

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

DIFFERENT CULTURES

[Extracts from the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, New Delhi, on 9th April, 1950, taken from the P. T. I. report.]

Mode of Approach

"It is essential that we must try to understand each other in the right way. A fundamental rule of human life is that if the approach is friendly, the response is good. If the approach is bad, the response is likely to be bad too. We must approach our fellow human beings of other countries not in any sense of surrendering anything that we consider of essential value to truth or to our own genius but, nevertheless, in a friendly way, with our minds and hearts open and prepared to accept whatever good comes to us."

There was, he supposed, no culture in the world which was absolutely pristine and pure and unaffected by another culture, just as there was no pure race.

Confluence of Cultures

"Culture, if it has any value, must have a certain depth, but it must have a certain dynamic character. The culture of a country is affected by geography, by climate and all kinds of events that have happened. The culture of Arabia is intimately governed by the geography and deserts of Arabia. Obviously, the culture of India, in the old days, was affected greatly by the Himalaya mountains, the forests and the great rivers and other things in India. The two may mix together and produce a happy combination, as they often did in various domains of culture, art, architecture, music, literature, and so on. But when there is an attempt to impose something on the other, then it leads to conflict and something also comes which is the isolation of the mind, the deliberate shutting up of the mind to other influences.

Influence of Religion

"If I may say so with all respect and without meaning any ill to any person, we have had great religions, and they have had an enormous effect upon humanity. Yet those key religions, in the measure that they have made the mind of man static, dogmatic and bigoted, have had an evil effect. The things they said may be good, but the effect of saying anything and adding on to it that there you stop and that the last word has been said makes society static and, therefore, it stops the growth of culture.

"The scientific approach to life's problems is one of examining everything and trying to imbibe the truth wherever one finds it. If that is culture, how far is it represented in the nations of today?"

"Almost every country in the world thinks that it has some special dispensation from Providence, it is of the chosen people or race and others are secondary or inferior human beings. At a certain stage in a country's history, nationalism gives life, growth, strength and unity. At the same time, it has a tendency of making one think of one's country as something rather out of proportion with the rest of the world, with the result that it stops the growth or spreads in an aggressive way and becomes an international danger."

Unless a balance was struck in these things, said Pandit Nehru, something that was good turned into evil. Culture that was essentially good, looked at from a wrong point of view, became not only essentially static but aggressive and something breeding conflict and hatred.--

Problem of Today

How to find that balance was perhaps the problem of today. Apart from the great political and economic problems of the age, there seemed to be a tremendous conflict in the spirit of man, some search for something which he could not find. Of course, one must deal with the economic and other problems. It was just folly to talk of culture, religion or even of God when human beings starved and died. The first thing one had to do was to provide the normal essentials of life to a human being before one could talk of anything else.

"Human beings today are not in a mood to put up with this suffering and starvation and inequality, when they see that the burden is not equally shared — that others profit while they only have to bear the burden. Inevitably, we have to deal with these economic and other problems, but I do think that, behind it all, there is this tremendous psychological problem. May be some people who did not have all the advantages of a modern life and modern science were wiser in the essentials than most of us are. Whether we shall be able in later times to combine all this knowledge and scientific growth and betterment of the human species with truth and wisdom or not I do not know. It is a race between various forces."

MINORITIES PACT

The following is the full text of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement jointly signed on April 8 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan.

(A) The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

Both Governments wish to emphasize that be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

Both Governments wish to emphasize that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the state of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

(B) In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments:

(I) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit;

(II) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75.

(III) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required, for their transfer to him, subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned;

(IV) That there shall be no harassment by the customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice;

(V) Rights of ownership in, or occupancy of, the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him, provided that he comes back by December 31, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him, provided that he returns not later than December 31, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immovable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice.

Where restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible, the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him;

(VI) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale or exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A Committee consisting of three representatives of the minority community and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustee of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immovable property according to law.

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government, as the case may be, will instruct the district or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions.

The provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after August 15, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof.

