

HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : PYARELAL

VOL. XI. No. 36

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1947

TWO ANNAS

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 21-9-'47

OBJECTOR HONOURED

As one person in the audience objected to the *Al Fateha* being recited, prayers were not held on the Birla House lawn. Gandhiji, however, addressed the audience. He said that he was not going to argue with the objector. He realized the anger that raged in people's hearts today. The atmosphere was so surcharged that he thought it right to respect even one objector, but this by no means meant that he gave up God or His worship in his heart. Prayer demanded a pure atmosphere. One thing that everyone should take to heart from such objections was that those who were anxious to serve must have endless patience and tolerance. One must never seek to impose one's views on others.

TREE WITHOUT FRUIT WITHERS

Gandhiji went on to relate how he had been with Shri Indira Gandhi to a locality where there were large numbers of Hindus living next door to a large number of Muslims. The Hindus greeted him with *Mahatma Gandhiki jai*, but they little knew that today there could be no victory for him nor did he wish to live if the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs could not live at peace with one another. He was doing his level best to drive home the truth that there was strength in unity and weakness in disunion. Just as a tree that did not bear fruit withered, so also would his body be useless if his service could not bear the expected fruit. Whilst this was true, it was equally true that one was bound to work without attachment to fruit. Detachment was more fruitful than attachment. He was merely explaining the logic of facts. A body that had outlived its usefulness would perish giving place to a new one. The soul was imperishable and continued to take on new forms for working out its salvation through acts of service.

STICK TO YOUR HOMES

Coming to the meeting with the Muslims in that area, Gandhiji said that he advised them to stick to their homes although they might be molested by their Hindu neighbours even unto death. If they had not that wisdom, they were free to shift in order to avoid death. If they could follow his advice, they would serve both Islam and India. Those Hindus and Sikhs who molested them would discredit their religion and do irreparable harm to India. It was sheer madness to think that four crores and a half could be wiped out or banished to Pakistan. Some persons had suggested that he (Gandhiji) wished to do so. He never had any

wish that the Muslim refugees should be reinstated through the police and the military. What, however, he did hold was that when the Hindu and the Sikh anger had subsided, they themselves would bring back the refugees with honour. He did, however, expect the Government to hold the vacated houses in good order and in trust for the evacuees.

WHEN SHOULD GOVERNMENT RESIGN ?

If the Government had not that power, i. e., if the people would not let the Government do the right thing, he would advise them to resign in favour of those who would carry out the mad design to kill out or banish all Muslims from India. He had seen such a suggestion seriously made by a newspaper. This was an advice to commit national suicide and to uproot Hinduism. He wondered if such a newspaper should exist in free India. Was liberty of the Press to amount to license to poison the public mind? People who wanted such a policy to be pursued should ask for the resignation of their Government. The world which, up till now, had looked up to India would certainly cease to do so. In any event, so long as he had breath in his body, he would continue to advise against such utter madness.

Birla House, New Delhi, 22-9-'47

THE DUTY OF OBJECTORS

Though I believe that I was wise in having yielded to a solitary objector and refrained from holding public prayer, it is not improper to examine the incident a little more fully. The prayer was public only in the sense that no member of the public was debarred from attending it. It was on private premises. Propriety required that those only should attend who believed whole-heartedly in the prayer including verses from the *Quran*. Indeed the rule should be applicable to prayer held even on public grounds. A prayer meeting is not a debating assembly. It is possible to conceive prayer meetings of many communities on the same plot of land. Decency requires that those who are opposed to particular prayers would abstain from attending the meetings they object to. The reverse would make any meeting impossible without disturbance. Freedom of worship, even of public speech, would become a farce if interference became the order of the day. In decent society the exercise of this elementary right should not need the protection of the bayonet. It should command universal acceptance.

HEALTHY TOLERANCE

I have noticed with great joy at the annual sessions of the Congress on its exhibition grounds

several meetings held by religious sects or political parties holding their gatherings, expressing divergent and often diametrically opposite views without molestation and without any assistance from the police. There have been departures from this fundamental rule and they have excited public condemnation. Where is that spirit of healthy toleration gone now? Is it because having gained our political freedom, we are testing it by abusing it? Let us hope it is only a passing phase in the nation's life.

Let me not be told, as I have often been, that it is all due to the misdeeds of the Muslim League. Assuming the truth of the remark, is our toleration made of such poor stuff that it must yield under some uncommon strain? Decency and toleration to be of value must be capable of standing the severest strain. If they cannot, it will be a sad day for India. Let us not make it easy for our critics (we have many) to say that we did not deserve liberty. Many arguments come to my mind in answer to such critics. But they give poor comfort. It hurts my pride as a lover of India, of the teeming millions, that our tolerant and combined culture should not be self-evident.

IF INDIA FAILS

If India fails, Asia dies. It has been aptly called the nursery of many blended cultures and civilizations. Let India be and remain the hope of all the exploited races of the earth, whether in Asia, Africa or in any part of the world.

UNLICENSED ARMS

This brings me to the bugbear of 'unlicensed, hidden arms. Some have undoubtedly been found. Dribbles have been coming to me voluntarily. Let them be unearthed by all means. So far as I know, the haul made up-to-date is not much to speak of for Delhi. Hidden arms used to be possessed even during the British regime. No one worried then. By all means explode all the hidden magazines, when you have made sure beyond doubt that they are hidden in a particular place. Let there be no repetition of much cry and little wool. Nor let us apply one code to the British and set up another for ourselves when we profess to be politically free. Let us not call a dog a bad name in order to beat him. After all is said and done, to be worthy of the liberty we have won after sixty years of toil, let us bravely face all the difficulties that confront us, however hard they may be. Facing them squarely will make us fitter and nobler.

THE DUTY OF THE MAJORITY

Surely, it is cowardly on the part of the majority to kill or banish the minority for fear that they will all be traitors. Scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities well becomes a majority. Disregard of them makes of a majority a laughing stock. Robust faith in oneself and brave trust of the opponent, so-called or real, is the best safeguard. Therefore, I plead with all the earnestness at my command that all the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims in Delhi should meet together in friendly embrace and set a noble example to the rest of India, shall I say, to the world? Delhi should forget

what other parts of India have done or are doing. Then only will it claim the proud privilege of having broken the vicious circle of private revenge and retaliation. They belong, if they ever do, to the State, never to the citizens as individuals.

