

HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[TWO ANNAS

FOR THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British rulers. Though some of them pre-existed before the British advent, their existence thereafter depended solely on British good-will, which in its turn depended upon the price the then incumbents paid for that commodity. The present incumbents are sole creation of the Imperial Power. Its simple frown can undo them.

But they need not feel so helpless if they could consider themselves as an integral part of the nation instead of being, as they are, an integral part of the Imperial machine. If the machine topples they may disappear unless they become part of and depend upon the nation.

The Empire is going either by the will of the British people or by the force of circumstances beyond their control. India shall not always be a slave country. Will the Princes march with the times or must they remain tied to the Imperial chariot-wheel? If they take their courage in both their hands and make common cause with the nation they can run the risk of dispossession.

This I admit is a heroic step. They can adopt the middle course. They may earn the good-will of their people by sharing their powers with them. They will never be able to retain their absolutism for all time. But they may certainly hope to retain much if they can secure the contentment and active cooperation of the people within their jurisdiction, in the administration of their own affairs. I think it is wrong of the Princes to let their critics say of their people that they are too backward to deserve freedom. It is a reflection on them. The people in the States belong to the same stock as those outside their borders. The Princes can lose nothing by being liberal. And they can lose every thing by holding on to their autocracy.

For my part I desire not abolition, but con-

version of their autocracy into trusteeship, not in name but in reality. The arbitrary powers they enjoy should go. The liberty of the people should not depend upon the will of an individual however noble and ancient may be his descent. Nor can any person, whether prince or a princely zamindar or merchant, be the sole owner and disposer of possessions hereditary or self-acquired. Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talents consistently with equal use by his neighbours but no one is entitled to the arbitrary use of the gains from the talents. He is part of the nation or say the social structure surrounding him. Therefore he can only use his talents not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but a part and on whose sufferance he lives. The present inequalities are surely due to people's ignorance. With a growing knowledge of their natural strength, the inequalities must disappear. If the revolution is brought about by violence the position will be reversed, but not altered for the better. With non-violence, i. e. conversion the new era which people hope for must be born. My approach and appeal are in terms of non-violence pure and undefiled. The French have a noble motto in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. It is a heritage not for the French only but for all mankind.

What the French never realised it is open to us to do. Will the Princes and the princely landholders and merchants take the lead? It is for them to take the lead, not for the 'have-nots', who have nothing to share with anybody except their pauperism and abjectness. I am addressing weekly appeals to the British Power. They are made exactly in the same friendly spirit as this is. The British may not respond. If the 'haves', who are in fact the pillars on which the mighty British Power rests, can realise their obvious duty, the British Power must yield. It was because I had despaired of response from the pillars, that I have thought of moving the masses on whom the pillars rest. I may not leave a single stone unturned to avoid, if I can, what is undoubtedly a great risk. Hence this appeal.

Sevagram, 27-7-'42

Notes

Urdu Examination

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha has begun its work in right earnest. It is purely a body of workers who believe in the message and mission of the Sabha. The message is that the national language of India is not English but Hindustani i. e. Hindi plus Urdu. Shri Purushottamdas Tandan who is the soul of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was the author of the Congress resolution on Hindustani. It was he who made it crystal clear to me that Hindustani at present must mean Hindi plus Urdu. Every one who attends Congress meetings realises this truth for when a congressman speaks in Hindi the Urdu speaking men do not fully understand him if at all and the same thing applies to Urdu speakers. Therefore if you wish to be understood by all, you have to speak a combination of the two as I have heard Malaviyaji and Babu Bhagwandas doing. Hence the necessity of Indian nationalists speaking both the varieties of Hindustani speech. No one may be said to speak Hindustani who is not equally at home with both the varieties. Hence the necessity also of their knowing equally well both the scripts. To supply this felt want is one of the main causes of founding the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Its founders were and are members of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. But their ambition was not satisfied with mere Hindi propaganda. Therefore with the approval of the Sammelan, they have founded the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Naturally the Sabha's first act should be to induce all the Hindi knowing persons to learn Urdu and to provide facilities for them. To this end I am in communication with Maulana Abdul Haq Saheb, the learned secretary of the Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu for help and guidance. The council of the Sabha has decided to hold the first examination in Urdu on the 22nd November. The particulars including the syllabus will be published as soon as possible. Those who would appear for this examination are requested to send in their names to Acharya Shriman Narayan Agarval, Hindustani Prachar Office, Wardha. I hope that all those who have passed the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan examinations will be eager to pass the forthcoming Urdu examination. Of course those who do not know Hindi would also be welcome. A knowledge of any language at any time enriches one's mind and enables one to cultivate closer contact with the people who speak that language. How much more valuable must a knowledge of Urdu be to the one who knows Hindi only, as that of Hindi must be to the one who knows Urdu only? If living Hindustani is to come into being it can only be through a natural and happy fusion of the two. Such a fusion is impossible without a large number of persons having an equal command over both the sister languages.

Sevagram, 27-7-42

M. K. G.

* Medium of Instruction *

This brochure is an appeal addressed to those in charge of the educational policy of the Government, Vice Chancellors of Universities and other Indian educationists to consider seriously whether

* By Principal S. N. Agarval, Kitabistan, Price As. 12

it is not time to make a radical change in the present system of education which makes English the medium of education. It may be described as a commentary on Gandhiji's well-known text: "The foreign medium has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses; it has made education unnecessarily expensive." He has examined the blighting effect from all points of view, dealt with the arguments of those who will stick to the foreign medium, suggested solutions of the difficulties often advanced by those who agree that the mother tongue alone should be the medium of instruction. Shri Agarval has established the proposition that no tinkering will do, the policy of having the provincial languages as the media of instruction up to the highest class in the Universities should be definitely adopted, and serious efforts—similar to those made by the Osmania University—should be made to carry out the policy. He has made some practical suggestions for the transitional stage, and appealed to those in charge of the education of our boys and girls to help in freeing the country of the tyranny of the English language. Those who do not know it, may know from this booklet that distinguished educationists like Sadler, Abbot and Wood are among those who have recognised the blighting effect of a foreign medium and that the insistence on the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is not just one of the favourite fads of Gandhiji. To use Brailsford's words, the only worthy medium is "the language that we use at our mothers' knees, the language of our first prayers and our first outbursts of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add immeasurably to the pupil's labours; it is to lame his mind in its freedom of movement."

