

HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. XI, No. 24

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 13, 1947

TWO ANNAS

OUR SHIPPING POLICY

Transport is an important section of the economic life of a country. It may assume the form of a bullock cart on dirt tracks, motor lorries on asphalt roads, railways, sailing vessels on canals and rivers and ocean going steamers. Where, when and how these should operate is a formidable question for every nation to decide.

A self-sufficiency programme does not mean withdrawing into our own shell like a tortoise. Self-sufficiency applies to all our primary needs. These being satisfied, the surplus would enter into trade and commerce. Apart from the primary necessities there are also luxuries and other artistic wares which would be in demand not only in our country but also abroad; and therefore self-sufficiency does not debar trade of all kinds but it regulates trade in such a way that we have first of all to satisfy ourselves that all have everything they need and do not barter away their food and clothing for luxury goods from abroad.

India has always been a great maritime country. Its trade had reached Mexico on the one side and the furthest parts of Europe on the other side, while written history was still more or less unknown. Foreign trade properly conceived gives a nation the chance for spreading its culture and improving its culture also by contact with other nations and as such our shipping should be regarded as an essential part of our national life. Today, shipping has been commercialized to such an extent that the needs of our nation have been forgotten. Great Britain has usurped all Indian shipping. It is a well-known principle that 50% of the foreign trade of a nation should be carried by national shipping, as well as all its internal and coastal trade. But today in India practically the whole of the foreign trade is in British hands and bulk of the coastal shipping is also in British hands with the result that our control over the movement of goods is practically nil.

With the advent of a national government we ought to see that shipping provides a proper valve to regulate the inflow and outflow of goods. The policy of the government can best be put into action by a proper shipping policy. Only then the economic life of the people will grow in the desired directions. At the present moment our economic activities are controlled by the needs of foreign nations. This is wholly wrong. Hence it is essential at this stage to attend to our shipping policy.

Our method of transport has to be adapted to our economy. As India is situated, when we use coal-burning steamers, we are within the four walls of our economy as we produce coal also, but it is to be seen whether we can limit ourselves to steamers that burn only our coal. But the position is different as regards the oil-burning steamers. The fuel is not under our control and there is a danger of disturbance to international peace when we take to using petrol and crude oil on a large scale. Hence we have to be forewarned as to the limitations within which we function.

If we can build our own ships and can supply all the national steamship lines needed for our trade with Indian coal, we will be fulfilling the demands of self-sufficiency. These lines will have to be co-ordinated with our internal communications and the freight rates etc. should be so adjusted as to put into effect the policy of the government in regard to the country's external trade.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

NOTES

Hand-made Sugar

Sugar And Sugar Products Control Order, 1943, has been playing havoc with the manufacture of *khandasari* and *deshi chini* especially in the U. P. We are now informed by the Government of India, Food Department, that the Notification No. 20-Sc-(32)/46 does not include hand-made sugar but applies only to sugar manufactured by sugar factories and that no restriction is imposed by the Central Government on the manufacture of hand-made sugar from palm juice. We trust the Provincial Governments will also act accordingly.

Cotton for Mills or Cereals for the Millions?

The Government of India has decided to allow, for the time being, the free export of cotton. This probably means that a large acreage of our cultivable land is under cotton cultivation. We are to export cotton for mill-owners abroad and we import food grains of doubtful quality for our people. There have been constant complaints about the polished Brazilian rice and Australian wheat. Cotton land can produce *bajra* and *jawar* — the food grains of the poor. Can we not embark on a rational utilization of our land and produce more food and less raw materials for mills?

No country which imports primary necessities, like foodgrains, can be secure in its political independence. Even England with all her mighty

Army, Navy and the Air Force was about to succumb to the German submarine seige. Now we are thinking of Swaraj. Should we not also adjust our economy so as to fit us for real independence?

Save Us

Amongst the many letters from consumers of *vanaspati* the ones from women carry special weight. Here is one from a leading woman of the South:

"I agree with your views and I do feel that the production of *vanaspati* should be prohibited until conclusive evidence that it is not harmful is available. I know that this opinion is held by many women who have good reasons to believe that the health of some of the members of their families was seriously affected by the use of *Dalda*. On the advice of their family physicians they gave up using *Dalda* and the health of these persons improved steadily and is now normal. There are several companies newly started for the manufacture of *vanaspati* and if and when these factories actually begin to function, the market will have large supplies of *vanaspati* and oil will be scarce. Do you not think that it is imperative that the Food Department of the Central Government should give their earnest and immediate attention to this matter? There is great urgency about it as the newly floated companies are ordering machinery from Europe."

