

HARIJAN

Editor : PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Action in Inaction

A correspondent writes:

"In your article *Action in Inaction* you say that you have not reached that state. The sentence looks simple enough but I would like you to expand the meaning a little."

There is a stage in life when a man does not need even to proclaim his thoughts much less to show them by outward action. Mere thoughts act. They attain that power. Then it can be said of him that his seeming inaction constitutes his action. I must confess that I am far from that state. All I can say is that my striving is in that direction.

New Delhi, 16-10-'47

(Rendered from the original in Hindustani)

True Adult Education

Of all the numerous letters and telegrams received for the Charkha Jayanti, a letter in Hindustani received from the Indore Adult Education Association most arrested my attention. The purport of it is that the Association in question instead of wasting time in performing some flattering function, devoted the *jayanti* week to doing urgent and useful work, i. e., young and old, rich and poor, official and non-official banded together in destroying a noxious weed harmful to man and beast. If such co-operation became the abiding feature of any locality, it would constitute the best education for young and old and change the face of the society in which it was done.

New Delhi, 18-10-'47

Seasonable Quotations

From among letters and telegrams received during my little fast in Calcutta in September last, I kept the following for the *Harijan*. It is from Prof. Horace Alexander.

"This morning's news from Calcutta fills us all with grief; but we must not despair. God has shown us during this past fortnight what can happen to those who have faith in Him. The devil trips us up again, but you through your fast, bring us back to God again. I am reminded of two sayings:

From Browning:

'To dry one's eyes and laugh at a fall,
And baffled, get up and begin again,
So the chase takes up one's life, that's all.'

And from the Old Testament:

'Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him.'

New Delhi, 18-10-'47

M. K. G.

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 13-10-'47

TO THE REFUGEES

Yesterday I made some remarks about the refugee camps which were missed in the English condensation. Let me extend them this evening as I attach great importance to them. Though we have our fairs, religious and other, and have our Congress sessions and conferences, as a people we are not accustomed to camp life strictly so-called. I have attended many Congress sessions, conferences, and other camps. I attended the Kumbha Mela of 1915 at Haridwar and had the privilege of serving in the Servants of India Camp together with my co-workers who had returned from South Africa. Though I have nothing to record except kind personal attention to me and mine, my observation of the camp life our people lived is none too happy. We lack the sense of social hygiene, the result being dangerous insanitation and dirt with the attendant risk of outbreak of infectious and contagious diseases. Our latrines are generally beyond description. Absence of this class of provision is perhaps an apt description. People think that they can perform these functions anywhere not excluding even the much-frequented banks of the sacred rivers. Spitting anywhere without the slightest consideration for the neighbours is almost accepted as a right. Nor are our cooking arrangements any better. Flies are everywhere welcome companions. We forget that they might have sat a moment ago on any kind of dirt and thus might have become easy carriers of infection. Accommodation is not always planned. This is not an exaggerated picture. I must not omit the babble of noise one has to tolerate in these camps.

For method, planning and almost perfect sanitation, give me a military camp. I have never recognized the necessity of the military. But that is not to say that nothing good can come out of it. It gives valuable lessons in discipline, corporate existence, sanitation, and an exact time-table containing provision for every useful activity. There is almost pin-drop silence in such camps. It is a city under canvass brought into being inside of a few hours. I would like our refugee camps to approach that ideal. Then there is no inconvenience, rain or no rain.

These camps become quite inexpensive provided that all work including the building up of this canvass city is done by the refugees who are their own sweepers, cleaners, road-makers, trench-diggers, cooks, washermen. No work is too low for them.

Every variety of work connected with the camp is equally dignified. Careful and enlightened supervision can bring about the desirable and necessary revolution in social life. Then indeed the present calamity would be turned into a blessing in disguise. Then no refugee will become a burden wherever he goes. He will never think of himself alone, but always think of the whole of his fellow sufferers and never want for himself what his fellows cannot have. This is not to be done by brooding but by prompt action under wise supervision and guidance.

Blankets and quilts continue to come. Soon it will, I hope, be possible to say that there will be no dearth of this protection against the coming winter.