A Muslim Marriage in Sevagram

When we were at Sabarmati Gandhiji gave away many Ashram girls in marriage, among whom were two Muslim girls. But there was nothing very noteworthy about the event, inasmuch they were Ashram girls and daughters of a much-mourned Muslim member of the Ashram, the late Imam Saheb Abdul Kadar Bawazir. Many Hindus not belonging to the Ashram have since celebrated the weddings of their boys or girls under the auspices of the Ashram, in order to set others an example in simplicity, solemnity and inexpensiveness. But on Sunday last we had the first case of a non-Ashramite Muslim wedding performed in the Ashram. The bride was Dr. Shireen Kazi, M. B. B. S., and the bridegroom was Dr. Yusooof, M. B. B. S. Until four years ago we did not know Dr. Shireen. But when Dr. Sushila who was in charge of our dispensary went on leave for a month or two, Dr. Shireen who had been her classmate at Lady Hardinge College voluntarily offered to serve in her place. She has been since an Assistant Surgeon in various Civil Hospitals, but her bond of attachment to the Ashram has become stronger with the years, and when one fine morning she came and announced to Gandhiji that she was engaged and that he must give her away in marriage as her father had recently passed away,

Gandhiji readily agreed. Both the bride and the bridegroom wore the simplest possible khadi dress, the ceremony which took hardly ten minutes was incredibly simple, a small but distinguished gathering of Muslim and Hindu friends from Wardha were present to bless the couple and Gandhiji had the satisfaction of having fulfilled the wishes of one who looks upon him as her father.

The details of the ceremony according to Muslim Law having been gone through, the signatures of the bride and bridegroom were taken on the register together with those of five witnesses, Gandhiji being one. He signed his name in Urdu. Then followed the appropriate verses from the Holy Quran, ending with the *Fateha* recited in silence by the Muslim friends present. Among those present were besides the Ashramites the relatives of the couple, Shrimati Janaki Devi, Ansarisahab and Hassansahab (Advocate and Barrister, Wardha) the Civil Surgeon, the Sessions Judge, and many other officials.

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Five Questions By a Harijan M. L. A.

Q. 1. What will be the position of the Harijans in the future constitution to be framed?

2. Will you advise the Government and the Congress to agree to fix the seats from a Panchayat Board upwards to the State Council on population basis?

3. Will you advise the Congress and the leaders of the various majority parties in the legislatures in the provinces to nominate the cabinet members from among the Scheduled caste legislators who enjoy the confidence of the majority of Scheduled caste members?

4. In view of the backwardness of the Harijans will you advise the Government to make a provision in the Act that executive posts in the Local Boards and Municipal Councils be held on communal rotation so as to enable the Harijans to become presidents and chairmen?

5. Why do you not fix some percentage of seats for Harijans from District Congress Committee upwards to the Working Committee of the Congress?

A. 1. The constitution which I could influence would contain a provision making the observance of untouchability in any shape or form an offence. The so-called 'untouchables' would have seats reserved for them in all elected bodies according to their population within the electoral area concerned.

2. You will see that the answer is covered by the foregoing.

3. I cannot. The principle is dangerous. Protection of its neglected classes should not be carried to an extent which will harm them and harm the country. A cabinet minister should be a topmost man commanding universal confidence. A person after he has secured a seat in an elected body should depend upon his intrinsic merit and popularity to secure coveted positions.

4. In the first place I am not interested in the present Act which is as good as dead. But I am opposed to your proposal on the ground already mentioned.

5. I am opposed for the reasons mentioned. But I should like to compel large elective Congress organisations to ensure the election of Harijan members

in proportion to their numbers on the Congress register. If Harijans are not interested enough in the Congress to become 4 anna members, they may not expect to find their names in elective bodies. But I would strongly advise Congress workers to see that they approach Harijans and induce them to become members of the Congress. Sevagram, 19-7-'42

NO REAL SCARCITY

On the 22nd inst., Shri Sitaram Sastri saw the Collector of Salt Revenue and Customs at Madras, in connection with the Salt concession under the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, on behalf of the poor people living on the coast in the Guntur district. He appealed to the Collector to permit people to collect the salt naturally formed in the pools on the coast on these among other grounds:

1. That the rains had not set in and the poor people had no means.

2. That the prices of all foodstuffs had gone up from 30 to 200 per cent during the last year.

3. That the poor may be allowed to collect natural salt, as they are asked to grow more food.

4. That they may be permitted to collect only for domestic consumption, if not for sale.

The Collector gave him a patient hearing but replied that the two months' period which was fixed in consultation with the Congress Government had expired and he could not extend it. No wonder he could not give a better reply as a Government communique says that there is no salt shortage at all, that "temporary shortage may occur now and then on a local scale owing to difficulties of transport arising from war time conditions, but this cannot be entirely avoided"; and as for collection of salt on the sea coast, the communique complacently says:

"A suggestion has been made that the collection and preparation of salt on the sea coast and in inland areas may be freely permitted and that there should be no duty on salt so produced. The present position is that salt may be manufactured or collected only for domestic use or for sale within the village of manufacture or collection.

"In judging the value of the suggestions made for extending the scope of this concession, it should be remembered that there is no real scarcity in the country, that the present sources of supply are sufficient and permission, if given, for free manufacture and sale would lead to wholesale evasion of duty and consequent loss to the salt revenue."

The Government of India are better aware of the condition of the poor people than the actual workers working amongst them, and the loss of salt revenue will indeed be very great if a few thousand people were allowed to collect salt for domestic purposes for a little while longer! The inhumanity of this is patent, when one remembers that large quantities of valuable salt worth thousands of rupees will be allowed to be washed away by the rains or covered up with mud, but it may not be touched by the poor people. In this and similar cases workers are always advised to negotiate with the officials and plead with them for the poor. But the result leaves them no option but to advise the people to yield to dire necessity.

Sevagram, 27-7-'42

M. D.

HARIJAN

August 2

1942

A PLEA FOR REASON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the Working Committee resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted and the veiled or open threats which it has hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time. The suppression, of which perhaps the hysterical outburst in America and Great Britain is a precursor, may cow down the people for the moment but it will never put out the light of revolt once it has been lighted.

The *Daily Herald* and the Labour party have excelled all other critics in exaggeration and abuse. How nice it would have been if they had taken the trouble to understand the Congress demand.

