

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor : K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT CONTROVERSY

The *Harijan* of 6th June publishes Shri Maganbhai Desai's article *Urdu Also*. He apprehends that the suggestion of the Maharashtra Rashttra Bhasha Sabha relegating a subordinate position to the Urdu script will result in killing or strangling not only the Urdu script, but also the contribution of the Urdu style to the development of the Hindustani language. He suspects that this might be an intended result.

I requested the Organizing Secretary of the Sabha to clarify its position. I give below a translation of relevant portions from his letter:

"The Sabha has recognized the importance of Urdu to a certain extent and accordingly given a place to it in the (Sabha's) propaganda. There can be no question of opposing it.

"The Sabha thought it necessary to refer to it in the tenth clause of its appeal on this very consideration. In as much as there is today and will remain in future considerable use of Urdu, it would be unjust not to recognize it or to kill it. We agree with the opinion that the younger sister must not be driven away or strangled. But it is equally necessary at the same time to know its proper place in the country.

"The import of Clause 8 of our appeal is as follows:

"The regional language shall be the medium of instruction in every region from beginning to end. All official and non-official business of that region shall be carried on through it inside the province.

"This clarification automatically defines the limits of the Federal language. It will be the language of the Union Government, the Central Legislature, and of all inter-provincial matters. In our opinion, though there will be a definite frame of that language, we must develop it further according to our needs and help should be taken from every prominent language for doing this. We agree that one of these will be Urdu also.

"What is known as Hindi and which is current in some North Indian provinces cannot become the National Language of India in its present literary form. Its present form only signifies that, like Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and other provincial languages, it too has evolved a particular artistic form of literature. But our national needs cannot be fulfilled by the artistic style of any provincial

literature. Consequently, it would not be proper to accept Hindi as it prevails.

"The sanskritization of the Federal or National language might lead to two consequences. In order that the style of a language might become current, it must be easy to speak. Hence, it would be good to take common and easy words of various Indian languages in the National Language. If you want to sanskritize and make a difficult language, it would be bolder and more honest to make Sanskrit itself the National Language.

"It is feared that a sanskritized language will adversely affect the further growth of well-developed provincial languages. There will be confusion in meaning, and disorder in syntax etc., and to that extent it will obstruct provincial languages and literature. In order to make the provincial languages the future medium of education and provincial administrations, it is necessary to fully develop them, and so all such obstructions should be removed.

"On the question of the Roman script, we believe that for international purposes, it would be more convenient to use Hindustani in the Roman script rather than English. Foreigners would thus be enabled to learn Hindustani without first knowing the script, which they might learn later on. On account of the facilities of type-writers, telegrams, etc., the Roman script might also be employed internally for a short period.

"We feel that in deciding these matters we must take into consideration expediency, economy and popular convenience."

I have received reproofs from Shri Maganbhai Desai and several correspondents for my lending my support to the Roman script, particularly through the *Harijan* papers. To several people the question of the National Language and script has become a subject of delicate sentiment. It is indicative of a desire to restore pre-Islamic and pre-British conditions. I suggest that they must not think of the subject with passion or with the apprehension that perhaps their languages and culture will be the worse for foreign mixtures. It is far better to import foreign languages, words and scripts than foreign luxuries and articles which impoverish our land. I am unable to look at this subject with passionate emotions, but try to think of it from the point of *Sarvodaya* as I understand it.

My suggestion amounts to granting freedom to the people to use according to their convenience in their own region and with people of their own

region either their regional script or perfected and standardized Roman script, and in inter-provincial or all-India matters either the Devanagari, or the Urdu, or the Roman script. It need not follow that in practice the Roman script alone would almost become the National script. I accept that thereby it will become the common script of all languages. But, I believe that to a large extent the Indian scripts (including Urdu where that is taught as the main script) will remain the principal ones, and the Roman script will take the next place. The study of the Roman script will come after mastery over the regional scripts has been attained. And my suggestion will make Hindustani literature available in the regional scripts also. To a great majority that will be quite enough. They will be spared the necessity of learning too many scripts. But as long as the Roman script is not perfected and standardized, even those who have to use it for any purpose, will not love it, and it may not become very popular. And for practical purposes the position will be as indicated in the Sabha-Secretary's letter quoted above. But if, as Shri Maganbhai Desai apprehends, the Roman script does become the most used script in free India, it will only mean that that script will have established its value and utility to a greater extent than the other scripts, and, in that case, let us not grudge it its rightful place.