Birla House, New Delhi, 23-9-'47

PUBLIC CONFESSION

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji referred to the apology which Shri-Manu Gandhi and Abha Gandhi had read out on the previous day. While they were singing the *bhajan* during the prayers on Sunday evening, they went out of tune and as a result could not suppress their laughter. It hurt him deeply. It showed that the girls did not realize the importance of prayer. They apologized to Gandhiji afterwards. Apology was unnecessary for he had no anger against them. He was angry with himself that though the girls were brought up under him, he had not impressed them with the necessity of losing themselves in God whilst they were at prayer. He was somewhat relieved when the girls repented. He advised public confession. They gladly accepted the advice. For, he believed that public confession made in sincerity purified the confessor and protected him or her against repetition of the wrong.

GEMS OF WISDOM

Recalling the objection to the recitation from the *Quran*, he said that they were entitled to resent the treatment of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. But that should not make them resent recitation from the *Quran*. The *Gita*, the *Quran*, the Bible, the *Granth Saheb* and the *Zend Avasta* contained gems of wisdom although the followers might belie their teachings.

THE ART OF DYING BRAVELY

Turning to the day's work, Gandhiji said that he had seen a deputation of the Hindus and the Sikhs from Rawalpindi as also from Dera Gazi Khan. The Hindus and the Sikhs had made Rawalpindi what it was. They were all well off there. Today they were refugees without shelter. It hurt him deeply. Who had made modern Lahore as it was if not the Hindus and the Sikhs? They were exiles from their own lands. Similarly, the Muslims had not a little to do with the making of Delhi. Thus all communities had worked together to make India what it was on the 15th of August last. The speaker had no doubt that the Pakistan authorities should assure full protection to the remaining Hindus and Sikhs in every part of Pakistan. It was equally the duty of the two governments to demand such protection for their minorities. He was told that there were still left over 18,000 Hindus and Sikhs in Rawalpindi and 30,000 in the Wah Camp. He would repeat his advice that they should all be prepared to die to a man rather than leave their homes. The art of dying bravely and with honour did not need any special training, save a living faith in God. Then there would be no abductions and no forcible conversions. He knew that they were anxious that he should go to the Punjab at the earliest moment. He wanted to do so. But if he failed in Delhi, it was impossible for him to succeed in Pakistan. For,

he wanted to go to all the parts and provinces of Pakistan under the protection of no escort save God. He would go as a friend of the Muslims as of others. His life would be at their disposal. He hoped that he would cheerfully die at the hands of anyone who chose to take his life. Then he would have done as he advised all to do.

HOUSES FOR THE REFUGEES

The refugees had also asked him for houses. He told them that there was the land and the canopy of the sky above their heads. They should be content with such accommodation rather than inhabit the houses forcibly vacated by the Muslims. If they would all work, they could within a day put up necessary shelters. What was more, they could then assuage the anger of the refugees and bring about an atmosphere that would enable him to go to the Punjab at once.

Birla House, New Delhi, 24-9-'47

THE FRAIL BOAT OF INDIA

Making the *bhajan* sung at the prayers the theme of his post-prayer discourse, Gandhiji said that the refrain of the *bhajan* aptly described the condition of India today. In it the poet invoked God's help to take his frail boat across the ocean.

GIVE THE GOVERNMENTS A CHANCE

Today, the spirit of revenge and retaliation filled the atmosphere. The Hindus and the Sikhs in Delhi did not want the Muslims there. If they had been driven away from Pakistan, why should the Muslims have a place in the Indian Union, or, in Delhi at least, they argued. It was the Muslim League that had thrown out the gauntlet. Gandhiji agreed that the Muslim League had been wrong to have raised the slogan of '*larkar lenge Pakistan*'. Gandhiji had never believed that such a thing could happen. In fact they could not have succeeded in partitioning the country through force. If the Congress and the British had not agreed, there would be no Pakistan today. Nobody could now go back upon it. The Muslims of Pakistan were entitled to it. Let them for a moment see how they had got independence. The principal fighter was the Congress. The weapon was passive resistance. The British had yielded to India's passive resistance and retired. To undo Pakistan by force would be to undo Swaraj. India had two governments. It was the duty of the citizens to allow the two governments to fight out among themselves. The daily toll of lives was a criminal waste which did nobody any good and did infinite harm.

If the people became lawless and fought among themselves, they would prove that they were unable to digest freedom. If one dominion behaved correctly all along the line, it will force the other to do likewise. It will have the whole world behind it. Surely, they would not like to rewrite Congress history and make the Union a Hindu State in which people of other faiths had no place. He hoped that they would not stultify themselves.

JUNAGADH

Let them contemplate what was going on in Junagadh. Was there to be a war between Junagadh

(Continued on p. 361)

KASTURBA TRUST WORKERS AT WAH CAMP

During the four weeks of my stay at the Wah Camp near Rawalpindi I stayed with the batch of Kasturba Trust girls who had been working in the Camp almost from the beginning. Shrimati Vidyavatiji of Sialkot who is affectionately called 'Didi' by all, young and old, had been running a Training Camp of *Gram Sevikas* at Shahadara. She visited the Wah Camp and the riot-affected areas of Rawalpindi soon after the holocaust in March last along with Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru. The scenes that she saw and the tales that she heard gave her a rude shock. She felt that as a Punjabi and as a social worker it was her foremost duty to serve the stricken people of Rawalpindi. With extraordinary drive and persistence, she overcame all obstacles and succeeded in securing permission to come and work in the Wah Camp with a batch of six, five of whom were the Kasturba trainees and the sixth a teacher, Shrimati Krishna Punja of Sialkot. They were rendering most valuable service in the Camp and had naturally become most popular. The hospital at the Wah Camp had a daily average of nearly 150 indoor patients with inadequate nursing arrangements. Prolonged under-nutrition and defective diet had resulted in a high incidence of illness among the refugees. The batch of Kasturba Trust workers rendered valuable help to the medical staff in nursing and distributing fruits and milk to the specified patients fairly and impartially. Outside the hospital they worked the whole day long, to distribute the relief materials fairly. The question of distribution becomes very difficult when there is not enough to satisfy all. It requires judgement and discretion and at the same time a lot of tact and patience. Didi was on her legs from 5 a. m. till 11 p. m. or later every day in spite of her frail health.

Didi had also organized a spinning class and two schools for girls. She had selected her teachers from amongst the refugees and had also selected and trained a batch from among the refugees to help in the hospital. She organized sewing of clothes for the children in the hospital and also washing and refilling of hospital mattresses which had become very dirty. Krishnaji was mostly in charge of distribution of relief materials and one of the doctors often teased her by saying that she was wasting her education and technical skill in distributing oil and soap and shoes and clothes from morn till night. She would laugh and go on with her work with infinite patience.

Besides all these services the Kasturba batch of workers set an example to the refugees in simplicity, industry and community life. It was selfless service of the best type. If the Trust could find a few more organizers like Shrimati Vidyadeviji, its work is bound to give satisfaction to Kasturba's soul.

