THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIX

(1947)

CWMG - LXXXIX



THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

CWMG - LXXXIX

VOLUME EIGHTY-NINE



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

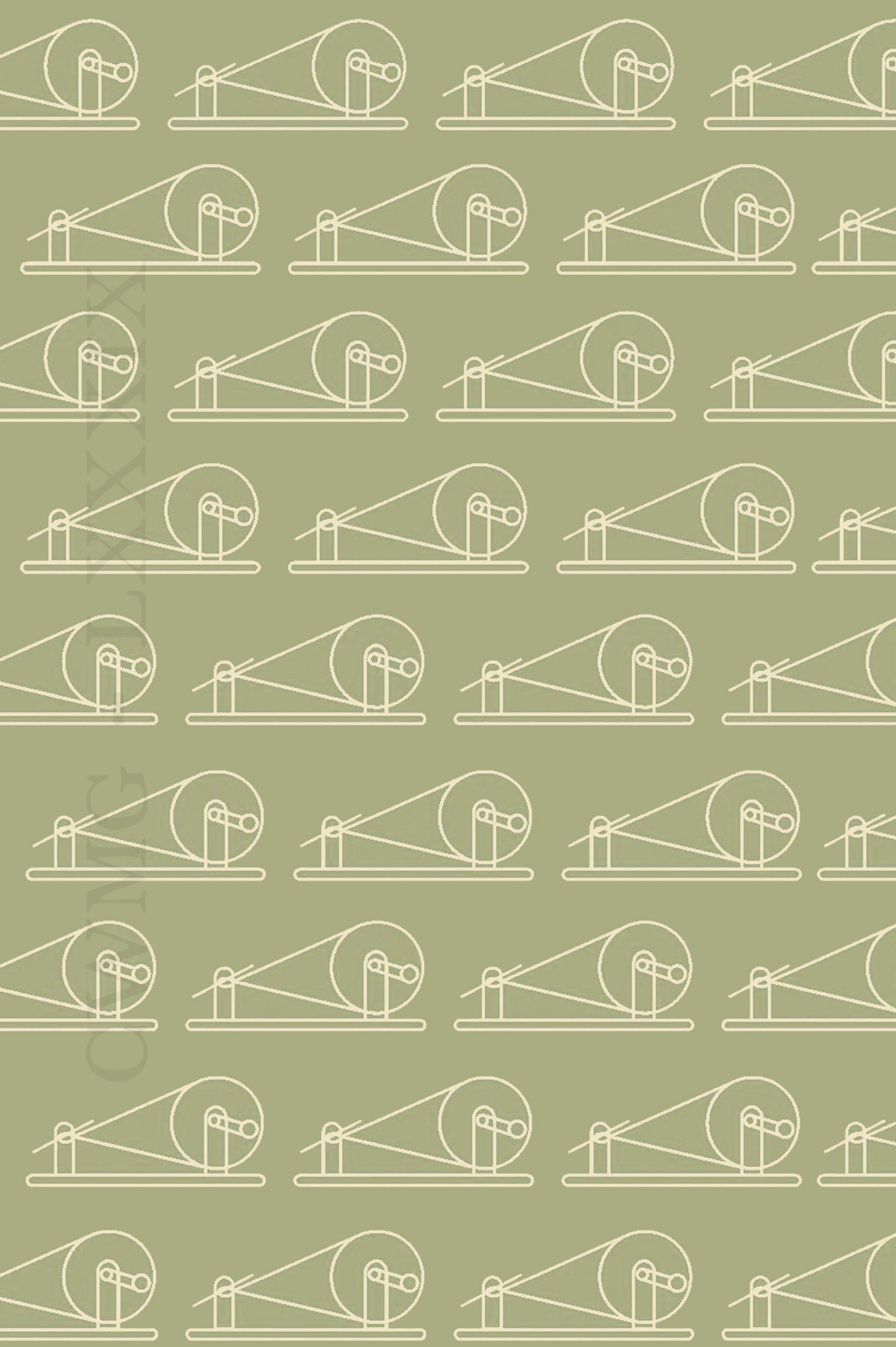
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIX

(1947)

CWMG - LXXXIX







THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIX

(August 1, 1947 - November 10, 1947)

CWMG - LXXXIX



THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXXIX

(August 1, 1947 – November 10, 1947)

CWMG - LXXXIX



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

September 1983 (*Asvina 1905*)

© *Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, 1983*

COPYRIGHT

By Kind Permission of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
NEW DELHI–110 001
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY JITENDRA THAKOREBHAI DESAI
NAVAJIVAN PRESS, AHMEDABAD–380 014

CWMG - LXXXIX

PREFACE

In the period covered by this volume (August 1 to November 10, 1947) the triumph of the Transfer of Power is overshadowed by the tragedy of Partition. The "waters of the ocean catch fire" and we see Gandhiji trying to quench with his tears the spreading flames and incurring the wrath of those who loved his mother-religion not wisely but too well.

On August 15, the country became free, the non-violent struggle against foreign rule ending in the conversion of an Empire into a Commonwealth. The historic event, however, was disfigured by barbarous outbreaks of communal violence provoked and sustained by the prolonged "hymn of hate" (p. 330), which accompanied the campaign for a separate state for the Muslims. Gandhiji pitted his whole soul against this madness and tried to calm the angry passions on both sides. In Calcutta the "One-man Boundary Force" (as Lord Mountbatten hailed him) stopped the rioting, while 55 thousand soldiers failed to do so in the Punjab (p. 116). The local miracle was completed by a fast which extinguished the fire in Bengal. It could not, however, be repeated in Delhi; it needed the martyrdom five months later to cure the country's madness once for all.

The volume opens on a hopeful note. Disagreeing with a correspondent's suggestion that he was being "buried alive", Gandhiji pointed out that even the members of the Muslim League had started saying, "we are all brothers" (p. 1), that the masses had not lost faith in his ideals and that he would be "alive in the grave and . . . speaking from it" (p. 16).

Gandhiji's faith in the people seemed to be vindicated in Calcutta, where he reached on August 9 on his way to Noakhali to resume his peace mission there, intending afterwards to go to Bihar. Here he found the Muslims "living in terror". The memory of the "great Calcutta killing" of August 16, 1946, provoked by the Muslim League's observance of "Direct Action Day" (*vide* Vol. LXXXV), was rankling in the people's minds and the Hindus, it was reported to Gandhiji, had started threatening revenge (pp. 19-20). The Secretary of the Calcutta District Muslim League waited on Gandhiji on August 10 and "entreated" him "to stay on in Calcutta even if it were only for two more days". Gandhiji agreed, on condition that they guaranteed the peace of Noakhali, warning them that if things went wrong there

on the 15th they would have to face a fast unto death by him. The Muslim leaders accepted the condition (p. 21). Appealing for sanity in his prayer speech on the 11th, he said: "... we must unlearn the habit of retaliation in every shape and form", not merely in action but, more importantly, in thought (p. 27).

Late in the evening the same day the former Muslim League Premier of Bengal, H. S. Suhrawardy, came with the Muslim League leader and requested Gandhiji to prolong his stay in Calcutta indefinitely till peace was firmly restored in the city. Gandhiji replied: "I would remain if you and I are prepared to live together.... We shall have to work till every Hindu and Mussalman in Calcutta safely returns to the place where he was before. We shall continue in our effort till our last breath." He asked Suhrawardy to think carefully before accepting the offer, for this would mean "that the old Suhrawardy" would "die" and become a fakir (p. 28). Suhrawardy accepted the offer, and on the 13th evening the two moved for joint residence to an old abandoned house in the predominantly Muslim locality of Beliaghata. Gandhiji wrote to his trusted co-worker, Satis Chandra Das Gupta: "I have taken many risks, perhaps this is the greatest of all" (p. 40).

The Hindus were in an aggressive mood, for Suhrawardy was believed to have been responsible for the killing on August 16, 1946. Facing an angry demonstration on the very first day of their arrival at the place, Gandhiji reasoned with the leaders: "... I have come here to serve not only Muslims but Hindus, Muslims and all alike.... I am going to put myself under your protection. You are welcome to turn against me ..." (p. 33). Their reply was: "We do not want your sermons on ahimsa. You go away from here." But Gandhiji persisted in the non-violent confrontation. "You can obstruct my work, even kill me. I won't invoke the help of the police.... what is the use of your dubbing me an enemy of the Hindus? ... how can I, who am a Hindu by birth, a Hindu by creed and a Hindu of Hindus in my way of living, be an 'enemy' of Hindus?" (p. 34). The opposition was softened somewhat, but not quite. It was overcome the next day, on the 14th evening, only when Suhrawardy openly admitted his responsibility for the previous year's killing on August 16. The admission, Gandhiji said afterwards, "was the turning-point. It had a cleansing effect" ... (p. 43).

And so on the 15th, Gandhiji celebrated the coming of freedom with prayer and fasting and spinning. Calcutta threw

itself into a delirium of joy, "Hindus and Muslims meeting together in perfect friendliness" and "Hindus . . . admitted to mosques and Muslims . . . to the Hindu *mandirs*" and exuberant cries of 'Long Live Hindustan and Pakistan' "from the joint throats of the Hindus and the Muslims". Gandhiji claimed no credit for this miracle. "This sudden upheaval is not the work of one or two men. We are toys in the hands of God. He makes us dance to His tune. . . . in this miracle He has used us two as His instruments and . . . I only ask whether the dream of my youth is to be realized in the evening of my life" (pp. 47 and 48-9).

There was encouraging news from West Pakistan, too. Jinnah was reported to have said that "there was no longer any quarrel" between Hindus and Muslims. C. Rajagopalachari had confirmed the information (p. 52). Regardless of Pakistan's policy, Gandhiji urged the Hindus in India to be just to Muslims at all cost. "The proper thing," he said, "was for each majority to do their duty in all humility, irrespective of what the other majority did in the other State" (p. 61). Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan*, ". . . the Indian Union and Pakistan belong equally to all who call themselves and are, sons of the soil, irrespective of their creed or colour" (p. 73). Gandhiji pleaded with the Press: "Let the past be buried. Do not rake it up. Think of the future" (p. 67).

Gandhiji wished India "to assure liberty of religious profession to every single individual". This was the one great achievement of ancient India. It had "recognized cultural democracy", holding that "the roads to God were many, but the goal was one, because God was one and the same. . . . the roads were as many as there were individuals in the world" (p. 57). In other words, religion was " a personal matter" and should be confined to " the personal plane" (p. 79).

The atmosphere was too vitiated, however, for such wise and humane counsels to prevail. Gandhiji sensed the continued tension in the air. "Though there is rejoicing," he wrote to Amrit Kaur on August 16, "somehow or other, there is disturbance within. Is there something wrong with me? Or are things really going wrong?" (p. 50) He shared his doubts with Vallabhbhai also: "I am reminded of the days of the Khilafat. But what if this is just a momentary enthusiasm?" (p. 55).

Before two weeks were over, Gandhiji's fears proved true. While Calcutta and Bengal were returning to peace, trouble started in the Punjab and the waves of the passions it aroused reached Calcutta through the Punjabi population there. And on the last day of the month, even as Gandhiji, believing that things had

settled down in Calcutta, was preparing to leave for Noakhali on September 2, an excited crowd of Hindu youths invaded Hydari Mansion where Gandhiji was staying, threatening the inmates. The next day there were reports of conflagrations in several parts of the city. Gandhiji began a fast "to end only if and when sanity returns to Calcutta" (p. 132).

As usual, co-workers remonstrated against the decision. "Can you fast against the goondas?" asked C. Rajagopalachari.

Gandhiji replied: "It is we who make goondas. Without our sympathy and passive support, the goondas would have no legs to stand upon. I want to touch the hearts of those who are behind the goondas" (p. 132). Anticipating criticism from Vallabhbhai Patel, he wrote : "If the riots continue what will I do by merely being alive? What is the use of my living? If I lack even the power to pacify the people, what else is left for me to do?" (p.134).

The fast had the intended effect. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Forward Bloc, called on Gandhiji on September 2 and promised to do his "best on your lines for the establishment of peace" (p. 139). Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, gave the assurance that the Mahasabha's National Guards would patrol the streets along with the Muslim National Guards (p. 140). A prominent member of the Bengal Muslim League "with tears in his eyes" assured Gandhiji that "no Muslim in this area will again disturb the peace". The leaven had begun to work (p. 142). A group controlling the turbulent elements in Calcutta met Gandhiji on September 4 and told him that the ring-leaders would all surrender themselves to him (p. 150). One of them confessed responsibility for the disturbance in Gandhiji's camp on September 1, and agreed to "gladly submit to whatever penalty" Gandhiji might impose (p. 151). In the evening a deputation of prominent citizens representing all the communities met Gandhiji and signed a pledge promising that they would "never again allow communal strife in the city" and would "strive unto death to prevent it" (p. 153). Thus peace returned to the city. Gandhiji broke the fast at 9.15 p.m. The following morning a stream of young men brought some country-made arms and surrendered them to Gandhiji. A peace corps was formed, to whom Gandhiji gave his well-known message "My life is my message" (p. 156).

Freed thus from anxiety on account of Calcutta, Gandhiji left for Delhi on the 7th and, on the 9th, issued a Press statement: " 'Man proposes, God disposes' . . . I knew nothing about

the sad state of things in Delhi when I left Calcutta . . . I have been listening the whole day long to the tale of woe that is Delhi today. . . I heard enough to warn me that I must not leave Delhi for the Punjab until it had regained its former self" (p. 166).

Gandhiji had arrived too late. Jawaharlal Nehru had written to him on August 21 that the Punjab needed his "healing presence", but did not press him to go immediately (p. 75). Gandhiji wrote to him, again and again asking, "When do you think I should go . . . if at all?" (p. 83). But Nehru could not make up his mind. Well aware of the serious situation there, he did not perhaps want Gandhiji to expose himself to danger. Receiving no positive response from Nehru, Gandhiji decided to leave for Noakhali on September 2, accompanied by Suhrawardy. But that resolve, too, "collapsed" after the events of August 31 and September 1 (p. 124). The next day, on September 2, came Nehru's wire, "I feel sure now that you should come to Punjab as early as possible" (p. 134). But meanwhile Gandhiji's fast had commenced and he could leave only on September 7. Arriving in Delhi, "which always appeared gay", he now found it "a city of the dead" (p. 167).

The plague had spread from the Punjab where men had simply gone insane with hatred and indulged in large-scale killing, looting and arson, Muslim against Hindu and Sikh and *vice versa.* The glorious land that was India had become a cremation-ground (p. 243). Gandhiji prayed to God to take him away and spare him from being a helpless witness of the senseless destruction (pp. 182, 197, 209, 213, 271, 275, 286 and 469).

However, Gandhiji did not yield to the weakness of despair. "I am surrounded by fire on all sides," he wrote to a correspondent, "and yet I am not consumed by it. This is so only because of Ramanama. I derive profound peace from it" (p. 484). This peace survived even disappointment caused by differences among political co-workers and lapses of Ashram inmates. He continued to live in spite of them because he looked upon life "as a particle of God" and took "care of it as His gift" (p. 465), to be spent in the service of His creation.

With this faith in God and man, Gandhiji reached out to the hearts of the people, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, to awaken the truth of life in them. He put the blame for the tragedy first on the Hindus and Sikhs who ought to have been "men enough to stem the tide of hatred?" (p. 188). Not that he lacked sympathy for the sufferers. "I have seen the terrible plight of the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan. . . . Do you think I am not pained?

. . . I would say that his brother is my brother, his mother is my mother, and I have the same anguish in my heart as he has.'' But the way of revenge was not the human way. The right response was to make the wrongdoers ''feel repentant for their crimes'' (p. 174).

If the Muslims had lost their humanity, that was no reason why the Hindus and Sikhs also should lose theirs. ''It seems to me,'' he told a prayer meeting, ''that we have all become savages. Both Hindus and Muslims have turned savage'' (p. 261). ''What is going on is not Sikhism, nor Islam nor Hinduism,'' Gandhiji told those who thought they were fighting to save their religions (p. 245). ''No one can destroy Hinduism. If it is destroyed, it would be at our own hands. Similarly if Islam is destroyed in India, it would be at the hands of Muslims living in Pakistan. It cannot be destroyed by Hindus'' (p. 247).

Addressing a rally of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Gandhiji praised their ''discipline, complete absence of untouchability and rigorous simplicity'', but added that ''if the Hindus felt that in India there was no place for anyone else except the Hindus and if non-Hindus, especially Muslims, wished to live here, they had to live as the slaves of the Hindus, they would kill Hinduism'' (p. 193).

At the same time, Gandhiji advised the Muslims to show by their behaviour that they were loyal citizens of the country. They should surrender their arms and admit that ''they had wished to . . . turn the whole of India into Pakistan'' but had now realized their error (pp. 186-7). And they should shed their exclusiveness. ''If you desire complete protection for Muslims,'' he told U. P. Muslim League members, '' . . . you should show sympathy towards the Hindus who have come from Pakistan. You should serve them in their camps and convince them that you are their brothers'' (p. 512). Gandhiji complained, both publicly and in private to Lord Mountbatten, that even Jinnah had failed in this regard. In trying to reach the hearts of Muslims, Gandhiji had to contend against the prejudice of the Muslim masses who had been taught to regard him as an enemy of Islam. On the other hand, because of his efforts to befriend the Muslims, the Hindus were furious with him. ''I shall not be surprised,'' he said, ''if one day I fall a prey to this fury'' (p. 384).

Gandhiji acknowledged that Pakistan's High Commissioner in Delhi was ''an enthusiastic believer in communal peace and friendship'' (p. 172). Suhrawardy, who had gone, at Gandhiji's

suggestion, on a peace mission to Jinnah, reported that the Pakistan Government had become unpopular with the masses because of its policy towards the Hindus and Sikhs (p. 307). But some of the public utterances of the Pakistan leaders had created deep distrust among the Hindus and Sikhs. Gandhiji blamed Jinnah primarily for this. The mischief, he told Suhrawardy, "commenced with Qaid-e-Azam, and still continues" (p. 418).

The distrust was aggravated by the problem of the accession of the three States, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir. Gandhiji and the Government of India held that it should be decided by the wishes of the people in each case (p. 414). When Junagadh went to India by popular action, Pakistan allowed Frontier tribesmen to invade Kashmir and force the hands of its ruler to join Pakistan. But the action had the opposite effect of uniting the people of the State, under their leader Sheikh Abdullah, who preferred accession to India. Gandhiji commended the Sheikh's nationalism: "If this is the attitude of the Sheikh and if he has influence on the Muslims, all is well with us. The poison which has spread amongst us should never have spread. Through Kashmir that poison might be removed from us" (p. 434).

The Hindu-Muslim conflict was not the only problem, though it was the most difficult one, that demanded Gandhiji's attention. About shortages of food and cloth he suggested decontrol in order to let the people learn "self-help and self-reliance" and self-discipline (pp. 294-5, 353 and 468). He advised self-help to the refugees, too, for maintaining cleanliness in the camps and overcoming their hardships (pp. 184, 332 and 503). He also outlined a code of conduct for Governors (pp. 17-8 and 53-4). But Gandhiji was content with offering advice and refused to dictate or to choose his own men to run the Government. "Government of the people, by the people and for the people", he told a correspondent, "cannot be conducted at the bidding of one man" (p. 145).

Realizing the differences of approach between Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel, Gandhiji even suggested that either the one or the other should assume sole charge and drop the other from the Cabinet (p. 520).

To critics who advised Gandhiji to retire from politics, his consistent answer was: " . . . the life of the millions is my politics from which I dare not free myself without denying my life work and God" (p. 13), and "My life-line is cast in active public service. . . . destined to continue till the last breath. . . ." (p. 216). The guiding principle of that service was summed up in

the talisman Gandhiji gave to a co-worker. "Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. . . . will it lead to swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?" (p. 125).

CWMG - LXXXIX

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews, slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to those available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi; M. M. U. for the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S. G. for the documents of the Sevagram collection, which are also available in the Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya. C. W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the National Archives of India, the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi; Broadlands Archives Trust, India Office Library, London; Shri Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Calcutta; Shri Pyarelal; Shri Munnalal G. Shah, Sevagram; Shri Manibhai B. Desai, Urulikanchan; Smt. Lilavati Asar, Bombay; Shri Purushottam Prasad, Delhi; Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra; Shri Valji G. Desai, Poona; Shri Jivanji D. Desai, Ahmedabad; Smt. Amrit Kaur; Smt. Shardabehn G. Chokhawala, Surat; Shri Jairamdas Doulatram; Smt. Sushila Gandhi, Bombay; Shri Anand T. Hingorani, New Delhi; Shri Kanti Gandhi, Bombay; Smt. Mirabehn; Shri N. K. Bose, Calcutta; Shri Gorur Ramaswami Iyengar; Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, Delhi; Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Shri Shantikumar N. Morarjee, Bombay; Smt. Premabehn Kantak, Saswad; Smt. Gomatibehn Mashruwala; Smt. Vijayabehn M. Pancholi, Sanosara; Smt. Bapsybanoo Pavry, London; Mr. Roger W. Holmes and Mrs. Frances L. Brown, U.S.A.; Shri G. Somi Reddy; Shri Prabhakar, Bombay; Shri Vallabhram Vaidya; the publishers of the books: *Adarsh Hind Mahila*; *Bapuna Patro–7:* (*Shri*) *Chhaganlal Joshine*; *Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*; *Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*; *Bapuni Prasadi*; *Calcuttano Chamatkar*; *Dilhiman Gandhiji*—I; *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944–47*; *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vols. I and VIII; *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II; *My Days with Gandhi*; *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*; *Prarthana Pravachan*, Vols. I, and II; and the following newspapers and journals: *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, *Harijan*, *Harijan Sevak*, *Harijanbandhu*, (*The*) *Hindu*, (*The*) *Hindustan Standard* and (*The*) *Hindustan Times*.

CWMG - LXXIX

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	v
	NOTE TO THE READER	xiii
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiv
	ILLUSTRATIONS	xxviii
1	BURIED ALIVE? (3-8-1947)	1
2	THE TRI-COLOUR (3-8-1947)	2
3	LETTER TO VENKATA RAO (3-8-1947)	3
4	THE REASON FOR ADDITION (5-8-1947)	3
5	SPEECH AT GURUDWARA, PUNJA SAHEB (5-8-1947)	4
6	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (5-8-1947)	5
7	NOTE ON KASHMIR VISIT (6-8-1947)	7
8	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (6-8-1947)	8
9	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (6-8-1947)	9
10	TALK WITH CONGRESS WORKERS (6-8-1947)	10
11	TALK WITH RAILWAY GUARD (After 6-8-1947)	11
12	A DRAFT DECLARATION (7-8-1947)	12
13	NOTES (7-8-1947)	12
14	STUDENTS' DIFFICULTIES (7-8-1947)	14
15	IS HE BURIED ALIVE? (7-8-1947)	16
16	EVIL OF HORSE-RACING (7-8-1947)	16
17	TELEGRAM TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY (7-8-1947)	17
18	LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM (8-8-1947)	17
19	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (8-8-1947)	18
20	WORK ALONE IS TRUE SPEECH (9-8-1947)	19
21	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (9-8-1947)	19
22	LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI (10-8-1947)	20
23	INTERVIEW TO CONGRESS MINISTERS (10-8-1947)	21
24	DISCUSSION WITH MOHAMMED USMAN AND OTHERS (10-8-1947)	21
25	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (10-8-1947)	22
26	LETTER TO SIR FREDERICK BURROWS (11-8-1947)	23
27	NOTE TO N. K. BOSE (11-8-1947)	23
28	LETTER TO AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY (11-8-1947)	24
29	LETTER TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (11-8-1947)	24
30	LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE (11-8-1947)	25
31	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (11-8-1947)	25
32	LETTER TO INDIRA (11-8-1947)	26
33	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (11-8-1947)	26
34	INTERVIEW TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY (11-8-1947)	28

CWMG - LXXXIX

35	LETTER TO TARA N. MASHRUWALA (12-8-1947)	29
36	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (12-8-1947)	29
37	"TO MUSLIMS" (13-8-1947)	31
38	LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN (13-8-1947)	31
39	LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN (13-8-1947)	32
40	LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (13-8-1947)	32
41	DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS (13-8-1947)	33
42	LETTER TO PYARELAL (13-8-1947)	35
43	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (13-8-1947)	35
44	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (13-8-1947)	36
45	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (13-8-1947)	37
46	LETTER TO SARALA (13-8-1947)	37
47	LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM (13-8-1947)	38
48	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (13-8-1947)	38
49	LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ (13-8-1947)	39
50	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (13-8-1947)	39
51	LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (13-8-1947)	40
52	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (14-8-1947)	40
53	DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS (14-8-1947)	42
54	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (14-8-1947)	42
55	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (15-8-1947)	43
56	LETTER TO RAMENDRA G. SINHA (15-8-1947)	45
57	ADVICE TO WEST BENGAL MINISTERS (15-8-1947)	45
58	TALK WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (15-8-1947)	46
59	TALK WITH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS (15-8-1947)	46
60	TALK TO STUDENTS (15-8-1947)	47
61	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (15-8-1947)	47
62	MIRACLE OR ACCIDENT? (16-8-1947)	48
63	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (16-8-1947)	50
64	DISCUSSION WITH REV. JOHN KELLAS (16-8-1947)	51
65	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (16-8-1947)	52
66	FOOD CRISIS AND SOIL FERTILITY (17-8-1947)	53
67	AN INDIAN GOVERNOR (17-8-1947)	53
68	GOD IS GOOD (17-8-1947)	54
69	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (17-8-1947)	55
70	LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI (17-8-1947)	56
71	SPEECH AT NARKELDANGA (17-8-1947)	56
72	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (17-8-1947)	57
73	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MIRABEHN (18-8-1947)	58
74	NOTE TO KHULNA CONGRESS WORKERS (18-8-1947)	59
75	NOTE TO PEOPLE OF BARRACKPORE (18-8-1947)	59

CWMG - LXXIX

76	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (18-8-1947)	60
77	LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI (19-8-1947)	60
78	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (19-8-1947)	61
79	TALK WITH STUART NELSON (Before 20-8-1947)	62
80	TALK WITH STUDENTS (Before 20-8-1947)	63
81	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (20-8-1947)	64
82	LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI (20-8-1947)	65
83	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (20-8-1947)	66
84	LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM (20-8-1947)	66
85	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (20-8-1947)	67
86	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (20-8-1947)	68
87	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (21-8-1947)	69
88	LETTER TO TERESA RADDY (21-8-1947)	70
89	SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING (21-8-1947)	70
90	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (21-8-1947)	71
91	HOW TO SAVE THE COW? (22-8-1947)	73
92	LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI (22-8-1947)	75
93	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (22-8-1947)	75
94	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (22-8-1947)	76
95	LETTER TO RAM MANOHAR LOHIA (22-8-1947)	76
96	DISCUSSION WITH KASTURBA TRUST TRAINEES (22-8-1947)	77
97	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (22-8-1947)	78
98	A NOTE (23-8-1947)	79
99	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (23-8-1947)	80
100	IS "HARIJAN" WANTED? (24-8-1947)	82
101	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (24-8-1947)	83
102	LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI (24-8-1947)	83
103	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (24-8-1947)	84
104	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (25-8-1947)	86
105	TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (25-8-1947)	86
106	LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHITTAGONG (25-8-1947)	87
107	LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI (25-8-1947)	87
108	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (25-8-1947)	88
109	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (25/26-8-1947)	90
110	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (26-8-1947)	91
111	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (26-8-1947)	92
112	LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (26-8-1947)	92
113	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (26-8-1947)	93
114	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (26-8-1947)	94
115	LETTER TO A. K. BHAGWAT (27-8-1947)	95
116	LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR (27-8-1947)	96
117	LETTER TO DHIRU (27-8-1947)	96
118	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (27-8-1947)	97

119	A LETTER (On or after 27-8-1947)	99
120	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (Before 28-8-1947)	99
121	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (28-8-1947)	100
122	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (28-8-1947)	101
123	LETTER TO A MAHARAJA (28-8-1947)	102
124	LETTER TO DHIRENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE (28-8-1947)	102
125	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (28-8-1947)	103
126	LETTER TO AN ASHRAM INMATE (On or after 28-8-1947)	105
127	LETTER TO MOHANLAL NAYYAR (On or after 28-8-1947)	105
128	LETTER TO TARADEVI NAYYAR (On or after 28-8-1947)	106
129	LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA (29-8-1947)	106
130	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (29-8-1947)	107
131	LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES (29-8-1947)	107
132	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (29-8-1947)	108
133	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (29-8-1947)	108
134	LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE (29-8-1947)	109
135	LETTER TO RAMPRASAD VYAS (29-8-1947)	109
136	LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS (29-8-1947)	110
137	LETTER TO ABDUL QAYYUM ANSARI (29-8-1947)	110
138	LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (29-8-1947)	111
139	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (29-8-1947)	111
140	ABOUT STUDENTS (30-8-1947)	113
141	SWARAJ ASHRAM, VEDCHHI (30-8-1947)	115
142	LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN (30-8-1947)	116
143	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (30-8-1947)	117
144	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (30-8-1947)	117
145	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (30-8-1947)	118
146	INTERVIEW TO RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (30-8-1947)	118
147	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (30-8-1947)	119
148	THE NATIONAL FLAG (31-8-1947)	120
149	QUESTION BOX (31-8-1947)	121
150	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (31-8-1947)	122
151	LETTER TO PRABHAKAR (31-8-1947)	122
152	ADDRESS TO MUSLIM MERCHANTS (31-8-1947)	123
153	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (31-8-1947)	124
154	TALK WITH PYARELAL (31-8-1947)	124
155	A NOTE (August 1947)	125
156	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (1-9-1947)	126
157	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (1-9-1947)	128
158	LETTER TO DURGA M. DESAI (1-9-1947)	128
159	TALK WITH MARWARI DEPUTATION (1-9-1947)	129
160	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (1-9-1947)	129
161	DISCUSSION WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (1-9-1947)	132

CWMG-LXXIX

162	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (1/2-9-1947)	133
163	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (2-9-1947)	134
164	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (2-9-1947)	135
165	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (2-9-1947)	135
166	LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (2-9-1947)	136
167	A NOTE (2-9-1947)	136
168	DISCUSSION WITH SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (2-9-1947)	136
169	DISCUSSION WITH P. C. GHOSH (2-9-1947)	139
170	DISCUSSION WITH SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE (2-9-1947)	140
171	TALK WITH DINSHAW MEHTA (3-9-1947)	141
172	NOTE TO ANGSHU RANI MITRA (3-9-1947)	141
173	DISCUSSION WITH HINDU-MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES (3-9-1947)	142
174	INTERVIEW TO A BRITISH JOURNALIST (Before 4-9-1947)	143
175	RIGHT OR WRONG (4-9-1947)	144
176	LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN (4-9-1947)	147
177	TALK WITH DR. SUNIL BOSE (4-9-1947)	148
178	DISCUSSION WITH FRIENDS (4-9-1947)	148
179	DISCUSSION WITH A DEPUTATION (4-9-1947)	150
180	ADVICE TO DEMONSTRATORS (4-9-1947)	151
181	DISCUSSION WITH CITIZENS' DEPUTATION (4-9-1947)	151
182	SPEECH BEFORE BREAKING OF FAST (4-9-1947)	154
183	MESSAGE TO UNESCO CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION (Before 5-9-1947)	155
184	APPEAL TO FRIENDS (Before 5-9-1947)	155
185	ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN (5-9-1947)	156
186	MESSAGE TO SHANTI SENA DAL (5-9-1947)	156
187	LETTER TO SHYAMA PRASAD BANDOPADHYAYA (6-9-1947)	157
188	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (6-9-1947)	157
189	TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (On or before 7-9-1947)	159
190	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (7-9-1947)	160
191	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (7-9-1947)	160
192	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (7-9-1947)	161
193	SPEECH AT GOBRA LEPROSY HOSPITAL (7-9-1947)	162
194	A NOTE (7-9-1947)	163
195	TASK BEFORE MINISTERS (8-9-1947)	163
196	BIHAR FOR BIHARIS AND INDIA (8-9-1947)	164
197	PROHIBITION OF INTOXICANTS (8-9-1947)	165
198	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (9-9-1947)	166
199	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (10-9-1947)	167
200	TAKE CARE (11-9-1947)	170
201	INTERVIEW TO SIKH DEPUTATION (11-9-1947)	171

202	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (11-9-1947)	172
203	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (12-9-1947)	173
204	MY STATUE (13-9-1947)	178
205	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (13-9-1947)	179
206	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (13-9-1947)	179
207	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (14-9-1947)	183
208	LETTER TO GORUR RAMASWAMI IYENGAR (After 14-9-1947)	187
209	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (15-9-1947)	188
210	NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR (On or after 15-9-1947)	189
211	LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI (16-9-1947)	190
212	LETTER TO ZAHID HUSSAIN (16-9-1947)	190
213	LETTER TO DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES (16-9-1947)	191
214	LETTER TO DORA (16-9-1947)	191
215	LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI (16-9-1947)	192
216	LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA (16-9-1947)	192
217	SPEECH AT R. S. S. RALLY (16-9-1947)	193
218	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PYARELAL (17-9-1947)	195
219	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (17-9-1947)	195
220	LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI (18-9-1947)	197
221	SPEECH TO MUSLIMS (18-9-1947)	198
222	DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY (18-9-1947)	199
223	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (18-9-1947)	200
224	LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI (19-9-1947)	203
225	LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU (19-9-1947)	203
226	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (19-9-1947)	204
227	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (20-9-1947)	207
228	TALK WITH AN ADVOCATE (20-9-1947)	207
229	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (20-9-1947)	208
230	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (21-9-1947)	211
231	LETTER TO JETHALAL (21-9-1947)	212
232	LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (21-9-1947)	212
233	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (21-9-1947)	213
234	SILENCE-DAY NOTE (After 21-9-1947)	215
235	MY DUTY (22-9-1947)	216
236	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (22-9-1947)	217
237	LETTER TO MANU GANDHI (22-9-1947)	217
238	DRAFT OF A CONFESSION (22-9-1947)	218
239	LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI (22-9-1947)	218
240	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (22-9-1947)	219
241	LETTER TO MANGALDAS (22-9-1947)	219
242	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (22-9-1947)	220
243	A LETTER (23-9-1947)	222
244	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (23-9-1947)	222

CWMG - LXXIX

245	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (23-9-1947)	223
246	A LETTER (24-9-1947)	226
247	LETTER TO DANIEL THOMAS (24-9-1947)	226
248	LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (24-9-1947)	227
249	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (24-9-1947)	227
250	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (24-9-1947)	227
251	LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU (24-9-1947)	228
252	TALK WITH JAMSAHEB OF NAWANAGAR (24-9-1947)	229
253	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (24-9-1947)	230
254	IMPLICATIONS OF FASTING (25-9-1947)	234
255	LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE (25-9-1947)	235
256	LETTER TO SHOORJI VALLABHDAS (25-9-1947)	236
257	DISCUSSION WITH J. B. KRIPALANI (25-9-1947)	236
258	TALK WITH REFUGEES (25-9-1947)	238
259	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (25-9-1947)	241
260	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (26-9-1947)	244
261	DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY (26-9-1947)	244
262	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (26-9-1947)	245
263	HINDUSTANI (27-9-1947)	248
264	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (27-9-1947)	249
265	LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK (27-9-1947)	249
266	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (27-9-1947)	250
267	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (28-9-1947)	253
268	TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI (29-9-1947)	255
269	LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL (29-9-1947)	256
270	LETTER TO HARISINGH GOUR (29-9-1947)	256
271	LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA (29-9-1947)	257
272	LETTER TO KANTA R. VYAS (29-9-1947)	258
273	LETTER TO DR. SYED MINHAJUL HASSAN (29-9-1947)	259
274	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (29-9-1947)	259
275	TELEGRAM TO SUDHIR GHOSH (30-9-1947)	260
276	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (30-9-1947)	261
277	LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI (1-10-1947)	264
278	LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI (1-10-1947)	265
279	LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI (1-10-1947)	266
280	LETTER TO DR. JOHN MOTT (1-10-1947)	266
281	LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (1-10-1947)	267
282	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (1-10-1947)	267
283	LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI (1-10-1947)	268
284	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (1-10-1947)	268
285	DISCUSSION WITH DOCTORS (2-10-1947)	272
286	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (2-10-1947)	273
287	OUTRAGEOUS ANALOGY (3-10-1947)	276

288	APT LINES (3-10-1947)	277
289	LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI (3-10-1947)	277
290	LETTER TO SHYAMLAL (3-10-1947)	278
291	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (3-10-1947)	279
292	LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL (4-10-1947)	280
293	LETTER TO AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE (4-10-1947)	281
294	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (4-10-1947)	281
295	LETTER TO KAILAS NATH KATJU (4-10-1947)	282
296	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (4-10-1947)	282
297	NO DEPRESSION (5-10-1947)	285
298	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (5-10-1947)	286
299	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PYARELAL (Before 6-10-1947)	291
300	LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI (6-10-1947)	291
301	LETTER TO PYARELAL (6-10-1947)	292
302	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (6-10-1947)	292
303	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (6-10-1947)	293
304	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (6-10-1947)	293
305	LETTER TO SHAH NAWAZ KHAN (7-10-1947)	296
306	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (7-10-1947)	296
307	LETTER TO M. A. HUNAR (7-10-1947)	297
308	LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH (7-10-1947)	297
309	LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU (7-10-1947)	298
310	LETTER TO KHATEEB AHMED HUSSAIN (7-10-1947)	298
311	TALK WITH MANU GANDHI (7-10-1947)	299
312	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (7-10-1947)	299
313	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (8-10-1947)	301
314	DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY (9-10-1947)	307
315	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (9-10-1947)	308
316	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (10-10-1947)	312
317	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (10/11-10-1947)	316
318	LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH (11-10-1947)	318
319	LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI (11-10-1947)	319
320	SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GUJARATIS (11-10-1947)	319
321	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (11-10-1947)	320
322	A STUDENT'S PERPLEXITY (12-10-1947)	323
323	LETTER TO TEVANI AND DEBORAH (12-10-1947)	325
324	LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK (12-10-1947)	325
325	LETTER TO SAMANT N. MARWARI AND OTHERS (12-10-1947)	326
326	LETTER TO DILKHUSH DIWANJI (12-10-1947)	326
327	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (12-10-1947)	327
328	A BITTER LETTER (13-10-1947)	330
329	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (13-10-1947)	331
330	LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI (14-10-1947)	333

CWMG - LXXIX

331	LETTER TO JAYA (14-10-1947)	333
332	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (14-10-1947)	333
333	LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF MORVI (After 14-10-1947)	338
334	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (15-10-1947)	338
335	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (15-10-1947)	339
336	ACTION IN INACTION (16-10-1947)	341
337	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (16-10-1947)	341
338	LETTER TO SUNDARLAL (16-10-1947)	342
339	LETTER TO ANAND AND GANGI HINGORANI (16-10-1947)	342
340	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (16-10-1947)	343
341	NOTE TO SUNDARLAL (After 16-10-1947)	346
342	LETTER TO JULIAN HUXLEY (Before 17-10-1947)	346
343	A PUZZLE (17-10-1947)	347
344	LETTER TO CHAMAN KAVI (17-10-1947)	349
345	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (17-10-1947)	349
346	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (17-10-1947)	350
347	NOTES (18-10-1947)	355
348	LETTER TO GOMATI K. MASHRUWALA (18-10-1947)	356
349	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (18-10-1947)	356
350	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (18-10-1947)	357
351	LETTER TO THADANI (19-10-1947)	359
352	LETTER TO VIKRAM V. DESAI (19-10-1947)	360
353	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (19-10-1947)	360
354	LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI (19-10-1947)	361
355	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (19-10-1947)	361
356	TALK WITH LORD AND LADY HANDES (19-10-1947)	362
357	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (19-10-1947)	363
358	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (20-10-1947)	367
359	LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA (20-10-1947)	368
360	NOTE TO HIRALAL SHASTRI (20-10-1947)	369
361	LETTER TO PIROJ SHAH (20-10-1947)	369
362	LETTER TO SUSHILA PAI (20-10-1947)	370
363	LETTER TO SHYAMLAL (20-10-1947)	370
364	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (20-10-1947)	371
365	LETTER TO JAYAKUNVAR M. DOCTOR (20-10-1947)	371
366	LETTER TO CHANDRANI (20-10-1947)	372
367	LETTER TO DAMODARDAS KHANDELWAL (20-10-1947)	372
368	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (20-10-1947)	373
369	LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR (20-10-1947)	373
370	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (20-10-1947)	374
371	LETTER TO STEPHEN HOBHOUSE (21-10-1947)	376
372	LETTER TO D. G. TENDULKAR (21-10-1947)	376
373	LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH (21-10-1947)	377

