatever the consequence.'

letting that poison spread and a dangerous atmosphere prevail in the country you and I are as much to blame as any one else. The duty of every patriotic citizen of India was to try to eliminate that poison and improve the atmosphere. The flow of poison, if not checked immediately, was sure to lead the country to even greater disasters. Their grief and sorrow at the death of Mahatma Gandhi should make them give up the path that they had been treading for some time past, and bring about a radical change in their sense of values. The choice today before us is either to come to our senses or perish. But the decision had to be taken immediately, and there could be no confusing of issues. If you are in favour of communalism then say so, and do not deceive me, your own selves, and above all that great soul. You have no business to shout *Gandhiji-ki-jai* then. The Government would certainly punish the man who had committed the outrage, and also those who had helped him. But what action could be taken against those who were responsible for it only indirectly, by inciting the public feelings? Those who were demanding the establishment of a Hindu State have killed the greatest of all Hindus, but let no one take revenge because revenge is the very negation of what Mahatma Gandhi taught. On behalf of the Government, I could say that they were determined to put down lawlessness, communalism, and private armies with a strong hand. The communalism of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha has done much mischief, and created much distress in India, and we cannot tolerate any more the anti-national activities of any group.

We are planning to create a secular State, where one community, or group, or party will not be permitted to usurp the rights of another. In this task, the government needed the help of the people of India. We have faith in the basic goodness of the millions of our people. It may be clouded by something for some time, but it is inherent in everybody. It was this faith that made Mahatma Gandhi undertake his last fast, and, now, will not his death bring it to the surface? I appeal to the people to maintain peace, and not to impede the work of the government by taking the law in their own hands.'

Intense rage over the shooting of the saintly helpless old man was natural and it would have been pardonable had people resorted to lynching of Nathuram on the spot of the assassination. But the mob fury was directed on innocent people and hooligans set fire to many buildings

and factories and also killed some people and injured many. It was stated that the estimate of the financial loss suffered by the Hindu Mahasabha members in Poona, Bombay, and Sangli, exceeded 5 crores of rupees. Such a mad act must have pained Gandhiji's soul. This act of destruction of lives and property showed that the people were still undisciplined and could not be trusted to keep within the bounds of law when their minds were excited. If the Hindus could become so violent over an act done by a misguided Hindu, I shudder to think what would have been the position of India had a person of another faith committed such an act. The whole of India would have been one mass of flames and the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal would have been required to put out the fire. There is no sense in people shouting '*Gandhi-ki-jai, Gandhi-ki-jai*', if they cannot restrain themselves and observe the simple rule of non-violence taught so often by our Mahatma. It is no use deluding themselves by paying lip homage, and not really trying to understand or follow Gandhiji's basic teachings. Only six months ago, India raised herself in the estimation of the world by winning her freedom, but she lowered her prestige terribly by this single act of assassination of a saintly venerable old man by one of his own countrymen. Pandit Nehru's heart must have been aching when he uttered these painful words in the India Dominion Parliament on February 2, 1948.

'It is a shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against our Mahatma. It is a shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed, and done it to the greatest Indian of the day, and the greatest Hindu of the age.'

Gandhiji's first fast, in September 1924, was for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It had the sympathy of

the entire Indian nation. His last fast, in January 1948, was also for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, but the whole nation was not with him in that fast.

'India had grown so divided, so bitter, so full of hate and suspicion, so untrue to the tenets of all the various creeds in this country that it was only those who understood Mahatma Gandhi, that realised the meaning of that fast', so spoke Her Excellency Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, in a broadcast, two days after Gandhiji's death.

Mahatma announcing his decision to undertake his last fast in January 1948, said that the fast would continue till he was satisfied that there was a reunion of hearts of all communities brought about without any outside pressure. Pointing out that friendship among Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims was non-existent, Gandhiji observed that it was a state of things that no Indian patriot could contemplate with equanimity.

In India we must give equal rights to all persons, irrespective of their religions.* To whatever faith we belong, we are Indians first and we must act as such. The spread of Islam in India on an extensive scale started about the twelfth century. Most of the Muslims in India must be of Indian origin. Religion cannot change one's nationality, whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains or Buddhists. We must remember that we are Indians. There is no reason why we should quarrel among ourselves. The distinction made on religion must disappear altogether from the Indian mind as it interferes

* Pandit Nehru, in his speech in Madras on July 26, 1948, warned that the Hindus, because they are in a great majority, are in a dominant position, have to be very very careful that they do not become intolerant, do not exercise the dominant position in a wrong way, do not create fear, and suspicion in the minds of any minority.

with the political freedom of citizens. We have also to extend to the rest of the world the lesson of the equality of all men. If we fail to do that, then it will only mean that the people of India did not deserve their independence. The poison of communal hatred and violence has been spreading. The assassination of Gandhiji roused the Government and the leaders of India to a sense of their responsibility for putting down this evil. Since the assassin was a member of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Government took prompt action in arresting several members belonging to these two societies, thus placing a check on the spread of communalistic tendencies throughout the country. And many Muslims who are and have been holding high positions in this country have also suggested the liquidation of Muslim League in India. Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib, who officiated as Governor of Madras and later held the post of Member of the Viceroy's Council and who was reputed to be anti-Congress, said: 'Dissolve the Muslim League in India and win the confidence of the Hindu community.' This is a very good gesture from the Muslim community. Both Hindus and Muslims are now determined to eradicate the communal poison from the life of India and I am sure that the Christian community who form not an inconsiderable number in this country would wish the same. Until the communal organisations in this country are banned and rooted out, there will be no peace in the country and the freedom we attained cannot be enjoyed by us. And Mr. Jinnah, as you shall see later, had wished the same too, because he exhorted his people to consider themselves as citizens of one State.

Pandit Nehru, addressing troops at a huge military parade at Jullundur, on February 24, 1948, said: 'People of all communities living in the country whether Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, or

Jews, are all Indians. They should all work for the benefit of the country as a whole, and not for a particular community, and in that alone lies their safety and progress.'

He referred to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, and asked the gathering which, besides troops, consisted of over 1,000 civilians, to search their hearts and find out what had taken place in the country that led to such an abominable act. If they could not save the life of the most precious person how could they save the life of a humble citizen? It was, therefore, their duty to purge the poison of communalism that had led to the assassination of Gandhiji, from the country. India is a big country. Unless the people behaved properly and conducted themselves on the right path shown by their beloved leader, India could not be a great country. They must remember that, if there was weakness inside, India could not be strong to face any danger from outside. To make India big all differences between communities must disappear. They must conduct themselves as people of one country. They should forget that they belong to any particular province or religion. They must consider men and women of other provinces and religion as their brothers and sisters. If they did that, then alone would India become a great country. There could be no progress in the country if each community thought about its own benefit and not of other communities. Our motto should be how we can serve the country as a whole.

In Bombay, members of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Provincial Legislature discussed measures to eradicate all forms of communalism. Several members spoke of their experiences of communal organisations and communal-minded persons working in Government services and educational institutions who were carrying on propaganda of a communal nature in their spheres of work.

Gandhiji is dead and he has preceded us in the way of all. I do not feel sorry for him; he has gone, in all his glory, to a better and happier world. It is we that are the real losers, not he. As his son, Manilal Gandhi, who is now in South Africa, has said, 'I must surrender to the will of God. He must have a purpose in taking him away from us'. We must also admit that it was positively the will of God that Gandhiji should die at the hands of an assassin. Had he died a natural death, the awakening that has now come over the people of India for a determined effort at unity would never have happened. India would have marched on in her own slumbering way and disunity and ill-will between the two major communities would have increased. Gandhiji's unnatural death was perhaps the turning point in the life of India. His departed soul is watching and guiding us all in the right direction.

Just a month before his death, Gandhiji, addressing a gathering mainly of the Meos in the village of Jesarah in Gurgaon Tehsil, remarked that his word was not so powerful as it once used to be. There was a time when whatever he said was acted upon. If it had the original power, not a single Muslim should have found it necessary to migrate to Pakistan from the Indian Union or a single Hindu or Sikh to leave his hearth and home in Pakistan and seek asylum in the Indian Union. What had taken place—the orgy of murder, arson, loot, abduction, forcible conversions and worse that they had witnessed—was, in his opinion, unmitigated barbarism. True, such things were not unknown before, but there was not that wholesale communal discrimination. Tales of such happenings had filled him with grief and shame. Even more shameful was the demolition and desecration of mosques, temples, and Gurdwaras. Such madness, if it was not arrested, must spell ruin to both the communities. They were far from freedom while this madness reigned. What was the remedy? He had no faith in the force of bayonets. He

could only present to them the weapon of non-violence, which provided an answer to every emergency and which was invulnerable. It was common to all great religions—to Christianity no less than to Hinduism—but it had today been reduced to a mere copy-book maxim by the votaries of religions and in practice, they all followed the law of the jungle. His might be today a voice in the wilderness, but he had no other message to give them except this message of non-violence of meeting the challenge of brute force with power of the spirit. He was clear too, that no conversion or marriage of a woman to a member of the opposite community could be recognised as valid on the plea of consent or free will. It was abuse of words to talk of free consent when terror reigned. He would feel happy if his words could bring some consolation to them in their distress. Referring to Meo refugees who had been driven out of Alwar and Bharatpur State, he remarked that he looked forward to the day when all enmities would be forgotten and all hatred buried underground and all those who had been driven away from their hearths and homes would return to them and resume their avocations in perfect security and peace as before. His heart would then dance with joy. He would never give up that hope so long as he lived.*

* Addressing a mass meeting in Bombay on April 26, 1948, Pandit Nehru referred to the talk of reunion of India and Pakistan, and said that the Government would turn down any such proposal. He said he was opposed to the very idea because it was against nature. The creation of Pakistan was itself against nature. And now that it had come into being any talk of reunion would only result in the multiplication of those troubles which followed partition. Pandit Nehru affirmed that the Government of India wanted to maintain cordial and close associations with Pakistan. He would strive for closer understanding and association so that they could both play a prominent part in the international sphere. But if the efforts for closer co-operation failed, the Government of India were fully prepared to meet any eventuality.

Gandhiji has painfully admitted that he has lost his original power of demanding implicit obedience to his advice. I myself think so. The words '*Gandhi-ki-jai, Pandit-ki-jai*' are mere parrot cries. They are only mass cries. If the people have any respect, any regard, any value for his advice, the wholesale massacres of innocent women and children, on a scale, unheard of during the British regime would not have happened. The worst of all was the mammoth mistake of the partition of the country. Gandhiji was never in favour of two separate Dominions and the leaders of India must now be sorry for the hasty action they took in accepting the partition idea. All the troubles in India are due to this initial error, which must be rectified at any sacrifice. Lord Wavell, who is an authority on military matters, was against the proposal. He said that we could not alter geography and that from the point of view of defence, India was a natural unit. Owing to the non-existence of caste, Indian Muslims are a united people. Muslims throughout the world have one great quality, that is, unity. If one State is in danger, other States would endeavour to give her help, though not in the shape of arms, but at least moral support. For all practical purposes, Pakistan is now not a friendly country and we are now living on the brink of a volcano which might at any time throw its smoke, lava, flame, and cinders on the Indian soil. All the Muslim countries, Afghanistan, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran are nearer to Pakistan. This ought to be a warning to India. Unless the partition mistake is remedied in time, our descendants may find India a slave country again, not under the benign rule of the British, but under a rule of the Hitler type.

Earl Mountbatten, former Governor-General of India, addressing the Royal Empire Society in London, on October 6, 1948, admitted the mistake of the partition of the Punjab. Speaking of the Sikhs, he said they were a small

but compact minority. He had accepted the resolution that the Punjab should be partitioned, thinking that the Sikhs knew what they were about. Later on I sent for a map, and I was astounded to find they had succeeded in bisecting themselves almost equally, one-half in India and one in Pakistan. It was too late to do anything about it. It would have required a miracle to keep Sikhs together. It was basically the cause of much of the consequent trouble in the Punjab.

According to a statement issued on May 6, 1947, by Sir A. Rahim, a former President of the Central Assembly, the blame for the division of the country into Hindustan and Pakistan is attached to the Hindus. He said: 'The demand for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab will be treated by Muslims as additional proof that Caste Hindus as a community, whether speaking through the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha, are determined, if they can, not to allow the Muslim community any real political opportunity. He further said: 'Mr. Jinnah, by his latest statement, has defined in clear terms some of the important implications of his scheme for the future independent India. He is strongly opposed to the latest move of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, and certain Sikh leaders of the Punjab for the partition of the latter Province and of Bengal.' Mian Mumtaz Daultana, a leading Muslim Leaguer from the Punjab, warned the Sikhs: 'The proposed partition of the Punjab would make the Sikhs ineffective on both sides of the dividing line. I appeal to the Sikhs to reconsider their position *vis-a-vis* the Muslims, as both were destined to live together, tied to the same soil. Partition will sever their connections, disrupt their life, isolate them from the places which they have enriched, their culture, their religion, and their industry. Terrible happenings have made them bitter, but let us judge the past in its true perspective and apportion blame in the

stern light of justice. In no case must we, in anger or in hatred, despoil and disrupt our future destiny.'

We must remember that these warnings were given more than three months before the actual Independence was declared. Everything seems to have been done in a mighty hurry. Failure to heed these warnings by responsible people has ended in disastrous results to our country and has brought ruin, both morally and materially, to countless number of people.

We have now launched on a new experiment of transfer of population from one province to another. This is something like uprooting a big tree and trying to plant it in another place. The tree is bound to fade and wither away. The Union Finance Minister has told us that India had been shaken to its very foundations by the great Punjab tragedy. It was stated by him that thousands of Indian people had been brutally butchered, and millions of innocent men, women, and children driven out of their ancestral homes and forced to make a dusty, deadly trek in search of new homes. The crying concern then was to dress the wounds of uprooted humanity and to mobilise our financial resources to set aright an unhinged economy. Many crores of rupees were spent on refugees problem alone. This colossal expenditure is draining our exchequer. Dear reader, who has a mother and sisters and probably a wife too, place yourself in the position of a farmer with his wife and children, big girls, small girls and boys, his cows and buffaloes, and farm bullocks. He has been living in his ancestral home for years and has been developing his farm lands. How can you expect him to transport his family and farm implements and live-stock to another unknown region and start life again? To add to his agonised mind, his unmarried daughter and his young wife are abducted. This unfortunate farmer would rather prefer, in such circumstances, an Hitler's death

chamber for himself and family rather than undergo all these privations, humiliation, and dishonour. Responsible leaders should place themselves in the position of these unfortunate people and ponder over their difficulties and disgrace to their families. It is against human nature to expect these people to forget the harm done to them and to forgive the offenders. How can a woman forget the damage done to her chastity which is her sacred possession? What has this poor farmer done to be dispossessed of his ancestral lands which he and his forefathers have been enjoying for ages? This sore could never be healed till the end of his life and there would be natural animosity between the aggressor and the aggrieved till the end of one's life.

The thoughts that come foremost to my mind are,

- (i) Where such wholesale massacres and abductions possible during the British regime?
- (ii) Is this the wage of our independence?
- (iii) Is there no law, local or international, under which the persons responsible for such a tragedy could be brought to book and punished?
- (iv) Are we living in an age of civilisation and are we living in a civilised country?

Gandhiji has said that his heart would dance with joy if all the people who had been driven away from their hearths and homes would return to them and resume their avocations in perfect security and peace as before. Unless this is done there can be no peace and security in the country. I would like to cite here one of many instances how during the days of British administration similar crimes did not go unpunished. People directly or indirectly

responsible for murders, arson, and loot were brought to book. In modern times, even people guilty of offences committed during the war are punished.

General Dyer, for his error of judgement—or it may be that the crime was wantonly committed—was cashiered for the Jallianwallah Bagh blunder in the Punjab on April 13, 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill (ex-British Premier), wrote then a scathing indictment, thus:

‘This is an episode which appears to me to be without precedent or parallel in the modern history of the British Empire. It is an extraordinary event, a monstrous event, an event which stands in singular and sinister isolation. The crowd (at the Bagh) was unarmed except with bludgeons. It was not attacking anybody or anything. It was holding a meeting. When fire had been opened upon it to disperse it, it tried to run away. Pinned up in a narrow place with hardly any exits, and packed together so that one bullet would drive through three or four bodies, the people ran madly this way and the other. When the fire was directed upon the centre they ran to the sides. The fire was then directed upon the sides. Many threw themselves down on the ground, and the fire was then directed on the ground. Finally when the ammunition had reached the point that only enough remained to allow for the safe return of the troops and after 379 persons had been killed and when most certainly 1,200 or more had been wounded, the troops at whom not even a stone had been thrown swung round and marched away.’

It is now the sacred duty of the Indian Government to devise a formula under which these unfortunate people could be restored to their original homes.* No stone should

* My view has found strong support from certain influential quarters. A Goodwill Mission from India, headed by Pandit Sunderlal, is stated to be leaving for Pakistan to persuade the authorities there to take back the refugees from India and resettle them in

be left unturned. Our Ministers should regard themselves as the actual aggrieved persons and try to find a *via media* for solving this difficult problem. A spirit of reconciliation should prevail on both sides. The Indian Union should be prepared to make sacrifices. A proper treaty should be made between Pakistan and Indian Union for the future security of refugees when they are returned to their ancestral homes. A little persuasion and even submission to the other party's demands would not lower the prestige of the Indian Union. On the other hand, such a graceful act would be regarded by the outside world as generous-minded. After all we want a whole India and not a divided India if peace is desired.

Mr. Jinnah felt that Pakistan was regarded by the Indian Union as an inferior State, as was apparent from his recent talk with a Swiss journalist, given below. This idea must be rooted out from the minds of Pakistanis altogether by our actions and friendliness. Gandhiji, though he was regarded as the first citizen of India and senior in age to Mr. Jinnah, during the 20 days' talks regarding Pakistan, at Simla in September 1944, threw the customary rule of precedence aside and volunteered to meet Mr. Jinnah at the latter's house. This, I consider, was a noble example which, if we all follow, will smoothen our differences considerably.

Mr. Jinnah, in answer to a question by the Swiss journalist on March 11, 1948, whether, in international affairs, Pakistan and India would work jointly and also join hands for the defence of their borders—land and sea—and co-operate against any outside aggression, said: 'Personally, I have no doubt in my mind that our own

their ancient homes, The Mission includes some M.L.A.'s of East Punjab, Sardar Sant Singh, who led the Goodwill Mission to Ethiopia, and Syed Jaffer Imam, and Mr. Kazi Karimuddin, members of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

paramount interests demand that Pakistan and India should co-ordinate for their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place, and also it is of vital importance to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign States to collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers, both land and sea, against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences, and give domestic issues priority in the first instance. In other words, if we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs.' Asked further whether there was any hope of India and Pakistan coming to a peaceful settlement of their own with regard to their differences and disputes on very vital and important matters, Mr. Jinnah said: 'Yes, provided the India Government will shed the superiority complex, and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities.'*

In the course of a speech delivered in September 1947, on the occasion of his election as the President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Qaed-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, said: 'We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens of one State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because

* The appointment of Sri C. Rajagopalachariar as the Governor-General of India, is welcomed by Mr. Jinnah and Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. The new Governor-General is reputed for his absolute freedom from communal bias. With his statesmanship, political acumen, and broad national outlook he ought to be able to solve the urgent problem of unity of India and Pakistan.

that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the nation.'

Mr. Jinnah was a great lawyer in his days and he must be a good English scholar too. There is no ambiguity in his words and the meaning of his declaration is plain enough. The essence of his declaration is that every one, Muslim or Hindu, can live in peace in his newly-born State. There would be no discrimination or distinction between one community and another and yet from what we have seen and heard, a totally different condition of affairs seems to have been prevailing both in West Punjab and East Bengal. Why then so many Hindus and Sikhs, who have been living in peace and plenty all these years, some of them in their ancient homes built even before the British occupation of India, have been forced to leave them? Is this the meaning of the declaration? It was reported that more than 41 lakhs of Hindu and Sikh refugees have so far been evacuated to the East Punjab from Western Pakistan and nearly 10 lakhs* have migrated from East Bengal to West Bengal. This estimate

* Qaed-e-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a public meeting at Dacca (East Bengal) on March 21, 1948, denied that there had been an exodus of 10 lakhs of Hindus from East Bengal, and added that the official estimate would not put the figure beyond two lakhs at the utmost. Such exodus as had taken place had not been as a result of any ill-treatment of the minority communities. They had enjoyed greater freedom, and had been shown greater solicitude for their welfare than the minorities in any part of the Indian Dominion.

The cause of the exodus was to be found rather in the loose talk by some leaders in the Indian Dominion of the inevitability of war between Pakistan and India; in the ill-treatment of the minorities in some of the Indian Provinces, and the fear among the minorities of the likely repercussion of that ill-treatment here, and in the open encouragement to Hindus to leave this Province given by a section of Indian leaders, producing imaginary accounts of the flight of the minorities in Pakistan, and by the Hindu Mahasabha. All these propaganda and accusations about the ill-

does not include the number that have emigrated to Assam. In Bengal the emigration seems to have been voluntary and peaceful but in West Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs were fleeing in terror. It is difficult to reconcile Mr. Jinnah's avowed declaration full of nice promises with the orgy of murder, arson, loot, abduction, forcible conversions, and other acts of barbarism too loathsome to be put in cold print. Newspapers for days were full of pitiful news from the Punjab. They were as bad as the German and Japanese atrocities during the war. But such acts during the war were excusable as these barbarians were dealing with people of enemy countries. But here in India, Indians were killing and molesting Indians. It is not quite clear how Jinnah's Government permitted such atrocities to occur in their State. It is possible that the Police force were insufficient to deal with the situation thrust on them suddenly. During the British regime, it is customary for us to demand public enquiry even in small matters and it is hoped that a similar practice would be followed in the case of the Punjab atrocities. We are living in an age of civilisation and in the interest of the good name of Pakistan and its administration an impartial public enquiry should be made in the matter and its conclusions should be given wide publicity.

But one thing is certain, and that is, divine justice would be dispensed to the person or persons in an impartial manner, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, or Christians, for any act of wanton injustice done to others.

treatment of the minorities stand belied by the fact that over 12 million non-Muslims continue to live in this Province in peace and have refused to migrate.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated: 'We shall treat the minorities in Pakistan fairly and justly. Their lives and properties in Pakistan are far more secure and protected than in India. We shall maintain peace, law and order, and protect and safeguard fully every citizen of Pakistan without distinction of caste, creed, or community.'

In my book on Burma recently published I gave a warning in the following words: 'We will find in the long run that the adoption of peaceful methods would lead the country to independence and prosperity much quicker than by violent methods. The present war has taught us at least one good lesson. Whoever sought to attain his object by aggressive and violent methods, like Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo, has brought ruin on himself and his country. Let us profit by this lesson.' My prediction has come true in the case of U Saw, ex-Premier of Burma, who has been tried and sentenced to death by a tribunal of three Burmese Judges and confirmed by the Supreme Court of Burma, for his part in the murder of U Aung San, Premier of Burma, and six of his Cabinet colleagues. What an ignominious end to a man who practically ruled his country at one time! He was hanged on May 8, 1948.

Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, speaking on October 11, 1947, at Karachi, to about 1,000 Civil, Army, Navy, and Air Force officers of the Pakistan Government declared that the DIVISION OF INDIA WAS AGREED UPON WITH A SOLEMN AND SACRED UNDERTAKING THAT THE MINORITIES WOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE TWO DOMINION GOVERNMENTS, AND THAT THE MINORITIES HAD NOTHING TO FEAR SO LONG AS THEY REMAINED LOYAL TO THE STATE. In spite of this undertaking, things have happened both in India and Pakistan that must be painful to both the Governments. They have hurled charges and countercharges at one another, in disregard of what must be generally known to their leaders, that such utterances, whether justified or not, cannot induce that spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding which is particularly vital at this juncture to the welfare of both Dominions. To assess rightly the attitude of both the Governments, extracts from their speeches are given side by side.

Mr. Jinnah's speech of October 11, 1947:

Mr. Jinnah hoped that the Government of India would see that their fair name was not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who were bent upon eviction, or extermination, of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods.

'If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be a mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at Governmental level, and it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements,' said Mr. Jinnah.

The Government of India should put a stop to the process of victimisation of Muslims, which, if persisted in, would mean the ruin of both the States.

The Qaed-e-Azam assured the minorities in Pakistan that they would treat them fairly, and that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to drive them away. We do not want them to be forced to leave Pakistan, and so long as they remain faithful and loyal to the State, they shall be entitled to the same treatment as any other citizen.

UNPRECEDENTED HOLOCAUST

Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah said:

Mr. Vallabhai Patel's speech of October 11, 1947:

The Deputy Prime Minister of India, Sardar V. Patel, in a rejoinder to a statement made by the Premier of Pakistan on the transfer of population said:

'My attention has been drawn to a statement issued by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the course of which he has taken exception to a portion of my speech at Amritsar, in which I said that I was quite certain that 'India's interest lay in getting all her men and women across the border, and sending out all Muslims from East Punjab.' Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's approach to my speech at Amritsar is so fundamentally wrong as to compel me to give this rejoinder.

He has evidently forgotten that the question of sending out Muslims from East Punjab or non-Muslims from West Punjab is no longer a matter of policy of any one Government, but an agreed arrangement between the Dominions of India and Pakistan. He, as a participant in the Inter-Dominion Conferences in which this agreement was reached, and the means of its enforcement settled, should have known better.