New Delhi, 20-9-'47

S. N.

HARIJAN

October 5

1947

HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar writes :

"If the Muslims of the Indian Union affirm their loyalty to the Union, will they accept Hindustani as the national language and learn the *urdu* and *nagari* scripts? Unless you give your clear opinion on this, the work of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will become very difficult. Cannot Maulana Azad give his clear opinion on the subject?"

Kakasaheb says nothing new in his letter. But the subject has acquired added importance at the present juncture. If the Muslims in India own loyalty to India and have chosen to make it their home of their own free will, it is their duty to learn the two scripts. It is said that the Hindus have no place in Pakistan. So they migrate to the Indian Union. In the event of a war between the Union and Pakistan, the Muslims of the Indian Union should be prepared to fight against Pakistan. It is true that there should be no war between the two dominions. They have to live as friends or die as such. The two will have to work in close co-operation. In spite of being independent of each other, they will have many things in common. If they are enemies, they can have nothing in common. If there is genuine friendship, the people of both the States can be loyal to both. They are both members of the same commonwealth of nations. How can they become enemies of each other? But that discussion is unnecessary here.

The Union must have a common inter-provincial speech. I will go a step further and say that if the two States are friends, Hindustani should be the common speech between the two. This does not mean that Urdu and Hindi will cease to exist as distinct forms of speech. They must continue to live and progress. But, if the Hindus and the Muslims or rather people of all religions in India are friends, they must accept a common language evolved from Hindi and Urdu. They should learn the two scripts. This will be a test for the Muslims and the Hindus in the Indian Union.

It would be wrong to say that if the Muslims of the Union refuse to learn the *nagari* script, Hindustani cannot become the national language. Whether the Muslims learn the *nagari* script or not, the Hindus and the people of all other religions ought to learn the two scripts. It is possible that in view of the poisoned atmosphere of the day, people may not appreciate this simple proposition. If the Hindus wish to, they can boycott the *urdu* script and *urdu* words, but all will be the losers thereby. Therefore, those engaged in Hindustani Prachar should not weaken in their faith or efforts. I agree that people like Maulana Azad and other

prominent Muslims of the Indian Union should be the first ones to adopt Hindustani and the two scripts. Who will take the lead if not they? Difficult times lie ahead of us. May God guide us aright.

New Delhi, 27-9-'47

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

IMPLICATIONS OF FASTING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes :

"It seems to me that to put your life in jeopardy has become the final and natural remedy for you. Be that as it may, I cannot help thinking that the remedy is akin to keeping a patient alive by administering injections or oxygen to him."

The above reflection proceeds from pain due to affection. Nevertheless, I must say that the writer has not given much thought to his criticism. Many other well-wishers probably entertain the same hasty opinion. Hence this public discussion.

The critic's simile is inapplicable. Administration of injections or oxygen are outward remedies, calculated merely to prolong bodily existence. Therefore, they are properly described as of momentary value. Nothing will be lost if those remedies were not applied. A physical body cannot be made immortal. All that medical skill can do is to prolong the existence for a while. This temporary prolongation confers no lasting benefit.

On the other hand, fasting is never intended to affect another's body. It must affect his heart. Hence it is related to the soul. And in this sense the effect, such as it is, cannot be described as temporary. It is of a permanent character. Whether the fasting person is spiritually fit for the task and whether he has properly applied the remedy is a different matter, irrelevant to the present purpose.

Of all the fasts of which I have recollection, and of which of one only it can be said that though there was no fault in the conception, it was alloyed with external remedy with contra indication. Had this mistake not been made, I have no doubt that its natural, beneficial result would have flown from it as in the others. I refer to the fast I had undertaken in Rajkot against the late Thakore Saheb. I saw my mistake, retraced my step and averted a dangerous crisis. The last was in Calcutta in the current month of September. Admittedly, the result was, as it should have been. Having reference to the spirit, I regard it as permanent. Time alone would show whether the effect was of a lasting character or not. It must depend upon the purity of the fasting person and the accuracy of his perception. That enquiry would be irrelevant here. Moreover, the fasting man is not competent to undertake the enquiry. It can only be done by a properly equipped impartial person and that too after my death.

New Delhi, 25-9-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

A VISIT TO SARAN

II

DISTURBING QUESTIONS

Still the situation is not stable and the happening in Hasanpura shows that it still needs caution, lot of healthy propaganda, and a satisfactory solution to questions that are disturbing the mass mind today. During the various meetings that were held during my tour the following questions were almost invariably asked.

FUTURE OF MINORITIES

Q. Will the future of the Muslim minorities in the Indian Union be assured or will it depend upon the caprices of the Pakistan Government over which the Muslims of the Indian Union will have no control?

A. The future of the Hindus and the Muslims of the Indian Union is inescapably intertwined. It will be what we, the Hindus and the Muslims, make of it. Let us, therefore, understand the terrors of the dark alternative so that we may be able to avoid it.

SEEDS OF WAR

The present situation is by no means an easy one. In spite of all the wishes to the contrary one is constrained to admit that Pakistan continues to be the site of war. It is feared that Pakistan will not be economically self-sufficient. To keep the Pathans and Baluchis under control in the British way will make it economically still more impossible. The non-violent way the League has never accepted. Uncertainty will increase the burden of taxation on the masses. To face the consequence, is to resort to universal armament.

The key of the future lies with us independently of what Pakistan might do. And it is simply in our selfish interest to repay madness of Pakistan, in case it goes mad, with sanity by continuing to treat the minorities with fairness and justice, and we can thus become the arbiters of destiny instead of its victims.

The best protection of the minorities is the goodwill of the majority. This, however, does not mean that the minority should suppress the legitimate instincts. That can only lead to the moral degradation of both the majority and the minority. Therefore, the two should understand and respect each other's cultural and religious feeling, and be anxious to look for and be proud of their underlying unity. They must not plume themselves on their differences exaggerated out of all proportions. It is physically impossible to give effective protection to a pampered minority deliberately flouting the sentiments of the majority. If the minorities stand for and demand justice the majority should grant it in its own interest and the two should develop common links while sharing the responsibility of defending their common motherland. If, however, a certain section of the people, persists in owing allegiance to some other State, by all canons of international law, they can only ask for the consideration shown to an alien. As Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah has said, "One cannot have minorities disloyal to the State and sabotaging the State."

MASSES THINKING ANEW

Q. What are your impressions after the tour of the district?

A. Both in Noakhali and Bihar my impression is that the majority of the people are good. Only they are muddled by selfish leaders so-called. In my tour I felt that the masses are vaguely dissatisfied with these 'leaders'. There must be surely something wrong in the lead they gave, which resulted in the sad happenings.