374	LETTER TO SITA GANDHI (21-10-1947)	377
375	LETTER TO OM PRAKASH (21-10-1947)	378
376	TALK WITH LALJIBHAI (21-10-1947)	378
377	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (21-10-1947)	379
378	LETTER TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH (22-10-1947)	382
379	LETTER TO SUBODH CHANDRA ROY (22-10-1947)	382
380	LETTER TO DOROTHY HOGG (22-10-1947)	383
381	LETTER TO SAURENDRA (22-10-1947)	383
382	DISCUSSION WITH CHRISTIANS (22-10-1947)	383
383	TALK WITH MUSLIMS (22-10-1947)	384
384	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (22-10-1947)	385
385	QUOTATIONS FROM GURUDEV (23-10-1947)	389
386	LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN (23-10-1947)	389
387	LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI (23-10-1947)	390
388	LETTER TO SITA GANDHI (23-10-1947)	390
389	LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI (23-10-1947)	391
390	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (23-10-1947)	391
391	MESSAGE TO HINDU AND SIKH REFUGEES IN N. W. F. P. (Before 24-10-1947)	395
392	WHITHER AHIMSA, WHITHER KHADI? (24-10-1947)	395
393	LETTER TO T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI (24-10-1947)	397
394	LETTER TO JAL PAVRY (24-10-1947)	398
395	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (24-10-1947)	398
396	LETTER TO NARSINHDAS GORDHANDAS (24-10-1947)	399
397	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (24-10-1947)	399
398	OF NEW UNIVERSITIES (25-10-1947)	402
399	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (25-10-1947)	405
400	TALK WITH COMMUNISTS (25-10-1947)	406
401	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (25-10-1947)	407
402	ADVICE TO MUSLIMS (26-10-1947)	411
403	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (26-10-1947)	412
404	A LETTER (27-10-1947)	416
405	LETTER TO EDITH HUNTER (27-10-1947)	416
406	LETTER TO UMRAO SINGH SHERGIL (27-10-1947)	417
407	NOTE TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY (27-10-1947)	417
408	LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY (27-10-1947)	418
409	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (27-10-1947)	418
410	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (27-10-1947)	419
411	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (27-10-1947)	419
412	LETTER TO SUSHILA PAI (27-10-1947)	420
413	LETTER TO G. SOMI REDDY (27-10-1947)	420
414	LETTER TO PRABHAKAR (27-10-1947)	421
415	LETTER TO CHANDRANI (27-10-1947)	421

CWMG - LXXIX

416	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (27-10-1947)	422
417	TELEGRAM TO H. C. DASAPPA (Before 28-10-1947)	423
418	LETTER TO JEHANGIR PATEL (28-10-1947)	424
419	LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH (28-10-1947)	424
420	LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK (28-10-1947)	424
421	LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI (28-10-1947)	425
422	LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI (28-10-1947)	425
423	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (28-10-1947)	426
424	TELEGRAM TO LILAVATI ASAR (29-10-1947)	429
425	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (29-10-1947)	430
426	LETTER TO RAJA OF WANKANER (29-10-1947)	430
427	LETTER TO NAREN B. JOSHI (29-10-1947)	431
428	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (29-10-1947)	431
429	LETTER TO YVONNE PRIVAT (30-10-1947)	435
430	TALK WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY (30-10-1947)	436
431	TALK WITH SIND CONGRESSMEN (30-10-1947)	436
432	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (30-10-1947)	437
433	LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (31-10-1947)	440
434	LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS (31-10-1947)	441
435	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (31-10-1947)	441
436	TELEGRAM TO KHARAK SINGH (Before 1-11-1947)	445
437	HINDUSTANI WRITTEN IN NAGARI ONLY (1-11-1947)	446
438	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN (1-11-1947)	449
439	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (1-11-1947)	450
440	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (1-11-1947)	451
441	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (1-11-1947)	451
442	INTERVIEW TO RONALD STEAD (Before 2-11-1947)	456
443	LEST WE COPY THE BRITISH (2-11-1947)	457
444	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (2-11-1947)	458
445	LETTER TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA (3-11-1947)	462
446	LETTER TO GOPALJI (3-11-1947)	463
447	LETTER TO VALLABHRAM (3-11-1947)	463
448	LETTER TO BULSARIA (3-11-1947)	464
449	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (3-11-1947)	464
450	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (3-11-1947)	464
451	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO AN ASHRAM WOMAN (3-11-1947)	465
452	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (3-11-1947)	465
453	NOTE TO K. M. MUNSHI (3-11-1947)	466
454	LETTER TO M. A. HUNAR (3-11-1947)	466
455	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (3-11-1947)	467
456	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (4-11-1947)	469
457	LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI (4-11-1947)	469
458	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (4-11-1947)	470

459	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (4-11-1947)	471
460	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (4-11-1947)	471
461	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (5-11-1947)	475
462	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (5-11-1947)	475
463	LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA (5-11-1947)	476
464	INTERVIEW TO CHINESE DELEGATION (5-11-1947)	476
465	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (5-11-1947)	477
466	TWO AMERICAN FRIENDS' CONSOLATION (6-11-1947)	482
467	"FOR MUSLIMS ONLY" (6-11-1947)	483
468	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (6-11-1947)	483
469	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (6-11-1947)	484
470	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (6-11-1947)	484
471	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (6-11-1947)	485
472	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (6-11-1947)	485
473	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (6-11-1947)	486
474	DISCUSSION AT FOOD CONFERENCE (6-11-1947)	486
475	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (6-11-1947)	490
476	INTERVIEW TO CHINESE DELEGATION (6-11-1947)	492
477	OUTSIDE HIS FIELD (7-11-1947)	492
478	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (7-11-1947)	493
479	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (7-11-1947)	493
480	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (7-11-1947)	494
481	MESSAGE TO MALAYA (7-11-1947)	494
482	TALK WITH INDONESIAN VISITORS (7-11-1947)	494
483	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (7-11-1947)	496
484	ACT AS YOU THINK (8-11-1947)	497
485	A LETTER (8-11-1947)	498
486	A LETTER (8-11-1947)	499
487	A TALK (8-11-1947)	499
488	MESSAGE FOR CITIZENS OF CHANDRANAGORE (8-11-1947)	500
489	INTERVIEW TO BURMESE DELEGATION (8-11-1947)	500
490	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (8-11-1947)	501
491	HARIJANS IN RATLAM (9-11-1947)	504
492	FUTILITY OF ARMS (9-11-1947)	505
493	LETTER TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR (5/9-11-1947)	506
494	LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN (9-11-1947)	507
495	LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY (9-11-1947)	508
496	LETTER TO HARJIVAN KOTAK (9-11-1947)	509
497	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (9-11-1947)	509
498	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (9-11-1947)	510
499	FRAGMENT OF A LETTER (9-11-1947)	510
500	LETTER TO MAHESH DUTT MISHRA (9-11-1947)	511

CWMG - LXXIX

501	SILENCE-DAY NOTE (9-11-1947)	511
502	NOTE TO U. P. MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMBERS (9-11-1947)	512
503	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (9-11-1947)	512
504	NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR (9-11-1947)	513
505	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (9-11-1947)	513
506	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (10-11-1947)	515
507	NOTE TO MANU GANDHI (10-11-1947)	515
508	A LETTER (10-11-1947)	516
509	SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING (10-11-1947)	516
	ADDENDUM	
	NOTE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (29-9-1947)	520
	APPENDICES	
	I INTERVIEW WITH LORD MOUNTBATTEN (14/16-9-1947)	521
	II INTERVIEW WITH LORD MOUNTBATTEN (25-9-1947)	522
	III NOTE ON GANDHIJI'S 78TH BIRTHDAY	524
	SOURCES	526
	CHRONOLOGY	528
	INDEX OF TITLES	533
	INDEX	537
	ERRATA	555

CWMG - LXXXXI

ILLUSTRATIONS

READING A LETTER	*frontispiece*
WITH SARAT CHANDRA BOSE	*facing* p. 160
WITH ASAF ALI AND OTHERS	„ p. 161

CWMG - LXXXIX

1. *BURIED ALIVE?*

A correspondent from Hyderabad (Deccan) writes: "Gandhi is being buried alive."

> Gandhi means Gandhi's ideals. It is through these ideals that we have reached where we are. But we are kicking away the very ladder over which we have climbed so high. And it is those who are considered Gandhi's greatest followers who are doing this. Hindu-Muslim unity, Hindustani, khadi and village industries have been completely forgotten. Those who still talk about them are either themselves deceived or are deceiving others.

This is by far the best way of burying me alive. But can I believe that I have already been buried? Who is my greatest follower and who is the smallest? I have only one follower, that is myself, or all Indians. My followers are those who have faith in the above-mentioned activities. I do hope that crores of villagers do believe in these few things. Even then the allegation is quite true. However, I find that even the members of the Muslim League have started saying that we are all brothers. It has even been accepted that we are citizens of both the States. For the time being there is no need for passports. That will become necessary if either of the two countries introduces them. Let us hope that passports will never be needed and let us so behave that they will not be needed.

Let us hope that neither of the communities will give up khadi and cause harm to the village industries. I have already written about Hindustani. How can we give it up? How can the Muslims whose mother tongue is Urdu give it up? They have to make their Urdu simple. Similarly the Hindus will have to make Hindi simple. Only then can the two communities understand each other. The correspondent has forgotten the most important thing. The Hindus have to purify themselves by eschewing untouchability and caste differences. Similarly, Muslims have to purify themselves by giving up their hatred of Hindus.[1]

SRINAGAR, August 3, 1947

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 17-8-1947

[1] For the English version of Gandhiji's reply, *vide* p. 16.

2. *THE TRI-COLOUR*

The correspondent from Hyderabad who wrote "Gandhi is being buried alive"[1] writes further on:

> The tri-colour was the symbol of our struggle. A grave sin has been committed by taking away the wheel from it. The new wheel or the old Asoka Chakra has no connection with Gandhi's wheel; indeed it is incompatible with it. Gandhi's wheel was above religion while the new wheel is a symbol of Hinduism. Gandhi's wheel is a sign of 'non-violent economy' while the new one represents the Sudarshan Chakra[2] (as Shri Munshi[3] says in his broadcast) which represents violence. In this way the new flag will encourage the violent tendencies in the nation. A deliberate attempt is being made in that direction. This is not the way to bring Pakistan back into the fold but to perpetuate the division.

I have not read what Shri Munshi said. The national flag is doomed if it signifies what the correspondent says. Under no circumstances can the Asoka Chakra become a symbol of violence. Emperor Asoka was a Buddhist and a votary of non-violence. The Sudarshan Chakra can have no connection with the wheel in the flag. According to me the Sudarshan Chakra is a symbol of non-violence. But that is my personal view. Generally the Sudarshan Chakra is believed to be an instrument of violence. We can say from the debates which took place on the new flag that if it has not rendered the spinning-wheel valueless it has without doubt diminished its value. Whether the Asoka Chakra and the spinning-wheel are the same thing will ultimately depend on the behaviour of the people.

SRINAGAR, August 3, 1947

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 17-8-1947

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The wheel of Vishnu

[3] K. M. Munshi (1887-1971); educationist and man of letters; Home Minister of Bombay, 1937; Member, Constituent Assembly; Minister for Food, Government of India, 1952; Governor, U. P., 1953-55; joined Swatantra Party in 1960; founded Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan

3. LETTER TO VENKATA RAO

SRINAGAR,
August 3, 1947

BHAI VENKATA RAO,

Two questions from your letter will be answered in *Harijan.*

I think it would be difficult to keep your wife in Sevagram. It does not appear that I shall be able to go there. The management of the Ashram is not in my hands. You should not leave her. Let her stay with you and serve her as best as you can.

I can do nothing about Hyderabad. You have to think and decide for yourself about going or not going.

Write to Kakasaheb Kalelkar at Wardha about the language matter. My knowledge of languages is superficial.

Blessings from
BAPU

19 CANNING LANE
NEW DELHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

4. THE REASON FOR ADDITION[1]

During the three days I passed in Srinagar, though I had prayers in the compound of Lala Kishorilal's bungalow, where I was accommodated, I made no speeches. I had so declared before leaving Delhi. But some of the audience sent me questions. One was:

> I attended your prayer meeting last evening in which you recited two prayers of the other communities. May I know what is your idea in doing so and what you mean by religion?

As I have observed before now, the selection from the Koran was introduced some years ago on the suggestion of Raihana Tyabji[2] who was then living in the Sevagram Ashram and the one from the Parsi prayers at the instance of Dr. Gilder who recited the Parsi prayer on the break of my fast[3] in the Aga Khan Palace during our detention. I am of opinion that the

[1] This appeared under the title "Notes".
[2] Abbas Tyabji's daughter, a devotee of Lord Krishna
[3] On March 3, 1943; *vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 70.

CWMG - LXXXIX

addition enriched the prayer. It reached the hearts of a larger audience than before. It certainly showed Hinduism in its broad and tolerant aspect. The questioner ought also to have asked why the prayer commenced with the Buddhist prayer in Japanese. The selection of the stanzas of the prayer has a history behind it befitting the sacred character. The Buddhist prayer was the prayer with which the whole of Sevagram resounded in the early morning when a good Japanese monk[1] was staying at the Sevagram Ashram and who by his silent and dignified conduct had endeared himself to the inmates of the Ashram.

JAMMU, August 5, 1947
Harijan, 17-8-1947

5. *SPEECH AT GURUDWARA, PUNJA SAHEB*[2]

[*August 5, 1947*][3]

Replying to the address Gandhiji [said he] did not consider it possible that Eastern Punjab should be handed over entirely to the Sikhs to govern. He felt that the Sikhs should never entertain such an unworthy ambition. The Sikhs were reputed, and rightly, to be a warlike race. With them of all the persons in the world, merit and merit alone should be the sole test for holding any office. He hoped that throughout the two dominions merit would be the sole test. The speaker invited the Sikhs to lead in this desirable competition.

Coming to the protection of Punja Saheb, Nankana Saheb and the other Gurudwaras that may be found in Pakistan or elsewhere, he said:

One Sikh is equal to one and a quarter lakh men. Why should he beg for anyone's help? If they have the mettle no one can cast an evil eye on Punja Saheb. But these days the Sikh brethren have taken to luxury and enjoyment. I do not intend to say that Sikhs alone have fallen into that habit. Among others women also have taken to fashionable ways though to a lesser degree. But do not think that I am defending them. Some take liquor in large quantities while others take less but that does not mean that it is a virtue to drink less. Similarly it is not a virtue to be less fashionable. As long as true Sikhs are alive no one can cause you any harm.

[1] Rev. G. Haishao

[2] The Sikhs assembled at the Gurudwara of Punja Saheb, near Rawalpindi, one of the oldest of Sikh shrines, and presented an address to Gandhiji which described their sufferings and their fears for the Gurudwaras.

[3] From *Calcuttano Chamatkar*, the report in which has been collated with the version in *Harijan*

Do not look to any other power outside yourselves for the protection of these shrines. I would like every Sikh to be a defender of his faith and, therefore, of all the Gurudwaras and not merely of Punja Saheb which is one of the greatest. At the same time I want you to shed all fear about the future. I would ask you to rely upon the plighted word of the Muslim leaders. They have got their Pakistan. They have no quarrel now with anyone in India—at least they should have none. If your fears materialize and any attempt at desecration of the Gurudwaras is made by the Muslims, it will be contrary to the tradition of Islam as I know it. And those Muslims who take part in such desecration would be partakers in the destruction of Islam. Every faith is on its trial in India. God is the infallible Judge and the world which is His creation will judge the Muslim leaders not according to their pledge and promises but according to the deeds of these leaders and their followers. What I have said of the Muslim leaders is also true of the leaders and followers of other faiths.

Calcuttano Chamatkar, p. 23, and *Harijan*, 17-8-1947

6. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING*[1]

WAH,
August 5, 1947

Gandhiji said that he was glad that he was able to visit the Refugee Camp at Wah and see the patients in the Camp hospital and other appointments in connection with it. He was glad too that he was able to pay what was his second visit to Punja Saheb. He had a talk with the representatives of the Camp.

Before, however, he dealt with matters arising out of these talks with the representatives of the refugees, he said that he would like to say a word about his visit to Kashmir. He had made up his mind not to hold any public meeting or address them but he was able to see the workers. Begum Saheba (wife of Sheikh Abdulla[2]) was constantly with him throughout the three days he was in Srinagar. He was able also to see the Maharaja Saheb[3], the Maharani Saheba and Prime Minister Kak Saheb[4]. He was sorry that he

[1] This appeared under the title "Kashmir and Refugees".

[2] Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, (1905-82); President, National Muslim Conference; President, All-India States People's Conference; Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1948-53 and 1975-82

[3] Hari Singh

[4] Ramchandra Kak

was not able to see Sheikh Abdullah who was undoubtedly the leader of the Kashmiris. He had not gone there to see the Sheikh Saheb. He was able, however, to hold public prayers for two days in Kashmir and one day in Jammu. These were attended by thousands. He could say that on August 15, all being well, legally the State of Kashmir and Jammu would be independent. But he was sure that the State would not remain in that condition for long after August 15. It had to join either the Union or Pakistan. It had a predominantly Muslim population. But he saw that Sheikh Saheb had fired Kashmiris with local patriotism. British Paramountcy would terminate on the 15th instant. Real paramountcy would then commence. He referred to the paramountcy of the Kashmiris. They had one language, one culture and, so far as he could see, they were one people. He could not distinguish readily between a Kashmiri Hindu and a Kashmiri Mussalman. In the large deputation that he saw it was very difficult for him to know whether it was predominantly Muslim or Hindu. Whatever it was, he had no hesitation in saying that the will of the Kashmiris was the supreme law in Kashmir and Jammu. He was glad to say that the Maharaja Saheb and the Maharani Saheba readily acknowledged the fact. He had the good fortune to read what was euphemistically called the Treaty of Amritsar[1] but which was in reality a deed of sale. He supposed that it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General[2] and Maharaja Gulab Singh was the buyer. The treaty going, would the State revert to the British and therefore, to England? If to India, to which part? He held that without going into the intricacies of law which he had no right to dilate upon, common sense dictated that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir and Jammu. The sooner it was done the better. How the will of the people would be determined was a fair question. He hoped that the question would be decided between the two Dominions, the Maharaja Saheb and the Kashmiris. If the four could come to a joint decision, much trouble would be avoided. After all Kashmir was a big State; it had the greatest strategic value, perhaps in all India. So much for Kashmir.

He would now deal with the question of the refugees. Among them they were nearly 9,000. The Hindus and the Sikhs who discussed the question with him said that they were afraid of the approach of August 15. He confessed that he did not in any way whatsoever share the fear. Nor could he appreciate it. The Muslims had got their Pakistan. They could now have no quarrel with the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Jinnah Saheb and other Muslim Leaguers had given assurances that the non-Muslims were as safe in Pakistan as the Muslims. He invited the audience to

[1] Of March 16, 1846, by which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was created

[2] Sir Henry Hardinge

accept the assurance. Supposing that the assurance proved untrue and the worst fears of the refugees proved true, it would be the beginning of the ruin of Islam. He refused to believe that Muslim leaders would be guilty of such a suicidal act. He asked the refugees, men and women, to dispel all fear. If he could put off his departure for Noakhali, he would gladly pass August 15 in the midst of the refugees at Wah. He proposed, however, to do the next best thing. The audience saw Dr. Sushila Nayyar taking notes of what he was saying. She herself belonged to the district of Gujrat in Western Pakistan. He had conferred with her before coming to the prayer meeting and though she was otherwise to accompany him to Noakhali, she had accepted his advice to stay with the refugees on his behalf, in order to help them to dispel all fear about August 15. He knew that she had no such fear. She was with him in Noakhali as was also her brother Pyarelal. She was posted in one of the worst-affected areas of Noakhali and through medical assistance she had become popular among the Muslims as she was undoubtedly among the Hindus. He had just heard from the District Commissioner who was a Muslim, that the refugees in and about Rawalpindi had nothing to fear. They should feel as safe as the Muslim inhabitants.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

7. *NOTE ON KASHMIR VISIT*[1]

[*August 6, 1947*][2]

No public prayer was held on the day of arrival but I appeared before them twice or thrice and said that I could not make any public speech, not because there was any prohibition but because I had promised to myself that if I was to make my visit devoid of political significance in so far as it was possible, I must not address public meetings. . . .[3] The Prime Minister . . . told me that he had no objection whatsoever to public prayers. . . . Consequently, public prayers were held during the two days following in Srinagar and the third in Jammu.

During the two interviews with the Prime Minister I told him about his unpopularity among the people. . . . He wrote to the Maharaja . . . that on a sign from him he would gladly resign. . . . The Maharaja had sent me a message . . . that the Maharaja and the Maharani were anxious to see me. I met them. . . . The heir-apparent with his leg in plaster was also present. . . . Both admitted that with the lapse of British Para-

[1] & [2] This was sent to Jawaharlal Nehru "to be shared with Vallabhbhai Patel"; *vide* the following item.

[3] Omissions in the item are as in the source.

mountcy the true Paramountcy of the people of Kashmir would commence. However much they might wish to join the Union, they would have to make the choice in accordance with the wishes of the people. How they could be determined was not discussed at that interview. . . .

Bakshi (Ghulam Mohammad[1]) was most sanguine that the result of the free vote of the people, whether on the adult franchise or on the existing register, would be in favour of Kashmir joining the Union provided of course that Sheikh Abdullah and his co-prisoners were released, all bans were removed and the present Prime Minister was not in power. Probably he echoed the general sentiment. I studied the Amritsar treaty properly called "sale deed". I presume it lapses on the 15th instant. To whom does the State revert? Does it not go to the people?

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 357-8

8. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

LAHORE,
August 6, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I am sending a note[2] to Jawaharlal. He will show it to you.

Kak has written a letter to the Maharaja. He will be sending you a copy of it. He has shown it to me. He has a sweet tongue. I had an hour's talk with the Maharaja and Maharani. He agreed that only what the subjects want should be done. But he did not say anything about the main thing. He therefore sent his private secretary to express his regrets. The thing is that he wants to get rid of Kak. He has been deliberating on how he can do it. It had almost been decided to appoint Sir Jaylal[3]. I think you should do something in the matter. In my opinion the situation in Kashmir can be saved.

The work done in the Wah Camp is quite good. The people ought not to be removed from there. You should take up this matter with the Pakistan Government. Hindus and Sikhs should be rehabilitated in Rawalpindi. Read the speeches[4] I have made in the Punja Saheb and Wah Camp. I have made that suggestion.

[1] Acting President of the Kashmir National Conference; became Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir after independence

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Judge of the Punjab High Court

[4] *Vide* pp. 4-5 and 5-7.

CWMG - LXXXIX

I am staying with Rameshwari Nehru here and am leaving in the evening by the Calcutta Mail. I will stop in Patna for a day and then proceed to Calcutta and Noakhali.

As I felt it was necessary I have left behind Sushila[1] in the Camp. The people welcome it. They are in great panic but I see no reason for it.

I hope you are taking care of your health.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 361-2

9. *LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

LAHORE,
August 6, 1947

SARDAR SAHEB,

I am giving this note to the Khaksar friends who had met me there[2]. They complain of further injustice. They had left their luggage in a hotel and come to see me. The police took away their luggage in their absence. I told them I could do no more than write and enquire. They said: "No one would listen to us. Give us a letter so that someone may give us a patient hearing, after that what is ordained will happen." They say they desire nothing except to serve the people. I am not asking you to hear them yourself. It should be enough if you ask some official to hear their complaint.

Please send me a reply to my earlier letter on the subject.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 359-60

[1] Dr. Sushila Nayyar
[2] In Delhi; *vide* Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 431-2.

CWMG - LXXXIX

10. TALK WITH CONGRESS WORKERS

LAHORE,
August 6, 1947

Mahatma Gandhi said:

The rest of my life is going to be spent in Pakistan, maybe in East Bengal or West Punjab, or perhaps, the North-West Frontier Province.

In answer to a question by Dr. Lehna Singh, General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Gandhiji said that if the Pakistan flag was such as would ensure equal rights and full protection to the minorities, they should all accept and honour the flag, and have absolutely no hesitation in saluting it. He added:

I would ask you not to disown the Pakistan flag merely on the ground that it bears the crescent. I must, however, say that in case no assurance of the kind I have mentioned is forthcoming, at least I will refuse to salute the flag.

Replying to a similar question in connection with the flag of the Indian Union, he said:

I must say that if the flag of the Indian Union will not contain the emblem of the charkha I will refuse to salute that flag. You know the National Flag of India was first thought of by me and I cannot conceive of India's National Flag without the emblem of the charkha. We have, however, been told by Pandit Nehru and others that the sign of wheel or the chakra in the new National Flag symbolizes the charkha also. Some describe the wheel-mark as Sudarshan Chakra, but I know what Sudarshan Chakra means.

Referring to the Punjab, Gandhiji said:

My heart has always been with the Punjab and the sad tales of woes and sufferings of the Punjab which I have been hearing, have made me always think of the Punjab. Do not think that I have forgotten your province. I am fully aware of the sufferings of the Punjab. I have been yearning to come to the Punjab ever since I came to Delhi, but there were certain forces which were against my coming to this province. My

present place is in Noakhali and I would go there even if I have to die. But as soon as I am free from Noakhali I will come to the Punjab. I hope to be free from Noakhali very soon.

I am grieved to learn that people are running away from the West Punjab and I am told that Lahore is being evacuated by the non-Muslims. I must say that this is what it should not be. If you think Lahore is dead or is dying, do not run away from it, but die with what you think is the dying Lahore.

When you suffer from fear you die before death comes to you. That is not glorious. I will not feel sorry if I hear that people in the Punjab have died not as cowards but as brave men. I am not prepared to submit to any kind of compulsion or any interference with religion. I would refuse to stop saying 'Rama' if I am forced to do so and would prefer to be murdered. Similarly I cannot be forced to salute any flag. But if in that act I am murdered I would bear no ill will against anyone and would rather pray for better sense for the person or persons who murder me.

My conception of a Sikh has always been of a brave person, who does not fear death, but who will not do any harm to any innocent person.

Gandhiji said that if the present quarrel between Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs continued it would serve as an invitation to any foreign power to come and invade India. He, therefore, made an earnest appeal to put a stop to the present quarrel which did not credit either community.

The Hindustan Times, 8-8-1947

11. TALK WITH RAILWAY GUARD

[After *August 6, 1947*][1]

There were big crowds at all the stops on the way. On top of this, it began to rain heavily at night. The roof of Gandhiji's carriage leaked, flooding the compartment. The guard suggested that Gandhiji shift to another compartment.

GANDHIJI: What will happen to this one?

GUARD: The passengers from the other compartment will occupy it.

If it is good enough for them, it should be good enough for me, too. How can I think of making myself comfortable at others' expense!

[1] The talk took place while Gandhiji was returning to Patna, having left Lahore on August 6, in the evening.

Is there any service I can render?

Do not harass poor passengers and do not take bribes. That will be the greatest service you can render to me.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 361

12. A DRAFT DECLARATION

Shri Brijlal Nehru sends for publication the following draft declaration:

> Draft declaration to be signed by all members of the Public Service in India, Civil or Military, and by all candidates for the Service, whether Central, Provincial or Local, and by all applicants for other profitable jobs under these Governments and the members of the legislatures including the Constituent Assembly:
>
> I hereby solemnly declare that
>
> 1. I am a subject of the Union of India to which I pledge my loyalty in all circumstances.
>
> 2. I repudiate the theory that Hindus and the Muslims are two separate Nations and hold the view that all the people of India, to whatever race or religion they may belong, are parts of one Nation.
>
> 3. I shall so conduct myself in all my actions and speech as to strengthen this idea of One Nationality of all the inhabitants of this ancient and sacred land.
>
> 4. If at any time I am found guilty of a breach of this declaration, I shall render myself liable to removal from any office or post of profit that I may be holding at the time.

The wording may admit of improvement. But the spirit behind is surely admirable and worthy of adoption if we are to get out of unhealthy growth in the body politic.

ON THE TRAIN TO PATNA, August 7, 1947
Harijan, 17-8-1947

13. NOTES

WHY NOT INDIAN?

His second question[1] was why Lord Mountbatten was selected as the first Governor-General. The reason so far as I know is properly guessed by the questioner. There was no equally

[1] For the first question, *vide* p. 3.

CWMG - LXXIX

suitable Indian for the post. He, being the part, if not the sole, author of the conception lying behind the Indian Independence Bill, seemed to the members of the Interim Government to be the fittest person to pilot the ship of State safe through the troubled waters. The appointment if it was a credit to the British, was equally a credit to the Indian statesmen who had shown themselves free from prejudice and who were capable of rising above prejudice. They showed that they were brave enough to trust their erstwhile opponents.

The Minorities

He next asks why I do not agree that the minorities should quit their respective dominions.

No one has asked me to agree. But I should oppose any such movement. There is no occasion to distrust the majority in either Dominion. And in any case, now that there are two sovereign States in India, each has to ensure the proper treatment of the minorities in the other. Let us hope that such a contingency will never arise. I hold too that every right carries with it a duty, better still, there is no right which does not flow from duty duly performed.

Leaving Politics After the 15th?

Fourthly, he asks whether I would leave politics after the 15th when India will be free.

In the first instance there is no freedom approaching the Kingdom of God. We seem to be as far from it as ever. And in any case the life of the millions is my politics from which I dare not free myself without denying my life work and God. That my politics may take a different turn is quite possible. But that will be determined by circumstances.

Lastly he says:

> You have done a lot of work in Bihar; why was the Punjab ignored?

All I can say is that my not going to the Punjab must not be counted as my neglect of the province. Nevertheless the question is quite apposite and has been asked more than once. The neatest answer I gave was that I had no call from within and my counsellors gave me no encouragement.

On the Train to Patna, August 7, 1947

Harijan, 17-8-1947

14. STUDENTS' DIFFICULTIES

There is an attempt today to bring together all the existing students' organizations in a national convention, to revise the basis of the student movement and to evolve a united national organization of students. What, in your opinion, should be the scope of this new organization? What activities should this students' organization undertake in the new circumstances in the country?

There is no doubt that there should be one national organization including the Hindus, the Muslims and the others. Students are the makers of the future. They cannot be partitioned. I am sorry to observe that neither the students have thought for themselves nor have the leaders left them to their studies so that they can become good citizens. The rot began with the alien government. We, the inheritors, have not taken the trouble to rectify the errors of the past. Then the different political groups have sought to catch the students as if they were shoals of fish. And stupidly the students have run into the net spread for them.

It is therefore a herculean task for any students' organization to undertake. But there must be a heroic spirit among them who would not shrink from the task. The scope will be to knit them together into one. This they cannot do unless they will learn to steer clear of active politics. A student's duty is to study the various problems that require solution. His time for action comes after he finishes his studies.

Today students' organizations are more concerned with passing resolutions on political affairs than devoting their energies to the task of national reconstruction. This is partly due to the attempts which political parties have been making to capture the students' organizations for their party purposes. Our present disunity too can be traced to these party politics. We, therefore, want to evolve some method by which we can prevent the repetition of all this party politics and disunity in the proposed national union of students. Do you think it is possible for the students' organizations to eschew politics completely? If not, what, in your opinion, is the extent to which students' organizations should interest themselves in politics?

This question is partly answered above. They must eschew active politics. It is a sign of one-sided growth that all parties

CWMG - LXXXIX

have made use of the student world for their purpose. This was probably inevitable when the purpose of education was to create a race of slaves who would hug their slavery. That part of the business is over, I hope. The students' first business is to think out the education that the children of a free nation should receive. The education of today is obviously not such. I must not go into the question as to what it should be. Only they must not allow themselves to be deceived into the belief that it is the function only of the elders in the university senates. They must stimulate the faculty of thinking. I do not even remotely suggest that the students can force the situation by strikes and the like. They have to create public opinion by offering constructive and enlightened criticism. The senators having been brought up in the old school are slow to move. They can truly be acted upon by enlightenment.

> Today, the majority of students are not interesting themselves in national service. Many of them are cultivating what they consider 'fashionable' western habits, and more and more students are resorting to bad habits like drinking, etc. There is little efficiency and little desire for independent thinking. We want to tackle all these problems, and build up character, discipline and efficiency in youth. How do you think we can do it?

This deals with the present distemper. It will disappear when a calm atmosphere is produced, when the students cease to be agitators and take to sober studies. A student's life has been rightly likened to the life of a sannyasi. He must be the embodiment of simple living and high thinking. He must be discipline incarnate. His pleasure is derived from his studies. They do provide real pleasure when study ceases to be a tax the student has to pay. What can be a greater pleasure than that a student marches from knowledge to more knowledge?

ON THE TRAIN TO PATNA, August 7, 1947

Harijan, 17-8-1947

15. IS HE BURIED ALIVE?

There is substance in the biting criticism.[1] But I cling to the hope that I am not yet buried alive. The hope rests on the belief that the masses have not lost faith in them. When it is proved that they have, they will be lost and I can then be said to have been buried alive. But so long as my faith burns bright, as I hope it will even if I stand alone, I shall be alive in the grave and what is more, speaking from it. The correspondent forgets untouchability and prohibition. The former is rapidly disappearing. And it looks as if prohibition is coming. I am quite sure that if the Congress forsakes the ideals it adopted in 1920, it will commit suicide.

ON THE TRAIN TO PATNA, August 7, 1947
Harijan, 17-8-1947

16. EVIL OF HORSE-RACING

A well-known gentleman writes:[2]

I have already written[3] about the evil of horse-racing. But it does not seem to have had any effect. Now we are independent. But we are still the same. If we are not careful, we shall have proved the saying that changing one's colour does not change one's nature.

It will be a very strange thing if the vices of the alien rulers persist while their virtues leave with them.

ON THE TRAIN TO PATNA, August 7, 1947
[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 17-8-1947

[1] *Vide* p. 1.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had questioned the running of extra trains and cars between Bombay and Poona for races despite shortage of railway coaches and petrol and wondered how a poor country could afford such costly amusement.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXV, p. 130.

CWMG - LXXXIX

17. TELEGRAM TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

August 7, 1947

CHIEF MINISTER SUHRAWARDY SAHEB
CALCUTTA

I CONTINUE RECEIVE DOLEFUL WIRES ABOUT INCREASING LAWLESSNESS NOAKHALI. I SUGGEST PROMPT ATTENTION WIRES OF SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA AND PROMPT ACTION. AM PUBLISHING WIRES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: M.M.U./XXIII

18. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

PATNA,
August 8, 1947

CHI. JAIRAMDAS[1],

I have your telegram.

1. You have to do all your work in Hindustani. You should speak Hindustani, deliver speeches in Hindustani and write letters in Hindustani.
2. Live a natural and simple life.
3. The administration here is in a mess. Clean it up if you can.
4. The police problem is not resolved. It should be settled.
5. Maybe, the officers are not loyal enough. See about it.
6. All Ministers should do all work jointly.
7. Dr. Mahmud and Ansari have not resolved their differences. Meet them both.
8. Take care of the interests of minorities.
9. The problem of zamindars has not been solved.
10. Remember, you are not only a constitutional officer. There are Biharis. They have a right to demand all sorts of service from you and they should get it.

[1] Governor of Bihar

CWMG - LXXXIX

11. Do not forget village industries and khadi. Go to villages and move about with people as one of them. There should be prohibition.

12. This does not mean that you should ruin your health. Meet Muslim Leaguers freely.

13. Your secretary should be efficient and should not be of any party.

Now your ahimsa will be tested.

I hope you can read this well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original. C. W. 9267. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

19. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

PATNA,
August 8, 1947

Gandhiji began his speech by saying that he was sorry that he could not come to Bihar earlier. But even in Delhi and other places he worked for Bihar and Noakhali. His 'do-or-die' determination was guiding him in all spheres, and for the fulfilment of that determination he was going to Noakhali.

He must reach Noakhali two or three days before August 15 as the people there were extremely nervous, although he knew that nothing was going to happen. Unnecessary panic did not help anybody and if people were brave and god-fearing it did not matter if they lost their lives. He was going to Noakhali to allay panic.

He did not know what God had ordained and he also could not say what the Government would do. To him the whole of India was his country and he could not reconcile himself to the idea of partition in water-tight compartments. He wanted to live both in Hindustan and Pakistan and both were his homelands. Similar was the case with Jinnah Saheb. Muslims had got Pakistan. Now it was incumbent on the people of both Hindustan and Pakistan to live like good human beings and bring peace to the country.

Gandhiji warned the Hindus of Bihar never to think of repeating their crime of last year and said that they should help in rehabilitating all the refugees who were returning from Bengal. Love was the highest virtue and they should cultivate it for all. He hoped that he would be able to proclaim from Noakhali that Hindus and Muslims were forgetting their past and were living in brotherly feeling for each other.

[1] The meeting was held in the University compound.

The 15th is the day of our trial. Observe a fast on that day. Everyone should do his duty. No one should create any disturbance. The independence we are going to get is not of the kind we can celebrate by having illuminations. We do not have foodgrains, clothes, ghee or oil. So where is the need for celebrations? On that day we have to fast, ply the charkha and pray to God. We did not have illumination on April 6, did we? Didn't we celebrate the declaration of that day by fasting from April 6 to April 13? Moreover that day was better than today's independence. Brothers did not quarrel between themselves as they do now. Everyone could freely go to temples or mosques.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi expressed his desire to return to Bihar after three weeks' stay in Noakhali and said that on his return he would stay in Bihar for about a fortnight.

The Hindustan Standard, 9-8-1947

20. WORK ALONE IS TRUE SPEECH

Shri Kanu Gandhi is working in the Noakhali district. He had sent me a lengthy report at Delhi about himself. I am quoting the following portion from it as it deserves to be read by all workers:[2]

ON THE TRAIN TO CALCUTTA, August 9, 1947

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 17-8-1947

21. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

SODEPUR,
August 9, 1947

Gandhiji devoted the whole of his address to the situation in Calcutta. His destination, he said, was Noakhali but he had been listening the whole day long to the woes of Calcutta. Some Muslim friends and also some Hindus complained that they (Hindus) seemed to have gone mad, not that the Muslims had become wiser. But now that the Muslim police and officials were almost withdrawn and replaced by Hindus, the Hindus had begun to believe that they were now free to do what they liked as the Muslims were

[1] This paragraph is translated from *Calcuttano Chamatkar*, pp. 18-9.

[2] The report, describing how Hindus and Muslims volunteered to build a road and remove water-hyacinths from rice fields, is not reproduced here.

CWMG - LXXXIX

reported to have done under the League Ministry. He was not going to examine what was done under the League Ministry. His purpose was undoubtedly to know what his co-worker Dr. Ghosh's[1] Ministry was doing. Was it true that the Muslims were living in terror? If it was at all true, it was a severe reflection on the Congress Ministry. He was rightly asked before he went up to Noakhali to tarry in Calcutta to 'pour a pot of water over the raging fire' that was burning Calcutta. He would love to give his life if thereby he could contribute to the quenching of mob fury. He would never be able to subscribe to the theory that the doings in Calcutta were the result of goondaism. He held that the crude open goondaism was a reflection of the subtle goondaism they were harbouring within. Hence it was the duty of the Governments to hold themselves responsible for the acts of the goondas so called. He hoped that Calcutta would not present the disgraceful spectacle of hot goondaism when they were entering upon full responsibility.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

22. *LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI*

CALCUTTA,
August 10, 1947

CHI. JIVANJI,

I have your letter. I understand your point about *Harijan*. I am considering. So long as I can I shall continue to send articles.

I have left Sushila at the Wah Camp. We hope that she will be able to leave it on the 17th and join me in Noakhali.

Herewith some articles. Give Hingorani and Prabhu the permission they have asked for to publish the material. They are our men. They have no intention at all of making any profit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9979. Also C. W. 6953. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

[1] Dr. P. C. Ghosh

CWMG LXXXIX

23. INTERVIEW TO CONGRESS MINISTERS

August 10, 1947

The Congress Ministers of the Government of Bengal interviewed Gandhiji at 3.30 p. m. One of the questions which they wanted to discuss was the manner in which the 15th should be celebrated. Gandhiji said, according to him, the advice could only be for fasting, prayer and a dedication to the spinning-wheel. What else could they do when all around the country was burning, when people were dying from lack of food and clothing?

The question of the relation between Pakistan and India was also raised by one of the Ministers. Gandhiji said:

Each State should perform its duty properly. If the conduct is straight, there is likelihood of reunion. But what he witnessed today was a preparation for hostility not for friendship.

My Days with Gandhi, p. 256

24. DISCUSSION WITH MOHAMMED USMAN AND OTHERS

August 10, 1947

Mohammad Usman[1] again came. A large Muslim deputation accompanied him. They entreated Gandhiji to stay on in Calcutta even if it were only for two more days:

We Muslims have as much claim upon you as the Hindus. For you yourself have said you are as much of Muslims as of Hindus.

GANDHIJI: I am willing, but then you have to guarantee the peace of Noakhali. If I do not go to Noakhali before the 15th on the strength of your guarantee and things go wrong there, my life will become forfeit; you will have to face a fast unto death on my part.[2]

[1] Secretary, Calcutta District Muslim League and ex-Mayor of Calcutta

[2] According to the source the Muslim friends hesitated but ultimately gave the required guarantee on their and Muslim League's behalf. They promised to despatch wires to the local League leaders in Noakhali and undertook to send emissaries to help maintain peace in Noakhali. *Vide* also the following item.