Birla House, New Delhi, 14-10-'47

A WORTHY EXAMPLE

Gandhiji reported to the audience that he had received more blankets during the day. Two teachers and some students from the Arya Samaj Girls' School had brought him some money and blankets. But what pleased him more than the gifts was the teacher's report that having read Gandhiji's appeal about food control in which he had suggested a fortnightly fast in order to save food so that no deficiency in food supply might be felt for want of import of foodstuffs from outside, teachers and the girls had decided to fast every Thursday. They had also decided to grow whatever food they could in their garden. If all followed this example, the problem of food shortage would be solved in no time.

The Charge-D'affaires of Iran and his wife came later and brought a large number of blankets which he gratefully received.

TALK WITH SIKH FRIENDS

Many Sikh friends had seen him during the day. They came in two batches. He had long talks with them. The substance was that they could get nowhere by fighting amongst themselves. Whatever action was possible must be through the respective governments.

DON'T WEAKEN THE GOVERNMENT

The Government had arrested some people and there was an agitation against the arrests. The Government had a right to do so. Our Government could never arrest innocent people deliberately. But human beings were apt to err and it was possible that some innocent people might suffer by mistake. It was for the Government to rectify such error. People in a democracy should be satisfied with drawing the Government's attention to mistakes, if any. They could remove the Government if they wished to. But they should not obstruct them by agitating against them. Ours was not a foreign Government having a mighty army and navy to support them. They had to derive their strength from the people.

LOOK TO YOUR OWN FAULTS

How could real peace be established? They might feel pleased that peace appeared to have returned to Delhi. He could not share the satisfaction. The Hindus and the Muslims had

become estranged from one another. They used to fight in the past too. But it lasted a day or two and then everybody forgot all about it. Today, they had become so embittered that they felt as if they had been old enemies. He called this feeling weakness. They must shed it. Then alone could they become a great power. They had two choices before them. They could become a great military power or if they followed his way, they could become a great non-violent and invincible power. In either case the first condition was the shedding of all fear.

The only way to get near each other was that each must forget the mistakes of the other party and magnify its own. He recommended it to the Muslims as he did to the Hindus and the Sikhs with all the force at his command. Enemies of yesterday could become friends of today, provided they made a clean breast of their guilt. The policy of tit for tat was not conducive to friendship. If they would act up to his advice wholeheartedly, he would be able to leave Delhi and follow his mission in Pakistan.

Birla House, New Delhi, 15-10-'47

COLLECT GOLDEN DEEDS

Electricity in the prayer ground having failed, the loud-speaker was not working. Gandhiji, therefore, asked the audience to come nearer so that they could hear him better. He told them that he had received more blankets and also money for the purpose. One sister had sent a cheque for Rs. 2,000. Two Muslim friends had also sent blankets and money for buying more. He had requested them to keep and distribute them themselves. But the friends said that they were determined on handing over the gifts to Gandhiji for distribution among the Hindu and the Sikh refugees. They said that there was a time when they found fault with Gandhiji. But they were now convinced that Gandhiji was the friend of all and enemy of none. In the atmosphere of mutual distrust and bitterness everywhere, such deeds were worth noticing. There was a book in English which is called the *Book of Golden Deeds*. They should have some such thing. No one should attribute motives to others for doing good. The two Muslim friends had not even given their names to him. It was said that every Muslim looked upon the Sikhs as his enemies and vice versa. It was true that many Muslims had lost sanity as many Hindus and Sikhs had. But it would be wholly wrong to condemn all for the faults of individuals, however many they might be. Many Hindus and Sikhs had said that they owed their lives to Muslim friends and many Muslims had made a similar admission. Such good Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were to be found in every province. How he wished that the newspapers would give publicity to such news and avoid the mention of foul deeds which excited the spirit of revenge and retaliation! No doubt, there should be no exaggeration in describing good and generous deeds.

HINDI OR HINDUSTANI ?

He had seen a paragraph in the Press that henceforth the official language of the U. P. would

be Hindi with the *devanagari* script. It hurt him. Of all the Muslims in the Indian Union, nearly one-fourth resided in the U. P. There were many Hindus like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who were Urdu scholars. Were they to forget the *urdu* script? The right thing would be to keep both the scripts and make the use of either acceptable in all official dealings. This would result in the compulsory learning of both the scripts.

The language then would take care of itself and Hindustani would become the language of the Province. This knowledge of the two scripts would not be a waste. It would enrich them and enrich their language. No one should cavil at such a step.