I think greater scope should be allowed for the use of Hindustani in the life and affairs of India than the Sabha has indicated. It may well be employed as the medium of instruction exclusively or alternatively with the regional language in certain spheres of higher education and in all-India institutions, that is, those meant to provide instruction to students from all over India, even if they technically form part of a regional university. In so far as it may be necessary to recruit professors from outside the region, they may be allowed for a certain period to teach through Hindustani instead of the regional language, which they would be expected to master during the period. The option of using English must not be allowed after the period of grace. I, therefore, all the more agree with Shri Maganbhai Desai on the import of item 8, and I am glad to be assured by the Sabha that it fully realizes that a sanskritized Federal Language will adversely affect the development of the various provincial languages. Nay, it will obstruct its own development and utility. But, the passion for sanskritized Hindi has developed so far that some correspondents have gone to the extent of drawing from Gandhiji's article *Neither Anger, nor Attachment* (18th April), the conclusion that towards the end of his life Gandhiji had revised his former views and come to realize that sanskritized Hindi with the Devanagari script was the proper form and structure of the National Language! Let me reproduce his words:

" When people clamour on all sides that the National Language of India should be Hindi and that it should be written in the Nagari script

only, it is my duty to show that this claim or demand is not right.

" I accept that among all the scripts, the Nagari stands first in merit. But when the lovers of the Nagari oppose the Urdu script, I scent in it hatred and intolerance

" To conclude, even if I were alone to say so, I am quite clear that ultimately neither sanskritized Hindi nor persianized Urdu will win the race; Hindustani alone can do so. Only when we have given up our internal quarrels, shall we forget these artificial controversies and feel ashamed of having created them."

Khar, 25-5-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

PERPETUATING GANDHIJI

We are all members of a society living in groups as in a big family where the family lasts for all time while the individual members may be living for a while and then passing away. Not deterred by the death of individuals, the family continues. So what we do for the wellbeing of the whole family is more lasting than what we do for a mere living individual.

Gandhiji passed away on the 30th of January last. His body has gone away from us but the permanent part of his life and work we want to perpetuate. For this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund has been started. The purpose of this fund is to collect money only to perpetuate the ideals for which Gandhiji had been working.

The work that Gandhiji has done is not merely for the poor people of India but also for the down-trodden of the whole world. Hence whatever feeble effort we may make in our own little corner, we must remember that it is a part of the work that is going on not only at our place but all over the world. Because of that everybody would want to do not only what they are doing by themselves but also would want to associate themselves with the work that others are undertaking.

One way of doing this is through a common organization through which we may contribute our services, thoughts and money. The Gandhi Memorial Fund is started for this purpose of facilitating many people to associate themselves in bringing about a social order of human families of the type that Gandhiji envisaged. This work can be undertaken in three ways.

In the first place we give our whole attention and time to the work representing as it were Gandhian ideals in our day to day life and propagating them to others.

In the second we mainly lead a life of our own and do what little we can in our personal activities religiously and strictly, never going against the Gandhian ideals.

In the third form we ourselves may not be able to do very much but we contribute towards it in money and in kind, as necessary, so that others may be able to do that work.

A word of explanation may be given on each of these three methods of contribution. Then we

can choose what way we can contribute in any of the three ways, all of them or separately.

The one thing that Gandhiji had been working for is propagation of the ideal of truth and non-violence. This comes in in all our ways of living and in everyday dealings that we have with our fellow beings. For instance, in the Gram Udyog Sangh our work is mainly to see that truth and non-violence are brought into the economic life. For example, if you go and buy toddy and drink it, then you are probably bringing in great distress to your family and therefore toddy drinking is against this principle. It is easily understood that a drunkard commits violence towards his family. But people do not understand that the same type of violence is committed by us when we go to the rice mills or to the flour mills. Paddy as it comes from the earth has got many nutritive elements in it, but when it is passed through a mill and polished all the nutritive elements are removed and only the chaff is left out for our consumption. Therefore, by using milled rice we are harming the health of our children. Similarly, we give less nutritive food to our children if we feed them on milled flour, etc. and to that extent we are doing violence to our children, just as the drunkard. Similarly sugar-cane juice as it is got out of the cane is good food but when we make sugar out of it everything else is removed except the heat-giving part.