Gandhiji told them that though he was anxious to reach Noakhali as soon as possible, in deference to their wishes he could postpone going from the 11th August to the 13th.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 363

25. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

SODEPUR,
August 10, 1947

Gandhiji said that he had thought that he was to go to Noakhali the next day (Monday). Owing to the pressure from many Muslim friends who had seen him, he had decided to stay to see if he could contribute his share in the return of sanity in the premier city of India.[1] The argument of the Muslim friends went home. He had at the same time said that if he did not go to Noakhali and any mishap took place, his life would become forfeit as he had said already about Bihar. He had seen the Ministers and others too during the day. He would like to see the places where destruction was said to have been wrought by the Hindus. He had also learnt that there were parts of Calcutta which were inaccessible to the Hindus, though many premises therein used to be occupied by them. Similar was the case with the Hindu localities. He hung his head in shame to listen to this recital of man's barbarism. He would love to go to these places and see for himself how much truth there was in these recitals. He was told that there were not more than 23% Muslims in Calcutta. It was unthinkable that such a minority could coerce the majority without countenance from or incompetence of authority. Similarly it was unthinkable that in the midst of a government which knew the art of government, the majority could for one moment be permitted to coerce the minority. He was also told that as the Muslim police and officers were alleged to be doing before, now that the Congress Ministry was in power, the Hindu police and officers had become partial in the administration of justice. If this wretched spirit of communalism had entered the police force, the prospect was bleak indeed. He hoped that the police would realize the dignity of their profession.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG-LXXXIX

26. LETTER TO SIR FREDERICK BURROWS

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

What you could not do, a big Muslim deputation was able to do yesterday.[1] And so I am here at least till tomorrow. Man is veritably clay in the hands of the great Potter.

All my good wishes with you and yours.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR FREDERICK BURROWS
H. E. THE GOVERNOR
CALCUTTA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 277

27. NOTE TO N. K. BOSE[2]

August 11, 1947

I must not yield to the temptation. They must forget that I know English.

From a photostat: C. W. 10573; also *My Days with Gandhi*, p. 258

[1] *Vide* pp. 21-2.

[2] A representative of the British Broadcasting Corporation had asked Gandhiji for a message to be broadcast on August 15. Gandhiji sent word that he had nothing to say. When the addressee argued that it would be broadcast in various languages, Gandhiji wrote this on a slip of paper already used for conveying other messages to him.

CWMG - LXXXIX

28. LETTER TO AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

August 11, 1947

MY DEAR AMIYA,

I am sorry for your loss which in reality is no loss. Death is but a sleep and a forgetting. This is such a sweet sleep that the body has not to wake again and the dead load of memory is thrown overboard. So far as I know, happily there is no meeting in the beyond as we have it today. When the isolated drops melt, they share the majesty of the Ocean to which they belong. In isolation they die but to meet the Ocean again. I do not know whether I have been clear enough to give you any comfort.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 10506; also from a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, between pp. 88 and 89

29. LETTER TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

MY DEAR SARAT,

What is all this black flag demonstration[1] against Rajaji? I am certain that it is a mistake on our part. In spite of his faults (moreover who among us can claim to be faultless?) he is as much a lover of the country as you and I. I am giving you the impression left on me. As regards the situation in Bengal you are a better judge.

Hope you are well.

Yours,
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 364

[1] The addressee considered C. Rajagopalachari's appointment as Governor of Bengal "an outrage upon Bengal's sentiments".

CWMG - LXXIX

30. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

Dinshaw gave me your letter just now. I see no objection to your obtaining monetary help from proper sources for animal husbandry work. Proper sources means persons who will expect no return for the help given. From that point of view, I had suggested that we could not accept such help from Indore. There are some complications about it. Only the help given out of regard for your goodness or for the cause of cow service or both is proper.

Dinshaw tells me that your health is not very good. Is that right? Are you having cough? Take care and see that you do not fall ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 824. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

31. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

CHI. MANI,

It seems Dahyabhai has to sign the enclosed paper. Have a look at it. I do not know anything about this account. Perhaps it should be signed by someone on behalf of the Ashram.

I have already written to Sardar about Kashmir.[1] He must have received the letter. The long note[2] I have sent to Jawaharlal is meant for Sardar also.

The situation here has become complicated. I do hope that it will improve. From the speech I delivered yesterday[3] you will know why I had to stay back.

Profulla and others meet me frequently.

[1] *Vide* pp. 8-9.
[2] *Vide* pp. 7-8.
[3] *Vide* p. 22.

The Khaksars saw me in Lahore. You must have received the letter I gave them.[1] Is there any respite from work?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 140

32. LETTER TO INDIRA

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

CHI. INDIRA,

I have your letter. Here is a hurried reply. Your handwriting is good. For some time continue to stay where you are. Look after Sarala. What you will get there is not to be found in Santiniketan. Go to Santiniketan after you finish your [training] there. That you have no interest in the place is itself enough to show that you have still a lot to learn. Interest is where there is scope for service. Learn to take interest. Also learn to write Urdu. Let me see your Urdu handwriting. Maintain good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

33. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

SODEPUR,
August 11, 1947

This evening I must devote to answering some questions addressed to me. One of them complains that prominent men were admitted but comparatively unknown persons were insulted. There was an inordinate rush throughout the day, it being Sunday. I agree that when there is such a rush, there should be no distinction made between known and unknown persons. But I had given previous appointments to some who had to be admitted. Then there were many who were specially working for the day. I would, therefore, plead with those who may feel

[1] *Vide* p. 9.

CWMG - LXXXIX

disappointed on such occasions to have forbearance and patience as I would plead with the volunteers to be uniformly courteous and gentle with the public.

I read something about the Chittagong flood the day before yesterday, when I came to Calcutta. This is the third day and I see that the angry waters have not subsided, and the extent of loss of life and property no one can yet assess with any degree of accuracy. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves in the face of such catastrophe that we may not think of East or West or Pakistan and Hindustan. Adversity makes strange bed-fellows. Surely then those who were bed-fellows till yesterday must not cease to be at least on such occasions, whatever their political or religious differences might be or might have been. It is a calamity to cope with not merely for East Bengal but for the whole of Bengal, and not for Bengal only but certainly for the whole of India. There must be a strong reliable committee to collect and distribute funds. Local men come first. Round them can arise an all-Bengal relief committee, and if need be an all-India one. No trouble need be given to all India if Bengal alone can cope with the situation. My whole heart goes out to Chittagong in its dire calamity. May the survivors bear it with fortitude.

Correspondents continue to ask all sorts of questions about appointments of Governors, Ministers and the like, as if I was a member of the Congress Working Committee or could affect its decisions. I know and admit that I have and shall always retain by right of service a place in the hearts of Congressmen. I know too that I shall forfeit that place immediately I begin to overstep my limits. Legal status I have none, moral status can be retained only so long as the moral platform is firmly held.

Do you agree that the leaders of both the communities should go to East and West Bengal and show that they have no differences now to quarrel over?

My answer is emphatically yes, if the leaders are one at heart. If the word belies the thought, the going about will be worse than useless. The newspaper war still continues. I would always prefer an open war to the war of hearts. Are we sure that the leaders trust one another? My fear is that neither at the top nor at the bottom are we cleansed of hypocrisy. I can, therefore, but repeat my old argument that we must unlearn the habit of retaliation in every shape and form. Blow for blow is a crude form and probably more excusable than the subtle one of evil thought for its kind. Thought is the root of speech and

deed. I am sorry that I am unable to return a more comfortable answer. There is none that I know. This is said to hearten ourselves, not to dishearten us. For I have said the naked truth. Within my experience it ever heartens. Is it not heartening to know the true remedy for a disease? Any other is a palliative and in the end aggravates the disease.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

34. INTERVIEW TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[1]

August 11, 1947

GANDHIJI: Do you want to suggest I should not leave on Wednesday and pass the whole of my time in bringing peace to Calcutta?

SUHRAWARDY: Yes.

I stayed (for these two days in Calcutta) very much against my will. But Usman Saheb overpowered me. He made a successful appeal to my heart. He asked me to see things with my own eyes and do something to allay the present communal feelings. I would remain if you and I are prepared to live together. This is my second offer[2] to you. We shall have to work till every Hindu and Mussalman in Calcutta safely returns to the place where he was before. We shall continue in our effort till our last breath.

I do not want you to come to a decision immediately. You should go back home and consult your daughter; for the implication of what I mean is that the old Suhrawardy will have to die and accept the garb of a mendicant (fakir).[3]

My Days with Gandhi, pp. 258-9

[1] According to the source this is a "summary of the conversation which took place" between Gandhiji and Suhrawardy who came with Mohammed Usman at 9.05 p.m. and left at 11 p.m.

[2] The first offer was made on May 12, 1947; *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 460.

[3] Mohammed Usman came the following day at about 1 p.m. with the message that Suhrawardy had agreed to Gandhiji's proposal. *Vide* also pp. 29-31.

CWMG - LXXXIX

35. LETTER TO TARA N. MASHRUWALA

SODEPUR,
August 12, 1947

CHI. TARI,

I read your letter to Abha. I think I had passed on your letter to Dr. Sushila who must have replied to you.

I would advise you to consult Dr. Sushila about the tuberculosis case and do what she says. The same thing applies also to the question of expenditure. You seem to have already incurred some expenditure. If you have, and if you have not had it reimbursed from any source, let me know so that I can have it met from somewhere, unless it can be met from the Trust.

Where is the time to write anything else? It is 5 o'clock now according to the railway time. Do you take care of your health? News about me from the papers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

36. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

SODEPUR,
August 12, 1947

Gandhiji said that the 15th instant was to be a landmark in India's history. It was a day when India would be declared free of the foreign yoke. It was to be an independent nation. He had explained how the day was to be observed,[1] but he was probably alone in the view. Already there was an announcement that the Muslims of Calcutta were to observe it as a day of mourning. He hoped that it was not true. No man could be compelled to observe the day in a particular manner. It was to be a perfectly voluntary act. He would ask his Muslim countrymen not to mourn over the freedom. The present distemper was to go. What were the Hindus in Pakistan to do? They should salute the Pakistan Flag if it meant the freedom and equality of all in every respect, irrespective of caste, colour or creed. He had heard further that on that day the Indians in the French and Portuguese possessions were to declare their freedom from France and Portugal respectively.

[1] *Vide* p. 19.

That, he said, would be a thoughtless act. It would be a sign perhaps of arrogance. The British were retiring, not the French and the Portuguese. He, undoubtedly, held the view that the Indians in these possessions were bound to merge in Independent India in good time. Only the Indians in those territories should not take the law in their own hands. They had constitutional means open to them and then there was their Chief Minister who had vindicated the freedom of Indonesia. Surely, he was not going to neglect his own kith and kin in the two possessions. If they had any doubt about the validity of his advice, they should act on Panditji's advice.

He then came to another important subject. They knew that he prolonged his stay in Calcutta by two days at the instance of Muslim friends. Last night Shaheed Saheb Suhrawardy had come to see him. He had suggested that it would be contrary to his (Gandhiji's) practice to leave Calcutta while it was going through the horrors of communal strife. Shaheed Saheb had suggested that Gandhiji should prolong his stay in the city and work until real peace was restored. Gandhiji had replied that Suhrawardy Saheb and he should live under the same roof in the disturbed parts. It would be best to live unprotected by the police or the military. In brotherly fashion, they would approach the people, argue with them and tell them that now that partition had taken place by agreement, there was no longer any reason why the parties should quarrel. The decision of the Boundary Commission was going to be announced in a day or two, and it was in the fitness of things that all the parties should abide by the decision in a becoming manner. After all, the parties had appointed an arbitration tribunal. They were in honour bound to abide by the Award whatever it was.

Gandhiji's proposal to Suhrawardy Saheb was of such an important nature that the latter could not afford to give a hasty reply. Gandhiji had, therefore, asked Shaheed Saheb to consult his aged father as well as his daughter before coming to a decision.

During the afternoon, Mr. Usman, the ex-Mayor of Calcutta, had arrived with Shaheed Saheb's message stating that the latter had accepted Gandhiji's proposal without reservation. It was now time, therefore, for the two friends to choose quarters in the midst of the worst-affected areas and see what could be done by joint effort.

Gandhiji said that he was warned that Shaheed Saheb was not to be relied upon. The same thing was said about him (Gandhiji) also. He was described as the worst enemy of Islam. He was supposed to be a consummate hypocrite. God alone knew men's hearts. He asserted that he spoke and acted as he believed. He had known Shaheed Saheb since the days of the Faridpore Conference[1], to which the late Deshbandhu had taken him. Nobody had any right to prejudge anybody. He would trust as he expected

[1] Bengal Provincial Conference presided over by C. R. Das from May 2 to 4, 1925. *Vide* Vol. XXVII, pp. 27-35.

to be trusted. Both would live under the same roof, and have no secrets from each other. They would together see all the visitors. People should have the courage to speak out the truth under all circumstances and in the presence of those against whom it had to be said.

Gandhiji finally referred to what the common citizens could do in order to help the cause. They were to bless them on the mission on which they were embarking.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

37. "TO MUSLIMS"

The foregoing[1] is reproduced just as it was received. Let us hope that the wise precepts would be followed up in action. An ounce of practice is worth tons of speeches and writings.

SODEPUR, August 13, 1947

Harijan, 24-8-1947

38. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SODEPUR,
August 13, 1947

CHI. PERINBEHN,

I have your letter. I expect you read what I have written in *Harijan* about your letter.[2] Surely I can make use of your letter to that extent.

Your English letter also to hand.[3] Of course you are working under my guidance. We must avoid all polemics. Let those who wish work for Sanskritized Hindi written in Nagari, let Urdu writers do likewise for Urdu. We work noiselessly but solidly for Hindustani, i.e., Urdu and Hindi made easy and written in either script. No one will write the same letter in two scripts at the same time. But a Hindustani scholar is bound to know the two scripts. Is that not what you mean?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A letter "To Muslims" signed by four Muslim leaders quoting from the Koran and writings on Islamic history to show that Islam did not discriminate against non-Muslims and expressing the hope that the non-Muslims would not feel insecure in Pakistan, is not reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 422.

[3] The addressee had complained of the reported attempt "to dethrone our national language" and sought Gandhiji's advice as to what the Hindustani Prachar Sabha should do.

CWMG - LXXXIX

39. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SODEPUR,
August 13, 1947

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I have your clear letter. I have talked to Kakasaheb and Nanavati. As you say, it is better for you to leave the Secretaryship[1]. You will be in the Working Committee and do whatever you can.

In my view our work is not against anybody but it is complementary. What is it to us whether anybody appreciates our work or not? If what we say is right it will hold.

Urdu cannot become the national language, nor can Hindi. It matters little that Hindi may have the approval of the Union. Our national language will be that language which both the communities can speak and write.

Let Madalasa keep fit and Rasgulla[2] recover soon.

Fix the meeting in Delhi. It will be difficult for me to go there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 311-2

40. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

SODEPUR,
August 13, 1947

CHI. RAJEN BABU,

Kakasaheb is here. He says that the meeting of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha must be held in Delhi irrespective of my presence or absence there. I think I shall not be there. Still it would be good to hold the meeting.

Just now I am held up in Calcutta. You will learn from the newspapers what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Of Hindustani Prachar Sabha
[2] Addressee's son

CWMG - LXXXIX

41. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS[1]

HYDARI MANSION, CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

Presently the representatives of the demonstrators were ushered in to meet Gandhiji. One of them began:

Last year when Direct Action was launched on the Hindus on August 16, you did not come to our rescue. Now that there has been just a little trouble in the Muslim quarters, you have come running to their succour. We don't want you here.

GANDHIJI: Much water has flown under the bridge since August 1946. What the Muslims did then was utterly wrong. But what is the use of avenging the year 1946 on 1947? I was on my way to Noakhali where your own kith and kin desired my presence. But I now see that I shall have to serve Noakhali only from here. You must understand that I have come here to serve not only Muslims but Hindus, Muslims and all alike. Those who are indulging in brutalities are bringing disgrace upon themselves and the religion they represent. I am going to put myself under your protection. You are welcome to turn against me and play the opposite role if you so choose. I have nearly reached the end of my life's journey. I have not much farther to go. But let me tell you that if you again go mad, I will not be a living witness to it. I have given the same ultimatum to the Muslims of Noakhali also; I have earned the right. Before there is another outbreak of Muslim madness in Noakhali, they will find me dead. Why cannot you see that by taking this step I have put the burden of the peace of Noakhali

[1] According to the source, "an old abandoned Muslim house in an indescribably filthy locality, had hastily been cleaned up for Gandhiji's residence. It was . . . open on all sides. . . . An excited crowd of young men stood at the gate as Gandhiji's car arrived. They shouted: 'Why have you come here? You did not come when we were in trouble. Now that the Muslims have complained all this fuss is being made over it. Why did you not go to places from where Hindus have fled?' . . . The situation threatened to take an ugly turn. Gandhiji sent some of his men outside to expostulate with the demonstrators and tell them to send in their representatives to meet him."

on the shoulders of Shaheed Suhrawardy and his friends—including men like Mian Ghulam Sarwar and the rest? This is no small gain.

We do not want your sermons on ahimsa. You go away from here. We won't allow the Muslims to live here.

This means that you do not want my services. If you will co-operate with me and allow me to carry on my work, it will enable the Hindus to return and to live in all the places from where they have been driven out. On the other hand, it will profit you nothing to remember old wrongs and nurse old enmities.

An eighteen-year-old youngster interposed:

History shows that Hindus and Muslims can never be friends. Anyway, ever since I was born I have seen them only fighting each other.

GANDHIJI: Well, I have seen more of history than anyone of you, and I tell you that I have known Hindu boys who called Muslims 'uncle'. Hindus and Muslims used to participate in each other's festivals and other auspicious occasions. You want to force me to leave this place but you should know that I have never submitted to force. It is contrary to my nature. You can obstruct my work, even kill me. I won't invoke the help of the police. You can prevent me from leaving this house, but what is the use of your dubbing me an enemy of the Hindus? I will not accept the label. To make me quit, you have to convince me that I have made a mistake in coming here.

Thus it went on till eight o'clock. At last Gandhiji said:

I put it to you, young men, how can I, who am a Hindu by birth, a Hindu by creed and a Hindu of Hindus in my way of living, be an 'enemy' of Hindus? Does this not show narrow intolerance on your part?

His words had a profound effect. Slowly and imperceptibly the opposition began to soften. Still they were not completely converted. One of them said: "Perhaps we should now go." Gandhiji replied:

Yes, you must go. It is already late. Come again in the morning when you have thought things over.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 365-7

[1] For the discussion which continued the next day in Suhrawardy's presence, *vide* p. 42.

CWMG - IXXXIX

42. LETTER TO PYARELAL

HYDARI MANSION,
August 13, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Today I have come to a Muslim locality. Now let us see when I can get away from here. I have left behind Sushila in Wah. She will leave Wah on the 17th and join me. I am involved in a controversy[1] since my arrival here. I may not be able to hold the prayers either. Young blood is boiling. I have reached here all right. I hope you are calm.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

43. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I am stuck here and now I am going to take a big risk. Suhrawardy and I are going to stay together in a turbulent area from today. Let us see what happens. Keep a watch. I will keep on writing.

Kak (Kashmir) seems to have left.

I came to know about Subhas Bose from your letter. I find it difficult to believe all these reports.[2]

I had also written to Sarat Babu about Rajaji,[3] just as you did, but have not heard from him so far. Nor has he called on me so far this time.

I don't believe that Kripalani would have said what he is reported to have said.[4] I did not like Liaquat Ali's[5] statement.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] In his reply the addressee confirmed the reports that Subhas Chandra Bose had, while in exile, married and had at this time a four-year-old daughter.

[3] *Vide* p. 24.

[4] The addressee had sent to Gandhiji a cutting of J. B. Kripalani's speech in Sind.

[5] First Prime Minister of Pakistan

The atmosphere is poisoned. It is difficult to say who is on whose side.

I understand about the Khaksars. I considered it my dharma to treat them in such a way that they will have no opportunity to say anything against us and I have acted accordingly. I deal with the others in the same way.

All this work is difficult and the difficulties go on increasing. On top of it there is a natural calamity. What are we going to do if the rains fail? Many surely will have to die.

The problem of the Princes is so complicated that you alone can deal with it. But who can deal with your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 363-5

44. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. I sent back the papers unsigned as I thought that my signature was not required.

What will happen if the rains fail? This independence is costing us pretty dear.

I am afraid Sardar's health may break down under the strain of the present work.

Read the enclosed and show it to Sardar. It seems a crime to take up even a single minute of his time.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANIBEHN PATEL
NEW DELHI

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 141

CWMG - LXXIX

45. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

HYDARI MANSION,
August 13, 1947

CHI. KANAIYO,

If you read the newspapers you would have known that I have stayed on in this place, and am now in a Muslim's house in a Muslim locality. It is a palatial building. We are all under Rama's care and we have to live as He wills. I shall not know till the last moment when I shall leave this place. I write all this just because I am pleased with your letter. I have sent the relevant portion from it for publication in *Harijan*.[1] Abha is fine. However, I will not say that she is completely all right. Amritlal is here.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

46. LETTER TO SARALA

August 13, 1947

CHI. SARALA,

I have your letter. You are a sensible girl. You have understood why I don't send for you here. Have patience. Complete the Nayee Talim course and attain the highest proficiency in it. You must be reading in the newspapers about the developments here. I have been able to write this much under great pressure.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 8769

[1] *Vide* p. 19.

CWMG - LXXXIX

47. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

CHI. ARYANAYAKUM,

You will learn of the conditions here from the newspapers. Today I want to write about the *goshala*.

There is a great uproar and the trouble is twofold; they cannot run the *goshala* themselves nor will they let others do so. And you have such a fiery temper that you cannot get along with anyone.

Now tell me what the fact is.

You are all keeping well, I hope. I have no idea when if ever I shall be able to return.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

48. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

HYDARI MANSION, CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I am under great pressure of work here. I am undergoing an ordeal. Noakhali is now out.

I have read everything about the *goshala*. What advice can I give from here? All I know is that Sevagram should have cows and the dairy must work. But how that can be, I do not know. You people should think over it and work it out.

Today I cannot write much. I am writing[1] to Aryanayakum.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 1988. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXXXIX

49. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I am entrapped here. Well, we have to live as God wills.

I got your letter regarding the *goshala*. I have only to say that you must keep Sevagram supplied with milk. It is impossible for me to go into details. I am writing under great pressure of work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

50. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

August 13, 1947

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Today I have come to stay in a Muslim house. Shaheed Saheb is with me. God knows what will happen. I shall be tested. I do not know when I shall see you now.

Yesterday I met Baqui[1]. He had with him Nawab Saheb's[2] son[3] and daughter. I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 585

[1] Addressee's brother

[2] & [3] Nawab of Chhattari and his son Farahat Sayeed, who was married to Kudsia, daughter of Baqui Khan

CWMG - LXXXIX

51. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

HYDARI MANSION,
August 13, 1947

CHI. SATIS BABU,

I have just come to Beliaghata. Kshitishbabu[1] is with me, and so is Arun[2]. What I want is that both should go to Sodepur and see to the work there. Hemprabha[3] wanted to look after me. I have detained her. Shaheed Saheb will be with me. Let me see what happens. I have taken many risks, perhaps this is the greatest of all. Who knows what will happen? We have to live as God wills and be content. I came for Noakhali but have stayed on in Calcutta. It is all right. If things go wrong here, then they will go wrong everywhere. If things improve here, then perhaps they will improve everywhere. Tell everyone that here also I am working for Noakhali. All Muslims say that it is good that I have stayed on in Calcutta and that too where Muslims feel unsafe and moreover in a Muslim's house.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 9284

52. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

CALCUTTA,
August 14, 1947

CHI. SUSHILA,

I had received your letter, but could get no time at all to reply to it. I am writing this after the morning prayer. I am being fairly severely tested here. Instead of going on to Noakhali, I have got stuck here. Yesterday I came here to live in a Muslim's house. This one fact, however, will not give you a complete picture of the situation and I have no time to write more.

[1&2] Addressee's brother and son
[3] Addressee's wife

CWMG - LXXXIX

You are unnecessarily taking things to heart. Manilal's letter is so transparent and so innocent. He has only poured out his heart in it. You had a right to draw the inference you did from the previous letter. Notwithstanding his own desire he had no objection to your staying on in Akola. But that letter did not reveal all he had in mind. You should now join him at the earliest opportunity.

Sita will have what is destined for her. I don't know what I shall be able to do. This time my train passed through Banaras. But it was late by four hours and Sita could not have come to the station at that time of night. But I think you yourself will be in a better position to think over the matter and decide. It is useless to come and see me. Rama alone knows where I shall be tomorrow. It looks like I shall be here. But if I am not here, where will you go wandering after me? If you need the advice of an elder, Kishorelal is there. You are bound to benefit by following his advice. What does it matter if our views do not agree? Each individual thinks differently. Maybe in this matter both of us think alike. But that need not worry you. You should do only what seems right to you. I have made the above suggestion in case you cannot do that. Manilal's letter is enclosed. Though it was in my file, nobody is likely to have read it. Everybody abides by the restrictions I place on them. The file is not likely to fall into any stranger's hands these days. There are only three persons with me, Bisen[1], Abha or Radha (Manu). But what does it matter who is with me? What can you have which you might want to keep private? Manilal's and your letters are never sentimental. I, therefore, think that anybody who reads them is bound to learn something from them.

Remain calm and take every step after careful thinking. If you have any attachments overcome them.

If you reply to this letter, address it C/o Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur.

Krishna wasn't there either in Kashmir or Lahore.

I am getting a copy made of this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C. W. 1426. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi

[1] Shiv Balak Bisen, a constructive worker who was acting as Gandhiji's stenographer

53. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS[1]

August 14, 1947

Gandhiji pointed out to them that united action on the part of Suhrawardy and himself in Beliaghata was only the first step. If and when the Hindus of Beliaghata invited their Muslim neighbours to return, they would next move to a predominantly Muslim area, where they would stay till the Hindus were invited to return and so on till each community had invited its neighbours to return to their former houses all over Calcutta. This time the young men were completely won over.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 367-8

54. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

BELIAGHATA, CALCUTTA,
August 14, 1947

He first said that the next day was the day fixed for deliverance from the foreign yoke. It was, therefore, a great day. They were bound to celebrate it. In his opinion it was a day when both the Dominions were to shoulder a heavy burden. He invited everyone to have twenty-four hours' fast and prayer during the day for the well-being of India as a whole and pass it in spinning as much as possible. For it was hand-spinning that had knit the poor and the rich together and that had given occupation to countless men and women who were without occupation.

He then returned to the reason for his postponing the visit to Noakhali and coming to stay in the present place. He said that Shaheed Saheb had come to see him and induce him to do his bit in bringing about peace in Calcutta which was burning. The appeal had its effect upon him. He agreed provided Shaheed Saheb went with him to the affected areas and stayed there under the same roof with him, till the fury had abated and till complete friendship between the two communities was restored. Therefore, they were to work with one mind without mental reservation and without any secrets in the matter from one another. Shaheed Saheb had taken one night to

[1] *Vide* also p. 33.

[2] According to the source, "a packed audience listened to Gandhiji without the slightest disturbance."

CWMG-LXXIX

confer with his aged father and his daughter and had sent over his decision the next day.[1] And he had sent one message which brought them to the present place yesterday. He had had many warnings also against Shaheed Saheb. He was unaffected by the warnings. He was bound to believe his word as he expected him to accept his (Gandhiji's) word. Let them not think that they were to neglect the parts of Calcutta which were deserted by their Hindu inhabitants and were occupied by Muslims. They were working for the peace of the whole of Calcutta and he invited his audience to believe with them that if Calcutta returned to sanity and real friendship, then Noakhali and the rest of India would be safe. He mentioned that Shaheed Saheb was in the building, but he had, with his consent, kept himself away from the meeting as he wanted to avoid being the slightest cause of irritation to the meeting.[2] But he was glad that the audience had exhibited becoming tolerance and gave him the courage to bring Shaheed Saheb to the meeting. After all they should live and work together in the open and perfect co-operation if their difficult mission was to succeed.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

55. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

BELIAGHATA, CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

MY DEAR AGATHA,

This letter I am dictating whilst I am spinning. You know, my way of celebrating great events, such as today's, is to thank God for it and, therefore, to pray. This prayer must be accompanied by a fast, if the taking of fruit juices may be so described. And then as a mark of identification with the poor and dedication there must be spinning. Hence I must not be satisfied with the spinning I do every day, but I must do as much as is possible in consistence with my other appointments.

[1] *Vide* p. 28.

[2] According to *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, "realizing that Suhrawardy was not at the prayer meeting, some of the young men . . . went shouting for his blood towards the house and stone-throwing began again. . . . Prayer over, Gandhiji returned. . . . He rebuked them for their attack on Suhrawardy. . . . 'He will not be able to stick to me if he is not sincere. . . .' After a time when he had got them into a mood to listen to Suhrawardy, he beckoned him. . . ." Suhrawardy's unequivocal admission of responsibility for the " 'Great Calcutta Killing' . . . had a profound effect on the crowd. 'It was the turning point,' Gandhiji afterwards remarked. 'It had a cleansing effect, I could sense it.' "

I got through Amrit your first letter at 4 o'clock in the morning. I have through her your second letter. This has been brought by Rajaji, the Governor of West Bengal. Rajaji could not afford to come himself. The Government House is surrounded by a huge admiring crowd. He is, therefore, a prisoner in his own house. He sent his secretary with Rajkumari's packet.

You refer me to Winterton's speech, which you will be surprised to learn, I have not read.[1] The speeches during the debate on the Independence Bill, I was not able to read. I rarely get a moment to read newspapers. Some portions are either read to me or I glance during odd moments. What does it matter, who talks in my favour or against me, if I myself am sound at bottom? After all you and I have to do our duty in the best manner we know and keep on smiling. Rest from the papers. I am about to finish my spinning. Therefore I must think of other things.

My love to all our friends. I was glad to find that Carl Heath was well enough to preside at the gathering described by you.

How I wish I could tell you all about the happenings here. Perhaps Horace will. He was with me for a few days. He left me only last night.

Love.

BAPU

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
OLD JORDAN'S HOSTEL
NEAR BEACONSFIELD BUCKS, S. W. II

From a photostat: G. N. 1528; also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 372

[1] During the debate on the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Lords, Earl Winterton, the Conservative Peer, had made a speech attacking Gandhiji.

CWMG-LXXXIX

56. LETTER TO RAMENDRA G. SINHA

BELIAGHATA, CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I must take you at your word. As you say, your father had in him non-violence of the brave. Such a one never dies, destruction of the body has no meaning for him. Therefore, it is not right for you, your mother [or anyone][1] to mourn over the death of your brave father. He has left, in dying, a rich legacy which I hope you will all deserve. The best advice I can give is that you should all do whatever you can for the building up of the freedom that has come to us today and the first thing you can do is to copy your father's bravery.

Bravery of non-violence is shown in a variety of ways, not necessarily in dying at the hands of an assassin. There is no doubt that if you earn an honest price for the [loss][2] of your [dear ones][3] that by itself will be a contribution to the preservation of the [dearly earned freedom].[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RAMENDRA G. SINHA
[GOPAL] MULLICK [LANE]
BOWBAZAR
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G. N. 10517

57. ADVICE TO WEST BENGAL MINISTERS

August 15, 1947

From today you have to wear the crown of thorns. Strive ceaselessly to cultivate truth and non-violence. Be humble. Be forbearing. The British rule no doubt put you on your mettle. But now you will be tested through and through. Beware of power; power corrupts. Do not let yourselves be entrapped by its pomp and pageantry. Remember, you are in office to serve the poor in India's villages. May God help you.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 370

[1] to [4] The source is illegible.

58. TALK WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

The new Governor of the province, C. Rajagopalachari, paid him a respectful visit and congratulated him on the "miracle which he had wrought". But Gandhiji replied that he could not be satisfied until Hindus and Muslims felt safe in one another's company and returned to their own homes to live as before. Without that change of heart, there was likelihood of future deterioration in spite of the present enthusiasm.

My Days with Gandhi, p. 265

59. TALK WITH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

At 2, there was an interview with some members of the Communist Party of India to whom Gandhiji said that political workers, whether Communist or Socialist, must forget today all differences and help to consolidate the freedom which had been attained. Should we allow it to break into pieces? The tragedy was that the strength with which the country had fought against the British was failing them when it came to the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity.

With regard to the celebrations, Gandhiji said:

I can't afford to take part in this rejoicing, which is a sorry affair.

My Days with Gandhi, p. 265

CWMG - LXXXIX

60. TALK TO STUDENTS

CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

Gandhiji explained in detail why the fighting must stop now. We had two States now, each of which was to have both Hindu and Muslim citizens. If that were so, it meant an end of the two-nation theory. Students ought to think and think well. They should do no wrong. It was wrong to molest an Indian citizen merely because he professed a different religion. Students should do everything to build up a new State of India which would be everybody's pride. With regard to the demonstration of fraternization he said:

> I am not lifted off my feet by these demonstrations of joy.

My Days with Gandhi, p. 266

61. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 15, 1947

Gandhiji congratulated Calcutta on Hindus and Muslims meeting together in perfect friendliness. Muslims shouted the same slogans of joy as the Hindus. They flew the tricolour without the slightest hesitation. What was more, the Hindus were admitted to mosques and Muslims were admitted to the Hindu *mandirs*. This news reminded him of the Khilafat days when Hindus and Muslims fraternized with one another. If this exhibition was from the heart and was not a momentary impulse, it was better than the Khilafat days. The simple reason was that they had both drunk the poison cup of disturbances. The nectar of friendliness should, therefore, taste sweeter than before. He was however sorry to hear that in a certain part the poor Muslims experienced molestation. He hoped that Calcutta including Howrah will be entirely free from the communal virus for ever. Then indeed they need have no fear about East Bengal and the rest of India. He was sorry, therefore, to hear that madness still raged in Lahore. He could hope and feel sure that the noble example of Calcutta, if it was sincere, would affect the Punjab and the other parts of India. He then referred to

[1] The meeting was held in Rash Bagan Maidan, Beliaghata.

Chittagong. Rain was no respecter of persons. It engulfed both Muslims and Hindus. It was the duty of the whole of Bengal to feel one with the sufferers of Chittagong.

He then referred to the fact that the people realizing that India was free, took possession of the Government House and in affection besieged their new Governor Rajaji. He would be glad if it meant only a token of the people's power. But he would be sick and sorry if the people thought that they could do what they liked with the Government and other property. That would be criminal lawlessness. He hoped, therefore, that they had of their own accord vacated the Governor's palace as readily as they had occupied it. He would warn the people that now that they were free, they would use the freedom with wise restraint. They should know that they were to treat the Europeans who stayed in India with the same regard as they would expect for themselves. They must know that they were masters of no one but of themselves. They must not compel anyone to do anything against his will.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

62. *MIRACLE OR ACCIDENT?*[1]

Shaheed Saheb Suhrawardy and I are living together in a Muslim manzil in Beliaghata where Muslims have been reported to be sufferers. We occupied the house on Wednesday the 13th instant and on the 14th it seemed as if there never had been bad blood between the Hindus and the Muslims. In their thousands they began to embrace one another and they began to pass freely through places which were considered to be points of danger by one party or the other. Indeed, Hindus were taken to their *masjids* by their Muslim brethren and the latter were taken by their Hindu brethren to the *mandirs*. Both with one voice shouted "Jai Hind" or "Hindu-Muslims! Be one". As I have said above, we are living in a Muslim's house and Muslim volunteers are attending to our comforts with the greatest attention. Muslim volunteers do the cooking. Many were eager to come from the Khadi Pratishthan for attendance, but I prevented them. I was determined that we should be fully satisfied with whatever the Muslim brothers and sisters were able to give for our creature comforts and I must say that the determination has resulted in unmixed good. Here in the compound numberless Hindus and Muslims continue to stream in shouting the favourite

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 24-8-1947.

slogans. One might almost say that the joy of fraternization is leaping up from hour to hour.

Is this to be called a miracle or an accident? By whatever name it may be described, it is quite clear that all the credit that is being given to me from all sides is quite undeserved; nor can it be said to be deserved by Shaheed Saheb. This sudden upheaval is not the work of one or two men. We are toys in the hands of God. He makes us dance to His tune. The utmost therefore, that man can do is to refrain from interfering with the dance and that he should render full obedience to his Maker's will. Thus considered, it can be said that in this miracle He has used us two as His instruments and as for myself I only ask whether the dream of my youth is to be realized in the evening of my life.

For those who have full faith in God, this is neither a miracle nor an accident. A chain of events can be clearly seen to show that the two were being prepared, unconsciously to themselves, for fraternization. In this process our advent on the scene enabled the onlooker to give us credit for the consummation of the happy event.

Be that as it may, the delirious happenings remind me of the early days of the Khilafat movement. The fraternization then burst on the public as a new experience. Moreover, we had then the Khilafat and swaraj as our twin goals. Today we have nothing of the kind. We have drunk the poison of mutual hatred and so this nectar of fraternization tastes all the sweeter and the sweetness should never wear out.

In the present exuberance one hears also the cry of 'Long Live Hindustan and Pakistan', from the joint throats of the Hindus and the Muslims. I think it is quite proper. Whatever was the cause for the agreement, three parties accepted Pakistan. If then the two are not enemies one of the other, and here evidently they are not, surely there is nothing wrong in the above cry. Indeed, if the two have become friends, not to wish long life to both the States would probably be an act of disloyalty.

BELIAGHATA, August 16, 1947
Harijan, 24-8-1947

63. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
August 16, 1947

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters the same day. It was impossible for me to write to you before. This I am writing just after the morning prayer. Your letter together with the other post I read yesterday after the morning prayer and the time for the walk was on. During the day there is hardly any quiet. I am in a Muslim house. They are all very good. I have taken no one from Sodepur. Hence the help I need comes only from Muslim friends. This is not for me a new experience. It reminds me of old days in South Africa and the Khilafat days here. For the moment I am no enemy. Who knows how long this will last? Hindus and Muslims have become friends practically in a day.

Suhrawardy has become transformed, so it looks. His association was the condition of my stay in the disturbed area of Calcutta.

So you are a Minister.[1] You have to be firm and true.

What about education? You must watch. You should insist on team work. Then most things will come under your notice. Though there is rejoicing, somehow or other, there is disturbance within. Is there something wrong with me? Or are things really going wrong?

I see you will have the whole family on your hands now. It is all as it should be.

Harijan may stop, not the dictionary[2]. Can you cope with it? You will tell me when it becomes too much for you.

I must be off for the walk.

Love.

BAPU

[1] The addressee had been appointed Minister of Health in the Government of India.

[2] The English-Hindustani dictionary which was being serialized in *Harijan*.

[PS.]

The first half sheet was by mistake taken for the whole. When I detected the mistake I had already got through some lines!

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
C/O SARDAR V. PATEL
NEW DELHI

From the original: C. W. 3707. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 6516

64. DISCUSSION WITH REV. JOHN KELLAS[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 16, 1947

The principal question discussed was in connection with the relation between education, religion and the State.

Gandhiji expressed the opinion that the State should undoubtedly be secular. It could never promote denominational education out of public funds.[2] Everyone living in it should be entitled to profess his religion without let or hindrance, so long as the citizen obeyed the common law of the land. There should be no interference with missionary effort, but no mission could enjoy the patronage of the State as it did during the foreign regime.

While discussing these matters with Principal Kellas, Gandhiji incidentally remarked that although we had thrown overboard British political supremacy, we have not yet been able to throw overboard the cultural one. In his characteristic style, he said:

We have discarded foreign power, not the unseen foreign influence.

What he would like the new India of his dream to do was to lay the foundation of a new life in keeping with its natural surroundings. In every State in the world today, violence, even if it were for so-called defensive purposes only, enjoyed a status which was in conflict with the better elements of life.

'The organization of the best in society', was the aim to which new India should dedicate herself; and this could be done only if we succeeded in demolishing the status which had been given to goondaism today.

[1] Principal, Scottish Church College, Calcutta, had called on Gandhiji along with some members of his staff.

[2] This sentence is from *My Days with Gandhi*.

One of the scientist members of the staff then asked Gandhiji what scientific men should do if they were now asked by the free Indian Government to engage in researches in furtherance of war and the atom bomb? Gandhiji promptly replied:

Scientists to be worth the name should resist such a State unto death.

Harijan, 24-8-1947

65. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
August 16, 1947

Gandhiji expressed his pleasure that at the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan the tricolour was hoisted by an elderly Harijan *Mehtrani* who was faithfully serving the institution. Similarly, for a District Congress Committee (of which he had forgotten the name for the moment), a Harijan girl performed the hoisting ceremony. This was along right lines and in keeping with the present fraternal spirit of Calcutta. He hoped that the spirit was permanent and that there would be no trace of untouchability or inequality in Hinduism and that Hindus and Muslims being from the same God, would never quarrel among one another. If this spirit persisted, it would spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Then there would be no fear of disturbance in Noakhali or the Punjab.

He then proceeded to refer to the crowd taking possession of the Government House. Historians have testified that in ancient India, people had no need to lock their doors. In Ramarajya thefts were not known. Such is our tradition of honesty and truth. It was a matter of shame that there was a show of the military to induce the crowd to vacate the Government House. He was also grieved to learn that some plate in the Government House was pilfered. He would be glad to find that the plate was returned to the Government House. He then mentioned that an American friend who was with the Qaid-e-Azam told him the day before that the Qaid-e-Azam said that India would show to the world that there was no longer any quarrel between the two and that there was no majority and minority community. Rajaji, their Governor, confirmed the same information.