They should treat the Muslims as equal citizens. Equality of treatment demanded respect for the *urdu* script. They must not produce a State in which respectable life was impossible and still claim that they did not want the Muslims to go. If in spite of really equal treatment they (the Muslims) chose to go to Pakistan, it was their (the Muslims') own look out. There should be nothing in their behaviour to scare away the Muslims. They should be correct in their conduct. Then they could serve India and save Hinduism. They could not do so by killing the Muslims or driving them away or suppressing them in any way. They had to do the right thing irrespective of what happened in Pakistan.

Birla House, New Delhi, 16-10-'47

EXAMPLE OF MYSORE

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji expressed satisfaction at the successful termination of *satyagraha* in the Mysore State. Mysore had joined the Indian Union. People there had been agitating for responsible government for some time. Recently they had again launched *satyagraha*. They had wired to him that they would strictly conform to the rules of *satyagraha* and that he should not worry about it in the least. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, the Prime Minister of Mysore was a widely travelled man. He had come to an honourable settlement with the State Congress. He congratulated the Maharaja, the Diwan and the State Congress on the happy issue. He commended the example of Mysore to all the other States. The rulers should become strictly constitutional like the King of England, so that the ruler and the ruled might both be happy and contented.

GOOD BEHAVIOUR

He was holding the prayer meetings on the grounds of a private house. They should appreciate the courtesy of the Birla Brothers in allowing them to come to their compound. It had hurt him to learn that some of the visitors had damaged the garden and plucked fruits from the trees without the permission of the *mali*. They should not even pluck a leaf without permission. Their sufferings should not make them forget the common rules of good behaviour.

EXPECTATIONS FROM THE SERVICES

He had received a complaint that he had issued an undeserved certificate of merit to the Civil Service, the Police and the Military. He had not

done so. He had only expressed his expectations of these services of the nation. That did not mean that they satisfied those expectations. The Civil Services, the Police and the Military including Britishers were now in India as servants of the people. The days when they behaved as masters, being in the pay of foreign rulers, were gone. They had to be loyal servants of the *Panchayat Raj*. They had to take orders from the ministers. They were to be above corruption and partiality. The people on the other hand were expected to give full co-operation to the administration. If the services failed in their duty, they would be guilty of breach of faith and proper steps would have to be taken to rectify the situation. The people had every right to ventilate their grievances against corrupt members of the services.

MINORITIES IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Some people had come to see him from Eastern Pakistan. A large number of Hindus were leaving East Bengal. The friends sought Gandhiji's advice in the matter. He could but repeat what he had said often enough. It was unbecoming for brave men and women to be bullied out of their homes. They should stay there and face death rather than dishonour or loss of self-respect. They should fear none but God. They should defend their religion, their honour and their citizens' rights with their lives. If they did not have that courage it was far better for them to go away. If they decided to leave East Bengal, it was the duty of the upper class Hindus such as doctors, lawyers, merchants etc. to see that the poor scheduled castes and others went first. They should be the last and not the first to leave. He could not be in every place at the same time. But he could make his voice reach them all. He was also asked to appeal to Dr. Ambedkar to tell the scheduled castes to die for their religion and honour. He gladly did so through the meeting.

The friends also asked him to tell Suhrawardy Saheb to go to Bengal and help Khwaja Saheb in the difficult task before him. Suhrawardy Saheb was not in Delhi. But he (the speaker) had no doubt that he (Suhrawardy Saheb) would go to Bengal on his return. The Muslim leaders in East Bengal had to produce conditions which would inspire the minority community with confidence. It was in the interests of all concerned to work for peace. If Pakistan would be a purely Muslim State and the Indian Union a purely Hindu and Sikh State, with no rights for the minorities on either side, it would mean ruin for both the States. He hoped and prayed that God would give them the wisdom to steer clear of the danger.

Birla House, New Delhi, 17-10-'47

THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji referred to several letters and messages from friends expressing concern over his persistent cough. His speech was broadcast and so was the cough which was often troublesome in the evening and in the open. For the last four days, however, the cough had been on the whole less troublesome and he hoped

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HARIJAN

October 26

1947

A PUZZLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes:

"It would be well not to discuss even by way of joke the possibility of a war between our two States. But you have gone so far as to express the opinion that in the event of a war between the two, the Muslims of the Union should fight against those of Pakistan. Does it not then follow that the Hindus and other non-Muslims should do likewise? Now if such a war arises out of the communal question, no argument is likely to make the Muslims of the Union fight those of Pakistan and likewise the Hindus and the Sikhs of Pakistan. If, however, a war takes place between the two for other than the communal cause, you will not contend that the Hindus of Pakistan and the Muslims of the Union should fight Pakistan."