That is why *gur* making, paddy husking and flour-grinding are given the first place in our Udyog Bhavan, because of their importance in our economic life to bring non-violence and truth into our lives.

Now you will see how, just as the drunkard throws away all the resources of the family for something which puts his mind out of gear, we deprive the family of all the nutritive elements of food for something that satisfies the palate or a misguided aesthetic sense.

So it is that our Sangh also is working towards non-violence and when we propagate the idea of self-sufficiency, which also goes to propagate Gandhiji's ideal of *ahimsa*.

Then again we say we must not use foreign goods or mill-made goods. The mill gathers the riches from the poor and enriches the capitalist. That is one reason why we should insist on wearing *khadi*. When we spin and make our own *khadi*, our resources remain with us and in the case of mill cloth we give our resources to the mill owner just as the drunkard gives away his resources. So we see in how many ways we are supporting violence. If we do not want to support violence, we must not buy foreign articles or the mill-made goods. That is the way in which we can bring about Gandhian ideals into our everyday life. Everybody can work to bring the Gandhian ideals of *ahimsa* and *satya* in our everyday life.

These are not mere metaphysical subjects for meditation and contemplation but realities facing us every day.

In the first method those of us who are giving their whole life to propagate this mode of life with

all their strength, intelligence and other resources are contributing them to perpetuate Gandhiji's memory.

Some of us may not be in a position to give our whole life and thought for this work, but we may be able to do that partially, that is, in our own personal life. At least at home we follow these principles. In so far as we are doing this we also, to a certain extent, are propagating non-violence and truth.

While we are doing this we would also have a share in the first part of the work, in the work that is being done by people who have dedicated their lives wholly for this purpose. People who have dedicated their lives for the work have to be supported by a portion of our earnings. It is for this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund is formed, to collect money from those people who would like to contribute something to propagate Gandhian ideals.

They have suggested that each person should contribute at least ten days' income in the year to this fund. Those who want to associate themselves to a greater extent can do, but this is the least.

Ordinarily when a big person passes away, a memorial, generally a material memorial, is built for such a person. For Gandhiji we want to put up a memorial which will be propagating the principles for which he stood.

By contributing to the fund we are not giving charity but are helping to build up a world of non-violence and truth. In this noble venture our money will be used. We hope our readers would want to co-operate in this just as zealously and eagerly as they would want to remove the evil from the family of a drunkard and with the same eagerness do some meritorious work not only for India but for the world as a whole.

And some of us may not be having incomes out of which we can give the money. Then we may contribute in self-spun yarn. For this purpose 79 hanks can be given as a unit. If you do not want to have an inroad on your money resources, this is the alternative. Such yarn will be exchanged to them for money by the Charkha Sangh.

These are the three ways of contributing to this memorial and it is much more important that we ourselves bring the great principles of Gandhiji in our everyday life and set up an example to our neighbours. In doing so we shall all be helping in ushering in a society based on non-violence and truth. This is a noble enough ideal to deserve our all out effort.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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HARIJAN

June 20

1948

OFFICES AND SALARIES

One of the evils of the past from which we must break away as early as possible is the linking of offices to salaries. Public services have been organized not only on the principle that holders of responsible positions must be adequately provided for during their period of service to enable government to recruit efficient men and also to enable the officers to faithfully devote all their time, energy and attention to the duties of their office, but further on the principle that along with every increase of responsibility the salary, maintenance allowance, residential accommodation etc. must also go on increasing until the last stage of office is reached. Every service is assumed to be based on the contractual system, and money is regarded as the only means of appreciating the services rendered by an officer of the State or getting the best out of him.

Some years ago the Congress passed a resolution that after a stage there should be no increment of salaries, whatever might be the importance of the office in the State. A maximum of Rs. 500 per month was fixed under the then value of currency. In the present conditions that figure might have become altogether inadequate. It might be changed and another substituted to suit the present price of money. To my mind, the important thing therein was not the figure of 500, but, firstly, that after a stage there was not to be a necessary link between office and its salary, and secondly, that our scales of payment must suit the purse of a poor country.