POCKETS AND GUN LICENCES

Q. What is the use of our saying anything when the Congress Government has rejected our demand of pockets and gun licences, which we regard as the only means of securing our safety?

The latter demand, we were told, stood in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's *ahimsa*.

A. Leaving this non-violent point of view alone, if Gandhiji had felt that looking at the question from your point of view, they would lead to your security, he would have pleaded for their acceptance. But he knows that your congregating in pockets and arming yourselves can only lead to suspicion and arming of the other side which is much larger in numbers. Your safety lies in their friendship. You cannot have their friendship by pointing a pistol at them.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Q. You have said that no Government can afford protection against mass madness. In what way then can the safety of the minority be secured?

A. As I have already said, the safety of the minority depends upon the friendship of the majority, which can be based only on understanding and respecting each other's legitimate sentiments, and by friendly adjustments. Now that we have our own Government there must be close co-operation between the authorities and the public. The public should be continuously and carefully educated. This can be best done by dividing a big locality into small *Panchayat* areas. Small bodies working in small units in the direct vicinity of their own hearth and home for the protection of their own kith and kin will be better able to keep watch and be more inclined to undertake responsibility. In return for this responsibility the authorities will act on the advice of the *Panchayat* in arresting the *goonda* elements. The authorities and the public will gain considerably by direct contact, thus avoiding the corruption and the interested falsehood of the staff.

III

GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF THE BLAME

Q. Many of the *goondas* are still abroad. How can we say that the Government is serious in its intention to restore law and order?

A. I heard the same complaint in Noakhali. Without attempting to absolve the Government from its inescapable duty, demanded by justice and even self-interest, of arresting culprits, one must attempt to understand its difficulties created by the fear of the public to name the true culprits and by its implicating innocent people under the inspiration of political parties, who are bound to be bailed out or immediately released, leading to a further charge against the Government of conspiracy with the criminals.

Our officers again, and especially our lower officers, are not of the best stuff, having been recruited from undesirable strata of society or imbued with wrong psychology to suppress the national movement. The machinery of the Government too, is wooden, not easily adjustable to meet an emergency.

It must, however, be admitted that our Governments do not fully realize the emergency of the situation and the grave ultimate consequences of its slipshod handling. Else, they would have geared up the machinery anyhow to meet the situation as they did in the time of the last war. But it is one thing to say that the Government is not making an all-out effort because of faulty gauging of the situation, and another thing to accuse it of intentional neglect, even positive hostility to the solution of the problem which is implied in the question.

*COMPROMISING CASES

Q. Cases against a very large number of the population are pending, which is not conducive to the restoration of healthy relations. Would you not suggest their withdrawal?

A. There can be no question of the withdrawal of cases against those guilty of murder or offence against women except when the culprit makes a clean confession of his guilt as a mark of true repentance and the complainant forgives him. Otherwise, it should be the duty of the State to bring such culprits to book.

Cases against others should be withdrawn, both the communities wishing it. It is impossible to punish everyone involved in mass madness.

MUSLIMS AS FIFTH COLUMNISTS?

Q. What should we do if the Muslims act as fifth columnists in our midst?

A. You should make it impossible for them, by your actions, to act as such. Your affection and fair treatment will considerably reduce their number if right action does not altogether eradicate the evil.

HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?

Q. Will the future lingua franca be Hindi or Hindustani?

A. If we clear our vision of a sectarian outlook and look at the question scientifically, we will ourselves come to the conclusion that in our own interest we should keep the lingua franca of India as Hindustani, being neither *sanskritized* Hindi nor *persianized* Urdu, but a beautiful blend of the two and freely borrowing words from various Indian languages, and even foreign languages, for the sake of their meaning, music or association provided they harmonize with the general structure of our language, thus making it a varied and powerful instrument for the expression of the whole gamut of human thought and feeling. To restrict ourselves to Hindi or Urdu alone would be an offence against commonsense and nationalism. The English language is the richest in the world because it borrowed from all. If England could borrow from Italy, Greece, Germany etc., one fails to understand the hesitation to receive words from Persian or Arabic, the grammatical structure remaining untouched. And why should anybody fight shy of two scripts?

DUTY IN ELECTIONS

Q. What should we do if the Congress sets up worthless candidates?

A. If the Congress continues to set up worthless candidates in spite of protests, your plain duty is to resign the membership of the Congress and oppose it openly in the interest of the organization itself. But the sacred right of the individual to rebel must be exercised with the utmost caution, without any bitterness or selfish motive. Such a man, even when outside will continue to serve the Congress in all things in which he honestly agrees with it, as Gandhiji himself has been doing ever since his resignation from the Congress organization.

If party bosses do not take care of the great organization, it becomes the duty of the common man to shake it and rebuild it from below. The common man is our only hope. All those who can escape the love of glamour and power should go into the villages and awaken the masses into the consciousness of their power and responsibility.

Patna, 15-7-47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

We have been constantly pointing out that work is a medium of education. It is through work that man expresses himself and learns more about the environment and the science of what he is doing. When properly directed work should be the main channel through which a human being develops to his full stature. It is from this principle that the Talimi Sangh is developing its technique of education through a craft.

It follows from this that if work is not given in a fully balanced form, the development of the worker also will become eccentric or lop-sided. Evidence of this can be looked for in countries where large-scale industries have replaced handicrafts. The best illustration of such a state of affairs is to be found in the United States of America. In a volume of *Five-Minute Biographies* by Dale Carnegie the following observation appears (page 55):

"There are more patients suffering from mental diseases in the hospitals of America than from all other diseases combined. One student out of every 16 at school there today will spend part of his life in an insane asylum. If you are 15 years of age, the chances are 1 out of 20 that you will be confined in an institution for the mentally ill for 7 years of your life. During the last decade, mental diseases have almost doubled. If this appalling rate of increase continues for another century, half the entire population will be in the insane asylums and the other half will be outside trying to support them by taxes."

The truth of the above statement has been constantly vouched for by references to the state of affairs in the Health magazines, etc. The only trouble is that the writers rarely seek for the causes.

We hope, therefore, that when India is to be reconstructed, our planners will keep in mind the needs of the human being—body, mind and spirit—apart from the material needs of the animal man. Unless our plan is comprehensive of these various aspects of human development, our planning will be not only futile but derogatory to the progress of mankind.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

IS IT ASCETICISM?

The way of life advocated by Gandhiji is often attributed to the strain of the ascetic in him. Because of this the mode of life advocated stands discredited. If properly understood it would be seen that the need for simplicity is the basis of any economy aiming at permanence. During my recent visit to Europe nothing impressed me so much as the fact that the force of circumstances is driving the people of aristocratic England to simplify their lives willy-nilly.