The same day as Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan issued his statement,

The establishment of Pakistan, for which we had been striving for the past 10 years, is an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was a means to an end and not an end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men, and where the principles of Islamic social justice could find free play. I had no illusion about the hard work that awaited us and the difficulties that had to be overcome. I was, however, fortified by the knowledge that I could count upon the unstinted support of all Muslims and also the minorities, whose co-operation, we could win over by fair, nay generous, treatment. Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust, unprecedented in history.

Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessly butchered, and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People, who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life, are today paupers with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan, but many more are still stuck in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have

his Principal Information Officer issued a Press Note containing decisions taken at the last conference of Ministers of both the Dominions, item 11 of which referred to the preparation of "plans of evacuation on the basis of the total figure of Muslim population in East Punjab, including non-Muslim States, and the total figure of non-Muslim population in West Punjab and the N.-W.F.P."

ISSUES SIDE TRACKED

Politicians' memories are proverbially short, but that of the Prime Minister of Pakistan seems to be shorter. If, therefore, he deliberately ignores these facts or side-tracks the issues involved, the conclusion is irresistible that he is not prepared to own or face up to the consequences of decisions to which he has been a willing party.

VAIN ASSURANCES TO MINORITIES

He has also repeated the oft-heard assurances to the minority communities of Pakistan. The value of these assurances is writ large on thousands of murders, abductions, forced marriages, burnt houses and maimed children, and the treatment of non-Muslim men, women and children leaving Pakistan in utter distress, but still being subjected to most harassing and humiliating experiences. Neither any sense

been unmindful of their sad plight.

The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern. Everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering.

REHABILITATION PROBLEM

The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State manifold.

This is a challenge to our very existence. If we are to survive as a nation, and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality, we shall have to grapple with the problems facing us with redoubled zeal and energy.

Our masses are disorganized and disheartened today by the cataclysm that has befallen them. Their morale is exceedingly low.

We shall have to do something to pull them out of the slough of despondency and galvanise them into activity. All this throws additional responsibility on Government servants to whom our people are looking for guidance.

A fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determination

of chivalry, nor decency seems to guide those who are so solicitous of minorities' welfare as to resort, in the name of Pakistan, to wholesale pilfering of fleeing refugees. Men and women in tattered clothes who have found refuge in India, persons deprived of all their worldly possessions, children from whom the last bottle of sweets is snatched in order presumably to prevent the transfer of bulk merchandise, and women stripped to the last ornament, and standing with just the bare clothes on their body, provide a sad commentary on the so-called assurances of a fair deal which are being offered to non-Muslims in Pakistan.

Lét the leaders of Pakistan, therefore, be under no delusion that these paper assurances are going to stop this emigration of non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan.

REACTION OF INHUMAN ACTS

Such inhuman acts lead to a chain of reaction and counter-reaction, and it was with a desire to break this vicious circle that I proceeded to Amritsar and spoke directly to the lakhs of refugees assembled there. Judging from all accounts, and thanks to the hearty response secured from the Sikh leaders and the non-Muslim rank and file, the speech has largely succeeded in its objective.

to get down to the task of building our State on strong and firm foundations—a State which would be fit for our children to live in. This requires work, work, and more work.

SUPERHUMAN EFFORTS

I fully well realise that a majority of you have worked under a terrible strain during the war years, and might need relaxation. But you should remember that for us, the war has not ended. It has only just begun. If we are to fight it to victory, we shall have to put in superhuman efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions. It is time for constructive effort, selfless work, and steadfast devotion to duty.

This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that, now that Pakistan has been achieved, they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralised by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi. In others, the general lawlessness, prevailing in some parts of the country, has bred a spirit of indiscipline.

These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies, and will spell ruin for

It appears that this attack on my Amritsar speech is a clever move to create false propaganda on the ousting of the minority in Pakistan. If so, I am sure that it will miserably fail in its purpose. Those who see daily streams of refugees from all over Western Pakistan, can hardly be taken in by it. Those that are left behind are in daily terror of their lives. They know not what the morrow has in store for them.

On the other hand, in India, over three-fourths of the country, Muslims are following their normal avocations and showing no signs of leaving. They are living peacefully in their ancestral homes or on lands in complete protection of their lives and property vouchsafed to them by their Government.

us. It is the duty of all of you to see that this cancer is removed as speedily as possible.

You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause, and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.

God has given a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State. Let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.

TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

Another question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear that we would treat the minorities fairly.

I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bona fides, nor did they give us their wholehearted co-operation as citizens of Pakistan when the crisis suddenly overtook us.

Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, as subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organised plan to cripple Pakistan. But for a few sporadic incidents here and there, nothing has happened to mar the peace of Sind. Despite the prevalence of peaceful conditions here, the exodus of Hindus continues. Some have given way to panic, and others have been leaving Pakistan in the hope that it will be paralysed economically and socially. A lot of migrants are already realizing the folly of their rash act in leaving the country of their birth or domicile, but some interested parties persist in encouraging migration, which is fraught with grievous consequences for the migrants, and also does harm to our State in the process.

FRONTIER TROUBLES

It is true that there was some trouble in the N.-W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but it was not the outcome of any premeditated plan. Some excitable elements in society were carried away by the tales of woe brought by refugees from East Punjab, and sought solace in revenge, which was definitely against our policy and contrary to our express instructions to our people that there should be no retaliation. Whatever has happened cannot be justified.

I am, however, glad to say that this trouble was shortlived, and the situation was soon brought under control.

In West Punjab, things were rather different. It was nearer the scene of carnage, and could not escape the contagion. Regrettable incidents have, no doubt, taken place there, but the arm of the law is again asserting itself, and things are returning to normal.

When I turn my eyes to India, I find that the Muslim minority there has suffered grievous wrongs. Not content with having uprooted Muslims from East Punjab, certain sections in India seem to be determined to drive Muslims from the entire Dominion by making life impossible for them. These

helpless victims of organised forces feel that they have been let down by us. It is a thousand pities that things have come to such a pass. THE DIVISION OF INDIA WAS AGREED UPON WITH A SOLEMN AND SACRED UNDERTAKING THAT THE MINORITIES WOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE TWO DOMINION GOVERNMENTS, AND THAT THE MINORITIES HAD NOTHING TO FEAR SO LONG AS THEY REMAINED LOYAL TO THE STATE.

If that is still the policy of the Government of India, they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims.

SETTLED POLICY

As regards the Government of Pakistan, I again reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that we shall pursue our settled policy in this res-

pect, continue to protect the lives and property of minorities, and give them a fair deal.

It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of the Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say.

It is you who can convince the man-in-the-street of the sincerity of our intentions. I am confident that you will not fail us.

To the "backbone of Pakistan," some 1,000 officers of the Government, the Governor-General finally said: Be united, be selfless, keep in front of you the collective good of the nation, and remember the motto that I have often repeated: "Unity, discipline, faith."

Mr. Jinnah, addressing the Convocation of the Dacca University on March 24, 1948, said:

Let me tell you something of the difficulties that we have overcome of the dangers that lie ahead. Thwarted in their desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to finding ways and means to weaken and destroy us. Thus, hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust. Thousands of men, women and children were mercilessly butchered and millions were uprooted from their homes. Over 50 lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks. The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees stricken in body and soul, present problems which might well have destroyed many a well-established State. But those of our enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at its very inception by this means were disappointed. Not only has Pakistan

survived the shock of that upheaval, but it has emerged, stronger, more seasoned and better equipped than ever.

There followed in rapid succession other difficulties such as withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment, and latterly, the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your province, I have no doubt that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion deplore these happenings and I am sure that the attitude of mind that has been responsible for them will change, but it is essential that you should take note of these developments. They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part.

For the benefit of my readers, I have given in opposite columns the appeals made by the Ministers of the two Governments, Indian Union and Pakistan. The hearts of these Ministers must have been bleeding when they made their pathetic appeals about the restoration of abducted women. These Ministers have their own families and they could quite understand the sanctity of womanhood. Of all the acts of barbarism committed by both sides, the abduction of women was the most shameful and reprehensible. India cannot boast of her ancient culture and civilisation if people could have lowered themselves in committing these most inhuman and shameless acts.

Indian Union Minister's appeal:	Pakistan Minister's ap- peal:
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Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, broadcasting on February 18, 1948, in connection with the 'Restore Women and Children Week', made a fervent appeal for the restoration of abducted women.

Sardar Patel said: I am taking this opportunity of adding a few words to the powerful appeals which have already been made on behalf of the

'Those people of India and Pakistan who can think, understand and foresee the course of future events know it full well that the prosperity of both countries lies in a peaceful settlement of our mutual disputes after which we can get busy with our State building task', said Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan's Minister for Refugees, broadcasting from Lahore on February 17, 1948.

thousands of distressed women. During the recent disturbances which overspread both West and East Punjab and the Frontier and enmeshed a part of the beautiful Kashmir Valley and Jammu Province, nothing has degraded us more than the foul crimes and barbarities which have been inflicted on innocent women and children who have been forcibly torn from their kith and kin and subjected to most inhuman indignities and violence. Even the law of the jungle does not countenance such insensate wrongs, these are completely alien to the traditions of any society and civilisation. There should be no place, therefore, in this world for wrong-doers of this type and it behoves us all to see that such transgressions of civilised conduct are put down with a strong and firm hand.

When I think of the sorrowful plight and miserable sufferings of these mothers and sisters, my heart fills with distress and grief. Women of education and breeding, many of whom had been nourished in the lap of luxury; all had led a peaceful and sheltered existence with those with whom they had ties of blood and affection; many were valuable treasures of poor men's houses, which are now left desolate and ruined—all these have been uprooted from their natural surroundings and placed by the cruel hands of

in connection with the 'Restoration Week'.

He said: 'Both countries are so much inter-dependent that unless mutual disputes come to an end, the people of both countries cannot hope to lead lives of plenty, peace and comfort. The greater the patriot, the keener in him is the realisation of this fact. Mahatma Gandhi has sacrificed his life in the pursuit of this ideal—peace between the two peoples. He could foresee that if mutual relations did not improve and bitterness continued, the country as a whole would be enslaved once again. Therefore, he fearlessly pursued the path of communal harmony, regardless of the anger that it caused in the hearts of the short-sighted and impulsive youth. The ground for establishing better relations between the two countries has been created by sacrificing a great life. Therefore, it is the duty of all peace-loving and patriotic people to pool their resources in achieving better relations between the two countries.

For this, the most important is the restoration of the girls who had been carried away forcibly. They should be returned immediately. After partition on August 15, among the heartless cruelties that were perpetrated on both sides of the border, the most shameful was that women were abducted.

frenzied criminals into conditions of existence which shame humanity and all the virtues and qualities which go to make God's own creature—man. To rescue them from these living conditions and restore them to their original environments is, therefore, an essential mission if men's reputation is to be rehabilitated as that of human beings. Failure in this mission would mean that we are not fit to face the bar of human history and must go down to the future ages as those who degraded humanity to depths lower than those of beasts.

NEED FOR CONCENTRATED EFFORT

Those who have braved adversity and challenged obstructions and obstacles in this noble undertaking, have deserved well of the nation and humanity whose cause they have tried to uphold. The results they have achieved may appear slight when compared to the dimensions of the problem, but if we consider how much concentrated effort, public zeal, and patience and grit have been expended on the achievement of these results, we would be able to appreciate not only what has been done, but also what requires to be done to salvage these treasures from the wrecks of human civilisation. It is obvious that an enterprise of such gigantic proportions cannot be successfully accom-

Other excesses were no less painful but those wounds can be healed with time. One can stand the loss of life and property, but to be torn away from one's mother, sister, wife or daughter and the feeling that they are imprisoned by people in the neighbouring country are wounds which, for all time, will stay in people's hearts, and will remain fresh for generation after generation. As long as these wounds remain, all attempts at maintaining friendly relations between the two countries will be fruitless.

People of India and Pakistan who have the good of their country at heart should try to root out this cause of animosity by restoring the women of the other country. Apart from political considerations, it is also morally and religiously obligatory that this blot should be washed from the fair name of the respective countries.

Every religion and every culture condemns the oppression of innocent and helpless womenfolk. Islam teaches respect not only for your own women folk but also enjoins upon us the respect and sanctity of others' womenfolk. Whenever Muslims went to war, they were specially instructed not to harm children, old people and women and to protect all those sisters, daughters and innocent children who came under their survey, to protect their life and honour

plished if we do not have both popular and official support. Such support must, therefore, be given by the Government and the people in both India and Pakistan. To withhold it would be contrary not only to solemn undertakings entered into by both the Governments, but also to all laws of social existence and codes of honour.

We have also to awaken the conscience of those who have perpetrated these wrongs or who have now acquired possession of these women as though they were goods and chattel for sale or articles of prize and booty. I would appeal to them to realise their error and to reflect what stakes are involved in their persistence in the wrong course which they have adopted. Neither the sacred name of religion which might have been invoked by them in perpetrating these wrongs, nor the desire for vengeance, retaliation or plunder which might have actuated them, can ever be pleaded in extenuation of the enormity of their misdeeds. Only repentance and restoration of the wrong committed can bring them back into the fold of normal human beings.

OPPORTUNITY FOR RECLAMATION

This is, therefore, their opportunity for reclamation. Let them listen to the voice of their own conscience, to the

and to restore them to their relatives when possible with such care, sanctity, and respect that even the opponent should be impressed by their generosity, tolerance, and high morale. The heartless people who are withholding these unfortunate and wretched human beings should calmly think for a moment that if their own women had been abducted what would be their feelings.

To devise more effective means of recovery and restoration of abducted women and children, a meeting of representatives of Pakistan and India was held at Lahore on February 18, 1948, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Refugees Minister, Pakistan Government. The Lord Bishop of Lahore and Mr. K. L. Ralia Ram were present by special invitation as representatives of missionaries.

After revising and discussing the existing arrangements for the recovery and restoration of abducted women and children, it was decided that Christian missionaries in various districts be requested to co-operate in this humanitarian task.

The following were present: Miss Mridula Sarabhai and Mr. K. L. Punjabi, representing India and Begum Tasaduq Hussain, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Muzaffar, Khan Qurban Ali Khan and Major Mohd. K. Sadiq representing Pakistan.

injunctions of their own religion, to the rules of their own society, to the principles of their own existence, and to the codes of honour and chivalry. Let them reflect on how they themselves would have felt if their own womenfolk had to share the fate which, through their instrumentality, has befallen these innocent victims of human folly and lust.

I have no doubt that if they bestow a moment's thought to these considerations they will themselves realise the errors of their ways and offer to facilitate the task of all those who are engaged in this mission of rescue and succour.

I should also like to add a word for those unfortunate and grief-stricken relations who have lost their mothers, wives and sisters. I can well imagine what torments affect their minds and what agony afflicts their hearts. I also know that many are facing and are prepared to face perils of all kinds to get back their dear ones. I have not come across any who is not anxious to claim them back into his home. I would advise them not to lose heart but to persist in their efforts to trace them. After all, where so many thousands are involved, it is impossible for official agencies alone to discover or follow the track. Individual or collective non-official effort, backed by official support, would probably

'The existence of abducted women in Pakistan is a blot on our country, and so long as they remain in Pakistan they must be regarded as a sacred trust,' declared Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, West Punjab Premier, in a broadcast talk here on February 18, 1948.

He said: 'Muslim women in thousands were still being kept in indecent captivity in India. They should be brought to Pakistan without any further delay. But it is only possible if all non-Muslim abducted women in West Punjab are immediately restored to their relatives who have left Pakistan.'

achieve much more than mere official action. I hope, therefore, that neither disappointments nor temporary setbacks will damp their ardour and that they will pursue their task with doggedness and determination.

ASSURANCE TO AFFLICTED WOMEN

To the grief-stricken women themselves, I should like to send a message of sympathy and comfort. Their misery and plight have stirred our hearts. They are constantly in our thoughts. Whenever we can get at them, we will do so.

They need be in no doubt either of the genuineness of the anxiety of their relations to

claim them back or the zeal and intensity of the efforts to rescue them. I realise what cups of bitterness and miseries they must be drinking every minute or hour of their life but patience and faith have moved mountains and melted the coldest hearts. Let them, therefore, persist in both, and I am sure they will invoke God's blessings for the success of their rescuers and awaken the conscience of the wrong-doers.

From the following Press communique issued from Karachi, on July 27, 1948, it is obvious that the relations between Pakistan and India even after a year of the grant of independence are far from cordial. If such an attitude prevailed, it is apparent that we are not going to have any real peace in India, as there will be always be distrust and friction between the two major communities, Hindu and Muslim.

'The Government of Pakistan have lodged a strong protest with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in connexion with the speech made at Madras by Pandit Nehru, in which he was reported to have said that Pakistan was basing her policy on falsehood and deceit.

The United Nations Commission, in a resolution issued from Delhi recently, had appealed to the Governments of India and Pakistan to refrain from 'making or causing to be made any statements likely to aggravate the situation'.

*** Pandit Nehru, addressing the public meeting in Madras on July 25, 1948, said: 'Pakistan has achieved a remarkable capacity for piling falsehood upon falsehood. It is amazing. She goes on building policies on lies, falsehood, and deceit. But it is fantastic to say that we are trying to put an end to or, encouraging anyone to put an end to Pakistan. By that we would be doing an injury to ourselves.'

A press communique of the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations stated: 'It

is with the deepest regret that the Government of Pakistan have read the account of Pandit Nehru's speech at Madras, in which he has accused Pakistan of basing her policy on falsehood and deceit. He has left no one in doubt with regard to his attitude towards Pakistan. Only recently on July 7 at Pathankot on the opening of the new Pathankot-Jammu Road, he indulged in similar objectionable language.

Nothing could be more ill-advised than these irrational and dictatorial assertions, and nothing could be less conducive to the spirit of goodwill, which, throughout, it has been Pakistan's endeavour to achieve between the two dominions.

His utterances pay scant respect to the spirit of the Calcutta Inter-Dominion Agreement, and to the earnest appeal by the United Nations Commission that both Dominions should refrain from making or causing to be made any statements likely to aggravate the situation.

The Government of Pakistan are of the view that no useful purpose would be served by taking serious notice of Pandit Nehru's accusations, and do not propose to indulge in polemics with the Government of India. It is evident that Pandit Nehru is still unable to accept the fact of partition, and that his and other Indian leaders' consent to partition was given with mental reservations, which are now being revealed.

So long as this attitude persists, no number of Inter-Dominion conferences can succeed in establishing normal and neighbourly relations between the two Dominions, which Pakistan so earnestly seeks.

Whatever damage to the cause of peaceful settlement of disputed matters may have been done by Pandit Nehru's aggressive diatribe, the Government of Pakistan will continue in every way possible to strive for the establishment of goodwill and good-neighbourly relations between the two Dominions.'

Pandit Nehru, in the concluding portion of his book 'The Discovery of India,' has made the following pertinent remark:

'The officers of the Indian National Army, formed in Burma and Malaya during war years, became the symbols of unity among the various religious groups in India, for Hindu and Muslim and Sikh and Christian were all represented in that army. They had solved the communal problem among themselves, and so why should we not do so?'

During the Moghul period, particularly during the long reign of Akbar of nearly half a century, there was complete harmony between Muslims and Hindus. Akbar's Court was a meeting place of men of all faiths. He even married a Rajput princess to win over the Hindus to his side. Since the great majority of Muslims in India were converts from Hinduism, Muslims and Hindus had common habits and ways of living, food, and clothing. Muslim men wear dhotis. They have been living peacefully as one people, taking part in each other's celebrations and festivals. Muslims and Hindus spoke the same language and their economic problems were identical. In the villages where the vast majority of the population lived, there was intimate relationship between the two communities. They did the same kind of work, farming, weaving, etc. If, during the Muslim Emperors' time, the Hindus and Muslims could have lived on a more corporate and joint basis, it is regrettable that there should be such strange alienation today between the Hindus and the Muslims, particularly after the grant of freedom to India. Unless the leaders of both communities take active steps to suppress this evil we shall have no real peace in this country. Leaders have said that the communal differences would settle themselves when the Britishers leave India,

but the position has deteriorated very badly since the government of the country was transferred to Indians.

Gandhiji died for the cause of unity among the peoples of India. If we are true to his memory, if we are to be loyal to his example, it is essential for us to develop purity of purpose. Let us not squabble over past mistakes. There should be no exploitation of individual by others, of creeds by other creeds, of classes by other classes, no discrimination against any race or religion, creed or community. These were the great ideals for which he lived and died. If we apply these principles in the right spirit, there ought to be no room for ill-will among the many peoples who inhabit this land and we should all be able to live as one big family. And there would be no need for Pakistan.

In spite of declarations made by the Ministers of the Indian Government, both Central and Provincial, from time to time that the State shall make no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, between caste or creed, it is regrettable to find that Muslims have not been given their legitimate places in the Provincial Cabinets, for example, in Madras, there is no Muslim Minister. If the policy of non-discrimination has been followed by the Congress, which is mainly composed of Hindus, why should they give room to the Muslims to feel that their community's rights have not been respected by the Hindu Ministry in Madras? In support of this grievance, I give below extracts from memorials submitted by the Muslim Educational Association of South India to the Governor-General during his visit to Madras in August 1948:

It is not our purpose to trouble Your Excellency on this occasion with any complaints or grievances but we may be pardoned if we avail ourselves of this opportunity to merely acquaint Your Excellency with the way in which the rights and privileges of the Muslim community as a minority in this Province, are being dealt

with, particularly in the matter of representation in the public services and other spheres and in the field of education and leave it to Your Excellency to find ways and means to afford us such relief as is possible in the circumstances, through the exercise of your good offices and sympathetic interest.

The reduction of Muslim representation in the public services from 17 per cent to 7 per cent; the removal of Muslim officers from key posts, for no other reason except that they are Muslims; the delegation of Muslim officers in the Administrative and Police services to minor and unimportant posts in the districts; the denial of promotions to Muslim officers though entitled to the same on merit and seniority; the stoppage of recruitment of Muslims to certain of the public services on the plea of over-representation in lower ranks; the cancellation of licences to Muslims for possession of fire-arms and other arms required for self-defence and sport without assigning any reason and the seizure of the weapons; the removal of Muslims engaged for a long time in bus industry from this trade as a matter of policy in many parts of this province; the detention of numerous law abiding and loyal Muslim citizens in prisons from February last on the false reports of the Police; the abolition of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the case of Urdu-knowing Muslims in the Province, even in the elementary schools; the abolition of the Government College for Muslim Women, Madras, and refusal to transfer management of the College to the Muslim Educational Association of Southern India in spite of memorials, deputations and public representations; the proposal to abolish Muslim high schools on the so-called ground of uneconomic maintenance; the refusal to sanction building grants for the only Muslim Orphanage of its kind in the Province; the non-inclusion of Muslims on the Selection Committees appointed by the Government for the Government professional colleges; and the pursuing of a policy to close down long-standing institutions for Muslim education.

It was gratifying, however, to learn of the sincere sympathy shown by Sri Dr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor-General of India, to the Muslim community when he laid the foundation-stone of the Muslim Orphanage buildings in Madras on August 24, 1948. He observed: 'This is not a Muslim orphanage. It is an Indian orphanage. They are all my children. I wish to ask you all, my

Hindu friends, to treat all Muslim children as your own children, and, if possible, with special favour so as to remove their fears and their doubts.' Further he showed his practical sympathy by sending a handsome donation to the orphanage.

Mere words, mere preachings would not improve matters. We must put the advice of our elder statesmen into action. Not only Muslims feel that they are not treated properly, but also another important community, Catholics and their bishops and their clergy feel, rightly or wrongly, that their community has not been given their rightful places in the Cabinet and in the important branches of Government service.* Priests and nuns, who devote their lives to the cause of the spread of education among the masses in India, irrespective of caste and creed, do so without caring for any material gain in this world but for the sake of service to God through man. They should be content to know that their work is really appreciated by such important persons as the Governor-General Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Congress President, and Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore. At the Golden Jubilee celebration of St. Aloysius High School, Bangalore, on December 4, 1948, the Dewan paid a glowing tribute to the work done by the Christian Missions in India in the field of education. He claimed that they had made Hindus and Muslims far stronger than they would have been by their soul-awakening work. He pointed out that nearly 75 per cent of the literate South Indians would have been sunk in the thralldom of complete illiteracy but for the work of the Christian Missions.

A tribute to the services rendered in India by the foreign missionary in fields like education and medical aid, was paid by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Congress President,

* In Madras, Mr. J. L. P. Roche-Victoria, a member of this community has since been appointed as a Minister.

when presiding over the celebration of the 'Madras Christian College Day'. He himself was a student of that college.

What more compliments are wanted for the work of the Christian Missions in India? Besides many educational institutions established all over the country, well-known medical institutions, such as, the Vellore Mission hospital and college, the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle, are living monuments to the self-sacrificing work of the foreign missionaries to whom India owes a lot.