Both these ideas appear to have been now abandoned by the Congress Governments and the framers of the Draft Constitution. The second schedule of the Draft deals with salaries of some of the most important offices of the State, like the President, Governors, Ministers, Speaker, Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts etc. The salaries of the following officers are specified in exact figures as follows:

President Rs. 5,500 per month *plus* allowances
 Governors Rs. 4,500 " " " "
 Supreme Court Chief Justice Rs. 5,000; other
 Judges Rs. 4,500;
 High Court, Chief Justice Rs. 4,000; other
 Judges Rs. 3,500.

The allowances of the President and the Governors are, I presume, meant to enable them to receive and feast guests and meet calls of a politico-social nature.

The British soon after their arrival in India quickly discovered one of the weak points of our nation. Pompous display of riches, through *darbars*, processions, festivals, and other crowd-gathering functions impressed our people as nothing else did.

The poorest among us, living a miserable and half-starved existence from year's end to year's end, suddenly became lavish in his expenditure and gorgeous in the display of his artistic sense, when there was a marriage or death or other important event in the family. He even sold or mortgaged his property, borrowed dress, ornaments, etc., and until lately some even entered into an agreement of lifelong service to meet these expenses. The poorest tried to emulate his richest casteman. The Britishers thought that unless they maintained a "splendid" type of administration, it would not be respected by the people.

We have preserved intact this national weakness of ours both in joy and in sorrow. The way in which we celebrated the acquisition of Dominion Status on August 15 and performed the funeral rites and ash-disposal ceremony of Gandhiji was on a scale and on tastes comparable with — not to say, throwing into background — similar functions in the times of the Moguls and the then severely criticized Coronation Darbar of Lord Curzon. When Gandhiji went to the Round Table Conference, he took care to see that he appeared as befitted the representative of a poor country. When Gandhiji died we took care to see that his remains were disposed off and his *shraddha* was performed as if he was the Father of the most prosperous nation in the world.

It is on ideas underlying these displays that high officers are paid and their establishments maintained. We want to impress — impress our own people as well as foreigners — and want to impress them not with our simplicity and sterling qualities of intellect and character, but with splendid *jalsas* and *tamashas*. To make these possible, it is necessary to link progressively high offices with progressively high salaries.

I do not ask for a puritan standard of life. But I do ask for a moderate standard of life, which should not be exceeded in public life. There might be a link between office and salary up to a certain stage, say, until a public servant became fit to be appointed a District Officer — Magistrate, Judge, Collector, Superintendent of Police etc. Thereafter, none should be entitled as of right of seniority to be promoted to a particular office. Merit alone should guide the selection, and the selection should make no change in his monetary gains. The appointment to a position of greater responsibility is itself an appreciation of his worth. And the higher appointment brings with it greater prestige and respect, making additional payment superfluous. If the appointment to a superior office necessitates additional out-of-pocket expenses like greater amount of travelling, receiving more public guests etc., these might be provided for. But otherwise there is no reason why there should be any difference between the salary of a puisne judge and the chief judge of a High Court, as also between them and similar officers of the Supreme Court, and a District Judge. The selection of a person to the

office of the chief Judge of the Supreme Court is in itself an appreciation of his abilities and services as against his brother judges and members of the legal faculty. But the appointment does not require him to bring a different kind of acumen or technique or to put in more amount of daily work to discharge his new office than what he had to do as a Judge or an advocate. And though the other judges of the Supreme Court may have to work under him and take orders from him, it cannot be said that they would have to expend less energy and use a lower quality of legal knowledge than the Chief Justice. Whatever superiority a Chief Justice might possess over his brother judges, it cannot be valued in terms of money. If there is need to satisfy vanity, a higher officer might be conferred with an extra honorific title. But there is no reason why every superior office must automatically carry a bigger salary. The same arguments apply to the salaries of the President, the Governors, the Chief and puisne Ministers etc.

Another absurd rule which accompanies this system is that a temporary appointment carries with it temporary increments of salary. Thus if a Governor goes on leave for a week or a fortnight and the officer next in rank to him officiates for him for the period, he must get an extra allowance for that period, as if he was going to put in twelve hours of work during the period instead of his usual six or seven, or would be required to pay his son's college fees and the salaries of his personal assistants on a higher scale during the period! The sooner this false link is snapped the better.