It is undoubtedly true that the possibility of a war between the two States should not be discussed by way of a joke. The adverb 'even' does not fit in. For, if the possibility be a reality, it would be a duty to discuss it. It might be folly not to do so.

It is my firm opinion that the rule that applies to the Muslims of the Union must in the same circumstance apply to the Hindus and other non-Muslims of Pakistan. I have expressed this view in my after-prayer speeches as also in my talks with friends here.

Of course, behind the opinion lies a train of reasoning. Loyalty cannot be evoked to order. If circumstances do not warrant it, it may be said to be impossible to achieve. There is a large number of people who do not believe in the possibility of such genuine loyalty and hence laugh out my opinion. Surely, there is nothing to laugh at in conceiving such a possibility. The Muslims of the Union will fight those of Pakistan when they regard it as a duty, in other words, when it is clear to them that they are being fairly treated in the Union and that the non-Muslims are not so treated in Pakistan. Such a state is not beyond the range of possibility.

Similarly, if the non-Muslims of Pakistan clearly feel that they are being fairly treated there and that they can reside there in safety and yet the Hindus of the Union maltreat the minorities, the minorities of Pakistan will naturally fight the majority in the Union. Then the minorities will not need any argument to induce them to do their duty.

It was our misfortune that the country was divided into two parts. The division was avowedly by reason of religious cleavage. Behind it might be economic and other causes. They could not have brought out the cleavage. The poison that fills the air arose also from the same communal cause. Irreligion masquerades as religion. It sounds nice to say that it would have been better if there had

been no communal question. But how could the fact be undone?

It has been repeatedly asked whether in the event of a war between the two, the Muslims of the Union will fight against the Muslims of Pakistan and the Hindus of one against those of the other. However unlikely it may appear at present, there is nothing inherently impossible in the conception. There is any day more risk in distrusting the profession of loyalty than in trusting it and courageously facing the danger of trusting. The question can be more convincingly put in this way: Will the Hindus ever fight the Hindus and the Muslims their coreligionists for the sake of truth and justice? It can be answered by a counter question: Does not history provide such instances?

In solving the puzzle the great stumbling block in the way is that truth is at a discount. Let us hope that in this holocaust some there are who will stand firm in their faith in the victory of truth.

New Delhi, 17-10-'47

(Rendered from the original in Gujarati)

ORISSA — THE LAND OF HOPE AND PROMISE

Orissa has been the most neglected Province of India. It has suffered from poverty, oppression and floods. Twenty years ago Deenabandhu Andrews arranged for me to spend a few days in Orissa, studying the causes of the heavy opium consumption in the towns of Balasore and Cuttack. The Mahanadi river had just been in flood—as it has been every two or three years. There was widespread damage and people had been drowned. Deenabandhu Andrews helped to organize relief. But he had to fight the local Government, who did not wish the miseries of the Province to be published to the world. They accused him of exaggeration. A few months later Gandhiji visited Orissa; and Andrews, who accompanied him, described how the people were living under such fear of the authorities that they did not dare to approach their beloved leader.

More recently, some ten years ago, I heard from Agatha Harrison of the pitiable plight of the refugees who were so harassed in one of the Orissa States that they fled over the frontier into the Provincial territory. At that time Orissa was under its first Congress Ministry.

Twenty years ago my host in Balasore was a young Congress worker, Harekrishna Mehtab. Today he is the Prime Minister of free Orissa and I have just been his guest again. It is too soon to say that the people of Orissa are free of their poverty and wide-spread diseases of malnutrition; but fear has gone and the future is full of hope.

Harekrishna Mehtab believes that a truly democratic government is one in which the majority rules with the consent of the minority. He is trying to put this principle into practice. Soon after the Calcutta massacres of last summer, rumours spread of communal murders in Orissa; but the rumours were false and were quickly nipped in the bud. The Muslim minority is small, but it is loyal in its support of the Government's measures.

Ninety years ago measures were proposed for harnessing the dangerous Mahanadi river. Again

and again in the intervening years fresh plans have been advanced, always to be pigeon-holed on the ground of excessive cost.