In the newly-elected Congress Working Committee, January 1949, among the 20 members, only two are Muslims, one a Sikh, and the rest are all Hindus. Unfortunately no member of the Christian community found a place on the Committee. The policy of the Congress and of the present Government would therefore be practically shaped by the Hindus. I dislike communalism in any form or shape. It was the cause of all our troubles in the past. Christians must not therefore claim separate electorate in the Legislative Councils, Municipalities, or in any public body or Association. They should bestir and identify themselves with the Congress and join it in larger numbers. Otherwise they would be lost in obscurity. The Hindus, on their part, should treat people of other religions as a limb of their body and give them equal, if not more, rights and facilities and win their affection. I would even go to the extent of suggesting that not less than half the number of the Congress Working Committee should be reserved to persons other than Hindus, irrespective of the fact that the major population of India are Hindus. If we want real harmony and comradeship in the country, Hindus should behave in such a way that no other community should entertain the least suspicion that it is not fairly treated by the Hindus. It is the duty of the majority community to show not merely justice but also generosity towards the minority communities. What is

happening in our neighbouring country, Burma, between the major community, Burmans, and the minority community. Karens, should be a warning to us, Indians. We have already had the bitter experience of the clash between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Religion is a mere personal affair and cannot change one's nationality. It should find a place only in temples, mosques, and churches, and in our hearts and homes and should not interfere with our political and social activities. We must always remember that we are all Indians and pull together as a team. I would suggest liquidation of all Associations which bear a religious character, such as the Hindu Mahasabha, Indian Christian Association, Muslim Association. I would even suggest the elimination of the word 'Christian' in the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Many Hindus generally regard the Y. M. C. A. as a thin-veiled proselytising agency, as Hindus, Muslims, and even Catholics are not admitted on the Board of Directors. Such class Associations tend to stir up political rivalries and ambitions.

The debate in the Indian Constituent Aessmbly, on May 26, 1949, showed that my view was correct. Electorates on a religious basis in a Secular Democratic State are out of place and are abolished. At this debate, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, gave very cogent reasons in support of the motion.

CHAPTER VIII

MAHOMED ALI JINNAH

While compiling this book, an unexpected sad event occurred in the death of Qaed-e-Azam † Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, at Karachi, of heart-failure, on Saturday, September 11, 1948. A short account of his life would not be inappropriate in this place as he strove to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity on a basis of communal equality.* In his earlier days he was a great enemy of communalism. But his differences with the Congress Party and the Hindu Community forced him and his colleagues to carve out a separate State for the Muslim Community of India. How friendly he was with the Hindu Community at one time can be gauged by the fact that he was engaged as a defence counsel in the famous security proceedings case against Lokamanya Tilak, a well-known figure in the Congress group.

Mahomed Ali Jinnah was born on Christmas Day, 1876, at Karachi. His father, Jinnah Poonja, was a wealthy

† Literally 'the great leader.'

* Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, writing an appreciation of Srimathi Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, after her death stated that the great passion of her life was Hindu-Muslim unity. As a citizen of Hyderabad, whose fancy was captured by its mediaevalism, she felt she had a mission to fulfil and make of India an Akbarised nation. She had great faith in Mr. Jinnah and was not sure whether Congress leaders were not, in some way, responsible for the bitterness and hostility he later developed and his persistent venom and vituperation. She told me—that was in 1915—that she regarded Mr. Jinnah as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. She felt the Hindu-Muslim rupture terribly. Even Gandhiji could not have felt it more deeply, more poignantly. But there was no anger in her but frustration to the core. Not being angry, she hoped for a better future, one of harmony at least though not unity. Vain hope perhaps, but don't we live by faith and the clouds that rise out of our own heated emotions to temper the scorching rays of reality?

merchant, belonging to the Khoja (Muslim) community. Mr. Jinnah was very fond of the city of his birth, which was destined to become the capital of Pakistan, the biggest Muslim State in the world. He gave expression to his love of Karachi, when, speaking at the session of the Indian National Congress in that city, in 1913, he said: 'You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city where I was born, where I have found by my side personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood.'

Mr. Jinnah had his early education in a Madressah, where he learnt the Quoran and the fundamental tenets of Islam. Later he joined a Mission School at Karachi and passed his Matriculation. In 1892 he was sent to England to study law; and he joined Lincoln's Inn and, in 1896, at the age of 20, was called to the Bar. He was an industrious student and always showed a deep sense of responsibility and discipline. His courtesy, affability, and dignified bearing won him the regard and affection of his colleagues. Brought up in affluence, he was faced with adversity on his return to India. His father who was always generous and ready to trust others incurred a heavy loss in his business. But Mr. Jinnah was undaunted. With courage and fortitude he faced the new situation in which he was placed and took the whole responsibility of supporting his family.

In 1902 he began practice in the Bombay High Court. An old friend of his family introduced him to the then Advocate-General of Bombay, Mr. Macpherson, and the latter allowed Mr. Jinnah to read in his library and his chambers. He soon made his mark as a lawyer by his extraordinary acumen, high integrity, and his gift of ready wit and repartee. He was sometimes called the Sir John Simon of the Indian Bar.

Mr. Jinnah began his public life as a journalist. While a student in England he came into contact with Dadabhoy Naoroji, who was the President of the London Indian Society, and whose private secretary he became later in India. He took an active part in the work of the Indian National Congress, and strove to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. G. K. Gokhale once described him as 'one who has true stuff in him, and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which makes him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity'.

Mr. Jinnah had the distinction of being the best dressed man in India. It was stated that his wardrobe contained about 800 suits and more than 50 gold cuff links. He married a wealthy Parsi lady, the daughter of a Baronet, Petit, and out of this marriage was born his only child, who too chose to marry a Parsi plutocrat, Neville Wadia.

When the All-India Muslim League was formed in 1906 to safeguard the interests of Muslims, Mr. Jinnah did not join it though he was as devoted as ever to the welfare of his fellow-religionists. Invited by Muslim leaders, he attended a conference held in 1912 to remodel the constitution of the Muslim League, and in 1913, at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, still a non-member, sponsored a resolution embodying the ideal of attaining self-government, through constitutional means and by co-operating with other communities, and fostering unity. Shortly afterwards Mr. Jinnah became a member of the League. Presiding over the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad in 1916, he emphasised the need for communal unity. He said: 'Hindus and Muslims united and firm, the voice of 300 million people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of this country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist.' Mr. Jinnah believed that, with the political awakening of

the masses, there would be closer understanding between Hindus and Muslims. In his address to the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow he said: 'For me the reproach of separatism sometimes levelled at Muslims is singularly inept and wide of the mark when I see this great communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of a united India.' He supported separate electorates as he felt that Muslims must be roused from the coma and torpor into which they have fallen so long, and that separate electorates would help them to realise and safeguard their interests and responsibilities. He organised Muslims with the object of bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity on a basis of communal equality, and he was largely responsible for the simultaneous sessions of the Congress and the League at Bombay and Lucknow in 1915 and 1916.

In 1916 Mr. Jinnah was elected President of the Muslim League, and he laboured incessantly to make it a power in the country. Despite numerous obstacles and oppositions from various quarters, he strengthened the League and through it, united the Muslims of India and made them a strong 'nation' as he later called them. He was re-elected President of the Muslim League at a special session in 1920, and after 1934, he was re-elected every year. He was also successively returned to the Central Legislature, and was one of its ablest and most conspicuous members. In 1917 he championed the Home Rule movement organised by Dr. Annie Besant, and he was chosen President of the Bombay branch of the Home Rule League. He spoke frankly and fearlessly, always showing the courage of his conviction. On one occasion he remarked in the Imperial Legislative Council: 'I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly; but at the same time it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government are right.' The same principle was revealed in all his utterances.

In the Central Assembly he organised the Nationalist Party, and he strongly supported the demand for the grant of Dominion Status in India. He was an important member of the Reforms Inquiry Committee which was presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman and whose report was published in March 1925. The Congress was opposed to communal electorates, and in 1927 Mr. Jinnah agreed to a compromise on the issue of communal representation on the basis of joint electorates provided certain safeguards for Muslims were provided. Though Mahatma Gandhi agreed to it, Mr. Jinnah's memorandum was rejected by other Congress leaders.

At the Round Table Conference in London in 1930 Mr. Jinnah took an independent stand, but tried to bring about a settlement between Hindus and Muslims. Later, describing his position at the R. T. C. he wrote:

'I knew no pride and used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that 'Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity'. But I received the shock of my life at the meeting of the R. T. C. In the face of danger, the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there is no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate . . . I felt disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London.'

Mr. Jinnah stayed in London for four years, and he thought of becoming a member of the House of Commons. Seeing that the political situation in India had worsened, Mr. Jinnah returned from England in 1935 and resumed the leadership of Muslim League. At the 24th session of the League in April 1936, Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution criticising the new Constitution of India as being unworkable. He said that the scheme of Provincial autonomy might be utilised, but the Federal part of the Constitution was reactionary. Even though he was opposed to the Constitution, Mr. Jinnah never advocated non-co-opera-

tion. He advised Muslims to carry on a constitutional agitation.

Referring to the efforts he made at first Round Table Conference for an agreement, Mr. Jinnah said that his insistence on safeguards for Muslims was based on the position of that community as a minority, and not as a religious or a communal body. Having decided to contest the elections, the Muslim League constituted a Central Election Board, with Mr. Jinnah as its President. A manifesto issued by the League said: 'The main principle on which the representatives in various legislatures were expected to work would be: That the present Provincial constitution and the proposed Central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic and full self-government, and that in the meantime representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures would utilise the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of National life.' In a statement explaining the manifesto, Mr. Jinnah said: 'There is nothing communal in the programme and policy of the League except that we maintain the principle that Mussalmans as a minority should be adequately protected and safeguarded in the constitution of our country. I shall have no hesitation in supporting the Congress party in the Legislature in any measure which I think is in the interest of India.' In 1937 the Congress formed Ministries in seven out of 11 Provinces, and the League was dissatisfied with the policy followed by the Congress Ministries. When the League met in Lucknow in October 1937, Mr. Jinnah declared: 'Eighty millions of Mussalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as well knit, solid, organised force face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes.' Mr. Jinnah said, the Congress Ministers had

'launched an India-wide attack on Muslims,' and at the outbreak of World War II, when the Congress resigned office, Mr. Jinnah organised a 'Day of Deliverance, and thanksgiving for relief from the Congress regime.' Leaders realised the need to bring about an understanding between the Congress and the League and Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah met, but their talks did not bring about a settlement. Mr. Jinnah said that for an understanding between Muslims and Hindus, the Muslim League must be recognised as the only authoritative body to speak on behalf of Muslims.

In March 1940 the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding the establishment of a separate State—Pakistan. Explaining the resolution, Mr. Jinnah said: 'We want the establishment of completely independent autonomous state in the North West and Eastern zones of India, with full control of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchange, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an all-India character with one Government at the Centre.'

He held that the Muslims of India were a separate nation and said:

'Mussalmans came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers and brought with them their own culture and civilization and founded mighty Empires and built a great civilization. They reformed and remodelled the sub-continent of India. Today the Muslims of India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. We are a nation, with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and moral codes, customs and history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation.'

In the summer of 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came to India on a Mission from the British Cabinet, offering free-

dom for India after the cessation of hostilities. The offer was rejected by all political Parties in India. Mr. Jinnah said: 'The principle of Pakistan, which finds only veiled recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms. . . Mussalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised.' In August 1942 the Congress passed the 'Quit India' resolution. But Muslims, under the direction of Mr. Jinnah, kept aloof from the movement. In 1944, Dr. C. Rajagopalachariar carried on correspondence with Mr. Jinnah to bring about a Hindu-Muslim settlement, and presented a formula, and Mahatma Gandhi supported it, but the Gandhi-Jinnah talks again failed. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then organised a Non-Party Conference, and the latter constituted a Conciliatory Committee charged with the task of examining the communal question from a constitutional and political point of view and presenting a solution. At this time Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, left for England to consult His Majesty's Government, and the Conciliation Committee passed a resolution for the re-establishment of Popular Ministries in the Provinces, and the creation of a National Government at the Centre. But Mr. Jinnah said: 'Muslim India will not accept any attempt to change the present constitution in any way which would directly or indirectly be on the basis of a united India. The question of Pakistan is the first and foremost issue to be decided, preliminary to any consideration of the framing of any constitution.'

On his return from England Lord Wavell announced a plan to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council. According to him the new Council was to represent the main communities, and include an equal proportion of caste-Hindus and Muslims. Lord Wavell called a conference in Simla of representative leaders in June 1944. But the Congress insisted that it should be allowed to nominate

a Nationalist Muslim while the League claimed the right to nominate all Muslim Members, and the conference broke down. When the war came to a close, Mr. Jinnah made renewed attempts to further the cause of Muslims. He said: 'There is no use of talking of interim settlements. Let us go ahead with measures for a permanent constitutional settlement. Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is to be decided.' In the general elections that followed at the end of 1945 and the beginning of 1946, the League, under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, achieved a great victory, demonstrating the strength of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. In Madras, Bombay, and Orissa, all its candidates were returned, while in Frontier Province the Congress secured a narrow victory. In the other Provinces the League secured more than 90 per cent of the seats allotted to Muslims. In commemoration of this unprecedented success the League celebrated 'Victory Day' throughout the country.

In March 1946, when the Cabinet Mission visited India to consider how the Indian problem could be settled, the League reiterated its demand for the division of India, and urged that two Constituent Assemblies should be established. In June 1947 the Congress finally agreed to partition. On the establishment of Pakistan, under the India Independence Act passed by Parliament, Mr. Jinnah became the Governor-General of Pakistan in August, 1947. He threw himself into the task of placing the new State on a firm basis, and gave all his time and energy to its work. He allowed himself no rest despite the warnings of his doctors. None in modern times has done more for the resuscitation and unity of Muslims in India than Mr. Jinnah. He was always genial and affable, and his manners, urbane and charming. He was incorruptible, and his integrity, courage, and independence of thought and spirit were an

inspiration to all around him. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir once wrote: 'Nothing will side-track Mr. Jinnah from what he considers to be the path of truth, righteousness, and equity. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India today as he has been, and no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. Such men are rarely found in public life.' Mr. Jinnah considered no province higher than that of serving his people in the light of his Faith. He has often said. 'I know two things in life, Law and Politics. I am not a learned Maulana or a Moulvi. Nor do I claim to be learned in Theology. But I do know a little of my Faith, and I am a humble and proud follower of my Faith.'

Messages, mourning Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah's death, came from all parts of the world.

H. M. KING GEORGE VI sent a telegram of condolence to Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan.

'The Queen and I are distressed to hear the news of your distinguished brother's death. His loss will, we all know, be irreparable to yourself and to all in Pakistan. We send you our sincere sympathy.'

The news of Mr. Jinnah's death came as a great shock to British Government circles.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS, MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, at once cabled the British High Commissioner in Karachi 'Please transmit to Miss Jinnah and to the Prime Minister of Pakistan the expression of my deepest sympathy in the tragic loss they have suffered by the death of His Excellency the Governor-General'.

The Governor-General of India, DR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, sent the following message to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan:

‘Dear friend—On this solemn occasion, on behalf of myself, my Government, and my people I tender to you and your Government, and your people most heartfelt sympathy. May God enable us to go through every trial and every misfortune in a worthy manner.’

PANDIT NEHRU: ‘On behalf of the people of India, my colleagues, and on my own behalf, I send to the Government and the people of Pakistan our sincerest sympathies in the great loss that Pakistan has suffered by the death of His Excellency Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah. Please convey our condolences to Miss Jinnah also.’

The Government of India issued the following *Gazette Extraordinary* on September 12, 1948:

‘The Government of India have learnt with deep regret of the death last night of His Excellency Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah. As a mark of respect to his memory it is hereby ordered that flags on all public buildings and defence establishments shall be flown half-mast today.’

The Secretary to the Governor-General, Mr. Shavax Lal, and the Military Secretary, Col. Chatterji, called on Pakistan High Commissioner in India on behalf of the Governor-General to convey His Excellency’s condolence.

The Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, Mr. Sri Prakasa, represented the Governor-General of India, at the funeral.

The death of Mr. Jinnah was received in Delhi with deep regret.

The flag at Government House flew at half-mast and the Governor-General, Dr. C. Rajagopalachariar, cancelled a reception he was to have given to the Diplomatic Corps that evening.

Stunned by the news of Jinnah’s death, Karachi reacted with a spontaneous suspension of all normal busi-

ness. The City was practically bereft of all signs of normal life. Shops remained closed while buses and trams did not ply in the streets. Many had to go without their morning breakfast as wayside hotels and restaurants were closed. The pale, stone-built Governor-General's house, guarded by the Police, had a steady stream of grief-stricken citizens converging on it since early that morning to have a glimpse of their beloved leader's residence. Exactly one year and 26 days since it was first raised, the Governor-General's Blue Standard waved half-mast. A score of men seemed unable to restrain their tears, one of them remarking that the Standard 'will never flutter so proudly again'. The surging crowds around the gates of the Governor-General's residence broke through the Guards to pay their homage to their dear leader and the police and servicemen, after an hour's struggle, succeeded in forming two queues of a mile long each. The body of the Qaed-e-Azam Lying-in-State was kept in the portico to enable the citizens to get the last glimpse and pay their last homage to him. Members of the Diplomatic Corps belonging to Islamic countries visited the Government House and paid their homage.

IN DACCA, the news of Mr. Jinnah's death came as a shock. Shops were closed and vehicular traffic was stopped. The Premier of East Bengal, Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, and other Ministers left for Karachi by air.

IN BOMBAY, for many years the centre of his political and professional activities received the news with deep regret. Shops in predominantly Muslim areas were immediately closed.

IN SURAT, most of the Muslim establishments and shops, generally open on Sundays, were closed as a mark of respect to Mr. Jinnah.

Tributes to the great work and achievement of Mr. Jinnah were paid by leaders throughout the world.

The Government of Pakistan ordered State mourning for 40 days.

An official announcement stated: 'The Government of Pakistan regret to announce the death of Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah from heart-failure at 10-25 p.m. on Saturday (11-9-1948). The Namaza Janaza (funeral prayer) was held at the Exhibition Grounds in Karachi. Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani led the prayer. The Qaed-e-Azam was buried within the compound of the proposed Jumma Mosque near the Exhibition Grounds.

The Government stressed that the best homage the public can pay to the memory of the Father of the Nation was to observe discipline and self-restraint when attending the funeral procession and funeral prayer.'

The Qaed-e-Azam was buried on Sunday, September 12, with full military honours. His body was taken in procession in a gun carriage.

The Quad-e-Azam returned to Karachi from Quetta after an absence of two months from the capital. He went to Quetta on July 4 and to Ziarat on July 6; after five or six days he was taken ill with influenza but got better. There was, however, a relapse and he developed bronchial complications. Since then he had periods of improvements. He came down to Quetta on August 13, and decided to return to the capital on September 11. Between August 13 and September 11, there were periods of relapse and improvement, but he was able to attend to urgent State business. His aircraft landed at Mauripur at 4-30 p.m. and on reaching the Governor-General's House, he took a turn for the worse, and at 10-25 p.m. his heart failed. His sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, three doctors and some members of his personal staff were at his bedside during his last moments. The Prime Minister and Begum Liaquat Ali came to Government House immediately followed by Mr. Mahomed Ali.

Secretary-General and his wife. Other Ministers also came down. The Governor of Sind and Begum Hidayatullah were also at Government House. An emergency meeting of the Cabinet was summoned at 12-45 a.m. and lasted until 4 a.m. The Cabinet discussed plans for the State funeral of the Father of the Nation, and State mourning and other programme for bestowing the highest honour that a State can do to its leader.

Flags were flown half-mast on all buildings in Karachi. The city was plunged into gloom. The newspapers published the news with thick black border with a large-sized portrait of the Qaed-e-Azam.

'Dawn' founded by Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah was the only paper which came out with an editorial comment under the caption 'Long live Pakistan'.

A *Gazette Extraordinary* of the Government of Pakistan stated:

'The Prime Minister and Ministers of the Pakistan Government announce with deep sorrow and grief the death by heart-failure of the beloved Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, at Karachi on September 11, at 10-25 p.m. They wish to convey their heartfelt condolences at this national calamity to Miss Fatima Jinnah and other members of the family and to the nation.

The Father of the Pakistan nation has passed away. To his far-reaching vision, indomitable will, and steadfastness of purpose is due the creation of the biggest Muslim State in the world. To him it was given as to few in history to witness the fruition of his labours in his own life-time. Even after the achievement of Pakistan, he did not sit back, but continued to the last breath his untiring and unceasing labours to strengthen and consolidate Pakistan. His death deals the greatest blow that could be

inflicted on the people of Pakistan, but nurtured as they are in the ideals set before them by Qaed-e-Azam, the Pakistan Government are confident that they will bear it with fortitude and dedicate themselves afresh to the service of Pakistan for which their beloved leader lived and died.'

The Pakistan Prime Minister's message to the nation said: 'God has been pleased to take our beloved Qaed-e-Azam from us when Pakistan and we still needed him most to guide us and to enlighten us through this difficult period of our national existence. Our people should not yield to grief, but should rededicate themselves to the cause and service of Pakistan. My colleagues in the Cabinet and I likewise dedicate ourselves anew to the service of our country and nation, and we make this pledge in the name of God that we shall carry on with unfaltering determination the great task to which the Qaed-e-Azam had devoted himself after the achievement of Pakistan. That task is to build up into a great and powerful State this new country of ours of which the Qaed-e-Azam was the architect. The best means of showing our love and reverence for our departed leader and founder of Pakistan is to hold fast to the noble ideals that he placed before us, and to strive to make Pakistan what he wanted it to be. Every constructive achievement by the Government or by the people, which may help to consolidate and strengthen the foundations of Pakistan or contribute to its prosperity, will be a memorial to the departed Father of our Nation. This is the message which I give to our people on this day of national grief and sorrow, and I ask them once more to control their grief and redouble their efforts to make a reality the Qaed-e-Azam's dream of a great and glorious Pakistan. The Qaed-e-Azam would have wished it so.'

A UNITED STATES spokesman said that pending a formal statement of condolence by President Truman and Mr. George Marshall, Secretary of State, he wished to voice the

States' feeling of what the loss meant to Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah was a leader who had been largely responsible for Pakistan winning independence, and it was realised that his death came at a critical time in Pakistan's relations with India, he said. United States diplomatic quarters said it remained to be seen whether Mr. Jinnah's disappearance from the political scene would weaken Muslim determination to maintain the partition of greater India.

MR. J. J. SINGH, President of the India League of America, said: 'We trust that Mr. Jinnah's death will not, in any way, cause any deterioration on the present strained relationship between Pakistan and India.'

MR. M. ISPAHANI, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, cancelled his official South American tour as soon as he heard of Mr. Jinnah's death. He was in New York making final preparations when the news reached him two hours before his scheduled departure by air to Buenos Aires. He immediately returned to Washington.

He said: 'The Father of our Nation lived long enough to see his dream come true. Pakistan mourns her founder, who exhausted his energies and laid down his life in her service. Though she has lost her inspiration and guidance at a time when she needs it most, Pakistan will not fail to live up to his ideals and fulfil her destiny. The passing of Qaed-e-Azam means to me a bitter and irreparable loss which time will not erase. I shall endeavour throughout my life to follow the great example which he set me as one of his privileged associates and disciples throughout my political career.'

MR. OMANDUR P. RAMASWAMY REDDIAR, PREMIER OF MADRAS, in a message, said: 'I am deeply distressed to hear the news of the passing away of H. E. Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan. He was indeed its architect. His death removes from Indian politics

a dynamic and powerful personality. Though we may not be able to see eye to eye with him in politics, none can doubt the sincerity of his patriotism, his selfless service to the cause he believed to be right, and his great achievements. His death at this critical juncture in the history of India and Pakistan is undoubtedly an irreparable loss. May his soul rest in peace.'

MR. KALA VENKATA RAO, Revenue Minister: 'Mr. Jinnah's death had removed from Indian politics a powerful personality who, at the last stage of his dramatic life, brought about a schism leading to the division of India. Mr. Jinnah started his career as a nationalist and ended it as a great communalist. Nevertheless, his services to India in many fields of activity were really great. It is to be hoped that his death will release forces to help cementing divided India.'

MR. V. KURMAYYA, Minister for Rural Development: 'Mr. Jinnah fought hard for Muslims and secured for them Pakistan. Congressmen differed from him but always considered him a great patriot, though he worked to promote the interests of his own community. If he had not been a communalist, Mr. Jinnah would have ranked with the greatest figures in the history of India.'

DR. V. K. JOHN, Bar-at-Law, Leader of the Opposition, Madras Legislative Council: 'In Mr. Jinnah's death, the world had lost an outstanding personality. He had unique courage for achieving the impossible; persistency being his strength as well as his weakness. His death might revive the hopes that India would be united again.'

MR. T. PRAKASAM: 'Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah was known to me for over 20 years. We were in the Central Assembly. He was an able lawyer and debater. During the days of Pandit Motilal Nehru's leadership of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly Mr. Jinnah was very

careful in dealing with him, having known his strength and temper. During recent years, after he had taken up the Pakistan programme, Mr. Jinnah counted on the weakness of his opponents more than on his own strength. He strengthened the League in every respect. Mr. Jinnah was a great man who carried out with determination and conviction the programme which he had chalked out for himself and his party, right or wrong. May his soul rest in peace.'

DR. P. SUBBAROYAN: 'In the death of Mr. Jinnah Pakistan has lost his founder and a great Indian. The Qaed-e-Azam has been one of the doughty fighters for Indian freedom. Due to communal bitterness, Mr. Jinnah became a separationist, and in his death the world has lost a great figure who made a new nation, though the two-nation theory was borne in bitterness. Pakistan has lost its architect in his death. In this hour of sorrow, it is hoped the two Dominions will be brought closer to the achievement of peace which was Gandhiji's great contribution to the world. May their deaths unite us for the purpose of achieving peace on earth and goodwill among men.'