A new tradition must be established making young men aspire to responsible offices and positions not for the salaries they bring but for the opportunity they give them to develop their personality along with the service to their country. And the example must be set from the top.

Wardha, 10-6-48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

TRUSTEES' LETTER TO PYARELALJI

DEAR PYARELALJI,

As you may be aware, the Trustees of the Navajivan Trust have undertaken to bring out an authoritative biography of Bapu and also to collect for preservation and in suitable cases for publication, his archives, published and unpublished manuscripts, private correspondence etc. They feel that you will be the fittest person to undertake the job. That was Bapu's expectation too. They would like you to take it up. You will have full freedom to handle the work in the way you think best and the Trust will give you all the facilities that you may require for your work. Will you please let us have your reply as early as possible?

Navajivan Trust,
Ahmedabad, 8-5-48

Yours etc.
JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee.

GANDHIJI'S BIOGRAPHY

The Navajivan Trust have done me the honour of asking me to undertake the writing of Gandhiji's biography.* I have gladly accepted the invitation not for the honour but as a sacred duty which to me is also a privilege and a joy. The formal invitation was, indeed, unnecessary. The work, at any rate, of writing personal reminiscences, would have been undertaken in any case as an inner necessity. Twentyeight years of the closest, unbroken association have imposed an obligation which may not be shirked. It was Gandhiji's expectation too. Had Mahadevbhai lived, the writing of Bapu's biography would have been our joint enterprise. His cruel and untimely death not only threw the entire burden on me, but further added to it an obligation further to do justice to his own memory. Bapu saw it and in order to lighten the burden in his characteristic way at one time during our incarceration in the Agakhan Palace even agreed to collaborate in the future task. The plan was that I should prepare and place before him the skeleton of important events and episodes in chronological order and he would dictate notes or provide such information or comments in regard to them as I might want. But that was not to be. First came Ba's fatal illness, then his own illness ending in our dramatic release. The breakneck pace of events after our release ruled out the resumption of the plan and there the matter rested until during my last stay with him at Delhi, a few days before the end, a curious chance set me off to writing the first chapter of my reminiscences of him and I had the supreme satisfaction too of discussing it with him. But he was taken away before he could revise the unfinished piece.

The work which was thus almost unconsciously commenced in the exuberance of a carefree spirit has now to be continued and finished under the crushing burden of sorrow and bereavement accentuated by the feeling that he on whose co-operation above all I had counted is no more. It is with a gnawing sense of my limitations that I have approached the task. It calls for monumental industry, prayerful thinking and research. An infinite amount of preliminary spade work will have to be done before the actual writing can commence. It needs the whole-hearted and willing co-operation of many. I know I shall not be able to do full justice to it unless that co-operation is coming forth in an ample measure. Gandhiji's was not a life apart. He lived for and through those countless fellow beings whose lives he had moulded by his personal example and by his spoken and written word. It was one of his favourite dicta that the true interpretation of and commentary on one's life was provided by the effect it had on one's environment, particularly on the thoughts and lives of others. It would greatly help my work if all

* The letter of request is given in this issue.

those, who had the privilege of coming in contact with him or had any correspondence with him would record their reminiscences, make copies of his letters and send both to me under registered cover care of the "Navajivan Karyalaya, P. B. No. 105, Ahmedabad.", marked "BIOGRAPHY" at the left hand top corner of the cover. The originals of Gandhiji's letters should accompany the copy. They would be well taken care of while they are in the custody of the Navajivan Karyalaya and safely returned under insured postage to the sender as soon as the copy is compared and checked with the originals. Reminiscences may be written in any language the writer chooses, care being taken, so far as possible, to keep a copy before posting. If any sender desires his reminiscences or correspondence to be kept confidential in part or in full his wish shall be unreservedly respected.

I may add that, if any friends wish to offer their services for collaboration in research work or as Hindi, Gujarati or English stenotypists or for making copies by hand from Hindi and Gujarati or for otherwise assisting in office work they should communicate with me stating their terms and the nature of assistance which they are qualified for and desirous to render.