Profession or Trade?

While opening a private Pathological Laboratory at Madras, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan is reported to have said in favour of the "Western scientific system of medicine" that "it stands unchallenged in its security and method in the world." In many matters and in the approach, we agree that, the Western system has much to teach us. In the practice of it among poor people medical men have not shown the spirit of service that should follow true science. Dr. Rajan will allow us to differ from him when he adds: "As a system it has come to stay. Progressive people know it and pay their homage, in whatever form, as the one remedy that can be made to serve human ills." True test of science is not merely in the laboratory but also in the field. Benefit of the knowledge must reach the people. Only then it can be scientific. Dr. Rajan himself admits that "there may be bad practitioners." Yes, but this seems to be the general rule with those trained in the Western system. They also have become accustomed to Western ideology and mode of life. They have become material-centred. They are really traders in medicine. Many practitioners are, in effect, agents for the patent medicine manufacturers. The charges of even scientific laboratories are so exorbitant as to be beyond the reach of our people. Of course the costs to the practitioners is high. They have to import every bit of equipment for these laboratories from abroad. Even the call bells are so imported! To city folks these laboratories etc. sell their knowledge at a price. Hence it

is that we consider these persons as traders. The professional people should not work for the "haves" only. They should accept whatever the patient can afford to give and not bargain for fixed fees.

In this respect the *ayurvedic* physicians and *hakims* are professionals. Our indigenous systems are accessible to the lowest in the land and the remedies are often found within the reach of the people. What we need is to systematize the available knowledge. The *ayurvedic* practitioners and the *hakims* are of the people and are most often guided by a tradition of service. They still remain professional men. We cannot do without them. Their approach to the patients and to the medicines is more scientific because it is adapted to the needs of the people.

Erratum

In the *Harijan* of June 22, 1947, on page 199, an article *The Cue Method* is printed. We regret the name of the professor is misspelt and should have been Coué.

J. C. K.

Commendable

The Government of Baroda have published the following press note:

"H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda has ordered a strict enforcement of the laws to eradicate untouchability in the State. The Director of Public Instruction has been authorized to close such (State) primary schools as refuse admission to Harijan children on grounds that they (the schools) are conducted in private buildings or in religious places. Orders are also being issued to close separate schools for the Harijans as soon as possible, with a view to avoid the tendency of segregation. It has also been sanctioned to appoint a special officer to look after the interests of the Harijans."

The Congress Ministry in Bombay, in 1937, passed similar orders and they thus opened the doors of many a school for Harijan children in Gujarat. The Baroda Government deserve congratulations for falling in line with this procedure. A large number of schools in the Mahesana District in the Baroda State are conducted either in private buildings or in religious places. We hope the doors of all these schools will now be opened for the Harijans. Possibly the orders might take a little time to reach the villages. Meanwhile local residents who have sympathy for the cause and public workers will please look into the matter and solve the problems arising out of the operation of the orders peacefully. The step to appoint a special officer to look after the welfare of the Harijans is also to be welcomed. It now only remains for the Baroda Government to imitate the Governments of Bombay, Madras and of other Native States to appoint a Backward Class Board in order to advise the special officer in his work.

Sabarmati, 6-7-47

P. L. M.

(From the original in Gujarati)

TEMPTING RUDRA

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has the credit of having brought into existence a Board of Research in Atomic Energy with Professor H. J. Bhabha as Chairman. In the statement announcing the formation of the Board, Rajaji assures us that "the atomic energy resources of India will not be frittered away or go to waste" and adds that "it would be a mistake to associate atomic research only with destructive activities."

Atomic research has been an expensive luxury of the rich Western nations. They have spent untold millions to harness Rudra, this God of Destruction. What is going to be our budget for it? If such funds were available, should not researches on cattle breeding and food production be a first charge in a starving country where production per acre is amongst the lowest in the world?

Of course, atomic research is not only for destruction. Has anybody used it for anything else? The road to hell is paved with good intentions. May not this Board prove to be a high road?