Now at last a really adequate, multi-purpose Mahanadi-harnessing scheme has been adopted, based in some respects on the notable precedent of the Tennessee Valley authority. The foundation stone of the Hirakud dam was laid eighteen months ago, but at that time the feelings of the local population had not been sufficiently considered. Some of the local zamindars stirred the people near Sambalpur, who must move from their lands, to make protests. Recently the Hirakud dam project, with all the technical reports and a wonderful series of maps, has been published. The members of the Provincial Assembly have had time to study it. After a series of prolonged discussions between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the critics of the scheme, the Assembly endorsed the project by a unanimous vote at the end of August and in the interesting discussion of the project, the leader of the local Muslim League was one of its most ardent supporters.

If all goes well, the dam will be completed and the canals built in five years. After that, floods and droughts should be for ever banished from Orissa. Large uncultivated areas will be cultivable. The water power will be sufficient to supply a number of new industries, though the suggestion that Sambalpur may become the "Pittsburg of Orissa" will not appeal to anyone who knows Pittsburg. One of the first factories is to be a cement factory, supplying the cement for the dam and for all the needs of Orissa and the neighbouring provinces. For, there is an excellent supply of limestone close to Sambalpur. Orissa is, indeed, potentially rich with untapped mineral resources of great variety. The new Government is not falling into the error of supposing that everyone will be happy if factories and mines spread all over their fair land. They know that their first duty is to care for the humble villagers. Thus, the first step in the Hirakud dam project is the provision of good land and the building of good villages for the peasants whose lands will be flooded.

Within a few years it may be hoped that the Orissa States will see their way to fuse their administration with the Province.

Orissa is justly famous for its beautiful textiles. The modernization of Orissa need not interfere with this and other indigenous crafts. Old and new can help one another. Those who know Harekrishna Mehtab and his colleagues will expect great things of them in the next ten years; and it was a happy thought to appoint Dr. Katju as the first Governor of free Orissa.

A visit to Orissa today gives one a vivid sense of what free India can become. I have been writing this in Delhi, at the end of a day spent in visiting the tragic refugee camps. Even that sight cannot blot out the vision of hope. Black clouds still fill parts of the Indian sky; but light comes out of Orissa. May the light overcome the darkness.

New Delhi, 1-9-'47

HORACE ALEXANDER

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Q. In case the UNO fails to do justice by the Indians in South Africa, what line of action would you advise the South African Indians to take?

A. I cannot even think of failure in *satyagraha*. It never fails. This is my firm belief.

Q. What effect do you think the failure of the UNO to deal justly with the South African-Indian dispute will have on the future of that organization?

A. If the UNO fails to deal justly with the South African-Indian dispute, the UNO will lose its prestige. I have no doubt that the UNO can prosper only if it is just.

Q. And what will be the effect of the failure on the world?

A. About the effect on the world no one knows. At least I do not.

Q. Racial inequality must be removed if there is to be peace in the world. What is your advice to those who agree with this but do nothing to fight the evil of racial inequality?

A. Those who agree that racial inequality must be removed and yet do nothing to fight the evil are impotent. I cannot have anything to say to such people. After all the underdogs will have to earn their own salvation.

Q. What remedy do you propose for the elimination of racial prejudice and antagonisms from the affairs of mankind?

A. The solution is largely in India's hands. If everything is all right in India internally, she is likely to play an effective part in straightening up affairs.

Q. What message have you for our countrymen overseas living in a distracted world?

A. The spirit of India at its best should be exhibited by each one in his own person. Our shortcomings must be buried in India.

(*Gandhiji's answers from the daily Press*)

An Opportunity Lost?

The staple diet of the British is meat. The war upset all customs and traditions. The most conservative of customs is the menu. Yet the force of circumstances has compelled the British to make drastic changes in the kind of food they eat. Naturally, in a meat-based diet cereals play only a secondary role. Still their Ministry of Food is wide awake to the needs of the nation. Today, the one time fashionable white bread is unprocurable. They had realized the folly of throwing away nutritive parts of food while the nation is experiencing a shortage of food stuffs. Brown whole meal bread rules the day.

Our country affords a striking contrast to this. Ours is a cereal-based diet in which cereals play the leading role. Masses of our people exist on nothing but rice, wheat and other cereals. Our Ministry of Food is so weak-kneed that even the Government ration shops have only polished rice for the people. Have we not lost a golden opportunity of banning rice mills and thus increasing the nutritive value of the food the masses eat? Is it too late to act even now?