Then there is one more thing in which people can help. As the public are aware, the old files of the *Young India*, *Navajivan* and the *Harijan Weeklies* were all taken away and destroyed by the Government during the 1942 'Quit India' struggle. The Navajivan Karyalaya is anxious to bring out in due course a definitive edition of Gandhiji's complete published and unpublished writings. Those who have in their possession complete or incomplete files or loose back numbers of any of Gandhiji's weeklies or any of his writings, or writings about him now out of print, should send the same to the Navajivan Karyalaya as a gift or for a consideration which they may name in order that gaps in Navajivan Karyalaya's records might be filled up and complete sets of the files in question got ready for reference and use in the office or for research workers and students at large. A complete list of the items needed will be published in the *Harijan Weeklies* from time to time by the Manager of the Navajivan Karyalaya.

Deheradun, 2-6-'48

PYARELAL

Shri Mohini Adv(?)ani

Gandhiji's account notes receipt at New Delhi of a cheque of Rs. 5,000 on 27-5-1946 from a friend of the above name. There is no letter or particulars, and enquiry from Gandhiji's assistants has not been able to throw any further light regarding either the donor or the particular purpose, if any, for which the donation was earmarked.

The undersigned will be obliged if the donor will enlighten him on the matter.

9-6-'48

C. N. SHAH
Manager, Ashram, Sevagram,
(Wardha, C. P.)

NOTES

Equalizing Social Status

Different correspondents have reported noteworthy instances illustrating how the movement for the equalization of social status of all castes is taking root.

1. Shri Devchand belongs to the caste of *mochis* (shoemakers) of Kadod (District Surat). There was a marriage at his place. After the guests had been fed, the local *bhangis* (scavengers), in accordance with their usual habit, came to the place to beg and collect remnants from the plates. Shri Devchand could not bear this. He invited the *bhangis* in, made them wash their hands and arranged seats for them in the same way as he had done for the guests of his own caste, and gave them a regular feast. Not only his caste-people, but those of the neighbouring caste of fishermen also, have for the time being, resented Shri Devchand's act, and the latter have passed a resolution that they should no longer assist *mochis* in the disposal of their dead at funerals. Undaunted Shri Devchand has taken the further step of employing *bhangis* in his domestic work. It is expected that his caste-people as well as those of the fisherman caste, would get reconciled soon.

2. Similarly, the *Patel* (village headman) of Orna (Kamrej, Baroda State) not only invited and feasted Harijans at a marriage in his family, but also took them to the bride's house as his honoured guests with the marriage procession.

3. Shri Mangaldas Shah of the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, is surprised to note the cleanliness, tidiness and orderliness that has been introduced by two *bhangis* girls of the Ashram Boarding in their homes. He could not believe that he was in *bhangis*' huts, when he visited their houses last May. They were superior to several caste houses that he had visited in Gujarat.

The Other Side

As counter-balancing this bright side is the insolence of the *savarna* Hindus of Kalol Taluka in the North of Gujarat. For years they have been harassing the Harijans in the use of public motor buses. Last year a sort of satyagraha movement had been conducted on this issue. It succeeded technically, but without change of heart on the part of the *savarnas*. Some kind of harassment and pin-pricking has always gone on, with the connivance or helplessness of the police. Further harassment has again commenced recently. The police officers, whose duty it is to prevent this, belong generally to the *savarna* caste and share the prejudices of their caste-fellows. The result is that the Harijans trying to travel by the buses are often belaboured, forced to alight in the midst of their journey even at night and in unsafe places. This taluka is inhabited by people of criminal tendencies. The Harijans so deserted on the way at times become victims of these people. I hope that the responsible Government which has now succeeded the official Government of Baroda will discharge its responsibility towards its Harijan subjects as one of its immediate acts and put an end to this injustice in no uncertain manner.

Wardha, 8-6-'48

K. G. M.

GANDHIJI'S LAST CONVERSATION WITH A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

[Mr. Kingsley Martin, a British Press Correspondent, was the last foreign journalist to hold conversation with Gandhiji. The following notes of the interview, which took place on 27-1-'48 in the presence of A. K. and myself, were taken by the former. They were read to Gandhiji on the next day and approved by him.

— J. C. K.]