The justice of the demand for the ending of British Power has never been questioned, the moment chosen for enforcing it is the target of attack. It is clear as crystal in the Working Committee resolution, why this moment is chosen. Let me paraphrase it. India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so and, what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know, that if India does not become free *now*, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event would be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster.

But the critics say, "To whom are the British rulers to hand the keys on their withdrawal?" It is a good question. Here is what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President has said: "The Congress always stands, firstly for sympathy towards democratic countries, secondly, never desires to embarrass Britain and war efforts, and, thirdly it stands for opposition to the Japanese aggression. The Congress does not desire to take power for itself but for all. If real power is handed over to the Congress, surely it will approach other parties and will persuade them to join." The Congress President added that he "had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party provided it was real independence. That party will have to approach other parties as no single party can function properly without the cooperation of other parties."

The only thing needful is to hand over complete control without reservation save that during

the war period the Allied troops will operate to stem Japanese or Axis attack. But they will have no power of interference with the affairs of India which will be as free as Great Britain herself.

Surely, there is nothing here to cavil at for anyone. That party or a combination which takes over control of India will have to look to the remaining parties for its retention of power. There is no hope of the parties coming together so long as they have to look not to one another but to an outsider for support and sustenance. Not one of the Viceroy's numerous Indian councillors are dependent upon anybody but the Viceroy for the positions they hold. How can the great or small representative parties operate without mutual support? In a free India even the Congress could not function efficiently for a day without the support of the smallest party. For in a free India, at least for some time to come, even the strongest party will have no military backing. There will be no military to back. There will only be raw police in the first stage unless the existing police will serve the National Government on its terms. But the support, such as it may be, that Free India will be able to render to the Allied cause, will be of a sterling character. Its possibilities will be limitless and there will be no motive left for welcoming Japanese arms. On the contrary, they will then look to the Allied arms to repel any Japanese or other attack, unless all India has by then become non-violent. In any case, the Allied arms are there today and tomorrow and till the end of the war whether they are needed for India's protection or not.

If this presentation of the implications of the Congress demand is not appreciated by the Allies' press or the Allies themselves, Indian public men should be forgiven if they doubt the sincerity of the fierce opposition which is being organised with ominous unanimity. The latter can only stiffen India's suspicion and resistance.

Sevagram, 26-7-'42

'Khadi Jagat'

A long-felt want of a central All India Khadi Magazine was satisfied when the 'Khadi Jagat', a Hindi monthly began to be published exactly a year ago by the A. I. S. A., Wardha. It is the medium to disseminate information relating to all khadi activities throughout India and it is serving as the organ of all engaged in elevating the manufacture of khadi to the 'status of a science and art. It therefore contains articles on khadi in all its technical aspects, besides articles by Gandhiji on the social, economic and philosophical aspects of khadi. Statistical information regarding progress of production and sale of khadi through out the country are periodically published in it. The annual subscription has had to be raised from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- from this year on account of the increased cost of hand-made paper on which it is printed, as also the increase in the cost of printing.

M. D.

THE FIRST VICTIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Satischandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan has been arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for disobedience of an order under 26 (1) of the Defence of India Rules. His offence consisted in advising distressed people not to move from their places unless provided with an equivalent. This procedure was in strict accord with my writings in *Harijan* and the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

There is no doubt that Satis Babu's breach was deliberate. It was broken at the dictates of humanity as will be clear from his letter to the District Magistrate printed elsewhere. Satis Babu and his men have worked for years in these parts and distributed thousands of rupees among the spinners and weavers. Satis Babu's letter shows that the grievance is real. A great War claimed to be for the emancipation of the human mind and human body cannot be won by the suppression of those whose willing association is desired and desirable. The masses of India are undoubtedly steeped in ignorance. They are meek and regarded by historians as the gentlest on earth. They are easily led. They follow the guidance of their leaders. Hence the proper way to deal with them is to deal with the leaders.

Leaders are of two kinds: self-styled, who become leaders to exploit them, and those who become leaders by right of service. They are the trusted ones. It is quite easy to distinguish between the two species. It is wrong to tear these latter from their men.

Satis Babu belongs to the second category. He is no politician, though he knows politics. He is a businessman. He is one of the favourite pupils of Acharya Ray, the distinguished scientist and life-philanthropist, who never earned a pie for himself. Satis Babu is one of the makers of the famous Bengal Chemical Works — one of Acharya Ray's many creations. He gave up the Chemical Works of which he was the manager on a high salary. He took up Khadi and became a poor man. His partner in his joys and sorrows followed him heart and soul in his austere life, and so did his brother and promising sons, one of whom died while he was serving. His brother Shri Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta is also a chemist, and has dedicated himself to the Khadi Pratisthan, giving all his time and energy to handicrafts like bee-keeping, paper-making, and so on. Satis Babu deprived his sons of the high education he had himself taken. He threw himself into his new work with such great energy that he became an expert in Khadi work and built up Khadi Pratisthan, which has become a great centre of philanthropic activities. Satis Babu is one of the truest and gentlest of men. I have had the privilege of working with him. He tries with all his might to live up to the message of truth and non-violence which he accepted not as a political expedient but as a rule of life. If this country was not ruled by the law of exploitation on behalf of its conquerors but by

popular representatives, men like Satis Babu would be much in demand by those in authority in times of need. This is a time of great need. But all the use the authorities have for him is to punish him for the breach of their laws which express not the will of the nation but of one man whose rule is imposed upon them. Satis Babu has kindled a light which will not be extinguished. The law is wrong, Satis Babu the servant of his people is right.

Sevagram, 24-7-'42

'GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY'

Reference has been made in Gandhiji's article "*The First Victim*" to the order served under the Defence of India Rules on Shri Satis Babu. The District Magistrate's order dated 19th July ordered him not to remain in Noakhali district, 'with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of war and to the maintenance of public order.' How he was acting in this 'prejudicial manner' will be vividly seen from the letter he addressed to the District Magistrate in reply to the order! That Satis Babu is gentleness itself will be evident from the letter which also reveals how terribly real was the grievance, how urgently relief was needed, and how it would have been a dereliction of duty on his part to leave the poor peasants in the lurch. Here is the text of Satis Babu's letter, addressed to the District Magistrate, from the Evacuee Relief Office, Sahadebpur, Feni, Dist. Noakhali:

"Sir,

"I have received the order served on me to leave this district in 24 hours. I beg most respectfully to inform you that I propose to disobey this order. I would like to explain to you the circumstances which force me to take this serious step.