We agree that the atomic energy may be a two-edged sword but to wield such a weapon calls for a high degree of discipline. Fire is a good thing. It has lit the path of the progress of man since the dawn of civilization. On this reasoning can we hand a torch to a child and expect it to keep the house from burning? At the moment, wherever we turn greed, jealousy and hatred face us in the world. Is such a world fit to handle this weapon? May it not prove a spark in the ammunition magazine? Let us not play with fire.

A more outspoken and less sophisticated report comes from New Zealand. Professor Thomas Leech, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering of Auckland University, has been recently honoured for his researches in finding a substitute for the atom bomb. The research centre was established not at Florida but in New Zealand because of the fear of the danger from spies in America. The message candidly adds: "Few of the researchers know the object of their work and even today only a few people in Britain, United States, Australia and New Zealand are aware of the full implications of this method of warfare" and further adds that scientists are working "under top secret orders."

As far as we can gauge, we must confess that we have not yet found the needed discipline in the management of our public affairs to enable us to have that assurance that we shall not be as the other men are! The Americans were tempted beyond their power by the possession of this Tree of Knowledge. What guarantee can we furnish that we have greater self-control and self-discipline than the original atom bomb users? If the sharing in the loot from Germany and Japan, against which we had already protested in these columns, represent the policy of the Government of which Shri Rajagopalachari is a distinguished member, we fear to notice the direction indicated by the straws in the wind. Rudra may be summoned sooner than we

think! We should know our own limitations and programme our activities accordingly.

While the country is crying for researches in so many fields, does this type of work call for such priority? Can we not utilize our meagre resources in more fruitful ways? J. C. KUMARAPPA

THE INGLORIOUS GREAT

I

NAMDEV, THE GARDENER

[This is based on a sketch by Maulvi Abdul Haq, published by Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi, Tikamgaadh. —V. G. D.]

Namdev was a gardener in the garden attached to the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife in Aurangabad. He was a *dhedh* by caste, but goodness and truth are never the monopoly of any caste, creed or colour.

Maulvi Saheb lived in a house situated in the garden, and whenever he looked out of his window, he found Namdev absorbed in his work.

Namdev would remove the dead leaves and other refuse near a shrub, bring water from the tank and pour it gradually into the basin. He would then bend the shrub in a variety of ways and look at it. Not satisfied with this, he would walk several steps away from the shrub, looking at it and smiling all the time.

Namdev had no child of his own, but he looked upon his trees as his children, and cherished them accordingly. He would sit near each plant, caress it and bend lovingly over it as if he were talking to it in silence. If any plant was attacked by insects, he would be very anxious, getting medicine for it and nursing it like a mother all day long.

Living in the garden as he did, he acquainted himself with the medical properties of plants, and learned to treat the diseases of children with skill and competence. People brought their children to him from far and near, and he would treat them with drugs obtained from his own garden. If he was called to another village to see an ailing child, he would go there with pleasure. But he never accepted any fees for his ministrations.

Namdev was cleanly and tidy himself, and so was his garden, like the kitchen of an orthodox Brahmin.

Once it so happened that the rains failed and there was hardly any water left in the wells. It was a real disaster for the garden. Most of the trees and shrubs died without life-giving water. Yet Namdev's part of the garden flourished like the green bay tree. From a very great distance he would bring his well-filled pot poised on his head and water his plants, and for sometime he carried water at night as well as by day. He was offered a special allowance for this work but would not accept it.

Namdev's single-minded devotion cost him his life. A bee-hive having been disturbed, the bees swarmed all over the garden. All the other gardeners fled and hid themselves. But Namdev had no inkling of what had happened. He was engrossed in his work as usual, all unmindful of the fate that was in store for him. The bees attacked him with a vengeance and stung him to death.

HARIJAN

July 13

1947

WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.

In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion there is no duality in socialism. It is all unity. Looking at society all the world over there is nothing but duality or plurality. Unity is conspicuous by its absence. This man is high, that one is low, that is a Hindu, that a Muslim, third a Christian, fourth a Parsi, fifth a Sikh, sixth a Jew. Even among these there are subdivisions. In the unity of my conception there is perfect unity in the plurality of designs.

