

# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WHITHER STATES ?

[The following is a summary, from Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches on the 13th and 14th June and his speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting, of his remarks about the duty of the States.—S. N.]

On the 13th Gandhiji referred with sorrow to the sad news he had heard that day that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, the learned Diwan of Travancore, an able administrator and a writer, had banned the State People's Congress from holding any meetings and, if the newspapers were to be believed, had said that on August 15th when the British transferred power to Indian hands, Travancore would declare itself an independent State. If any Travancoreans objected, they were at liberty to leave the State. Gandhiji would like to know how Travancoreans were expected to leave the land of their birth. Evidently, Sir C. P. was quite content for Travancore to remain in India so long as the British King was Emperor of India, but the moment the power passed into Indian hands, he wanted Travancore not to join the Union of India. It was an amazing position and wholly unworthy of any State. If the British were going to be party to such conduct, it would be to their lasting shame and Gandhiji fervently hoped that they would act on the square. And what applied to Travancore applied equally to Hyderabad. The Nizam's *firman*, if the papers again were to be believed, was wholly wrong. 90% of the population in Hyderabad was non-Muslim. This State, as indeed all States, belonged to their people. The rulers had the right to exist only if they became trustees and servants of the people. Times had changed and if the Princes did not take time by the forelock, they would cease to be. The Congress had been a true friend of the States from the beginning. He cited the instance of Mysore in the G. O. M.'s—Dadabhai's time. The Congress had also served Kashmir, Baroda and other States. It had no desire to annihilate them but the Princes could not afford to disregard this great organization which represented the people in the States as it sought to represent the Princes. As for himself, he had always been a friend of the Princes and of all who possessed this world's goods. He wanted through his friendship to bring them close to the poor and needy, near to the *bhangis* of whom he was one. He appealed to them with all the emphasis at his command to come into the Constituent Assembly. He did not mind which it was. India was, alas! being partitioned because of the Hindu-Muslim quarrels. Let

not the Princes attempt to create further separatism. Gandhiji hoped that God would give the necessary wisdom not only to the Princes but also to Lord Mountbatten. As Britain's last Viceroy he must not leave this country in needless strife.

On the 14th Gandhiji received a telegram from Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer saying that Travancore was willing to come into the Constituent Assembly of a United India, but if there were to be two independent Indias, Travancore which had never been conquered would maintain an independent status while working in closest cooperation with the rest of India and entering into necessary agreements and treaties on matters of common concern. The Diwan stated that the majority of the people of Travancore were in favour of an independent Travancore. Referring to this telegram Gandhiji said that he was sorry that he was no wiser on the main issue. He could not help noticing a grave omission in the wire. Was there a ban on the State People's Congress? If so, why?

If Travancore would have come in provided there was no division or, in more precise language, no secession from the Union, surely this State should not treat secession as a signal for the balkanization of India. Travancore was independent when there was no politically unified India. Now that there was secession on purely religious grounds, Gandhiji would have expected a man like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to advise the Maharaja of Travancore in no way to emphasize the secession by using, wholly wrongly, the vicious example set by the All India Muslim League.

He made bold to say that if a referendum were taken, the Christians of Travancore as also the Hindus, not excluding the untouchables, would vote against Sir C. P.'s strange idea of an independent Travancore in which he hugged the suzerainty of the British but rejected the suzerainty of the Union of the people of India. If Sir C. P. was unfortunately unable to appreciate his appeal and argument, he hoped the other Princes would recognize the obvious wisdom of making common cause with the people of India in which, without fear of contradiction, he included the people of the States.

Speaking at the A. I. C. C. meeting Gandhiji said:

"There was a time when I told everyone to leave the States alone. At that time we were



engaged in a grim fight against the third power. The times have changed. India is on the threshold of independence. Hyderabad and Travancore are talking of becoming independent States. Such talk is vain. I congratulate the majority of the States who have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. If they have come wholeheartedly, they are quite safe as servants and trustees. They must march with the times.

"It is amazing that the Princes who were virtual slaves of the British should spurn an honourable position in the Union of India and should want to be independent. The Union are not inimical to the Princes. But today when the reins of the Government have come into the people's hands, they have jealously to guard the welfare of the whole of India. The people of the States are with us. If the Princes become independent, it can only be at the cost of the freedom of the people of the States. So far as I know India, such a thing will never be tolerated. The Princes must read the writing on the wall."