"I have been working personally amongst the poor people of Feni, for over a year. The Khadi Pratisthan has been working here for many years. But it is only the year before last that I took up Feni as a special field of my personal service. When the last Satyagraha movement was started by Gandhiji he desired me to stay outside of it and devote myself exclusively to rural reconstruction. I have been doing the work at Feni.

"Then came the evacuation order on 35 villages of Feni on the 1st of April. After the evacuation was completed I saw the distress of the people and decided to devote all my time to their service. I organised medical relief for them and treated 200 cases of cholera of a virulent type with great success, the death rate being only 10 to 12 p. c.

"I met Mr. J. N. Moitra, the S. D. O. on two occasions when he was pleased to call at our place at Munshirhat in connection with evacuation matters. I earnestly requested him to consider the great distress that had come to the people. I then sent him seven points of demand which I drafted on behalf of the evacuees. I sent a copy of that letter to you also on the 25th April.

"I followed up the matter at Calcutta, believing that the provisions for compensation for evacuees was an all Bengal matter. I tried to induce the Revenue

Department to frame a general policy for the whole of Bengal. Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, the Revenue Minister and Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., Secretary, Revenue Department, were pleased to accept the demand for increased rate for hut construction. And for the rest, Mr. Bannerjee expressed his desire to consult the India Government.

"Later on I wrote to Mr. Bannerjee that the Behar Government was paying 115 p. c. for crop value of evacuated land as against the proposed 60 p. c. as at Feni. He wrote back very kindly. But in spite of all the kindness that I received from the Ministers and the Officials, I found that my case remained where it was. This forced me to come to the conclusion that the people must take up voluntary suffering on themselves to get justice from the Government, in this instance.

I came to Feni on the 16th instant and at the time had no knowledge that fresh evacuation was in progress. People affected by the evacuation came to me. My advice to them would have been to refuse the evacuation conditionally. But in this case I found that they had already come to the same conclusion after having seen the conditions of the people who had left their homes in April. I formulated the demands for those who called on me and made it possible for them to voice their demands through a petition to the S. D. O. They have since sent their demands to the S. D. O.

"I never entered Feni town before. I do not even today know any of the important people of Feni. I came three days ago. I am housed in a jungly suburb, very difficult of approach. I did not stir out of this home of mine except only on one occasion when at a call from some people I went to Barahipur to explain the procedure about the petition. Yet I find today all the villages under notice in Charipur, Barahipur, Sultanpur, Majlispur, Dharampur etc., firm in their resolve not to evacuate till their demands are met. I could not have accomplished this miraculous thing. I see God's hand in it and I believe that this unanimity on the part of the people to suffer, rather than submit to the order, is due to the experience of the people regarding the working of evacuation at Feni, enacted before their eyes during these four months.

"I came to serve these people. My scheme was to help them, as cases of families going without their meals were reported to me. Many were suffering from diseases. I proposed to help them by advice on evacuation matter also. How can I leave this place willingly? The Government must take the responsibility of removing me from this field of service.

"I beg therefore, most respectfully to inform you that I cannot obey the order served on me for leaving the district, and request you to deal with me as you may be pleased to do.

"I shall hope that the cause with which I identified myself these four months, will receive greater consideration from the Government after my absence in jail, than I could get for it by staying outside. I leave the work in the hands of God and the public."

In order to give an even better idea of the conditions in the villages which Satis Babu had gone to succour, a few extracts may be given from a letter written on the eve of his arrest:

"I have a few more hours left before I am taken

in custody. I am enclosing a letter which I have addressed to the District Magistrate in refusing to obey his order to leave the district. These four days have been startlingly eventful. I came unprepared for the present evacuation order. Streams of people began coming to me day and night—both, those who had evacuation orders, and those who had already evacuated.

"The evacuated people have practically been ruined. Old men—old educated Mahomedan gentlemen—came to me, blessed me and with tears in their eyes narrated their tales of sorrow. They were driven out or had to vacate on short notice. They were assured that their belongings would be kept safe by the Government in the abandoned houses. They have been passing a life of penury, harrowed by want of shelter and want of treatment in disease, while they are seeing that their old houses are broken into and all property looted or destroyed without any prospect of recovery of the value. Villages, good many of them, were evacuated practically wantonly for no soldiers were located there. These villages were simply pillaged by robbers. The representations of the people drew no response from the authorities.

"One rich man, left his home taking with him Rs. 10,000/- in cash and jewellery. He had no place to keep this in safe custody. Dacoits came and looted this cash etc. The property he left at home was similarly looted while under Government care. The man was worth Rs. 40,000/- to Rs. 50,000/-. Now he is a beggar. It looks as if Feni has been under a devastating revolution although what you call the 'ordered anarchy' was operating. The people are swearing at Government in impotent rage.

"The villages under present notice have been visited by the Government officials. They are constantly motoring in the villages, offering plenty of cash to any evacuee who would care to receive it. Where they were prepared to pay only Rs. 25/- for house construction, they have been offering now Rs. 90 to Rs. 300/- to stray people to break the morale of the resisters.

"19th was the last date of evacuation, and no one evacuated on the 19th. Only 3 days ago there were no signs of resistance and now in 3 days from the richest to the poorest in 5 or 6 villages they have only one reply to the Government: 'Meet our demands fully and we shall evacuate after the rains if you help house construction, but not before.'"

Sevagram, 24-7-42

M. D.

Home and Village Doctor

By Satis Chandra Dasgupta

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FREE INDIA—A MILITARY NECESSITY

Years ago Gandhiji vividly described the supporters of the British rule in India as a political freemasonry. The way in which the cry of 'chaos' and 'anarchy' and invitation to the Axis Powers has been taken up by the British and American press in unison shows that there is in existence a much more formidable corporation which may be called the Empire Freemasonry against which the aspirants for a free India have to contend.

Some of the papers have forgotten their earlier professions and worked themselves up into a frenzied belief that a free and friendly India would be a greater menace to the Allied cause than a subject and hostile India. The *New York Times* thinks that Gandhiji may 'do more harm to his people than Genghis Khan or any other of the long array of conquerors.' When one thinks of the stationing and operating of the Allied troops in India which the Congress demand postulates, one cannot help saying that in making an extraordinary statement of this kind the paper is hurling a gross insult at the British and American troops! That however in joining the hue and cry of the British papers, this American paper is belying its own earlier professions will be apparent from an article which appeared prominently in its columns in February this year. Let us summarise here that important article.