In order to reach this state we may not look on things philosophically and say that we need not make a move until all are converted to socialism. Without changing our life we may go on giving addresses, forming parties and hawk-like seize the game when it comes our way. This is no socialism. The more we treat it as game to be seized, the farther it must recede from us.

Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words, no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of zeros will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeros will be so much waste.

This socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. Non-violence is embedded in truth and *vice versa*. Hence has it been said that they are faces of the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the coin either way. The spelling of words will be different. The value is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body and you have untruth and violence in you.

Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted socialists will be able to establish a socia-

listic society in India and the world. To my knowledge there is no country in the world which is purely socialistic. Without the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible.

New Delhi, 6-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

New Delhi, 30-6-'47

FRONTIER REFERENDUM

The question of the referendum in the Frontier Province just now looms large in the public eye, because it has been and is still officially a Congress Province. Badshah Khan and his co-workers do not relish being asked to choose between Hindustan or Pakistan bearing respectively the unjust meaning: Hindus or Muslims. How is the Badshah to get over the difficulty? The Congress has pledged its word that there should be a referendum in consultation with Dr. Khan Saheb but under H. E. the Viceroy's direct supervision. So it is going to take place at the appointed time. The *khudai khidmatgars* will not exercise their votes thus providing a walk-over for the Muslim League and at the same time doing no violence to their conscience. Is there in this procedure any breach of the terms of the referendum? The *khudai khidmatgars* who have fought the British are not the men to shirk defeat at the polls. It is an everyday occurrence for parties to go to the polls in spite, sometimes, of the chance of certain defeat. Defeat is no less certain for a boycotting party.

WHY PATHANISTAN?

The charge of the new cry of Pathanistan is being flung in the Badshah's face. Even before the Congress Ministry came into being, so far as I know, Badshah Khan had on the brain Pathan independence in internal affairs. He does not want to create an additional State. If he can frame his own local constitution, he will gladly make his choice of the one State or the other. It is difficult for me to understand the objection to this yearning after Pathan autonomy unless the object is to humiliate the Pathans and to tame them into subjection.

The more serious charge is that the Badshah is playing into the hands of Afghanistan. I consider him to be incapable of any underhand dealing. He would not allow the Frontier Province to be absorbed by Afghanistan.

As his friend and because I am his friend, I must admit one failing of his. He is highly suspicious especially of British professions and intentions. I would urge on all to overlook this failing which is by no means peculiar to him. Only it does not sit well on a leader of his eminence. I contend that though I have called it a failing and which it is in one way, in another it is to be regarded as a virtue in that he cannot, even if he tries, conceal his thoughts. He is too honest to hide them.

TEMPLE ENTRY

From the Frontier Province I would like to take you to Rameshwaram, from where Rama is said to have improvised a floating bridge of pebbles to enable his army to cross over to Lanka which

he conquered but did not keep. Has it not been said that he made it over to Ravana's brother? That very famous temple has been thrown open to the Harijans today, thus completing the list of all the famous temples in the South except those in Cochin. Here is the list of the most known supplied to me by Rajaji: Madura, Tinnevely, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Palni, Triplicane, Tirupathi, Kanchi and Guruvayur. This does not exhaust the list. The Harijan Speaker of the Madras Assembly has been going round most of these temples leading the Harijan and other worshippers. Highly educated Harijans and others may belittle this belated reform. But its significance should not be lost upon us, because the reform has been brought about bloodlessly. Let us hope that Cochin will soon follow in the wake of Travancore, Tamil Nad and British Kerala and throw open its temples to the Harijans. Temple entry reform will be incomplete until temples become really holy by the necessary internal reform.

New Delhi, 1-7-'47

MEANING OF A BHAJAN

Gandhiji referred to the *bhajan* sung at the prayer meeting. The *bhajan*, he said, was composed by Tukdojee Maharaj of C. P. It was written in simple Hindustani and could be easily understood by all. Its significance was that it pointed the thorny way to attain God. It required the devotee to be brave in the face of personal calamities like the destruction of one's hearth and home, insults and serious illnesses. He was the blessed man who in the face of the triple infliction remembered God and felt inner happiness in spite of it.