### MAN OR BEAST?

The so-called "labour-saving devices" in lands where man-power is scarce, develop into "unemployment creators" in countries where there is a surfeit of labour. With the advent of "labour-saving devices" the artisans are thrown on the land in the first instance. Then the pressure becomes so great that man is obliged to compete with the beasts of burden for the "husks that the swine do eat".

This is the position of rickshaw coolies. They are competing with *tonga* horses. A *tonga* needs a driver to guide it. Now, with the rickshaw, the horse is eliminated and the coolie does both the work of the horse and that of the driver at a lower charge. Thus falls man from the human state to that of a beast of burden. Man is not physically built like a horse. This change overworks his heart and he finds an early grave along with his morsel of bread.

Any society which allows such degradation is guilty of inhumanity. People have organized societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but is there no one to heed the cry of those who are driven by poverty and dire necessity to envy cattle-feed?

At least at one place, with the dawn of freedom, society is waking up to its duties. At Medan, Sumatra, the Chinese community has purchased and destroyed the ninety rickshaws that were plying in the town. The coolies were given 100 guilders each and were either repatriated to China or were found other jobs.

Will our rickshaw-ridden cities like Madras and Nagpur take a leaf out of this and demonstrate that their social consciousness is awakening? Madras is planning to license this nefarious traffic instead of banning it. Will the advent of Swaraj mean anything to the section of humanity reduced to this plight?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### A SCIENTIST'S PROPHECY FULFILLED

Ever since Gandhiji left Sabarmati on March 12, 1930 in order to break the salt law at Dandi on the shores of the Western ocean, the Government monopoly of salt has been the symbol of foreign rule, and free salt has been the symbol of Swaraj in our eyes. The Dandi march drew the attention of the world to the iniquity of the salt tax, and Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the famous biologist, was one of those who criticized it in a number of articles written for the British press. He observed that in England salt is a luxury for most people. However there are exceptions in England which are interesting 'because they prove the rule for India' (*The Inequality of Man and Other Essays*, Chatto and Windus, 1932, p. 231).

Professor Moss who investigated the dietary of coal miners found that in the deeper, and therefore hotter, mines the workers ate astonishing quantities of salty foods such as bacon and red herrings. They also bought a good deal of table salt, and sometimes even relished salted beer. Moss then showed conclusively that this demand for salt was simply to make up the salt lost in sweating.

The world's sweating record of over two quarts in an hour is held by an English collier, and as much as eighteen pounds weight may be lost in a single shift in a hot mine, including about an ounce of salt. A shortage of salt in the dietary leads to weakness and to a very distressing form of cramp.

Now in India during the hot weather one sweats for twenty hours a day and to make good the loss, over an ounce of salt per day may be needed. Salt is thus an essential component of the diet, and a tax on salt in India is as undesirable from the biological point of view, said Haldane, as would be an excise duty on wheat in England, and even more so. It is quite detrimental to the health of the people. No doubt its abolition would dry up an important source of revenue, but this need not matter if biological issues — questions of life and death — are regarded as equally important with economic issues. Haldane's conclusion was that "the continuance of the salt tax is a biological argument for Swaraj." As it weighed most heavily on the poorest workers, he held that Gandhiji's campaign for its abolition was "biochemically justified" (*Science and Everyday Life*, Kitab Mahal, p. 199) and hoped that "one of the first acts of a self-governing India will be the abolition of the salt tax" (*ibid*, p. 29).

This pious hope has been fulfilled by the Nehru Government which took office on September 2, 1946, an ever memorable date in the modern history of India.

V. G. D.

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MANAGER



## MEDICAL WORK UNDER KASTURBA TRUST

A joint meeting of the Kasturba Trust Provincial Agents and the Advisory Medical Board of the Kasturba Trust was held on the 30th of May. The Chairman explained the policy of the Medical Board. The Board had advised the Trust to concentrate on the training of midwives and nurses for village work according to the special syllabus prepared for that purpose and the agents should also select suitable candidates for training as health visitors.

In view of the limited funds at the disposal of the Trust, the Board had suggested that the Trust should concentrate on maternity and child-welfare work only. Considering the appalling figures of maternal and infant mortality in this country maternity and child-welfare work was a crying need of the day.