It was a specially featured two-page article by the distinguished Chinese writer Lin Yutang. This article was a warning to the Allies against defective strategy, and against their indifference in giving to the Asiatics something to fight for. "Incredible human blunders are supposed to be committed only in history, by dead and not by living statesmen." "I maintain" says Lin Yutang, "that living statesmen can also commit blunders, though in the telling of it we are deprived of a fine sense of historical regret. Shall we leave the historians of the future the exquisite pleasure of pointing out that in the first two months of the Pacific war the leaders of the Western democracies committed a greater number of basic costly blunders than any statesmen ever committed in the same period?"

One of those 'statesmen' he mentions by name. "The British Secretary of State for India, L. S. Amery," he says, "*showed no apprehension of the military necessity of giving the Indians something to fight for in this war, and discussed the whole Indian situation as leisurely, complacently, and imperturbably as if England and the United States without the support of the Asiatics could hold Japan in Asia.*" (Italics mine.)

Why was Malay lost? The answer has been given by various people. Let us hear Lin Yutang. "What surprised me in the Malay campaign was not that the enemy was able to land behind the line, but that he could penetrate two to three hundred miles without running out of food. He could not possibly have carried all his food for the last two months; he must have got it from the Malay natives. Hence we see the validity of the criticism of the Malay campaign by a Chungking

paper, that Allied failure there was due to two things: failure to carry out the scorched earth policy and lack of mobilization of the people or cooperation between the natives and the army. The British forces also failed to leave soldiers behind the enemy line, either to cut their communications or to harass them from behind."

Then he makes the next point. No policy of self-ruin can succeed unless it is backed by the conviction that the people have something to fight and die for. "It is easy to talk of the scorched earth policy; it is not easy to see your homestead go up in flames and not grumble, much less to set fire upon it yourself cheerfully. In other words, for success of this kind, *the war must be a popular war, a war of the people by the people, and for the people.*" (Italics mine.)

"The role of India is coming to the fore," he adds, "and this fact must be faced, or we might yet lose the war in Asia. A tremendous difference in the war morale of the Asiatics, particularly in the war efforts of India, hangs upon the vision of the leaders of the Western democracies and their ability to tell the Indians, in more convincing terms than vague promises and unctuous sops of praise, *that they have something deep and elementary to fight for. Real creative statesmanship should see this point. No sidestepping of this issue of India's freedom will avail.* . . . The position of India in this war is similar to that of Eire. Both India and Ireland dislike and fear the Nazis, yet with both the war is not yet a popular war. The only difference is that Eire is still smarting after she has regained her freedom, whereas India is smarting because she hasn't got it. India's demand for freedom has been poohpooed by both Chamberlain and Churchill and sidestepped as a trivial, inconsequential issue. This is inspite of the fact that *Churchill knows* India today possesses the leadership and unity and party organisation as vital as China's, *that will change the entire picture of India's war efforts, once she is granted freedom.*" (Italics mine)

Lin Yutang next rates Mr. Churchill's shortsightedness in excluding India from the Atlantic Charter, and questions the Allies' sincerity. "Refusal to face this issue — of India's freedom — deliberately plays into the hands of Japanese propaganda of 'Asia for the Asiatics', and of Lord Haw-Haw in Berlin. *Certainly we cannot be fighting the war for democracy and liberty west of Suez and a war of colonies and vested interests east of Suez. Are we sincere with ourselves? American sense of justice cannot ignore this and should have the courage of its convictions.* (Italics mine) . . . Can any one see the somewhat comical situation of Indians fighting to preserve the British Empire, which through the mouth of its Prime Minister, has just denied them the Atlantic Charter?"

But the American papers are giving a sorry demonstration of their utter lack of sense of justice and courage, and what is more, as Lin Yutang has pointed out, the blindness to see that the freedom of India is a crying military necessity: "They must

achieve superiority of numbers by planning and calling for the support of Asia's millions. . . . Somewhere a front will be established where the terrain will favour the defenders and where millions of barefoot soldiers with nothing but machine-guns, rifles and hand-grenades, will keep Japan very busy for years until we are ready for the knock-out blow. Asia can do this and will do this only if it is promised freedom, only if the Atlantic Charter applies to them as to the white people."

The difference now is this that a mere application of the Atlantic Charter, a mere promise of freedom, will fall flat. India cannot be moved except by the actual genuine article.

Sevagram, 23-7-'42

M. D.

DEATH AS A FORCE OF LIFE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

The idea of fasting as a method of non-violent resistance raises the question of the place of death in Life. We ordinarily feel that life is indetical with 'living', that is with the functioning of the body; and death is its disintegration, and the end of all life's pleasures and worries, successes and failures. Also, that life is light and death is darkness. Consequently we instinctively and with an almost infatuous love cling to the functioning state of the body, and are mightily afraid of its disintegration. This is also the reason for every religion tabooing suicide under every circumstance and not permitting killing even on absolutely benevolent grounds. When we begin to think a little further we believe that life, which we call 'soul' or 'spirit'—meaning thereby individuality—is immortal and will persist after the disintegration of the body. Then we raise before our imagination various pictures of individual life after death. This belief is in the centre of all religious philosophy. The faith in re-birth and in the day of judgment and the various descriptions of heaven and hell are all based on the belief that there is a continuance of individuality after death. If for any reason the belief in this aspect of life is shaken—as it has been with many in the present age—there is a reversion to the first belief that life ends with death, and so while it exists, it may be exploited, to one's heart's content for the most obvious purpose, namely, sensual happiness and material ends.