Owing to Great Britain's dependence on the outside world for food, she is compelled to forego many imported consumer goods in favour of food and to pay for these, she is obliged to export cloth and other manufactured articles, even though these goods may be in short supply in Britain itself. As a result of this, one finds hardly any woman wearing stockings and I was amazed to find young men riding about, on bicycles in the streets of London in bathing slippers, with not a stitch of clothing above the waist. These are no followers of the Mahatma! And they wear less than he does. In the days of old, if any one attempted to go about in such stages of nudity, such a person would be promptly arrested as being indecently clad.

The high rates of wages prevailing have practically made it impossible to employ household servants. This situation combined with the scarcity of soap has made sending of clothes to be washed by laundries a luxury, open to but a few. Existing laundries will not undertake to wash a shirt under a fortnight. This situation leads those who want to be reasonably clean to wash their own clothes. Such are no *ashramites* devoted to a philosophy of self-sufficiency!

The shortage in food has led to heroic efforts to supplement the available supplies. In our own land, "heroic efforts" seem to dry up with the advertisements of the "grow more food campaign". But in Britain one sees every back yard, which not so long ago was littered with rubbish, turned into vegetable patches growing potatoes, cabbages, cauliflower, lettuce etc. The householder returns from work and rolling up his sleeve attends to his vegetable garden. Is this return to working on the land "putting the clock back"?

With all this the middle and working classes look well-fed and better clothed than they were ever before. Compared with their condition about three to four decades ago, they are definitely better off. Wars have certainly conduced towards a better distribution of wealth.

The Government subsidizes certain food articles needed by the general population to the extent of about fifty per cent and in some cases even higher. This programme has taken the business out of the hands of the blackmarketeer. Can our Government take a leaf out of this? Though the food is rationed, every one is ensured a balanced diet. May it not be that the rationing has, by controlling overeating and bad dieting, brought about the better health conditions of the people?

When we rationally simplify our lives to serve greater ends, we need not be fanatics or ascetics. London has been driven to the Gandhian mode of life by circumstances beyond its control. Is it not noble to anticipate such conditions and regulate our lives accordingly?

It is astounding to note the scarcity of ordinary consumption goods in Great Britain and Europe after strenuously attempting to produce goods and more goods by standardization and large scale production methods for over 150 years. With all that human effort if we can get only to where Europe is today, is it worthwhile India going the same insensate way of "industrialization"?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

NAI TALIM IN FREE INDIA

The whole nation was looking forward to August 15th with great expectations and thrilling enthusiasm as on that day India was to gain her long fought for freedom and independence. The universal rejoicing that swept like a strong gale over the whole country came as a surprise even to the leaders. The enthusiasm and vital energy released by the realization of freedom from foreign rule and power to shape the destiny of the nation, should be harnessed without delay into channels of constructive and creative efforts for the renaissance of all that is noble and great in the undying soul of the nation. Fortunately, Gandhiji had already given the lead to the country through the constructive programme which has been worked by various organizations with varying degrees of success.

In the nation-building programme education, particularly free education for the children of school-going age, 6 to 14, should have high priority. Praiseworthy efforts have been made to establish educational institutions that could inculcate the spirit of freedom, service and sacrifice. But all these efforts have achieved very little in the shape of free and independent personalities devoted to the service of the suffering, poverty-stricken masses in the villages. The chief reason for such a sad state of affairs was the political slavery of the nation.

Education is essentially a social process. A society that has the freedom to evolve and shape its own political, social and economic structure alone can impart a sound education with the noble ideals of freedom, service and sacrifice.

Today we are on the threshold of such a new era. We may confidently hope that a new life and a new inspiration will animate the education of the nation and qualified workers will devote their lives to this urgent and difficult task.

Ten years ago, Gandhiji with his far-sighted vision placed before the country an educational programme designed to meet the demands of a free nation. For instance, let us take one item of this new scheme of education called *Nai Talim*. According to Gandhiji, *Nai Talim* begins with *safai* (hygiene), personal and community.

Reports have come from villages around Sevagram, where *Nai Talim* began eight years ago, of the spontaneous organization of the entire village

population for cleaning the villages and removing rubbish and filth accumulated during many years. Such manual work was considered *infra dig* and held to be the vocation assigned by Providence to the depressed community of scavengers and sweepers. But through the self-respect and self-confidence that came with the realization of freedom, the people developed overnight a sanitary and social sense. The uncalculable forces of mass energy and effort released by the realization of genuine freedom with all the concomitant duties and responsibilities should be harnessed for spreading *Nai Talim* on a nation-wide scale. It is our hope that the provincial governments will embark on such a campaign for introducing *Nai Talim*, which alone can meet the crying needs of the nation and save the masses from the present standard of living which is far below human values of decency and dignity.

Sevagram, 17-9-'47 E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

HATRED LET LOOSE AT HIROSHIMA

[A British team went to Japan to report on the results of the atomic-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Dr. Bronowski, scientific member of that team, gave an account of his impressions in a B. B. C. broadcast published in *London Calling* of March 20, 1947 and summarized below. — V. G. D.]

The bomb exploded over the centre of the city (of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945), and completely destroyed in that instant all but the concrete buildings over a circle containing more than four square miles. . . . Within this circle remained the peak of the spectacular wake of the blast, leaning telegraph poles, sagging buildings, and more than a mile from the centre of damage, a whole park of trees each snapped near the ground. . . .

I have told you how deep is the impression which destruction . . . on this scale makes, . . . but so far what I have described is remarkable only in its scale. The damage is still of the same kind as that done by ordinary high-explosive bombs; it is merely enormously larger. As our mission calculated, it is blast damage on the scale which the toy town of Liliput in *Gulliver's Travels* would have suffered had there been exploded above it a bomb twice as large as the largest R. A. F. block-buster.

But there is to be seen . . . a new effect which ordinary bombs do not show. At the moment of explosion the atomic bomb releases energy in vast quantities. This great flash of energy radiates outwards on many wave-lengths: a great deal of it takes the form of visible light and ultra-violet light: that is why the flash appeared so enormously bright, and could (at least for a time) blind people who happened to look directly at it even from many miles away. Like the light from the sun, this . . . light carries heat and darkens the skin.

But unlike the sun, the bomb packs this great heat into something like a thousandth of a second. This time is too short to allow the resulting heat to be carried away from the skin or other exposed surfaces. As a result, it is possible for the skin of

a man two miles away to rise by 100 degrees Fahrenheit in a thousandth of a second; that is, to reach, in that instant, a temperature not far short of boiling water. . . .

This radiated heat certainly helped to start the fires in Hiroshima . . . but its most serious effect, was, of course, on people in the open: very many of them died from such flash burns—those near the centre, whose skin instantly turned black, died almost at once. . . .

There is a third effect, which is certainly the newest and the most serious of all—radio-activity.