It was suggested that the training should be given as far as possible in rural areas, so that the candidates had the rural background in view. The Trust should have one good training institution in every province. Possibility of utilizing Government hospitals in small mofussil towns for this purpose should be explored. The need for better educational standard of the candidates was emphasized. The Trust should make arrangements for giving preliminary training to village girls so as to bring them up to the standard for imparting to them the specialized training. The policy of starting large numbers of small maternity centres under the care of midwives was discouraged.

The agents raised the point that outdoor dispensaries were an absolute necessity in order to establish contacts and win the confidence of the villagers. The Board was of the opinion that outdoor dispensaries should form part of the maternity centres wherever possible. Starting of independent outdoor dispensaries was discouraged.

The question of domiciliary and institutional midwifery was discussed. From the point of view of providing better surroundings, better food and more rest to mothers during the first ten days of delivery, institutional midwifery was to be preferred. But it was impossible to provide a sufficient number of beds to enable every woman to deliver in an institution. Moreover domiciliary midwifery conducted properly could serve as a very potent means of adult education. According to Dr. Dasgupta, the Public Health Officer of Bombay, domiciliary midwifery carried out properly, raised the standard of the whole village in about five years. The Board recommended that both institutional and domiciliary midwifery should be encouraged for the time being.

Some of the agents wanted a short course of instructions in medicine for the Grama Sevikas. The Board disapproved of the suggestion. They should have instructions in First Aid and Home Nursing, but nothing should be done to make them think they had been trained to treat sick people and charge fees. It would be a disservice to the

villagers to expose them to half-trained medical workers.

It was recommended that the village *dais*, wherever possible, should be given preliminary training so as to raise their educational standard and enable them to take full midwives' training. Wherever that was not possible the daughter or the daughter-in-law of the village midwife should be given such training. The *dais* should be employed as *ayas* or attenders at the maternity centres. The workers of the Trust should try to win their cooperation rather than make them feel that they were rivals.

New Delhi, 14-6-'47

S. N.

## THE "CUE" METHOD

Prof. Cue preached auto-suggestion. He told us that as long as we repeat the formula: "In every way and in every respect I am getting better and better every day" religiously often enough, it will have the desired effect on our constitutions. The Government of India appears to be an ardent follower of this method. There has been an alarming shortage of food in this country and it shows no possibility of getting less. Dr. Rajendra Prasad on bended knees is extending the beggar's bowl to the International Emergency Food Council for a supplementary allocation of 73,000 tons of wheat to India, in addition to the 485,000 tons of rice already allocated. As a supplement to this programme of mendicancy the Government of India comes out with a campaign of "Grow More Food". This slogan has been used, in season and out of season, during the last few years. The striking results of this, that have been obvious to the man in the street, are nothing but the ploughing up of a few well-kept plots of lawns of luxurious palaces and public parks. We are not aware of any appreciable amelioration of the food situation as a consequence.

What is needed is the will to plan out our cultivation so as to meet the situation. We should like to know how many thousands of acres are under cultivation to supply the needs of foreign tobacco companies. Is Government willing to ban such criminal misapplication of good social assets for mercenary purposes? Again, thousands of acres of first-class fertile lands are being used for growing the needed raw material for sugar mills while crores of palm trees in waste lands, which can supply the needed sugar and *gur*, are allowed to remain unexploited. Is it not time that reason guided us in these matters, to put good land to such use as to supply the much-needed cereals? Has the Government the courage to tackle the vested interests involved, so as to bring relief to the masses? Similarly, crops raised for raw materials for export must be surveyed to see what lands could be made available to supply the deficiency in the acreage of food crops to make our harvests adequate for our needs. The first lien on our lands must be our primary needs and no land-holder should be allowed to raise crops to satisfy his financial greed, while the country is facing the danger of death from famine and starvation. What is needed is not a slogan but drastic action.

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## HARIJAN

June 22

1947

## WHO AND WHERE IS GOD?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have defined *brahmacharya* as that correct way of life which leads to *Brahma*, i.e. God. Straight-away the question arises: "What or who is God?" If man knew the answer, it would enable him to find the path that leads to Him.