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE WEAK AND THE STRONG

Gandhiji explained how the freedom movement had not been a non-violent movement in the highest sense of the term. If it had been the non-violence of the strong no butchery such as had taken place recently could have come about. He discovered this while he was on his pilgrimage in Noakhali and ever since this discovery he had been impressing the fact on everyone. He felt that non-violence during the struggle for independence was an expedient, e. g. resistance to the white man was undertaken in a non-violent manner simply because we had no military strength with which to offer battle.

Gandhiji went on to relate how he had resisted a certain millionaire in South Africa who had introduced him at a public meeting as a mere passive resister and weak because as an Indian there he was landless and without any rights. Gandhiji objected to this description and said that real passive resistance had been mis-called a weapon of the weak. After all Jesus Christ had been called the prince of passive resisters. Could he, in any sense of the term be called a weak man? People forget that soul force, the only weapon of the truly non-violent man, was a weapon of the strong.

NON-VIOLENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION

In reply to the correspondent's suggestion that many people looked upon non-violence as a good opposition weapon in politics and that they could not understand how it could, for example, be used as a positive weapon in Kashmir today or against a man like Hitler who just killed everybody and stamped out opposition in that manner, Gandhiji laughingly replied that he was not in charge of the Government and therefore could not guide their policies; nor did he think that the members of the present Government believed in non-violence. He recalled how Maulanasaheb had said, "when we gain power we shall not be able to hold it non-violently." Gandhiji said that he had laughed to himself at that time and related the moral of Tolstoy's story of *Ivan the Fool* which had always remained with him. Hindu scriptures, Gandhiji said, had scores of such stories but he quoted *Ivan the Fool* because the interviewer might have read the book. Ivan remained non-violent even when he became king. Gandhiji pointed out how the truly non-violent man can never hold power himself. He derives power from the people whom he serves. For such a man or such a government, a non-violent army would be a perfect possibility. The voters then would themselves say, "we do not want any military for our defence."

A non-violent army would fight against all injustice or attack but with clean weapons. Non-violence does not signify that man must not fight against the enemy and by enemy is meant the evil which men do, not human beings themselves. He went on to say that if he were the leader of Kashmir like Sheikh Abdulla, he would have such an army but Sheikh Abdulla quite honestly and humbly thought otherwise.

PARTITION OF KASHMIR

On the correspondent suggesting a solution of the Kashmir issue on the basis of separation, e. g. the predominantly pro-Pakistan area like Poonch going to Pakistan and the Kashmir Valley remaining in India Gandhiji had no difficulty in giving a firm answer in the negative. He held firmly that India or any part of India could not be divided in this manner. It was an evil that must not be allowed to continue. "Take, for example, Hyderabad; will you separate the town of Hyderabad from the rest of the State? Such pockets exist all over India and separation would then become an endless process spelling the ruination of India." The interviewer pleaded that the position of Hyderabad was not wholly analogous. Any State on a border area was surely different. But Gandhiji maintained that it was not possible for States even on the border to be either cut up or separated or even for them to call themselves independent. And when the correspondent mentioned Gilgit, Gandhiji recalled that he was in Kashmir when the city of Shrinagar was illuminated. On asking what the illuminations were for Gandhiji was told that they were celebrating the accession of Gilgit to Kashmir. He was sad when he heard the news because he wondered how long Kashmir would hold Gilgit. It had been a big bite even for Britain. Britain's policy of keeping on adding to her territories in India had not been either a wise or right policy. If Kashmir accedes to India, it will be because of the will of the people as a whole and they will do so well knowing that Gilgit is no part of the Indian Union today. There are people who say, "they will reconquer Gilgit." All sorts of complications would then arise. Gandhiji said that Britain had made of India a political whole and India must continue as such.

TRIBAL PEOPLE

In reply to a question as to what Pakistan could do with tribal people Gandhiji said, "I would accept a challenge of conquering the tribal areas but as a non-violent man. I would not bribe them, nor kill them; I would serve them. Have not missionaries allowed themselves to be eaten by cannibals?" The correspondent exclaimed "Alas! there are no Gandhis in Palestine, in Russia or in the U. S. A.!" to which Gandhiji laughingly replied, "so much the worse for them!"