(C) As regards the province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall;

(1) Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder;

(2) Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences. In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed where necessary. Special courts will, where necessary, be appointed to

ensure that wrong-doers are promptly punished.

(3) Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

(4) Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

(5) Not recognize forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be a forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

(6) Set up a Commission of Inquiry at once to inquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a Judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

(7) Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organization. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

(8) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organization guilty of such propaganda.

(D) Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of (C) of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.

(E) In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided (i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary; (ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam, the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

(F) In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in (E), to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below:

(i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Governments concerned, who will be the Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.

(ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this Agreement.

(iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in districts and small administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organizations as they may consider necessary.

(vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be: (a) To observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and, for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect; and (b) to advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan, and the State and provincial Governments, will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E, the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

(G) Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948, shall remain in force.

HARIJAN

April 23

1950

A HAPPY START

The texts of the Indo-Pakistan agreement and the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are published elsewhere in this issue. The Pakistan Prime Minister's speeches also show a distinct change for the better. It is always easy to doubt the sincerity of the opposite party. But it must be remembered that the opposite party in that case will also feel justified in suspecting our sincerity. Suspicion and counter-suspicion are equal and opposite, and confidence begets confidence.

Apart from the terms of the Agreement, the very fact that the Prime Ministers of the two States gave up all other engagements and met for a week to discuss directly the affairs face to face without the intervention of a third party and succeeded in producing an agreement, which each of them feels to be satisfactory, is a happy and welcome start by itself. It indicates that the disease, which had almost become chronic and threatened to be fatal to the life of the two States, is still capable of being arrested and, if carefully treated and nursed, rooted out radically.

Gandhiji was eager to see the day when India and Pakistan should settle all their differences and problems by direct talks and without the intervention of other political powers. Speaking about Kashmir, he was reported to have said on 25th December 1947:

"He had seen in the newspapers some reference to an arbitration over the issue of Kashmir. Were the Union and Pakistan always to depend on a third party to settle their disputes? How long would they go on quarrelling?"

"If Pakistan was to become a worthy State, let them and the Union representatives sit down and thrash out the Kashmir affair as they had already done in the case of many other things. If they could not do so, why could they not choose from among themselves good, true persons who would direct their steps? The first step was an open and sincere confession of past lapses. Heartly repentance broke the edge of a guilt and led the way to proper understanding."

Let us be thankful to God that a beginning has been made in this spirit and the first attempt has been successful enough to produce hopes for a better future.

Let us examine some of the principles to which both the Governments have pledged their acceptance. For instance, both accept that none of the Governments was to be theocratic in character or to make any distinction among its citizens on the ground of their religion. The meaning of

Pakistan being an Islamic State is made clear by its Prime Minister:

"Some fears have been expressed from time to time by those who have an imperfect understanding of the concept of an Islamic State that such a State will be theocratic and that it may not be guided in its policy by principles of equal status, rights and citizenship in respect of the minorities who reside in it.

"Such fears are entirely baseless. Their frequent repetition cannot but do immeasurable harm to the peace of mind of the minority community.

"To anybody who has made a study of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, — (the reader will find it elsewhere in these columns) — it must be clear that the concept of an Islamic State rests essentially on the acceptance of the principles of freedom, equality and social justice applying to all citizens without distinction of religion, at the same time safeguarding the culture and way of life of the majority and minority communities.

"I hope that all talk of Pakistan being a theocratic State where discrimination is made will now cease." (Speech in the Pakistan Parliament on 10th April).

Along with this clear explanation should be read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's answer to the following question put by the Press representatives:

"How was the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance that his State was based on modern democratic ideals to be reconciled with the insistence on Islamic principles in their Objectives Resolution?"

".....The Prime Minister declared that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan strongly repudiated the charge that his State was a theocratic State. His argument was that the word *Islamic* was used in the Objectives Resolution in the same way as 'Ramarajya' in our country. It was not theocratic, according to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan."