UNION OF HEARTS

His speeches were interpreted to mean that he was hankering after a geographical reunion. This was supposed to be a vain hope calculated to irritate the Muslims. He was, therefore, advised to plead for co-operation and collaboration between the two parts. He was not guilty of entertaining the vain hope, though he would ever welcome a reunion based on an appreciation of mutual interest. He had never any intention of unnecessarily hurting the feelings of anyone, much less of his Muslim brethren. What, however, he had pleaded for was more than co-operation. He was pleading for correct behaviour in every case on the part of the major community. He warned them against the danger, in a spirit of vengeance, of falling into the trap of the two-nations theory. To become or not to become a separate nation was for the major party to determine. They would never succeed in coming to a right decision, if they falsely prided themselves on their superior numbers. To say that there was danger in numbers was as true as to say that there was safety in numbers. It was time to discard pride and folly in exchange for humility and wisdom. Thus, he added, he had received a telegram from a Muslim League Secretary complaining of ill-treatment by Hindus in large numbers of a few Muslim passengers. He did not know what truth there was in the complaint. He

was sorry that he received many such messages which, on investigation, were found to be devoid of truth or highly exaggerated, but by way of illustration the telegram was enough for him. He would be glad to find that there was no truth in the message, but if there was, it was proof of the arrogance and the ignorance of the Hindus, which would discredit anybody.

THE SIKHS

He then referred to the visit he had from Sikh friends and a letter from a Sikh youth who complained that he was neglecting those whom he claimed as his friends. He was proud to claim friendship with the Sikhs. It was when the tragedy of Nankana Saheb took place that the Sikhs had undertaken to follow his teaching of non-violence and truth, whereby they had lost nothing. He personally did not see any difference between Sikhism and Hinduisim. They were varieties of the same faith. When he read the *Granth Saheb* written in Devanagari characters, he had not much difficulty in following the language. The thought in the various *bhajans* of Nanak Saheb and other *Gurus* was derived from the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. But he did not mind the Sikhs regarding themselves as distinct from the Hindus. Thus regarded, he admitted that theirs was a desolate condition. The remedy, he had no doubt, was in their own hands. They had to come up to the infinitely higher bravery that non-violence would give them as compared to the bravery of the sword. They were industrious. They were to be found in Canada. They were responsible largely for building the railway to Nairobi and several other things he could mention. He adjured them to shed the drink habit and the enervation brought about by the luxurious habits in which Sikh women, he had heard, were indulging. It would not do to remind him that others were no better. The Sikhs, if they were to keep up their renown, the fewness of number could only be made up for by their being unequalled in courage and correct thinking born of simple life. The sword was a rusty weapon. Its very effective substitute was the force of the spirit which cost nothing and which was indestructible.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE

They were naturally anxious to know what took him to the Viceroy's House that day. He had not gone to see His Excellency. He had gone to be with Pandit Nehru and other friends. He could not satisfy their curiosity beyond the fact that they had met. In this connection he would ask the newspapers not to anticipate events. In times of stress or delicacy, anticipation of events was positively harmful to the country.

DUTY OF TRUSTING

Lastly he referred to the letter that was received by him the day before at the close of the meeting in which the writer had wrongly abused Englishmen as unworthy of credence and incapable of voluntarily doing the right thing and had accused him (Gandhiji) of corruption etc. in that he had dared to believe the word of the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government. He wanted to repeat the golden rule not to distrust a man till he was proved

to be untrustworthy. And when he was proved to be so, his unworthiness would be quite enough to drag him down and his credit. The same rule applied to him, the speaker. If he was guilty of corruption and the like, he would forfeit the right to live.