Harijan, 24-8-1947, and *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 373

CWMG - LXXXIX

66. FOOD CRISIS AND SOIL FERTILITY

The suggestions contained in this paper[1] are worthy of attention and adoption. I have no doubt that proper treatment and judicious use of our soil should allay all fear of dearth of food.

Harijan, 17-8-1947

67. AN INDIAN GOVERNOR

In construing the word India, here it includes both Hindostan and Pakistan. Hindustan may mean the country of the Hindus strictly so called, Pakistan may mean the country of the Muslims. Both the uses are, in my opinion, irregular. Hence, I have purposely used the word Hindostan.

The Khilafat-Swaraj-Non-co-operation Resolution of 1920 passed in Calcutta at the Special Session of the Congress[2], which has brought freedom from the British yoke, was for both the Hindus and the Muslims, designed to induce self-purification so as to bring about non-co-operation between forces of evil and those of good. Hence

1. An Indian Governor should, in his own person and in his surroundings, be a teetotaller. Without this, prohibition of the fiery liquid is well-nigh inconceivable.

2. He and his surroundings should represent hand-spinning as a visible token of identification with the dumb millions of India, a token of the necessity of 'bread labour' and organized non-violence as against organized violence on which the society of today seems to be based.

3. He must dwell in a cottage accessible to all, though easily shielded from gaze, if he is to do efficient work. The British Governor naturally represented British might. For him and his was erected a fortified residence—a palace to be occupied by him and his numerous vassals who sustained his Empire. The Indian prototype may keep somewhat pretentious buildings for receiving princes and ambassadors of the world. For these, being guests of the Governor, should constitute an education

[1] By Dr. N. R. Dhar, is not reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-1.

in what "Even Unto This Last"—equality of all—should mean in concrete terms. For him no expensive furniture, foreign or indigenous. Plain living and high thinking must be his motto, not to adorn his entrance but to be exemplified in daily life.

4. For him there can be no untouchability in any form whatsoever, no caste or creed or colour distinction. He must represent the best of all religions and all things Eastern or Western. Being a citizen of India, he must be a citizen of the world. Thus simply, one reads, did the Khalif Omar, with millions of treasures at his feet, live; thus lived Janaka of ancient times; thus lived, as I saw him, the Master of Eton in his residence in the midst of, and surrounded by, the sons of the Lords and Nabobs of the British Isles. Will the Governors of India of the famished millions do less?

5. He will speak the language of the province of which he is the Governor and Hindustani, the lingua franca of India written in the Nagari or Urdu script. This is neither Sanskritized Hindi nor Persianized Urdu. Hindustani is emphatically the language which is spoken by the millions north of the Vindhya Range.

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive list of the virtues that an Indian Governor should represent. It is merely illustrative.

One would expect that the Britishers who have been chosen by Indian representatives as Governors and who have taken the oath of fealty to India and her millions would endeavour as far as possible to live the life an Indian Governor is expected to live. They will represent the best that their country has to give to India and the world.

CALCUTTA, August 17, 1947

Harijan, 24-8-1947

68. GOD IS GOOD

Not in the same sense as X is good. X is comparatively good. He is more good than evil, but God is wholly good. There is no evil in Him. God made man in His own image. Unfortunately for us man has fashioned Him in his own. This arrogation has landed mankind in a sea of troubles. God is the Supreme Alchemist. In His presence all iron and dross turn into pure gold. Similarly does all evil turn into good.

Again God lives but not as we. His creatures live but to die. But God is life. Therefore goodness and all it connotes is not an attribute. Goodness is God. Goodness conceived as apart from Him is a lifeless thing and exists only whilst it is a paying policy. So are all morals. If they are to live in us they must be considered and cultivated in their relation to God. We try to become good because we want to reach and realize God. All the dry ethics of the world turn to dust because apart from God they are lifeless. Coming from God, they come with life in them. They become part of us and ennoble us.

Conversely God conceived without Goodness is without life. We give him life in our vain imaginings.

CALCUTTA, August 17, 1947
Harijan, 24-8-1947

69. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CALCUTTA,
August 17, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I have gone deaf from all the shouting. I am expected to never tire of giving *darshan*. I am at my wit's end how to free myself from this. As for the rest of the news—you will have what you can from the newspapers.

I am reminded of the days of the Khilafat. But what if this is just a momentary enthusiasm?

I enclose herewith a telegram about Lahore[1]. I have not replied to it. If what it says is true, it is a serious thing. Do let me know the truth. At present I am stuck here. The second is a letter from Horace Alexander. What he says certainly commends itself to me. If he makes the recommendations after a study of the whole thing, any injustice that might be done can be prevented.

In Chandranagore some rioters have surrounded the house of the Administrator;[2] so Prafulla Babu has gone there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 365-6

[1] Where Hindus had been massacred
[2] *Vide* p. 57.

CWMG - LXXXIX

70. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

CALCUTTA,
August 17, 1947

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Is Gangi well? What foreword can I write for my writings? Ask someone else.

If you want to go to America for your ear trouble, you may go. Why do you want my permission? One can do as one wishes. I am returning the Press cutting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

71. SPEECH AT NARKELDANGA[1]

CALCUTTA,
[*August 17, 1947*][2]

Gandhiji said that there were indications that all was not well with the Muslims. Some Hindus were now beginning to feel that they had the upper hand, and some Muslims were afraid that they would have to play the underdog in the Union today. Gandhiji said that this would be shameful indeed. If a minority in India, minority on the score of its religious profession, was made to feel small on that account, he could only say that this India was not the India of his dreams. In the India for whose fashioning he had worked all his life every man enjoyed equality of status, whatever his religion was. The State was bound to be wholly secular. He went so far as to say that no denominational educational institution in it should enjoy State patronage.

All subjects would thus be equal in the eye of the law. But every single individual would be free to pursue his own religion without let or hindrance so long as it did not transgress the common law. The question of the protection of minorities was not good enough for him; it rested upon the recognition of religious grouping between citizens of the same State. What

[1] Extracted from N. K. Bose's report "Many Roads, One Goal"
[2] Gandhiji was at Narkeldanga on this date.

he wished India to do, was to assure liberty of religious profession to every single individual. Then only India could be great, for it was perhaps the one nation in the ancient world, which had recognized cultural democracy, whereby it was held that the roads to God were many, but the goal was one, because God was one and the same. In fact the roads were as many as there were individuals in the world.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

72. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING*[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 17, 1947

Gandhiji said that it was well for Shaheed Saheb to speak sweet things. They were justified. There was no exaggeration in his speech. But he felt bound to draw attention to certain disturbing things. They should not be drowned in the pardonable exuberance they were witnessing. There were isolated spots in Calcutta where it was not all well. He had heard that in one spot the Hindu residents were not prepared to welcome back the Muslim residents who were obliged to leave their places. All this was bad. It was like a bad boil in an otherwise wholesome body. If the boils were not looked after in time, they might poison the body.

Then he mentioned a letter he had received from Mohammed Habibullah Bahar, Secretary of the Muslim League. He made a worthy suggestion about a joint influential committee going to the East and West of Bengal and consolidate the good work being done in Calcutta. He hoped the suggestion would be quickly acted upon. Another suggestion was that the havoc caused by the flood in the East Bengal should be a joint concern of the Hindus and the Mussalmans. He agreed and hoped that there would be a body of Hindu and Muslim workers who would tackle the subject efficiently. Both grain and workers were wanted more than money. The Mayor of Calcutta had sent him a cheque for Rs. 15,000 in aid of relief. He was thankful for the cheque. He would see to it that it was well employed.

Gandhiji then turned to Chandranagore from which the news was received that the Administrator's bungalow was surrounded by those who called themselves satyagrahis but were in fact *duragrahis*, if the statement received by him was true. It was suggested that he had approved of the step. He must say it was wholly untrue. Some persons had come to him and he had said that this was no time for satyagraha. There never could be any for *duragraha*. Pandit Nehru was there to look after such affairs. After all the French were a great people, lovers of liberty. They must not be subjected

[1] The prayer was held in the Victoria Nursery Grounds in Narkeldanga.

to any strain by India which had come in possession of liberty. India was bound to protect the French possessions in India against any untoward action by the Indians. So he was glad that the Chief Minister had proceeded to Chandranagore to find out the truth and do what he could.

Continuing, Gandhiji dealt with the way in which the people were treating the police who were posted to protect Shaheed Saheb and him. It was most improper to disregard the police instructions. He had seen them undertaking their difficult task with exemplary patience and courtesy. It was wrong for crowds to take the law in their own hands. That way lay slavery, not freedom. He warned the public that he was thinking of approaching the authorities to withdraw their forces, for he did not like them to be subjected to insult for doing a public duty. He, however, expected that the crowd would become perfectly orderly, so that the contemplated withdrawal might not be necessary. The police and the military today were after all servants of the public and not their masters.

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to the coming Id celebration. For twenty years in South Africa he had participated in the celebration with Muslim friends in *masjids*. Now that a flood of goodwill was sweeping over the city of Calcutta, he expected everyone to take such steps as would render the friendly feeling permanent. It was easy to share in a rising tide of emotion; but it was quite another matter to produce constructive workers who would toil from day to day in order to consolidate the feeling. Gandhiji would love to see such work in the city, for, he was sure that its effect would then be felt by the rest of the country. If they failed to do this, Gandhiji warned them, today's freedom would prove only a nine-day wonder.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

73. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MIRABEHN

August 18, 1947

The joy of the crowd is there but not in me is any satisfaction. Anything lacking in me? . . .[1] Hindu-Muslim unity seems to be too sudden to be true. They ascribe the transformation to me. I wonder! Probably things would have been like this even if I had not been on the scene. Time will show.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 374

[1] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXXXIX

74. NOTE TO KHULNA CONGRESS WORKERS[1]

CALCUTTA,
[*August 18, 1947*][2]

There can be no two opinions. The Union flag *must* go, Pakistan's must be hoisted without demur, with joy if possible. Award is award good or bad.

From a photostat: C. W. 10574; also *My Days with Gandhi*, pp. 267-8

75. NOTE TO PEOPLE OF BARRACKPORE[3]

August 18, 1947

I hope the decision not to have music in the vicinity of mosques at the *namaz* time is acceptable to all and will be regarded as binding by *all* Hindus, not only those who are present on the spot. The League and the Congress have agreed to solve all differences by peaceful methods and without resort of force.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 375

[1] The visitors had sought Gandhiji's advice as to what they should do with the tricolour they had hoisted to celebrate August 15 in Khulna, now that the Boundary Commission had awarded the place to Pakistan. Gandhiji wrote this as he was observing silence.

[2] From *My Days with Gandhi*

[3] Gandhiji visited Barrackpore, 14 miles north of Calcutta, following reports of some trouble over a procession. Peace had already been established when Gandhiji, who was still observing silence, reached there.

76. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

BELIAGHATA,
August 18, 1947

My first duty is to wish *Id Mubarak* to all those Muslims who are present here. There was a time when both the Hindus and Muslims embraced each other on this day. I must confess that after many years I am witnessing this scene. I am very happy to see the members of the Muslim League, National Guards and Congress volunteers here. However, this unity should be everlasting. We have to take the place of the British. I will never be able to forget the scene I have witnessed today.

[From Gujarati]

Calcuttano Chamatkar, pp. 40-1

77. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

CALCUTTA,
August 19, 1947

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter and the wire. When can a message be sent to Manilal? After the 15th? That is over.

What do you mean by saying that Sita has been betrothed? According to me, the betrothal took place the day they stole each other's hearts. Does betrothal mean that they have now taken a step further and can take more liberties with each other? But you are now leaving. What is bound to happen will happen.

You must have received my long letter[2].

I am writing this letter under very great pressure for time.

I understand about Sita's college. Some inconvenience must be endured, or boys and girls become secretive and think that they are progressing.

Show this letter to Manilal also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5012

[1] The meeting held in the compounds of the Mohammedan Sporting Club was attended by about four to five lakh people.

[2] *Vide* pp. 40-1.

CWMG - LXXIX

78. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
August 19, 1947

Gandhiji apologized for being late by an hour and a quarter. His party was not at fault. Because of the misdeeds of the majority, who were Hindus in Kanchrapara[1], the Chief Minister, Shaheed Saheb, he and others had to go to Kanchrapara. Then on return they were stopped by parties who wanted to acclaim their joy. This sort of acclamation, if it was not tempered with restraint, would kill their leaders and then they would deplore the embarrassing affection. He then warned them against being unduly elated by all the fraternization that they were witnessing. Behind it there were pointers like Barrackpore[2], Kanchrapara and other places he could mention. He would not let them plead excuse or extenuation. There was neither excuse nor extenuation for the majority in Pakistan or Hindustan. If the Hindu majority treasured their religion and duty, they would be just at all cost. They would overlook the limitations or mistakes of the minority who had no one but the majority to look to for justice. He had to listen not without shame and sorrow to the statement that a Muslim friend made to him. He said with a sigh that there was nothing left but a kind of subjection to the Hindu majority and they might have to suffer in silence the playing of music before mosques whilst they were offering prayers. He would have no such despair on the part of Muslims. The friend, who made the remark, did not realize that he unconsciously implied that Muslim majority would inflict revenge in Pakistan. He hoped it would never be so either in Hindustan or Pakistan. The proper thing was for each majority to do their duty in all humility, irrespective of what the other majority did in the other State. He suggested, therefore, that until the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and the Union agreed upon another course in both the States, the practice that was followed during the British regime often under compulsion, should be fully and voluntarily followed in both the States. Those who thought that they could haughtily impose their will on the minority were foolish and were vastly mistaken. If, therefore, they wanted to consolidate the prevailing goodwill, they would see to it that they acted on the square under all circumstances.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

[1] An industrial area, 26 miles north of Calcutta, where following a dispute over playing of music before mosques, the police had opened fire causing many deaths.

[2] *Vide* p. 59.

79. *TALK WITH STUART NELSON*[1]

CALCUTTA,
[Before *August 20, 1947*][2]

Professor Nelson[3] asked him why it was that Indians who had more or less successfully gained independence through peaceful means, were now unable to check the tide of civil war through the same means?

Gandhiji replied that it was indeed a searching question which he must answer. He confessed that it had become clear to him that what he had mistaken for satyagraha was not satyagraha but passive resistance—a weapon of the weak. Indians harboured ill will and anger against their erstwhile rulers, while they pretended to resist them non-violently. Their resistance was, therefore, inspired by violence and not by regard for the man in the British, whom they should convert through satyagraha.

Now that the British were voluntarily quitting India, apparent non-violence had gone to pieces in a moment. The attitude of violence which we had secretly harboured, in spite of the restraint imposed by the Indian National Congress, now recoiled upon us and made us fly at each other's throats when the question of the distribution of power came up. If India could now discover a way of sublimating the force of violence which had taken a communal turn, and turning it into constructive, peaceful ways, whereby differences of interests could be liquidated, it would be a great day indeed.

Gandhiji then proceeded to say that it was indeed true that many English friends had warned him that the so-called non-violent non-co-operation of India was not really non-violent. It was the passivity of the weak and not the non-violence of the stout in heart who would never surrender their sense of human unity and brotherhood even in the midst of conflict of interests, who would even try to convert and not coerce their adversary.

Gandhiji proceeded to say that this was indeed true. He had all along laboured under an illusion. But he was never sorry for it. He realized that if his vision were not covered by that illusion, India would never have reached the point which it had today.

[1&2] This and the following item extracted from "Non-violence and Free India" appeared under the date-line "Calcutta, 20-8-1947". This talk however, according to the source, took place two or three days before it was reported.

[3] Of Howard University, Washington

India was now free, and the reality was now clearly revealed to him. Now that the burden of subjection had been lifted, all the forces of good had to be marshalled in one great effort to build a country which forsook the accustomed method of violence in order to settle human conflicts whether it was between two States or between two sections of the same people. He had yet the faith that India would rise to the occasion and prove to the world that the birth of two new States would be, not a menace, but a blessing to the rest of mankind. It was the duty of Free India to perfect the instrument of non-violence for dissolving collective conflicts, if its freedom was going to be really worth-while.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

80. TALK WITH STUDENTS

CALCUTTA,
[Before *August 20, 1947*]

Gandhiji first asked them if any of them had taken part in the riots, to which they replied in the negative. Whatever they had done was in self-defence; hence it was no part of the riot.

This gave Gandhiji an opportunity of speaking on some of the vital problems connected with non-violence. He said that mankind had all along tried to justify violence and war in terms of unavoidable self-defence. It was a simple rule that the violence of the aggressor could only be defeated by superior violence of the defender. All over the world, men had thus been caught in a mad race for armaments, and no one yet knew at what point of time the world would be really safe enough for turning the sword into the plough. Mankind, he stated, had not yet mastered the true art of self-defence.

But great teachers, who had practised what they preached, had successfully shown that true defence lay along the path of non-retaliation. It might sound paradoxical; but this is what he meant. Violence always thrived on counter-violence. The aggressor had always a purpose behind his attack; he wanted something to be done, some object to be surrendered by the defender. Now, if the defender steeled his heart and was determined not to surrender even one inch, and at the same time to resist the temptation of matching the violence of the aggressor by violence, the latter could be made to realize in a short while that it would not be paying to punish the other party and his will could not be imposed in that way. This would involve suffering. It was this unalloyed self-suffering which was the truest form of self-defence which knew no surrender.

Someone might ask how it could be called self-defence if through such non-resistance the defender was likely to lose his life. Jesus lost his

life on the Cross and the Roman Pilate won. Gandhiji did not agree. Jesus had won, as the world's history had abundantly shown. What did it matter if the body was dissolved in the process, so long as by Christ's act of non-resistance, the forces of good were released in society?

This art of true self-defence by means of which man gained his life by losing it, had been mastered and exemplified in the history of individuals. The method had not been perfected for application by large masses of mankind. India's satyagraha was a very imperfect experiment in that direction. Hence, during the Hindu-Muslim quarrel, it proved a failure on the whole.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

81. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

CALCUTTA,
August 20, 1947

CHI. MIRA,

Your two letters and wire. I hope you got mine at Pratap Nagar. All your letters were received.

So you have not gained by your stay in the Himalayan Hills! You are evidently unable to build up your body.

I suggest your giving up all activities including cow-keeping.

What about the buildings you have erected and the ground taken? You can certainly come back to me and stay at will. Have no irons in the fire till your body is like true steel. I hold that it can be like that if the conditions are fulfilled.

I hope the examination of your heart will prove satisfactory.[1]

I am fixed up here for the time being. Then the intention is to go to Noakhali. When that time will come I do not know.

This letter has taken me two hours to finish. There were many interruptions.

BAPU

[PS.]

I had expressed the intention to pass my days in Pakistan, no promise.

From the original: C. W. 6531. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9926

[1] The addressee had written to Gandhiji of her decision to go to Delhi to get her heart examined as the strain of the Himalayan hills had left her health very unsatisfactory.

CWMG - LXXXIX

82. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

BELIAGHATA,
August 20, 1947

CHI. JIVANJI,

I have your letter. I am very sorry to learn that you got the articles on Wednesday the 13th. I take the utmost care to see that you get all the material on Monday evening. With that aim, I send the material by air-mail from Calcutta on Sunday. But I cannot attend to everything myself. I have got to trust somebody. Nobody can be forced to do anything. We should, therefore, be content with whatever service we get. I have no paid employee. I have so arranged my life that those who are with me can leave me this very day. Such lapses, therefore, will continue. Also I must confess that I have no more zest in running *Harijan.* I constantly feel that it is only through actions I should try to give the people what I can. But I am not going to decide anything in a hurry. Whatever happens will happen in the natural course.

I have received a copy of Prabhu's publication. I understand about Anand Hingorani. You may rest assured that he is not after money, nor is he dishonest. He is certainly capricious, being the son of a rich father. He is highly educated and has been brought up in indulgence. His father-in-law also is a big man. He has now lost his hearing. He would be happy to be able to popularize any ideas of mine. He doesn't write anything else or make profit by publishing books. However, he must abide by the rules which normally govern the permission we give to all such publications.

Do you send anybody to the airport on Mondays at the time of arrival of the aeroplane? It would be better to send somebody every day till you receive the *Harijan* packet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9983. Also C. W. 6957. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

83. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

CALCUTTA,
August 20, 1947

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I am enclosing Aryanayakum's letter. As asked for pay Radhakisan Rs. 75,000.

So the *goshala* work goes on after all as usual; or has there been anything new?

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

84. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKUM

August 20, 1947

CHI. ARYANAYAKUM,

I have your letter.

I have written[1] to Chimanlal to give Rs. 75,000 to Chi. Radhakisan for the *goshala*.

My letter[2] about the *goshala* must have reached you.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* p. 38.

CWMG - LXXIX

85. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 20, 1947

QUESTION: There is a talk of sending Miss Chandralekha Pandit[2] as ambassador to the U. S. A. What can a young girl of eighteen do there?

GANDHIJI: It is an attack on Jawaharlal Nehru. I can give an apt reply to it. But at the moment I do not want to involve myself in politics. I am busy with the work concerning Hindu-Muslim unity. You may ask any question you like on the subject. I do not want to render the Press useless. I want to utilize it in the work of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am eager to see the day when Hindus and Muslims will cease to stab each other even if the Government of India or of Pakistan should go mad. Whatever I say in my prayer meetings or in my writings is done after due deliberation.

Let the past be buried. Do not rake it up. Think of the future. Analyse things. Do not hesitate to point out the defects if they are detected. Do not exaggerate. The country has often suffered from exaggeration.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Calcuttano Chamatkar, pp. 42-3

[1] Gandhiji met the journalists at his Beliaghata residence; Suhrawardy was also present.

[2] Daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit

[3] This paragraph is from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 21-8-1947.

86. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 20, 1947

Gandhiji drew attention to Chittagong and said that it was their duty to collect funds, distribute food and clothing and medical necessaries. Enough volunteers should be sent to afford relief. He was glad to find that the Marwari Relief Society as also the Friends' Service Unit under Mr. Muirhead had already sent workers to the scene.

Referring to the Punjab, Gandhiji said that he had received letters to the effect that now that there was peace in Calcutta, he should proceed to the Punjab. He said that when God called him, he would most certainly go there. But the two Prime Ministers of the two Dominions had announced that their major preoccupation would be to restore complete peace in the Punjab. They would use every resource at their disposal to establish peace and they would mobilize public opinion in the Punjab. This should be enough for them to hope that things in the Punjab would be as good as in Calcutta. The two Prime Ministers of the Punjab and Master Tara Singh and Master Giani Kartar Singh have said likewise.

Mentioning about the Central Peace Committee, Gandhiji said that it should consolidate the results so far achieved. They had to see that poor Muslims were rehabilitated just as the Hindus had to be rehabilitated in the areas from which they had been evacuated. Local peace committees should be set up in each *mohalla*; and they must find at least one Hindu and one Muslim of clean heart to work together. These committees must tour the areas under their jurisdiction. They should work to create the feeling of friendliness wherever it was lacking. For the purpose of rehabilitation they would have to go into details. Food, shelter and clothing had to be found for the evacuees returning to their homes. It would be a great day indeed for Calcutta if its men and women co-operated in this manner to consolidate their good feelings, which had been so much in evidence during the last few days. In this task all the parties were to co-operate. For, now that all the parties concerned had come to an agreement with regard to the division of India into two dominions, there was no longer any reason to quarrel and they could join hands in the task of restoring peaceful conditions.

Gandhiji then referred to the question of flags. Personally he was of opinion that as the two States were on friendly terms with each other, there

[1] The meeting held at Khengrapati, Barrackpore, was attended by over four lakh people.

was no reason why they could not display each other's flags in the two Dominions just as England and America could do.

Gandhiji then referred to the proposal of stopping cow-slaughter by means of legislation in the Indian Union. He said that he was of opinion that if they tried to do so through law, it would be a great mistake. He had been a devotee of the cow for over half a century. She had a permanent place in the economy of India. The cow can indeed be saved if they could win over the hearts of the Muslims in such a way that they voluntarily understood the responsibility out of deference to the feelings of their Hindu friends. This had been abundantly demonstrated during the Khilafat days. Now that India was free, the same old relation could be restored if they behaved towards one another correctly.

Hinduism, he lastly said, would be wrongly served if compelling legislation was resorted to in such matters. Hinduism could be saved only by doing unadulterated justice to man to whatever religion he might belong.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

87. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1947

CHI. DEV,

I don't see the difficulty Jivanji has pointed out in respect of the article "My Neighbours". I sent for the book and read it. As far as I understand the English language, the improvement you suggested has no place in it. If Jivanji could suggest some other improvement I might understand his point.

I have sent replies to the other questions with Shah Nawaz. Do write to me whatever you wish. Never mind if I am not able to reply promptly although I shall try to do so.

I got up at 2.30 and am now writing this. It is 3.30 by the Calcutta standard time.

It is undecided where I shall go. But the talk is going on about my leaving soon for the Punjab.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

88. LETTER TO TERESA RADDY

CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1947

DEAR TERESA,

What a long letter to express your jubilation. When your studies are over I wonder [if] you will retain the same enthusiasm as now for the service of the country.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS TERESA RADDY
C/O MR. T. L. THOMAS
69 AUSTIN TOWN
BANGALORE CANTT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

89. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1947

I have been to many women's meetings. But today the noise is too much. I am but a servant. I have come to this meeting because I was ordered to do so. I would like to leave as soon as possible. All the women who have come here should call on Muslim women. Women can do much work. My grand-daughter was with me in my Noakhali tour. I used to send her to Muslim women daily. It was amazing the way they talked with her. Those women used to test her also. Women should work for eradicating untouchability.

[From Gujarati]

Calcuttano Chamatkar, p. 45

[1] The meeting was held in the University. There was so much noise that Gandhiji had to wait for about forty-five minutes before he could address the gathering.

CWMG - LXXIX

90. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1947

Gandhiji drew attention to the two flags of Pakistan and the Indian Union that were being prominently flown among the audience and hoped that that pleasing sight would be universal in India. He was glad too that Shaheed Saheb had suggested the revival of the slogan '*Hindu-Muslim ki Jai*', for it was started during the palmy Khilafat days. He recalled the memory of the old days when a Muslim fellow-prisoner used to sing Iqbal's *Sare Jahanse Achchha*. He used to have it sung equally sweetly by the late Saraladevi Chowdharani. The third time was this evening when he heard it sung with equal sweetness and force. The words of the poem were as sweet as the tune. And among them what could be sweeter than that religion never taught mutual hatred? He hoped and prayed that the beginning thus auspiciously made would last for ever and that they would never resort to the sword for the solution of their difficulties. If that was to be so, they would see that no untoward incidents were allowed to happen and flimsy things were not exaggerated so as to make them look like a communal disturbance as had come to his notice even that very day. He pleaded, too, that a strong rehabilitation committee might collect enough funds to give aid where it was required.

Absolute impartiality was needed to bring all the evacuees back to their places. There was a complaint that certain Muslims, who used to supply carts for transfer of goods from place to place, were displaced during the direct-action days. They had not found any other occupation. He was clear that if the statement was true, they should be reinstated. What was then to be done with the substitutes who were imported from other provinces? It was a ticklish question. But it was not beyond the wit of merchants. Where there was a will, there was a way. In scrupulous attention to such matters lay the foundation for permanent unity. There was, too, the question of landlords taking undue advantage of the evacuees who were eager to return. They must not expect payment for the days that the *bustees* were unoccupied or think of charging higher rents. He added that if they were quite honest in all their dealings and both the communities were true to one another, he was sure that the union of hearts would act unfailingly on the

[1] Held in the Park Circus Maidan, a predominantly Muslim locality, the meeting began with Iqbal's song *Sare Jahanse Achchha Hindostan Hamara.*

Punjab and help the good work that was being done by the ministers of the two Dominions.

He then came to the Award of the Umpire in the Boundary Commission. The Umpire was chosen by all the parties to the dispute. It would be unjust and unworthy to impute motives to the Umpire. He was specially invited by the parties to the thankless task. The parties and the public they represented, were loyally to abide by the Award. No Award that he knew—and he had to do with many arbitrations—completely satisfied the parties. But having made the choice they were bound to carry out the terms of the Award. No doubt the best way was for the parties to adjust differences themselves. This royal road was open to them any time as Khwaja Saheb Nazimuddin and Dr. Ghosh, the two Premiers, had wisely pointed out.

He knew that the Muslims of Murshidabad and Malda were as gravely disappointed as the Hindus in Khulna or Gopalganj and the Buddhists in the Chittagong Hill tracts. The latter had gone to East Bengal. He would say to all these parties that it was not only foolish but unbecoming to quarrel over the Award. It should not matter that on the 15th, the day was celebrated according to the national division. If he had been consulted he would have advised non-celebration because of the state of uncertainty. But having by mistake flown in the respective places the wrong flag, there should be no hesitation whatsoever in replacing the wrong flag by the right one. But as he had already said, there was no flag wrong in their Dominion for the simple reason that there was no quarrel left between the parties. Both the Dominions had sincerely professed mutual friendship and mutual regard. Therefore, he would advise the parties to fly both the flags of both the Dominions or be equally respectful whichever flag was flown for the time being.

He could not understand the misgivings of the Muslims in that Murshidabad and Malda went to West Bengal, nor could he understand the misgivings of the Hindus in Khulna and Gopalganj and of the Buddhists in the Chittagong Hill tracts. For, in view of the friendship professed by all the parties, there was not the slightest occasion for entertaining any fear. Surely, there would be no compulsion used against the minorities in either part of Bengal. The minorities would enjoy equal rights with the majorities.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

CWMG-DIGITAL

91. HOW TO SAVE THE COW?

There is serious ignorance about the place of the cow in Hinduism and in the economy of Indian life. At the same time that India has become independent of foreign rule, by common consent it has been cut into twain so as to induce the untenable belief that one part is popularly described as Hindu India and the other part as Muslim India. Like all superstitions, this of Hindu and Muslim India will die hard. The fact is that the Indian Union and Pakistan belong equally to all who call themselves and are, sons of the soil, irrespective of their creed or colour.

Nevertheless, a large number of local Hindus have begun to believe in the superstition that the Union belongs to the Hindus and that, therefore, they should enforce their belief by law even among non-Hindus. Hence an emotional wave is sweeping the country, in order to secure legislation prohibiting the slaughter of cows within the Union.

In this state, which I hold, is based on ignorance, claiming to be a knowing lover and devotee, second to none in India of the cow, I must try in the best manner I can to dispel the ignorance.

Let us at the outset realize that cow worship in the religious sense is largely confined to Gujarat, Marwar, the United Provinces and Bihar. Marwaris and Gujaratis being enterprising merchants, have succeeded in making the greatest noise without at the same time devoting their business talent to the solution of the very difficult question of conserving the cattle wealth of India.

It is obviously wrong legally to enforce one's religious practice on those who do not share that religion.

In so far as the pure economic necessity of cow protection is concerned, it could be easily secured if the question was considered on that ground alone. In that event all the dry cattle, the cows who give less milk than their keep and the aged and unfit cattle would be slaughtered without a second thought. This soulless economy has no place in India although the inhabitants of this land of paradoxes may be, indeed are, guilty of many soulless acts.

Then how can the cow be saved without our having to kill her off when she ceases to give the economic quantity of milk or when she becomes otherwise an uneconomic burden? The answer to the question can be summed up as follows:

1. By the Hindus performing their duty towards the cow and her progeny. If they did so, our cattle would be the pride of India and the world. The contrary is the case today.
2. By learning the science of cattle-breeding. Today there is perfect anarchy in this work.
3. By replacing the present cruel method of castration by the humane method practised in the West.
4. By thorough reform of the *pinjarapoles* of India which are today, as a rule, managed ignorantly and without any plan by men who do not know their work.
5. When these primary things are done, it will be found that the Muslims will, of their own accord, recognize the necessity, if only for the sake of their Hindu brethren, of not slaughtering cattle for beef or otherwise.

The reader will observe that behind the foregoing requirements lies one thing and that is ahimsa, otherwise known as universal compassion. If that supreme thing is realized, everything else becomes easy. Where there is ahimsa, there is infinite patience, inner calm, discrimination, self-sacrifice and true knowledge. Cow-protection is not an easy thing. Much money is wasted in its name. Nevertheless, in the absence of ahimsa the Hindus have become destroyers instead of saviours of the cow. It is even more difficult than the removal of foreign rule from India.[1]

CALCUTTA, August 22, 1947
Harijan, 31-8-1947

[1] For Gandhiji's note appended to this article, *vide* p. 79.

CWMG PAXXIX

92. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

BELIAGHATA, CALCUTTA,
August 22, 1947

CHI. KANTI,

I was pleased to read your postcard. I am busy writing a large number of letters. After completing your study, devote yourself to service even at some risk to yourself.

For the present I shall have to remain here. How is it that Suru[1] and Shanti[2] keep indifferent health?

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 7385. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

93. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CALCUTTA,
August 22, 1947

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,

I have your wire.[3] The work here is proceeding well. Yes, I must go to Noakhali. Some days are to be given to Bihar. Under the circumstances, when can I go to the Punjab? Nevertheless, you must tell me when I have to go.[4] No time to write more. I wanted to write in English but the pen went off into Hindustani. See the enclosed; is there any truth in it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Addressee's wife, Saraswati

[2] Addressee's son

[3] After a visit to the riot-affected areas in the Punjab the addressee had wired to Gandhiji on August 21, sending his "respectful congratulations on the wonderful change in Calcutta" and telling him that the Punjab needed his "healing presence".

[4] The addressee replied: "I do not ask you to go to Punjab immediately. We must face the situation now. Later I might request you to go there."

94. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

CALCUTTA,
August 22, 1947

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

What a letter? You must have a frank talk with Jayaprakash. Nothing can be settled through correspondence. If it is all true, then the socialists cannot do anything.

Nandalal's watch seems useless. The back of the casing comes off. I will see what can be done about it.

I have sent Saheb's papers to Panditji.

Has Sushila come? Tell her that I have intentionally not written to her. I had thought that she would be coming here. But if she feels that it is her duty to stay there for a few days, she may do so.

I have sent your watch with Aruna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 2499

95. LETTER TO RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

August 22, 1947

CHI. RAM MANOHAR,

I will write tomorrow about Nepal.

Smoking can be given up all at once. Those who smoke moderately cannot keep to a limit. If we workers do not have such will power, what work can we expect to do? It is now that we have to do real work.

Have you understood the Goa problem fully?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, between pp. 120 and 121

CWMG - LXXIX

96. *DISCUSSION WITH KASTURBA TRUST TRAINEES*[1]

CALCUTTA,
[*August 22, 1947*][2]

One of the teachers had submitted a statement about her experiences with regard to the method of training itself.

But Gandhiji did not wish to enter into the actual details of the training course; he was sure this had to be adjusted to the conditions and needs of rural Bengal and the details must naturally be worked out by the teachers from their own experience.

The question which Gandhiji took up for discussion was asked by one of the trainees: In view of the resistance encountered from the rural people and the numerous disappointments which they had to face, how would Gandhiji advise them to proceed, so that success could be ensured?

Gandhiji began by saying that he was glad that a very fundamental question had been raised. He had, however, only one answer for it. The education through which India had passed for over a century was essentially designed for a particular purpose. In order to feed the interests of capitalism, the entire economic life of India had been changed, the city had become the centre of gravity and not the village; the village had been dethroned from its position of supremacy and virtually been converted into a slum, kept as far away from the city as practicable. The educational system had been planned to supply the needs of this lop-sided economy. If, now, we wanted to create a new India, our outlook must be changed altogether. Democracy has to be built up inch by inch in economic, social and political life. Considering the magnitude of the task, it would naturally require a very stout heart to grapple with the problem.

To the trainees, his advice was one. They must be brave, intelligent and persevering. The villagers might not readily respond. They might even prove hostile. Many interests would have to be disturbed before the necessary change could be effected. But non-violent workers should choose the line of least resistance. They should suffer in their own persons before they could aspire to gain the co-operation of the inert or hostile villagers. Day in and day out, they must persevere at their chosen task, whether it was village sanitation or the imparting of education to a few children, whom

[1] Twenty-three trainees and three teachers from the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust training camp, Shahib Nagar, had called on Gandhiji.

[2] From *Calcuttano Chamatkar*

perhaps nobody else would care to touch. They might not have the resources to supply their own bread. But even then, through hunger, they must persist without retirement, without bitterness. *Then* only would their conduct strike the imagination of the villagers; and this element of surprise would open the way to their hearts. Once the inert mass had begun to yield, work would make rapid progress.

Another trainee then said that there were no signs of response from the villagers even after a year of patient work. Gandhiji comforted her by saying that one year's work was not enough. We had to sweep aside the accumulated debris of centuries of subjugation. Even a lifetime might not prove enough.[1] If our education had been otherwise, we might not have perhaps yielded so readily to despondence. We had to steel our hearts and look towards the bright future to enable us to get out of the Slough of Despond. So long as we persevered, the struggle itself was victory. It was only courage of this kind which could lead India to the New Age.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

97. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING*[2]

CALCUTTA,
August 22, 1947

Gandhiji drew attention to the fact that while some men in the audience responded and kept time, the women hardly responded. He said that those who had some experience knew the power that the *Ramdhun*, meaning recital of God's name from the heart, meant. He knew the power that lakhs of soldiers marching in step to the tune of their band meant. The desolation that military prowess had wrought in the world, he who ran could see. Though the War was said to have ended, the aftermath was worse than actual warfare. Such was the bankruptcy of military power.

Without the slightest hesitation he was there to contend that the power exerted by the *Ramdhun* recited by millions of mankind with true beat of time, was different in kind from and infinitely superior to the display of military strength. And this recital of God's name from the heart, would produce lasting peace and happiness in the place of the present desolation they witnessed. That brought him to what was going on in the Punjab. If there was lasting peace in Calcutta, it must have its effect on the Punjab. But

[1] According to *Calcuttano Chamatkar*, Gandhiji referred to Prema Kantak and Yashodhara Dasappa as the two workers who had dedicated themselves to the villages for many years.

[2] The meeting, held in Deshabandhu Park, was attended by several lakhs of people who became restive and began to disperse. Gandhiji, therefore cut short his speech.

it was not so as yet. He felt sorrow and shame to learn that the Hindus were leaving Lahore and the Muslims were leaving Amritsar. It was deplorable that the Muslims should distrust the former. He hoped that the Muslims and the Hindus and the Sikh leaders would stop the reported exodus.

Gandhiji referred then to the visit he had had from some Muslims from Kharagpur. Though now there was comparative quiet there, there was no assurance that it would last. They complained that the Hindu officer was partial. He hoped this was not so. He must warn all the officers and their men in the police force that in their work they were neither Muslims nor Hindus nor Sikhs. They were Indians bound by oath to give full protection to the afflicted without regard to their religion. Thereby they did not cease to be Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs, but became better.

Religion was a personal matter and if we succeeded in confining it to the personal plane, all would be well in our political life. The manifestation of brotherhood which was being witnessed today would prove a passing show if we did not consolidate it by suitable acts in the social and political spheres. If officers of the Government as well as members of the public undertook the responsibility and worked wholeheartedly for the creation of a secular State, we could build a new India that would be the glory of the world.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

98. A NOTE[1]

The average quantity of milk that the cow in India yields is said to be roughly 2 lb. per day, that of New Zealand 14 lb., of England 15 lb., of Holland 20 lb. The index figure for health goes up in proportion to the increase in the yield of milk.

August 23, 1947

Harijan, 31-8-1947

[1] This was appended to the article "How to Save the Cow?", *vide* pp. 37-4.

99. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 23, 1947

Gandhiji first referred to the cry of *Allah-o-Akbar* to which some Hindus had objected. He held that it was probably a cry than which a greater one had not been produced by the world. It was a soul-stirring religious cry which meant, God only was great. There was nobility in the meaning. Did it become objectionable because it was Arabic? He admitted that it had in India a questionable association. It often terrified the Hindus because sometimes the Muslims in anger come out of the mosques with that cry on their lips to belabour the Hindus. He confessed that the original had no such association. So far as he knew, the cry had no such association in other parts of the world. If, therefore, there was to be a lasting friendship between the two, the Hindus should have no hesitation in uttering the cry together with their Muslim friends. God was known by many names and had many attributes. Rama, Rahim, Krishna, Karim, were all names of the one God. *Sat Shri Akal*, was an equally potent cry. Should a single Muslim or Hindu hesitate to utter it? It meant that God was and nothing else was. The *Ramdhun* had the same virtue.

He then came to *Vande Mataram*. That was no religious cry. It was a purely political cry. The Congress had to examine it. A reference was made to Gurudev about it. And both the Hindu and the Muslim members of the Congress Working Committee had to come to the conclusion that its opening lines were free from any possible objection, and he pleaded that it should be sung together by all on due occasion. It should never be a chant to insult or offend the Muslims. It was to be remembered that it was the cry that had fired political Bengal. Many Bengalis had given up their lives for political freedom with that cry on their lips. Though, therefore, he felt strongly about *Vande Mataram* as an ode to Mother India, he advised his League friends to refer the matter to the League High Command. He would be surprised if, in view of the growing friendliness between the Hindus and the Muslims, the League High Command objected to the prescribed lines of the *Vande Mataram*, the national song and the national cry of Bengal which sustained her when the rest of India was almost asleep and which was, so far as he was aware, acclaimed by both the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. No doubt, every act, as he pointed out the previous evening, must

[1] The meeting was held in "Woodlands", the Alipore residence of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

be purely voluntary on the part of either partner. Nothing could be imposed in true friendship.