I invite the reader to think of Life a little more deeply. He does not need to imagine or assume anything, but to proceed upon his observations and personal experiences only. From the most uncivilised aborigines to the most learned philosopher, every one has observed in others as well as felt in himself an interest in this world which extends beyond his personal death. One man wants to see himself perpetuated through his progeny; another not having a child of his own, wants to feel that satisfaction through adoption; a third desires to perpetuate his name through charity; a fourth through his scholarship or art; a fifth through heroic deeds; a sixth through founding institutions, which will spread light and comfort in the world for ages after his

death; a seventh while through his teachings he denounces all such desires as folly and likens the world to a mirage, nevertheless founds schools, which will teach that doctrine from generation to generation. The inference is that it is an instinct which adverse philosophy cannot eradicate and which is traceable through life in every form. The reason is obvious. It is based on the intuitive realisation of a great truth. In his mind of minds man—not to speak of other beings—experiences Life as a subtle and more universal and more durable existence than mere holding together the body. It operates in this very universe known through our senses. No doubt, while the body functions, man feels interested in its comforts, environments and prolongation; but his realisation of and consequent interest in the impersonal and universal Life is still greater. He yearns to leave something behind for the surviving and the yet unborn world; and, further, he is anxious that that something must be *good* and not evil,—of course, according to *his* notions of good and evil. None wants anything evil of him to survive him.

Betterment and elevation of the larger Life—to the extent each one perceives the largeness—is, except perhaps in very rare cases, an intuitive effort of every living being. Every one knows that howsoever he may succeed in prolonging the functioning of his body, that machine has some day to fall to pieces. But he knows that he is only an infinitesimal factor of the Life which expresses itself through all organisms and persists through and survives all deaths. That is why he feels immensely interested in its future. It is that larger Life, which every one really wants to mould and develop, though unthinkingly he may believe and seem to act as if he was not concerned with anything beyond his personal ambitions and happiness.

This larger and real Life is as much moulded through the functioning of the body as through its disintegration. For instance, a body which has become incapable of properly functioning—as that of an extremely disabled and aged person or an imbecile—is not only burdensome to its possessor, but also hampers the course of life around it. His death, even if it momentarily causes sorrow and disturbs several arrangements, in effect relieves him as well as the life around him. This happens even when death is, involuntary or, as it is called, 'through natural causes'. The results of enforced deaths are even more obvious; otherwise murders and wars would never take place. Living beings are killed; because rightly or wrongly, it is felt that the life of the survivors will be better moulded through the death rather than through the functioning of the bodies of the killed ones. Who will deny that, if, for instance, by some chance any of the principal actors of the war were to die suddenly, it—though taken by itself just a phenomenon of every day occurrence—may suddenly bring about far greater changes in Life than all the battles of this war put together. Similarly, voluntary death also

is and can become as potent a factor in the elevation of life as the activity of living bodies. Nay, there are times, when the force of death may be more effective than the force of even intelligent and intense activity of a live beings. The death in such case seems to release some latent energy which, while the body functioned could not succeed in spite of its efforts, but which, within a short-time after its disintegration removes the impediment, which blocked progress.

Though this service of Death is not noticed at the time it takes place with the result that it casts a gloom over all those who loved the deceased, by and by it is recognised that ten years of further functioning may not have done that which death has done. The changes in the course of human life brought about by the resigned submission to death of Christ and his apostles and of the several Sikh Gurus, and the voluntary self-immolation of Telemachus are but a few instances of the immense power which Death is capable of generating for elevating Life.

So, objectively considered, Death is as much a moulder of Life as the living state itself. When one discovers that for whatever reason, live energy is incapable of functioning effectively or fails to create appropriate energy in the surrounding life, and such energy is necessary for its elevation, it may become a duty to voluntarily invite death. The step is not, or need not be, based on any prospect of imaginary personal gain—as salvation or a place in heaven. It is just an operation as any other bodily operation, an incision of a boil, for instance. It arises out of a realisation of one's identity with larger Life.

Centuries of enslavement has made life in India as dark as death itself is supposed to be. No hardship, no insult, no impending danger is strong enough to heat our blood and arouse us to manly action. We live a living death. It is possible, that the revolution which embodied energy is unable to bring about needs the energy of death, voluntarily invited by a member of the best of her children. Of course, in order that it should become a power, it has to be considered in terms of deliberate action or, as it is called, a 'technique' of non-violence, and not as bravado or an act of sheer despair. According to this view of death suicide under appropriate circumstances, takes the first place and not, as Gandhiji says, a tolerable place. Fasting will occupy an honourable place but not that of honour. Sevagram, 25-7-'42

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'FIRE RAGING IN ME'

A journalist was on a visit here the other day, not in his capacity as a journalist, but as one interested in Gandhiji's movement and anxious to take his share in it. He was full of the happenings in his province, was ashamed of the way in which the press were carrying out every one of the orders issued to them, and more ashamed of the reasons why they willingly accepted these muzzling orders. "This war is an abominable business. It corrupts every one," he said. "Not only those who directly take part in it, but others too. In fact no one escapes its effects. It blunts our moral conscience. The profiteer does not care what happens to his country and its poor. Even the newspapers get enough business from Government and so feel that they must keep mum when they are told to do so."

He talked of the public feeling in his province. "It is more anti-British than pro-Japanese", he said. "There is a vague notion that we have had enough of this rule, and almost anything would be better than the existing state of things. People are happy when Subhas Babu says on the radio that there are no differences between him and you and when he says you are now out to fight for liberty at any cost."

"But I suppose you know that there he is wrong", said Gandhiji, "and I cannot possibly appropriate the compliments he is paying me. 'Liberty at any cost' has a vastly different connotation for me from what it has for him. 'At any cost' does not exist in my dictionary. It does not for instance include bringing in foreigners in order to help us win our liberty. I have no doubt that it means exchanging one form of slavery for another possibly much worse. But of course we have to fight for our liberty and make whatever sacrifice it demands. In spite of all the hypocrisy that you find in all the inspired press of Britain and America I do not relent. I deliberately use the word hypocrisy, for they are now proving that when they were talking of the freedom of India they did not mean it. So far as I am concerned I have no doubt about the righteousness of my step. It seems to me to be axiomatic that the Allies are in for a defeat this time if they will not do this initial act of justice, and thus put their own case on an unassailable basis. If they don't, they must face the opposition of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it. Convert the deepening ill-will into good-will is a sound proposition. It is not open to them to say that we must smother our consciences and say or do nothing because there is war. That is why I have made up my mind that it would be a good thing if a million people were shot in a brave and non-violent rebellion against British rule. It may be that it may take us years before we can evolve order out of chaos. But we can then face the world, we cannot face the world today. Avowedly the different nations are fighting for their liberty. Germany, Japan, Russia, China are pouring their blood and money like water. What is our record? You talk of the newspapers doing good business out of the

war. It is a shame to be thus bought and to refrain from speaking out at Government's dictation. There is many a way of earning an honest crust of bread. If British money—which is our money—can buy us Heaven help our country."