J. C. K

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 383)

it would soon disappear completely. The reason for the persistence of the cough had been that he had refused all medical treatment. Dr. Sushila had said that if at the outset he had taken penicillin he would have been alright in three days. Otherwise, it would take him three weeks to get over it. He did not doubt the efficacy of penicillin but he believed too that *Ramanama* was the sovereign remedy for all ills and, therefore, superseded all other remedies. In the midst of the flames that surrounded him on all sides, there was all the greater need for a burning faith in God. God alone could enable people to put down the fire. If He had to take work from Gandhiji, He would keep him alive, otherwise He would carry him away.

They had just heard the *bhajan* in which the poet had exhorted man to stick to *Ramanama*. He alone was the refuge of man. Therefore, in the present crisis he wished to throw himself entirely on God and not accept medical aid for a physical ailment.

BLANKETS

He expressed satisfaction at the rate at which blankets and quilts were being received. They would soon be distributed to people in need.

REMOVE CONTROLS

The committee appointed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad had finished its deliberations. It was to consider the question of food only. But he (Gandhiji) had expressed his opinion sometime ago that control over food and cloth should be removed without further delay. The war was over. Yet the prices were going up. There was food in the country and cloth too. Yet it did not reach the people. It was a sad state of affairs. The Government was trying to spoon-feed the people. Instead of that the people should be thrown on their own resources. The Civil Service was used to carrying on work from their offices. The red tape and the files controlled their activity. They had never come in contact with the peasants. They did not know them. He wished they would be humble enough to recognize the change that had come over the people. Their initiative should not be strangled by the controls. They should be allowed to be self-reliant. Democracy should not result in making them helpless. Supposing that the worst fears were realized and removal of controls made the situation worse, there was nothing to prevent them from reverting to them. Personally he believed that it would greatly ease the situation. The people would begin to exert themselves to solve the problems and have little time to quarrel among themselves.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

He had received a telegram thanking him for his remarks about *satyagraha* in South Africa. He had merely stated what he believed to be the truth. There was no defeat in *satyagraha*, there was no turning back. He quoted the first line of the late Pundit Rambhadjadatt's verses — "We will die rather than accept defeat." The author had written those lines at the time of the martial law in the Punjab,

when the people there were subjected to unheard-of indignities. But the lines were for all time. The condition always was that the cause must be true and just. Even a handful of *satyagrahis* was enough to vindicate the honour of India.

They had also asked him to appeal for funds. The Indians in South Africa were not a poor community. But he could understand the wants of the few passive resisters. India was today passing through a financial crisis. The fratricide and the mass migration had resulted in loss of crores of revenue. He had not the heart to ask Indians under the present circumstances to give financial assistance to the passive resisters. But if anyone was prepared to give financial help, he would be glad. There were, however, large numbers of Indians overseas in East Africa, Mauritius and other places. Most of them were well off and there was no question of Hindu-Muslim differences amongst them. They were all Indians and he expected them to send money to their brethren in South Africa, who were fighting for the cause of Indian honour. Those engaged in *satyagraha* did not want luxuries. They just wanted money for the bare necessities of life. It was the duty of the Indians overseas to give the necessary assistance.

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-10-'47

BLANKETS SENT TO KURUKSHETRA

Speaking after the prayers Gandhiji said that he was glad to be able to report that more blankets and money were received. He hoped that if blankets came in at this rate, there would be no difficulty in providing them for all the needy refugees. He was also glad that Sardar Patel had issued a similar appeal. Gandhiji stated that Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who has been working for the comforts of the refugees, had left for Kurukshetra in the morning along with Mrs. Mathai, Mrs. R. Saran and Mrs. Krishnabai. She had taken with her a large number of blankets and clothings for the refugees.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Gandhiji then mentioned the letters he had been receiving in connection with the opinion expressed by him about the adoption of Hindustani as the national language. He had no doubt that Hindustani would be the best suited interprovincial language for all Indians. Neither persianized Urdu nor sanskritized Hindi could easily be understood by the masses. With the end of British *Raj*, the English language had to go as the common medium of speech or the court language. It was a usurpation. He honoured the English language in its own place. It could never become India's national language. An esteemed friend had, however, suggested that the English language was soon going to be displaced from the position that did not belong to it. But his harping on the subject, the writer feared, might transfer the dislike of the language to the people who spoke it, i. e., the English. The writer knew that if any such mishap occurred, he (Gandhiji) would be cut to the quick so much so that he might even