New Delhi, 2-7-'47

FORLORN CAUSES—HINDUSTANI

He was being rebuked for championing forlorn causes and thus wasting his life. He should, especially in the winter of his life, retire or use his popularity for handling popular causes. He gladly admitted the charge of championing forlorn causes but could not subscribe to the charge that he was thereby wasting his life. He was told by way of illustration that he was trying to twist a rope of sand in trying to popularize Hindustani with the two scripts Nagari and Urdu, especially when Pakistan had become an established fact. He strongly dissented from the view. He held that he had the wisdom not to subscribe to the doctrine that Pakistan was supposed to enunciate. The present for him was the moment when he should diligently study both the scripts and speak in a language which was a proper mixture of the two. It should also be remembered that there were a very large number of Hindus in the North who knew only Urdu written in the Urdu script. Were these Hindus to forget the Urdu script and the language and take up the learning of Hindi written in the Nagari script? He submitted that there was method in his madness so-called. The real test for measuring the quality of a particular step was whether if nobody else followed it, it would be useless for the pioneer, as would be an attempt to make a rope out of sand. Applying the test to his Hindustani idea, if he were the only one in India to know the two scripts and equally at ease with Hindi and Urdu, he would pass as a distinguished scholar much wanted both in Pakistan and the Indian Union. Unfortunately for him he was no scholar and his Hindustani was not musical enough to capture the imagination. Incidentally he should also mention that it was a vicious suggestion that in the evening of life one should lend weight only to popular causes. Popular causes needed no further weight and often popular causes like popular superstitions had to be resisted with all one's might however feeble that might was. He, therefore, invited his audience to resist the mad wave that was sweeping across the land. No cause that was intrinsically just could ever be described as forlorn.

New Delhi, 3-7-'47

VILLAGES UNTOUCHED

Gandhiji referred to the *bhajan* of the evening whose first line meant that people would laugh at the fish which being in water so behaved as to feel thirsty. The condition of men living on God's earth and yet not knowing Him was very like the condition of the imaginary fish. How it was to be wished that men knew their state, in which case they would not live in the state of degradation which was their lot today. Happily for India the savagery was confined to the cities and the villages round the cities. These villages could not be counted by thousands

in a country 1900 miles long and 1500 miles broad. It was as yet a matter of good luck that thousands of other villages remained unaffected by the madness raging round the cities and the neighbouring villages.

BRAHMIN MINORITY

Proceeding to the topic which he had intended to deal with, he referred to a letter he had received complaining that the hopelessly insignificant minority of the Brahmins was faring badly in that the admission of Brahmin boys and girls to colleges and services was becoming increasingly difficult because of the anti-Brahmin movement. He could sympathize with the complainant because hitherto being more receptive, more industrious and more eager to gain knowledge the Brahmins seemed to have a monopoly, not because of any brute force they exercised but because of their superior qualities. But though he sympathized with the Brahmins in their lot, he did not share their grief or disappointment. In the first instance, he could not appreciate their considering themselves as a minority. If we were one nation, there could be no question of minority and majority. He might as well complain of being a minority and then imagine himself to be hurt that he could not enjoy all the privileges he might wish for. He would, therefore, advise his Brahmin friends to forget that they were a class or group apart from the ocean of India's humanity. Considering them even as Hindus rather than Indians, sons of the same soil, there was to be no high and low in the ocean of Hinduism. If they ceased to consider themselves as a minority, they would be proud to share the majesty of the ocean of Indian or Hindu humanity, and could feel with a drop in the ocean, if it was not isolated from the latter, the greatness of the ocean, which carried on its broad bosom thousands of mighty steamships. After all what were the colleges and services in terms of the millions of villagers living in the seven lakhs of India's villages? He suggested that the Brahmin friends should feel happy that they were no longer exposed to the temptation of having to go to colleges or to services under the Government. Such persons could only be few and far between. Those who refused to take part in the unseemly struggle for entrance to colleges or to services were the real servants of India. Knowledge was not confined within the four walls of a school or a college. It was open for every industrious boy or girl to gather real knowledge outside schools and colleges. And in this connection he would commend to them the *Nai Talim* and all it meant. He further reminded them of what he had said about the validity only of those rights which were directly derived from duty well performed. They would then immediately realize that there was no such inherent right for anyone to be admitted to Government colleges. But if there was such a right belonging to any boy or girl, it was his or hers who had hitherto been criminally neglected.

A Brahmin'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.