MR. G. A. NATESAN: 'I have always thought it a tragedy that Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah, who as the great disciple of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, played a prominent part in the activities of the Congress and proved himself an able member of the Central Assembly and a fearless critic of the bureaucracy should have been the sponsor of Pakistan and the unfortunate division of India which I, in common with others, had always deplored. Of his great ability, remarkable talents, his sincerity and incorruptibility there can be no two opinions. It is to be sincerely hoped that his death will make his followers realise the necessity for peace and concord among the two great communities

which for some time in the past have not been living and acting quite in harmony.'

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED: 'Pakistan has suffered an incalculable and irreparable loss in the untimely death of its founder. The void created by his death will be difficult to fill for a long time to come. I hope that Pakistan will survive its trials and tribulations, and, on no account, its friendly relations with the Indian Dominion will be allowed to deteriorate in any manner.'

DR. U. KRISHNA RAO, Mayor of Madras: 'Whatever Congressmen's differences might be with Mr. Jinnah, it should be recognised that he had undoubted character and integrity. The death of such a person is a great loss not only to Pakistan, but to the whole world.'

SIR MAHOMED USMAN: 'It is difficult to fill the void created by the death of Mr. Jinnah.'

MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: 'Mr. Jinnah was great as a lawyer, once great as a Congressman, great as a leader of the Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat, and greatest of all, as a man of action. By his passing away, the Muslim world had lost one of its greatest statesmen, and Pakistan, its life-giver, philosopher, and guide.'

MR. SHAFI MAHOMED, Sheriff of Madras: 'Mr. Jinnah had been one of the leading personalities in India, and though in politics one might not see eye to eye with him they should not forget his great achievements as an organiser.'

MR. B. G. KHER, Premier of Bombay: 'Mr. Jinnah was a great nationalist and a great politician. He had a unique personality and implacable decisiveness which has made history. He had an indomitable will which brooked no opposition and permitted no second.'

IN LAHORE, the news of Qaed-e-Azam's sudden death dumbfounded the leaders and deeply grieved the heart of

every Pakistani. THE WEST PUNJAB PREMIER, KHAN IFTIKHAR HUSSAIN KHAN and the Ministers and High Officials gathered, shortly after midnight, at Mamdot Villa, to express their grief over the calamity. Expressing his grief over the calamity the Premier said: 'The best homage the Pakistanis can pay to Mr. Jinnah is to steel their determination to carry out his message, the message of perseverance, endurance, solidarity, and sacrifice. Mr. Jinnah has left behind the State of Pakistan, the greatest achievement of a single individual.'

After the funeral prayer, MAULANA SHABBIR AHMAD USMANI, addressing the gathering of over 400,000 people, said the Qaed-e-Azam was no more with the people to guide their destinies. But his instructions and spirit would always remain afresh in the minds of the people of Pakistan. The Qaed-e-Azam's death was not a loss to Pakistan alone, he said, but to the entire Muslim world. He had captured the hearts of the people and ruled them. As a statesman, Qaed-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah was superb and incomparable. He could never be purchased by anybody, and he was beyond the approach of a man to be fooled on any legal and constitutional issue. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad said the Qaed-e-Azam, as the leader of a poor and illiterate community, discarded all his worldly comforts, and worked day and night for the betterment of the downtrodden people of his community. He brought back the glory of the Islam of the days of Aurangzeb and the Muslims of this land would remain grateful to him for all that he had done for them.

MR. GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH, Governor of Sind, paying a tribute to the infallible guidance and untiring efforts of the Qaed-e-Azam, called on the people to bear the tragedy with dignity and restraint, to close up their ranks and face, shoulder-to-shoulder, the perils that beset their nation.

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR. C. R. ATTLEE, said that Mr. Jinnah's tireless work for Pakistan would always be remembered, while AZZAM PASHA of the Arab League was of the view that Mr. Jinnah's death was the second great loss in a year to India.

Flags of many nations flew at half-mast on London's public buildings. Two-minute silence was observed by Pakistani, Indian, and British athletes meeting at Osterley, Middlesex. The Pakistanis wore black ties and arm bands. When news of the death of Mr. Jinnah reached London, steps were at once taken to inform the King, who sent a message of condolence to Miss Fatima Jinnah at once.

MR. ATTLEE, in his telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, said: 'Please accept my sympathy in the loss which your country has suffered at this time. Mr. Jinnah's unswerving devotion to the ideal of Pakistan and his tireless work for it will always be remembered. Please express also my deepest sympathy to Miss Jinnah.'

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to the occasions he visited India and met Mr. Jinnah.

Stating that he had had the privilege of knowing Mr. Jinnah for a great many years, Sir Stafford said: 'No one could, for a moment, doubt his wholehearted and single-minded devotion to the cause of Muslims of the Indian sub-Continent. It was the honesty of his convictions and the charity of his purpose which marked him out as a great leader of his people. He had great accomplishments as a lawyer and a constitutionalist which were placed unreservedly at the service of his people. I know how much his personality and his leadership will be missed in Pakistan, but I am sure that those who follow in his footsteps will devote themselves to the peaceful and prosperous development of Pakistan, which, as a State, was so largely the creation of his vision and energetic leadership.'

VISCOUNT JOWITT, British Lord Chancellor: 'We all had a great admiration for his legal skill, and the judgement with which he conducted his cases before the Privy Council. We all enjoyed working with him in those happy days.'

LORD MOUNTBATTEN: 'I am very grieved to hear of the Governor-General's death. He was a great leader. I know how much you and your people will miss him, and offer deepest sympathy.'

One of the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers in India summed up Mr. Jinnah's career as follows:—

QAED-E-AZAM JINNAH, whose passing is deplored by all nations, was one of the greatest statesmen in the history of India. He served India with unexcelled ability and devotion for nearly half a century. His activities extended over many spheres of public life. He worked unweariedly in local self-governing bodies, educational organisations, the councils of the country, and in public bodies. His wide knowledge and experience and his mature judgement were a great asset to the Indian Legislature, where he laboured for many years. He was largely responsible for many great measures adopted by the Government for the country's welfare, security and progress, such, for example, as the improvement of military training, the strengthening of the defence services, and the extension of education. A great lawyer, he stood for the supremacy of the law and never swerved from strictly constitutional agitation.

Many who have paid tributes to his memory have commented on the circumstance that, while Mr. Jinnah began his political career as a Nationalist, he ended it up as a Separatist in the sense that he brought about the division of India. But the course he adopted was an inevitable result of political antagonisms against which he fought, as he believed, in vain. None would deny him credit for the strenuous and repeated efforts he made to bring about a settlement between Hindus and Muslims. Nor was the establishment of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah's greatest political achievement, merely the product of Hindu-Muslim rivalries. It was a natural result of the intellectual and political awakening of the people, of the spread of education and enlightenment since Queen Victoria became the Empress of India, more especially since Sir

Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Muslim Educational Society at Aligarh 70 years ago.

Mr. Jinnah united and strengthened Muslims in India as few others had done at any time. There is no parallel in the history of India's political institutions to the progress of the Muslim League and the Muslim community under his leadership. But Mr. Jinnah achieved his ideal by making himself the instrument of his people's aspirations. Those who say that they have nothing good to say of Mr. Jinnah should examine the reasons that led that great man, who for many years championed joint electorates, disapproved communal organisations, and devoted his splendid talents and energy to the working of plans, and pacts, for the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity, abandoned that course in later years and came, in his own words, 'to the conclusion that there is no hope of unity.' He struggled for peace, and friendship between the great communities of this country. He left India with the greatest goodwill to her people. He was a fighter not merely for independence, but for freedom. May his ideals of equality, brotherhood, and friendship inspire and guide the peoples of the two Dominions which he helped to bring into being.

A tribute was paid by an old English journalist friend of Mr. Jinnah who said: 'M. A. Jinnah was the greatest Muslim leader after Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam.' (p. 24, *The Islamic Review*, Woking, England, March 1949.)

CHAPTER IX

Prohibition and Khaddar

Out of the many writings of Gandhiji, I have taken two typical examples of his views with which many of us cannot agree. One is about Life Insurance. Life Insurance on the British model was unknown in India before the advent of the British people. It is a necessity in these modern days, particularly among the middle-class families. Life insurance encourages the habits of thrift and saving. It gives financial security during the retiring age of a policy holder. And the most important of all, it gives protection to his dependents in case of a policy holder's premature death. No one who has a love for his family would like them to be in penury after his death. Even kings take out insurance policies. I am sure that most of the Congress Ministers believe in Insurance and have insured their lives. Government themselves are considering certain insurance schemes. Gandhiji too insured his life in his early days but allowed his policy to lapse as he became more spiritual-minded. The second example is about Western medicine. If Gandhiji's views are accepted, vaccination and inoculation for plague, cholera, etc., must be put a stop to. Cruelty is committed on calves and rabbits. In modern medical science, injections are given in several cases of sickness, such as diabetes, asthma. Government themselves are taking steps to introduce B. G. G. vaccination to prevent tuberculosis.

Life Insurance: I had thought that life assurance implied fear and want of faith in God. In getting my life insured I had robbed my wife and children of their self-reliance. Why should they not be expected to take care of themselves? What happened to the families of the numberless poor in the world? Why should I not count myself as one of them? What reason had I to assure that

death would claim me earlier than the others? After all the real protector (of my family) was neither I nor my brother but God Almighty. (The Story of my Experiments with Truth—Vol. ii, pages 20—22).

Medicine: I have spoken against Western medicine, which I have called the concentrated essence of black magic. My view springs out of my non-violence, for my soul rebels against vivisection. Why should I have to practise cruelty on lower animals which I would never practise upon myself? But I do not despise all medical treatments. I know that we can learn a lot from the West about safe maternity and the care of infants. Our children are born anyhow and most of our women are ignorant of the science of bringing up children. Here we can learn a good deal from the West. But the West attaches an exaggerated importance to prolonging man's earthly existence. Until man's last moment on earth you go on drugging him even by injecting. That, I think, is inconsistent with the recklessness with which they will shed their lives in War. (*Harijan*, 3-7-1937, p. 165.)

One of Mahatma Gandhi's great qualities is that criticisms of his views were always welcome to him. Reasoned and constructive criticism, however forcefully expressed, is something which no intelligent Government objects to. On the contrary such criticism is welcomed. Criticism is the breath of life in politics and freedom to criticise is the factor which above all others distinguishes a free State from one controlled by the dead hand of tyranny. Our present Governor-General, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, did not agree with Gandhiji's views in certain respects. He did not approve of Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience movement of 1942 and broke with the Congress party. On some occasions Pandit J. Nehru also disagreed with his master's views. It is therefore in no spirit of disloyalty or disrespect to our great leader or to our Ministers that I venture to

express my views about the wisdom of sacrificing a revenue of some crores of rupees in introducing Prohibition and Khaddar programmes at a juncture when money is badly needed for more urgent purposes such as procurement of food, clothing, public health, hospitals, education, irrigation, and roads.

Among the many reforms Gandhiji had in view, I shall deal with Prohibition and Khaddar as a good deal of taxpayers' money is spent on them besides the sacrifice of one-third of State's total revenue. In my view such a huge loss of revenue seems not quite justifiable when money should be spent on more useful objects. The prohibition policy is carried on at too rapid a space.

Mahatma Gandhi is a person of great merit and piety and, in a world inhabited by people of the ordinary type, it would be impossible to impose on them his ideas of life. His aversion from imposing any measure or legislation which affects the freedom of any legitimate action by any person is well known. And to impose restrictions on one's habits of life, which is not in any way immoral, is negation of freedom.* My object in writing this chapter is to bring

* I find some support to my view in Pandit Nehru's speech delivered in Madras on July 26, 1948, at the rally of workers. He said that no Government can survive in democratic India unless it has popular approval and support. More, he told the existing Governments that they could not expect to survive unless they refrain from excessive curtailment of civil liberties. He added: 'You know that I have stood for civil liberties. *I have stood for the freedom of the individual and the group, and nothing pains me so much as that condition should arise in this country when civil liberties should be limited . . . It pains and hurts me that the very thing I condemned in the past should be indulged in by our Governments . . . Governments must think hard and deep whenever there is the slightest inroad into civil liberties, and whenever any single individual liberty is taken away. To feel complacent and go about leaving power to the executive, the police, or everybody is a dangerous thing. I find these dangerous tendencies are at work in India today, and I dislike them thoroughly.*'

to the notice of Government of the possible deterioration of the finances* and of the health of the country. The custom of indulging in strong drinks dates back to the Vedic period according to Hindu history. The people freely indulged in two kinds of intoxicating liquor, called *soma* and *sura*. *Soma* juice was considered to be particularly acceptable to the gods, and was offered with elaborate ceremonial. The habit of drinking was known among the earliest Hindus and cannot be said to have been introduced into India by either the Muslim invaders or by the British people. To whichever part of the world we may go, civilised or uncivilised, hot or cold, whether the people are white or black, yellow or brown, we will find some of them taking some energising beverage. Drinking is therefore an inborn nature of humankind. Drinking cannot be an evil by itself. There must have been some good point in it such as preservation of vigour and health, combined with some pleasure, for the whole world to have taken to it. It has been prevalent from the earliest times known to history in all parts of the world. It is the excess drinking that we must stop by legislation and not the drinking itself as the Swedish Government did in their country about 30 years ago.

In Sweden there are considerable restrictions on your liberty to drink what you like, when you like, and where you like. This, of course, is a recent phenomenon. When Bulstrode Whitelock visited Sweden in the seventeenth century as Cromwell's ambassador, he was shocked by the immoderate amount of strong drinks consumed not only by the rabble, but also by the gentlemen of the Court and the Church; and only by great energy was he able to

* In Madras, for example, where the population is as large as Great Britain and Ireland, Government has provided for the year 1948-49 a little over 8 crores of rupees for Education while for the same year, the British budget provided £163 millions (216 crores of rupees). This is 27 times the Madras figure. How backward we are for want of money!

escape the courtly duty of getting drunk in the company of his hosts. A century later, when distilling was made a Government privilege, the Swedish nation consumed alcohol immoderately out of pure loyalty to the Crown. In 1914 the wine and spirit trade was again made a State monopoly, but this time with the conscious intention of reducing consumption. The Bratt system—so called after its initiator, Dr. Ivan Bratt—has actually led to a reduction of the spirit consumption from $11\frac{1}{2}$ pints per head in 1914 to a little over 7 pints a year. Control of sales is exercised by a rationing system under which the maximum allowance is about two quarts of strong liquor a month to a male tax-paying householder. In the restaurants liquor can only be served with a meal, and only to a limited amount. For women, the allowances are half of those for men. It is claimed that this moderate drinking has profited the health of the nation. It has profited the exchequer at the same time. In 1944-45, the income from liquor taxation was estimated at 25 million pounds (35 crores of rupees). Side by side with Government restrictions, large temperance organizations have been established and are doing useful work. Similar good results were obtained in England and Scotland where heavy drinking was rampant 50 years ago. Human nature cannot be changed in a hurry but by persistence and persuasion human habits can be made to undergo a transformation. The present change to sobriety was brought about chiefly by temperance campaigns. But some hard work and persistence are required.

Let us see what that eminent scientist, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., a well-known authority on human biology, says about prohibition. His conclusions are that stoppage of toddy drinking is an interference with freedom of people and endangers the health of the masses. He writes: 'In addition to the abolition of the salt-tax Mr. Gandhi also asks for prohibition. Here it might be thought that the biological arguments would be in his favour. For liberty

is an ethical and not a biological requisite. A slave may well be healthier than a freeman, and enjoy a longer expectation of life. It is possible, though far from certain, that effective prohibition in Britain would make it a healthier country. At first sight it might be thought that this was much more likely to be true in India. Europeans in India generally refrain from alcoholic drinks until sundown, which testifies to a belief that they are more dangerous in a hot than in a temperate climate. Large masses of Indians are on the border line of starvation, and it might seem that they, at any rate, would be better off if they devoted their meagre incomes to food rather than drink. So, perhaps, Gandhiji argues. But I do not suppose that he or his supporters have heard of the tragedy of Nauru, which was given no publicity whatever in the lay Press, as its only moral is against Government interference with individual liberty. Nauru or Pleasant Island lies in the Pacific Ocean near the equator, and contains large deposits of phosphate. So its inhabitants contribute to the world over-production of food by exporting portions of their native land. They were in the habit of drinking toddy made from fermented palm-juice, and on occasions became very tipsy in consequence, which doubtless lessened their efficiency as excavators. Nauru is governed by Australia under a mandate from the League, and the paternal Government issued an ordinance forbidding the use of toddy. Perhaps the efficiency of the natives as labourers increased, but their infantile mortality rose to 50 per cent within six months of this law coming into force. It was found that the children at the breast were dying of beri-beri, a disease due to deficiency of Vitamin B1. This substance is nearly absent from the rather monotonous diet of the mothers, but is present in large quantities in the yeast from which toddy is made. The medical officer of health discovered this fact and (doubtless after an appropriate delay) toddy was allowed again. The infant mortality

immediately fell to 7 per cent. An account of the Nauru affair was given by Bray in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* for 1930.

The situation in many areas of Central India is quite similar. Large sections of the population are on the borderline of vitamin B1 deficiency, and suffer from time to time from mild beri-beri. In these circumstances adults generally survive in rather poor health, but breast-fed children die. This dietary deficiency is at least to some extent supplemented by the use of toddy made from palm-juice, and the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers to prevent the consumption of toddy, by cutting down palm-trees and otherwise, doubtless serve to slow down the increase of the Indian population. So perhaps my objection to them is sentimental. Nevertheless, I cannot succeed in repressing my opinion that the infantile mortality of India is already high enough. It is only fair to Gandhiji to add that there are no vitamins in distilled liquors, and it is possible that prohibition of whisky might increase the efficiency of the European population of India. The above facts are mere biology.'

The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay, of November 3, 1946, had an interesting article about toddy and an extract from it is given below: 'The toddy trade has been one of rural India's main sources of prosperity for many centuries. Its evil effects can be arrested and more benefits can be extracted from it than has hitherto been possible. Researches at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, have proved that sweet and unfermented toddy is a nutritious drink. Means can be devised to preserve it for months from fermentation. The present food shortage and the fact that the toddy trade provides living for many and substantial revenues to the State suggest that its continuance in other forms is desirable.'

In the Province I served, informal enquiries made in the course of settlement operations, have shown that men,

women, and children in the palm-tapping areas looked healthier and stronger than those in non-tapping areas. (Settlement Report, Pakokku district, Upper Burma, by Mr. (now Sir) C. F. B. Pearce, I.C.S.).

Mr. Daniel Thomas, Prohibition Minister, Madras, said in the Madras Assembly on March 13, 1948: 'In Tinnevely, his home district, the working classes used sweet juice as morning food which kept them vigorous and in good health till noon when they took their meal.'

Mr. S. Gurubatham, Prohibition Minister, who succeeded Mr. Thomas, said that he found in Tinnevely district a large number of people depending entirely on palm trees, whose sweet juice they take as their food. This juice had very great food value. He admitted that people would suffer if they were not allowed to continue.

Mr. K. T. Kosalram, M.L.A., Congress, in a statement, said that the introduction of Prohibition in the Tinnevely district had brought in its wake various restrictions on the cottage industry connected with the palmyra tree, and urged the Government to protect this village industry from extinction, if need be, by amending the Prohibition Act for the purpose. The palmyra tree is the chief source of income for the peasants and climbers, and is the very life of the district. These restrictions, besides preventing the distribution of the juice which is practically the food of the villagers, during a period of food shortage, and rationing, and stopping the production of a very valuable commodity of food, namely, sugar, will result in crippling a very valuable cottage industry, throwing out of employment thousands of workmen. Tinnevely alone produces 50,000 tons of palm jaggery.

In the Andhra districts also, toddy tappers have complained to the Ministers that they are finding difficulties

in obtaining suitable employment. The President of the Tamilnad Congress Committee said that in the Madras City thousands of toddy tappers have been rendered destitute. The Congress Government, in their enthusiasm to prevent people from the drinking habit and also perhaps to gain kudos, have rushed through the Prohibition programme without making adequate arrangements for alternative employment for toddy tappers. The consequence is countless poor families have been thrown out of employment and are practically on the borderline to starvation. Is this what Gandhiji meant?

At a conference of economists, publicists, and public men convened by the Madras Finance Minister on August 11, 1947, it was pointed out that it would be desirable for the provinces to go slow with regard to the implementation of prohibition which involved considerable loss of revenue.

The Excise Minister, United Provinces, speaking on the Government's prohibition policy, in the U. P. Legislative Assembly on March 12, 1948, said, that successful prohibition required a responsible atmosphere and a desirable social climate which, as had been shown by public apathy in prohibition districts, was not yet discernible. The Government had, therefore, decided to proceed slowly till an atmosphere was created by education and anti-drink propaganda.

In his third lecture delivered on February 5, 1948, on "Madras Finances" under the Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectureship of the Madras University, Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Nayudu, Member, Indian Tariff Board, referred to the prohibition policy of the Madras Government. He said that although prohibition was capable of doing immeasurable good to the masses in the long run, with its great social and moral effects, yet in the present, and in the immediate future, it would produce innumerable financial and practical difficulties to the State. Prohibition should have been introduced at a less rapid pace. A clear

distinction had to be made between the financial consequences of prohibition, and its social and moral effects. The excise revenues had phenomenally grown in all the Provinces in recent years, and in Madras it formed a very large portion of the total revenue. While the first Congress Ministry in Madras was cautious in regard to the introduction of prohibition, the present Government's policy showed too much of haste and too little regard for financial stability. Referring to the cost of enforcing prohibition, as well as the loss of excise revenue, Dr. Narayanaswami Nayudu said that gigantic administrative problems consequent on the introduction of prohibition were pressing on a Government already sorely tried by political, communal, and industrial problems. The new taxes levied by the first Congress Ministry to make good the loss of excise revenue had all proved poor in their yield except the general sales tax. Nor could the loss of excise revenue be met fully by the sales tax for some years to come. The prohibition policy could have been inaugurated a couple of years later or at least a "go slow" policy ought to have been pursued.

In the United States of America, the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol found that of the 60,000,000 Americans who drink, more than 3,000,000 drink to excess; and of this number only 750,000 are confirmed drunkards who, the Council suggested, should be cared for in hospitals rather than punished in jails. The number of people who drink to excess is 5 per cent and the number of confirmed drunkards is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the people who drink. Taking the total population of the country the number of confirmed drunkards is about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

For India, for making a comparison, such figures are not available. Judging by the number of people who are accustomed to drinking, it would be more or less correct to assume that the percentage of the Indian population who consume alcoholic drinks would be between 5 and 10

per cent. There is a certain amount of stigma attached to people who drink openly. Drinking among the upper classes is done secretly. Only the very lowest class and incorrigible drunkards would visit public houses for their drinks of toddy and arrack. In America, of the 50 per cent of the population who drink—the other 50 per cent are teetotallers—only 5 per cent are heavy drinkers. Applying the same ratio to the Indian population, it may be assumed that only $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent are heavy drinkers. Of these people who drink to excess the percentage of confirmed drunkards must be infinitely small.

The question that arises, on an examination of these statistics, is whether the imposition of the sales-tax, which has been introduced to counterbalance the loss of excise revenue, is just and fair. In other words, more than 99 per cent of the population are obliged to pay the sales-tax to reform the confirmed drunkards. Some might argue that this policy is unsound economically. Personally I would advocate any sacrifice if the policy is for the common good. But the point to be considered, however, is whether the Government would succeed in their attempt to reform people by an act of Parliament. The way the prohibition legislation is flouted by the people, I doubt whether the Government's attempt to introduce prohibition will meet with success. Illicit distillation, followed by defiance of law, is rampant all over the country. This has become a cottage industry. Besides a new evil has been created by the action of Government. The illicit distilled liquor must be of a bad quality and its consumption must be harmful to the drinkers. The extent to which illicit liquor is manufactured in this country can be gauged by the fact that nearly 5,000 bottles and 450 jars of arrack were discovered accidentally by the Police in a coffee estate in Wynad, Malabar district. There must be many hundreds of such dumps undetected by the Police.

Human nature cannot be changed in a hurry and particularly that of the people who have been accustomed for generations to the drinking habit. Labouring classes, after a day's hard work in the sun and rain, need some energising stimulant. Government have suggested the coffee and tea drinking habit to the labourers. Tea as sold in the common tea-shops is nothing but a slow poison. The tea leaves are not thrown away after they have been brewed but are kept on in the same kettle for hours. Any tea maker would tell us that such methods are harmful to our health and yet such is the type of tea that is offered to the public in common tea-shops. I have known many people politely refusing a cup of tea when it is offered to them, on the ground that it upsets their sleep. Coffee and tea are exotic beverages and in the interests of the health of the labouring classes, expert medical opinion should be taken. If they contain poison in a very mild form, as some doctors say, they must be injurious to the labourers as they consume three or four cups at a time. A famous doctor has said that coffee drinking induces blood pressure. On the other hand, the palm is the nature's gift to man and this plant is found in all tropical countries and its juice, if taken in the right way, must be beneficial to the health of man. As I have pointed out earlier, the experiment of preserving the palm juice unfermented could be pursued at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. They could be sold to the public in sealed bottles in the same way as aerated waters are sold. Gandhiji meant intoxicating drinks when he spoke about prohibition. He could not have meant health-giving palm-juice containing vitamin B. Much of the drinking harm and brawls are caused by people taking them at the toddy and arrack shops. Friends meet at these places and large quantities are consumed making the people tipsy. One way of stopping the drink evil is to close the public shops and to sell toddy under a rationing system. As Prof. Haldane points

out, it is harmful to deprive the poor man of his toddy. To the vast majority of people who drink and do not abuse alcohol, a glass of beer or toddy is a very welcome and harmless stimulant. Why should these people's *rights and liberty* be flouted and trampled upon? The worst imposition on the people's liberty is the check placed on buying tonic wines such as Wincarnis without a doctor's certificate for which people will be obliged to pay a small fee to the doctor.