go mad with grief over the unexpected tragedy. The warning was timely. The audience should know that he always made a distinction between the doer and his deed. The deed might be worthy of dislike, never the doer. He was reminded that he knew that the distinction was rarely borne in mind. Men generally confused the deed with the doer and the orbit of condemnation included both the doer and the deed. The writer also warned him that he (Gandhiji) had to make allowance for the Anglo-Indians, the Goans and others with whom English had become the mother tongue. Did Gandhiji ever contemplate that these would be suddenly dismissed for want of knowledge of Hindi or Hindustani whichever finally became the inter-provincial speech? The writer knew that he (Gandhiji) would never entertain any such idea. Gandhiji said that the writer was correct in his fear. Nevertheless, he did expect that within a given period they would all attain a working knowledge of Hindustani. No oppression should be felt by the minorities, however small they might be. There was need for the gentlest handling of all such questions.

The same earnest friend had reminded him that his (Gandhiji's) insistence on the two scripts was likely to displace both and make room for the Roman script. The friend had partiality for the Roman script. He (Gandhiji) did not share it. Nor did he fear that the two scripts would ever be displaced by the Roman. He did not wish to enter into argument over the question. He simply referred to the subject to show that their nationalism was poor stuff if it shirked the learning of the two scripts. Their love of their country should make the learning of the two scripts a matter of joy. He instanced the example of Sheikh Abdulla Saheb who informed him only that afternoon that during his imprisonment in Kashmir he was able with ease to learn Hindi and the *nagari* script. What the Sheikh Saheb was able to do, was surely equally easy for other nationalists.

Birla House, New Delhi, 19-10-47

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji announced that since the days were getting shorter, people were finding 6. p. m. too late to attend the prayers. Therefore, from Monday the prayers would be held at 5-30 p. m. instead of 6. p. m.

IS IT SWARAJ?

Referring to the *bhajan* of the evening, he said that there were touching reminiscences in connection with it. Almost all the *bhajans* in the *Bhajanawali* had a history behind them. The collection was made by the late Pandit Khare, an ashramite who was a musician and a devotee. He was helped by Kakasaheb. This particular song was often sung by the late Maganlal Gandhi, who was the manager of the Ashram at Sabarmati. He had been with Gandhiji in South Africa and had given himself to the service of the nation. He had a good voice and a strong constitution. After his return to India he lost his robustness. The burden that fell to his lot was too heavy for one man. To carry the message

of constructive work and Swaraj to the millions was not an easy thing. He often sang this *bhajan* with great pathos. In it the poet expressed his disappointment at not seeing God face to face. The night of waiting seemed like an age. Maganlal's God was the realization of his dream of Swaraj, i. e., the Kingdom of God. That dream seemed far off. It could only be realized through constructive work. If the people had carried out the constructive programme laid before them then, they would not be witnessing the scenes that they were witnessing to-day. Swaraj was said to have been achieved on the 15th of August last. He could not call it Swaraj. In Swaraj brothers could not fly at each others' throats. A free India aspired to be friends with all. It aspired to own no enemies in the whole world. But alas! today her own sons, the Hindus and the Sikhs on the one side and the Muslims on the other were thirsting for one another's blood.

Gandhiji told them all this in order to impress upon them that if they wanted to realize their dream of real Swaraj, they had to feel a constant yearning for it like the late Shri Maganlal Gandhi. God was formless. Man imagined Him in various forms. If they wanted to see God in the form of *Rama Raj*, the first requisite was self-introspection. They had to magnify their own faults a thousandfold and shut their eyes to the faults of their neighbours. That was the only way to real progress. Today they had fallen. The Hindus and the Sikhs were looked upon as enemies by the Muslims and vice versa. They had no respect for each other's religion. The temples were destroyed and converted into mosques, the mosques were destroyed and converted into temples. It was a sad state of affairs. It could not but lead to destruction of both the religions.