New Delhi, 4-7-'47

KINGDOM OF GOD AND NON-VIOLENCE

The natural question that was being put to him was, did he ever think that the Swaraj of his dreams was going to be born out of the present regime which was to culminate in full Dominion Status on the 15th of August at the latest? Was he not ashamed of the non-violence of the past thirty years which had resulted in the violence that had been stalking the land? He was sorry to have to confess that he saw no sign of the Kingdom of God being born out of the coming Dominion Status. He hoped that the Dominion Status was offered in order to anticipate the final date of the withdrawal of British rule. Without it they felt unable to devise a scheme whereby the *Quit India* date of 30th June next could be put earlier. Be that as it may, it was open to both the new States as soon as they framed their constitutions to declare complete independence of the exclusive family of British Dominions and aim at a family of independent World States which necessarily ruled out all internal armies. He could not visualize a dog-in-the-manger-policy for India whereby it would become a menace to world peace, another Japan or Germany calling itself falsely a democracy. Democracy and the military spirit he held to be a contradiction in terms. A democrat relied upon the force not of the arms his State could flaunt in the face of the world but on the moral force his State could put at the disposal of the world. If by India's effort such a world federation of free and independent States was brought into being, the hope of the Kingdom of God, otherwise called *Ramarajya*, might legitimately be entertained. Before that happy event, however, took place, the two new States which today were enemies of each other would have to become friends and associates. He was sorry to confess that the signs pointed the contrary way.

The second taunt really was the corollary of the first and *vice versa*. He had every reason to be ashamed of the result of over thirty years of non-violence so-called. He had already admitted that our non-violence was of the weak. But the weak of heart could not claim to represent any non-violence at all. The proper term was passive resistance. Passive resistance was a preparation for the active resistance of arms. Had it been the non-violence of the strong, the practice of a generation would have made the recent orgies of destruction of life and property impossible. Then there would have been no need for the rationing of cloth and food. If people knew the working of the law of truth and non-violence, they would themselves regulate the matter of shortage. He had never subscribed to the belief that the shortage could not be locally made good. Such a big country like India should disdain to share the world's production of food and cloth when the world was suffering from shortage due to the insensate destruction wrought by the terrible war. All that was needed in India was solid, steady and hard work put in by the millions of India wisely and intelligently directed. There was no dearth of wisdom and skill in the

country. Lastly, if there was true grasp of non-violence and truth, they would not look to the Civil Service which, he thought, was described by the late Mr. Montagu as a wooden machine. These gentlemen were experts of a kind. They were never employed for the benefit of the nation. They had to keep the foreign rule going somehow or other. And they were too few to handle successfully the present work of reviving the drooping spirits of a nation of starving and naked millions. The businessmen, the producers and the scientists should be impressed into willing service for the nation in dire need. Will the servicemen rise to the occasion, will the members of the Government go out of the red-tape rut and woo the public to help themselves? How or why could all this happen if there was no non-violence, no truth in us?

New Delhi, 5-7-'47

THE VICEREINE'S VISIT

The audience would like him to refer to the Vicereine's visit to the Colony. He tried to wean her from the visit. He was not made for ceremonies. He expected no return visit. All his visits to H. E. the Viceroy were business visits which called for no return visits. But Her Excellency would pay the return call. She was quite informal as she always was and wanted to learn all about things. She paid a visit to the *busti* opposite. He purposely refrained from accompanying her for fear of attracting crowds. She had gone to the Harijan Nivas in Kingsway, Old Delhi, where Harijan lads were being trained under the auspices of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

THE SIKHS

He referred to a letter that was received by him on behalf of the Sikhs in which he was asked whether they could rely upon his and the Congress' help if the worst happened to them in Pakistan. Replying to that letter Gandhiji said that he would not expect such a question from the brave people that the Sikhs were. They should rely upon God's help rather than on men's. But he also asked them not to suspect that they would have less than justice in the new State of Pakistan and he would show why they should not, in the course of his remarks on the Bill that had just been published.

THE INDEPENDENCE BILL

He had intended to continue the thought of the last prayer meeting but the publication of the Bill called the Indian Independence Bill compelled postponement of every other topic to another occasion. He did not propose to examine in detail the twenty sections of the elaborate Bill. He was ill-disposed with many critics to read a sinister meaning in it. The fact that there were two Indias instead of one was bad enough in itself. Both had the same status. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and the Muslim League were entitled to claim full credit for bringing about a state of things which seemed to be impossible only as it were yesterday. They had undone the solemn declaration of the Cabinet Mission. They had succeeded in compelling consent from the Congress and the Sikhs to the division. The thing that was in itself bad did not become good because the parties concerned had accepted

it, no matter that the causes dictating acceptance were different in each case. It was hardly any comfort that the Qaid-e-Azam did not get all that he wanted. The difference was not at all in kind. He wanted a sovereign State. That he had in the fullest measure. Pakistan had the same status as India.