"We are betraying a woeful cowardice," added Gandhiji. "I do not mind the blood-bath in which Europe is plunged. It is bad enough, but there is a great deal of heroism—mothers losing their only children, wives their husbands and so on. Lord Lytton's only son was killed the other day. British history is filled with such heroic sacrifice. It is not the criticism of the British and American press that worries me, but it is our press listening to the British Censor. If only to resist that awful atmosphere I must gird up my loins."

"I do not feel flattered when Subhas Babu says I am right. I am not right in the sense he means. For there he is attributing pro-Japanese feeling to me. If I were to discover that by some strange miscalculation I had not realised the fact that I was helping the entry of the Japanese in this country, I should not hesitate to retrace my steps. As regards the Japanese, I am certain that we should lay down our lives in order to resist them as we would to resist the British."

"But it won't be the work of human hands. It will be the work of a Force—incalculable and invisible—which works often upsetting all our calculations. I rely implicitly on it. Otherwise I should go mad in face of all this torrent of what I must call irritating criticism. They do not know my agony. I cannot express it except perhaps by dying."

Was there the slightest suspicion that he wished victory to the Axis' arms in order that the British may be humbled and their power in India may be destroyed? Gandhiji asked the friend to disabuse himself of any such notion. "Destruction of the British Power is not dependent on Japanese or German arms. If it depended on them, there would be nothing to be proud of, apart from the blight that would settle upon the world. But what matters to me is that I cannot be happy or proud if someone comes in and drives away my enemy. Where do I come in there? I cannot possibly enthuse over such a thing. I want to have the pleasure of having offered up my sacrifice for fighting the enemy in my own house. If I have not that strength I cannot prevent the other from coming in. Only I must find a middle path to prevent the new enemy coming in. I am sure God will help me to find the way."

"I do not mind honest, strong, healthy criticism. All the manufactured criticism that I find being made today is sheer tomfoolery, meant to overawe me and demoralise the Congress ranks. It is a foul game. They do not know the fire that is raging in my breast. I have no false notions of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration."

Sevagram, 25-7-'42

M. D.

IRELAND — A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

Gandhiji has studied little history, and he does not believe in the oft-quoted saying 'history repeats itself'. But often enough his deeds and his words remind a student of history of what has happened in the past and when he is told about it he expresses agreeable surprise. Thus when I told him in 1919 that years ago a national struggle in Hungary was begun with a day of national fasting and prayer he expressed delighted surprise.

When we are on the threshold of perhaps the biggest movement in our history it would be interesting to recall some of the events of Irish history. Like India Ireland has had to fight a long—even longer—and weary battle against tyranny and oppression. Her struggle was not non-violent—no reflection upon her; it was a time-honoured method—and her suffering and sacrifice were in consequence far greater, no less than 117 of her patriots being shot or hanged between 1916 and 1923, apart from the thousands who were killed fighting guerilla battles. Ireland has an Ulster—it still has—thanks to the British Government. It was Lord Randolph Churchill who declared in 1886 that the Orange card was the card to play and prayed that it would turn up trumps, it was he who went to Belfast and gave the Orangemen their watchword: 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.' Later Carson and Birkenhead were among those who instigated Ulster to violent rebellion, and it was Ulster that first formed a provisional government and even threatened to secure the aid of a foreign power against Republican Ireland. The Republic was proclaimed in 1916—while the First World War was going on—and a Republican Assembly was formed. It was with the rebel leaders of this party that the British Government opened negotiations for a peace in 1921, and a treaty was signed in December 1921. The civil strife in Ireland between 1921 and 1923 cannot be understood without this background. De Valera who had proclaimed the Irish Republic in 1916 felt that the Irish representatives had signed away Irish independence by putting their signatures to the treaty and also by accepting the dismemberment of Ireland.

India's has been throughout a non-violent struggle, and the Congress has never therefore proclaimed an Indian Republic. India too has its Ulster bolstered up sedulously by the British Government, and it has always been the Britishers' trump card. When these facts are borne in mind, much of what happened during the negotiations between De Valera and Lloyd George can be understood and will reveal a close resemblance to what is happening today. De Valera's words written in reply to General Smuts who pressed him to accept the British offer bear a close family likeness to Gandhiji's words: "*An Ireland in fragments nobody cares about. An unified Ireland alone can be happy or prosperous. To the British Commonwealth group and to Britain itself Ireland would readily become friendly, but it is only in freedom that friendship could come. To the principle of national self-determina-*

tion our people are devotedly attached, for they recognise in it a principle vital to the peace of the world. The Republic is the expression of that principle."

To the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, De Valera wrote on August 10th, 1921 a letter which contains words almost identical with the words Gandhiji is using today: "Ireland's right to choose for herself the path she shall take to realise her own destiny must be accepted as indefeasible. . . . As regards the question at issue between the political minority and the great majority of the Irish people, that must remain a question for the Irish people themselves to settle. *We cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country, either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our population. We do not contemplate the use of force. If your Government stands aside, we can effect a complete reconciliation. We agree with you 'that no common action can be secured by force'. . . . We have no conditions to impose, no claims to advance but the one, that we may be freed from aggression.*"

This appeal to the British Government to stand aside, so that they may effect a complete reconciliation is on a par with our demand for British withdrawal. De Valera had no alternative but to reiterate throughout those lengthy negotiations the acceptance of the Irish Republic. We have wisely formed no Republic, we simply ask that 'we be freed from aggression'.

There was no war in 1921, today there is a war, some one will remind us. But De Valera anticipated conditions of war, and said as Gandhiji says today guaranteeing the stationing of Allied troops: "True friendship with England can be obtained most readily now through amicable but absolute separation. The fear, groundless though we believe it to be, that Irish territory may be used as the basis for an attack upon England's liberties, can be met by reasonable guarantees not inconsistent with Irish sovereignty." Gandhiji not only promises reasonable guarantees but accepts the actual stationing of British troops and their operation from India as a military base. De Valera's letter similarly enters into these military details: "Mutual agreement for facilitating air communications, as well as railway and other communications, can, we feel certain, also be effected."