. . . I have already spoken of the great flash of energy which is released at the moment of the explosion. Much of this energy is radiated on very short wave-lengths, shorter even than those of X-rays, and correspondingly more penetrating and more damaging to human beings.

This . . . radiation is called gamma rays. . . . (It) was almost instant and ended within a few seconds of the explosion; but it did not kill its victims instantly. . . . The damage which it does is to the bone marrow, where normally the cells in the blood-stream are replenished as the body uses them up. When the bone marrow is destroyed, the red and white cells already in the blood-stream and other cells go on functioning quite normally but they are not replaced. Consequently the victim does not even feel ill for a day or two, and rarely dies in less than a week—sometimes he survives for six or eight weeks.

But from the moment that he has been struck by the penetrating radio-active flash, he is almost certainly doomed. If appropriate treatment is not given, he will die from anaemia because his red blood-cells are not being replaced; he will die from slight infections which will not heal because his white blood-cells are not being replaced or from continuous haemorrhage because the platelets which thicken the blood are not being replaced.

No estimate can be made of the number of people killed by this flash of gamma rays. . . . Even at three-quarters of a mile, one out of every two people exposed to gamma rays ultimately died. Gamma rays were also responsible for the great aftermath of miscarriages; there were few live births . . . for two months and more after the explosion. . . . Gamma rays reduced the powers of reproduction of irradiated men and women. . . .

I have been telling you how people died; and you will ask how many died. At Nagasaki, the smaller city, where the bomb exploded away from the main centre of the population, nearly 40,000 people were killed. This is a great many more than were killed in all air raids on London. At Hiroshima one bomb killed about 80,000 people, far more than were killed by air raids throughout the war in the whole of England. In each city, of every four people who were half a mile from the centre of damage at the instant of the explosion three were killed; of every four people who were a mile from the centre of damage one was killed.

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 355)

on the one hand and almost all the other Kathiawad States on the other? If the rest of the Princes and the people truly combined, he had no doubt that Junagadh would not stand aloof from the other States of Kathiawad. For this the rule of law was absolutely essential.

Birla House, New Delhi, 25-9-'47

DUTY OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

Someone passed a slip to Gandhiji before the prayers started. In this he had stated that the Pakistan Government was driving away the Hindus and the Sikhs from Pakistan. Gandhiji advised the Indian Union Government to let the Muslims stay in the Indian Union as equal citizens. How could the Union Government bear this double burden?

Answering this question after prayers Gandhiji said that he did not propose that the Indian Union Government should ignore the ill treatment of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. They were bound to do their utmost to save them. But the answer was undoubtedly not that they were to drive away the Muslims and copy the reputed methods of Pakistan. Those who wished to go to Pakistan of their own free will should be safely conducted to the border. To ensure the safety of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan, was the duty of the Indian Union Government. But for that the Government should be given a free hand and should receive the full and sincere co-operation of every Indian. It was no co-operation for the citizen to take the law into his own hands. Our independence was a baby of one month and ten days. If they continued the mad career of retaliation, they would kill the baby even in its babyhood.

VICTORY OF DHARMA

Gandhiji narrated the story of the *Ramayana*. The uneven battle between the mighty Ravana and the exile Rama was won by the latter by strict adherence to *dharma*. If both sides indulged in lawlessness, who could point the finger against the other? The question of degree, or who started it, could not justify their behaviour.

PENALTY OF TREACHERY

They were brave men. They had stood up against the mighty British Empire. Why had they become weak today? The brave feared none but God. If the Muslims prove traitors, their treachery would kill them. It was the biggest offence in any State. No State could harbour traitors. But it was unbecoming to turn out men on suspicion.

DUTY OF THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY

He had heard that the military and the police were taking sides with the Hindus in the Indian Union and with the Muslims in Pakistan. It hurt him deeply to be told so. They could not usefully think of what they were capable of doing when they were under foreign masters. Today, they, including the British officers, were servants of the nation. They were expected to be above corruption or partiality.

To the people he appealed not to fear the police and the military. After all they were too few compared to the millions inhabiting their vast country. If the millions were correct in their conduct, the police and the military could not but act likewise.

HOW TO QUENCH THE FLAMES

Gandhiji told them of his meeting the Governor-General during the day. Later on he had met prominent workers and citizens of all the communities from Delhi and after that he attended the Working Committee meeting. Everywhere the same problem was discussed: how to quench the flames of hatred and revenge. It was for man to put forth his best effort; the result could then be confidently placed in the hands of God, who only helped those who helped themselves.

Birla House, New Delhi, 26-9-'47

Before the prayers started Gandhiji asked as usual whether anyone had any objection to his reciting the prayers including some verses from the *Quran*. A young man said that he should omit the recitation from the *Quran*. Gandhiji replied that he could not do that. But he was willing to omit the whole prayer. The audience said that they did not wish that and wanted the whole prayer. Thereupon, the objector became silent.

THE GRANTHA SAHEB

Gandhiji said that during the day he had a visit from some Sikh friends, followers of Baba Khadak Singh. They said that the present butchery was contrary to Sikh religion and in fact was inconsistent with any religion. One of them gave a striking verse from the *Grantha Saheb* wherein Guru Nanak says that God may be called by the name of Allah, Rahim and so on. The name did not matter if He was enshrined in their hearts. Guru Nanak's efforts like those of Kabir had been directed towards synthesizing the various religions. He had forgotten to bring the verse which he had got written down in order to share it with them. He would bring it the next day.

GANDHIJI'S AMBITION

Pandit Thakur Datt of Lahore had come to him and narrated his tale of woe. He wept as he was giving the narrative. He had felt forced to leave Lahore. He said that he believed in what Gandhiji had said about dying at one's place in Pakistan rather than be bullied out, but he had lacked the strength to follow that sound advice. He was willing to go back and face death. Gandhiji did not want him to do that. But he said that he wanted him and all the other Hindu and Sikh friends to help him in restoring real peace in Delhi. Then he would proceed to Western Pakistan with fresh strength. He would go to Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sheikhpora and other places in Western Punjab, he would go to N. W. F. P. and to Sind. He was the servant and well-wisher of all. He was sure no one would prevent him from going anywhere. And he would not go with a military escort. He would put his life in the hands of the people. He would not rest till every Hindu and Sikh who had

been driven away from Pakistan returned to his home with honour and dignity.

A MATTER OF SHAME

Pandit Thakur Datt was a well-known *vaidya*. He had a large number of Muslims as his patients and friends whom he treated free of charge. It was a shame that he should have had to leave Lahore. In the same way, Hakim Ajmal Khan had served Hindus and Muslims alike in Delhi. He had started the Tibbia College, which was opened by Gandhiji. It would be a shame if the descendants of Hakim Ajmal Khan should have to quit Delhi and the Tibbia College. All Muslims could not be traitors. Those who proved traitors would be dealt with severely by the Government.