As he read and re-read the Bill he saw that the three parties had subjected themselves consciously or unconsciously to public judgment in terms of the Bill. It was true that the British were divesting themselves of all power. But they had become party to the division and had two new members in the family of the Commonwealth possessing conflicting ideals and interests. So long as they two had any connection with Great Britain, the latter would be judged by the action following the Bill rather than by its language, however generous and just it might read. He admitted that it would be a superhuman task to reconcile conflicting interests and treat them equally. What would happen if one declared complete independence when the Constitution Act was passed by its Constituent Assembly?

The relation of the Princes remained in a most unsatisfactory condition. He had no hesitation in saying that the British Government had lacked the courage since the inception of the Cabinet Mission effort to do the right thing, no matter what the cost was. Here again British honour was at stake. The British would certainly be blamed if any mishap occurred. The dangerous situation had not been cleared by the Bill. Both the new Dominions had an unenviable legacy, if they had the interests of the people of the States at heart; if, that is, the people were the real masters and the Princes their trustees, not merely euphemistically but in law and in fact.

The Qaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League had by their act of secession and severance invited the world to judge them by their behaviour towards the Muslims as also towards the non-Muslims. Surely there were many sects, chief among whom were the Sunnis and the Shias, politically the Nationalists and the Leaguers, the Baluchis, the Sindhis, the Pathans, the Punjabis, the Bengalis, the Muslims of the Indian Union. He was daily besieged by the large Hindu and Sikh minorities and not as often by Christians and Parsis. He was asked whether there was ground for the fear that there would be an attempt to estrange the Scheduled Classes from their Hindu brethren. Was Pakistan a means of converting non-Muslims to a special brand of Islam? True religion was a universal belief in the one and only God. The world was fast growing out of dogmas and creeds which had so sickened it that it had become confused and had begun to deny the very existence of the Maker. Happily that stage of negation was quickly passing and enlightened faith in the Supreme Maker of the Universe was taking its place. Was the Islam of Pakistan going to be in the vanguard of that movement for restoration of universal faith? Or was it to pass through darkness and denial of God in the name of God? He hoped that the doubts he had mentioned would be quickly dissolved.

HINDUISM ON TRIAL

The Qaid-e-Azam had unwittingly placed Hinduism also on its trial. The Hindus had the rare opportunity of refining it of all dross and showing by strict justness that the brand of Hinduism of the

Indian Union was the same as universal religion. He had said only the day before that those who believed in India as a nation could have no minority and majority question. All were entitled to equal privileges and equal treatment. Thus viewed the Indian Independence Bill could be taken as the final examination of all the parties involved in the Bill. It was possible to turn Pakistan which he had declared an evil into unadulterated good, if all the forebodings were dispelled and enmities were turned into friendship and mutual distrust gave place to trust.

New Delhi, 6-7-'47

At the outset Gandhiji hoped that the referendum in the Frontier was to be without violence. Badshah Khan and the *khudai khidmatgars* were pledged to non-violence. They were to show that they lived up to their beliefs. And why should he not expect the same from the Leaguers when it was at least a question of Muslim against Muslim?

DENIAL OF THE PAST

There was something wrong in the fact that they missed the enthusiasm that should accompany such a great event as the imminent advent of full freedom. The reason for the lack of enthusiasm was no doubt to be found in the division of the country into two States which were to be turned into two armed camps. For, there was to be no common defence force. The army was to be divided, preparations were being made apace to that end. They used to talk glibly during the glorious and strenuous days of opposition to British rule of having no army for the suppression of internecine quarrels which would be non-existent and they wanted no defence force against a foreign enemy. Now, alas! their military expenditure was maintained at a very high level without any near prospect of substantial reduction. Indeed, he visualized a definite increase in the military expenditure, all for fighting among themselves. They were to be engaged in a ludicrous race for the increase of armaments; no nation-building expenditure, not for education and the like. It was to be all for mutual slaughter. He could discover in this no reason for gratification or glorification. The outlook was dismal. Was India's freedom a preparation for the abandonment of all they had learnt to prize as dear to them? Instead of self-glorification, it was a time for deep self-inspection, self-examination and self-castigation. As the chief actor in the fight for freedom during the past thirty years, he was certainly full of searching questions within himself. Was the fight acclaimed as noble to result in this the approaching inglorious end?

He cried with the Vedic Seer:

O Lord! Lead us from darkness unto light.

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