I think that this fully supports my interpretation of the Meaning of Partition, as explained in the *Harijan* last week. I should take the words "Ramarajya", "Islamic State" and "the Kingdom of God upon earth" as respectively the Hindu, Muslim and Christian ways of tersely expressing the ideal of a spiritual, political, social and economic world order of perfect justice, happiness and prosperity for all creatures living upon earth.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is also happy that:

"At the same time a most important principle has been re-emphasized, that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances. The reiteration of this concept has been found to be necessary because

much political and communal mischief in both countries is the result of a failure to recognize this basic principle."

This is quite fair. But at the same time it lays upon both the Governments the responsibility to see that their judicial and administrative machinery is so impartial and honest as to inspire confidence among the minorities that they would receive justice when appealed to. If that confidence is lacking, the exodus of the members of the minority community as well as the concern and anxiety of their co-religionists on the other side leading sooner or later to intervention by the State cannot be prevented. The agreement has recognized that responsibility and sought to create a proper machinery to see to it.

Both the Governments also accept the principle that those who have emigrated might return to their homelands and promise to return their property to them or in case where that is not possible to rehabilitate them.

The principle is at present confined principally to the migrations of the two parts of Bengal and Assam, but it may be hoped that the same would be done in the case of the two parts of the Punjab, Sind and N.W.F.P. It is but just that people should not be uprooted from their ancestral homes.

Even if there are honest misgivings on both sides regarding the success of the agreement in action, it is a valuable document inasmuch as it formally clears certain principles, about which doubts were entertained and about which both India and Pakistan were very anxious and inconsistent. Until the agreement is formally repudiated none of the two Governments can defend a speech or action of a responsible leader or office-holder, or a Government servant inconsistent with its terms and both the Governments would be bound to rectify anything done in contravention of them.

Honest implementation requires honest officers and honest unofficial public or private agencies working in the field. If they are men, who are bent upon mischief, and if the minorities in general are too weak of spirit, the best of agreements could be made a worthless writing. In this respect both India and Pakistan have to be on their guard and frank. None should make the vain boast that the people of the majority community on its side are always good and honest and that breaches are made only by the people of the majority community on the other side. There are good people on both the sides, as also mischief-mongers. Even so far back as 2nd November 1947 Gandhiji was able to tell his audience :

"A Hindu friend from Karachi saw him and another from Lahore. Both informed him that things were better than a few days ago and that they were getting still better. He was told, too, that at least one Muslim family was seen by the friend to have given shelter to a Sikh friend and set apart one

room for keeping the Sikh friend's *Granth Sahib* with due respect. He was informed that such instances of the Hindus and Sikhs having sheltered Muslims and vice versa could be multiplied. He had, too, some Muslim friends coming to him who deplored with him that vast and criminal exchange of populations was going on. These friends told him that the Muslim refugees in Pakistan suffered no less than the Sikhs and Hindus in the Union. No government could cope with such a large mass of human beings uprooted from their homes and thrown on its shoulders. It was like an overwhelming onrush of waters. Could not this mad rush be stopped? the friends asked. He had no doubt that it could be if the suspicion and the flinging of charges (he thought baseless) was altogether and sincerely stopped. He invited the audience to pray with him that God would bring sanity to the unhappy land."

Amen !

Wardha, 13-4-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE AGREEMENT

[The following is the text of the Prime Minister's Broadcast to the nation on 10th April, 1950.]

We have passed through trying times which test men's souls. Hundreds of thousands of people have been uprooted from their homes in Bengal and suffered intolerable agony. Millions have lived under the dark shadow of fear and insecurity. But apart from those people in East Bengal, in West Bengal or Assam, apart from the vast armies of the refugees who have gone through these ordeals, all of us, wherever we might be, have shared in this suffering and torment of soul and out of this torment has come passion and the insensate action that passion brings forth. We seemed to have lost our moorings and struggled blindly for a blind future.