INJUSTICE MUST NOT BE TOLERATED

He had been an opponent of all warfare. But if there was no other way of securing justice from Pakistan, if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error and continued to minimize it, the Indian Union Government would have to go to war against it. War was not a joke. No one wanted war. That way lay destruction. But he could never advise anyone to put up with injustice. If all the Hindus were annihilated for a just cause, he would not mind it. If there was a war, the Hindus in Pakistan could not be fifth columnists there. No one would tolerate that. If their loyalty lay not with Pakistan, they should leave it. Similarly, the Muslims whose loyalty was with Pakistan should not stay in the Indian Union. To secure justice for the Hindus and the Sikhs was the function of the Government. The people could make the Government do their will. As for Gandhiji himself, his way was different. He worshipped God, which was Truth and *Ahimsa*.

HINDUS ALONE CAN DESTROY HINDUISM

There was a time when India listened to him. Today he was a back-number. He was told he had no place in the new order, where they wanted machines, navy, air force and what not. He could never be a party to that. If they could have the courage to say that they would retain freedom with the help of the same force with which they had won it, he was their man. His physical incapacity and his depression would vanish in a moment. The Muslims were reported to have said *hans ke liya Pakistan, larke lenge Hindustan*. If he had his way, he would never let them have it by force of arms. Some dreamt of converting the whole of India to Islam. That never would happen through war. Pakistan could never destroy Hinduism. The Hindus alone could destroy themselves and their faith. Similarly, if Islam was destroyed, it would be destroyed by the Muslims in Pakistan, not by the Hindus in Hindustan.

TRUTH ALONE IS VICTORIOUS

Referring to the question asked by a member of the audience at the end of the prayers the day before Gandhiji said that the friend had asked him to work a miracle and save India and the Hindus and the Sikhs if he was really a *mahatma*. Gandhiji had never claimed to be a *mahatma*. He was an

ordinary human being like any one of them, except that he was much frailer. The only difference in his favour might be that his faith in God was perhaps stronger than theirs. If all Indians—Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Muslims and Christians were prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of India, India could never come to harm. He wanted them to remember what the *rishis* had said: *satyameva jayate nanrutam* (सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्). Truth alone is victorious, never falsehood.

Birla House, New Delhi, 27-9-'47

RAMA, THE SUPREME PHYSICIAN

Gandhiji referred to the newspaper paragraph about his illness. It had appeared, he said, without his knowledge and it had hurt him. The illness was not such as to interrupt his work and he was already feeling better. It should not have been given so much importance. Dr. Dinshah Mehta had been described as his personal physician. That was wrong. He had told Gandhiji that he was not responsible for the description. Dr. Dinshah had come to him at his call, but it was not to attend on him as a physician. He had come because he was troubled by spiritual questions. Dr. Mehta was a Nature Cure man. He was Gandhiji's friend who had often helped him. But Gandhiji did not need his assistance as such.

Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Gilder and the Late Dr. Ansari had been his personal physicians. But none of them had ever given anything to the press without first showing it to him. Today, his only physician was his Rama. As the *bhajan* sung during the prayers had said, He was the curer for all ills, physical, mental and moral. This realization in a concrete form had come to him during his contemplation with Dr. Dinshah Mehta of Nature Cure. In it *Ramanama* in his opinion had the first place. He who had Rama installed in the heart required no other aid. Even earth and water treatment was unnecessary for one possessed by Rama. That was the advice he gave to others in need. It would ill become him if he followed any other course.

There were great *hakims*, *vaidyas* and doctors who had served humanity for the sake of service. There had been the great Dr. Joshi in Delhi who had served the Hindus and the Muslims, rich and poor all alike. He served the poor free and even gave them food and money for return fare. But having gained the knowledge that he had, he wanted to fall back upon none but God.

GRANTH SAHEB RECALLED

Then Gandhiji read the verse from the *Granth Saheb* to which he had referred the previous evening. It was Guru Arjun Dev's composition but like so many *bhajans* in the Hindu scriptures, the followers of the saints, even while they wrote the verses themselves, often attributed them to their *gurus*. The verse affirms that man calls God by many names—Rama, Khuda etc. Some go on a pilgrimage and bathe in the sacred river, others go to Mecca; some worship Him in temples, others in mosques, some just bow their heads in reverence; some read

the *Vedas*, others the *Quran*; some dress in blue, others in white; some call themselves Hindus, others Muslims. Nanak says that he who truly follows God's law, knows His secret. This teaching was universal in Hinduism. It was difficult, therefore, to understand the madness that wanted to turn four and a half crores of Muslims out of India.

WAS IT A BLUNDER ?

The speaker then referred to a letter from an Arya Samajist friend who said that while the Congress had already committed three blunders, they were now committing a fourth one of the highest magnitude. This lay in their desire to reinstate the Muslims in Hindustan side by side with the Hindus and Sikhs. Gandhiji said that while he was not speaking for the Congress he dared to say that he himself was perfectly prepared to commit the supposed blunder referred to by the correspondent. Supposing Pakistan had gone mad, were they to do likewise ? That indeed would be a blunder and a crime of the first magnitude. He was sure that when the insanity had died down, they would realize that he was right and they were wrong.

MONSTROUS INTOLERANCE AND INTERFERENCE

Gandhiji then referred with regret to what he had heard from the Rajkumari. She was now in charge of the Health portfolio. She was a Christian and on that account claimed to be a Sikh and a Hindu as well. She tried to look after the welfare of all the camps whether they were Muslim or Hindu. She collected a band of Christian girls and men to serve the Muslim camps. Now, some angry and senseless persons were threatening the Christians and many of them had left their homes. This was monstrous. He was glad to learn from the Rajkumari that in one place the Hindus had guaranteed protection to the poor Christians and he hoped that they would all soon be able to return to their homes in peace and be allowed to carry on their service to sick and suffering humanity without any molestation.

HAD HIS FAITH WEAKENED ?

Newspapers had displayed his remarks about war in such a way that there was an enquiry from Calcutta whether he had really begun to advocate war. He was wedded to non-violence for all time and could never advocate war. In a State run by him there would be no police and no military. But he was not running the Government of the Indian Union. He had merely pointed out the various possibilities. India and Pakistan should settle their differences by mutual consultations and failing that fall back upon arbitration. But if one party persisted in wrong doing and would accept neither of the two ways mentioned above, the only way left open was that of war. They should know the circumstances that prompted his remark. In almost all his prayer speeches in Delhi, he had to tell the people not to take the law into their own hands, but let their Government secure justice for them. He put before them the logical steps which excluded lynch law. The latter would make decent government impossible.