God is not a person. To affirm that He descends to earth every now and again in the form of a human being is a partial truth which merely signifies that such a person lives near to God. Inasmuch as God is omnipresent, He dwells within every human being and all may, therefore, be said to be incarnations of Him. But this leads us nowhere. Rama, Krishna, etc. are called incarnations of God because we attribute divine qualities to them. In truth they are creations of man's imagination. Whether they actually lived or not does not affect the picture of them in men's minds. The Rama and Krishna of history often present difficulties which have to be overcome by all manner of arguments.

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal. And yet, strangely enough, all are not able to derive either benefit from or shelter in the all-pervading living presence.

Electricity is a powerful force. Not all can benefit from it. It can only be produced by following certain laws. It is a lifeless force. Man can utilize it if he labours hard enough to acquire the knowledge of its laws.

The living force which we call God can similarly be found if we know and follow His law leading to the discovery of Him in us. But it is self-evident that to find out God's law requires far harder labour. The law may, in one word, be termed *brahmacharya*. The straight way to cultivate *brahmacharya* is *Ramanama*. I can say this from experience. Devotees and sages like Tulsidas have shown us this royal path. No one need give undue importance to my own experience. Perhaps I am right in saying that the potency of *Ramanama* was brought vividly home to me in Uruli-Kanchan. It was there that I asserted that the surest remedy for all our ills was *Ramanama*. He who can make full use of it can show powerful results with very little outside effort.

Following this line of thought I can say with conviction that the orthodox aids to *brahmacharya* pale into insignificance before *Ramanama*, when this name is enthroned in the heart. Then and then only do we realize its transcendent beauty and power. In the vigilant search for this matchless and unfailing weapon we find that it is hard to differentiate between ends and means. Thus, the eleven rules of conduct are the means to enable us to reach God. Of the eleven rules Truth is the means

and God called *Rama* is the end. Is it not equally true that *Ramanama* is the means and Truth is the end?

But let me revert to the original point. The accepted meaning of *brahmacharya* is the attainment by man of complete control over the sex organ. The golden means to attain that end is *Ramanama*. For proving the efficacy of *Ramanama* there are undoubted rules. I dwelt on them up to a point some months ago, but it will be worth while to recount them.

(From the original in Gujarati)

New Delhi, 14-6-'47

## "WELCOME, MY SISTER DEATH"

Recently Gandhiji has referred to death on two occasions: on the passing over of Chakrayya and Acharya Kausambi. Those of us who have been with him at the passing into the unknown of his nearest and dearest have felt the power of the faith that sustains him on such occasions and gives him the strength not to weep as ordinary mortals do. Gandhiji has called Death man's friend. The following story of the great saint of Assisi is apposite in this connection.

"When he was lying sick in the palace of the Bishopric of Assisi and the hand of the Lord did seem to be more than of wont heavy upon him, the people of Assisi fearing lest if he should die by night the friars would bear away his holy body to another city, ordered that every night ward should be diligently kept in the circuit outside the wall of the palace." But the saint himself was unafraid and in order to drown the violence of the pain which afflicted him used to ask for songs in praise of the Lord to be sung to him. When he asked and was told that his infirmity was incurable, he spread his hands out to the Lord with very great devotion and reverence and said with great joy of mind and body: "Welcome, my sister Death." He asked for Brothers Angelo and Leo to sing to him of Sister Death. "And when those two brethren had come to him they sang, with many tears, the 'Song of Brother Sun' and of the other created things of the Lord, which the saint himself had made. And then before the last verse of the canticle he added some verses of Sister Death saying:

Be thou praised, my Lord of our sister Bodily Death  
From whom no man living can escape.

Blessed are they who are found in thy most holy will,  
For the second death shall not work them ill.

Praise ye and bless my Lord and give Him thanks,  
And serve Him with great humility."

New Delhi, 15-6-'47

A. K.

## THE NATION'S VOICE.

(Second Edition)

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## HOW SHOULD THE INDIAN UNION ACT?

[Gandhiji's post-prayer speech on 12-6-'47.—S. N.]