The third thing he referred to was about his friend Shaheed Suhrawardy. He was receiving verbal complaints and complaints by letters that Shaheed Saheb was not to be trusted and that the Hindus had suffered a lot during the tenure of his ministry. The complaint was not new. He knew it before they embarked on the joint mission which seemed to be bearing unexpectedly good fruit. It was due to the givers of the warning that he should deal with it. He had not had the time even to discuss the matter with his friend. He was in no hurry. His was a trusting nature. He had never lost anything by trusting in good faith. Just as he would expect others to believe his word, unless he was proved untrue, he would likewise believe the word of another. That, he held, was the only honourable way of living among men. He held that man never lost by trusting and that the deceiver ever lost. He would have to answer for his crime before his Maker. He could say that during the few days they were together, he had found no occasion to regret the friendship. This he could tell them, that without his association in the work, he (the speaker) would have been able to do nothing.

He referred next to a deputation[1] he had had from the Punjabi friends, who had drawn a terrible picture of what was said to be going on in the Punjab and who on the strength of the information asked him immediately to proceed to the Punjab. They had informed him that before the killing and arson in the Punjab, what had happened in Bengal was nothing. They added that Lahore was almost denuded of the Hindus and the Sikhs as was Amritsar of the Muslims. He hoped that the information was highly coloured. The Punjabis of Calcutta could not know the true situation in the Punjab. Be that as it may, he was sure that if the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims of Calcutta were sincere in their profession of friendship, they all would write to their fellows in the Punjab and ask them to desist from mutual slaughter. The declarations of the Dominion Premiers could not go in vain. He could not believe that the Punjab leaders would not like any non-Muslims in the Pakistan part and non-Hindus and non-Sikhs in the other part. The logical consequence would be that there would be no gurudwaras and *mandirs* in the West Punjab and no mosques in the East Punjab. The picture was too gruesome to be ever true.

Lastly, he came to the nationalist Muslims who were good enough to see him. They twitted him for giving importance and life to the Muslim League and neglecting the nationalist Muslims. He could not plead guilty to either charge. The League had gained importance without his or the Congress aid. It became great because, rightly or wrongly, it caught Muslim

[1] A deputation of the Punjab Hindu-Sikh Sabha, led by Niranjan Singh Talib, had called on Gandhiji in the afternoon.

fancy. The Congress and he had to deal with and recognize the fact that faced them. He was not sorry for having visited Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah eighteen times in Bombay. His friends should also know that he alone could have done nothing without Shaheed Saheb and Osman Saheb and the other League members. There was no question of neglect of the nationalist Muslims. Nationalism of a man was its own merit. It demanded no recognition. He would advise his friends to remain what they were and exhibit in their every act courage, self-sacrifice and true knowledge born of study and he was certain that whether they were few or many they would make their mark on India's future. He would even advise them to join the League and oppose it from within, whenever they found it to be reactionary. Whilst he said all this, he would advise his League friends to approach the nationalist Muslims in a friendly spirit, whether they remained out or came in. True friendship did not admit of exclusion without the soundest reason.

Harijan, 31-8-1947

100. IS "HARIJAN" WANTED?[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 24, 1947

It occurs to me that now that freedom from British rule has come, the *Harijan* papers are no longer wanted. My views remain as they are. In the scheme of reconstruction for Free India, its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities, but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages. Therefore, the spinning-wheel should occupy the proud position of the centre round which all the life-giving village industries would revolve. But this seems to be receding into the background. The same thing can be said of many other things of which I used to draw a tempting picture. I can no longer dare to do so. My life has become, if possible, more tempestuous than before. Nor can I at present claim any place as a permanent habitation. The columns are predominantly filled by my after-prayer speeches. In the original I contribute, on an average, only one and a half columns per week. This is hardly satisfactory. I would like, therefore, the readers of the *Harijan* weeklies to give me their frank opinion as to whether they really need their *Harijan* weekly to satisfy their political or spiritual hunger. They should send their answers to the Editor of the *Harijan*, Ahmedabad, in any of the languages in which they

[1] A Gujarati translation of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 31-8-1947.

get their weekly, telling me very briefly at the same time, why, if they need it. In the left hand upper corner of the envelope containing the answer, the writer should state: "About *Harijan*".

Harijan, 31-8-1947

101. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 24, 1947

Punjabis in Calcutta have been pressing me to go to the Punjab at once. They tell me a terrible story. Thousands have been killed. A few thousand girls have been kidnapped! Hindus cannot live in the Pakistan area, nor Muslims in the other portion. Add to this the information that the two wings of the army took sides and worked havoc! Can any of this be true?

When do you think I should go to the Punjab if at all? I have still work in Calcutta, then in Noakhali and Bihar. But everything can be laid aside to go to the Punjab if it is proved to be necessary.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 385

102. LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI

CALCUTTA,
August 24, 1947

CHI. PUSHPA,

I have your letter. I was glad that you wrote frankly. All I said was that I would not object if you decided to go to Jugatram. Your duty is to live in the Ashram and overcome all your ignorance. The Ashram, such as it is, is your refuge. Your good lies in doing as I advise, since you have faith in me and have made yourself my daughter. The final responsibility should rest with me. You should welcome anything that Chimanlal

[1] The addressee visited the Punjab again and wrote to Gandhiji, as soon as he returned on August 25: "This morning at a meeting of the Defence Council, Mountbatten urged me to request you to go to the Punjab and he hoped that you would repeat your Calcutta miracle there. I told him that I was myself not clear about it. I feel you should go but not just yet." *Vide* also p. 75.

CWMG - LXXXIX

or Balvantsinha may say. But if you do not like it, you can refer it to me.

Bhansali is a respected elder. But in my estimate he is unworldly, an *avadhuta*. He cannot be an example for you to follow.

It would do you no good to let you accompany me on my tours.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9280

103. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
August 24, 1947

In thanking the Corporation for the address, Gandhiji said he could not help recalling the late Dr. P. C. Ray under whose roof he had lived for one month in 1901. When he was with the late Deshbandhu, he used to see him with a few friends engaged in lively but strictly scientific conversation under the shadow of the *Orchelony* Monument near which they had met. That was their recreation. Gandhiji asked Dr. Ray whether they had any drinks or eatables. Dr. Ray emphatically said, "No." Their food and drink consisted of their instructive as distinct from idle conversation.

Referring to the address, Gandhiji said that this was the third time he was receiving an address from the Corporation. The first was given to him by the Deshbandhu when he was the Mayor.[1] He recalled the fact that the caskets were then auctioned in the interest of the Harijans. He hoped that this casket too would be sold in the same interest by the Mayor.

He would repeat what he had said in answer to the first address that he could not be satisfied till Calcutta had become the premier city in the world for sanitation. He included in this the sanitation of the streets in Calcutta which was absent today. The citizens should have healthy minds in healthy bodies. That they would have no goondas, no vagabonds, no drunkards. If the mortality in Calcutta was to be reduced, Calcutta should be flowing with clean milk. Today it was a most difficult commodity to procure. Then he would expect the corporators, by honest application, to put the friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims on a permanent footing in the manner Shaheed Saheb had pointed out.

Gandhiji said that he had a message from Khwaja Saheb Nazimuddin[2] that he (Gandhiji) should help in procuring at least 500 tons of rice

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXV, p. 290.
[2] Chief Minister of East Bengal

out of the shipment that was coming from Burma. The need was so urgent that the ship with the rice should be diverted to Chittagong to deliver the 500 tons. He gladly associated himself with the request and he hoped that Dr. Rajendra Prasad would, if it was at all possible, allow 500 tons of the precious cargo to be delivered at the Chittagong port.

In this connection he could not help mentioning the complaint that petty officials in charge of flood relief confined the distribution to Muslim sufferers only. He hoped the news was not true. If unfortunately it was, he had no doubt that the ministers and high-rank officials would redress the wrong. If the two Dominions were to live creditably and as friends, the communal spirit would be wholly purged. It was up to the Hindu and Muslim leaders to see that the seeds of poison that were sown, while they were fighting, would be removed forthwith. Then he said he deplored the fact that the Muslims in Government services when the choice was offered to them, preferred Pakistan and the Hindus, the Indian Union. The choice was made, he did not doubt, in haste. He would be sorry to find that the communal virus had entered the services. He advised that the two Premiers should confer with each other and if it was at all honestly possible, the services should be given the opportunity to reconsider their choice. It would be a sorry thing for India if Hindu officials could not be trusted by Muslims and vice versa. Much would depend upon the leaders who influenced the services and the public.

Lastly, he had heard that Khulna was to celebrate its entry into Pakistan. He deplored such celebration after the Award. But he was consoled by Shaheed Saheb that the celebration would be joint and that the Hindus were associating with it. Nevertheless, he could not regard the example with happiness. The jubilant parties ought to restrain themselves, as the aggrieved ones should accept the Award with perfect resignation. It must be regarded as final except to the extent that the ministers of the two Dominions agreed to vary it for the mutual satisfaction of the parties concerned. There was no other worthy or gentlemanly way.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

104. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

August 25, 1947

DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letter. You are hasty. Nothing can be accomplished by your going to the Punjab. If anything could be accomplished by your going I would send you promptly. You are not sitting idle where you are. I shall leave when the time comes for me to go to the Punjab. I am in correspondence with Jawaharlal on this subject.[1] Let us see what God would have us do.

I started this letter early in the morning. Then one after another, people kept coming and now at 5.10 I have reached only up to this. The rest you will have from Abha and Manu.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

105. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA,
August 25, 1947

SATIS BABU
GANDHI CAMP
RAMGANJ
NOAKHALI

TELL KANU IDEA GOOD BUT PERMISSION OF LOCAL AUTHORITY NECESSARY.[2] AMTUSSALAAM SHOULD WAIT.

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 9285

[1] *Vide* pp. 75 and 83.
[2] *Vide* p. 90.

CWMG - LXXXIX

106. LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHITTAGONG

CALCUTTA,
August 25, 1947

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE
CHITTAGONG

DEAR SIR,

A representative of the Humanity Association is soon proceeding with funds to render such aid as is possible to the flood-stricken area.[1] I have no doubt you will render such aid as is possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G. N. 9296

107. LETTER TO AKBAR HYDARI

CALCUTTA,
August 25, 1947

DEAR HYDARI[2],

Your dear note. Much as I should love to visit Assam and try to do the work you suggest, I fear I shall not get the time.

Kaka Saheb has told me how kind you were to him.

Love to you and yours.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 90.
[2] Governor of Assam

CWMG - LXXXIX

108. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 25, 1947

I am sorry that today being my silence day I cannot speak to you. I have, therefore, to write out what I wish to say to you. I have been speaking every day about the vital duty of the Hindus in Western Bengal, who are the majority community, towards their Muslim brethren. This duty they will perform truly, if they are able to forget the past. We know how all over the world enemies have become fast friends. The example of the Britons and the Boers who fought one another strenuously, becoming friends we all know. There is much greater reason why the Hindus and the Muslims should become friends. We cannot do that if we are not great enough to shed all malice.

This evening I wish to devote to Sylhet. I have received frantic telegrams from Sylhet about the serious riots that have broken out there. The cause is not known. I am sorry that I am unable to go just now to Sylhet, nor am I vain enough to think that my presence would immediately abate the mob fury. I know, too, that one should not without peremptory cause abandon his present duty, however humble it may be, in favour of one which may appear to be higher. To adopt the Salvation Army language, we are all soldiers of God to fight the battle of right against wrong, by means which are strictly non-violent and truthful. As His soldiers ours is "not to reason why", ours is "but to do and die". Though, therefore, I am unable to respond to the urgent call of the sufferers of Sylhet, I can appeal, not in vain, to the authorities in East Bengal in general and Sylhet in particular to put forth their best effort on behalf of the sufferers and deal sternly with the recalcitrants. Now that there is peace between the Hindus and the Muslims, I am sure the authorities do not relish these ugly outbreaks. It

[1] The meeting was held at Howrah Maidan. As Gandhiji was observing silence he wrote out his speech to be translated into Bengali by N. K. Bose, who however was delayed due to rain and reached the meeting an hour late. By then it was time for Gandhiji to break his silence. The first two paragraphs of the speech were written. The rest is a report of what Gandhiji spoke.

would be wrong and misleading to underestimate the trouble by calling it the work of goondas. The minorities must be made to realize that they are as much valued citizens of the State they live in, as the majority. Let the Premiers of the two divisions of Bengal meet often enough and jointly devise means to preserve peace in the two States and to find enough healthy food and clothing for the inhabitants and enough work for the masses in East and West Bengal. When the masses, Hindu and Muslim, see their chiefs acting together and working together honestly, courageously and without intermission, the masses living in the two States will take the cue from the leaders and act accordingly. To the sufferers I would advise bravely to face the future and never to give way to panic. Such disturbances do happen in the lifetime of a people. Manliness demands there should be no weakness shown in facing them. Weakness aggravates the mischief, courage abates it.

Gandhiji first apologized to the vast audience for having to stand or sit on the wet and muddy ground. He then referred to the insult that was done to Shaheed Saheb at a meeting held in honour of Major General Shah Nawaz in Howrah. The General had gently rebuked the men who were guilty of discourtesy.

Gandhiji said that the past must be forgotten and whilst they were both acting together for a common cause without mental reservations, the insult done to one was done to the other also. And as they together tried to represent Hindu-Muslim unity, the insult done to a Hindu or a Muslim, was an insult done to the two partners.

He then referred to the visit of Punjabi friends who pressed him to visit the Punjab as early as possible. He assured them that he was in constant correspondence with Panditji. After all, the Punjab was as much his as any other part of India, for he claimed to be the servant of the whole of India. Moreover, he had passed six months in that Province during the Martial Law days. He would hasten to the Punjab as early as necessary. Indeed, he was wanted in Sylhet, Malda, Murshidabad and other places. It was not given to any one man to cover all calls upon his time nor was it healthy to depend upon man's assistance in times of trouble. It was manly and dignified to rely upon God for the dissolution of all troubles. He was the only infallible Help, Guide and Friend.

He then pointed out that rehabilitation was not going on smoothly. The landlords seemed also to be in the way. They were in duty bound to invite and receive evacuees with open arms. He expected them not to charge or expect rents for months or days of enforced absence.

The last thing he referred to was a letter from a Muslim who described himself as a *sufi*. He had sent this communication through Shaheed Saheb.

The purport was that in his opinion there was nothing common between Hinduism and Islam and that the two could not be as if they were one. For, he argued that the Hindus did not believe in the one and only God but held cows and goats as superior to man and believed in high and low, whereas Islam was a brotherhood in which there was no hierarchy and which believed in one God as Allah. In this there was a caricature of Hinduism. There was no Hindu who put animals, the cow and the goat, before man. But he submitted that if anyone like him believed himself to be the lowest in God's creation, there was nothing wrong. It was a sign of true humility. He held that every Hindu believed in the one and only God. He admitted that excrescences had grown round Hinduism and that its votaries had not always been true to Hinduism undefiled. It was, therefore, up to an impartial man to understand Hinduism as its votaries like him understood it, just as it was the duty of an impartial Hindu to understand Islam as a good Muslim understood it. That, he held, was the safest rule of interpretation for any faith. Then it would be found that all great religions sprang from the same source and the fundamentals were common to them all.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

109. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

August 25 [/26][1], *1947*

CHI. KANAIYO,

I have your letter. I have today sent a wire[2] to you and Amtussalaam through Satis Babu. I like your idea. But we are not in Wardha. We will have to seek permission from Chittagong.[3] We can go there only if we have the permission. I have no idea how things are there. I don't know when I am destined to reach there. Hence, although your idea is excellent, I don't see how it can be implemented.

You have asked for a bag like Nirmal Babu's. Luckily an American friend has sent one. If you are keen on having it I shall give it to you. But you can make one like it out of khadi. Does the American product have anything special about it?

I began the letter yesterday. But I am so very busy meeting people that I hardly get time to write or even dictate letters. Hence I could complete this only after the morning prayers.

[1] From the contents
[2] *Vide* p. 86.
[3] *Vide* p. 87.

I might have to make a sudden dash to Delhi or to the Punjab. I might not therefore be able to come to you. Even then let things go according to your idea.

It is not possible to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

110. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CALCUTTA,
August 26, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. It made painful reading. However, you have done everything you could do. I did leave Sushila in the jaws of death. If the refugees in Wah feel secure she may well be freed, otherwise let her die with them. I came to know of her whereabouts only from your letter. She wrote to me a letter from Wah soon after I left her there. After that there was none, so I had been wondering.

What is going to happen to the Punjab? The enclosed letter arrived only today. Can it all be true? I am being strongly pressed to go to the Punjab. I do not know what to do. Jawahar also writes that I should go, though not just yet. According to the present arrangement I am here at least till Sunday. Then the idea is to go to Noakhali. Then on to Bihar from there. This will easily take a fortnight. I do not see what I could do in Delhi if I went there. I feel I would only be intruding.

Kripalani inquires if he may resign now. From the talks I had with you and others I had gathered that he would resign after the fifteenth. None of you have a high opinion of him. If he does not enjoy the confidence of his seniors, it is best to let him go. We have to consider who the next President shall be. The present situation appears dangerous to me. I can understand that those of you who are in the midst of the danger may not be able to see what I see from here. This is the state of my mind. I can see that my place is in this part of the country. I may include the Punjab also, though I doubt whether anyone would want my presence there.

CWMG - LXXXIX

How is your health? The Hyderabad problem has become complicated. But you will be able to cope with it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 367-70

111. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 26, 1947

CHI. MANI,

I feel sorry for you. Why should I, though? You are strong enough to carry the burden. Do that, and lighten some of Sardar's.

I heard only from you that Ramaswami was seriously injured.[1] There was a letter to that effect but I did not believe it. I did not write to him at all. I shall do so now.[2]

Forward the accompanying letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 141

112. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

August 26, 1947

CHI. SATIS BABU,

Three letters are enclosed herewith. Your letters keep coming but I do not get all the news.

Will it be all right if I do not go there? The question will not arise if I do not have to go to the Punjab. The work here will keep me engaged till Sunday. After that I go to Noakhali unless I have to go to the Punjab or Delhi. They are asking me to go over to Sylhet. How can I choose where to go?

[1] Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, had been assaulted at a public meeting.
[2] *Vide* p. 96.

CWMG - LXXIX

Can Pyarelal, Kanu, Amtussalaam [and] Prabhudas be relieved from there? You, of course cannot be relieved from there nor Jiwan Singh[1]. Kanu desires to have a camp at Chittagong Cantt. Have a talk with Kanu.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

An article is enclosed. Has it any substance? I have written to the writer that you are my expert. You have made a deep study of dairy science.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

113. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

CALCUTTA,
August 26, 1947

CHI. DEV,

Your three letters of the 17th, 18th and 22nd are lying in front of me. Mridulabehn may not be able to return at present. She has been sent to Amritsar. Mahesh should remain where he is most useful. I have had a talk with General Shah Nawaz. About the refugees I shall try to send someone from here by and by. But some officer from there ought to meet the officers from here.

Perhaps the problem of sanitation is very difficult all over India. Whatever is possible should be done.

I shall consider both aspects of Saran[2].

I have read both the Muslim League's memorial and the reply that you sent to me.

I shall be here till Sunday at any rate. I do intend leaving for Noakhali on Monday but one cannot say what will happen. And from there on to Bihar, and of course the trip to the Punjab in between. But my going or not going to the Punjab depends upon the news coming from there. If I have to go my programme will change.

Sushila is still at the Wah Camp. Things are happening contrary to my anticipation. It means it was very good that I

[1] Of the Indian National Army
[2] Saran District in Bihar

CWMG LXXXIX

left behind Sushila because people were very much afraid and their fear proved right. Thus Sushila's stay has been all to the good.

Now for your reply to the League memorial, I find it weak at several places. Of course I have not been able to go deep into the matter. Probably such a lengthy reply was not even required. On page 9 you have stated about Rajbir that Hindus had committed no great crime. Some youths had done something and the Hindus extinguished the fire. Then why the collective fine of Rs. 5,000? Similarly in the fourth column you say there was insufficient evidence. But a fine was imposed. There are similar inconsistencies at some other places too. Perhaps there is no occasion for such a lengthy reply now. For whom has the memorial been drafted?

I shall be able to answer your query about non-violence only after looking up the book. I shall try to obtain the book.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

114. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 26, 1947

There was a huge crowd at the meeting and the audience was talking among themselves, creating a noise which, Gandhiji said, disabled him from speaking as he wanted to. As, however, a large part of the audience was patient, he said he would say a few words. He referred first to the fact that rehabilitation was not proceeding as rapidly as could be wished. If the process was not completed in time and the evacuees did not return to their places, the peace, in spite of the very large meetings every day, would prove transitory. He drew pointed attention to the fact that the Lake Area was inhabited by rich men. If they made up their minds to do their duty, it was possible for them to make their contribution to the rehabilitation scheme. If the police but did their duty without fear or favour, he said, half the work would be done.

He next referred to the visit he had from Anglo-Indian sisters and brothers. While he was not able to address them at a meeting, he would gladly mention them at one of his prayer meetings. During the foreign regime, they were a favoured community. He could not hold out any hope that the favoured treatment would be continued during independence. But they are entitled to the full justice that was the right of every citizen. The Anglo-

[1] The meeting was held at Lake Maidan.

CWMG - LXXXIX

Indians were as much citizens as any other group in India. It was the duty of both the Hindus and the Muslims to regard them as fully their equals and as brothers and sisters.

He then referred to the provincial spirit that seemed to be infecting the provinces. Thus he saw in the papers that some Assamese thought that Assam belonged exclusively to the Assamese. If that spirit fired every province, to whom could India belong? He held that the people of all the provinces belonged to India and India belonged to all. The only condition was that no one could go and settle in another province to exploit it or rule it or to injure its interest in any way. All were servants of India and they lived only in the spirit of service. The same provincial spirit was reported from Bihar against the Bengalis. The extreme instance reported was from Darjeeling. It was said that there was a Gurkha League whose business it was to resent the entry into Darjeeling of the plainsmen. They were reported to be resorting to force for the prosecution of their purpose. He hoped that the poison was confined to a very few young men who lacked imagination and love for India. He had the pleasure of meeting distinguished Gurkha officials who took pride in considering themselves part of India. He had provided the golden rule of conduct. No one could dare migrate to any province to its injury and no force should be used to attain one's end.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

115. LETTER TO A. K. BHAGWAT

CALCUTTA,
August 27, 1947

BHAI BHAGWAT[1],

I have your letter. I have just gone through it after the morning prayer. I fear we cannot do anything to advocate preservation of health without milk. From practical experience it is difficult to remove this fear. You may certainly experiment with those who can live without milk.

Let all work together in Uruli. I think it is desirable to go by the opinions of Balkoba and Manibhai. Within the limits of the Ashram rules personal life should be raised as high as possible.

Dr. Mehta is here. Nothing has been settled with him. If I am not there, it is because I am helpless.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C. W. 2725. Courtesy: Manibhai B. Desai

[1] Of Nature Cure Clinic, Uruli Kanchan

116. LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR

CALCUTTA,
August 27, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

You will forgive me for this belated solicitude about you. I was perplexed about your attitude on Travancore. I read newspapers only casually. No time. When I heard about the attack on you, I regarded it as of no consequence. It must have been a mere scratch, probably a made-up affair. But Krishna Hutheesing and Manibehn opened my eyes to the serious attack.[1] I could not be guilty of any unholy wish. I hope you will regain your original health and vigour.

I am amazed at my unbelief. Pardon me for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

117. LETTER TO DHIRU

CALCUTTA,
August 27, 1947

CHI. DHIRU,

I have your letter. I see nothing wrong about your going to Bombay if Balkoba wants to take you along.

I understand what you say about eczema.

This should be shown to Balkoba.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 92.

CWMG - LXXXIX

118. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 27, 1947

Gandhiji said that the present was his second visit to Motiaburz. The first was when Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad and he visited them years ago because there was a fight between Hindu and Muslim workmen. Fortunately when they reached the scene of trouble, it was almost over but they got undeserved credit. The present was a happy occasion. The Hindus and the Muslims had adjusted their differences and had become friends. He hoped that this was a lasting friendship. He wanted to say a few words to the workmen in the working men's locality. He hoped that there was no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims in labour. They were all labourers. If the communal canker entered the labour ranks, both would weaken labour and therefore, themselves and the country. Labour was a great leveller of all distinctions. If they realized that truth, he would like them to go a step further. Labour, because it chose to remain unintelligent, either became subservient or insolently believed in damaging capitalists' goods and machinery or even in killing capitalists. He was a labourer by conviction and a Bhangi. As such his interests were bound with those of labour and he wished to tell them that violence would never save them. They would be killing the goose that laid golden eggs. What he had been saying for years was that labour was far superior to capital. Without labour gold, silver and copper were a useless burden. It was labour which extracted precious ore from the bowels of the earth. He could quite conceive of labour existing without metal. Labour was priceless, not gold. He wanted marriage between capital and labour. They could work wonders in co-operation. But that could happen only when labour was intelligent enough to co-operate with itself and then offer co-operation with capital on terms of honourable equality. Capital controlled labour because it knew the art of combination. Drops in separation could only fade away; drops in co-operation made the ocean which carried on its broad bosom ocean greyhounds. Similarly, if all the labourers in any part of the world combined together, they could not be tempted by higher wages or helplessly allow themselves to be attracted for a pittance. A true and non-violent combination of labour would act like a magnet attracting to it all the needed capital. Capitalists would then exist only as trustees. When that happy day dawned, there

[1] Held on the grounds of Clive Jute Mills

would be no difference between capital and labour. The labour will have ample food, good and sanitary dwellings, all the necessary education for their children, ample leisure for self-education and proper medical assistance.

Then he came to the nationalist Muslims who had sent him the following note:

> You have expressed the opinion that the nationalist Muslims should join the League. Then does it imply that the Congress has now become a communal organization?

Gandhiji said that he was not guilty of asking them to discard nationalism or of expecting the Congress to be another Hindu Sabha. He hoped that the Congress would never commit suicide by being a communal organization. When the Congress ceased to represent all who were proud to call themselves Indians, whether prince or pauper, Hindus, Muslims or any other, it will have destroyed itself. Therefore, he could not advise a Muslim Congressman to join the League if the condition of joining the League was to discard or suppress his Congress membership. He would vote for those resolutions of the League which were in the nation's interest and against those which were contrary to the nation's interest. He had in mind several Muslims of staunch faith who were neither in the Congress nor in the League. He advised the nationalist Muslim friends to join the League if they wanted to affect the Muslim masses. Real nationalists needed no encouragement from him or anyone else. Nationalism, like virtue, was its own reward. His one warning was that they should never think of power or bettering their worldly prospects by joining the one or the other organization. A nationalist would ever think of service, never of power or riches. There could be one President of the Congress or the League. Presidentship came by merit and strength of service. The League had become what it was, not by his or Congress cajolery. The Qaid-e-Azam was an able President, whom neither riches nor titles could buy. He was a front-rank barrister and a rich man. Being the son of a merchant he knew how to multiply his earnings as a lawyer by wise investments. This acknowledgement did not mean that Gandhiji liked all his ways or that the latter had led the Muslims in the right way. He had his differences with the Qaid-e-Azam and the League. But he could not withhold merit where it was due. It was, he hoped, clear to the nationalist Muslims under what conditions he advised them to join the League.

Gandhiji then came to the question addressed to him by some members of the Azad Hind Fauj.[1]

Harijan, 7-9-1947

[1] The meeting came to a close as it started raining. For Gandhiji's reply to members of the Indian National Army, *vide* pp. 104-5.

119. A LETTER

[On or after *August 27, 1947*][1]

I hope you are all right.

I don't know where I may be tomorrow. The time is critical.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

120. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[Before *August 28, 1947*][2]

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter.

Ten days for cleaning up a first-class house? What a commentary!

Are you in charge of physical health only or moral also? The latter seems to be worse than the former. I am waiting, watching and praying.

Blessings from
BAPU[3]

From the original: C. W. 3708. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 6517

[1] The letter is placed among those of August 27 and 29.

[2] The date is illegible in the source. The letter was received by the addressee on August 29.

[3] The subscription is in Hindi.

121. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

CALCUTTA,
August 28, 1947

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. I had told Amritlal that so long as the substance of my draft resolution was preserved he could make in it any changes he liked. And in the last resort the general body of the Conference has an unfettered right to alter even the substance. It would, of course, be a question whether it could retain me after it has altered the substance. But that will be considered if and when such an occasion arises.

I might agree that the teaching of two scripts at the same time can be unscientific, but I regard knowledge of both the scripts indispensable, so much so that I would not give a certificate even for the first course in the national language to a candidate who did not know both the scripts. He would be eligible for the certificate only when he had learnt the second script, too.

It is not correct to say that because I have not used the phrase "whereas" in the draft resolution, the language of the draft is not legal. The word is used in court documents. And those who draft the resolutions are mostly lawyers, they use the language of court documents and make the resolutions uncouth. After all even a resolution is an appeal.

The Conference has a right to make changes under pressure of new circumstances. I do not, in this case, wish to yield to such pressure because I think that that will harm the country. Hence my emphatic advice in the present circumstances is to cling all the more resolutely to the policy to which we have adhered till now.

To me, ever since I understood the problem, Hindi and Hindustani have been two forms of the same language. And there will be a difference between Urdu and Hindustani as there is between Hindi and Hindustani.

I would, thus, describe Hindustani as a language midway between Urdu and Hindi, one which would bring about a confluence of the two. Accordingly, if in course of time only one script survives in use, Hindustani will have become and will remain one form of Hindi and Urdu.

We need not object if the Governments do not make knowledge of the two scripts obligatory but only encourage it. If we keep our house in order and clean it regularly, we shall have done our duty.

It will be tantamount to harassing the Urdu-speaking people to make the Nagari script compulsory for all. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to all the members of the Conference that they should not only acquire a good knowledge of both the scripts, but also boldly advocate such a policy in public. Only then shall we be able to influence the various State Governments.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: G. N. 10990

122. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

CALCUTTA,
August 28, 1947

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. You are being tested quite severely, and also having sweet experiences of the women there. I keep extremely busy these days. If Dwarkadas recovers completely, half your anxiety will be over. Give him my blessings and tell him that he should get well soon. I hope you are calm. And do go on with your studies. You will have to pass the final examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATI ASAR
LADIES' HOSTEL
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
PAREL, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9612. Also C. W. 6584. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

CWMG-LXXXIX

123. LETTER TO A MAHARAJA

August 28, 1947

MAHARAJA SAHEB,

I have already sent you an acknowledgement of the sum of Rs. 100,000 sent by you. I find that I have with me Rs. 150,000 earmarked for use in Noakhali. I am thus able to carry on my work for the present. Now I have on hand relief work in Tripura, Chittagong near Noakhali, Calcutta and Bihar, for which I have a small sum. It will facilitate my work, if in addition to it, I can use for the relief of both Hindu and Muslim victims in these parts the sum received from you.

Kindly let me have your reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIII

124. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

CALCUTTA,
August 28, 1947

CHI. DHIREN[1],

I have your letter. Write to me after your examination. Then I will tell you what to do. There is nothing to be said now.

It is good that you have passed the third level in Hindustani without much effort and with distinction.

It is sad that you are not keeping well. It has to do a good deal with your mind. I find that your mind is not stable. This in turn affects the body.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 5107

[1] Son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

CWMG - LXXXIX

125. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 28, 1947

Gandhiji addressed after prayer the students of Calcutta. He said that he had done teaching in his own way from his early youth and probably the very first meeting he addressed after his return to India in 1915 was that of students. Since then he had addressed numerous student-meetings throughout his many wanderings in India. He was not new to them nor were they new to him. But of late he had ceased to address meetings as he used to do before. He was, therefore, glad that he was able to address the students. Their Vice-Chancellor was good enough to see him about the evening's proceedings. He was nervous about the students' behaviour towards Shaheed Saheb. He said that he would have only the prayer and his usual after-prayer speech. It should not have been so. Everywhere there appeared to be anarchy in the student world. They did not tender obedience to their teachers and their Vice-Chancellor. On the contrary, they expected obedience from their teachers. It was a painful exhibition on the part of those who were to be the future leaders of the nation. They gave an exhibition of unruliness that evening. He was faced with placards in the foreign tongue depicting his comrade Shaheed Saheb in unbecoming language. He suggested to them that inasmuch as they had insulted Shaheed Saheb, they had insulted the speaker. Shaheed Saheb could not be insulted by the language used against him. But the speaker could not take up that attitude. The students should be, above all, humble and correct. They had an object lesson in their Vice-Chancellor. The Chief Minister, Shaheed Saheb and he sat on the platform provided for them but the Vice-Chancellor sat among the rest of the visitors. His humility reminded him of Krishna who, when Raja Yudhishthira performed his *yajna*, chose the menial work of washing the feet of the guests. Thereby he showed his innate nobility. The greatest to remain great had to be the lowliest by choice. If he could speak from his knowledge of Hindu belief, the life of a student was to correspond to the life of a sannyasi up to the time his studies ended. He was to be under the strictest discipline. He could not marry nor indulge in dissipation. He could not indulge in drinks and the like. His behaviour was to be a pattern of exemplary self-restraint. Had they lived at all up to the pattern, they would not have done what they did at the prayer meeting.[2]

[1] Held in the University Science College

[2] Gandhiji then invited Nirmal Kumar Bose to translate his speech, but continued to speak at the request of the audience.

The evening before he had had a note[1] from some members of the Azad Hind Fauj as to his opinion about them. He said that he had come in close contact with some of the officers of the Fauj. In referring to the Fauj he felt constrained to refer to Netaji who, he was of opinion, was dead in the body but lived in the servants of India. He had the pleasure of coming in touch with Subhas Babu when the latter had just returned from England with the determination to sacrifice a lucrative career that was open to him. He preferred selfless service to selfish ambition and placed himself under the Deshbandhu. Therefore he was able to come in close touch with the speaker. Though Subhas Babu became a non-violent non-co-operator, he never saw eye to eye with the speaker in his unadulterated non-violence. His was a life full of perilous adventure and romance. His daring was unequalled. He scraped together an army composed of Indians drawn from all provinces, belonging to all religions and by his glorious example he had infused into them the spirit of willing discipline and obedience. It was not a small thing for his handful of army which his genius had scraped together to offer battle to the mightiest empire of modern times. Gandhiji was told by the officers of the Azad Hind Fauj that Subhas Babu had advised the members of the Army to carry out what he (Gandhiji) might suggest; for the struggle in India was of his (Gandhiji's) conception as the struggle outside India was of Netaji's. His answer to the question asked was that the members of the Azad Hind Fauj were not to expect to be absorbed in the current military ranks nor to be a separate unit of the army in any of the two parts of India. He held it to be impracticable at least for some time to come. The best thing for them was to work as a separate compact body of servants of India. It would be best for them to hold together on a plot of land, to turn their swords into ploughshares and grow more food for the hungry millions. If they did not like the suggestion, they should be absorbed into the civil life and serve the country. 'Once a soldier always a soldier', would be a dangerous doctrine in free India. He had lived in South Africa for 20 years where every Boer was a first-class soldier when soldiering was necessary, otherwise he was a wonderful farmer. Such was General Botha[2]. Such is Field Marshal Smuts[3]. He is a great lawyer, a great farmer, owning a magnificent farm and everyone knew him to be a distinguished soldier. What was Netaji himself? Was he less than Field Marshal Smuts? Soldiering was never his profession. Today when India was shaking with communalism and fratricidal disturbances, let the members of the Fauj set a noble example of what they were under Netaji, who evoked such affection from his

[1] *Vide* p. 98.

[2] Louis Botha (1862-1919); Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, 1910-19

[3] Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950); Prime Minister of South Africa, 1919-24, 1938-48

men that he (the speaker) had known his officers being unable to think of him without tears. Let them translate that affection into action. That in spite of all his affection and respect for Netaji, they had differences of opinion was a matter of no consequence. Such divergence would exist between the best of friends. Let the students too, whether they believed in violence or non-violence, understand that strictest discipline was common to both.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

126. LETTER TO AN ASHRAM INMATE

[On or after *August 28, 1947*][1]

I have your letter. I shall be so glad if your boy[2] is cured.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 379

127. LETTER TO MOHANLAL NAYYAR

[On or after *August 28, 1947*]

I have your letter.... What does it matter if everything you possess in Gujrat is lost? In this general conflagration no one may expect to escape. Sushila[3] is in her proper place. She is under God's care. Pyarelal[4] will meet me today or tomorrow. He is expected.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 380

[1] According to the source this and the following two letters were written between August 28 and 31.

[2] Who was suffering from an incurable disease

[3] & [4] Addressee's sister and brother

CWMG LXXXIX

128. LETTER TO TARADEVI NAYYAR

[On or after *August 28, 1947*]

Why do you worry about Sushila[1]? God is the Lord and Master of all. Let us not cease to trust in Him. Rajkumari has brought the news that Sushila is all right. I hope you are keeping well. Baby[2] must be delightfully naughty!

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 380

129. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I got up at 2.30 and sat down to write letters. I get no time during the day. I have to see visitors.

Your letter is before me. I see from it that our points of view differ, though both of us have the same end in view. This is an old difference between us. Don't you remember our difference of view regarding the verses in the morning prayers? I read allegorical meanings in them. . . .[3] them innocent. You found them objectionable. I do not know whether it is so even today. . . .[4]

In saying that God deludes man, I am not disregarding God or violating Truth, nor am I using ambiguous language. What does the saying "God confounds those whom He wants to destroy"[5] mean? Man babbles and tries in vain to describe, in his imperfect speech, Him who transcends speech and thought, who is "Not this, not this". What else can he do? Till he has risen to the highest level of preserving unbroken silence or living in complete solitude, he must use speech. Islam, to attain the state of non-duality . . .[6]

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIII

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Nandini, daughter of Mohanlal Nayyar
[3] Two words here are illegible.
[4] A word is illegible here.
[5] The source has this in English.
[6] The letter is incomplete.

130. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

CALCUTTA,
2.50 a.m., August 29, 1947

CHI. MIRA,

I had your two letters yesterday. I am glad you are better.

Your 55 years is as nothing for a disciplined life. But "you are careful for nothing."[1] But of this when we meet and can talk "outside business".

My movement has become uncertain.

You will know from the papers where I am the next day. "Look at the sparrows." They do not know what they will do the next moment. Let us literally live from moment to moment.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 6529. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9924

131. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Air Mail

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

DEAR DR. HOLMES[2],

Many thanks for yours of 11th instant.

I am forwarding your letter with enclosures to Punditji. It is a sad story.

We are all looking forward to your arrival.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KENNEBUNK BEACH
MAINE
NEW YORK, U. S. A.

From a photostat: C. W. 10969. Courtesy: Roger W. Holmes and Mrs. Frances L. Brown

[1] *Philippians*, IV, 6

[2] (1879-1964); American clergyman; founder-member of American Civil Liberties Union; editor of *Unity*; author of *My Gandhi* and other works

132. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 29, 1947

Herewith is a letter from one Sardar Ajit Singh. You will see he is insistent on my going to the Punjab without a moment's delay. You will judge what I should do. Will it be any use my going after life and property are destroyed to the saturation point? Will it not be a mockery? I put before you for consideration the thoughts welling up within me. I have three wires pressing me to go.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 393

133. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note even when you were tired.

You must not lose faith in humanity. Humanity is an ocean. If a few drops are dirty, the ocean does not become dirty. And do not let your body suffer. You have to take much work from it.

I am glad Sushila is keeping well. Of course her place was in the Wah Camp so long as the men needed her services.

The work here goes on. I cannot yet go to Noakhali. They want me there, as also in Bihar and Sylhet. Now J. wires I should be in Delhi.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 3709. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 6518

[1] The addressee wired his reply the same day saying: "I still think that time has not come for you to visit the Punjab but feel your presence in Delhi very desirable so as to keep in touch with the Punjab situation and advise us."

[2] *Vide* footnote 1.

134. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

CHI. BALKOBA,

I have your letter.

I have already written about the *goshala*.[1] I can see no harm in accepting donations from persons who offer them without expectation of any return and purely from philanthropic motives.

Do you wish to take Dhirubhai along with you? I have replied[2] that, if you do, I shall have no objection.

I hope you are taking care of your health.

I understand what you say about the building.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BALKOBAJI
NIJDHAM
URULI KANCHAN, *via* POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 825

135. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD VYAS

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

CHI. RAMPRASAD,

I have your letter. I shall be very glad if Jivram gets well. I understand how the expenditure on food is met at Pilani. The information is given clearly.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 66.
[2] *Vide* p. 96.

136. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

CHI. PREMI,

Your letter. God is my guide. But the same can be said for all.