That did not mean that his faith in non-violence had weakened in the least degree.

Birla House, New Delhi, 28-9-'47

MR. CHURCHILL'S INDISCRETION

This evening there was a larger audience than usual. Gandhiji asked if there was any one who objected to the prayer with the special verses from the *Holy Quran*. Two members of the audience raised their hands in protest and Gandhiji said he would respect their objection although he knew that it would be a sore disappointment to the rest of the audience. However, he told the objectors that although, as a firm believer in non-violence, he could not do otherwise, he could not help remarking that it was highly improper for them to flout the wishes of the very big majority against them. They should realize from the remarks that were to follow that the intolerance that the objectors were betrayed into was a symptom of the distemper which was visible in the country and which had prompted the very bitter remarks from Mr. Winston Churchill. The speaker then paraphrased in his Hindustani speech the following summary cabled by Reuter which had appeared in the morning papers :

"Mr. Churchill declared in a speech here tonight that the fearful massacres which were occurring in India were no surprise to him.

'We are, of course, only at the beginning of these horrors and butcheries, perpetrated upon one another with the ferocity of cannibals by races gifted with capacities for the highest culture and who had for generations dwelt side by side in general peace under the broad, tolerant and impartial rule of the British Crown and Parliament,' he declared.

'I cannot but doubt that the future will witness a vast abridgement of the population throughout what has for 60 or 70 years been the most peaceful part of the world and that at the same time will come a retrogression of civilization throughout these enormous regions, constituting one of the most melancholy tragedies Asia has ever known.'"

They all knew that Mr. Churchill was himself a great man. He belonged to the blue blood of England. The Marlboroughs were famous in English history. He took the helm when Great Britain was in peril on the outbreak of the Second World War. He undoubtedly saved what was then the Empire from that peril. It would be wrong to argue that without America and the other allies, Great Britain would not have won the war. Who brought the powers together if it was not his energetic statesmanship ? After the war was won, the great nation whom he so brilliantly represented, whilst recognizing Mr. Churchill's services, did not hesitate to prefer a purely Labour Government for the purpose of reconstructing the British Isles which had had to pay a heavy toll of life and money. The British rose to the occasion, decided voluntarily to break the Empire and erect in its place an unseen and more glorious empire of hearts. The speaker

referred to the voluntary declaration of India, though broken into two parts, as willing members of the Commonwealth. This noble step was taken by the whole British nation, consisting of all parties. In this act Mr. Churchill and his party were partners. Whether the future would justify the step or not was a different matter, irrelevant to the speaker's thesis, which was that Mr. Churchill, being associated with the act of transformation, would be expected to say or do nothing that would diminish its virtue. Surely, there was nothing in modern history to be compared with the British withdrawal of power. He recalled the renunciation of Ashoka the Good, to see whom was to be the proud possessor of good fortune. But Ashoka was incomparable and did not belong to modern history. Gandhiji, therefore, was sorry to read the Reuter's summary of Mr. Churchill's speech which he presumed was not misinterpreted by the renowned agency. Mr. Churchill had rendered a disservice to the nation of which he was a great servant. If he knew the fate that would befall India after she became free from the British yoke, did he for a moment stop to think that the blame belonged to the builders of the Empire rather than to the "races" in his opinion "gifted with capacities for the highest culture"? Gandhiji suggested that Mr. Churchill was over-hasty in his sweeping generalization. India was composed of teeming millions in which a few lacs turned savages counted for little. He made bold to invite Mr. Churchill to come to India and study things for himself not as a partisan with preconceived notions but as an impartial honest Englishman who put honour before party and who was intent on making the British transaction a glorious success. Great Britain's unique action would be judged by results. Dismemberment of India constituted an unconscious invitation to the two parts to fight among themselves. The free grant of independence to the two parts as sister dominions seemed to taint the gift. It was useless to say that either dominion was free to secede from the British family of nations. It was easier said than done. He must not carry the argument further. He had said sufficient to show why Mr. Churchill had to be more circumspect than he had been. He had condemned his partners before he had studied the situation first hand. To the audience which listened to him, he would say, that many of the listeners had provided a handle to Mr. Churchill. It was not too late to mend their manners and falsify Mr. Churchill's forebodings. He knew that his was a voice in the wilderness. If it was not and if it had the potency which it had before the talks of independence began, he knew that nothing of the savagery described with so much relish and magnified by Mr. Churchill would ever have happened and they would have been on a fair way to solving their economic and other domestic difficulties.

GOVERNMENT RESEARCHES FOR WHOM ?

The Central Government has taken out patents for :

1. Production of gum taminda as suitable substitute for gum tragacanth or carob seed gum from tamarind seed,
2. Production of suitable sizing material for the cotton and jute yarns in the textiles industry,
3. Production of creaming agent for concentration of rubber latex from tamarind kernel powder, as a result of investigations carried out at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Now they are willing to grant non-exclusive licences to all manufacturing firms who may be interested to exploit the above patents on certain terms.

We presume the researches were carried out at the expense of public money and, therefore, the public has a right to see that the results of such researches enrich the tax-payer. Hence, such patents as the Government may take out will be to safeguard private individuals taking advantage of knowledge obtained at public cost. It would seem to us, therefore, that the offer of non-exclusive licences to private individuals or firms to exploit these patents is wrong in principle.

We are not aware of the method of manufacture involved in these processes. If they have to be of use to the general public, the research workers should concentrate on methods that would be available to the crores of people. Tamarind seed is a commonly procurable raw-material and, therefore, utilization of this especially for the purposes indicated, should also be done by such processes as are within the reach of the millions. If the processes that have been obtained are such, then the Government should disseminate this knowledge widely and make available the benefits of the scientific information obtained to the remotest parts of the country. Broadcasting such information is the duty of the Government and not covering it up with a bushel from the reach of the people who have paid for this knowledge.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE

[Third enlarged Edition]

By Gandhiji

Price Rs. Three

Postage As. Seven

CONTENTS		PAGE
GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES	...	353
KASTURBA TRUST WORKERS AT WAH CAMP	... S. N.	355
HINDUSTANI	... M. K. GANDHI	356
IMPLICATIONS OF FASTING	... M. K. GANDHI	356
A VISIT TO SARAN (II, III)	DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR	357
LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIES AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT	J. C. KUMARAPPA	358
IS IT ASCETICISM ?	... J. C. KUMARAPPA	359
NAI TALIM IN FREE INDIA	E. W. ARYANAYAKAM	359
HATRED LET LOOSE AT HIROSHIMA	... V. G. D.	360
GOVERNMENT RESEARCHES FOR WHOM ?	... J. C. KUMARAPPA	364