Does the readjustment of the geography of India mean two nations? I admit that the division having been agreed upon, unity becomes somewhat difficult. But assuming that the Muslims of India look upon themselves as a nation distinct from the rest, they cannot become so, if the non-Muslims do not respond. The Muslim majority areas may call themselves Pakistan but the rest and the largest part of India need not call itself Hindustan. In contradistinction to Pakistan it will mean the abode of the Hindus. Do the Hindus feel so? Have the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews born in India, and the Anglo-Indians who do not happen to have the white skin, any other home than India? I will omit the Muslims for the time being. I suppose such is the reason why Panditji refuses to call the non-Pakistan areas as Hindustan and loves to call them by the proud name of the Union of Indian Republics from which some Muslim majority areas have seceded. History has shown that possession of proud names does not make the possessors great. Men and groups are known not by what they call themselves but by their deeds. How is this Union to behave? Already the taunt is being levelled against the Union that the much-maligned caste Hindus who, as I have shown in an earlier speech are in a hopeless minority, will ostracize the millions of the Scheduled Classes and (I will add) an equal number of *shudras* and the so-called aboriginal tribes. And then what of the other insignificant minorities? The so-called caste Hindus are on their trial. Will they recognize and do their obvious duty and give place to the least in the Union by affording them all the facilities to rise to the highest status? And what will they do to the Muslim minorities? Will they be regarded as aliens or will they be made to feel that they cannot be treated as aliens in their own land and that they will have all the opportunity that the tallest in the Union enjoy? Heaven forbid that the caste Hindus so behave as to prove Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's thesis that the Muslims and the Hindus are separate nations. Will they rise to the occasion and by their character, bravery, incorruptibility and toleration prove to the Muslims of Pakistan that in the Union there is no discrimination whatsoever on the ground of religion, caste or colour and that the only test is merit which every industrious citizen of the Union will have ample opportunity to acquire.

I am told that there are people in the Union who have wrongly come to the conclusion that now there is no occasion for Hindustani—a compatible mixture of Hindi and Urdu. There are many holy shrines of Islam. Will they be honoured equally with the others? Will it be the same with the Muslim seats of learning? On the proper treatment of these and such other questions, depends the real unity of India and I say this irrespective of what is said or done in Pakistan. Tit for tat' is the law

of the brute or unregenerate man. Such men have had their day. The world is sick of the application of the law of the jungle. It is thirsting for the brave law of love for hate, truth for untruth, toleration for intolerance. If this law of regenerate man is not to rule the world, it is thrice doomed.

## FOOD AND MORE FOOD

We have time and again pointed out that the real solution of our food shortage lies, not in importing food from abroad, but in organizing our economy so that our food requirements are a first charge on our cultivable lands. At present there are rapid inroads on the available lands by attempts made by mills to get raw materials produced for themselves under the plea that they pay better prices. This is based on a false conception. More money does not feed one. This plea is calculated to mislead the ignorant, short-sighted farmer. In every province no land should be made available for money crops until the food supply is known to be adequate. Government should regulate the growth of crops. The farmers should not follow their whims.

## MILLS

Even the supplies available are depleted by about 10% by the rationing authorities resorting to rice mills etc. Hand processing and parboiling of rice should be advocated.

## FORESTS

During the war for over ten years now, the supply of timber has been cut down. This denuding of forests not only affects the rains and water supply but also erodes the land making it uncultivable. An energetic programme of afforestation is called for; we must aim at at least doubling the area under forests.

## DESERT

The Forest Research Institute draws attention to the fact that the Rajputana desert is expanding at the rate of 300 sq. miles per year. This is a serious calamity which needs close study to be dealt with. India cannot afford to let its already meagre cultivable lands to be converted into deserts.

To this should be added the danger of an indiscriminate use of artificial fertilizers which will also in the course of a few years, turn cultivable lands into deserts.

We hope the departments concerned will be urged by the Government to do their utmost to solve these formidable problems facing us.

## CATTLE

Lakhs of heads of cattle have been slaughtered to feed the foreign armies and prisoners of war during the last few years. This has produced a serious shortage of milk. The remedy for this is not to import milk powder but set right the supply of milch cattle by an energetic policy of selective cattle breeding. To meet the shortage in the supply of plough cattle our short-sighted governments are going in for tractors. A short term remedy may be availed of to relieve the immediate distress but the long range means are the main steps to meet the problem.

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## WEEKLY LETTER

## OUR HERITAGE

The prayer meetings have not been disturbed of late. The religious tolerance and the power to absorb and assimilate the good points of those it came in contact with, have been the special features of Hinduism and Hindu culture from ancient times. A correspondent, reading of Gandhiji's reference to *Allopanishad* in one of his prayer speeches, has sent him a manuscript copy. It consists of seven verses and is part of the *Atharvan* group. He has since received further printed copies. The senders have given the warning that it does not form part of the authorized collections.