THE ONLY WAY

How were they to quench the flames? He had told them the only method. They had to be correct in their behaviour irrespective of what others did. He was not unaware of the sufferings of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. But knowing that he wanted to overlook them. Otherwise, he would go mad. He would not be able to serve India. They were to look upon the Muslims in the Union as their blood-brothers. Delhi was said to be at peace. It brought him little solace. It was due to the presence of the military and the police. There was no love lost between the Hindus and the Muslims. The hearts were still estranged. He (Gandhiji) did not know whether there were any Muslims in the meeting. If there was any, he did not know whether he felt at home. Sheikh Abdulla Saheb and some Muslim friends were at the prayer meeting the day before. So was the widow of Kidwai Saheb's brother, who for no fault of his was murdered in cold blood in Mussoorie. He confessed that he was uneasy about their presence not because he was at all anxious about their persons. He flattered himself with the belief that no harm could befall them in his presence. But he was not equally sure that they could not be insulted. He would have to

hang his head in shame if they were insulted in any way. Why should there be any such fear about Muslim brethren? Surely, they should feel as safe among them as they themselves. This could not happen until they learnt the art of magnifying their own faults and minimizing those of their neighbours. All eyes rested on India, which had become the hope of Asia and Africa, nay of the whole world. If India was to realize the hope, it had to stop the fratricide and all Indians had to live like friends and brothers. Clean hearts were the first condition of that happy state.

SHORTAGE OF CONSUMER GOODS

In spite of the fact that the Western economic organization has been based on mass production on a large scale by centralized methods for over hundred years and working at a feverish rate in the most of the European countries and in America, we find that those very countries which have taken to this method of production are suffering from a tremendous shortage of consumer goods. Not only the production of Europe itself has not been sufficient to meet the demand, but the four corners of the earth have been scoured to obtain the hoarded material wealth of other countries as well and even then we are faced with starvation and famine. This phenomenon of a shortage of goods caused by a method of production aiming at heaping up material wealth resulting in shortage of goods for the people, would appear to be intensifying as time passes by, and yet the people entrusted with the future programme of our country are ardently following the Western countries. It seems to us clear as day light that if we take the same steps as they have done, we shall reach the same destination and hence it is the duty of every citizen to study the reasons for this extraordinary phenomenon.

Production, if it is to satisfy the demand, should take into consideration the various forms of demand and if such production is calculated to meet all that demand, then there will be a surplus, but if the demand exceeds the production there will be a short supply. Therefore, the present shortage of consumer goods in Europe suggests that there is a factor of demand which has been overlooked. If this factor could be dealt with, then only it is possible to meet the full needs of the various countries. It does not require any deep study to discover the fact that this missing factor is war. The centralized methods of production have been based on the proposition of the control of sources of raw materials and markets for finished goods. At both these points violence is necessary to enable the manufacturers to lord it over the raw material producers and the consumers. Hence it is that war has become an essential part of this productive machinery. Unfortunately, the powers that be have not taken into consideration the demands of war and, therefore, what is produced

in peace time in large quantities proves to be absolutely insufficient to meet the demands created during war time. The last two global wars have proved to be voracious consumers. The destruction that has taken place has been much greater than the productive power of the machinery evolved during peace time. Hence, if we aim at an ample supply of consumer goods, we have to switch over to a method in which war does not figure as an integral part of the machinery of production.

The leading materialistic nations of the world are not, or do not choose to be, cognisant of this fact and they are again leading the people in the wrong direction. An American news item states that great preparations are being made for a possible war in three new dimensions. President Truman's Scientific Research Board has reported that "it was pouring out" vast sums for the development of guided missiles, jet and rocket aircraft, atomic weapons, agents of poison and bacteriological warfare and a host of electronic devices. It is stated that among the more significant electronic developments is the revolutionary Radar fire control system. The Federal Agencies are spending 624 million dollars this year on these various "scientific" projects. More than five sixths of this total is to be spent on war research. The armed forces are now relying heavily upon such research and development as vital to the effective prosecution of their programme. When the best brains of a country are being prostituted into the paths of destruction, can it be any wonder that the world is suffering from a shortage of consumer goods? Until our leaders wake up to the fact and organize the country on a sane basis, eschewing all forms of wanton destruction from their programme, it is not possible to expect palmy days in front of us.

It should seem futile for India to follow the Western economic systems that have produced the results that we see all around us. We have, therefore, to evolve a system which will produce more than our demand. It may not present such glowing pictures to ensnare the population, but it may prove to be, in the long run, a wiser course, bringing in peace and prosperity to the producers themselves and to the people around them.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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