I don't know where I shall be tomorrow. The work here is tough. Who can say what will happen ultimately?

Tell Father[1] that I have replied to his telegram.

Do you regularly help him?

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

137. LETTER TO ABDUL QAYYUM ANSARI

August 29, 1947

BHAI ANSARI[2],

Manubehn told me about your illness. In my view it is a crime for a voluntary worker to fall ill. I hope you have recovered by now.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Jairamdas Doulatram
[2] Minister for Rehabilitation, Bihar

CWMG - LXXIX

138. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

BROTHER MAHMUD,

I have your letter. I do not know what happened but things seem to be all right.

You were to come with me but stayed back. If the work there goes on smoothly, it is just as well that you did.

Mehboob did meet me. Here I do not have a moment to spare. The day began at 2.30 a.m. for me.[1] I get very little time for writing. If one wants to do public work one must meet people. I hope Begum Saheba is well. It is good you will be staying in Ranchi for some days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 5107

139. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

CALCUTTA,
August 29, 1947

Gandhiji, therefore, commenced his speech by congratulating Shaheed Saheb and the other Muslims on standing. He purposely kept seated because he had learnt that their culture did not require standing as a mark of respect when any national song or *bhajan* was sung. It was an unnecessary importation from the West. A respectful posture on such occasions was the correct attitude. After all, it was the mental attitude that mattered, not the superficial appearance. He then suggested that there should be one universal notation for *Vande Mataram*, if it was to stir millions; it must be sung by millions in one tune and one mode. After all, national songs could only be two or three. But they should all have their common notation. It was up to the Santiniketan authorities or some such authoritative society to produce an acceptable notation.

[1] The source has: "The standard time today began at 2.30 a. m."

[2] The meeting was held on Tolly Gunge Police Ground. When *Vande Mataram* was sung everyone including Suhrawardy and other Muslims had stood up.

Gandhiji then referred to the Christians. He had had the pleasure of receiving them the day before. They said that the major communities had taken care of themselves but what was to happen to the Christian Indians? Were they to have no seats in the Governments or the legislatures? He told the friends that the poisonous favouritism of the foreign rule was dead and gone. Merit should now be the sole test. In a well-ordered society there should be no minority. Why should they not feel that they were of the forty crores, but not a mere handful in the forty crores? Whatever their religion, all born in India and proud of their birth were equal in the eye of the law. On the strength of merit, i. e., intellectual capacity, self-sacrifice, courage and incorruptibility, a Christian could be the Chief Minister without exhibiting greater merit than a Hindu or Muslim. Religion was a purely personal matter. He expected that what was true of the Union was equally true of Pakistan. He asked his Christian brethren also not to take their Christianity as it was interpreted in the West. They knew that there they fought with one another as never before. After all Jesus was an Asiatic depicted as wearing the Arabian flowing robe. He was the essence of meekness. Gandhiji hoped that the Christians of India would express in their lives, Jesus, the crucified of the Bible, and not as interpreted in the West with its blood-stained fingers. He had no desire to criticize the West. He knew and valued the many virtues of the West. But he was bound to point out that Jesus of Asia was misrepresented in the West except in individuals.

Then he answered the question whether the minorities would have recognition as religious minorities had; thus, whether Bengalis of Bihar, though a minority, would have recognition. This was a ticklish question. In his opinion an Indian was a citizen of India enjoying equal rights in every part of India. Therefore, a Bengali had every right in Bihar as a Bihari. But he wished to emphasize that a Bengali must merge in the Bihari. He must never be guilty of exploiting Biharis or feeling a stranger or behaving as a stranger in Bihar. If the speaker brought his Gujarat manners to Bengal and imposed himself on the province, he would expect the Bengalis to expel him. He could not then claim the rights of an Indian as against Bengalis. All rights flowed from duties previously and duly performed. One thing he must stress, that in both the Dominions of India, the use of force for the assertion of rights must be eschewed altogether if they were to make any progress. Thus, neither the Bengalis nor the Biharis could assert themselves at the point of the sword, nor could the Boundary Commission Award similarly be changed. It was the first lesson to be learnt in a democratic, independent India. Their independence was yet only a fortnight old. Liberty never meant the licence to do anything at will. Independence meant the voluntary restraint and discipline, voluntary acceptance of the rule of law in the making of which the whole of India had its hand through its elected representatives. The only force at the disposal of democracy was that of

public opinion. Satyagraha, civil disobedience and fasts had nothing in common with the use of force, veiled or open. But even these had restricted use in democracy. They could not even think of them whilst the Governments were settling down and the communal distemper was still stalking from one province to another.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

140. ABOUT STUDENTS[1]

A correspondent says:

> You have begun writing in time about the student world of India. Your opinion was highly necessary. The late H. G. Wells has somewhere described the students as "Undergraduate Intelligence". The exploitation of the half-baked student world is highly dangerous. It tears the students under exploitation from the essential work of study and its assimilation. In these critical times the harm done by the exploitation of "Undergraduate Intelligence" recoils upon the exploiters. Your writing referred to above gives rise to one question: Was it not Gandhiji who first drew the students to politics? I know that this is not true. But it is necessary for you to reiterate your position.
>
> The second thing is: What should students' organizations do? What should be their objective? Today, as you know, students' organizations are considered as stepping-stones to entrance into political life. Some exploit them for that purpose.

Only during this week I had the misfortune to experience what harm "Undergraduate Intelligence" can do. I was invited by the Vice-Chancellor to address a students' gathering.[2] Sad to say, they indulged in a hostile demonstration against Shaheed Saheb. Afterwards they saw reason and they repented. And they gave a demonstration of how half-baked intelligence could do right under wise guidance. This would be apparent from the report of my post-prayer speech in the current issue of the *Harijan*.

Let me hope that the rendering into Gujarati in the columns of the *Harijanbandhu* will be quite in keeping with the original in English. The English rendering is the translation of the speech that was delivered in Hindustani. But it has not been possible to give the properly edited Hindustani and its authorized English translation. Who could shoulder that burden?

[1] This is an adaptation of the original in Gujarati, which appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 7-9-1947.

[2] *Vide* pp. 103-5.

CWMG-LXXXIX

I have deprived myself of the assistance of Pyarelal and Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who are engaged in better work. Rajkumari's services have been unavailable for several months. Now she has become a Minister.

If there is one compact students' organization, it can become a mighty instrument of service. Their objective can only be one: Never for the purpose of finding a lucrative career but fitting themselves for the service of the motherland. If they were to do so, their knowledge would attain a great height. Agitation is only for those who had completed their studies. While studying, the only occupation of students must be to increase their knowledge. Education, as it is prescribed today, is detrimental, conceived in terms of the masses of India. It is possible to show that the present education has been of some use to the country. I regard it as negligible. Let no one be deceived by it. The acid test of its usefulness is this: Does it make, as it should, an effective contribution to the production of food and clothing? What part does the student world play in stopping the present senseless slaughter? All education in a country has got to be demonstrably in promotion of the progress of the country in which it is given. Who will deny that education in India has not served that purpose? Hence one purpose of the organization should be to discover the defects of the present education and seek to remove them so far as possible in their own selves. By their correct conduct they will be able to convert to their view the heads of education. If they do so, they will never be entangled in party politics. In the revised scheme, constructive and creative programme will naturally have its due place. Indirectly their action will keep the politics of the country free of the spirit of exploitation.

Now for the first question. What I said in the matter of students' education at the time of the country's battle for freedom is evidently forgotten. I did not invite the students to devote themselves to politics whilst they were in schools and colleges. I had suggested non-violent non-co-operation and that they should quit these educational institutions and throw themselves into the battle for freedom. I had encouraged national universities and national schools and colleges. Unfortunately, the snare of the education given in our schools and colleges was too strong for the students. Only a handful were able to disengage themselves from it. Thus it is not proper to say that I drew the students to the politics of the country. Moreover, when, after 20 years of exile in South Africa, I returned

to India in 1915, the students, while they were engaged in their studies, had already been drawn to political life. Probably, there was no other way. Our foreign rulers had so devised the whole life of the country that nobody could engage in politics suitable for the deliverance of the country from bondage. The foreign rulers had so devised and controlled the education of the country that the youth remained under that control and millions were kept in comparative darkness. This was the way in which foreign control was rendered as permanent as possible. Therefore, apart from the colleges and schools controlled by foreign rulers, patriotic workers were left with no other choice. To what extent this foreign education was misused need not be considered here.

CALCUTTA, August 30, 1947
Harijan, 7-9-1947

141. SWARAJ ASHRAM, VEDCHHI

A printed report[1] of the work done in this Ashram during 1945-46 has been received. It is an interesting document. The most important portion from it has been reproduced below with the expectation that the reader would obtain a copy of the whole report and read it. The activities of this Ashram are likely to be useful in understanding what I have recently written about education. The training given there may be imperfect but all the activities have originated from and have bearings on the present situation in the country and help in improving it.

1. Ku. Annapurna Chunilal Mehta, Vedchhi
2. Shri Sumant Morarji, Titwa
3. Shri Kanjibhai Jagabhai Dasharibehn, Beda
4. Shri Makanji Kotabhai Chowdhari, Amba Pardi
5. Shri Velji Kanji Chowdhary, Vedchhi
6. Shri Jhaverbhai Shankarbhai Patel

These six village workers are engaged in these activities.

CALCUTTA, August 30, 1947

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 28-9-1947

[1] Not reproduced here; it explained the various constructive activities of the Ashram.

142. LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

CALCUTTA,
August 30, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter which His Excellency the Governor sent me yesterday afternoon. I do not know if Shaheed Saheb and I can legitimately appropriate the compliment[1] you pay us. Probably suitable conditions were ready for us to take the credit for what appears to have been a magical performance.

Am I right in gathering from your letter that you would like me to try the same thing for the Punjab?[2] I am in correspondence with the Pandit and the Sardar.

I hope your new office[3] is not unduly more arduous than as Viceroy.

It filled me with joy when I read in the papers that Lady Mountbatten had flown to the Punjab. I hope she is none the worse for the trying visit.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE LORD MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, p. 278

[1] In his letter dated August 26, the addressee *inter alia*, wrote: "In the Punjab we have 55 thousand soldiers and large-scale rioting on our hands. In Bengal our forces consist of one man, and there is no rioting. As a serving officer, as well as an administrator, may I be allowed to pay my tribute to the One-man Boundary Force, not forgetting his Second in Command, Mr. Suhrawardy."

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

[3] Of Governor-General of independent India

CWMG - LXXXIX

143. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 30, 1947

About my going to the Punjab, I won't move without your and Vallabhbhai's wish. I want to say, however, that every day pressure is being put upon me to rush to the Punjab before it is too late. If you wish I could send you all that comes to me so as to enable you to come to the right decision.

If I am not going to the Punjab, would I be of much use in Delhi as an adviser or consultant? I fancy I am not built that way. My advice has value only when I am actually working at a particular thing. I can only disturb when I give academic advice as on food, clothing, the use of the military. The more I think, the more I sense the truth of this opinion. Left to myself I would probably rush to the Punjab and if necessary break myself in the attempt to stop the warring elements from committing suicide. From a letter I just have from Lord Mountbatten I get the same impression.[1] He would welcome my immediate going to the Punjab.

On this side I have work which must help you all.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 394

144. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BELIAGHATA,
August 30, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I have received from Jawahar also a telegram[2] similar to what you have sent. My reply is contained in the accompanying letter. I therefore do not write more here.

May God give all of you the strength and the wisdom the situation demands. Did you ever think that you would have to face such a difficult situation so soon?[3] His will be done.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 108.

[3] As Deputy Prime Minister the addressee was in charge of Home, States and Information and Broadcasting.

Horace[1] is with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 370-1

145. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 30, 1947

CHI. MANI,

All the letters are enclosed. Send them to the addressees. I hope I am not burdening you with too much work. This is the only way I can get the letters delivered in time. Show to Sardar the letter addressed to Jawaharlal and then have it delivered as soon as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 142

146. INTERVIEW TO RANDOLPH CHURCHILL[2]

August 30, 1947

Gandhiji said that his views on partition were very well known, and he, even now, considered partition to be a sin. But whether there would be reunion or not was not for him to decide. If the people of both States became so friendly that they voluntarily wished to be one, there would indeed be nothing like it.

My Days with Gandhi, p. 268

[1] Horace G. Alexander

[2] Son of Winston Churchill, who met Gandhiji in the evening and asked him about his ideas regarding the reunion of Pakistan and India; Suhrawardy was also present.

CWMG - LXXIX

147. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
August 30, 1947

Gandhiji said that this was Shaheed Saheb's constituency. He was, therefore, glad that he was expected to visit Barasat. He noticed the absence of the Pakistan flag or the Muslim League flag. Why did not the Hindus of Barasat go out of their way to invite their Muslim brethren to fly the Pakistan flag side by side with the tricolour? That never meant that the Muslims were to impose the Pakistan flag or the League flag on the Hindus. He would apply the same rule where the Muslims were in a majority. If a Hindu girl was in their midst, they should encourage the solitary girl to unfurl the tricolour and recite *Ramdhun*. That was the sure sign of Hindu-Muslim friendship which then would be capable of bearing the severest strain upon it. No doubt, they learnt the daily tale of family strife in the Punjab. It had become difficult for the Muslims to live in the East and the Hindus and Sikhs in the West. Was there to be a transfer of crores of population? The way to stem the tide of this savagery and inhuman conduct was for the Hindus and Muslims of the two divisions of Bengal to preserve their equanimity and to demonstrate by their unbreakable friendship the way for all the communities to live. The way of mutual strife and exclusiveness was the way to perdition and slavery. If there was heart friendship, he could not understand the objection of Muslims, wherever they were in a majority, to being included in Western Bengal as in Murshidabad and Malda or for the Hindu majority, to being included in Pakistan. This was a sign not of friendship but of unworthy and mutual distrust.

He then referred to a letter he had received from the local Gurkha League saying that he was misinformed by his correspondent on the strength of whose letter he had issued[1] his advice to the Gurkhas of Darjeeling. They contended that they claimed to be as much Indians as any. They could have no repugnance towards the Bengalis or the Marwaris who had settled in Darjeeling. But they expected Gandhiji to share their apprehension if they found the Bengalis or the Marwaris to be lording over them. Let them not be too proud of their learning or riches and treat the Gurkhas as if they were born to be bearers of burden. Would he not expect perfect equality among them and expect the Bengalis to lift them up by giving them knowledge of letters and the Marwaris to share with them the secret of conducting honest trade? Gandhiji said that he had no hesitation

[1] *Vide* p. 95.

in endorsing the Gurkha position and hoped that the Bengalis, Marwaris and others who had settled on that beautiful hill, would share with their Gurkha brothers their best and show them that they were their friends and servants, in no sense exploiters.

He then came to refer to a question which Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose had prepared for him as a result of his discussions with visitors. What did he mean by bread labour and what was its application to the present state? The economics of bread labour was the living way of life. It meant that every man had to labour with his body for his food and clothing. If Gandhiji could convince the people of the value and necessity of bread labour, there never would be any want of bread and cloth. He would have no hesitation in saying to the people with confidence that they must starve and go naked if they would neither work on the land nor spin and weave. They read in the papers that the whole of India was on the brink of starvation and nakedness. If his plan was accepted, they would soon find that India had enough food and enough khadi which the masses would produce for themselves. No doubt they should be assisted in the matter of using the land wisely and should also be supplied with spinning and weaving accessories, and instructors. He added that he had not hesitated even to discuss[1] his method with Mr. Casey (Governor of Bengal) who was taking keen interest in the water supply of Bengal. No doubt, Mr. Casey's was a gigantic scheme requiring years and tons of money. His was an efficient but unambitious and inexpensive programme.

Harijan, 7-9-1947

148. THE NATIONAL FLAG

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji brought the above note[2] personally and on my drawing attention to the popular meaning of the Sudarshan Chakra as a symbol of violence,[3] he said it was wholly wrong.

CALCUTTA, August 31, 1947
Harijan, 7-9-1947

[1] In December 1945; *vide* Vol. LXXXII.

[2] Not reproduced here. The note pointed out that the chakra on the national flag was taken from the Buddha's *Dhamma-Chakka* and that its origin could be traced farther back to Vishnu's Sudarshan Chakra which had a spiritual significance.

[3] *Vide* p. 2.

CWMG - LXXXIX

149. QUESTION BOX

QUESTION: You have often stated while you were in Noakhali that failure of your mission there would be the failure of your own ahimsa and not of ahimsa itself. In the light of what has been achieved here (Calcutta), do you think that your ahimsa has succeeded or is on the way to success?

ANSWER: It is a correct statement that has been attributed to me. Ahimsa is always infallible. When, therefore, it appears to have failed, the failure is due to the inaptitude of the votary. I have never felt that my ahimsa has failed in Noakhali, nor can it be said that it has succeeded. It is on its trial. And when I talk of my ahimsa I do not think of it as limited to myself. It must include all my co-workers in Noakhali. Success or failure would, therefore, be attributable to the aggregate of the activities of my co-workers and myself.

What I have said about Noakhali applies to Calcutta. It is too early to state that the application of ahimsa to the communal problem in this great city has succeeded beyond doubt. As I have already remarked, it is wrong to contend that the establishment of friendliness between the two communities was a miracle. Circumstances were ready and Shaheed Saheb and I appeared on the scene to take the credit for what has happened. Anyway, it is premature to predicate anything about the application. The first thing naturally is that we, the two partners, have one mind and are believers in ahimsa. That being assured, I would say that if we know the science and its application, it is bound to succeed.

CALCUTTA, August 31, 1947

Harijan, 7-9-1947

150. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

CALCUTTA,
August 31, 1947

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I got both your letters. Radhakisan may be given Rs. 75,000. I don't understand why my letter[1] could not reach you. God knows if something went wrong at this end. I cannot do everything promptly.

Which Vallabhbhai? It is all right if Bhansali has left. It was bound to have its effect. He is rather crazy but that does not affect his nobility.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

151. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

August 31, 1947

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

Your letter. One cannot be so ill because of smoking *bidis*. You may go to the Andhra High School. Return soon.
I am glad that Zohra[2] and Kamala have recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 66.
[2] Wife of Akbar Chavda

CWMG - LXXIX

152. ADDRESS TO MUSLIM MERCHANTS[1]

CALCUTTA,
August 31, 1947

In his speech before the moneyed men Gandhiji said that he went to them as a beggar. Somehow or other when he began life after studies he found that he had the gift of begging from the rich and the poor alike. He hoped that his appeal would not go in vain. There were two ways of rebuilding and rehabilitation—either the Government or the rich men of Calcutta had to find the money. He held that if the Government found the funds, it would carry no merit. But if the moneyed men took up the duty, it carried double merit. They as citizens, would have of their own free will discharged their duty and it would be a substantial proof of real friendship between the communities.

Mahatma Gandhi in his speech congratulated the organizers of the function which was to cement Hindu-Muslim unity. He asked them to form their own committees, for raising funds, and making expenditure for rehabilitation work. Those who were interested and those who were in a position to pay should sit together and devise the programme. They should not merely think of rehabilitating these poor sufferers in the kind of *bustees* that existed today and which the poor had been forced to choose as their abodes. But they should think more as to how these people could live with comfort. Those who had money should not think that it was for themselves alone. As a matter of fact, they must look upon themselves as trustees and should pay for the cause of suffering humanity. They knew that Dr. P. C. Ghosh, their Chief Minister, wanted a crore for rehabilitation work. They should apply themselves to that. If Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, could work together, it was bound to have effect in East and West Punjab and the work that they would do here would be the work for the whole country.[2]

The spectacular meetings were, no doubt, necessary, but they were not all. That which led to permanent friendship was contented rehabilitation. All parties, all groups, had to do their duty in the direction. For the purity of hearts it was necessary for all to forget the past. Forgetfulness properly cultivated was a great gift. It was a rich gift bestowed upon man by the

[1] The Muslims of the Lower Chitpur Road held a function for Hindu-Muslim unity at the Grand Hotel. Gandhiji, who was accompanied by Suhrawardy, was presented with a purse of Rs. 1,001 by Haji Shamshuddin, Chairman of the Reception Committee, for repairing Hindu temples.

[2] This paragraph is from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Maker. The rich men would not be able to put their hands into their pockets, if they had not the faculty for forgetting the past. He asked the rich men, after Shaheed Saheb and he had withdrawn, to sit together and not to leave the Hotel till they had come to a wise decision.

Harijan, 21-9-1947, and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 1-9-1947

153. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
August 31, 1947

After prayer Gandhiji said that as he had addressed the meeting of the wealthy men, he did not propose to say much to the audience. He was glad to be informed by Kamal Babu, their M.L.A., that there was now perfect friendship between the two communities and that the evacuees were ready to return. The great obstacle was that the factories where they were earning their livelihood had not started working. The Muslim neighbours had undertaken to renovate the evacuated premises. If all the information was cent per cent true, the truth will work its way into the whole of the affected parts of Calcutta. He informed the audience that he proposed to leave for Noakhali on Tuesday. If Shaheed Saheb too could accompany him at the same time, he would do so. He did not propose to stay in Noakhali for long and hoped to return to Calcutta to finish the work that had begun under happy auspices. Meanwhile, he hoped that the work of rehabilitation would be continued with double speed. It did not admit of delay if there was to be lasting peace.

Harijan, 21-9-1947

154. TALK WITH PYARELAL[1]

August 31, 1947

My resolve to go to Noakhali has collapsed after this evening's happenings.[2] I cannot go to Noakhali or for that matter anywhere when Calcutta is in flames. Today's incident to me is a sign and a warning from God. You have for the time being, therefore, to return to Noakhali without me. You can tell

[1] Pyarelal along with Charubhushan Chowdhary met Gandhiji to appraise him of the situation in Noakhali and to seek his advice.

[2] The reference is to a violent demonstration by some Hindus on August 31 in front of the house where Gandhiji and H. S. Suhrawardy were staying. *Vide* pp. 129-32.

CWMG - LXXXIX

the people of Noakhali that if my colleagues for any reason cannot be there, they will find me, surely, in their midst.

And then casually he hinted that if the conflagration spread he would have no alternative but to fast.

Have I not often said that there is yet another fast in store for me?

Harijan, 14-9-1947, and *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 404

155. A NOTE

[*August 1947*][1]

I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?

Then you will find your doubts and yourself melting away.

M. K. GANDHI[2]

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, facing p. 89

[1] In the source, this appears among the illustrations for August 1947.
[2] The signature is in the Devanagari and Bengali scripts.

CWMG - LXXXVI

156. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CALCUTTA,
September 1, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. Bhopal (Nawab's) letter is strange.[1] I did not like it. Your task is hard indeed. May God grant you the necessary strength. If Bhopal plays the game, Hyderabad's problem will be easy to solve. And the same will be true of Pakistan.

I have already sent you my programme, but now even that is as good as cancelled. We were to go to Noakhali tomorrow morning. So Shaheed Saheb went home. I am the only elderly person in the house. Dinshaw Mehta is here, but what can he do? He does not know the language and his large body is of no use.

Someone received knife wounds in Machhva Bazaar. No one knew who stabbed him. People brought him here for demonstration. Perhaps they wanted to attack Shaheed Suhrawardy, but they could not find him; so their anger was turned on me. There was an uproar in the front yard. Both the girls[2] went out among the crowd. I was in bed about to go to sleep. Our Muslim landlady came in to have a look as she was afraid I might come to harm. I sensed danger and got up. I broke my silence. My vow permits me to break it on such occasions. I went to face the crowd but the girls would not leave my side. Other people also surrounded me. Glass windows were being broken and they started smashing the doors also. There was an attempt to cut the wires of the electric ceiling fans but only a few were snapped. I started shouting at the crowd, asking them to be quiet. But who would listen? I could, moreover, speak only Hindustani and they were Bengalis. There were also some Muslims nearby. I asked them not to strike back. So they merely stood around me. There were two

[1] While informing the addressee of his decision to join the Union of India, the Nawab of Bhopal on August 26, had *inter alia* written: "During our talk on the 22nd you had expressed surprise, at one stage, that I had so much opposed your plan. I do not disguise the fact that while the struggle was on I used every means in my power to preserve the independence and neutrality of my State. Now that I have conceded defeat I hope that you will find that I can be as staunch a friend as I have been an inveterate opponent."

[2] Abha and Manu Gandhi

groups; one trying to incite the crowd, the other trying to pacify it. There were two policemen also. They also used no force. With folded hands they addressed [the crowd] in a loud voice and they stopped me. Kalyanam suggested that I should go and sit inside. Bisen was in the centre. He was wearing only pyjamas and was taken for a Muslim. Bricks were thrown. One hit a Muslim. No one was wounded, but the brick could have struck me. The Superintendent of Police came soon after and the youngsters dispersed after causing considerable damage to the house. Prafulla Babu[1] and Annada[2] arrived. Prafulla suggested the posting of more police guard but I objected. Everyone suspects the Hindu Mahasabha [was behind the attack]. I have asked them to see Syamaprasad[3] and Chatterji[4] before arresting the mischief-makers and not to do anything in a hurry. Such is the position here. I could thus go to bed only at 12.30 a. m. Of course I had to get up at the usual hour.

Please tell Jawaharlal about this when you meet him.

Read the accompanying wire. I feel totally lost. I pin my hopes on you two. The copy of my reply is on the reverse.

In this situation you may take it that I am here. "As for tomorrow, who can tell?"

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
1 AURANGZEB ROAD
NEW DELHI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 372-4

[1] Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

[2] A constructive worker of Calcutta

[3] & [4] Syamaprasad Mookerjee and N. C. Chatterji, Hindu Mahasabha leaders

CWMG - LXXXVI

157. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

September 1, 1947

CHI. MANI,

I am glad that you do not feel overburdened. There should be someone with the Sardar who is one hundred per cent fit.

Give him my letter[1] when he is free.

Send to Sushila the material meant for her.

Last evening's developments here were altogether unexpected. The man who was alleged to have been stabbed was not stabbed at all. There was a scuffle between two persons, in which that man fell to the ground. Now I hope to get more news.

I have just come out after a bath and am writing this.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANIBEHN PATEL
NEW DELHI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 142

158. LETTER TO DURGA M. DESAI

September 1, 1947

CHI. DURGA[2],

I got the letter about Babla's[3] marriage yesterday. Since it is an alliance of mutual choice, what could my blessings add? Both are competent and public-spirited. I think anything that is auspicious needs no blessings; and blessings never come true when the thing is inauspicious. However, I certainly wish them both a long life; may they ever serve the people.

Since Bablo and his wife will be there, you are sure to be settled comfortably. Could you live separately from them?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Widow of Mahadev Desai
[3] Addressee's son, Narayan

CWMG - LXXIX

159. TALK WITH MARWARI DEPUTATION[1]

CALCUTTA,
September 1, 1947

Go in the midst of the rioters and prevent them from indulging in madness or get killed in the attempt. But do not come back alive to report failure. The situation calls for sacrifice on the part of top-rankers. So far the unknown, nameless rank and file alone have been the victims of the holocaust with the one exception of the late Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi.[2] That is not enough.[3]

Harijan, 14-9-1947

160. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

September 1, 1947

I regret to have to report to you that last night some young men brought to the compound a bandaged man. He was reported to have been attacked by some Muslims. The Prime Minister[4] had him examined and the report was that he had no marks on his body of stabbing which he was said to have received. The seriousness of the injury however is not the chief point. What I want to emphasize is that these young men tried to become judges and executioners. This was about 10 p. m., Calcutta time. They began to shout at the top of their voices. My sleep was disturbed but I tried to lie quiet not knowing what was happening. I heard the window-panes being smashed. I had lying on either side of me two very brave girls. They would not sleep but, without my knowledge, for

[1] Some leading members of the Marwari community sought Gandhiji's advice as to what they should do to quench the fire of communal riots.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 353, 374 and 402.

[3] 'Even as he uttered these words, he was cogitating within himself, as to where he came into the picture which he was presenting to them. For he added: "Of course, I cannot do today what I have told them to do. I will not be permitted to. I saw that yesterday. Everybody will protect me from harm if I went in the midst of the maddened crowd. I may drop down from sheer physical exhaustion—that is nothing. It won't do for a soldier to be exhausted in the midst of battle."'

[4] The reference is to the Chief Minister of Bengal, Dr. P. C. Ghosh.

my eyes were closed, they went among the small crowd and tried to pacify them. Thank God the crowd did not do any harm to them. The old Muslim lady in the house endearingly called Bi-Amma and a young Muslim stood near my matting, I suppose, to protect me from harm.

The noise continued to swell. Some had entered the central hall and began to knock open the many doors. I felt that I must get up and face the angry group. I stood at the threshold of one of the doors. Friendly faces surrounded me and would not let me move forward. My vow of silence admitted of my breaking it on such occasions and I broke it and began to appeal to the angry young men to be quiet. I asked the Bengali granddaughter-in-law to translate my few words into Bengali. All to no purpose. Their ears were closed against reason.

I clasped my hands in the Hindu fashion. Nothing doing. More window-panes began to crack. The friendly ones in the crowd tried to pacify them. There were two police officers. Be it said to their credit that they did not try to exercise authority. They too clasped their hands in appeal. A lathi blow missed me and everybody round me. A brick aimed at me hurt a Muslim friend standing by. The two girls would not leave me and held on to me to the last. Meantime the Police Superintendent and his officers came in. They too did not use force. They appealed to me to retire. Then there was a chance of their stilling the young men. After a time the crowd melted.

What happened outside the compound gate I do not know except that the police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd. Meantime Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Annada Babu and Dr. Nripen walked in and after some discussion left. Happily Shaheed Saheb had gone home to prepare for tomorrow's proposed departure for Noakhali. In view of the above ugly incident which no one could tell where it would lead to I could not think of leaving Calcutta for Noakhali.

What is the lesson of the incident? It is clear to me that if India is to retain her dearly won independence all men and women must completely forget lynch law. What was attempted was an indifferent imitation of lynch law. If the Muslims misbehaved, the complainants could, if they would not go to the ministers, certainly go to me or my friend Shaheed Saheb. The same thing applies to Muslim complainants. There is no way of keeping the peace in Calcutta or elsewhere if the elementary rule of civilized society is not observed. Let them not think of the savagery of the Punjab or outside India. The

recognition of the golden rule of never taking the law into one's own hands has no exceptions.

My secretary Devprakash in Patna wires: "Public agitated Punjab happenings. Feel statement necessary impressing duty of public and the Press." Shri Devprakash is never unduly agitated. There must be some unguarded word by the Press. If that is so at this time when (we) are sitting on a powder magazine, the Fourth Estate has to be extra-wise and reticent. Unscrupulousness will act as a lighted match. I hope every editor and reporter will realize his duty to the full.

One thing I must mention. I have an urgent message calling me to the Punjab. I hear all kinds of rumours about recrudescence of trouble in Calcutta. I hope they are exaggerated if not quite baseless. The citizens of Calcutta have to reassure me that there would be nothing wrong in Calcutta and that peace once restored will not be broken.

From the very first day of peace, that is 14th August last, I have been saying that the peace might only be a temporary lull. There was no miracle. Will the foreboding prove true and will Calcutta again lapse into the law of the jungle? Let us hope not, let us pray to the Almighty that He will touch our hearts and ward off the recurrence of insanity.

Since the foregoing was written, i. e., about four o'clock during my silence, I have come to know fairly well the details of what has happened in the various parts of the city. Some of the places which were safe till yesterday have suddenly become unsafe. Several deaths have taken place. I saw two dead bodies of very poor Muslims.[1] I saw also some wretched-looking Muslims being carted away to a place of safety. I quite see that last night's incident so fully described above pales into insignificance before this flare-up. Nothing that I may do in the way of going about in this open conflagration could possibly arrest it. I have told[2] the friends who saw me in the evening what their duty is. What part am I to play in order to stop the rot? The Sikhs and the Hindus must not forget what East Punjab has done during these few days. Now the Muslims in West Punjab have commenced the mad career. It is said that the Sikhs and the Hindus are enraged over the Punjab happenings.

I have adverted above to an urgent call for me to go to the Punjab. But now that the Calcutta bubble seems to have burst,

[1] Two young Muslims had died in a hand-grenade attack on an open truck in which they were being escorted to safer localities.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

with what face can I go to the Punjab? The weapon which has hitherto proved infallible for me, is fasting. To put an appearance before a yelling crowd does not always work. It certainly did not last night. What my word in person cannot do my fast may. It may touch the hearts of all the warring elements even in the Punjab if it does in Calcutta. I therefore begin fasting from 8.15 p. m. to end only if and when sanity returns to Calcutta. I shall as usual permit myself to add salt and soda bicarb[1] to the water I may wish to drink during the fast.

If the people of Calcutta wish me to proceed to the Punjab and help the people there they have to enable me to break the fast as early as may be.[2]

From a photostat: C. W. 10575. Courtesy: N. K. Bose. Also *Harijan*, 14-9-1947

161. DISCUSSION WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[3]

September 1, 1947

RAJAJI: You don't expect me to approve of your proposed step.... Can you fast against the goondas?

GANDHIJI: The conflagration has been caused not by the goondas but by those who have become goondas. It is we who make goondas. Without our sympathy and passive support, the goondas would have no legs to stand upon. I want to touch the hearts of those who are behind the goondas.

But must you launch your fast at this stage? Why not wait and watch a little?

It would be too late afterwards. The minority Muslims cannot be left in a perilous state. My fast has to be preventive if

[1] The original draft statement after this had the words "and sour limes" which were scored out on Rajaji's suggestion; *vide* the following item.

[2] The statement was completed at 11.10 p. m. in the presence of C. Rajagopalachari, Pyarelal, Charubhushan Chowdhary and N. K. Bose. In a supplementary statement to the Press Rajaji said that if trouble had not broken out in Calcutta, Gandhiji would have gone to the Punjab. It was in their hands to send him to the Punjab. "The women and children of the Punjab are eagerly looking forward to his presence in their midst and to the healing influence of his word and spirit. Let us send him with the laurels of victory round his aged brow to that affected province."

[3] Gandhiji showed the draft of his statement to the Press to C. Rajagopalachari who called on him at 10 p. m.

it is to be any good. I know I shall be able to tackle the Punjab too if I can control Calcutta. But if I falter now, the conflagration may spread and soon, I can see clearly, two or three powers will be upon us and thus will end our short-lived dream of independence.

But supposing you die, the conflagration would be worse.

At least I won't be there to witness it. I shall have done my bit. More is not given a man to do.

But why add sour lemon juice to water, if you are to put yourself entirely in God's hands?

You are right. I allowed it out of weakness. It jarred on me even as I wrote it. A satyagrahi must hope to survive his conditional fast by a timely fulfilment of the condition.

Harijan, 14-9-1947

162. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CALCUTTA,
September 1/2, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

Today here they are preparing to fight. I have just returned after seeing the dead bodies of two Muslims who had died of wounds. I hear that riots have broken out in many places. Thus what was regarded as a miracle has proved a short-lived nine-day wonder. Now I am thinking what my duty is in the circumstances. I am writing this at about 6 p.m. As the post will go only tomorrow, I shall be able to add something more. Jawahar wires that I should go to the Punjab.[1] But how can I leave Calcutta now? I am thinking within myself and silence helps in that. See the accompanying wire from Mirpur Khas. What could it mean? I have not replied.

4.45 a.m., September 2, 1947

This much was written last evening. After that I heard much more. A number of people came to see me. I went on thinking of my own duty. The news I received settled it and I decided to undertake a fast. It began at 8.15 last evening.

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru had sent a wire on August 31. *Vide* also the following item.

Rajaji called at night. He admonished me a lot, tried hard to persuade me not to go on a fast. But none of his arguments appealed to me. I saw my duty clearly before me. You should not worry, nor should anyone else. Worrying is not going to help. If the leaders are sincere the riots will stop and the fast will be broken. If the riots continue what will I do by merely being alive? What is the use of my living? If I lack even the power to pacify the people, what else is left for me to do? If God wants to make use of me, He will enter the people's hearts and calm them down and preserve my body. I have started the fast only in His name.

May God keep all of you safe. In this holocaust, no one else can do anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 374-5

163. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

September 2, 1947

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,[2]

I replied to your message of yesterday.[3]

I would have started for Lahore today but for the flare-up in Calcutta. If the fury did not abate, my going to the Punjab would be of no avail. I would have no self-confidence. If the Calcutta friendship was wrong, how could I hope to affect the situation in the Punjab? Therefore my departure from Calcutta depends solely upon the result of the Calcutta fast. Don't be distressed or angry over the fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the original: Jawaharlal Nehru Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's wire of even date which read: "I feel sure now that you should come to Punjab as early as possible." On receiving the wire, Gandhiji is reported to have said: "I now feel happy and at peace because I am doing what my duty requires of me."

[2] The superscription and subscription are in Hindi.

[3] This communication, however, is not available.

164. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 2, 1947

CHI. AMRIT,

Of course, you will not only not deplore my fast but welcome it as the only act so far as I am concerned. Had it not been for the flare-up in C[alcutta] I would have started for Delhi this evening on my way to the Punjab. Jawaharlal thinks it is time now for me to go there. If the disturbance continues, the so-called friendship was some accident. The fast will show where I am.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

165. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

September 2, 1947

CHI. MANI,

Arrange to [despatch] the accompanying papers. You will have found no difficulty in understanding the reason for my fast. Rajaji strove hard with me,[1] but the more he argued the more I was confirmed in my own decision. Was the amity of a fortnight a mere sham?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 143

[1] *Vide* pp. 132-3.

166. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

September 2, 1947

Somebody has handed over this. Quite a few things in it are workable. Give it to someone to read and let him tell you the gist.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

167. A NOTE

[*September 2, 1947*][1]

My fast started last night. There was no alternative. It was no small matter that riots started after the demonstration of friendship for fifteen days. No one need rush to me.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

168. DISCUSSION WITH SARAT CHANDRA BOSE[2]

September 2, 1947

GANDHIJI (laughingly): So, it needed a fast on my part to bring you to me?

SARAT BOSE: I had a feeling that you no more cared for me. But I will not tax your strength. Are you permitted to talk?

I have to, at least in pursuance of the object for which I am fasting.

I have always been opposed to partition. I have never made any secret of my views. I am a frank man. I did not come before because, as I have already said, I had a feeling that you had not much use for me.

[1] From the reference to the fast

[2] Gandhiji had about 8 ounces of cold water at 3.45 p.m. Soon after, Sarat Chandra Bose called on him.

CWMG - LXXXIX

Representatives of all groups and parties have come and asked me why I did not send for you. Some of them said, they had a suspicion that the Forward Bloc[1] people were behind the disturbances. I told them that Sarat Bose knows my door is always open to him. He will come whenever he thinks fit.

That you have wronged me doth appear in this. In your prayer address[2] you said I was spending money like water . . . in corrupt practices.

Was it not then your clear duty to come to me and remove my doubts—if they were ill-founded? It is the privilege of friendship to speak out one's mind unreservedly without the fear of being misunderstood. Otherwise what is friendship worth? Even your Suhrawardy has said, you spend money like water. But if you had a grievance on that score, why did you not contradict it publicly? Or you could have written to me. I would have then either explained to you what I meant, or you would have removed the misconception under which I was labouring. I would have then withdrawn my remarks. That was what true friendship demanded.

Let bygones be bygones. What is your complaint now against the Forward Bloc?

The Hindu Mahasabha people say Forward Bloc people are behind this holocaust. I owe it to you to place their allegation before you.

You may believe it if you like. But I tell you, a number of Hindu Mahasabha people are behind this business. It is they who are inciting the Sikhs by telling them that it is unmanly on their part passively to look on while the Punjab is burning. I could even mention names.

Mutual recrimination will lead us nowhere. I am not here to judge. My fast is an appeal to everybody to search his heart. It should result in all-round self-purification. When the initial cleansing of the hearts has been effected, parties of Hindus and Muslims should go out together to patrol the troubled areas and relieve the police of its arduous duties. Or they should openly say they want to fight. What is the use of the Forward Bloc and the Hindu Mahasabha bandying words and engaging in mutual recrimination? How long can we carry on with the help of the police and the military?[3]

[1] Founded by Subhas Chandra Bose, younger brother of Sarat Chandra Bose

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 109-10.

[3] The conversation was interrupted here by the arrival of tea for Sarat Chandra Bose.

The best use I would have for such tea would be to pour it down the drain. But, perhaps, you will retort that strong tea is better than weak independence.

The deterioration in Bengal set in with the introduction by Suhrawardy of armed police from the Punjab. Does he now want the British?

No, he did not say the British. He only said mixed. But there I have a bone to pick with him too. If the hearts of our volunteers could be cleansed, peace would immediately return. For that, cleansing of the hearts on the part of the leaders is necessary. Then alone will they be able to give the masses a clear lead. This today is lacking. You should first declare in unequivocal terms what you stand for and then back it by appropriate personal example. If in the course of it, some top-ranking leaders are killed, I will not grieve. On the contrary, I shall dance with joy. I told the same to some leading members of the Marwari community who came to seek my advice yesterday.[1] Peace processions by themselves will be an empty show if the basic honesty of intention on the part of the leaders and the rank-and-file workers is not there. If such a volunteer organization wedded to non-violence and ready to make the supreme sacrifice for the achievement of unity and peace begins functioning, I will not mind if the entire police force in the city is withdrawn. And if in the result the whole of Calcutta swims in blood, it will not dismay me. For it will be willing offering of innocent blood. I know how to tackle such a situation. You and I shall then have to rush barefoot in the midst of the flames and work without respite day and night till either peace is restored or we are all dead. That is my conception of a peace mission—not a mealy-mouthed, milk-and-water business. I do not care if I am alone in these thoughts. Enough unto me is my faith. I shall be content if I get honest and whole-hearted co-operation of you all in this work. We shall then be able to control the situation in the Punjab too.