Professor Jaichandra Vidyalkar wrote to Gandhiji of Rana Kumbha, who was the grandfather of Rana Sanga, who in his turn was the grandfather of the great Rana Pratap. Rana Kumbha was one of the earliest Hindu princes to rebel against the Muslim domination of India. He defeated the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat and erected a victory pillar in Chittore which is in existence even today. On the victory pillar along with names *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Mahesha* is the name *Allah* carved in bold Arabic letters.

The Professor tells of Sultan Jainubiddin of Kashmir, Rana Kumbha's contemporary, who used to accompany his Hindu subjects on pilgrimage. He renovated many Hindu *mandirs*, some of which are still in existence. Chhatrapati Shivaji and Maharaja Ranjit Singh honoured Islam, while they fought Muslim potentates.

The learned historian attributed the present communal bitterness to the wrong teaching of history in schools and took Gandhiji to task for neglecting this. Gandhiji recognized the force of the argument. He asked the audience including the objectors to take to heart the lesson of the information and not to discredit Hinduism by their misbehaviour.

## RETALIATION NOT TRUE BRAVERY

A correspondent wrote to Gandhiji that India was face to face with a *Devasur-sangram*. Time was over for altruistic flights of spirituality. Should he not follow the *neeti*, *shathe shathyam samacharet* (शठे शत्रवे समाचरेत्), or at least not interfere with or discourage those who believed in the wise maxim? Why should he be shocked by what Babu Purshottamdas Tandon had said in his speech with regard to self-defence?

Gandhiji replied that Babu Purshottamdas Tandon was his friend and co-worker. Differences with him did give him (Gandhiji) a shock. It merely proved that he was a frail human being. If he had become a *sthita pragnya* (steadfast one) he would be above delights or shocks. He was struggling to attain that state.

As for the correspondent's advice to give tit for tat, he had dealt with the question before. A good man was reproved for picking out of water a scorpion which stung him. His gentle but effective answer was that the scorpion had acted according to his nature, even as he, the *Sadhu*, had acted according to his. Man's innate nature was to be

invariably merciful. The advice to be silent about the operation of the law of the jungle was an invitation to be a hypocrite. He certainly had said and he would repeat that retaliation was better than cowardly submission. But he could not help adding that retaliation was no mark of true bravery and it never allayed animosity.

## RESIST THE VIVISECTION OF INDIA

A correspondent wrote to Gandhiji that he, who had proclaimed that the vivisection of India would mean a vivisection of himself, had weakened. The writer had also invited him to lead the opposition to the proposed division. He could not plead guilty to the taunt. When he made the statement he was voicing public opinion. But when public opinion was against him, was he to coerce it? The writer had also argued that he had often held that there was to be no compromise with untruth or evil. The assertion was correct. But the application must also be correct. He made bold to say that if only non-Muslim India was with him, he could show the way to undo the proposed partition. But he freely admitted that he had become or was rather considered a back number. We had forgotten the lesson we had learnt for the past thirty years. We had forgotten that untruth was to be conquered by truth and violence by non-violence, impatience by patience and heat by cold. We had begun to fear our own shadows. Many had invited him to head the opposition. But there was nothing in common between them and him except the opposition. The basis of his opposition seemed to be wholly different from that of the inviters. Could love and hate combine?

## WHY DOMINION STATUS?

Some people have criticized the acceptance of Dominion Status during the interim period. They went so far as to say that the drama of independence was finished once for all. The present Viceroy was more dangerous than his predecessors who dangled before them the naked sword. He had tricked the Congress into submission by his persuasive powers. Gandhiji said that the correspondent had paid a high, though unintended, compliment to the Viceroy and at the same time belittled the intellectual capacity of the Congress Ministers. Why could not the writer see the obvious? The country, i. e., the vocal part of it was with them. They were no fools. They disliked dismemberment of India as much as any other. But they were the people's representatives in power. If the writer was in power, things might not have been different. In any case, it was not dignified to swear at the Viceroy if the leaders were ill-chosen or if the people were not true to the country. 'As the king so the people' was less true than 'As the people so the king.'

If the British were to quit by August 15th next instead of by June 1948, they had to hand over power in some way. That was the way of Dominion Status. Indians could discard Dominion Status as soon as they were ready with their own constitution. And if they themselves weakened and wanted to continue the Dominion Status, there was no point in blaming the British. That would be cowardliness.