Gandhiji has said: 'I have a horror of smoking as of wines. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink, in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive habit. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit.' (*Young India*, 12-1-1921, p. 11.) 'Smoking is in a way a greater curse than drink, inasmuch as the victim does not realise its evil in time.' (*Young India*, 4-2-1926, p. 46.) Several crores of rupees are being spent in India on smokes. Since our Mahatma has said that as smoking is a greater curse than drink, why not we stop it too as we see many young boys smoking publicly in our streets? Whatever the merits or demerits of the Prohibition policy may be, the time adopted for its introduction seems inopportune.*

Gandhiji himself once said: 'Mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating, and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mohomedans, and Christians, even as I expect

* To my view I find support from an appeal made by that eminent educationist, Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, to the Congress leaders, on April 17, 1948, at the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, Premier of Madras, to leave out some of the old schemes of moral reform as Prohibition, prohibiting people from doing this and that, the Devadasi Bill, etc., and to concentrate all the resources on security and other urgent matters.

them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it.'

We have just emerged from a devastating war and the conditions of living and prices of commodities are abnormal. During the last ten years many schemes of importance have been held in abeyance and money is badly required to launch out many intensive Welfare Schemes. What would have cost the Government only a lakh of rupees to build a school or a hospital in pre-war days would now cost about four to five lakhs. The needs of the hour are better housing, food, employment of war-retained personnel, and improved health. Prohibition could have waited till conditions became normal. In Madras Province alone, the loss of the excise revenue was computed at 16 crores of rupees and another two crores were required to enforce prohibition, in all about 18 crores.* Based on this figure, the loss of excise revenue throughout India might have exceeded 100 crores of rupees.

If, in the United States of America, a country well disciplined and organised on modern lines, the efforts of the Government in introducing prohibition could not have succeeded, there appears to be very little chance of success in India, where there is hardly any co-operation among the people owing to caste and communal disunity. In a social reform like this, unless the active help of the public

* In Madras, the President of the Citizen's Welfare League, speaking at a reception given to the Leader of the United Democratic party in the Madras Legislative Council, on April 12, 1948, remarked that the Government scheme to consider prohibition more important than food and to throw away 20 crores of rupees, not for any constructive programme, but to chase an elusive ideal was symbolic of the policy of the Ministry. Did it realise that the people vote for the Congress Party in the elections not because of their prohibition policy or their Khadi or Hindi programme but because they stood for *purna swaraj* and fought under the banner of Mahatma Gandhi for the country's freedom? If they were to seek re-election on these programmes, they would be defeated.

is forthcoming in a large measure, success is difficult of achievement as Government cannot have Prohibition staff in every town and village. The Advisers' regime must have found the Prohibition policy started by the Congress Ministry of 1938-39 unworkable. The experiment was given a fair and long trial. No Government would change the policy of its predecessor unless there were very strong grounds for doing so. Though more than 90 per cent of the population in this country are teetotallers, it is amazing that there was no protest of any kind against the Government's action of repealing the Prohibition Act. The people generally accepted the Government's decision as a matter of course. Was not this apathy an indication that the mass was not interested in this social reform?

After two years' preventive work, the Madras Government's latest report on the enforcement of Prohibition during December, 1948, revealed an all-round increase in the number of cases under illicit distillation, illicit tapping, smuggling, manufacture of intoxicating drugs, etc., besides an increase from 1,405 cases in November to 1,585 cases in December, of cases reported in the nine new Prohibition districts. It was also stated that there was lack of public co-operation in certain districts. In the foot-note below I quote the testimony of an important Congress worker who declared that prohibition was not a success. The Government claimed, however, that the moral, social, and economic condition of the masses, especially the poor and the middle classes, improved after the introduction of Prohibition:

Mr. P. Thimma Reddy, Vice-President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, who recently toured the Andhra Districts, stated that he made thorough inquiries about the working of prohibition, and had the direct testimony of innumerable workers of the Indian National Congress and the Kisan Congress. He wrote in April 1948: 'The way prohibition is working is pathetic. Though it is a success as far as toddy is concerned, it is a thorough failure with regard to arrack. It will not be exaggeration, if I say,

that four times the quantity of arrack that was previously consumed, is now being consumed. Arrack manufacture has almost become a cottage industry. Arrack is prepared with jaggery and other materials which are easily obtained. Adventurers who have no fear of jail-going are preparing it on a large scale. Prohibition has helped people monetarily in that most people do not need to spend much to have arrack, but can make it in their own homes at a low cost. There seems to be little possibility of controlling arrack production. Even ten times the present police will not make prohibition a success, as distillation takes place on a wide scale. We see the fate of those who have dared to give information. Some of my trusted colleagues who have taken it as a duty to stop illicit distillation are forced to move about with a body-guard lest their lives should be endangered. It is up to the Government and the legislators to devise means to make prohibition a success before extending it further. To talk of collective fines, to stop illicit distillation, and to make the people responsible for the failure of prohibition is irrational.

On the last day of the political conference at Muddanur, Cuddapah district, in May 1948, there was a discussion on the prohibition policy of the Government. Mr. C. Ramakrishna said the Government were acting in haste so far as their prohibition policy was concerned. He questioned the wisdom of launching a Province-wide prohibition programme without a study of the results so far achieved. A little introspection would reveal that the programme was a failure. Every one present expressed the view that prohibition in the district was a failure, and that illicit distillation had become a flourishing cottage industry in the taluq. They further pointed out that the promise of the authorities to protect informants from the wrath of offenders was of no avail. An old man stood up, and said the people wanted only food and clothing, and production speeded up. They wanted the execution of the Gandikota irrigation project. That would feed millions of hungry people. Yet, they were told the project had been abandoned, as the Government were unable to find the necessary funds. But the Government were prepared to waste crores of rupees over an ineffective prohibition policy. It

would have been wiser, he added, if the Government had made their experiment in a small unit like a district.

At a lecture given at Coimbatore on July 7, 1948, on the economic problems of South India, Dr. A. Krishna-swamy of Madras, *inter alia*, said: 'The Government were committed to the policy of Prohibition. The Premier was talking of collective fines. The speaker was of the view that collective fines should not be imposed. He hoped that the Government would cancel, once and for all, the Prohibition policy, when the scheme had failed, and spend more money for education. The people wanted the cancellation of the Prohibition policy.'

In their enthusiasm for the success of their Prohibition policy, the Madras Government seem to have ordered the felling of palm trees in the Madras Province to prevent toddy drinking. These trees take many years to grow and quite a lot of labour and money is spent on them. Felling of trees was obviously an unwise policy and the Government of India had to intervene preventing destruction of these valuable trees.

Addressing a meeting at Hospet, Bellary district, on June 30, 1948, the Madras Premier, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, warned Government servants that action would be taken against those who did not give up the drink habit. The Premier said that prohibition was not working satisfactorily due to the complacency of the public and of Congressmen. He proposed further to amend the Prohibition Act in order to award deterrent punishment even for drunkenness, in case no improvement was noticed within a month. Government servants, who were still addicted to drink, were unfit to remain in the service. They should give up the habit. They should realise the change in the political set-up in the country. If they did not reform themselves, the Government would be forced to take action against them.

The Mail, a leading newspaper in Madras, made the following comments on the Premier's warning to the people:

Cannot Premier O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar realise the futility of his Ministry's attempts to make people good by intimidation and constraint? Twice within the last six months he has told a mofussil audience that if the people of this Presidency did not help the enforcement authorities and the Government to make a success of prohibition, he would introduce legislation imposing punitive fines on the towns or villages in which breaches of the Prohibition Act are committed. He and, presumably, his colleagues in the Ministry apparently believe that the end justifies the means, and that the punishment of a whole community for the sins of one or a few is excusable. Such is the creed of zealots, not democrats. It is directly contrary to the basic principles of the common law in that it holds all the people guilty, though proof be lacking.

The whole fabric of prohibition law and enforcement in this Presidency is contrary to fundamental democratic principles. If, as the Ministry contended when the Bill to introduce prohibition into this Presidency was introduced into the Legislature, the people were behind the measure, there would be no need for these continual complaints that the people are indifferent to its enforcement, that even Congressmen have ceased to assist therein, and that as a consequence the number of breaches steadily increases. If the people were in favour of prohibition, and willing to support its enforcement, there would be no occasion for the Premier to threaten all and sundry with punitive fines, or for the Ministry's attempt to convert this Presidency into a region of spies and informers, where every man fears his neighbour, and all are in terror lest by some mischance they lay themselves open to arrest.

Such threats, and the constant accusations levelled against people and officials, are destroying the moral fibre of our people. Officials live in a hourly dread of the C. I. D.* Even Legislators are not free of the attentions of this increasingly dreaded Department. Its observers are, we are assured, to be met with in the Secretariat; they haunt departmental offices in the city and the mofussil. The Ministry seems obsessed with corruption, and sees it everywhere. That it exists we do not doubt, but the time spent in hunting it out would be better spent in depriving bribe-givers of opportunities for corrupting. Ministers indulge in tirades against corrupt officers:

* Criminal Intelligence Department.

a past President of the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee denounced to a Vellore audience M.L.A.s who sell motor and lorry permits and licences and misuse petrol coupons. Corruption is a dual sin—the bribe-taker cannot exist without the bribe-giver—yet Ministers and politicians say little about the latter, is it because they have votes and a certain quantity of political power?

It is time that the Ministry turned its attention from punitive to constructive measures. Let prohibition die, as it assuredly will if not continually stimulated by more and more drastic penal legislation, and encourage officials to give of their best, in work and in conduct, by trusting them. Ever since a popular Ministry assumed office in this Presidency officials have been hounded, denounced as inefficient, corrupt, and worse. The Ministry cannot expect to get the best out of men whom it is constantly assailing. Officials are fast becoming "yes-men" because if they attempt to put any other side of the case to a Minister they are accused of something or the other, transferred, or otherwise dealt with. The morale of the Services at this moment is deplorably low. And it will be unless the Ministry changes its methods and begins to substitute trust for mistrust, utilises the experience of the senior officials, and encourages efficiency through fearless discussion with administrators of all grades of its proposals.

Above all the Ministry should cease from trying to make the people good according to its own pattern by threats and restraints. Modern educational research has shown the fallacy of expecting to educate a people, much less reform it, by such means. Moreover, the Ministry claims to be democratic, to be responsible to the people, and fully representative of it. How dare it threatens those to whom it owes its position, and to whom it is ultimately responsible. Democracy is "the government of the people, by the people, for the people". Punitive fines, like much of the legislation and ordinances recently enacted, have nothing in common with such democracy. Let us recall to the Premier's mind the words of our present Prime Minister on this subject: "There are certain fundamental principles governing civil liberties which apply whatever the activities of political parties may be." (29-6-1948.)

The Committee appointed by the Government in August 1947, to enquire into the working of prohibition in Chittoor, N. Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapah districts, declared as follows: From all points, the present machinery for the

enforcement of prohibition is not satisfactory and the separation of the enforcement staff from the General Police Staff in the prohibition districts has not proved efficient.

The Committee said: The position is much worse in the excise prohibition districts where the staff of the Excise Department which actively helped the growth of excise revenue was entrusted with the enforcement work. The only satisfactory way of ensuring the efficient administration of the Prohibition Law is to entrust enforcement to the General Police.

Some of the important suggestions were as follows:

It has been suggested that the cause of prohibition will be better served, if the members of the legal profession refrain from defending persons who they have grounds to believe, have committed prohibition offences. This suggestion may be communicated to the Bar Councils for necessary action.

The punishment awarded for prohibition offences should act as a deterrent, and instil sufficient fear among the offenders. All prohibition offences, excepting drunkenness and possession of small quantities of liquor or drugs, should be made non-bailable. In places where the people of a locality, through combination, fail to render assistance in the detection of prohibition crimes, or suppress material evidence, collective fines may be imposed in order to mobilise public opinion against the offenders. Permits or licences granted to buses, ferryboats, jutkas, and other public conveyances carrying persons, who have consumed, or are under the influence of liquor should be liable for cancellation. Expenditure on tea-shops by Government as an ameliorative activity should be stopped. The Government should take prompt and effective steps to improve rural communications, which are woefully lacking at present.

The Mail, Madras, made the following comment on the Committee's report:

Prohibition is unwanted. Even Congress enthusiasm for it has evaporated, and Ministers complain that the public are indifferent, if not actively hostile, to its enforcement. So prohibition is failing. That has been evident for months past. Instead of abandoning the experiment as being as worthless as it is costly, the present Ministry is trying to bolster it up, to enforce it by measures of the most cruel and drastic character. To discover what was needed in this respect it appointed a Committee to enquire into the working of prohibition in eight districts. We had early hints of the bias with which this Committee was undertaking its work in reports of its investigations in the designated districts. These showed that the Committee was as ruthless in its attitude towards those who, until recently, were law-abiding citizens as any minion of a totalitarian dictator could be.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the same tyrannical mentality in the Committee's report. Disregarding the advice of India's bigger statesmen to avoid fault-finding and get on with nation-building, the Committee makes grave allegations against Excise officers entrusted with the work of prohibition enforcement, and declares that 'the only satisfactory way of ensuring the efficient administration of the Prohibition law is to entrust enforcement to the general Police'. (9-7-1948.)

I must admit that I am but an insignificant Government pensioner with barely any experience in politics when compared with great giants of advanced political views like our Governor-General, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, and other Congress leaders, who have devoted all their lifetime to the service of our motherland. They must have considered all aspects of the Prohibition policy before introducing it. My opposition to their policy would be regarded by some people as impertinence on my part to such seasoned politicians but, I feel sure, that on reading the following lines they may be inclined to modify their opinion. The Congress Government's action in introducing prohibition is no doubt praiseworthy. It is also a bold experiment not yet attempted even in the most civilised

countries of the world. It was introduced in the United States of America a few years ago but failed miserably.

According to the message sent by the Governor-General of India on the day of the inauguration of prohibition in Madras, the aim of the Congress Government is to remove a constant and widespread temptation which hitherto, in their opinion, had been placed for the sake of revenue in the path of the poor labourer. In an attempt to save the poor labourer from the excessive drinking habit, the Government have introduced a law forbidding the sale and manufacture of liquor in the country thereby imposing a restriction on other people who can afford to spend a little money on moderate drinking, mostly for removing the fatigue from the body after a day's hard work.

The Prohibition Act is sometimes indiscriminately applied and poor people are harassed needlessly. A recent case which was decided by the Madras High Court is a striking instance of the extent to which poor villagers are dragged to the Courts for alleged trivial technical offences. A villager in Coimbatore district was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment by the Magistrate at Palladam, for having been in possession of ten drops of brandy, probably the remnant from an old bottle. The High Court Judge, who heard the appeal against this conviction, made some pungent remarks. He said: 'In my opinion, the offence is so trivial that in matters like this the maxim * "*de minimis non curat lex*", should be applied. Why on earth anybody should keep ten drops of brandy, which could not even be handled properly, has not been explained by the prosecution. The object of the Prohibition Act is to prevent people from becoming intoxicated, and thereby injuring

* English translation: The law does not concern itself about very small matters.

themselves and the State. I am inclined to think that prosecutions like this will rather hinder the proper administration of the Act, rather than help in its working.'

The prohibition policy has placed a restriction on the consumption of liquor and toddy by middle and upper class people also with the result that the State, in Madras Province alone, is losing about 20 crores of rupees every year. This amount includes expenditure on Prohibition staff. In England, according to Mr. Winston Churchill, drunkenness and the consumption of liquor have diminished.* He claims that the Britishers are now gentler and more decent people. The Government there did not find the need for introducing prohibition. This change was brought about by social reform aided by Temperance Societies.

The Deputy Prime Minister of India, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, in sending a message of goodwill on Prohibition Day in Madras, warned that Government that India was passing through critical times of financial difficulties and that local governments should not expect any help from the Central Government for the successful implementation of the programme of Prohibition.

My theme is that, unless the Government could devise a substitute revenue in lieu of the loss of nearly 1,800 lakhs of rupees of excise revenue in Madras Province alone, how we are going to manage our affairs satisfactorily. The Central Government have their own financial troubles. They have the Refugees and the Kashmir problems. These two unforeseen incidents are costing them several crores of rupees. In addition they had to establish embassies all over the world at enormous expense. They have to pay dearness allowance to Government servants. Imported food is another big expenditure.

* During King George V's reign, see page 256, *Great Contemporaries* by Winston Churchill, 1942.

According to a statement issued by *The Mail*, Madras, August 27, 1948, the keynote of the Report of the Economists is believed to be their insistence that the Government are at present living beyond their means, and that the present national economy could not support the Government's huge bill for unproductive expenditure. It has been stated that they have requested also that the Prohibition schemes should be abandoned. Our Deputy Prime Minister, speaking at Benares on November 26, 1948, declared: 'No State in the world has such heavy taxation as India. The rich are groaning under its burden and there is a limit to the capacity of moneyed classes to shoulder this heavy burden.' He said: 'It is our duty to produce to the maximum and grow more food. Unless we do so we cannot secure peace and tranquillity. To finance the import of grains, we have to impose heavy taxation.' It is therefore apparent that any further additional taxation is undesirable now.*

* In the Madras Province, due to a deficit in the budget for the year 1949-50, additional taxation has been proposed, which includes a tax on even 'Plantains'. Poor and middle class people are complaining very bitterly against the new taxation and the Congress Government. I quote below an extract from the Press Note issued by the Rev. Father Basenach of the Jesuit Mission, one of the top-rank economists in India, about the advisability of additional taxation at this present juncture:

'Is it not also common knowledge that the sales tax, in particular, has had the effect of increasing the cost of living and that it is regressive, which means a transfer of the burden of imposts from high income groups to the millions who are least able to bear it? Why make life more difficult when you promised them a higher standard of living under the new dispensation? Where is the sense of fighting Communism when our Masters at the Fort (alluding to Ministers working in Fort St. George, Madras), are doing their best to create an economic climate where discontent must thrive and proliferate?

Does the Finance Minister really believe he will succeed with his proposed levy on immovable property, where Lloyd George

The Madras Finance Minister, at the Conference of Municipal Chairmen of the Province, on September 3, 1948, warned them: Local Bodies would not be permitted to float loans and they could not hope for any assistance from Government just now. He left them to hope for better days not only for themselves but also for the Government. He admitted that the Prohibition policy and the consequent loss of revenue have prevented the Government from undertaking some urgent works which would benefit the people at large.

Want of money now seems the usual answer for putting off many useful and urgent schemes and I quote below a few instances to illustrate how the present Congress Government are working:

(i) At a meeting at Vizagapatam, November 12, 1948, the Minister for Firka Development said: We do not have enough doctors. The cost for the construction of buildings alone for one MEDICAL COLLEGE would come to two crores. To establish four colleges in the Presidency, eight crores of rupees would be required. For want of money the establishment of new medical colleges was abandoned.

(ii) At Calicut, in November 1948, the Firka Development Minister said: According to the Bhore Committee's recommendations, there were several schemes and proposals for expansion of MEDICAL AID AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES. This scheme could not be implemented in the Province in the near future, as finances would not permit, so that definitely there are to be other schemes for medical aid to villagers and people in towns.

(iii) The MADRAS CITY WATER SUPPLY is unsatisfactory as the water is smelling. Attempts are to be made to get rid of the bad smell by the installation of rapid filters at a cost of one crore of

and his experts failed? He speaks of the "very large increase in the value of immovable properties"; what he must mean is, of course, "increase in prices" and that is a very different proposition measured by a depreciated rupee, the value of such property will, in many cases, be found to be less than it was in 1938. And why would it be "short-sighted policy to cover deficits by withdrawals from the Revenue Reserve Fund"?

rupees. The Health Minister said that this scheme was out of the question in view of the present finances of the Government.

(iv) The Madras City Corporation's request for a loan of about 1½ lakhs of rupees for the extension of the SPECIAL HOME FOR THE DISEASED AND INFIRM BEGGARS at Krishnampet was refused on the ground that the scheme was not urgent. This is the second year that such a loan was refused. (December 1948.)

(v) Two loans by the Corporation of Madras for a total sum of 6½ lakhs of rupees for improving streets under the TOWN PLANNING SCHEME and for lighting, sewerage in the Shenoyanagar area were refused for want of funds. (December 1948.)

(vi) RAMAPADASAGAR IRRIGATION PROJECT: This is designed to irrigate two million acres of land and to make Madras Presidency self-sufficient in food supply. For want of money, this work is postponed and no provision is made in the 1949-50 budget. In these days of food scarcity, any project which would stimulate food supply should be given priority over all other expenditure. Prevention of starvation of the people should be the first consideration of any Government. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi, K.C.I.E., the experienced administrator of Madras, has persistently warned the Government against postponement of this scheme. He once said that it was a matter of deep shame to India to beg for food with her enormous resources in land, water, men, and money.

(vii) The Madras Health Minister is pessimistic about the future. He said: Unless the Government are able to increase their revenues and make larger allotments for their MEDICAL RELIEF AND HEALTH PROGRAMME, it will not be possible to bring modern medical and health services within the reach of the entire population.

It was stated that there was considerable unemployment among toddy-tappers. The Government failed to find suitable employment for tappers before prohibition was introduced with the result that there was agitation and great discontent among the tappers who were suddenly thrown out of employment. Banners and placards with the words 'Do not starve us in the name of Mahatma Gandhiji', 'We want houses to live, and a profession to earn our bread', were carried through the Madras City streets by about 2,000 ex-toddy tappers.

The President of the Tamilnad Congress Committee said: 'With the introduction of total Prohibition in the Province, tens of thousands of toddy-tappers have lost their employment and have been rendered destitute. While there is scope for employment in agriculture for the unemployed mofussil toddy-tappers, there is absolutely no chance of alternative employment to the City workers. It is heartrending to see the bread-winners of the families unemployed and starving. It is the urgent duty of the Government immediately to find them employment.'

At a meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of District Congress Committees held on September 20, 1948, in Madras, at the office of the Congress Legislative Party under the presidency of Mr. K. Kamaraja Nadar, it was alleged that official co-operation in regard to checking illicit distillation was lacking and that, as a consequence, the enthusiasm of public and Congress workers in helping the police in preventing illicit distillation was being killed. Instances were cited where people who have given information of illicit distillation were harassed and even false charges were framed against them for keeping liquor. In such circumstances to enforce prohibition becomes a difficult matter. The Education Minister, in the course of his tours in Coimbatore district in August 1948, found that the prohibition scheme was not working satisfactorily. He found that there were more prohibition offences during the year than last year. He was informed that illicit manufacture of arrack was being resorted to in villages.

The foremost need of the country is money for various purposes. Many schemes were held over during the war time and money is most urgently required for all these purposes. The dearness allowance paid to Government servants requires increasing. The grievance of pensioners for a revision of the dearness allowance is a legitimate one. The present rate of pay given to teachers and subordinate

staff is not even equal to the wages earned by mill coolies. An ordinary labourer, for example a wood-cutter, earns between 2 and 3 rupees a day while a University graduate earns less than a labourer. Our popular Government should remedy this. The salaries of the subordinate staff should be raised to a reasonable level to prevent corruption. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, former Dēwan of Travancore, who returned in November 1948 from a tour of Australia, said: 'Average wages of a working man there are in the neighbourhood of Rs. 250 to 300 per month. No person there actually works more than seven hours a day, and even domestic servants are not available before 8 o'clock in the morning or after 7 in the evening as it is considered necessary that they should have their own recreation and amusement for which special facilities are provided by the State.' It is no wonder that the average life of a man in that country stands very high as compared with an average Indian life. When are we going to reach at least half that level?

The present need of the common man is food, clothing, and housing. The Government should concentrate all their attention to these vital needs. People have been drinking for several generations and no harm could overtake the country if we waited for another ten or fifteen years before the Prohibition policy is introduced. By that time it is hoped that conditions of living in India would assume some sort of normality. It was once started by the Congress Government but the Advisors' regime, who took over the State administration from the Congress on the outbreak of war, abandoned it. They must have found many insurmountable difficulties in the way of the successful operation of the scheme. Then, why do the Congress Government embark on a difficult scheme and throw away several crores of rupees revenue which could be utilised for more important needs of the common man?

I take a pessimistic view of the success of the Prohibition policy in India, and I am afraid that the Congress Government are chasing an elusive object. No other country in the world has succeeded in stopping a man from drinking. After all, in this country where a certain amount of stigma is attached to drinking, there may be one person in a thousand, who drinks to excess and it does not appear to be a sound policy to deprive the other 999 persons of their just amenities of life by throwing away such a valuable excise revenue. We want money for food, clothing, housing, protected water supply, and removal of overcrowding in trains for the common man. And black-marketing should be stopped. These are the vital needs of the present day. We have sacrificed the salt revenue but do even poor people feel the difference between the former price and the present price of salt? This is not the time for sacrificing any revenue and for imposing additional taxation.

In certain provinces the extension of prohibition has been suspended with a view to conserve their monetary resources. Even the small Cochin State is following this 'go-slow' policy. We do not follow a uniform policy with regard to prohibition. In some places, beer is exempted from the purview of the Prohibition scheme, on the ground that it contains only 3 to 6 per cent of alcohol, but has sufficient food value.