As you know, for a full week the Prime Minister of Pakistan and I discussed with earnestness of spirit these terrible problems that faced us. I had the advantage of conferring with my colleagues from day to day, for they carried the burden equally with me. As a result of these long talks an agreement was signed on behalf of the two Governments on Saturday afternoon and I placed this before our Parliament this morning.

Value of the Agreement

What is the value of this agreement? How far will it be implemented? To what extent will it succeed in producing hope and security in these affected areas of Bengal and Assam and elsewhere? Will it solve the problems that confront us? These questions are asked, and rightly asked, for an agreement may remain on paper only, as we have seen other agreements remain.

My answer to these questions is firstly, that the mere fact of an agreement is good and to be welcomed, because it turns people's minds to the ways of construction and away from the ways of destruction. Secondly, I can tell you with all confidence and in all honesty that both of us, who held these long talks were animated by an

urgent and earnest desire to find a peaceful and satisfactory solution. We were impelled to do so by the very gravity of the situation and by the compulsion of events. I have no doubt that Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, will exercise his great influence in the fullest degree to help in implementing this agreement and in producing those conditions of peace and security and good living for the minorities in Pakistan. Need I assure you that my Government will do their utmost to fulfil the letter and the spirit of this agreement?

Hurdles in the Way

We have crossed a very big hurdle, but other hurdles remain. I do not wish to minimize the difficulties confronting us, for they are many. But whatever difficulties remain, if you and I and all of us are determined to surmount them, we shall inevitably succeed. I venture, therefore, to speak to you with faith and confidence. During these 30 years and more that lie behind us it has been my high privilege to come in personal contact with millions of my people and they have honoured me with their love and confidence beyond measure. I can never repay that debt. Because of that intimate companionship both on occasions of triumph and failure, of joy and sorrow, we have grown to know each other. Even when our great master, the father of the nation, was with us, we slipped occasionally and failed him, but we pulled ourselves up again because of his teaching.

Reason for Optimism

So I speak with some confidence of the future, though that confidence is tempered with realism. This is no time for an easy optimism, as it certainly is no time for pessimism. We shall go ahead with strength of mind and purpose and with faith in the task we have undertaken. We shall go ahead in the confidence that we are many and that in the past we have overcome many obstacles and so also we shall do in the present and in the future.

You may examine this agreement closely and you may perhaps criticize some part of it here and there. But the real thing that counts is the spirit underlying it. If that spirit is absent, then the agreement is a mere scrap of paper. If the spirit gives it life, then it may well be the beginning of a new and vital approach to our problems, an approach that is bound to succeed.

Our Duty

What will Pakistan do? Will they implement the agreement? That is often asked. I am sure that the leaders of Pakistan will strive to their utmost capacity to implement it. But why ask what others will do? It is for us to determine what we do and duty rightly done inevitably produces right results. That is the lesson not only of Gandhiji but of all the sages who have gone before him and left their imperishable imprint on the minds of our ancient race.

No Magical Change Expected

I do not expect some magical change suddenly because of this agreement. I do not expect the great exodus to stop because large numbers of people have been uprooted and are on the move. I do not expect petty incidents to stop suddenly. Let us not be frightened because there is no sudden change of this kind. Let us not lose our balance of mind. But I do expect a new and purer atmosphere to prevail which will gradually affect people's minds and hearts and remove those poisonous tendencies that have betrayed them. I do expect this process to go on slowly at first and then with greater force, till it produces a sea-change of great magnitude.

But changes do not happen of themselves and even fate, if there is such a thing, takes effect through men's minds and activities. This change will come and must come, if you and I are determined to bring it about. We have played about too long with these problems and conflicts. It is time that we face them in the way we used to face our problems of old, firm in our anchor and in our ideals and refusing to admit that any power could stop us from our onward march.

This agreement has already been welcomed by large sections of our people and by the world abroad. A few friends are critical and are doubtful about the results that may come from it. I can understand that criticism and that doubt.

We have taken a turn and although the way is hard and difficult, it points in the right direction and we have to pursue it to get out of the forest which was crushing us into the sunlight outside.