I had the authorities withdraw the armed police guard that was posted at my residence. Unfortunately, it has again come back. I have suffered it to remain not for mine but for Suhrawardy's sake. He feels nervous. If on the night of the 31st August, he had not luckily gone out to get ready for the journey to Noakhali, who knows what might have happened to him, and consequently to me?

[1] *Vide* p. 129.

I have often asked why there should be any further trouble now that the League and Jinnah have got what they wanted. If only Jinnah had accepted my offer embodied in the Rajaji Formula[1], all this could have been avoided. . . . I was prepared to go even further. If after the British had quitted, the collective wisdom and statesmanship of India were still unable to achieve a peaceful solution, I would have invited the Muslim League to take charge of the Government.[2] The Congress Ministers would have made way for them if I had asked them to. Pandit Nehru and the Sardar had told me that they would carry out my orders if I took over command.

I shall endeavour to do my best on your lines for the establishment of peace.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 411-4

169. DISCUSSION WITH P. C. GHOSH

September 2, 1947

GHOSH: You have been very unfair to the Ministry in undertaking the fast without taking them into your confidence.

GANDHIJI: Perhaps you are right. But the conflagration was spreading so fast that every moment counted. Any avoidable delay would have meant further loss of innocent lives.

I do not wish to prolong the argument.[3]

That is just like you. I had expected of you nothing less.

One thing, however, strikes me. You have launched your fast at a time when a section of the Hindus have begun to look upon you as their enemy. They foolishly feel that by asking them to practise non-violence, when the other side has shed all scruples, you are being very unfair to them. I would have had nothing to say if you had declared a fast for anything wrong that the Ministry did.

All this is wide of the mark. Don't you see, this now gives me the right to fast against the Muslims, too. My fast is intended to serve both the communities. The moment the Hindus realize that they cannot keep me alive on any other terms, peace will return to Calcutta.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 199-200.
[3] An hour's animated discussion without interruption had started telling upon Gandhiji which P. C. Ghosh had not failed to notice.

CWMG - LXXXIX

Your fast weighs down on us more than anything else. How can we effectively set to work under the heavy weight of your fast?

It is a wrong way of looking at the thing. My fast is intended to strengthen your hands and to spur everybody to greater activity. You will be done for if you regard it as an oppression.

H. S. Suhrawardy, intervening, said: Already Hindus and Muslims are feeling the pressure. Let us call their representatives together and confer with them at the earliest opportunity.

Dr. Ghosh replied that he had already invited the representatives of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to meet him the next day. He asked: "Should it be here or at my residence?"

"Not here but at the Chief Minister's residence," suggested Suhrawardy. Gandhiji supported Suhrawardy's suggestion. A preliminary conference should be held at the Chief Minister's residence. Afterwards all or a few out of them could come to him, if necessary.

That was also the procedure followed at the time of my twenty-one days' fast at Delhi in 1924.[1]

Dr. Ghosh told Gandhiji of the stringent action his Ministry had already taken in regard to the Press. Any paper indulging in inflammatory propaganda would summarily be suspended.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 414-5

170. DISCUSSION WITH SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

September 2, 1947

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was the next to come. He was accompanied by some other Hindu Mahasabha leaders. Before he could say anything, Gandhiji made solicitous inquiries about his health. This concern for him, by one who was himself fasting, touched Dr. Mookerjee deeply.

DR. MOOKERJEE: The general feeling here now is in favour of peace. But there is danger of a delayed repercussion in East Bengal. The news from Dacca is disturbing. There may be a flare-up there any moment.

GANDHIJI: It is inevitable if the situation here does not improve immediately.

DR. MOOKERJEE: From tomorrow Hindustan National Guards (of Hindu Mahasabha) will be patrolling the streets along with the Muslim National Guards.

SUHRAWARDY: The bulletins about Gandhiji's health ought to be more widely publicized. His fast must be terminated within two days.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXV, pp. 209-10.

I will break my fast when Dr. Mookerjee reports that all is quiet in Calcutta—not before that.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 415

171. TALK WITH DINSHAW MEHTA

September 3, 1947

On the 3rd September, the second day of the fast, when Dr. Dinshaw Mehta saw him in the morning, Gandhiji reported that he had had a very peaceful night both physically and mentally.

GANDHIJI: I am not at all anxious to terminate my fast. At this rate though the body might become weaker and weaker I feel I could go on even for one month.

DR. MEHTA (misunderstanding Gandhiji's meaning): Yes, if you can take that much amount of water there will be no difficulty.

What I meant to say was that I have a feeling of the presence of God within me this time as never before....If Ramanama has fully penetrated my heart, I am sure, I shall not need to drink even water to survive.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 416

172. NOTE TO ANGSHU RANI MITRA[1]

September 3, 1947

Pyarelal has just given me the news that your husband who was mortally stabbed in the course of protecting others has succumbed to his wounds today.[2] Do not let this be an occasion for sorrow but only for joy. Sachin has become immortal. You must not grieve but lose yourself in service in emulation of him.[3]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 417

[1] The Hindi original of this is not available.

[2] Sachin Mitra, who was working with Thakkar Bapa in Noakhali, was wounded on September 1 while proceeding towards Noakhoda mosque which was supposed to be a danger spot.

[3] A group of ladies, who called on Gandhiji, wanted the body of Sachin Mitra to be taken out in a procession. Gandhiji deprecated the idea, saying he hated too much being made of the physical body and added, "If anybody tried to take out my body in a procession after I died, I would certainly tell them—if my corpse could speak—to spare me and cremate me where 'I had died.'

CWMG - LXXXIX

173. DISCUSSION WITH HINDU-MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES[1]

September 3, 1947

One of the Muslims, a prominent member of the Bengal Muslim League, with tears in his eyes entreated Gandhiji to give up his fast. "I worked with you during the Khilafat movement. I undertake that no Muslim in this area will again disturb the peace. Your mere presence in our midst is an asset to us. It is the guarantee of our safety. Do not deprive us of it."

GANDHIJI: My presence did not check the rowdies the other day. My word seems to have lost its power so far as they are concerned. My fast will now be broken only when the conflagration ends and the glorious peace of the last fifteen days returns. If the Muslims really love me and regard me as an asset, they can demonstrate their faith by refusing to give way to the instinct of revenge and retaliation even if the whole of Calcutta goes mad. In the mean time, my ordeal must continue.

The Hindu representatives also gave a similar assurance and promised to live in peace with their Muslim neighbours. Gandhiji remarked:

The leaven has begun to work.

But it was not enough, he added. Not till the condition which he had laid down was fulfilled in letter and in spirit, he told the deputation, would he give up the fast. To give it up prematurely from a desire to live would be a denial of God. He asked the deputation, instead, to work for peace with still greater will and determination. The friends retired with heavy hearts.[2]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 418

[1] Two Hindus and two Muslim representatives met Gandhiji at 6.30 p. m.

[2] After they had left Gandhiji added: "Let the evil-doers desist from evil, not to save my life, but as a result of a true heart-change. Let all understand that a make-believe peace cannot satisfy me. I do not want a temporary lull to be followed by a worse carnage. If that happens, I shall have to go on an unconditional fast unto death."

174. INTERVIEW TO A BRITISH JOURNALIST[1]

CALCUTTA,
[Before *September 4, 1947*][2]

An English journalist came to Beliaghata the other day. It was a busy day for Gandhiji and he could spare only a few minutes. . . .

Although Gandhiji's activities ranged from wide social and political fields to the smallest and intensely personal ones, the journalist asked him, how he was able to maintain a spirit of detachment in such a surprising manner. Gandhiji replied that it was not true that he was never off his balance. Such occasions were rare, yet the long exercise of self-restraint enabled him, through God's grace, to keep his irritation within very narrow bounds.

This led the interviewer on to a more fundamental question. From a reading of Gandhiji's writings, the friend had gathered that the root of all of Gandhiji's activities was the desire for *moksha*, emancipation. But why was not this aspect emphasized sufficiently?

Gandhiji replied by taking recourse to a simile. He said the desire for *moksha* was indeed there, but it was not meant for anyone other than the individual himself. The world was interested in the fruits, not the root. For the tree itself, however, the chief concern should be not the fruit, but the root. It was in the depth of one's own being that the individual had to concentrate. He had to nurse it with the water of his labour and suffering. The root was his chief concern. But society was concerned with the fruit alone. It had no other data for judgment than the fruits. Was not a tree judged by its fruits?

It was this practice of trying to limit himself to the root, and then not be concerned about the fruit that had given Gandhiji the apparent detachment which the English friend had noticed. But, in his personal opinion, he was yet far from the fullness of its realization. He was still a soul yearning to be wholly free, but ever failing to reach the ideal which he knew to be true. Hence, it would be enough if he could take care of the immediate task before him, whether great or small, with all the care and freedom from bias or mental worries which he could bring to bear upon it.

Harijan, 28-9-1947

[1&2] This appeared under the title "The Root and the Fruit" with the date-line "Calcutta, 4-9-1947".

175. RIGHT OR WRONG[1]

Among my correspondence there is a typical letter in Gujarati from which I give below the following summary:

> In the *Young India* of 15th September, 1927 A. D., in your Madras speech[2] reported therein, you have said that that which is opposed to true economics is not religion and that economics which is inconsistent with religion is not true and should, therefore, be denounced.
>
> I am aware that you have held the view for many years, but it has not commanded universal acceptance. Therefore, it seems to me that your devoting your time and energy to the abatement of atrocities being committed in the name of religion is not proper. Where is your constructive programme today? The National Congress has the reins of Government in the best part of India. Complete political independence is in our hands. The British power has quitted. In such a case, is it not well that you should devote your energy to the prosecution of the constructive programme and through it demonstrate to the country that religion and economics are not two opposites? . . .[3] You write nothing against the unmoral economics of India. The consequence is that credulous people have begun to believe that you are behind the present economic policy of the Congress Government. I have begun to believe that you, who are the creator of constructive programme, are now destroying it. So far as I know, there is not a single institution connected with khadi or village industries which is based on true economics and on principles of self-sufficiency.

This writer has written in a moment of excitement. Therefore, he has not been able to express the whole truth. The main fact is that communal unity is a vital part of my being. It was so when khadi and all the village industries were not even conceived by me. At the time communal unity possessed

[1] This is an adaptation from the original in Gujarati which appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-9-1947.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 450-5.

[3] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXXIX

me, I was a lad twelve years old, just a beginner in English. It was then that I had realized that all Hindus and Muslims and Parsis were sons of the same soil and, as such, were pledged to complete brotherhood. This was before 1885 when the Congress was born. Moreover it should not be forgotten that communal unity is itself an integral part of the constructive programme. For it I have run many a risk. It is my conviction that if that unity is not achieved, the constructive programme cannot make substantial progress, at least not at my hands. For I should not know how to prosecute it in the midst of communal disturbances. The logical consequence of my correspondent's argument will be that I should not have hastened to Noakhali and thence to Bihar. That is to say, the work that I know how to tackle and which I have been doing for years, I should neglect in the nick of time. Surely this is impossible for me to do. To neglect it for the sake of the other items of the constructive programme would be tantamount to neglect of immediate duty. The result would be, I would have given up what was in my hands and got nothing for the manifest breach of duty.

Those who are in charge of the Congress Government are my fellow-workers. It is possible to say that they flourished in company with me in the Congress and now occupy top places. If I have failed to convince them of the soundness and feasibility of the economics referred to by the correspondent, how should I expect to convince others? They do not feel that they would be able to carry the people of India with them in the prosecution of what may be summed up as the 'Khadi Economics' and to renovate the villages of India through village industries.

He (the correspondent) rather suggests that I should prepare Shri Jajuji[1], Shri Kumarappa[2] and such like to take the reins of Government in their hands. What hallucination is this? What right have I so to prepare people? Government of the people, by the people and for the people cannot be conducted at the bidding of one man, however great he may be. Again who are more capable or penetrating than the present holders of the reins of Government? When more capable men are found, I am sure they will give place to their betters. As far as I know them they are not place-hunters. Therefore without being told by anybody they will of their own accord give place to abler hands and feel grateful for what will amount to a relief for them.

[1] Shrikrishnadas Jaju
[2] J. C. Kumarappa

Let no one make the mistake of thinking that I can replace any one of them. I know that they would welcome me if I was ready to shoulder the burden. But I must confess that I have not unlimited capacity in me. That belongs to God, whom I love to invoke as Rama. But I am only His humble devotee. His devotees cannot claim to be He. They have got to dance to His tune.

It is worthy of note, too, that they themselves are giving the best part of their time to the very work of communal harmony, which I try to do. I in my own way, they in theirs. For they, too, believe with me that so long as this question is not satisfactorily settled and peace does not reign in India, nation-building works can make little or no progress.

Finally those who think like my correspondent should realize that the constructive programme, to be of any use, has to be reduced to practice by the millions of India. For that purpose we need thousands of workers. It is of little consequence that it was conceived by one brain. It has been before the country for years. The All-India Spinners' Association, the Village Industries Association, the Goseva Sangh, the Talimi Sangh, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the Adivasi Seva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and such others which might have escaped my memory, came into being for that very purpose and are still working according to their capacity. All of them have realized the necessity and beauty of the relation between religion and economics. Whilst I am doing communal work, my interest in other constructive activities has not flagged. Whenever I can, I take part in their deliberations too. More should not be expected of me. I dare not leave the work in hand, being tempted to run after another, probably better. Hence the warning that the correspondent has given me should really be taken to heart by himself and by those who think alike and they should whole-heartedly devote themselves to the service of the nation in which they may be engaged.

I have repeated times without number that for national work it is not necessary that national workers should have political power. But it is necessary for the people to keep in constant touch with those whom they put in power. These can easily be counted. They are too few. But if the people were to realize their power and use it wisely and well, things would right themselves. Our independence is a new-born baby eighteen days old. It is inconceivable that things would of themselves be arranged harmoniously. Moreover those who have been placed

in power are themselves new to this vast administrative work. They are assiduously adapting themselves to it.

CALCUTTA, September 4, 1947
Harijan, 14-9-1947

176. LETTER TO KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN[1]

September 4, 1947

This will be presented to you by Pyarelal.... You may know that Satis Babu and some inmates of Khadi Pratishthan together with the helpers, whom I brought with me from Delhi, were posted in Noakhali to help the terror-struck and demoralized Hindus and, if possible, to prevent them from running away from Noakhali.... In doing so, I felt that I was serving the Muslims, too, of Noakhali, though they stood in no need of help from me. But on reaching there I found that I could be of some help to them also. I had announced that I would do or die in Noakhali in the sense that I would prefer to die there unless through what I could do the two communities should become friends. Meantime, there came a call from Bihar ... and I hurried to Bihar, this time to help the Muslims of whom large numbers had already fled to Bengal, Sind and other Muslim-majority parts. Since then I have not been able to return to Noakhali. When at last I came to Calcutta on the 9th ultimo, I found myself caught by Shaheed Saheb and here I am. The sequel you know.

I am dictating this letter from my bed. Everybody consoles me by saying that the first fifteen days of peace will soon return. If so, I may be able to break my fast early enough to enable me to resume my work forthwith. I have an urgent call from both parts of the Punjab, which have gone, in my opinion, utterly mad. Meanwhile, I would like you to tell me all about Noakhali. Pyarelal will tell you all about it from my point of view.... I know that you have become Premier of East Bengal[2] at a most critical period. May God help you.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 425-6

[1] Omissions in the letter are as in the source.
[2] On July 3, 1947, consequent upon the partition of Bengal

177. TALK WITH DR. SUNIL BOSE[1]

September 4, 1947

Gandhiji told him he could not exclude relevant talk. Such necessary loss of energy was inevitable. He was certainly desirous of living, but not at the cost of work that duty demanded. He said:

I can't interrupt the work which has made me fast and which makes me live. If my life ebbs away in the process, I would feel happy.

Harijan, 14-9-1947

178. DISCUSSION WITH FRIENDS[2]

September 4, 1947

The present occasion was not one in which there was scope for a sympathetic fast. Hindus and Muslims had fought for one whole year, at the end of which the major parties had agreed that India should be divided into two States. Both had Hindu and Muslim subjects. It was now time for everyone to create the sense of common citizenship, to rebuild the land so that men might taste the fruits of freedom. To this end all should work. Gandhiji said that if the friends had come to him only for the sake of saving his life, it was nothing.

Referring to the Poona Fast which ended with the desired amendment of the Communal Award[3], [Gandhiji said that] it was suggested by some that though the amendment was not to their desire, they accepted it for the sake of saving his life. This was a wholly wrong approach. Such fasts were intended to stir the conscience and remove mental sluggishness. Truth could not be sacrificed even for the sake of saving a life, however precious it was. Gandhiji, therefore, warned the present company that they should create real Hindu-Muslim

[1] Brother of Subhas Chandra Bose. He met Gandhiji at 11.30 a.m. "with a request that he must take plenty of rest and not talk at all."

[2] Shortly after the talk with Dr. Sunil Bose twenty-seven friends belonging to Central Calcutta promised Gandhiji that "there would be no more incidents". They tried to persuade him to "break his fast now, otherwise all of them were prepared to go on a sympathetic fast". This is a summary of a long argument extracted from the article "The Fast" by N. K. Bose.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LI.

unity by educating the people in a sense of common citizenship of the State, where every single man enjoyed perfect equality of rights which flowed from duty performed. If they worked with this aim in view, and succeeded after a few days' effort in making the Muslims in Calcutta feel safe where they now did not, it would be time for him to break the fast. Gandhiji was clearly of opinion that although his work was now confined to Calcutta, yet his one aim with respect to the Hindu-Muslim question was that the solution would be complete only when the minority, whether in the Indian Union or in Pakistan felt perfectly safe even if they were in the minority of one. There would be no favoured and no depressed community anywhere. All should forget their religious affiliations. He was working to this end. He was working in such a manner that the majority community in each State should go forward and create the necessary conditions for freedom.

Someone asked him: Was it possible that his fast would have any effect on the anti-social elements in society? Today, i. e., during the present recrudescence, it was this element which had gained the upper hand. Could their hearts be converted by Gandhiji's crucifixion?

Gandhiji's answer was very clear and emphatic. He said that goondas were there because we had made them so. During the past one year of anarchy, it was understandable how these elements in society had gained respectability. But the war between Pakistanis and those for Undivided India had ended. It was time for peace-loving citizens to assert themselves and isolate goondaism. Non-violent non-co-operation was a universal remedy. Good was self-existent, evil was not. It was like a parasite living on and round good. It would die of itself when the support that good gave was withdrawn. The hearts of the anti-social elements may or may not be changed; it would be enough if they were made to feel that the better elements of society were asserting themselves in the interest of peace and in the interest of normality.

To the interviewers from Central Calcutta Gandhiji's advice, therefore, was that they should desist from a sympathetic fast, go forth among the oppressed in each quarter, assure them that they were safe and rebuild life so that safety would be a permanent feature of the new State of India. He would personally have loved to move about from quarter to quarter in Calcutta in order to place his views before the various bodies, but his physical condition would not permit it. If others worked, how could he rest? Yet he was bound to make his contribution. He felt that it should be in the shape of a fast.

Harijan, 14-9-1947

179. DISCUSSION WITH A DEPUTATION[1]

September 4, 1947

Gandhiji told them that he would break his fast only when they could assure him that there would never again be recrudescence of communal madness in the city even though the whole of West Bengal and, for that matter, India, might go forth into a blaze, and the Muslims themselves would come and tell him that they now felt safe and secure and, therefore, he need not further prolong his fast.[2] He did not expect, he proceeded to explain, to be able to control all the goondas in the city, though he would love to, as he had not the requisite degree of purity, detachment and steadfastness of mind. But if he could not even make them purge themselves of the communal virus, he would feel that life was not worth living and he would not care to prolong it. They had referred to the oppression of his fast. He could not understand that. Why should they have a feeling of oppression if what they had told him came right from their hearts? If a single step was taken under pressure of the fast, not from conviction, it would cause oppression; but there should be no oppression if there was complete co-operation between the head and the heart.

The function of my fast is to purify, to release our energies by overcoming our inertia and mental sluggishness, not to paralyse us or to render us inactive. My fast isolates the forces of evil; the moment they are isolated they die, for evil by itself has no legs to stand upon. I expect you therefore to work with even greater vigour under the instigation of my fast, not to feel its oppression.

Harijan, 14-9-1947

[1] A group of about fifty people, reported to be controlling the turbulent elements in Calcutta, met Gandhiji and told him that the ring-leaders would all surrender themselves to him and take whatever punishment might be meted out to them. Would not Gandhiji on the strength of that assurance now break his fast? If not, what was his condition, they asked.

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

180. ADVICE TO DEMONSTRATORS[1]

September 4, 1947

My penalty for you is that you should go immediately among the Muslims and assure them full protection. The moment I am convinced that real change of heart has taken place, I will give up the fast. Let me tell you I am as anxious to end the fast as you, as I want to proceed to the Punjab at the earliest. That is what is sustaining me in my ordeal. But if you do not now hurry up it may be too late. I cannot last for many more days.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 421

181. DISCUSSION WITH CITIZENS' DEPUTATION[2]

CALCUTTA,
September 4, 1947

The deputation told Gandhiji that they had been to all the affected parts of the city and there was quiet everywhere. They would hold themselves responsible for anything untoward that might happen thereafter. They had every reason to hope that there would be no recrudescence of trouble which they maintained was "really not communal" but "the work of the goondas". They requested him to terminate his fast.

After some reflection Gandhiji spoke. He deprecated the suggestion that the outbreak of violence was not communal in character but really the work of the goondas.

It is we who make the goondas and we alone can unmake them. Goondas never act on their own. By themselves they cannot function.

[1] Some of the callers in the afternoon included those who had led the disturbances in Gandhiji's camp on September 1. They surrendered themselves before Gandhiji and their leader made a confession and said, "I and the whole party under me will gladly submit to whatever penalty you may impose; only you should now end your fast."

[2] A deputation of prominent citizens representing various communities met Gandhiji at 6 p. m. Present among others were H. S. Suhrawardy, N. C. Chatterjee, Niranjan Singh Talib, C. Rajagopalachari, J. B. Kripalani and Dr. P. C. Ghosh.

It was the cowardice or passive sympathy of the average citizen or "the man with a stake" that gave the so-called goondas the power to do mischief.

My fast should make you more vigilant, more truthful, more careful, more precise in the language you use. You have all come here out of affection for me to ask me to give up my fast. The ringleaders also have been to see me and have apologized for what they have done.[1] But before I can accede to your request, I want to ask you two questions: (1) Can you in all sincerity assure me that there never will be repetition of trouble in Calcutta? Can you say that there is a genuine change of heart among the citizens so that they will no longer tolerate, much less foster, communal frenzy? If you cannot give that guarantee, you should rather let me continue this fast. It won't hurt me. When a man fasts like this, it is not the gallons of water he drinks that sustains him but God; and (2) if trouble breaks out—since you are not omnipotent or even omniscient—would you give me your word of honour that you would not live to report failure but lay down your life in the attempt to protect those whose safety you are pledging? You should remember, too, that if you break your pledge after giving it to me, you will have to face an unconditional fast unto death on my part. I do not wish to live in a fool's paradise. If you deceive me, if you say one thing and mean another in your heart, my death will be upon your heads. I want a clear and straight answer. Your assurance must be in writing.

SUHRAWARDY: You had said that you would break the fast when Calcutta returned to sanity. That condition has already been fulfilled. In asking us to give a guarantee for the future, are you not imposing a fresh condition?

Characterizing Shaheed's argument as "legalistic", Gandhiji replied that no fresh condition was being imposed. All that was implied in the original terms of the fast.

What I have spoken now is only a home truth to make you know what is what. If there is complete accord between your conviction and feeling, there should be no difficulty in signing that declaration. It is the acid test of your sincerity and courage of conviction. If you sign it merely to keep me alive, you will really be compassing my certain death.

SUHRAWARDY: In such a big city, things may happen in spite of our best efforts. Surely, you cannot fast for any stray incident that may happen.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

Gandhiji explained to Shaheed that he had missed his point. He did not mean that Calcutta would become completely free from all crime for good. All he meant was that even if madness should seize the whole country, Calcutta would not lose its head.[1]

SUHRAWARDY: Now that even the Muslims have joined in the appeal, won't you break your fast? This shows that they have fully accepted your peace mission although they are the aggrieved party in the present riots. It is all the more strange because at one time they looked upon you as their arch enemy. But their hearts have been so touched by the services you have rendered them that today they acclaim you as their friend and helper.

RAJAJI: If I may vary the language, I would say that he is safer today in the hands of the Muslims than in those of the Hindus.

G. Do not think of Muslims as the aggrieved party. The essence of our present peace mission is that we are to forget the past. I do not want the Muslims to feel that in West Bengal they are the underdog. Unless we can forget the distinction, we will not have done solid work.[2]

S. But, Sir, is it any good my signing this document? I may any time be called to Pakistan and then what happens to my pledge?

G. You must in that event have confidence that those whom you leave behind will deliver the goods. Moreover, you can come back.

S. I have no desire to hoodwink you and I never will do so deliberately.

[1] The discussion was interrupted here, when C. Rajagopalachari and J. B. Kripalani proposed that they might confer among themselves leaving Gandhiji for a while. Just then they received an appeal signed by Hindu and Muslim representatives of the "worst affected" localities. The signatories had promised "not to allow any untoward incident" and begged Gandhiji to break his fast. When Suhrawardy read out the appeal and remarked that their effort had not been in vain, Gandhiji replied, "Yes, the leaven is at work." What follows is extracted from Pyarelal's report in *Harijan*.

[2] The members of the deputation then retired to the next room and soon returned after preparing a pledge, as dictated by Rajagopalachari. According to *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-9-1947, the document read: "We the undersigned promise Gandhiji that now that peace and quiet have been restored in Calcutta once again, we shall never again allow communal strife in the city and shall strive unto death to prevent it." The following were its signatories: Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Sarat Chandra Bose, H. S. Suhrawardy, Niranjan Singh Talib, N. C. Chatterjee, Debendranath Mukerjee, President and Secretary of Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and Radha Kisan Jaidka, Punjab leader.

G. Well, I will break this fast now and leave for the Punjab tomorrow. I shall now go there with far greater strength and confidence than I could have three days ago.

S. You cannot leave tomorrow. Your presence is necessary here at least for a couple of days yet to consolidate the peace.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 421-2; also *Harijan*, 14-9-1947

182. SPEECH BEFORE BREAKING OF FAST

CALCUTTA,
September 4, 1947

I would like to tell you something before breaking the fast. I am breaking this fast so that I might be able to do something for the Punjab. I am doing so at your assurance and not for any other reason. It would indeed be very unfortunate if anything happened to make me regret my step. I would like to live—as people tell me—to serve all the more. I have the will power to live and would like to live but I do not want to be deceived in order to live. I expect that the Hindus and Muslims here will not force me to undertake a fast again. On the first day Rajaji had asked me whether I had undertaken the fast hoping for something to happen. I told him that people would not let me prolong the fast. It lasted for three days, it could have for thirty.

Still I would like to warn you that you should not be lulled into complacence after I break my fast. What happens here is bound to have its effect in the Punjab and Noakhali. If something happens here how can I control the rowdy Muslims in Noakhali? Calcutta today holds the key to the peace of the whole of India. If you want to achieve great things, you must work for them. Even if the whole world went up in a blaze, Calcutta should remain untouched by the flames. May God grant wisdom to everyone. These girls have just now sung *Ishwar Allah tere nam, sabko sanmati de Bhagwan*. And, of course, above all, there is God, our witness.[1]

[From Hindi]

Calcuttano Chamatkar, pp. 89-90

[1] After a short prayer, Gandhiji broke the fast at 9.15 p. m. with a glass of diluted orange-juice.

183. MESSAGE TO UNESCO CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION[1]

[Before *September 5, 1947*][2]

I am deeply interested in the efforts of the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization to secure peace through educational and cultural activities. I fully appreciate that real security and lasting peace cannot be secured so long as extreme inequalities in education and culture exist as they do among the nations of the world. Light must be carried even to the remotest homes in the less fortunate countries which are in comparative darkness, and I think that in this cause the nations which are economically and educationally advanced have a special responsibility. I wish your Conference every success, and I hope that you will be able to produce a workable plan for providing the right type of education particularly in countries in which opportunities for education are restricted owing to economic and other circumstances.

Harijan, 16-11-1947

184. APPEAL TO FRIENDS

[Before *September 5, 1947*]

Gandhiji has been receiving letters and telegrams from friends asking for permission to come to Calcutta to help in any matter. Gandhiji would warn friends against rushing to Calcutta. Any such arrival would complicate matters. He has efficient nursing and other necessary attendants. He, therefore, requires no extra help for his bodily assistance.

Accommodation in his new residence is strictly limited as it is all over Calcutta. Food is rationed. In this condition of scarcity Gandhiji is of opinion that those friends including Ashram members, who are naturally anxious to be near him should understand him and respect his wish that they should restrain themselves against their natural desire. They will help him

[1] Held at Nanking. The message was received at the Conference with great ovation and the entire audience stood up while it was being read out.

[2] The Conference acknowledged receipt of the message on September 5, 1947.

on the contrary by strict adherence to their duty in which they are at present engaged.

Gandhiji wishes to add that he is perfectly at peace and ease and has fullest trust in God's succour.

The Hindustan Standard, 5-9-1947

185. ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN[1]

September 5, 1947

Act as peace squads without arms.[2]

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5-9-1947

186. MESSAGE TO SHANTI SENA DAL[3]

September 5, 1947

My life is my message.

GANDHI

The Hindustan Standard, 7-9-1947

[1] There was a stream of young men in the morning who brought some country-made arms and surrendered them to Gandhiji. Dr. Dinshaw Mehta showed the arms to Gandhiji who smilingly said: "I see some of them for the first time in my life. I saw one sten-gun for the first time only last night."

[2] The young men promised that they would never do anything which might break the peace of Calcutta.

[3] Written in Bengali this was given to Devtosh Das Gupta, Secretary, Shanti Sena Dal, who called on Gandhiji. Blessing the "soldiers of peace" Gandhiji said that they should courageously face any odds that might come in their way.

CWMG - LXXIX

187. LETTER TO SHYAMA PRASAD BANDOPADHYAYA

CALCUTTA,
September 6, 1947

BROTHER SHYAMA PRASAD BANDOPADHYAYA,

I congratulate you on the heroic death of Smritish[1] as he went to save the Muslim brothers with his friends. I don't grieve over such a death. I hope you and others also do not grieve over it. I wish we have thousands of Smritishes[2] amongst us.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 6567

188. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

CALCUTTA,
September 6, 1947

Gandhiji, referring to the Deputy Mayor's speech, said that the word farewell was misapplied. He had made his home in Calcutta among the Muslim friends in Beliaghata and not in Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur, which was his permanent home. He would not even allow Hemprobha Devi and her co-workers to come to his new abode for looking after him. He said that he would be satisfied with what Muslim friends gave him in the shape of service. He had made no mistake. He was accustomed to living comfortably in Muslim homes in South Africa.

He then referred to the martyrdom of Sachin Mittra[3] and Smritish Banerjee. He was not sorry. Such innocent deaths were necessary to keep the two communities together. Let them not make the mistake that such martyrs were to be found among Hindus only. He could cite several instances of Muslims who had lost their lives in the act of protecting Hindus. He had had similar personal experiences in life. There was evil and good among all communities and climes. That brought him to Shaheed Saheb

[1] & [2] The source has "Shrinish", apparently a slip. Smritish Bannerjee was killed on September 3 while trying to protect a peace procession of school-boys and girls.

[3] *Vide* p. 141.

about whom he had many Hindus coming to him, and many letters from them to the effect that he was a fool to have accepted Shaheed Saheb as his associate in the task. He must say that he was no fool. He knew what he was doing. He had nothing to do with what Shaheed Saheb had done in the past. But he (Gandhiji) was there to testify that he (Shaheed Saheb) had given his full co-operation all the precious days they were together. He was free to confess that without his valuable help they would not have found him (Gandhiji) working in their midst. It was an insult to intelligence to think that there could be any base motive behind the work into which he had thrown himself with his whole heart. He had a palatial house and a brother whom he regarded as superior to him in talent. He had another whom Gandhiji had had the pleasure of knowing in London at the Round Table Conference and who was Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University. His uncle Sir Abdulla was the author of the *Sayings of the Prophet*. If they distrusted the motives, they would be vastly mistaken. Neither they nor anybody else had any right to question a man's motives. The speaker said that he would not like his motives to be judged by his actions. That was the only right way to get on with people. They should know that he had been condemned as enemy No. 1 of Islam and that in spite of his protestations to the contrary. Would the audience, therefore, like the Muslims never to accept his actions at their worth?

Lastly let them consider the awful consequence of such distrust. It might ruin the present unity and thus jeopardize what probably was the only chance of saving the Punjab from fratricidal strife.

He then referred to the Shanti Sena and other organizations which were doing strenuous work to preserve peace. Women had come forward to do their bit. The students had excelled themselves in their devotion to the cause of communal amity. Some young men had brought their unlicensed arms including sten-guns, hand-grenades and other less destructive weapons. He thanked them for their courage in bringing them to him. He hoped that the good example would be copied by all possessors, Hindus and Muslims, of unlicensed arms. It would be a proof of mutual trust and trust in God. He was assured by the Chief Minister that those who delivered up such arms within a given date (the shorter the better) would be thanked for their open help in the work of peace and that no punishment would be inflicted on them, now or hereafter, for what was undoubtedly an offence. He asked, therefore, all such possessors to deliver these to the authorities or to their friends, to be delivered to the authorities.

He congratulated the Corporation staff which the Deputy Mayor told him, had worked the whole night for completing the arrangements for the meeting which was so well attended in spite of the rains.

Last of all, he told them that by breaking the fast only after one day's absence of strife, on the strength of the pressure of friends drawn from all

communities in Calcutta and outside, he threw the burden on them of preservation of peace at the cost of their lives.[1] Let them not be guilty of having, though unwittingly, brought about his death by the abrupt end of the fast. He could have, as they might have, waited for some days to enable him to gauge the situation for himself, but he could not properly do so in the face of the earnestness of friends, say like Shri N. C. Chatterjee, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Shaheed Saheb and others too numerous to mention, but he threw all the greater weight on the shoulders of all Calcutta citizens and sojourners. What they wanted was not peace imposed by the Government forces but by themselves. If, unfortunately it was broken, there would be no alternative but a fast unto death. He could not, like a child, play with them and each time say, he was going to break his fast if they resumed sanity. He made that solemn declaration for Bihar, then for Noakhali and now for Calcutta. As his life was made, he had no other alternative. If God willed that he should still do some service, He would bless all with wisdom to do the right thing in the matter. Consider the consequence of Calcutta remaining sane. It must mean the automatic sanity of all Bengal, East and West. It meant also Bihar and consequently the Punjab where God was sending him, and if the Punjab came to its senses, the rest of India was bound to follow. So may God help them all.

Harijan, 21-9-1947

189. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[On or before *September 7, 1947*][2]

PANDIT NEHRU
NEW DELHI

GOD WILLING LEAVING FOR DELHI WAY PUNJAB. INFORM SARDAR BIRLA[3] BRIJKRISHNA[4].

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, between pp. 152 and 153

[1] *Vide* pp. 151-4.
[2] Gandhiji left Calcutta for Delhi on September 7.
[3] G. D. Birla
[4] Brijkrishna Chandiwala

190. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

September [*7*],[1] *1947*

CHI. MANI,

I am leaving for Delhi today. Hence this short letter. Your objections do not hold water. I simply have to go to Delhi when pressed so hard. Sardar and Jawahar will decide what I should do next. They may put me up where they like. Not that I have boycotted Birla House, but I would prefer to stay at the Bhangi Colony despite the many inconveniences. And Sardar's honour also lies in letting me stay there. Never mind if no one can come to me at night.

Train: Delhi Express.

Inform Brijkrishna.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 143

191. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

[*September 7, 1947*][2]

CHI. DEV,

Show the enclosed to Ansari Saheb and to the Secretary of the Congress Committee.

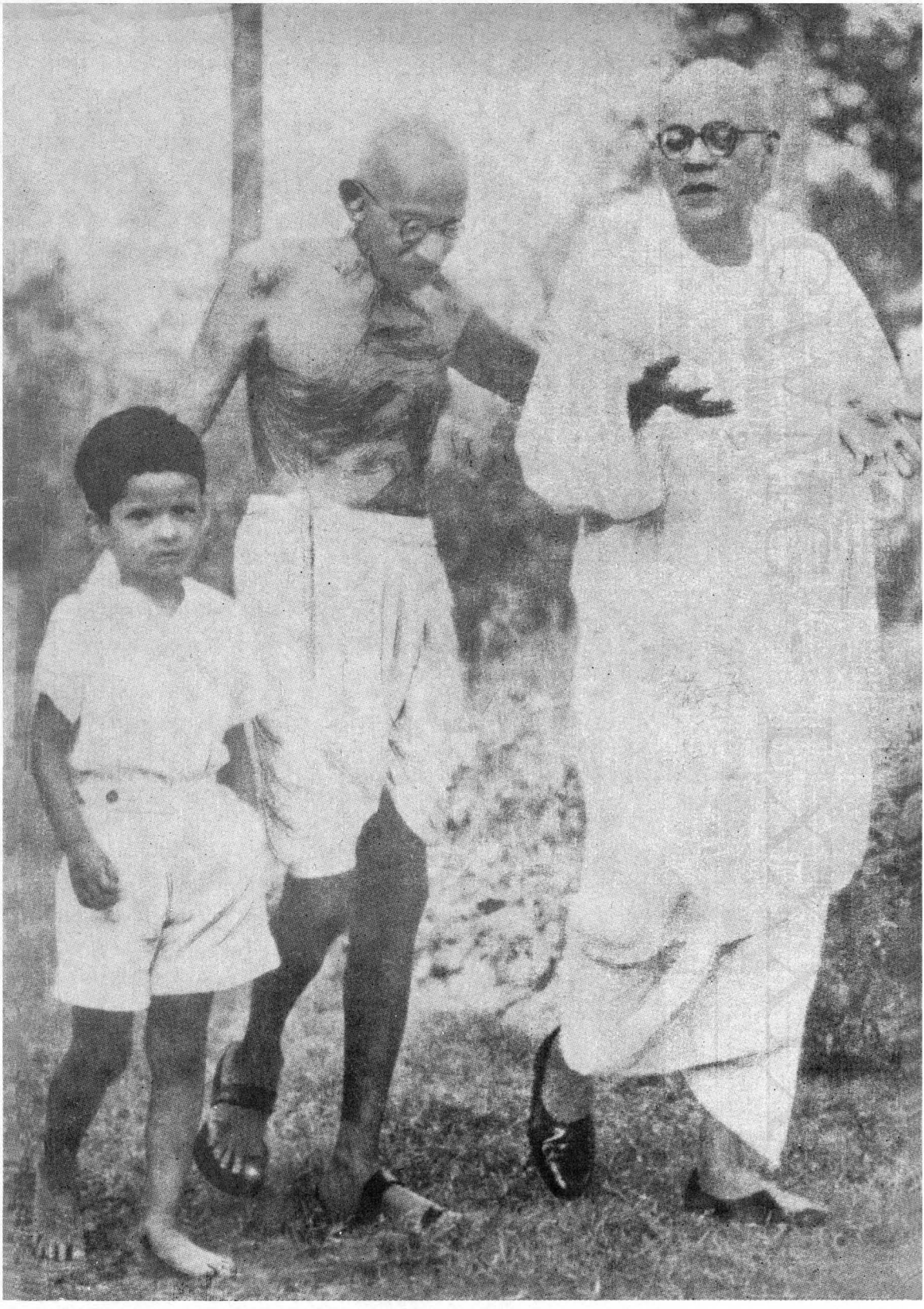
The statement of Usman Saheb is also enclosed; read it. Enquire into the extent of its veracity and do the proper thing.

The letter from Usman Saheb too must be shown to the Ministers. And the outcome must be conveyed to Usman Saheb in Urdu. His address is given in the statement. He is an ex-Mayor and the secretary of the [Muslim] League.