PLEA FOR ADDITIONAL TAXATION IF PROHIBITION
CONTINUES

The Congress Government, after much deliberation, have thought fit to introduce Prohibition in the country in the hope that the people on the whole would be benefited by it. Assuming that prohibition has come to stay with us permanently, let us now direct our attention to finding an alternative revenue to make good the huge loss of our excise revenue. The hasty and ill-considered plan of the partition of the country has taken away a big slice of our national income and landed us in financial difficulties. Some crores of rupees of tax-payers' money had to be diverted to the immediate demands of the Punjab refugees and to the Kashmir military operations. This colossal expenditure was thrust on us unexpectedly. We now find that we have not sufficient money to finance important irrigation schemes and medical and health services. We have increased the sales-tax but that alone is not going to give us all the money we need. We are passing through a very difficult food problem. There is shortage of food everywhere and high prices are demanded for food grains and pulses. Any irrigation scheme that will give us more food should be given priority over all other expenditure. Postponement of irrigation schemes from year to year means postponement of production of foodstuffs and consequent prolongation of misery to the people. Unless the price of rice is brought down, prices of other commodities would continue to remain on the present high level.

It is conceded that the farmer now gets as much as nearly four to five times the pre-war level prices for his produce. It is understood that the gross income derived on an acre of rice land now exceeds Rs. 200. Is it not reasonable, therefore, that he should pay more land revenue in proportion to his enhanced income? Objection may be raised on the ground that, once land revenue rates are fixed, they cannot be raised till the next 'Settlement'.

But times are abnormal and no one ever dreamt, at the time of 'Settlement' that such phenomenally high prices would be obtained for agricultural produce. One way of getting over this technical objection is to issue Ordinances as we have done in so many cases of extreme necessity. In theory, a farmer is expected to pay to the State one-fifth of his gross agricultural income. For the benefit of my readers I would like to give a résumé of our Indian Land Revenue policy. The land revenue has always been the mainstay of Indian finance. In theory, all land belonged to the State. The land revenue is therefore regarded as rent rather than as taxation. The normal share of the produce that could be claimed as Government share was one-fourth. During the days of Akbar even one-third was claimed. The farmers felt that the Government share of rent was oppressive and in about the year 1880, a memorial was sent to the Government of India by influential persons to fix one-fifth of the gross produce as the maximum Government demand. Lord Curzon, while he was Viceroy, with his inexhaustible energy, took up this question and in January 1902, issued a memorable 'Resolution' written by himself. This Resolution, together with the statements of Provincial Governments on which it was based, was published in a Volume, which is still the authoritative exposition of the principles controlling the land revenue policy. In the Resolution, it was stated that the Government was taking much less in revenue than it was invited to exact, namely, the land revenue claimed by Government was less than one-fifth asked for by the memorialists. Curzon demonstrated that famine was due to drought and not to over-assessment. The Resolution also gave greater elasticity in revenue collections, suspensions and remissions being allowed according to seasonal variations and the circumstances of the ryots; a more general resort to reduction of assessments in cases of soil deterioration.

The land revenue now claimed by Government was somewhere in the neighbourhood of one-sixth of the gross

income and in some cases even less. My plea is that we should find money somehow to push on important irrigation works to help increased food production. If Government is not disposed to increase its share of land revenue, the desirability of imposing a capitation-tax, that was in force in Burma till quite recently, might be considered. This would give more than 30 crores of rupees revenue for the whole of India.

There are many square miles of cultivable land left uncultivated, for example, in the Agency tracts of Northern Circars due to the prevalence of malaria. It is futile for our Ministers to point out what other countries are doing in the eradication of malaria and other preventable diseases while they openly admit that they cannot do similar things in India for want of finance.

Since sending my book to the printers, two important statements were made by responsible persons which support my view about the hasty introduction of the Prohibition policy. Pandit JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, addressing a meeting at Puri, on March 12, 1949, said: 'A too rapid implementation of the Prohibition policy all over the country would lead to considerable difficulties, and might be harmful in some ways. A good thing had to be done in a proper way, and not regardless of other circumstances.' Mr. R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETIAR, former Finance Minister of India, addressing the Rotary Club at Coimbatore, on March 24, 1949, was particularly critical of the Prohibition policy of the Madras Government, which had thrown away 18 crores of rupees for purely ideological purposes in spite of repeated warnings by the Prime Minister of India. He asked as to why the Congress High Command and the Central Government of India which had still hold on Provinces did not prevent the implementation of Prohibition in the circumstances.

KHADDAR

Hand-spinning and hand-weaving started at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi is no doubt one of the causes that helped in the removal of poverty in India, particularly in village parts. But the whole difficulty of the popularisation of Khaddar lies in the fact that it is a much more expensive material than mill-made cloth, and its price does not suit the pockets of middle and lower class people who form the bulk of the population in India. As a general rule and from my own personal experience, Khaddar costs about three times the price of mill-made cloth and it does not last half as much as machine-made smooth longcloth. Therefore it is more or less correct to say that Khaddar is nearly four times as expensive as cheap mill cloth. Most people will buy what is cheapest as they can afford nothing better. Khadi has been, and is, extremely unpopular among the people in villages, as among those in towns, as it is laborious and costly to make, is ugly, and is not durable. In Madras in the year 1946 when Prakasam's ministry was in power, endeavours were made to stifle the mill industry by stopping the export of spindles. The ministry wanted the Khaddar manufacture to expand. Protests were made throughout the country, and women who require more cloth than men taunted the men by asking a simple pertinent question, 'Do you want us to go back to ancient days and force us to discard civilised methods?' A monster protest meeting of all women was held in Madras on December 14, 1946. The textile policy of the Madras Government was described as a great blunder and an act of injustice to the people of the Province. Extracts from speeches are quoted. The chief speaker said: 'The Textile policy showed a backward mentality, and it was bound to fail. At a time when the cry among the masses was for more cloth, to ask people to take to the drudgery of hand-spinning and produce cloth, and to stop the expansion of mill production and thereby keep up the cloth famine

deliberately was a most deplorable action on the part of any Government and especially one elected by the people. The textile industry had come to stay in the country and any attempt to throttle this great industry would be most unwise and unpatriotic. The prices of handloom cloth were very high and of Khadi still higher. It was foolish to expect the masses to buy cloth at such prices.'

A Brahman lady of high social position said: 'I have always worn Khadi voluntarily cherishing it as an emblem of India's struggle for freedom, and any idea of compulsion associated with Khadi was an injustice to Khadi itself. I fear that by the introduction of the element of compulsion to wear Khadi, in course of time, the respect which people had for Khadi would cease, and in its stead anger would develop. If Congressmen themselves could not take to hand-spinning to promote Khadi in spite of appeals by Gandhiji, it was impossible to expect other people to spin yarn and produce their own cloth.' Another speaker said: 'Would the Ministry ask the people to live in thatched huts giving up all bungalows? The textile policy contemplated such a primitive idea as regards clothing.'

I have myself seen many ardent Congress workers with *charkas* in their houses using mill cloth for various purposes. The function of a machine is to do the work of the man much more expeditiously and at the same time at very much less cost. That was the reason why a machine was invented. And still we are inventing new machines and new methods of saving labour. We have even invented machines to do the work of the brain, such as comptometers, by which we can do all arithmetical calculations without taxing our brain. We use a bicycle to reduce our labour and to increase speed. And rich people, like our Ministers, use planes to travel from place to place to save time. It is therefore economic waste to use only our hands in spinning and weaving. Side by side with hand weaving

we must also have machines to produce cheap cloth to supply the wants of our poor millions. The Khaddar will find its level in the long run, if the people are satisfied that that industry is a paying concern. At present several lakhs of rupees of people's taxes are spent on the encouragement of Khaddar, when that money could be more usefully employed on humanatarian work which is described in the next chapter. The advantage of machinery is illustrated by a simple example. We may take the case of a railway goods train from Madras to Bombay. To carry the same load about 10,000 bullock carts would be required and carts travelling at an average rate of 20 miles a day would take more than a month to cover the distance. The advantage of using machinery is quite obvious. It saves time and is very economical. Machine-made mill cloth is therefore a poor man's necessity.

In Madras, the khadi development scheme has proved unpopular and uneconomic. The Minister in charge of Firka Development, in the Legislative Assembly Meeting in September 1948, admitted that part of the scheme was one of his 'headaches'. He said that, wherever he had been, he found that the enthusiasm for khadi was not as great as it used to be. The Textile Control Department's report for the year ended March 31, 1948, showed that out of about 650,000 yards of khadi produced in the seven centres, more than 335,000 yards, valued at over five lakhs of rupees, remained unsold at the end of that year. It is clear that the common man does not want khadi, which is expensive, ugly, and is not durable. Any further expenditure by Government on khadi scheme is indefensible. Such funds as the Government possess are urgently required for more useful purposes, such as a protected water supply, building a hospital. From many sayings of Gandhiji on the subject of Khadi, I have extracted two striking passages which show that his passion for, and great faith in, the spinning-wheel were unlimited.

' God's grace descends upon us unawares as we work away for Him. You must work for Him, that is, spin even when you are weeping. For, spinning for us is the greatest of all sacrificial acts (yagna).'
15-10-1944.

An inmate of his Sabarmati Ashram wept and said one day ' Show God to me face to face '. Gandhiji said: ' You will see Him in the spinning wheel.'
20-10-1944.

Unfortunately, most people seem not to attach much importance to his creed on Khadi and with his death, the enthusiasm for Khadi seems also dying. Man always desires to take the least possible trouble in every action of his life if he can manage it. It is only natural therefore that he prefers the cheap mill-cloth to laborious spinning and to the expensive Khadi. In this modern machine-age, every man and woman tries to avoid manual labour. Villagers who were accustomed to walk many miles daily now prefer buses even to cover small distances in the towns. Women want their wheat, rice, and masala ground by machine instead of using their grindstones.

CHAPTER X

Urgent work before the Congress Government

Is saving a man's life urgent or reforming him more urgent? I am sure that 90 per cent of the people would vote, without any hesitation, in favour of the first question

EPIDEMIC DISEASES

No country in the world can claim itself a civilised one if the health of the country is not reasonably good. The health of the people is the wealth of the country because an unhealthy man is an economic waste to the nation. His output of work must necessarily be low as compared with that of a healthy man. From the large number of Reports on Public Health in India which I have read while I was in Government service, the general impression I gained was that the Government were unable to provide sufficient money for the many schemes prepared by the Public Health Commissioners and Surgeons-General relating to the improvement of the health of the people and better equipment of our hospitals. The Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner issued in July 1947 showed that India continued to be the 'largest reservoir' of small-pox, cholera, and plague in certain provinces and these diseases raged in a severer form than for many years past. The same report recapitulated briefly the reasons why results in the direction of control of epidemics were not satisfactory. Chronic malnutrition, low level of environmental hygiene, absence of controlled and protected water-supply in rural areas, lack of general health education, prejudices against preventive measures like vaccination and inoculation were some of the stumbling blocks. To add to these, a multiplicity of fairs and festivals, bad communications, and lack of transport facilities, made it difficult for the already microscopic staff, which was ill-paid and inadequately

supervised to reach the remote interiors in time to control outbreak of an epidemic.

LEPROSY

It was disheartening to read from the same report that India had at least ten lakhs sufferers from leprosy. It was disclosed that Provincial Governments were now taking up direct responsibility for anti-leprosy work instead of leaving the entire field to voluntary organisations like the Missions to Lepers.

TUBERCULOSIS

Our popular Vicereine, Lady Mountbatten, soon after her arrival in India, addressing the annual meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India on July 19, 1947, pointed out that our endeavours in fighting tuberculosis in this country did not even reach the fringe of our task. She said: 'In a country like India it is estimated that there should be 4,600 T. B. Clinics. Even on the basis of a minimum of one bed per death, the number of beds required is five lakhs. To staff these, 14,200 health visitors must be found. I understand the present authoritative figures do not approach even one per cent of these, but it is hoped that the collective efforts of this Association and the Government will remove this serious shortage in the near future.' Five lakhs deaths from T. B. and twenty-five lakhs disablement from the same cause. Is this not a great loss to India? This is a preventable disease. Is it not the duty of any civilised Government to check the spread of this disease? Lady Mountbatten added: 'As you all know tuberculosis takes in India the appalling toll of about five lakhs of lives every year; and another 25 lakhs become active tuberculosis cases. The misery caused by this disease, which is not unpreventable, in thousands of families, especially those in crowded and industrial areas, can more easily be imagined than said. More stress cannot be laid on the urgency of mustering all our resources in a relentless fight against T. B. and of educating the public

on its sinister potentialities and how it is preventable, the chief weapons being the clinic, the sanatorium and the hospital staffed with qualified personnel. Equally important are the care and after-care organisations, rehabilitation centres, and welfare institutions.' The surest way of combating this deadly disease was to improve the people's standard of life. Besides the loss of life, the expenditure incurred in a poor and middle-class family on a T. B. patient must be taken into account. From my own knowledge, I can say that at least Rs. 100 a month would be required for a patient for good food, nourishments, doctor's fees. And a T.B. patient lingers for a prolonged period before the inevitable end comes, which impoverishes many families.

MALARIA

Malaria is another preventable disease. Although a great advance had been made in the knowledge of the prevention and cure of malaria in the last 50 years, it was still the most potent single cause of sickness and death in India, resulting in 100 million cases, and one million deaths every year. Speaking at the opening ceremony of a laboratory extension at the All-India Malaria Institute at New Delhi on July 26, 1947, Lady Mountbatten said that it was appalling to consider the grave loss that was caused to the country as well as the individual suffering by this disease alone. The physical and mental growth of children was stunted by repeated attacks of malaria and immeasurable personal unhappiness was caused. That was not only tragic for the people themselves but was a grave economic disability to the country, interfering with its material progress, spiritual well-being, and general development particularly in the rural districts where malaria had its greatest incidence. After paying a well-deserved tribute to Col. Afridi, Director of the Malaria Institute, for the worldwide lead given by India in anti-

malaria work, she said that malaria was a social disease and anti-malaria work must be closely integrated with other development schemes, if satisfactory progress was to be made. She pointed out how during the war years 1942-45 malaria was checked. It was pointed out by her that in the South-East Asia Command in 1943, for every battle casualty there were 120 casualties from sickness, of which the majority were malaria cases. It was, in fact, a stupendous battle against disease even more than against the Japanese. In 1944, the figures dropped startlingly to 20 cases of sickness for every battle casualty, and in 1945 to 10 sick for each battle casualty. This staggering change was due entirely to the progress which had been made in preventive and curative malaria measures. If, in war, scientific progress could make such an incredible contribution to the health of the troops, surely in peace, similar progress can be made for the benefit of every man, woman, and child. To eliminate malaria from the country, a country-wide network of malaria control schemes and treatment centres must be established. I have said already that a million people die every year of malaria and that a very large number are incapacitated through this disease. Is it not our duty to check this colossal waste of human lives? Surely we would not like other people to point out our drawbacks in the administration of our country. To get this done on right lines, money will have to be spent lavishly but carefully. Expensive medicine and insecticide like mepacrine, pyrethrum, and D.D.T. are required and also especially trained staff.

HEALTH SURVEY OF INDIA

A few years back, a Committee was appointed in India, consisting of Indians and Europeans, presided over by Sir Joseph Bhore, K.C.S.I., to make a Health Survey of India and to submit its recommendations. Their report was issued about two years ago and many valuable suggestions have

been made. The main conclusion was that no individual should fail to secure adequate medical care because of his inability to pay for it. The Committee has drawn up its health plan in two parts, one a comprehensive programme for the somewhat distant future and the other a short-term scheme covering a ten-year period. The Committee has taken the country-side as the focal point of its main recommendations, for, the debt which the country owes to the toiler of the soil is immense. When pestilence and famine sweep through the land, it is he who pays the heaviest toll and yet receives only the scantiest medical assistance. Further, nearly 90 per cent of the people in the country live in the rural areas and the basic problems before the country is the provision of adequate health protection to the preponderatingly larger section of the community. It has therefore made the villager the chief beneficiary under the proposals. A number of experts from Britain, United States of America, and Soviet Russia came to India in December 1944 to give evidence before the Committee. Other experts from foreign countries sent replies to the questionnaire on public health issued by the Committee. The report may therefore be regarded as an authoritative and standard work on medical relief and public health.

IMPROVEMENT OF HEALTH OF PEOPLE

In India where the average life of a man is as low as 27 as compared with 60 in the United Kingdom, the obvious duty of any government should be to take active steps to improve the low standard of the health of the people.* In England, a hundred years ago, the average life was only 40. And for every 1,000 babies born, 153 failed to

* Britain, in spite of her financial difficulties, is spending nearly 250 crores of rupees on the National Health Scheme.

It offers a wide range of services on a larger scale than has ever before been attempted. Every man, woman, and child in

survive the first year, but in 1947 the infant mortality rate reached the all-time low record of 41 per 1,000. What a fine improvement in spite of rationing in England? Poverty want of sufficient food, malnutrition, and sickness are some of the contributory causes for the low standard of health in India. The prohibition policy of withdrawing the habit of toddy drinking by some of the common people might result in further deterioration of health as pointed out by Prof. Haldane. In Madras, the province in which I am now residing, the general complaint was that the Madras Budget was far from being a Budget for the common man as no appropriate provision was made in it for improving the health of the people. The recent complaint of the Coimbatore District Tuberculosis Sanatorium Society to the Premier of Madras at his opening of the General Ward of the Perundurai Sanatorium Hospital about the poor contribution to the hospital funds by Government was a typical example of the parsimoniousness of the Madras Government.

I am not an anti-prohibitionist. I do not even smoke a cigarette. I have no vested interest in any trade. I am only a Government pensioner. What I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is the inadequate provision made for the well-being of the people. And to have sacrificed a huge excise revenue, when the country needs money

Britain will be able to make use of medical, dental, and nursing facilities free of charge and without insurance qualifications. The National Health Service is not a charity. *Everybody bears the cost of the Service mainly as tax payers.* The public will be entitled to receive advice and treatment from the family doctor of their own choice. Medicines and drugs prescribed by doctors will be obtainable free of charge from all dispensing chemists taking part in the scheme. In the same way, all the necessary appliances will be available without charge to the patient. (Reuter's news, May 18, 1948).

This ought to be an eye-opener to our Ministers.

for medical relief, does not appeal to me as a sound policy. In addition to this loss of revenue, it was estimated that a large sum of money would be required to enforce prohibition and *khadi* development. This prohibition and *khadi* schemes could have waited till conditions became normal. On the whole, in Madras alone, 2,000 lakhs of rupees were thrown away on the plea of introducing prohibition and reforming drunkards. I have said in the previous chapter that 1/4 per cent of the population in India would come under the category of heavy drinkers, and of this number, the number of confirmed and incorrigible drunkards must be much lower than 1/4 per cent. In such circumstances, were we justified in foregoing this large revenue when we want money urgently to build more hospitals, T.B. sanatoria, leprosy clinics, and ante-natal clinics? Let us see what one legislator, Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, said in Madras Legislative Council on September 22, 1947. He declared that the money spent on prohibition was sheer waste. He had been to centres where ameliorative measures were being worked, and found that they consisted of nothing more than propaganda in favour of prohibition. There was no need for it as the taking of drinks, even stealthily, was considered a vice in India.

Below are given Madras budget figures for the year 1948-49 under important items of expenditure:

Police	...	...	Rs.	6,40,50,000
Education	...	...	"	8,21,78,000
Medical	...	...	"	2,50,67,000
Public Health	...	...	"	82,83,000
Agriculture	...	...	"	1,68,79,000

The population of Madras Province is about 50 million and the amount provided in the budget under 'Medical' is roughly half a rupee a year per head of population. What a munificent grant!

OUR HOSPITALS

This has given me an opportunity to comment on the state of our hospitals and their management. It is true that the British administration was responsible for this neglect. Though the Heads of the Medical Department have been agitating year after year for more money to run their department efficiently, their requests were usually turned down on the score of financial stringency. The people and the members of our Legislature were invariably against the imposition of new taxes or even raising the level of the existing taxes. The hands of the administrators, however favourably disposed they might have been to raise the standard of their departments, were tied down. With a top-heavy administration and with the military and the police consuming nearly three-fourths of our revenues, there was hardly much left to run the nation-building and other essential departments such as Education, Medical, and Public Health. The British administrators were obliged to pursue a 'carry on' policy. The whole system of taxation in India should be overhauled and remodelled on a scientific basis. The health of the people should be the foremost consideration of any government and more money than is at present spent should be provided in the Medical and Public Health budgets. When we have a million lepers in the country, a million dying of malaria, and another half-a-million dying of T.B. every year, should we not have more hospital accommodation? In addition to this appalling preventable wastage of life, we have in our streets a few million of maimed and half-starving beggars who should be cared for in beggar homes. From my own knowledge, I can say that admission to the Madanapalle Sanatorium in Madras, founded by Christian Missionaries, was difficult and patients had to register their names and to wait for admission for a long time. In the

home district I am now residing, conditions were much the same. Admission to the Perundurai T.B. hospital was difficult to obtain.*

A recent murder trial in Madras disclosed the state of corruption and mismanagement of the hospitals generally in India. From my long personal experience of the hospitals in this country, I can say that not a single word in the editorial column of the popular newspaper, *The Hindu* of Madras, of March 16, 1948, was overstated. The men implicated in this murder case were four hospital employees. The unfortunate man who was murdered was the Resident Medical Officer of the Madras General Hospital. The Editor said:

- 'In the trial for the murder of the Resident Medical Officer of the General Hospital, there was plenty of evidence both from outside and inside the hospital to the effect that the men in charge of the kitchen were using their position to make money out of the large purchases of food which the Hospital required. The Matron Superintendent deposed, for example, that in June and July 1947 there were constant complaints from the patients that the food was short in quantity and getting worse in quality. Other witnesses reported that a number of persons took away milk for their personal use without paying for it and that this was regarded as an established custom. We are not concerned here with the details of the parti-

* Failure to secure admission to the T.B. ward of the King George Medical College, Lucknow, made Mahmud Ali, a patient of T.B., to commit suicide on May 13, 1948. Mahmud Ali, who came to Lucknow two days ago, from Bahraich after trying all the treatments there, could not endure the prospect of losing his last chance of recovery and in sheer desperation ended his life by cutting his throat with a sharp edged knife in the hospital premises.

cular case of the General Hospital, except in so far as the facts revealed seem to support the prevalent impression about the generally unsatisfactory conditions in Government hospitals in respect of food. It is a scandal that hospital patients, some of whom are paying for their board, should be victimised in this manner. The most expensive equipment, the best medicines, and the skill of the doctors are rendered of no account if the patient is given watered milk and bad food. It is, of course, not easy to ensure that the inferior staff do their duty honestly and in a spirit of service. The bigger the institution the harder it is to prevent dishonesty and corruption. But the effort must be made. An enquiry into the quality of the food supplied to hospitals and the way in which it is bought and distributed seems to be called for. A system of strict and constant supervision in all departments of our hospitals should be worked out because, as the example of the General Hospital shows, once a habit of petty abuse creeps in and is tolerated, it grows into a menace threatening the lives of patients and doctors alike.'

If such a state of things could exist in the Madras General Hospital which is open to inspection at any time by the Surgeon-General or any of the Ministers of Government, one need not be alarmed at the state of things in mofussil hospitals. A doctor friend of mine told me that he found his work in the T.B. ward uninteresting and that he was greatly handicapped in his work. There was not even a decent microscope in the whole hospital. The eggs his patients got were rotten to such an extent that they had to be thrown away. And the milk was watered and the food and soup had no nourishing substance in them. Hospital accommodation in almost every hospital in India is insufficient and verandahs are crowded with patients who are made to sleep on the floor for want of bedsteads. The supply of up-to-date surgical instruments,

sufficient number of microscopes, blood-pressure gauges, and other equipment is inadequate in many hospitals.*

During my life-time, I must have visited many hospitals at least a hundred times. I myself have been an inpatient on three occasions—fortunately all these occasions were spent in the private rooms. My late wife was also in the hospital as a patient on two occasions and she too occupied private rooms. On both these occasions she came out without any mishap. Women, more than men, have a dread of the hospitals. I still remember the words uttered by her when she was seriously ill and had to be removed to the hospital for treatment. She said: 'If I must go to the hospital, admit me to a private room. If you cannot afford the expense of a private room, let me die in the house rather than go to the public ward.' Such was the impression created in the minds of the ordinary people about the unsatisfactory treatment of patients in the public wards of our hospitals. I have myself seen many neglected cases in the hospitals during my casual visits.

When sick visits are made to our patient-friends in the hospitals we observe many things which an Inspecting Officer would not be able to see. A Surgeon-General or a Minister, when he visits a hospital, is surrounded by the doctor-in-charge and his staff. Everything is well arranged for him to see and even if the visits are made by surprise, word is passed round the wards. To remove defects one must hear complaints made by common people like me. I have been in Government service long enough to know

* Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister of the Government of India, addressing the members of the Delhi Medical Association on April 17, 1948, said: 'I feel no hesitation in frankly admitting before you, that so far only very little has been done to give medical relief to the people of the country, and much remains to be done. The hospitals in the country are not up to the standard, and their equipment has to be improved.'

the defects of the present system. My own observations are:

(1) The District Medical Officer is overworked and he has to spend lot of his time in desk work. This is all waste of his valuable time and indirectly leads to waste of public money. His time should be devoted solely to professional and administrative work. He should not be saddled with any office work which should be done by a Registrar of the office, a civilian officer.

(2) The diet of patients should be supervised by the Medical Officer himself. No pilfering should be allowed by hospital servants.