Special Appeal to Bengal

To my friends and colleagues of Bengal, I would make special appeal for, while all are concerned with these problems, their concern is obviously far greater, as their burden has been far greater also. Bengal has shown on so many occasions in the past that she can rise at a moment of crisis and face it with strength and calm vigour. The young men and young women of Bengal are the most promising material in India to build up our nation. Unhappily circumstances have denied them opportunities and there is a spirit of frustration among them and the unhappiness that comes from it. We have to rid ourselves of this frustration and lack of purpose and divert the bright intelligence and vitality of Bengal in the direction of constructive effort. The first effort is to face this problem of today with faith and confidence and not to allow oneself to succumb to the doubt that enervates and weakens.

Also to Assam and U. P.

I have spoken of Bengal because East and West Bengal are the crux of the problem. I would like to speak of Assam also in the same way, and I would also like to refer to my own province now called Uttar Pradesh. All my younger days were spent in the towns and villages of this province and I have been grieved that

trouble should occur, where so many valiant fights for freedom were fought. I earnestly trust that we have seen the end of this sorry business there and elsewhere.

And to the Press

A great responsibility rests on the Press. Governments may act rightly or firmly, but ultimately a great deal depends on how the Press functions and what lead it gives to our people. I trust that that lead will be in favour of the complete success of this great enterprise on which we have launched.

Our Test

The test of a people and a nation comes when they are up against difficult and intricate problems. Any person can live an easy life. It is only in times of trial that people prove themselves worthy or unworthy. On past occasions our people have shown their worthiness and have not failed to do great deeds. Let us again get back something of that old spirit, that old idealism, that old courage and faith and acquit ourselves like men.

AHIMSA WEEK

26th Year

[Jain and other *Ahimsa* organizations should feel interested in the following appeal of Principal Fernando.

—K. G. M.]

We have great pleasure to bring to you all this message of Peace and Kindness which we hope will prove to be a source of happiness to all beings. Life is the most precious gift of all and we have no right on any ground to cut short the life of any being large or small. It is our duty to alleviate the sufferings of both men and animals. If we wish World Peace we must try our best to make all beings happy.

We wish to state that the *Ahimsa* Movement organized by us on a minute scale in 1925 has made gradual progress during the last twenty-five years. Our main objects are to get legislation introduced to prohibit the slaughtering of cattle in Ceylon, and to propagate the *Ahimsa* Week all over the world within two years.

At the request of Miss Margaret E. Ford, Hon. Secretary, World League against Vivisection, London, we celebrated for the first time the World Animal Day on October 4th, 1948. At our request meat-stalls were closed at eight places in Ceylon on that day. We are happy to mention that on that day last year meat-stalls were closed at fifteen places.

As this movement is universal and it is neither political nor sectarian we request all kindly to co-operate with us in observing the *Ahimsa* Week, which falls in the first week of May every year. The following three precepts have to be observed during the week :

1. To abstain from killing.
2. To take only vegetarian diet.
3. To give rest to animals from 11-30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and to abstain from travelling in vehicles drawn by animals during that time.

Further, in order to increase food products in the country and to keep our fellow-men gradually away from eating flesh food we request all kindly to plant as many food-producing plants

as possible commencing on May 1st at 6-30 a.m. and continuing through May and June. We request the authorities of all the churches and temples to announce the time by ringing bells twenty-six times at 6-30 a.m. The co-operation of priests and teachers of all religions and associations is earnestly invited to make this movement a success. We have pleasure to state that this movement has spread to India, Burma, England, France, Switzerland, Canada, United States of America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

W. S. FERNANDO

Principal, Universal College

Panadura, Ceylon, 20-1-'50

Living Conditions of Scavengers

Under the chairmanship of Shri V. N. Barve, President, Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Government of Bombay has appointed a Committee "to study and enquire into the living conditions of the scavengers in that Province and to suggest ways and means to improve their present conditions of work and to fix their minimum wages."