## UNITED BENGAL

Gandhiji has been receiving angry protests against what he has said about the movement for a united Bengal. He has been asked to disclose the names of his informants and hold a public enquiry. If the informants were wrong, they should be punished. If they were right, those who had accepted bribes should be punished. Gandhiji's reply was that the protests were uncalled for. If the cap did not fit any head, there was nothing to worry about. And who was he, a private individual, to punish anybody? That was the function of the law. The only effective sanction was an enlightened public opinion as Tolstoy used to say. The distinguished soldier and, later on, pacifist held that public opinion was a much more potent instrument than war or strife. The speaker called this non-violence. The great Mr. Churchill had won the war for England. He was a scholar and a fine orator. But public opinion had dethroned him. In India, too, if public opinion was awake and strong, no one could do anything in opposition to it. Creation of effective public opinion depended on the cultivation of true courage born of truthfulness and non-violence.

In the same connection another correspondent rebuked him for giving credit to any statement however false, malicious, stupid and unfounded it might be, if it came from those in whom he had confidence. Gandhiji replied that he had done a good turn to his friends and even those who might consider themselves his enemies by scotching the rumour if it was false, especially when he was himself accused of lending assistance to corrupt practices. He willingly pleaded guilty to the charge of wanting a united Bengal. He would not mind standing alone in defence of such unity, if it could be preserved with dignity, honesty and willingness on both sides. For him it was no political game or bargain. What he wanted was a heart-unity. And although the provincial League had turned down the proposition, he made bold to say that it was possible for the Muslims of Bengal to give an assurance accompanied by tangible action that the Hindus had nothing to fear from the Muslim majority and there would be no partition. Unfortunately the omens appeared to be the contrary.

## TWO NATIONS?

The division of India, said Gandhiji, was now a certainty so far as man could see. He asked them not to grieve over it. He had never believed in Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's two nations theory and never would. Change of religion could never change nationality. He was as much of *Pakistan* as of *Hindustan*. If they acted in like manner, Jinnah Saheb would not be able to prove his theory in spite of the geographical division of India.

Jinnah Saheb had rebuked his followers for calling him *Shahanshah-e-Pakistan* and he had said that in Pakistan the minorities would get a square deal. If he lived up to what he had said, things would go right. Having got what they wanted, they were expected to live in peace with their non-Muslim fellow countrymen. In Pakistan they had to assure religious freedom and equal rights for all

Why should the Hindus in Sind for instance be unable to live there in peace and security? If a single Hindu left Sind, the Muslims should plead with him and welcome him back. To the Hindus he would say that they should shed all fear. No one could force them to change their religion or status.

To the Hindus in the Hindu majority areas he would say that they should do the right thing irrespective of what the Muslims did. Thus only they would be able to disprove Jinnah Saheb's two nations theory.

## MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

Gandhiji had a visit from some non-Muslims from severely stricken Rawalpindi. Naturally he enquired of them whether, now that Pakistan was almost a settled fact, there was any difference for the better in the behaviour of the Muslims round them. He was startled to be informed that the difference was undoubtedly there, but for the worse.

How happy he would be if he could be told truly that the information was coloured or that it was wholly wrong and that the fact was that the Muslims were going out of their way to fraternize with the Hindus, the Sikhs and the other non-Muslims!

Some friends from Campbellpore came and wanted to know whether they could live with safety in Campbellpore. Gandhiji hoped that he had no fear of any man, much less of Pakistan, for he feared only God. Therefore, he had no hesitation in saying to them that they should have no fear about their own safety because the area which they occupied was to be part of Pakistan. His assurance, however, could not produce much or any effect on them. They were frightened like most of the other non-Muslims who had to be in Pakistan. In reality, therefore, it was not he but Jinnah Saheb and other Muslim leaders of the League who had to give convincing assurances to all the frightened non-Muslims and dispel their fears.

## N. W. F. P.

Gandhiji suggested that the Qaid-e-Azam should lay all his cards on the table so that the world could see what he meant by Muslim majority rule, otherwise called Pakistan.