(3) Frequent surprise visits should be made to the wards at all hours of the day.

(4) One responsible matron should be in sole charge of the kitchen. She should be an incorruptible person. For this kind of work the most suitable person is one belonging to a religious order.*

(5) The system of appointing honorary physicians and surgeons is wrong in principle in a country like India.

In England, an entirely different type of people is appointed as honorary physicians and their work is highly appreciated because they do the work with a really philanthropic motive. In this country such system cannot work satisfactorily. In the first place, all our honorary physicians are young doctors and they have to earn a living and many doctors have admitted to me that they cannot be expected to live on air. Such a system leads to corruption and bad feeling among the doctors themselves. Honorary workers are very irregular in attendance. I have

*I am glad to observe that the experiment of appointing nuns to supervise food in the kitchens is being tried in the Madras General Hospital.

known, them coming very late to their work almost every day. Great inconvenience is caused to the patients who are obliged to wait for even two or three hours. Coming to the hospital late, these doctors do the work haphazardly with very little benefit to the out-patients. Every one in the hospital must be a paid worker. And the District Medical Officer can then get better work out of them. Better discipline could also be maintained. The ultimate aim of the Medical Department should be the establishment of a full-time salaried medical service with a ban on private practice. This should remove many evils found in the government medical profession.

(6) The nursing staff is both under-paid and over-worked. Accepting gifts of any kind from any patient by nurses should be strictly forbidden. Any cases of detection should be severely dealt with. Traces of favouritism to well-to-do patients can be seen in the wards. Accepting tips is bad from many points of view. One loses self-respect and the virtue of charity is also lost. Nurses should remember that their profession is perhaps the noblest one in the world, and they take the places of mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters in tending the helpless and sick persons. The first principle taught in the nursing classes is that service should be done without any anticipation of reward. It is possible that some of the nurses may not be aware of the fact that Florence Nightingale, their great predecessor and foundress of the nursing profession on a sound basis, declined the Government's offer of a British man-of-war to bring her home after the Crimean War and she took every precaution to avoid a public demonstration by the British people on her return to England.

(7) The sweepers are the most difficult problem in any hospital. These people are the scum of the Indian society. As a class they are ungrateful people. They are generally devoid of human sympathy, unkind in the extreme to poor

patients in the hospitals and they would demand tips for every little service they do to the patients, particularly for supply of bed-pans to bed-ridden patients. In this way every sweeper would gather two or three rupees every day. This class of servants cannot be controlled easily and they are inclined to be insolent to the nurses and would not obey orders easily. They know that they cannot easily be replaced and would threaten to 'strike' work if much strictness is shown. I really cannot suggest a remedy, but people who have had constant dealings with the sweepers may be able to suggest a remedy. In India, only out-castes can do this kind of work.

I have said sufficiently enough to indicate that the medical administration in India suffers from lack of money. The general health of the people cannot improve until the Medical and the Public Health Departments are brought to the level of European and American countries in efficiency. This means that much more than half a rupee per head of population must be spent.* In his Budget speech of February 1948, the Finance Minister of Madras said: 'Let Prohibition be our biggest developmental work. Though negative in its character, let it be the source from which all our developmental and creative work flows'. This means that the Prohibition policy will not be reversed in any circumstances. In Madras alone we have lost 2,000 lakhs of rupees through the introduction of prohibition and another 300 lakhs of rupees are required for *khadi* development. Other Provinces where prohibition has been introduced must also have lost similar amounts. If these schemes have not been launched, about 15,000 lakhs of

* To my view I find support from H.E. The Governor of Madras, the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, who presided at a Medical Association's meeting in Madras on December 20, 1948. He said: 'I have always held the view that one of the first priorities to our nation-building schemes should be Public Health.'

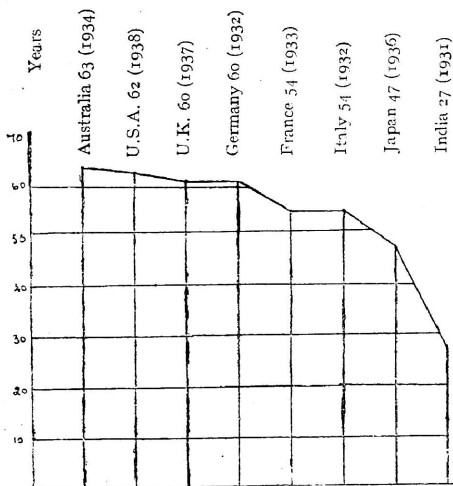
rupees would have been available for educational and medical institutions and other useful objects throughout India. On the average we could have built a hundred extra hospitals every year. In the Legislative Council meetings, there was much talk about the zamindari system, state monopoly of public transport and electricity, prohibition and *khadi* but practically no talk about the improvement of medical institutions.

Are we not proud of our India which, as poet Iqbal said, is the finest country in the world? If we claim this proud privilege, should we not make its people also as the finest people in the world? What is to be done for this? We must raise the standard of the health of the people and try to bring it to the level of most civilised countries in the world. Every one must, however, understand that national wealth is necessary to raise the standard of life of every one. And wealth cannot be produced without work. Everyone should work in his own line and produce more. This is the only way to increase national wealth and the only way to raise the standard of life of even the humblest worker in the country. We must also see that corruption is eliminated altogether. We have too much of it after the British have left India. And one excuse is that government servants cannot afford to live on the same old pay with a pittance of dearness allowance while non-government servants are making plenty of money in various ways. There is some force in this argument.

AVERAGE AGE OF INDIANS

If you are a true patriotic Indian, occasionally look at the simple graph drawn underneath and think a bit. Are you not ashamed to realise that you belong to a race whose average length of life is only 27? And you belong to a race of ancient civilization. Does it not strike you

that it is your solemn duty to endeavour to improve your country's health? What are you doing and what do you propose doing to increase the length of your own life and that of your fellow-citizen? Does not your conscience dictate to you that you should take active steps to increase this average life? Get also your Indian Health Minister to spend more money for the good of the common man and not engage himself in socio-political experiments. This short life cannot be due to the drinking habit of a negligible number of Indians as Europeans and Japanese drink much more than Indians. This short life is due to lack of sufficient food, good drinking water, good housing, me-



Life chart—The figures given are the average length of life in years. The year to which these figures relate is given in brackets against each country.

dical attention, village hygiene, and above all to low standard of living. In this, the Congress Government should take a lead and pay their servants proper wages and not content themselves by saying that they have no money to pay higher wages.

Let us make an endeavour by better and cleaner living to increase our average length of life by at least one year every decade. In a century we shall be able to increase our average life by ten years and in less than two centuries we shall be able to catch up the average of the Japanese, an eastern nation. Madras is considered the poorest Province of the Indian Union in spite of the fact that its Budget continues to be the highest Budget, next to that of the Government of India. I would lodge a strong plea for the retention of both the Revenues, Excise as well as Sales-tax, which would bring in sufficient funds for embarking on schemes for raising the general standard of living of the common man.

DEGREE OF MORTALITY AT DIFFERENT AGES

I have attached a statement of degree of mortality at different ages, showing the survivors out of 100,000 born alive. This statement is most revealing. To most of us who are not accustomed to the study of statistics, a mass of figures conveys no meaning. You must examine them carefully and subject them to a critical study. The statement reveals a terrible loss of human lives in India when compared with other countries. By the tenth year, half the number of children do not survive in India, while in other countries the average number of deaths during this period does not exceed one-fourth. Further, during the prime of manhood, that is, between the ages of 20 and 40, the adult male population in India is reduced by about 40 per cent; in Japan the percentage is 15, while in England, Australia, and Germany it is about 10. Then again, only 18 per cent of the population reach the age of 50, while in all other

Number of Survivors out of 100,000 Born Alive, Males.

(From the Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations, 1937-38)

URGENT WORK BEFORE CONGRESS GOVT.

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Age	India 1901-10	Japan 1898-1903	Italy 1901-10	France 1895- 1903	Germany 1901-10	England 1901-10	U. S. A. 1901-10	Sweden 1901-10	Denmark 1906-10	Australia 1901-10
0	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
10	50,212	74,891	71,325	75,944	72,827	78,083	80,605	84,762	84,240	86,622
20	43,833	71,310	68,579	72,948	70,647	76,113	77,957	81,638	82,205	84,493
30	35,831	65,596	64,108	67,653	67,092	72,741	73,222	76,619	78,862	80,844
40	27,136	60,101	59,669	61,641	62,598	67,668	66,996	71,897	74,773	75,887
50	18,658	52,639	53,799	53,818	55,340	59,903	58,963	65,702	68,284	68,221
60	11,229	41,160	44,902	43,199	43,807	47,564	47,701	56,548	57,639	56,782
70	5,134	24,519	29,835	27,465	27,136	29,898	31,050	41,680	40,684	38,275
80	1,032	7,964	10,079	8,774	8,987	10,608	12,295	19,350	17,333	14,330
90	11	631	580	728	683	1,117	1,492	2,380	1,968	1,652
100	—	1	—	11	4	13	25	20	—	15

countries, over 50 per cent of the people remain alive at this age. And only 5 per cent of the population reach a mature age of 70. In India, where widow marriages are not encouraged, the amount of misery to many widows and their children by the excessive loss of their bread-winners between the ages of 20 and 40 must be very great indeed. Apart from this consideration, the loss of manpower during the productive and useful periods of life adds greatly to the economic loss to the country.

It has become the fashion among many people to attribute the poverty of India to the British administration and their exploitation of the Indian people. They would point out to the ancient glory and richness of India, such as the Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley, the ruins of Vijayanagar (Hampi), the Ajanta Caves, and the like. But we have also the cases of the old Greek, Roman, and Egyptian Empires. With all their independence, Greece, Italy, and Egypt are not rich countries. Even the mighty British Empire is showing signs of decay and poverty. Once the proud German and Japanese Empires have lost their glory. Every nation has its ups and downs. I am not a student of human biology but from what little observation I have made, I hold the view that the poverty of India seems to be due to the low standard of living of the common people. And the low standard of living is due to the lowness of the wages. My conclusion is based on the fact that the people of the United States of America, though they come from the same stock as the people of the United Kingdom, have been able to raise their average age of life by two years, viz., 62 as against England's 60. This may be due to the better wages paid to the workmen in the United States and to better living.

Let the rich Indians search their hearts and see whether they and their forefathers have not been responsible for the extreme poverty of the labourers. Even though

the income of the well-to-do Indians may be more than the average European officials and merchants, they are generally inclined to pay their servants much smaller wages. Domestic servants in European households are paid better wages and men of the servant class including motor-drivers and gardeners prefer to work under European masters. Farm labourers and other workmen are not paid proper living wages. In such circumstances how can the poverty of India be removed? For this, the rich Indians and capitalists are to be blamed. I do not therefore see any connection between the age-long poverty of the labouring classes and the British Government. The Britishers and their Government merely continued the practice of low wages and salaries followed in India before their conquest of the country.

SANITARY CONDITIONS IN INDIA

Connected with the poverty of India is the general uncleanly habits of the people of India. More than 90% of the population live in our villages. But the village is generally very dirty and full of filth. We will find garbage heaps everywhere covered with swarms of disease-bearing flies. There are no proper latrines with the result that the children are allowed to defecate at any place and in the streets without any check by their parents. The selfish nature of the people is apparent in the village parts. Without any hesitation, a village woman will throw all her house sweepings in the village lane in front of her neighbour's house. The people bathe every day all right but they bathe near the well and foul the drinking water. They never bother to keep the drinking water wells free from germs. The village houses are usually ill-ventilated and the streets and lanes are made anyway without proper planning and without any attention to the needs of the village and its people. It is not uncommon to see rows

of country carts blocking an entire street. Some legislative measures seem necessary to improve village sanitation thereby securing better health of the villagers generally. Panchayat Boards should be made responsible for seeing that the villages are kept clean and that proper latrines are built and people including children are taught to use them. All the garbage of the village should be deposited at a particular place. Sweepers and scavengers should be employed in every village. Any extension of a village or formation of a new village should be planned on proper lines.

My observations of the condition of our villages are confirmed by the Madras Health Minister who recently said: 'The needs of villages, and the interests of rural people have been neglected, to a great extent, in the past. Conditions of life there are far from satisfactory. A large majority of people has no suitable dwellings. Lack of proper water supplies is felt in most places. There is practically no conservancy, or sanitary service. Soil pollution is found almost everywhere, due to indiscriminate defecation. The water supply available is also polluted in many places. The health services provided are inadequate. The administration of most of the panchayats is hampered by lack of funds wherewith to provide even primary amenities.'

Our people, not only in villages but also in towns, are lacking in civic consciousness. Such ignorance is excusable in the case of villagers but many of the educated and well-to-do people in the urban areas allow their children to use the public thoroughfares as latrines to the annoyance of the members of the public. When we travel in the trains we like to see, at the dawn of day, the beauty of the countryside. But this pleasure is marred by the public using wrongly both sides of the railroad as latrines to our annoyance and disgust. Such disgusting sights are to be seen only in India. Foreign visitors to India would

carry with them impressions of the dirty habits of the people. After all, Miss Mayo was not far wrong in condemning some of the bad habits of India. How far this nuisance is tolerated in India can be gauged from a recent editorial of a well-known newspaper in India. I give below an extract from that paper:

'The Commissioner of a large city's Corporation in India told the Social Workers' Conference convened by the Mayor of that City of a vile habit which is inimical to public health and decency. Referring to a suggestion that more public conveniences should be erected in slum areas, he asked whether slum dwellers would use the amenities provided for them. 'There is,' he remarked, 'a lack of civic consciousness and that cannot be remedied by merely spending money on slum improvements.' He was right. The truth of his remark is illustrated by the condition of the tenements built by that city's Corporation. Those tenements are among the worst slums in that city. They are full of squalor, their rooms crowded and unswept, their verandahs used for stables, and grounds covered with rubbish, with swarms of flies over it, while waste water collects in pools and breeds mosquitoes. Occupants of one floor, often throw waste into the next or defecate over parapet or partition walls. Even those living in mud huts are better off as they secure respite from a dismal life at least by setting fire to their huts when the latter are infested with bugs.'

The Commissioner's remark about the slum-dwellers applies also to others. Many of the well-to-do and educated fight shy of latrines, and commit nuisance in open spaces to the annoyance and disgust of passers-by. The promiscuous use of public places as latrines not only results in insanitation and ill-health, but is equally pernicious morally, as it is an offence to the self-respect and modesty of the members of the public. Although public latrines are sometimes so unclean as to be unusable, and they should be cleaned more frequently, it would be impossible to keep

them clean as long as the present insanitary and immodest custom prevails. Only by developing civic consciousness, the considerateness, in the people by intensive propaganda can any reform be accomplished. At present insanitary habits on the part of children are tolerated by many, with the result that the children grow up to be unmindful of the evil caused by fouling public places. They should be taught clean habits, and self-control, by being compelled to use sanitary appliances.'

We have made laws in this country preventing all such nuisances but they are not enforced properly. Our Congress Health Ministers should tackle the subject of village and urban sanitation and health, with greater enthusiasm than their predecessors, and remedy the past evils of insanitary living.

WASTE OF FARM-YARD MANURE

Another foolish thing that is done by the villagers is the burning of the cow-dung as fuel.* Even in towns cow-dung cake-making for fuel has become a trade for some poor people. Cultivators know that cow-dung manure is one of the finest manures they can get. I remember that

* It is pleasing to note that Government is taking action to remedy this evil. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Minister for Food and Agriculture, in a statement issued on July 25, 1948 on the Independence Day programme, referred to the waste by agriculturists in the country of organic manure, the use of which, he said, could produce enough food to cover the entire national food deficit and leave a surplus for all.

This habit of wasting the farmyard gatherings and other sources of organic manure is forced on the people, because they have no other sources of fuel needed in their daily life. A solution of this difficulty has been found, in what are called **quick-growing** trees. The Minister appealed to all, who are in authority in the Provinces and the States to take immediate steps to organise a systematic programme of planting quick-growing trees, suited to the local conditions during the week beginning with Aug. 15.

some years ago, Col. F. L. Brayne of the Punjab Civil Service, suggested that a law be passed forbidding the use of cattle-dung as fuel. If such an idea could occur to a foreigner, it is strange that none of our Indian patriots and legislators did not take any action all these years to put a stop to this criminal waste of such a fine manure. Cow-dung is the nature's gift to the farmer. It contains several salts which the soil needs. Apart from its manurial value, it is good for sandy as well as heavy soil. In the case of the former it helps in binding it, while in the case of the latter it helps in making it porous. It has been proved that the use of cow-dung manure more than doubles the yield of a crop. The price of a cart-load of cow-dung manure is about Rs. 5/- and throughout India some millions of carts of dung are being burnt as fuel. The yield of the crop must be reduced thereby and the ultimate loss to India's crop must be colossal. The question would arise how the peasantry could get sufficient fuel to cook their food if they are not allowed to supplement it by cow-dung cake. The Forest Department should be able to solve this problem and this is an urgent one as it affects the wealth and the food of the country.

JUDICIAL REFORM

One of the boasts of the average Britisher is that he has given India justice such as the East has never known before. The British administrators no doubt meant well when they introduced laws in India based on English experience and ideals. But, in actual practice, the cumbersome legal procedure does not seem to have suited Indian minds and social conditions. Many British Judges and Governors have admitted that the law, based on English principles, has not protected the illiterate and ignorant peasants. It is common knowledge that in this country witnesses are tutored by the police and the lawyers before

they give evidence in the courts. It is not uncommon in India that innocent persons are sent to the jail or even to the gallows. The peasants who form the majority of litigants in our Taluq and District Courts have perverted the law and they have been perverted by it. The most unfortunate part of our legal system is that the poor peasant is ruined by litigation. He wastes much of his time in the courts and much of his hard-earned money goes to the pockets of the lawyers. False swearing in the courts has become a habit with the peasant. Let us see what Mecauley said a century ago.

'Your Honour must know,' says this judicious person, 'that the great evil is that men swear falsely in India. No judge knows what to believe. Surely if Your Honour can make men to swear truly, Your Honour's fame will be great and the Company (East India Company) will flourish. Let your Honour cut off the great toe of the right foot of every man who swears falsely, whereby Your Honour's fame will be extended.'

Many of the cases that come before the magistrates need not be brought at all. Litigants waste much of their valuable time in the courts which they ought to spend on their occupations. Some rough-and-ready methods ought to be devised and Village Panchayats established where many of the village quarrels and land disputes should be settled.* In this way more than half the number of

* My view has found some support from the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who said at a public meeting at Salem (Madras Province) on January 16, 1949:

Administration of justice, which today was dear in cost, delayed in time, and doubtful in character, should be made to become cheap, immediate, local, and certain. Administration of justice by local Panchayats should be useful and their authority should be unappealable. Nobody could detect facts better. It was an urgent reform, and they had not paid attention to panchayats in the past.

magistrates could be reduced, resulting in much saving of money to the State and to the litigants. Delays in the courts have become proverbial. Innumerable adjournments are made. I have known many cases which could be disposed of in a couple of hours, dragging on for months together, with needless adjournments for one cause or other. It is time that our legal codes are changed to suit our Indian people.

Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, thought the English system of law a monstrous injustice to the Indians that they should be subjected to laws designed for quite different social conditions. Lord Metcalfe, who served in India for more than 35 years at the beginning of the nineteenth century, said: 'Our courts are scenes of great corruption...The Judge sits on a bench in the midst of a general conspiracy. Every one is labouring to deceive him and to thwart his desire for justice. The pleaders have no regard for truth.'

Most people, other than men of the legal profession, who have any knowledge of the subordinate courts, would unhesitatingly agree with what Penderel Moon, late of the Indian Civil Service, who had vast experience of our courts and rose to Chief Secretaryship to Government, said recently about our courts: 'A simple people had become habituated to systematized perjury, had been corrupted by unscrupulous lawyers, had been taught to flock to the law courts, and to revel in the tainted atmosphere of bribery and chicanery that surrounds them. Litigation has become a national pastime and the criminal law a recognized and well-tried means of harassing, imprisoning, and even hanging one's enemies. The Courts were a sham and a

He felt that factions in villages were due to the present system of administration of law. Justice should be linked to the tradition of the country.

mockery in which police, witnesses, lawyers, and judges all played their part in producing or using evidence which they knew to be quite false.'

Many administrators tried to reform the system but as it was well established and supported by the vested interests of the lawyer class, very few people showed any inclination to alter it. Most English District Magistrates avoided trying cases themselves and transferred them to their Indian Subordinate Magistrates. The separation of the judiciary from the executive which the present Government proposes to do would not mend the existing evil of our legal system. What we, in free India, require now is a system of law* that could be understood by the simple folk and could be argued without the necessity of engaging lawyers. We should avoid all technicalities and obscurities, and our aim should be to draw up a code simplifying and abridging every rule and procedure. The law should be made so simple that every man should be able to plead his own case without the aid of professional lawyers. He should be able to conduct his own case. To begin with, we must frame our codes in the English language, and these should be translated into all the Indian languages. The translation should be in simple language, intelligible to even the semi-educated peasant. Such a policy should be pursued with vigour by our new Government if the country is to be rid of the great social evil of

* Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the Congress, addressing a meeting of the Madras Advocates' Association on January 19, 1949, at the High Court, said:

A simple code of justice for the country with terms and methods suited to the genius and temperament of the people was needed.

He was also critical and declared that justice had become diluted and dubious under the present system. There was no elucidation of the truth in courts of law, for, witnesses were brow-beaten, harassed, and sought to be broken down by clever lawyers.

litigants flocking to our Court Houses' which has ruined many fairly well-to-do families.

To illustrate my points of view I give a few typical instances that have come to my notice.

(1) One poor woman has been coming to the court frequently for nearly six months in connection with an alleged offence of using a false measure. She had to come every time from a village more than ten miles distant. What a trouble and bus expense to her? At the time of writing this book this petty case was still pending disposal. Meanwhile the woman became pregnant and another long adjournment was necessary.

(2) A petty trader was charged with using a false weight. The charge was that his pound-weight was short by a half-rupee weight. God only knows how the police-man who prosecuted the trader had the sagacity to pick out that particular weight out of thousands of weights used in a shandy (a weekly village bazaar). To my untrained eyes the weight produced in the court as an exhibit seemed all right with the stamped 1 lb. mark on it. And yet very many rich black-marketeers go unpunished for more serious offences.

(3) Two cooly boys were brought before the court for playing cards in a wayside with a few pice. This was an offence under the Gaming Act. These two young boys were so poor that they were unable to pay even a rupee fine imposed by the court. They were marched off to the jail for a week's imprisonment. What an obnoxious thing to send youngsters to jail for a little youthful amusement with a few pice! And yet in all our social clubs rich people gamble every day for high stakes.

Such cases occur every day in our life and are examples of how the spirit of the law is prostituted in this country.

Mostly poor people who are unable to pay for the lawyers' assistance usually fall victims to the law.

JAIL REFORM

While dealing with the Court's system, let us consider whether our present jail system should not also be revised. Jails of the present pattern were non-existent during the pre-British days. My view is that they do more harm to the society than good. The object of sending a man to prison is two-fold, to punish him for his misdeed, and to reform him while in the jail. But can we honestly say that we have succeeded in reforming criminals? From my knowledge of the jails I am inclined to the view that most of the prisoners get demoralised by jail life and by contact with other prisoners. It would be more correct to say that a prisoner is more debased when he returns from the jail than when he entered it. Jail-going has lost its sting and the public do not now attach much stigma to people who have been to the jail as they used to do in former days. Because many people, particularly of the rural parts, argue that our leaders, our Governor-General, and almost all Governors and Ministers have all been to the jail. They cannot differentiate between a patriot and a criminal going to the jail. And the majority of prisoners come from the villages.

We should consider whether the long term of imprisonment is desirable and should be continued. Long terms of imprisonment are intended as a deterrent for major offences and for habitual criminals, but do our jail statistics show any sign of decrease in the number of long-term prisoners? Then why continue a system blindly which does no good to the man and to the State? The award of long-term imprisonment has not in any way effected an improvement in the diminution of major crimes in India. Our jails cost the State lot of money. Perhaps

the system which existed during pre-British days for the punishment of criminals could be resuscitated. The Western system of jails is unsuitable to Indian social conditions. The real sufferer in sending a man to the jail is his innocent family. The man no doubt loses his liberty during his period of incarceration but is looked after well by the State. The wife and the children are punished for the fault of their bread-winner. The children, if they are young and have none to support them, take to begging and petty thieving. And the wife not infrequently takes to clandestine immoral living to support herself. To prevent these social evils, criminal State colonies could be established at suitable centres where the criminals should be sent. A convicted person and his family could work in the colony and support themselves till he completes his term of imprisonment. Imprisonment for trivial offences should be abolished altogether. Mere fines according to the paying ability of persons should be imposed. In case of inability to pay the fine, they should be required to give free service to the State, such as road-making. Punishment of imprisonment should be given as a last resort and that too in cases of extreme moral turpitude. The present over-population of our jails is due to the existing laws which prescribe imprisonment for even trivial offences and petty thefts. And the Congress Government have further worsened the situation by imposing a penalty of imprisonment for prohibition offences. Heavy fines would have equally served the purpose.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Another important problem which should engage the early attention of the Government is the weights and measures reform. In England, for example, even a small boy or a girl can do shopping with confidence, but in India even experienced old persons cannot escape cheating by

tradesmen, in some form or other, such as short lengths of cloth, short measure, and short weight.* No one knows whether the price he pays for an article is the right one. In recent years, however, some cloth merchants, jewellers, and some grocers have learnt to sell at fixed prices. Government should, by a law, if necessary, compel other tradesmen to follow this good practice. Everybody knows that tradesmen and hawkers use false weights and measures, but in spite of a law against this practice, we are powerless to check this evil practice. There are many millions of false measures and weights in the country. To prevent the use of false measures, the issue by Government of one-piece cylindrical light cast iron measure with a suitable government inscription right round the top and on the rim to avoid people making the measure short by filing the top edge is suggested. Such a measure could be made by any iron foundry. One advantage in this is that such a measure would last a lifetime and would not require annual stamping by Government to certify the correctness of the measure. By a Government proclamation all the measures in the country could be withdrawn and melted down to make Government standard measures.