The word *scavenger* employed in the terms of reference, is understood by the Committee, in its broad sense, so as to mean both the 'scavenger' proper, i.e. a person doing the work of cleaning latrines, urinals or cesspools and 'sweeper', i.e. a person doing the work of sweeping streets, open spaces or cleaning drains. Thus it includes all conservancy workmen.

The objectives set by the Committee before itself, in carrying out the work entrusted to it, may be defined as follows :

"Improvement in the living conditions and conditions of work and of service of the conservancy workmen, to such an extent as to give the work and the workmen, as equal citizens of Free India, a higher status in society, so that the debasing monopoly of particular castes doing the scavenging or sweeping work will terminate and at the same time, the need for employing professionals for doing the scavenging work will be reduced to a minimum."

The Committee has devised a detailed questionnaire for the purpose. Copies may be obtained on writing to the Secretary of the Committee, Shri P. H. Nanavati, Assistant Backward Class Officer, Northern Circle, Ahmedabad.

The conditions under which scavengers and sweepers live and work are, to say the least, so sub-human even in some of the most advanced cities that it is difficult to advise them to continue to follow this occupation. And yet it is an indispensable service, which knows neither Sundays, nor *Divali* or other holidays. Not even mechanization can dispense with them altogether.

The duty, therefore, is all the greater to improve the scavenger's conditions of living and work, and give him a place of honour in the social order.

This is a problem which concerns all municipal bodies, and hence a uniform policy is needed for all.

I hope the Committee will give valuable and practical suggestions in their report.

Wardha, 12-4-'50

K. G. M.

PAKISTAN'S OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION

The Objectives Resolution as passed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949, says:

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people, so that it should be exercised within the limits prescribed by Him, is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly, representing the people of Pakistan, resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Wherein Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Koran;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;

Whereby territories now included in, or in accession with, Pakistan, and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan, shall form a federation, wherein units will be autonomous, with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before the law, social, economic, and political justice and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to the law and public morality;

Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of territories of the federation, its independence, and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea, and in the air, shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the world, and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and the happiness of humanity.

(Reprinted from the *Hindustan Times*)

"Gandhi and Marx"

Owing to pressure of space and time, the tenth article in this series has had to be postponed.

Wardha, 13-4-'50

K. G. M.

SHRI RAMANA MAHARSHI

The world will learn with deep sorrow that the celebrated saint of Tiruvannamalai, Shri Ramana Maharshi, breathed his last at his *ashrama* on the evening of the 14th April after a prolonged illness. The Maharshi was a rare *jnani* of the present age, left his home while still a boy of 16 years, and settled down in a temple near Tiruvannamalai and there commenced his *sadhana* for the realization of the Self. On being convinced that he had achieved it, having no other curiosity left he stuck on to the same place till his expiry at 71. Though he knew several languages and wrote verses, he made no travels and no public speeches, but generally observed silence speaking only when a question was put to him. By and by he became known to the public and an *ashrama* grew around him. Some of his disciples (among whom Europeans could also be reckoned) made him known to the outside world, and for some years his name has been widely known among seekers of Truth. He was more easily accessible to the ordinary men than other celebrated *jnanis* of his eminence. The world has become poorer by this bereavement.

There are several disciples who worship him as God in human form and there is a danger that they might establish a regular religious sect in his name. This is an unhappy development of the Hindu religious movement. We the believers of the doctrine of 'One Life in All' have more incarnations of God than one existing at the same time in different parts of India. Moreover one God-Incarnation generally does not meet or contact another Incarnation even though they live within a few miles of each other, and the disciples of one dispute the title to perfection of the other. Gandhiji resisted such deification of himself till the end of his life, and was content to be—rather insisted on being regarded—just a mortal. But Shri Aravinda, Shri Ramana Maharshi, and many others have not been able to put a stop to that tradition.

Now after Shri Maharshi's immersion in the Infinite Life, I hope his disciples will study him and try to attain the same realization which he had, rather than spend their energies in deifying him. Let us remember that to *deify* a *jnani* is to defy *jnana*.

My humble salutations to the departed Maharshi.

Wardha, 15-4-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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