POLICY OF DISMEMBERMENT

In reply to a query as to why Poonch going over to Pakistan was not impracticable and that a war between India and the Frontier would be unending, Gandhiji replied that it would be a very bad example to others. There were pockets

everywhere, for example, Murshidabad in West Bengal. The vital difference between the policy of the Indian Union and that of Pakistan was that the former never believed in dismemberment while the Pakistan leaders did. Gandhiji quoted the example of Kathiawad. Pakistan wanted to vivisect Kathiawad by getting Junagadh to accede to that Dominion. Vivisection of Kathiawad which is indivisible was quite unthinkable. The whole basis of partition was, in his opinion, wrong. Gandhiji admitted that two distinguished persons had suggested the idea of partition of Kashmir to him but he had said a very firm "no" for the reasons he had already explained.

In conclusion he asked the correspondent to study things deeply and not superficially. He (Gandhiji) himself was working for a heart union between Hindus and Muslims not only in India but in Pakistan also and would continue his efforts in that direction. A. K.

THE RIGHT WAY AND THE WRONG WAY

A sister, who is a devoted servant of the Harijan cause, writes:

"I heard on the radio last night that some Calcutta Councillors have tabled a resolution for constructing a marble statue of Gandhiji. . . . Gandhiji positively disliked such memorials. He considered it waste of money. When people in Bombay wished to erect a huge statue of him at the India Gate, he at once wrote against it. Besides, every one has seen the condition of statues in all big cities. Crows sit on them and people also spoil them in a hundred and one ways. Can we bear to have all that happen to the statue of our beloved Bapu? He was no ordinary man. By putting up a statue in an open, public place we shall be committing a great wrong against his sacred memory.

"Besides, there are much better ways of putting up memorials to him, which I am sure, would please his soul and give it peace. All his life he lived for the poor and their interest was nearest to his heart. In this big, wealthy city of Calcutta I sometimes come across scenes which make me bow my head in shame. For instance, I sometimes find a whole family, including little babies, living in an obscure corner of the pavement of some palatial house. Day in and day out in rain and in sun, in winter and in summer, they have no roof over their heads, while just on the other side of the wall the children of the owner of the house have all the luxury that man can desire. Are not these human beings like us? Have they not the right to a bare shelter? Do we even think of these poor wretches whose whole life is spent on the road, on the stairs of the railway platforms, under the arches of a bridge, on the foot-paths? The man who thought of them is no more. Once I asked a Councillor to accompany me to a Harijan *bustee* to see the condition of these poor wretches with his own eyes — he represented that ward in the Council —

he refused point-blank. He had no time even to go and see, while for canvassing votes he could go there daily!

"If we wish to consecrate the memory of the "Greatest friend of the Poor", let us build a house for these men, women and children.

"Again, very often in the *bustees* you come across cases of hopeless sickness, but there is nowhere to send them to. They need medical help very badly, but there is no such institution which would come to their help free of charge. They need clean air, clean clothes, medicines, fruit and milk. But there is no such good luck for them. . . . Let us build a first class sanatorium for them. It should be exclusively for the poor. The rich should have no access to it. It should be just for those who cannot afford any medical help. Let us have a memorial that would please him not a memorial that would pain him."

What this sister says is worthy of careful attention. I was myself the other day in the *bustee* where she is carrying on her mission of mercy and I know how bad the conditions there are. And yet there are worse *bustees* in the City of Palaces. It would be a criminal misuse of money to spend it on erecting a statue when there are so many deserving causes, dear to Gandhiji's heart calling for attention. The cost of a statue could easily rehabilitate an entire Harijan *bustee*. Rajaji has already spoken his mind. The Chief Minister of Bengal is a humanitarian. Philanthropy is dear to his heart. I know how, in spite of the tremendous burden that rests on his shoulders, he still sets apart a part of his time to render free medical service to the poor because Gandhiji wished it. Let him in consultation with H. E. the Governor devise a suitable form of memorial commensurate with what Gandhiji stood for and which he would have liked.

And what is true of Bengal equally applies to other parts of India. There is talk of erecting temples to Gandhiji. It would be nothing short of a sacrilege and Sardar Patel's denunciation of it has come none too soon. Let us not perpetrate it in Gandhiji's name.

Chandpur, 22-2-'48

PYARELAL

[This came to my hands only last week. But the subject is one which is still alive. — K. G. M.]
Wardha, 11-6-'48

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