Again and again De Valera repeats the right of Ireland to be the judge of her own interest, as we claim on behalf of India: "An association that would be consistent with our right to see that we were the judges of what was our own interest, and that we were not compelled to leave the judgment of what were our own interests or not, to others." (Speech in the Dail.) To the people of the North of Ireland he would say "that for them we had no enmity, and that we would make sacrifices for them we would never think of making for Britain, because they are Irishmen living in Ireland."

For weeks and months there was a war of words between the British Prime Minister and the President of the Irish Republic. But later events proved that the discussion of the words 'association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British

Empire' was not mere quibbling. De Valera did want an official recognition by His Majesty's Government of 'the severance of Ireland from the Empire and of its existence as an independent republic.' Lloyd George would not brook this. This recognition, he said, would 'entitle you to declare as of right acknowledged by us that in preference to association with the British Empire you would pursue a closer association by treaty with some other foreign Power.' That contained, in brief, the reason of England's distrust and fear, though De Valera had left them in no doubt about it. Here Gandhiji has placed the whole thing beyond the possibility of any doubt by committing free India in advance to a treaty of full and voluntary cooperation with the Allies.

Without any committal on either side at last the Irish and British representatives met, having 'wiped the slate clean' as the *Morning Post* said. We know what was the result. De Valera had wiped the slate clean but not those who represented Ireland at the Peace Conference. Even they hesitated until the dread hour, and would not sign the treaty except when they were told that if they did not sign 'war would follow immediately'. England was already preparing for a breakdown, and the *Morning Post* contained an examination by General Sir Charles Callwell 'of the most economic and effective military methods of suppression which might be employed against the Irish.'

There was Civil War in which the British, as usual, played no mean part. They helped considerably in putting down the Republicans. But after some years of bloodshed and strife De Valera succeeded at last in creating Free Eire, without the Oath, without the Governor General, and with the full right to be neutral that she has enjoyed during the present war. Ulster no doubt is there, because the British have not withdrawn completely, because the British influence remained even after the unsatisfactory treaty of 1921. But De Valera has not lost hope, and he will never use force. "I am confident," he said, "that it is only a matter of time when somebody speaking from this bench will be able to announce to the whole Irish race that Ireland at last is a complete independent sovereign state."

Our non-violent fight for the withdrawal of the British Power has obvious advantages over the Irish struggle. Ours is a clear cut demand, it leaves no room for quibbling about 'association with the common wealth', and as we have no armed forces, like the Irish Republican Army, against which General Callwell had to make preparations, our non-violent fight will not put that strain on the Government either.

During the struggle the British papers, the *Times* and the *Daily Herald*, alike attacked Ireland. Their interests were alike, as their interests are alike today in India. But when the agreement with De Valera was signed in 1938 both papers agreed in acclaiming the settlement. "No British statesman," said the *Times* "who has studied the unhappy history of Anglo-Irish relations but must realise the importance of winning Irish good-will by avoiding all possible occasions of interference,

and more especially military interference in the affairs of a proud and tenacious people." The *Daily Herald* exclaimed, "Britain and Eire are at last free partners, bound together by common interest."

They may not see today, in their blind fury, that a free partnership, in the fullest sense of the term is being offered by India to England. But they may see it some day. Until then, however, there is nothing better in our lot than what De Valera offered to his own people: "Stern determination of a close-knit nation steeled to the acceptance of death rather than the abandonment of its rightful liberty."

Sevagram, 26-7-'42

M. D.

NO GUARANTEES CONTEMPLATED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

(Replies to questions by United Press, London).

Q. 1. Will you be satisfied by a joint guarantee by America, China and Soviet Russia?

A. No guarantee is contemplated by the Congress demand, because present delivery of Independence is the need of the hour, not because of distrust about future delivery but because India as an Independent Power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part in favour of the Allies. India today is becoming progressively hostile to the Allied Powers notwithstanding their ability to command recruits and the like. What is wanted is an enthusiastic response from a free and willing India. Many of us think that that is the indispensable condition of the success of Allied arms.

Q.2. What should be the nature of the provisional Government and who should be the possible members?

A. It is difficult to foresee what will happen when India is declared free but I imagine that any provisional Government to be stable in the absence of outside imposition can only be by the willing consent of different popular parties. This willing consent is impossible, so long as the third party is present to look up to for favours. The Congress President has already suggested that the Government may simultaneously with the declaration of Independence deliver their power to any of the organised popular parties including the Muslim League and the Congress. It will be up to the deliverer to compose with the remaining parties in order to secure stability, because in free India Government must depend wholly upon the willing consent of the people. It should be remembered that all the time that free India Government is functioning the Allied troops will carry on their operations without let or hindrance, subject to the treaty that will be negotiated between free India Government and the Allied Powers.

Q. 3. How do you hope to avert anarchy during the transitional period?

A. The anarchy is automatically averted if a provisional Government is formed, which will be the case under the Congress President's suggestion.

Q. 4. Will you accept a joint guarantee by the Socialist and Liberal parties of England for Indian independence?

A. Reply to this is contained in reply to the first. Sevagram, 28-7-'42

HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA

An Appeal

There can be no two opinions regarding the desirability of having a national language for India. It is also patent that this language cannot be English. Our Rashtrabhasha must be of indigenous origin. The Congress has called our national language Hindustani which means simple Hindi and simple Urdu. Unfortunately, the two streams of Hindustani, i. e. Hindi and Urdu, have been drifting apart, and it is the duty of national workers to direct their energies towards bringing the two nearer each other. This cannot be achieved by means of lengthy discussions and pious resolutions; it is desirable that a good number of people in this country should strive to learn both Hindi and Urdu. By learning both the styles and scripts, it will be possible to bridge the gaping gulf between the two drifting streams and Hindustani will gradually develop into a rich and powerful language. With this end in view, Hindustani Prachar Sabha has been started at Wardha. The Sabha will carry on propaganda for both Hindi and Urdu in the whole country. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is its President and Mahatma Gandhi, the Vice-President. Only those who know or are willing to learn both Hindi and Urdu can be the members of the Sabha. It has not been started in opposition to the existing Hindi or Urdu societies; the Sabha is meant to coordinate and supplement their activities.

We ardently hope that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be able to solve to a considerable extent the tangled problem of Hindi and Urdu. We, therefore, expect people of all communities to take active interest in this work and lend us a helping hand. Those who wish to secure fuller information about the Sabha and become its members should please correspond with the undersigned.

Shriman Narayan Agarwal

Wardha, 23rd July '42

Secretary

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