There was a talk of referendum in N. W. F. P. He would suggest to Jinnah Saheb that he should meet the Frontier Ministers and Badshah Khan as also his *Khudai Khidmatgars* and tell them why they should be in Pakistan. If the terms were attractive, he would have no hesitation in advising his Frontier friends to be part of Pakistan and thus avoid conflict between Pathan and Pathan and keep their Pathanistan intact in a federation of the majority Muslim States. Surely it was not proper to divide the Pathans by a referendum into two parties.

## SCRAP OF PAPER

It was open to the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs and all the other communities even now to come together and treat the Viceregal document of 3rd June as a scrap of paper in so far as further steps were concerned. It did nothing but register an agreement between the Congress and the League. It was an agreement which neither party liked. The Congress



spokesmen had made it clear that they could not be willing partners in any division of India. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah did not show enthusiasm about the agreement in as much as Bengal and the Punjab were to be partitioned. In whatever direction he looked, the only way he could see through the surrounding darkness was that all the parties should come together and evolve a concerted plan so as to prevent further friction and further bloodshed.

New Delhi, 15-6-'47

S. N.

## A WORLD MENACE?

Every act of ours affects our neighbours either for their welfare or to their detriment. The economic organization of one country affects another and upsets the peace of the world if the equilibrium is not maintained by a proper calculation of the use of natural resources. The more we rely on an economy that is centred round current resources such as animal power, wood materials and other things which are capable of being produced by man or nature in unlimited quantities, the more permanent our economy will be. The more we base our economy on nature's reservoirs such as coal, oil, etc., the more likely are we to come into conflict with our neighbours as and when these resources run short.

England was at one time on a current economy with the horse power as its central motive force. The horse provided transport, and power for raising water and ploughing the land. With the advent of steam machinery coal came into vogue. This brought England into a reservoir-centred economy which moved towards violence as the stock of coal began to be depleted. In the meanwhile the U. S. A. came into the field with its tremendous resources of oil fields. England switched over from coal on to oil as the better method of obtaining its power. With the exhaustion of the oil fields by the demands made on them during the last two global wars, nations are prospecting further reservoirs all the world over. At the present time the peace of the nations of the world is poised on the possibility of obtaining oil from other parts of the world. Russia, Great Britain and the U. S. A. are eager bidders for the oil of Borneo, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia etc. On their settlement depends the welfare of the world.

India's has been a cow-centred economy and now with the talk of industrialization we are rapidly gravitating to a reservoir-economy based on petrol which is not one of our natural resources. Indian air lines are said to fly every day distances equal to the equator of the world. Last year over sixty million passenger-miles were flown. It is expected to double this in the course of the current year. India has over four hundred air-crafts on her field register and a big construction programme is well in hand. Some of the finest international aerodromes are being constructed at Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay and the promoters of air lines hope to operate international air services. When one hears of all this much-vaunted "advance and progress" one

trembles to think of what the consequences will be to the world.

At the Labour Party Conference at Margate, Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, is said to have stated that "the peace of the world, for many years to come, will depend to a very large extent on the solution of the Indian problem." And later referring to industrial needs of India he added, "India is dependent upon this oil (Middle East oil resources) as much as we are. As India is going into industrialization, it will become more and more vital that these resources should be maintained."

This indicates the menace that India may easily become to world peace if our present pace and direction towards industrialization is maintained. If India is to contribute to world peace, we have to take care of the methods we adopt. If our methods are such and if our daily life requires the exploitation of our fellow beings, ultimately we shall also follow the example set by Great Britain and America in their efforts to control their natural resources for their own ends. A proper consideration will call for a certain amount of reserve, self-control and discipline. These may have the effect of apparently retarding our "progress". But such control will be exercised in the interest of world peace. Are we prepared to regulate our economic life with this consideration of the welfare of all peoples as the centre around which all countries should organize themselves and if need be make the necessary sacrifices?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## Blood Money

A news item informs us jubilantly that up to the end of May, India has received as part of her share of reparations eleven German industrial plants valued at about Rs. 1½ crores. This is the result of the Paris Conference.

Will this lead to building up goodwill among the German people or will it assign India a place on the side of the atom-bomb-owning imperialists?

We understand that India has put in a claim for 18 per cent of the total number of items which may become available by way of reparation from Japan and our "technical missions" are going to Japan to "part the garments."

It is a tragedy that our springs of Swaraj should be polluted at the start with such "good neighbourly" acts.

J. C. K.

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