* The Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's indictment of the traders is severer than my observation. Speaking at a joint reception given to him in Madras on January 18, 1949, by the various Chambers of Commerce he said:

'We must reorganise our trade. Trade flourishes now on fraud as a fine art, fraud practised by the man at the counter, who has made a special study of how to defraud customers. I do not say all of you do so, but most do, as I shall prove.' He explained how there was fraud in measurement and weightment, how fraud was practised in the adulteration of food stuffs. This had become ingrained in the very nature of the nation, as it were, and they had become a nation of liars and defrauders. Unless they remedied these things they could not prosper. It was with a feeling of shame and sorrow, that he had to say that there was no chance for truth in the bazaar. The time had come for them to set up new standards of morality not only in politics, but in commerce also.

Throughout the country we have adopted the English long measure and the square measure. Even an illiterate peasant understands what a yard is. Why cannot the Government introduce a standard weight which can be used throughout the country with ease? English pound-weight seems to be the most popular of all weights. This is understood by the village people and is commonly used in our bazaars. But even in this, people are not served properly. In Madras, the official weight of a viss is $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs; but when we buy a viss of sugar or other articles we get only 3 pounds weight. Similarly, the official weight of a maund is 25 lbs. but dealers give us only 24 lbs. weight, i.e., 8 viss at 3 lbs. a viss. The Bengal maund differs from the Madras maund. We should attempt to introduce uniformity throughout the country to avoid confusion.

Adulteration of liquid foods such as milk, butter, ghee, and edible oils has become very bad during recent years to the detriment of the health of the people. Some strong measures should be taken by Government to prevent this evil. The present Food Adulteration Act seems to have become ineffective.

BLACK MARKET

The Government do not seem to take effective measures to suppress black-marketing in this country. Let us take a single instance of Horlicks milk. The wholesale dealers, Messrs. Foster & Co., advertise to say, 'Do not pay more than Rs. 3-6-0.' But in actual practice we cannot get this from any shopkeeper for less than Rs. 4-4-0. In this connection I quote an extract from a letter which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the President-elect of the Congress, wrote to Swami Biswanand, labour leader and social worker in Calcutta. The letter said: 'It is the duty of Congressmen to help the administration by bringing to book those who offend by way of black-marketing. But this is a very delicate and difficult task. It requires a high moral calibre to be

able to withstand the temptations of men through whose hands money flows like water, and who still tip even the most honest people, for after all, it is evil ambition that makes evil deeds done. That, however, should not lead to despair, much less to cynicism, and I trust that with the ardent co-operation and blessings of eminent men like yourself, the task should not be difficult of achievement.' The Swami in his letter to the Congress President cited instances of black-marketing in every department of life.

REVISION OF PAY OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

A reform which is much overdue is the revision of pay of Government servants. I would refer my readers to Chapter XVI of my book "Rebirth of Burma" which deals exhaustively with the revision of pay of Government servants and bribery and corruption. My observations agree in the main with those made by Mr. Justice A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar recently in Madras. There was general agreement among the representatives of Service Associations in India that the basic minimum pay of a Subordinate Government servant should be Rs. 100/-. With this, the former Finance Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan agreed. Mr. Justice Ayyar is also of the same view. I am not unaware of the fact that increases to salaries would mean an additional expenditure of several lakhs of rupees to the State. My suggestion is that the staff should be reduced and the pay increased. Much of the inefficiency and corruption now seen in Government Departments is due to the fact that most people, particularly in the lower ranks, are dissatisfied with their pay and dearness allowance. It is impossible for them to live decently on their pay. I am sure that many will agree with Sir Arthur Hope, former Governor of Madras, who frequently said: 'People generally should be well paid. It was the right policy. If an em-

ployer did not keep a man satisfied morally and physically, he was not going to do his work as well as he could.'

At one time the cream of the intelligentsia was to be found in Government service. The pay must therefore be good to attract the right type of men. † Dissatisfied with the pay offered by Government, several Honours Graduates are taking up service in mercantile firms who pay better wages. If this process goes on, only mediocre men would be found in Government service in the long-run. From my experience of the work in Government departments, I am inclined to the view that much needless work can be eliminated if the procedure adopted in mercantile firms is followed in Government offices, with certain modifications. The present system of Government office procedure leads to delays. The system of disposal of correspondence and the arrangement of records are cumbersome. There are too many useless returns and statements. Checks and counterchecks of papers and returns result in waste of energy and time. There is far too much 'noting' on cases in Government offices. Annual reports and the mass of statements that are appended to them for each department seem unnecessary. A single Administration Report for the whole province should be enough. In America, for example, year-books are issued and they contain much valuable information. I have seen some of the reports issued in Thailand and Indo-China. In these reports simple graphs take the place of elaborate statements issued by us. Some of the figures in our annual reports are faked and mere guess work. As a typical example, in the Season and Crop report, statistics of livestock are given but I have never seen any one coming to our houses to take a census of

† I am glad that the Madras Premier has admitted this. He said on August 6, 1949: 'If the administration was to be efficient they must pay decent salaries to attract the right type of public servants.'

cows and bullocks.* There is much room for simplification of work which should result in reduction of staff. The money thus saved could be utilised for the improvement of salaries.

For certain kind of work, such as carrying messages and papers from one office to another, errand boys on a smaller pay could be employed in place of men. Such a system obtains in England and also in the Telegraph department in India. A smaller staff on a better pay should be the goal of every Government department. Many Government servants would welcome the suggestion of Mr. Justice Ayyar, I.C.S., a senior and experienced officer, at the Provincial Conference of the Non-gazetted Officers' Association, Madras, on December 26, 1948, which agrees entirely with my views. He also stressed the importance of club life. He said that it should not be difficult for a rich employer like the Government to start clubs. No Government servant should stay in the office after the stipulated office hours. This was also the view of Dr. P. Subbaroyan, late Minister of Madras. Mr. Ayyar said that every clerk should be given a month's holiday and a free railway ticket throughout India. If these suggestions were given effect to, Government servants would become highly active. In support of this view, I would like to give my own personal experience. I seldom allowed the staff to work after office hours, nor did I allow office papers to be taken home as there was always the risk of papers being lost or shown to interested persons. They were allowed to enjoy all the long holidays such as the Christmas and the Dasara holidays with the result that I found them more active in work after such short holidays. I encouraged them to take leave earned by them. The staff as a rule kept good health and very

* The Advisory Board of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, admitted recently that the statistics of cattle population in India were unreliable.

few people took leave on medical certificate. I myself worked on the average seven to eight hours a day and my department was considered as one of the best-run departments. If every man concentrates his attention on work during prescribed office hours, there ought to be no arrears of work. There is no need to work overtime. All this depends on the proper supervision of the staff. In spite of the limited number of hours' work, I was able to effect retrenchment of staff without loss of efficiency.

Mr. Ayyar's view that Government servants should be classified as Class I, Class II, and Class III and not as gazetted and non-gazetted subordinate, etc., deserves consideration by Government. I hold the same view. The artificial barrier between one class of Government servants and another should be done away with. Every Government servant, even though he starts in a subordinate position, should feel that he has every chance of rising to the top position. There should be no bar to promotion to the highest post provided a man has the ability and the necessary qualifications. If this principle is accepted, there would be more enthusiasm for efficient and honest work among the subordinate staff generally. According to present rules, however brilliant a subordinate may be, he cannot aspire to rise beyond a certain prescribed limit. When he reaches his maximum in his own grade, he loses interest in his work and merely carries on till the end of his service. Thereby the Government fails to obtain the best value for its money. I have known some Secretariat Assistants capable of doing much better work than their Secretaries but on account of their lower status they cannot go beyond an Assistant Secretaryship. Such people, for want of money and other causes, were not able to enter Class I Service.

The Time-scale pay system which superseded the old Grade system has one great draw-back. Good, bad, and

slack men are all treated alike in the matter of annual increments. There is really no incentive for good work. Some remedy should be found. My own view is that good work should be appreciated by the grant of advance increments. The rate of annual increments should be generous and not be the niggardly sum of 2 or 3 rupees now given in the lower stages. After an efficient service of one year to give a graduate only a small increase of 2 or 3 rupees amounts to an affront to him. Increments should be so arranged that the maximum of a subordinate Government servant who starts on Rs. 100/- should not be less than 300 rupees after a service of 30 years. This scale is suggested for Class III officers. There ought to be a strict efficiency bar at Rs. 150/-. The efficiency of a person can be gauged during the first five years of his service. Inefficient persons should be got rid of during this period with a suitable gratuity. Corrupt persons should on no account be retained in service. Only by a rigid weeding out of corrupt persons can the purity of Government service be maintained. The maximum pay of Class II might be fixed at Rs. 600/- and of Class I at Rs. 1,200/-. High officers, such as High Court Judges, Board Members should be paid at special high rates. High salaries paid to Collectors, District Judges, and Secretaries to Government during the British days are, in the present changed conditions, indefensible on any ground. High salaries for European officers were given on the plea that they had to maintain two establishments, one in India for themselves and another in their home country for wives and children, for the education of their children. Another reason was that the general standard of living of Englishmen was higher than that of the Indian. The great disparity in pay now existing between the subordinate and superior services must disappear in our free India. In Japan, an eastern country, for example, the difference in pay between officers and

men is not so acute as in India. I wish men of the type of Mr. Ayyar are appointed as Chairmen of the Retrenchment Committees and of simplification of work in Government Departments instead of appointing men who have practically no knowledge of the details of Government work. Personally I would like an American or a Britisher unconnected with India, who has experience of Secretariat and Magisterial work in his own country, to be brought to India to advise on the reorganisation of Government Departments in India and to advise on the pay scales of Government servants. By this, I do not mean that we have no competent Indians to deal with such subjects satisfactorily, but their outlook of things is generally stereotyped. Our Indian members merely suggest lowering of pay and reduction of staff and nothing more. During my time I have seen several retrenchment committees. They are all of the same type, and they suggest small savings here and there. But the work in Government Departments has not changed much. What we want is new methods, new ideas, simplification of work, reduction of staff, better scales of pay, ameliorative measures such as housing, pension for families in case of death during service and even after retirement, provident funds, etc. Unless this subject is treated in a rational way in the immediate future we must be prepared to expect a steady deterioration of work and personnel in all departments of Government service. Government should realise that persons who enter their service belong to the middle class society and generally University Graduates. They and their wives are brought up in homes where there is a certain amount of comfort and even a little luxury. They cannot be expected to bring down their standard of living, when they set up their own homes. Government cannot expect their servants to come down to the level of farmers, petty tradesmen, and mill-hands by paying them salaries almost equal

to the earnings of this class of uneducated people. As Mr. Jinnah once remarked, the pay of an M.A., in a Government office is not better than that of a motor-driver. The philosophy of 'high thinking and plain living' preached by the Congress cannot unfortunately be put into practice in the present day conditions, because the hostel and college fees of a single college student in large cities amount to about Rs. 100/- a month. A man has usually one or two children in the colleges besides young children in schools. As far as I was able to gather information, nowhere else in any of the English-speaking countries of the world are subordinate Government servants so badly paid as in India. And incidentally is corruption, which is the concomitant of low salaries, so rampant elsewhere as in India. We must remember that no Government can function properly if its servants are badly paid and discontented. We may have highly patriotic and efficient Ministers but, with an inefficient and disgruntled staff, no headway can be made for the good of the country. The general strike in Madras of the non-gazetted officers, in December 1947, ought to be a warning to the Government that their servants are ill-paid and dissatisfied with their lot. As far as I am aware, this is the first time that such a strike was engineered. In the United Provinces, 40,000 District Board teachers, involving a student population of two million, struck work demanding more pay and dearness allowance. More than 30,000 teachers sent in their resignations. At the time of writing this book, a general railway strike was threatening. The railway employees wanted a fair wage for an honest day's work taking into consideration the difficult living conditions obtaining at present. All these strikes are an indication that the subordinate staff in India which constitute nearly 90 per cent of Government servants are not paid their proper wages. There is a limit to their patience and if their legitimate grievances are unheeded by Gov-

ernment, they are obliged to stage a strike as a last resort, however much they may abhor it.

My view that the subordinate government servants in India are grossly underpaid for the work they are expected to do is strengthened by the statements made recently by two Madras High Court Judges, one an Indian, and the other an Englishman. And I feel that the statements made by these two high-placed officials should be preserved as a permanent record for future reference.

Mr. Justice A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, I.C.S., said: 'After having seen the work of the non-gazetted officers in England, there was something to be said in favour of similar officers in India. I deprecate the idea that non-gazetted officers are inferior in intelligence to gazetted ones, though the former suffered certain disadvantages due to lack of opportunity.'

Mr. Justice J. A. Bell, Bar-at-Law, said: 'I have never met even in the High Court in England any greater efficiency than the staff of the Madras High Court display. They are always in the back-ground; they prepare notes, comply with rules and attend to the minutest detail of the administration with very great pains. They have received very little commendation and very little reward. Therefore it is up to the Advocate-General and other leaders of the Bar to see that their needs are attended to and the standards maintained; otherwise there will be disintegration.'

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

While dealing with the pay of the subordinate government servants, I should like to say a word about the present District administration and how some saving in government expenditure could be effected. The present designation of the Chief District Officer should be changed. In the southern provinces of India such as Bombay and Madras he is called Collector while in Bengal and northern provinces he is styled as Deputy Commissioner. The word,

Collector, is a loose term. Literally, a collector means a person commissioned to collect money owed, or one who collects, as tickets, bills, money, customs taxes, toll, etc. This designation seems unsuitable to present day conditions. Throughout India we should adopt a uniform nomenclature. To my mind, the term Administrator seems an appropriate one as a substitute for Collector* to correspond with 'Indian Administrative service', which has superseded the 'Indian Civil Service.'

If the distinction between gazetted and non-gazetted posts as suggested by Justice Ayyar is eliminated, the existing system of having intermediary officers, such as Subdivisional Officers, between the Collector and the Tahsildars seems unnecessary. Tahsildars could deal direct with the Collector. Periodical conferences of Collectors and Tahsildars should be arranged. A good deal of delays is generated in correspondence and files, and oftentimes correspondence leads to interminable misunderstandings also. Besides doing good, it does positive bad at times. Many problems could be solved by personal contacts of officers. Intermediaries are mere clogs in the wheels of district administration. They retard quick disposal of papers. My suggestion is based on my own personal experience. As far I have been able to judge, I have found that there is hardly any difference in the ability, intelligence, and qualifications between these two sets of officers. No useful purpose

* This reminds me of a humorous account given at my departmental Dinner Party by a British member of the Indian Civil Service, how his company was avoided at a restaurant in England. A gentleman unacquainted with him took his seat at the same table he was having his refreshments. In the course of an informal conversation when the other person asked him what sort of appointment he held in India, he told him that he was a Collector. Oh! You are a tax-collector. So saying, he politely removed himself to another vacant table. This shows how the designation of Collector is misunderstood even in England.

can be served by employing A to check the work of B when both A and B have equal qualifications. This system leads to waste of time and energy, and money also. This was necessary in the old days when most of the Tahsildars were vernacular men and not so well qualified as the present lot. And English-knowing Deputy Collectors were necessary to help the English Collectors in district administration.

Promotion from the lower ranks to responsible appointments like Munsifs, Tahsildars, Police Inspectors, Assistant Engineers, Forest Rangers, etc., should be made strictly on ability and not on mere seniority, special attention being paid to the probity of officers. Passing Departmental examinations is not the only criterion for promotion. A competency test on the American model, now followed in India for the recruitment of army officers, should be applied. The selection of men to these superior posts should be done, to secure uniformity of ability by a Selection Board and not left to Collectors and other District Officers. The pay of this type of officers might be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 200-20-300-25-600., with strict efficiency bar at Rs. 300/-. Taluq officers should not be allowed to pass the Rs. 300/- limit. Only officers who actually do the work now allotted to sub-divisional officers should be allowed to pass this bar. If this system is adopted, there should be no need for Deputy Collectors, Deputy Superintendents of Police, and the like. As far as I am aware much of the time of the Treasury Deputy Collectors, Personal Assistants to Police Superintendents is taken up by mechanical and routine work involving no intelligence which could be entrusted to junior officers like Head Accountants, Office Managers. Most of their time is occupied in initialing entries in registers and signing petty documents. Highly paid officers seem unnecessary for such posts. There are many posts like these in govern-

ment departments, which are filled satisfactorily by officers possessing only Matriculation qualification.

This system, to begin with, could be tried in two or three districts under selected Collectors, who should follow the maxim in the Civil Account Code, 'Every government officer is expected to exercise the same vigilance in spending government money as he would his own.' One great merit in my suggestion is that the great disparity in pay that exists now between one class of government servants and another, even though all are practically University graduates, would be eliminated. In our new Government, all the employees would be Indians and there ought not to be sharp differences in pay. Roughly, the maximum pay of Class I officers might be fixed at Rs. 800-40-1,000-50-1,200 for Collectors and District Judges; at Rs. 750-50-1,000 for Police Superintendents, Civil Surgeons, District Forest Officers, Executive Engineers, etc.; at Rs. 300-25-600 for Class II officers; at Rs. 200-20-300 for Class III officers. Separate scales of pay for ministerial officers based more or less on the same model will have to be devised. These are only basic pay rates.

DEARNESS AND LOCAL ALLOWANCES TO PENSIONERS

Dearness allowance should be paid when necessity arises. It does not seem fair to deny dearness and local allowances to pensioners, whatever their rank may be. For example, if a pensioner resides at Simla or Ootacamund he is obliged to spend more than a man in the plains. Similarly, when the cost of living goes up, as during the present war period, pensioners too would want more money to spend to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort in their old age. No substantial excuse can be found for refusing the pensioners their legitimate share of dearness allowance. In England, pensioners up to a limit of £600 a year are given dearness allowance. The index number of cost of living is not so

steep there as it is in India. In Ceylon, government pensioners draw the same rate of dearness allowance as men in active service.

In Madras, the province I live, both the Premier (O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar) and the Revenue Minister (Kala Venkata Rao), of the present Cabinet believe that the failure of the rains for two consecutive years is due to the sins of the people. Many of us may not share this view, as we cannot see in what way we have been sinning more than in the previous years, except perhaps the black-marketeers and bribe-takers. Contrariwise, according to the Congress standard there must be less sinning now in India due to its prohibition policy. The fact remains, however, that the cost of living has gone up and it is now between three and four times the pre-war level. How then does the Government expect the pensioners to live on their old rates of pensions? Is it not reasonable to expect from Government some addition to their pensions? My own feeling is that the present Government lacks the good wishes and blessings of the old people, which are very necessary, like in all human affairs, for its prosperity. Many of the difficulties that come in the way of good administration may be attributable to this cause. Pensioners and government servants have nothing but complaint against the government and the arbitrary manner in which the dearness allowance is based which bears no relation whatever to the present unprecedented high cost of living.

THE END.

(Continuation of page 317)

Demand for repeal of Prohibition Act**RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS MEETING**

MADRAS, July 18, 1949: The Yuvaraja of Pithapuram, member of the Congress Legislature Party, has given notice of his intention to move the following resolution at the next Party meeting and requested the Leader of the Party, Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja, to place it before the Party.

The Government should repeal the Prohibition Act immediately in view of the various complications that have set in through its enforcement and the existence of a national and international financial emergency demanding maximum production and export drive. The enforcement of prohibition has resulted in loss of revenue to the Province, necessitating additional taxation and curtailment of ameliorative measures.

The following statement by PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, confirms my view expressed in this chapter.

At the Conference of Provincial and State Premiers held in New Delhi on July 23, 1949, he expressed his opinion that the solution of the existing economic problems, and the food question should have the highest priority, before reforms like complete prohibition and the closing down of racing could be undertaken. He urged them to go slow in certain spheres of reforms, which could be delayed without serious detriment to the nation.

The following incident is a typical illustration of the great hardship to which poor labourers have been put to by the hasty introduction of the Prohibition policy.

SATYAGRAHA BY TODDY TAPPERS

About 200 ex-tappers gathered on July 22, 1949, to tap toddy from coconut trees in Papanasam in *satyagraha* to draw the Government's attention to their plight.

The Collector and the Superintendent of Police, Tanjore, arrived at the place with constables, and advised the tappers not to resort to unlawful activities. The tappers explained their grievances and requested the authorities that they should be provided with employment immediately, as Prohibition had hit them hard. The Collector promised to consider their request.

MARTYRDOM OF GANDHIJI.

This poem was composed in the Portuguese language by Cecilia Meireles, a Brazilian poetess in Rio de Janeiro, immediately after Gandhiji's assassination. This was translated into French in February 1948 and this English version has been made from this French translation by T. S. Eliot. Of the many poems written about the Mahatma's death, this one is perhaps the most moving requiem.

HERE the blue sirens stop and also the winged horses.
Here I renounce the gay flowers of my inner dream.
The newspapers are here unfolded in the wind, at every corner:
"Murdered while blessing the people."

In the vast night I heard a sad cry, a pained voice bird-like.
And waking up I searched for a place far away and unintelligible.
It was you, then, who sighed so frailly, in the little final blood?
It was your distant bones, crossed through by death,
Sounding like delicate bamboos at the stooping down of day?
"Les hommes sont des brutes, madame." *

O days of resistance, the spinning-wheel weaving in every home.
O Vande Mataram, in the small harmoniums, among silks of gold.
The tea of Darjeeling, Milady, has the flavour of white roses.
Streets, streets, streets, do you know who was killed there yonder
on the other side of the world?

Dark untouchables of the whole earth! You do not even know
that you should cry!

"You, Tagore, you sing as the birds who are fed in the morning.
But there are hungry birds that have no voice."

And the evening wind fans the bitter headlines. Men read.
They read with the eyes of children spelling fables. And walk
along.

And we all walk along! And the most blind of all carries a thorn
between his soul and his sight.

Here too it is five o'clock. And I see your name among thousands
of cups.

* English version=Men are brutes, madam.

"What did this man want?" "Why did this man come into the world?"

—"I am no more than the little earthen bowl fashioned by the Divine Potter.

When He does not need me anymore, He shall let me fall."

He has let you fall. Abruptly, abruptly.

There still remained inside a draught of blood.

Your heart was not yet dry, heroic phantom,

Small rose over-blown in a sheet of linen, among sacred words:

The evening wind comes and goes between India and Brazil, and is not tired.

Above all, my brothers, non-violence

But all have their smoking guns in their pockets.

And you were, in truth, the only one without guns, without pockets, without lies,

Unarmed to the veins, free from yesterday and the day of tomorrow.

"Les hommes sont des brutes, madame."

The wind takes away your whole life, and the best part of mine.

Without flags, without uniforms. Nothing but soul, in a crumbled world.

The women of India are bowed like bundles of sighs.

Your pyre is ablaze. The Ganges will take you far away,

Handful of dust which the waters will closely kiss,

And the sun take up from the waters, up to the infinite hands of God.

"Les hommes sont des brutes, madame."

What will you say to God, of the men that you have met?

A little goat, perhaps, will awake tender souvenirs.

The wind blows the headlines; masks move about; men dance.

It is Carnival-time here now. (And everywhere).

The voices of madness and the voices of lust stretch out vigorous bows.

The howling of the crowds echoes through the thousand levels of cement.

Saints die noiselessly, blessing their murderers.
 The last voice of concord returns to the silence of the sky.
 The flowers of my trees are falling. I see a loneliness come to embrace me.

Clouds arrive, clouds, like hurried symbols.
 The wind gathers the clouds, pushes troops of elephants.
 Fly, peoples, help the frail saint who loved you!

Along my arms descends a surrender of beauty and heroism.
 What currents were there between your heart and mine
 That my blood should suffer to know that yours is spilled?

The wind takes the men through the streets of their business, of their crimes.

It takes the surprises, the curiosities, the indifference, the laughter.
 It pushes everyone to his own home, and continues on its cavalcade.
 The wind will blow quick flames, the wind will take light ashes.
 Afterwards there will be darkness. And there will be much sorrow. At last those tears will flow.

Those tears that you were holding back, containing in dykes of peace.

God will say to you: 'Men are brutes, my son.
 We have toiled enough. Let us turn them loose, so that they return to chaos, so that the ocean may boil.
 So that they may go and return, and again go and return.
 Come and see from these my palaces of blue the ferocious battle of errors.

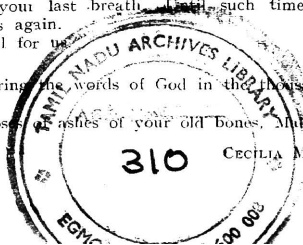
It is necessary to go back to the beginning. I shall also close my eyes.

And that is why I ordered that you should be broken with violence.

There is no more mankind to have you at its service.
 Breathe with me your last breath. Until such times when we may open our eyes again.
 When men will call for us.

The wind is scattering the words of God in the thousand tongues of fire.

In the thousand roses ashes of your old bones, Mahatma.



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