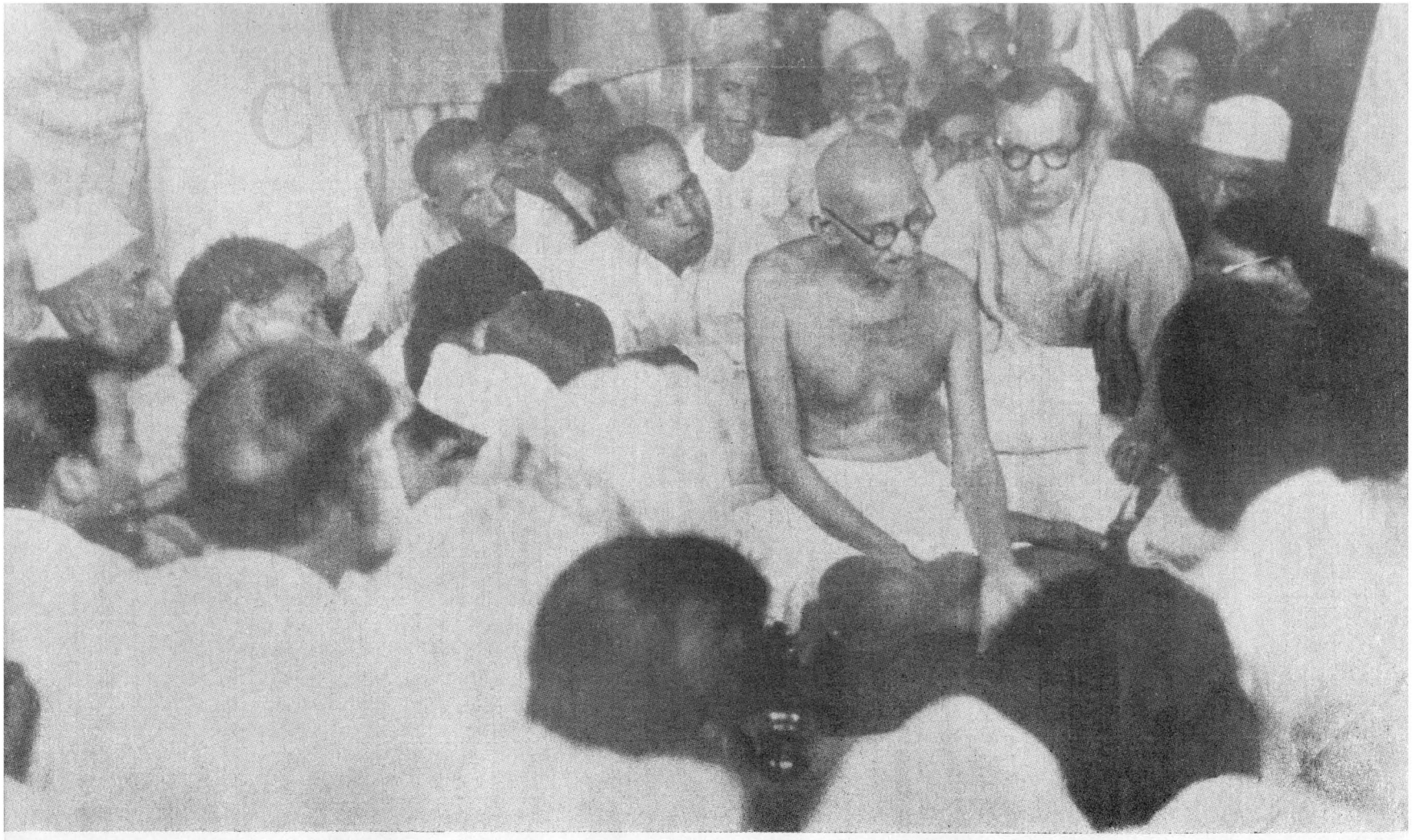
Murli Babu's complaints keep pouring in. He is writing inciting articles. One of them is lying somewhere with me. I

[1] The source has "8", obviously a slip as Gandhiji left Calcutta for Delhi on September 7.

[2] The date is inferred from the reference to "going to Delhi on way to the Punjab".



WITH SARAT CHANDRA BOSE



WITH ASAF ALI AND OTHERS

shall enclose it if it is found. You can read out this portion to Murli Babu.

Enclosed is your article on Nayee Talim. I have a typed copy which will go for the next week. I have yet to read it.

Just now I am going to Delhi on way to the Punjab. I may have to spend a month there. Later in Bihar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

192. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

CALCUTTA,
September 7, 1947

Gandhiji said within the last few days the Shanti Sena had done excellent work and there appeared to be a need for them in Calcutta. He was going away but would be watching the situation. Those who belonged to the Shanti Sena must be prepared to sacrifice themselves in the interest of peace. If they really counted themselves as members of that organization they should come in between warring factions and stop the fight even to the extent of losing their lives. They were fighting not with swords but with love.

Soldiers who go to war, Gandhiji continued, die and those who remain alive are acclaimed as heroes. Mahatma Gandhi said it was really those who died that kept others alive and they were the real heroes. Some members of the Shanti Sena had sacrificed their lives in the cause of peace. They were the real heroes and peace had been restored on account of their sacrifice. Gandhiji wished to see whether this peace was going to be permanent —whether it was founded on true friendship and love.

There was another work before them and that was to bring back those to their homes who had been driven away or whose homes had been looted or destroyed. They had got to provide shelter for them as well as food till they were able to stand on their own legs. The Central Peace Committee had taken up this work and a Finance Committee had been formed to raise funds for the purpose. The work had to be done as soon as possible. They were not to see whether other people were doing the same thing elsewhere. Gandhiji did not wish to hear any Hindu saying

[1] The meeting was held in the compound of Gandhiji's Beliaghata residence. The speech was translated into Bengali by H. S. Suhrawardy.

that he should first see what Muslims were doing to rehabilitate the Hindus and *vice versa*.

Mahatma Gandhi concluded by saying that each one should start to be good irrespective of what anyone else was doing; and the goodness of one would be reflected in another.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 8-9-1947

193. SPEECH AT GOBRA LEPROSY HOSPITAL[1]

CALCUTTA,
[*September 7, 1947*][2]

Gandhiji visited the Leprosy Hospital this evening before leaving Calcutta. Addressing the patients and the staff he said that the he considered it wrong that leprosy should carry more stigma than any other infectious disease. Real stigma in his opinion attached to moral ailments rather than to physical ones. Drunkards, gamblers and those who suffered from such other ailments of society deserved far more abhorrence than a disease like leprosy. He advised them to take refuge in God. He alone was the Healer of all ailments—physical, mental or moral.[3]

The members of the asylum had no occasion whatsoever to feel dejected. The fact that moral lepers were worse than the physical ones was surely a matter of some consolation to them. The real consolation lay in their utter reliance on God. Then they would not feel the want of games and other aids to whiling away time. This however did not mean that society did not owe a great duty to the lepers in its midst who after all were the outward symbol of society's many blemishes which being general were not noticed. He thought that the abhorrence which was shown towards lepers was a superstition born of ignorance. This he had learnt during his visits to most of the leper asylums of India.

From a photostat: C. W. 10576. Courtesy: N. K. Bose

[1] & [2] After the prayer meeting Gandhiji along with Sushila Nayyar, H. S. Suhrawardy and N. K. Bose proceeded to Gobra Leper Hospital.

[3] The report up to this in Sushila Nayyar's handwriting, was corrected by Gandhiji.

CWMG-LXXXIX

194. A NOTE

[After *September 7, 1947*][1]

A gentleman from Phulwari Sharif came to see me yesterday. He stated that the returning Muslims are being threatened by Hindus there who do not allow them to cultivate their fields. Sikhs come from outside and say all sorts of things. If this is correct, do enquire into the matter; and people must be prevented from behaving thus. You may publish this note, if necessary, to do so. A fake picture of a naked woman is being distributed. It is very bad if it is a fact.

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

195. TASK BEFORE MINISTERS[2]

I have before me quite a number of letters fiercely criticizing what they consider to be their luxurious life. They accuse them too of favouritism, even nepotism. I know that much criticism comes from ignorance. Ministers should not be sensitive. They should take in good part even carping criticism. They would be surprised if I were to send them the letters I receive; probably, they receive worse. Be that as it may, the moral I draw from them is that the critics expect much more from these chosen servants of the people than from others in the way of simplicity, courage, honesty and industry. In this matter we cannot imitate the English rulers of the past, except perhaps in industry and discipline. The whole purpose of this note will be served if on the one hand the ministers profit by valid criticism and the critics learn to be sober and precise about their facts. Inaccuracy or exaggeration spoils a good case.

On the Train to Delhi, September 8, 1947

Harijan, 21-9-1947

[1] This is written on the reverse side of a letter dated September 7, 1947.
[2] This appeared under "Notes".

196. BIHAR FOR BIHARIS AND INDIA

Bihar is undoubtedly for Biharis but it is also for India. What is true of Bihar is equally true of all the provinces in the Union. No Indian can be treated as a foreigner in Bihar as he may be treated in Pakistan of today and *vice versa.* It is necessary to bear this difference in mind if we are to avoid difficulties and heart-burn[ing].

Though then every Indian of the Union has a right to settle in Bihar, he must not do so to oust the Biharis. If the qualification was not actively operated, it is possible to conceive such an inrush of non-Bihari Indians as to flood out the Biharis. We are thus forced to the conclusion that a non-Bihari who settles in Bihar must do so to serve Bihar, not to exploit it after the manner of our old masters.

This way of examining the proposition brings us to the question of the zamindars and the ryots. When a non-Bihari enters Bihar for the sake of making money, he will in all probability do so to exploit the ryot in league with the zamindars. If the zamindars really became the trustees of their zamindari for the sake of the ryots, there never could be an unholy league as has been here conceived. There is the difficult zamindari question awaiting solution in Bihar. What one would love to see is proper impartial and satisfactory understanding between the zamindars, big and small, the ryots and the Government, so that when the law is passed it may not be a dead letter nor need force be used against the zamindars or the ryots. Would that all changes, some of which must be radical, took place throughout India without bloodshed and without force! So much for the newcomer from the other provinces of India.

What about the services? It seems that if the provinces are all to make equal progress in all directions the services should be largely confined to the inhabitants of the province concerned for the sake of India as a whole. No province and no tribe or clan can be kept backward if India is to stand up erect before the world. It will never do so through its arms of which the world is sick. It must shine through its innate culture expressed in every citizen's life and in the socialism I have recently

described in these columns.[1] That means elimination of all force for the sake of popularizing one's doctrines or schemes. A thing which is truly popular rarely, if ever, requires force save that of public opinion to make itself acceptable to all. Therefore, the ugly scenes of violence by individuals witnessed in Bihar and Orissa and Assam should never have been. Popular Governments are functioning to redress any irregularity or encroachment by persons from other provinces. The provincial Governments are bound to give full protection to all the comers from outside their provinces. "Use what you consider yours so as not to injure others," is a famous maxim of equity. It is also a grand moral code of conduct. How apposite today?

Hitherto I have dealt with the question of new arrivals. What of those who were on the 15th of August in Bihar—some in Government employment and some otherwise employed? So far as I can see, they should be on the same footing as the Biharis unless they make another choice. Naturally they should not form a separate colony as if they were foreigners. "Live in Rome as the Romans do," is a sound commonsense maxim so long as it does not apply to Roman vices. The process of progressive blending must be one of rejecting the bad and absorbing the good. As a Gujarati in Bengal, I must quickly absorb all that is good in Bengal and never touch that which is bad; I must ever serve Bengal, never selfishly exploit it. The bane of our life is our exclusive provincialism, whereas my province must be co-extensive with the Indian boundary so that ultimately it extends to the boundary of the earth. Else, it perishes.

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI, September 8, 1947
Harijan, 21-9-1947

197. PROHIBITION OF INTOXICANTS[2]

This is the fittest time for this reform. There is a people's Government. Both parts of India including the Indian States are ready for the reform. All over the two parts there is a shortage of foodstuffs and clothing. Dare one think of indulging in intoxicants—drinks or drugs—when people are on the borderland of starvation and nakedness? The money spent on wines and opiates is not only a waste, but it adds to it loss of self-

[1] Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 282-3 and 324-5.
[2] The Gujarati original appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 14-9-1947.

control. One labouring under the influence of intoxicants will do things which he will never do in a sober state. Thus from every point of view prohibition is a vital necessity.

We cannot eradicate the evil merely by passing laws. The addict will manage to satisfy his craving anyhow. Those carrying on the black trade will not readily give it up.

Therefore the following steps will have to be taken simultaneously in order to make a success of the reform:

1. Passing of the requisite law
2. Educating public opinion
3. Opening at the same place as grog shops refreshment-rooms selling harmless drinks and providing innocent entertainment in the form of books, newspapers, games, etc.
4. The income from the sale of intoxicants should be spent on cultivating public opinion in favour of prohibition.

It is criminal to spend the income from the sale of intoxicants on the education of the nation's children or other public services. The Government must overcome the temptation of using such revenue for nation-building purposes. Experience has shown that the moral and physical gain of the abstainer more than makes up for the loss of this tainted revenue. If we eradicate the evil, we will easily find other ways and means of increasing the nation's income.

ON THE TRAIN TO DELHI, September 8, 1947
Harijan, 21-9-1947

198. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

NEW DELHI,
September 9, 1947

'Man proposes, God disposes' has come true often enough in my lifetime as it must have done in many others'. I knew nothing about the sad state of things in Delhi when I left Calcutta on Sunday last. On reaching Delhi, I have been listening the whole day long to the tale of woe that is Delhi today. I saw several Muslim friends who recited their pathetic story. I heard enough to warn me that I must not leave Delhi for the Punjab until it had regained its former self.

I must do my little bit to calm the heated atmosphere. I must apply the old formula "Do or Die" to the capital of India. I am glad to be able to say that the residents of Delhi do not

want the senseless destruction that is going on. I am prepared to understand the anger of the refugees whom fate has driven from West Punjab. But anger is short madness. It can only make matters worse in every way. Retaliation is no remedy. It makes the original disease much worse. I, therefore, ask all those who are engaged in the senseless murders, arson and loot to stay their hands.

The Central Government, the ablest, the most courageous and the most self-sacrificing team that the Union could produce, have not been in the saddle for even a month after the declaration of Indian independence. It is criminal and suicidal not to give them a chance to set the house in order. I am fully aware of the shortage of food. Mob rule is dislocating everything making distribution of food-stuffs all but impossible. May God restore peace to distracted Delhi.

I would close with the hope that Calcutta will fulfil the promise made on my departure and which sustains me in the midst of the surrounding madness.

Harijan, 21-9-1947

199. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 10, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

When I reached Shahadara Sardar Patel, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and others were there to welcome me. But I did not find the usual smile on the Sardar's lips. Gone too was his jocular temperament. After alighting from the train I found some police personnel and others also equally sad. Has the city of Delhi which always appeared gay turned into a city of the dead? Another surprise was in store for me. Instead of the Harijan colony where it was a pleasure to stay I was taken to the palatial Birla House. I was greatly pained to know the reason for this. Even so, I was pleased to stay in a house where I had often come and stayed on earlier occasions. Whether I stay with the Valmiki friends in the Harijan colony or at the Birla House, I am a guest of the Birla brothers. Even if I am in the Harijan colony their men look after me with total

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani for 35 minutes. The speech was recorded and relayed by All India Radio at 10 p. m. the same day.

devotion. It is not the Sardar who is responsible for this. He can never be so weak as to be concerned about my safety in the Bhangi Colony. I am always very happy to be in the midst of the Harijans, though, I cannot live in the very houses in which the Bhangis, through the negligence of the New Delhi Committee, are packed like sardines.

I have been brought to stay at Birla House because refugees have been accommodated in the Harijan colony. Their need is much greater than mine. But is it not a shame on us as a nation that there should be any problem about refugees in our country? Along with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and other Pakistani leaders had declared that in the Indian Union as well as in Pakistan the minority communities would receive the same treatment as the majority communities. Did the leaders of these Dominions make such a declaration to please world opinion or was it their intention to prove that there was no difference between their words and deeds and that they would be ready to lay down their lives in order to fulfil their promises? If that is so, I would like to ask why were the Hindus, Sikhs and the proud *Amils*, and their friends forced to leave Pakistan? What has happened in Quetta, Nawab Shah and Karachi? The reports of tragic events in the West Punjab are heart-rending. The leaders of the Indian Union and Pakistan cannot fling their hands in despair and say that it is all the doing of the goondas. It is the duty of the Dominions to accept full responsibility for the actions of its people—their duty is "not to reason why" but "to do and die". Now they are not forced to do anything against their will under the crushing burden of Imperialism. Today they can do anything they choose. But if they wish to face the world with honesty, freedom should not mean that there need be no rule of law in both the Dominions. Would the Union Ministers declare their bankruptcy and shamelessly say that the people of Delhi and the refugees who are staying there do not, of their own free will wish to abide by the law of the land? As for me, I would expect the Ministers to stake their own lives in fighting this madness rather than submitting to it.

Even at the house where I am staying, fruits or vegetables are not available. Is it not shameful that the Subzi Mandi has stopped receiving any supplies of vegetables because some Muslims have fired some shots? During my rounds in the city I heard complaints that the refugees do not get their ration. And

whatever is being supplied to them is not fit for human consumption. If the responsibility for this lies with the Government, it equally lies with the refugees who have brought to a standstill even the essential services. Why do they not realize that they are harming their own interests by resorting to such action? Had they trusted the Government for the solution of all their problems and behaved like law-abiding citizens, I know and they should know it, too, that most of their problems would have been solved.

I visited the camp of the Meos near the Humayun's Tomb. I was told that they had been turned out from the States of Alwar and Bharatpur. They said they had nothing to eat except what the Muslim friends had sent to them. I know that the Meos are an easily excitable community and can create a lot of trouble. But the remedy does not lie in driving them out to Pakistan against their wishes. The real remedy lies in treating them as human beings and their weaknesses should be treated as any other illness.

Then I went to the Jamia Millia. I had lent a big hand in building up that institution. Dr. Zakir Husain is a dear friend of mine. He narrated his experiences with great anguish. But he had no bitterness in his heart. Recently he had to visit Jullunder. Had a Sikh Captain and a Hindu railway official not come to his help in time, the Sikhs in their mad fury would have killed him for being a Muslim. Dr. Zakir Husain thanked those people as he narrated his experiences to me. Just imagine, the national institution where many Hindus have been educated, is now afraid that angry refugees and the people who instigate them may attack it. I met the refugees who have been somehow accommodated in the compound of the Jamia Millia. When I heard their tragic tales I hung my head in shame. Then I went to the refugee camps at Diwan Hall, Wavell Canteen and Kingsway. I met the Sikh and Hindu refugees there. They had not yet forgotten my past services to the Punjab. But I noticed some angry faces in all those camps. Those people can be forgiven. They talked to me in sharp tones for being harsh to the Hindus. They said that I had not undergone the hardships that they did, and not lost my kith and kin. They said I had not been compelled to beg at every door. They asked me how I could comfort them by saying that I had been staying at Delhi to do my utmost to establish peace in the capital of the country. True I cannot bring back the dead. But death is a gift of God to all living things

—human beings, animals. The difference is only of time and manner. Hence right conduct is the royal path to be followed, which makes life beautiful and worth living. Today a Sikh friend told me that he is a Sikh by birth but could not claim to be a true Sikh in the light of the Granth Saheb. I asked him if he knew any true Sikh. He could not point out even one. Then I politely told him that I claimed to be such a Sikh. I said I was trying to live like a true Sikh according to the Granth Saheb. There was a time when in Nankana Saheb[1] I was described as a true friend of the Sikhs. Guru Nanak made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. For him the whole world was one. Such is also my sanatana dharma. Being a true Hindu I also claim to be a true Muslim. I always recite the great Muslim prayer in which it is proclaimed that God is one and He protects the whole world by day and night.

I would like to tell the refugees that they should live truthfully and without fear. They should not entertain any thoughts of revenge or hatred. They should not act rashly out of anger and impulse and thus throw away the golden apple of freedom won at a great cost.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 294-8

200. TAKE CARE

Unless the Governments and their Secretariats take care, the English language is likely to usurp the place of Hindustani. This must do infinite harm to the millions of India who would never be able to understand English. Surely, it must be quite easy for the provincial Governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the provincial languages and the inter-provincial language, which, in my opinion, can only be Hindustani written in Nagari or Urdu script.

Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation. The first and foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed. It is nothing short of mental sluggishness to plead that in our courts, in our schools and even in the secretariats, some time, probably a few years, must lapse before the change is made. No doubt a little difficulty will be felt in multi-lingual provinces, as

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXI.

in Bombay and Madras, until redistribution of provinces takes place on a linguistic basis. Provincial Governments can devise a method in order to enable the people in those provinces to feel that they have come into their own. Nor need the provinces wait for the Union for solving the question, whether for inter-provincial speech it shall be Hindustani written in either Nagari or Urdu script or mere Hindi written in Nagari. This should not detain them in making the desired reforms. It is a wholly unnecessary controversy likely to be the door through which English may enter to the eternal disgrace of India. If the first step, that is, revival of provincial speech in all public departments, takes place immediately, that of inter-provincial speech will follow in quick succession. The provinces will have to deal with the Centre. They dare not do so through English, if the Centre is wise enough quickly to realize that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section. My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy.

NEW DELHI, September 11, 1947
Harijan, 21-9-1947

201. INTERVIEW TO SIKH DEPUTATION[1]

[*September 11, 1947*][2]

But I do not see religion anywhere in evidence today. And if it is a religious symbol, the restriction as regards its size should not matter.

Gandhiji told them that it was wholly irrelevant and even improper to cite legal precedents to break healthy restraints under which alone society could grow in a state of liberty. The *kirpan*, which the Sikh religion enjoined upon its votaries, was a symbol of purity and self-restraint. It was

[1] On grounds of security the Government had prohibited the carrying of *kirpans* more than nine inches long. A deputation of Sikhs complained that such a restriction was an interference with their religion and cited an old judgment of the Privy Council which interpreted the *kirpan* "as a sword of any size".

[2] From reference to the visit of "Sikh friends" in "Statement to the Press"; *vide* the following item.

a weapon for the defence of innocent women and children and old or disabled persons against tyranny in the face of overwhelming odds; never a weapon of offence or to be used in retaliation against defenceless women and children. Even during the war against the Muslims, the code was to tend the wounded on both sides. The *kirpan* had of late been used for totally indefensible purposes and he who used it wrongly forfeited the right to carry it.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 438-9

202. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

NEW DELHI,
September 11, 1947

During the day, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur took me and Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the Irwin Hospital which devotes its energies only to the treatment of injured persons, irrespective of caste or creed. Among the patients was a child, hardly five years old, who had received a bullet wound. The doctors and nurses were working under great stress. The majority of patients were Muslims, as the Hindus and Sikhs were transferred to other hospitals.

I understand from Rajkumari that it was well-nigh impossible to supply refugee camps with Bhangis for attending to the cleaning of the latrines and general sanitation. Any infectious disease like cholera might break out. I have no doubt whatsoever that the refugees should look after sanitation, including latrine cleaning in their own camps and should do some useful work with the approval of the camp superintendent. There can be no exception to this rule, save for persons who are incapable of physical exertion. All camps should be models of cleanliness, simplicity and industry.

During the day I had a visit from the Pakistan High Commissioner, who is an enthusiastic believer in communal peace and friendship. I had a visit too from Sikh friends[1] twice during the day. They were sore about the *kirpan* order of the Government of India. They have promised to give me their requirement in writing before I speak to the Government. They further said that allegations made against them were highly coloured. They said they could have no quarrel with the Muslims or any other communities living in the Union. They were anxious to be law-abiding citizens of the State.

Harijan, 21-9-1947

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

203. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 12, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

The very first thing I want to tell you is that I have received disturbing news[1] from the Frontier Province. I am, of course deeply pained to hear it. I have spent considerable time in the Frontier Province. Badshah Khan was with me. I stayed with Dr. Khan Saheb. I used to have friendly meetings with members of the Muslim League. And now I am amazed that the Hindus and Sikhs cannot live there in peace. There used to be a considerable population of Hindus and Sikhs there but their number was small compared to that of the Muslims. However, it is not the number that matters. Even an innocent child should be able to live there in safety.

What I think to myself I may as well convey to you, that is, we should not get angry. We can, of course, feel the pain. We ought to feel sympathy and concern for our brothers who are in trouble. It is natural to feel, 'why not kill the Muslims because our brothers have been killed.' But I for one cannot kill even the actual murderers of my brothers. Should I then prepare myself to kill other innocent people? I do not believe in meeting evil with evil. He who indulges in evil words and deeds turns brutal; he becomes senseless. Let me narrate an incident of my childhood days. I think I was about ten years at that time. My elder brother had fallen ill. He had almost become mad. But everyone took pity on him. We sent for several doctors but not for a jailor, and we did not send him to jail. We did not send for soldiers because he had gone mad. My father was in a position to do anything he wanted to do. But why did he refrain from doing any such thing? After all he was his son. And how could my father kill his own son? So all these people are like my own sons, like my own brothers. I would like to request you not to regard the Muslims as your enemies. I can point out any number of Muslims who are my friends. Just because the country has been

[1] A telegram had been received from Girdhari Lal Puri, an ex-Minister, saying that he and his wife, should be rescued at once from Muslim fury.

divided into India and Pakistan, it does not befit us to slaughter the Muslims who have stayed behind. The Government of Pakistan has forgotten its duty. I shall appeal to the Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah who is the Governor-General of Pakistan to desist from such policies. If the Press reports are correct, I would tell him that the Hindus and Sikhs have remained in Pakistan to serve him. Why are the Hindus and the Sikhs scared now? Because they are afraid that they and their wives would have to die and that their wives would be abducted. They are in danger and so they are fleeing. Why is it so under that Government? I want to tell my people that they should not become so barbaric. If the Hindus and the Sikhs say that they would take revenge on the local Muslims because the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan are in trouble, they have been destroyed there and have fled leaving their property worth millions, it will be sheer barbarism. I have seen the terrible plight of the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan. I have lived in Lahore. Do you think I am not pained? I claim that my pain is no less than that of any Punjabi. If any Hindu or Sikh from the Punjab comes and tells me that his anguish is greater than mine because he has lost his brother or daughter or father, I would say that his brother is my brother, his mother is my mother, and I have the same anguish in my heart as he has. I am also a human being and feel enraged but I swallow my anger. That gives me strength. What revenge can I take with that strength? How should I take revenge so that they feel repentant for their crimes and admit that they have committed grave crimes? You all know what the Muslims have done in West Punjab. What can we do if Muslims are destroying religion? What are we going to do about it? Should I say that the Hindus and Sikhs of Delhi and those who have come from outside should become barbarians because Muslims are becoming barbarians?

I had gone to the Jama Masjid today. I met the residents of that area. I also met their womenfolk. Some of the women wept before me and some brought their children to indicate their sad plight. Should I narrate to them the plight of the Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab and in the Frontier Province? Will it mitigate the sorrow of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab in any way? The people of Pakistan resorted to ways of barbarism, and so did the Hindus and Sikhs. And so, how could one barbarian find fault with another barbarian? That is why I would like to appeal to all of you to save Hinduism and Sikhism, save India and Pakistan and thus save the whole country.

If we remain good to the end, the Muslims of Pakistan would have to be good too. That is the law of the world. No one can change it. This old man, who has made a considerable study of religion and tried to serve everybody, is telling you this. I have had enough experience in my 78-79 years. I have stayed outside India for twenty years. I lived in South Africa, the land of the Negroes, but never gave up Ramanama. I can say in the light of my own experience that it is not for us to avenge anybody's wrongs. He who does good to one who has been good to him is a mere Bania and a pseudo-Baniya at that. I say that I am a Bania myself; and I am a true Bania. May you not become pseudo-Banias. True human being is he who does a good turn for evil. I learnt this in my childhood. I still believe in the rightness of this. I would like you to return evil with good.

Those people were lying in the mosque in a sad state. They did not gather in such large numbers on Friday for fun. They had heard that I had done something for the Muslims in Calcutta and Bihar and something for the Hindus in Noakhali. They thought it was good that I had gone to meet them. They wanted to know what I could do for them as one who called himself a sanatani Hindu and on that account claimed to be a Muslim, Sikh, Parsi and Christian. A mother said her child was dead and she did not know what to do. I told her : "What can I tell you, dear lady? Think of God. He would be kind to you. What if your child is dead? What if everybody is dead? You would be going that way yourself — if not by knife, may be of cholera. You are not going to live forever, are you? Hence, think of God. What are you going to gain by crying over it?"

Let us know our own dharma. In the light of our dharma I would tell the people that our greatest duty is to see that the Hindus do not act in frenzy, nor the Sikhs indulge in acts of madness. I wish to tell you that all those Muslims who have left their places should be sent back. I do not have the courage to send them back right now. But we must keep it in mind that they have got to be sent back. Till the Muslims are able to return to the places from which they have fled, we cannot have peace of mind. There is of course one point to consider. Today people tell me that the Muslims keep arms in their houses, they keep ammunition, machine-guns, and sten-guns which I have not even seen. For instance, this is the case in Subzi Mandi. I am prepared to believe everything. But why should we be afraid of this? I would tell the Muslims and I am telling everybody in Delhi that they should declare with God as witness,

that there is no reason for them to be killed for the crimes committed in Pakistan. We are your friends and we all belong and shall ever belong to India. Delhi is no small place. It is the capital of the country. Here we have the grand Jama Masjid and also the fort. You have not built these nor have I built them. They have been built by the Mughals who ruled over us. They had become part of India. By telling the Muslims today to leave the country do you mean to say that you are going to take possession of the Jama Masjid? And if that is your intention, do you know the implication? Just think about it. Are we going to stay in the Jama Masjid? I cannot agree to any such proposal. The Muslims must have the right to visit that place. It belongs to them. We are also proud of it. It is full of great artistic beauty. Shall we raze it to the ground? That can never be.

I appeal to the Muslims that they should open-heartedly declare that they belong to India and are loyal to the Union. If they are true to God and wish to live in the Indian Union, they just cannot be enemies of the Hindus. And I want the Muslims here to tell the Muslims in Pakistan who have become the enemies of the Hindus, not to go mad: 'If you are going to indulge in such madness, we cannot co-operate with you. We will remain faithful to the Union, and salute the tricolour. We have to follow the order of the Government.' These Muslims themselves should tell all the other Muslims to surrender all their arms. It is the duty of the Government not to punish anyone for having possessed the arms. This is exactly what I did in Calcutta. People surrendered big stocks of arms to me there. Most of these people were Hindus. Here if the Muslims possess arms, do the Hindus not possess anything? I am telling the Hindus that they should not possess any arms at all. If they wish to possess arms they should get the licence. It is said that in the Punjab everybody has been given the right to possess arms. It is not going to do any good to the Punjab. If everybody possesses arms, people will fight among themselves and kill each other. The Government needs arms, what has the citizen got to do with them? None of the city people should possess arms. I would like the Muslims to surrender all the arms in their possession to the Government. The Hindus too should surrender all their arms. There should be no mutual fear. We should tell them that whatever happens outside, we in Delhi would live like brothers. The same thing happened in Calcutta and the Hindus and the Muslims have started living like brothers. The Hindus in Bihar have adopted the same attitude. You must soon

create such a situation in Delhi that I can immediately go to the Punjab and tell the people there that the Muslims of Delhi are living in peace. I would ask for its reward there. I would ask for that reward from the Nawab of Mamdot. I would go to East Punjab as well. Since I belong to all religions I have a right and would say to all that they should not give in to madness.

The Muslims wanted Pakistan and they have got it. Why are they fighting now and with whom are they fighting? Because they have taken Pakistan, do they want the whole of India too? That will never happen. Why are they killing the weak Hindus and the Sikhs? I want to tell them all these things. I am alone. You have got the whole Government. Let both the Governments come to a mutual agreement that they have to protect the minorities in their respective countries. We have to protect the minority here. Otherwise how can Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel say that they are protecting the minorities and there is no Muslim child whom anyone can harm or frighten by his blood-shot eyes? If there is any Muslim who has gone mad and who secretly keeps machine-guns in his house, we would punish him. But no one can touch the Muslims who are loyal to the country. You must create such conditions here so that Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel should be able to say Delhi had lost its senses for a few days but now it has become sane.

I would like to tell my Muslim friends that they must issue a proper statement. They must thoroughly cleanse their hearts. The Sikhs have issued some statement. So have the Hindus. If the minds and hearts are purified we can live together in amity. After all, so much of business of Delhi, such wonderful buildings, this culture of Delhi belong to both the Hindus and the Muslims and not exclusively to either.[1]

In conclusion, Gandhiji referred to his and Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's talk with the Guru[2] of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. He [Gandhiji] had been told that the hands of this organization too were steeped in blood. The Guruji assured him that this was untrue. Their organization was enemy to no man. It did not stand for the killing of Muslims. All it wanted to do was to protect Hindustan to the best of its ability. It stood for peace and he had asked Gandhiji to make his views public.[3]

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 298-305

[1] What follows is from *Harijan*, 21-9-1947.
[2] M. S. Golwalkar
[3] *Vide* pp. 193-5.

204. MY STATUE[1]

There is a talk in Bombay of spending ten lacs of rupees on erecting my statue on a public site. I have received several letters criticizing, some even fiercely, the proposal as if I were guilty of making any such extravagant proposal! It is perhaps human nature to make a mountain out of a mole hill. Only the wise sift the grain from the chaff. In the present case there seems to be a foundation for the criticism. I must say that I have a dislike even for being photographed; nevertheless, photographs have been taken of me. I have let artists make models more than once. Notwithstanding this inconsistency, I must dissent emphatically from any proposal to spend any money on preparing a statue of me, more especially at a time when people do not have enough food and clothing. In Bombay the beautiful, insanitation reigns. There is so much overcrowding that poor people are packed like sardines. Wise use of ten lacs of rupees will consist in its being spent on some public utility. That would be the best statue. Money thus wisely spent will make an adequate return. Imagine how many hungry mouths would be filled if the amount was spent on growing more food crops!

NEW DELHI, September 13, 1947

Harijan, 21-9-1947

[1] This appeared under "Notes". The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 21-9-1947.

CWMG - LXXXIX

205. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

September 13, 1947

CHI. VALJI,

Principal Thadani is among the regular visitors. He has, at my suggestion, sent you a long letter by registered post giving his interpretation of the *Mahabharata*. That was quite some time ago. Please reply to him if you have received it. My cart has got stuck in a wood.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. V. G. DESAI
14 GANESH WADI
POONA-4

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 7504. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

206. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 13, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Long ago, perhaps in 1915, when I came to Delhi I had met Hakim Saheb[1] and Dr. Ansari. I was told that Delhi was ruled not by the British but by Hakim Saheb. Dr. Ansari was an elderly man and a great surgeon and physician. He also knew Hakim Saheb and greatly respected him. Hakim Saheb was also a Muslim and a very great scholar and Hakim. He was a Unani Hakim but had made considerable study of the Ayurvedic system. Thousands of Muslims and thousands of poor Hindus used to come to him for treatment. Well-to-do Muslims and Hindus also came to him. They used to give a thousand rupees per day. As far as I knew Hakim Saheb, he did not care for the money. His interest was the service of everybody who was in need of it. And he was like a king. His forefathers lived in China. They were Muslims of China and were thorough gentlemen. I enquired of all the Hindus who came to

[1] Ajmal Khan

visit me as to who was their leader in the city. [Was it] Shraddhanandji[1]? Shraddhanandji used to work a lot among them. But no, their leader was Hakim Saheb. Why? Because he had served both the Hindus and the Muslims. Well, I have referred to the situation as it was in 1915. But later on my relations with him grew closer and I came to know him more intimately. I also came to know Dr. Ansari better. I stayed with Dr. Ansari for a long time. I know his daughter Zohra and his son-in-law Shaukat Khan[2]. They are all nice people and are still here in Delhi. But what pains me is that they are now scared that some Hindu might kill them as well. They are not staying in their own house. They have gone to live in a hotel. It was sheer coincidence that they were spared. Their watchman was a Hindu. He drove away the rioters. Why should the Hindus and the Sikhs get into such frenzy that the Muslims are scared? You can turn round and tell me, many Hindus tell me in anger fixing their blood-shot eyes on me: 'You were away in Bengal and Bihar. Just come to the Punjab and see the plight of the Hindus and the Sikhs and see the state of the girls there.' It is not as if I do not understand these things. But I want to keep both these things on the same level. Atrocities are committed there in any case. But if one of my brothers gets into a mad fury and starts killing people, should I also go mad with rage like him? How is it possible? I claim to be a true Hindu and a *Sanatani* Hindu at that. That is exactly why I am also a Muslim, a Parsi, a Christian and a Jew. For me all these are the branches of the same tree. Which of these branches should I keep and which should I discard? From which branch should I pick the leaves and which should I ignore? For me all are the same. That is how I am made. How can I help it? There would be absolute peace if everybody starts thinking like me.

I went to the Purana Quila today. I saw thousands of Muslims there. Other trucks loaded with Muslims were proceeding towards the Quila. All of them were Muslim refugees. Why did they have to live in the fort? Of whom were they frightened? Were they afraid of you, of me? I know that I do not frighten anyone, but my brothers, who consider themselves Hindus and Sikhs, are frightening them. But if they have frightened them it means that I have frightened them, you have frightened

[1] Mahatma Munshiram, who was known by this name
[2] Dr. Shaukatullah Khan

them. Thus I cannot bear to see them escaping to Pakistan out of panic. It is not as if there is heaven in Pakistan and hell here. Why do we find ourselves in such hell? I know that neither Pakistan nor India is hell. If we wish we can turn either into heaven or by our own deeds into hell. And if both the countries become hell, an independent man has no place there. After that we are only doomed to slavery. This thought is gnawing at my heart. My heart trembles and I wonder how I will make any Hindu, Sikh or Muslim understand all this. Quite a few Muslims in the fort were enraged, but others stopped them. There was love in their hearts. They persuaded their enraged brethren saying: 'This old man has come to serve us, to wipe our tears. We are hungry and he has come to see if he can find bread for us somewhere. We are without any water, he has come to see if he can get us water from somewhere.' I do not know whether they get food and water there. Some of them told me there was no food, no water for them. I had gone there to find out. Some of them talked to me with great affection. I felt happy. No one would ever want to leave behind his house and property. The Hindu refugees are in the same situation. They have left behind their homes and properties. Some of them died; this is not a happy situation. It is a matter of shame for everybody. I was trying to convince them also. Through you I want to speak to everyone who cares to listen to me. It is said that in the *Mahabharata* period the Pandavas used to stay in this Purana Quila. Whether you call it Indraprastha or Delhi, the Hindus and the Muslims have grown here together. It was the capital of the Mughals. Now it is the capital of India. There is no survivor of the Mughal dynasty. The Mughals came from outside. They identified themselves with the manners and customs of Delhi. From among them some happened to be Ansari Sahebs, Hakim Sahebs and some became Hindus too. The Hindus also joined their services. In such a Delhi of yours the Hindus and the Muslims used to live together peacefully. They did fight occasionally. But they would fight for a short while and then be united again. On one occasion, some fanatic made a murderous attack on Shraddhanandji. But earlier the Muslims with great affection, had taken Shraddhanandji to Jama Masjid where he addressed them. This is your Delhi.

But what is happening today? The Sardar always used to walk with his head high, but I tell you today he walks with his head bent. And Jawaharlal, that brave and courageous

Jawaharlal who used to fly in the air, is today sitting helpless. Why has he become helpless? We have made him helpless. If there is one individual acting mad, he can be cured. But who would treat whom when all start behaving that way? Jawaharlal is no God after all. Nor is the Sardar any God. And their other Ministers have no divine powers either. Nor do they have any outside help.

I am telling the same thing to everybody. Many Hindus and Muslims came to me. I have had many discussions with them. But ultimately my voice turns to God. I pray to Him that He should take me away from the world, or bring sanity to the people of Delhi. Let there be no angry thought for the Muslims in the heart of any Hindu or Sikh. People tell me that the Muslims are supposed to be Fifth Columnists, that is, they are traitors, disloyal to the present Government. There are 4½ crore Muslims in India. If 4½ crore people are traitors, who would be the loser? They themselves will be the losers. They would be burying Islam that way. But they cannot do harm to the Hindus and the Sikhs. But you should not harass those 4½ crore Muslims. It is not proper to tell them that they should be either ready to die or go to Pakistan. Why should they go? And under whose protection? I tell you that they are under your protection, and under my protection. At least I am not prepared to see that sight. I would rather pray to God that He should take me away before that. He has kept me alive long enough. A life of 78-79 years is not a short one. I am fully satisfied. I have served to the best of my capacity. If God wishes to keep me alive, let Him take from me the work that will satisfy my heart. Let both the communities tell me that I am their friend, that is why they listen to me and would continue to do so. I meet quite a few Muslims. How can I say they are traitors and are betraying me? I tell you that even if they are betraying, it is not going to help them in any way. I admit that the Muslims have lots of arms with them. I have taken some of their arms and some are still with them. But what would they do with the arms they have? Would they kill me? Would they kill you? If they do that the Government is there to look into it. I tell you that if we become good and behave well the Government will see that justice is done to us. Let the Governments fight each other; but we would not quarrel among ourselves. We would remain friends. Let us not be afraid that they would kill us. However powerful the person who wants to kill us is, he cannot kill us so long as God

protects us. That is why I am telling both the Hindus and the Muslims that they should abandon fear. I did not like the statement made by the Qaid-e-Azam. He says that the Muslims are being taken to Pakistan because they have been harassed in the Indian Union. He says there should be food for them and land to settle them. Pakistan, he says, is a poor country, and so, those who have money should send it there.[1] I have nothing to complain about it. But along with that, why does he not mention what happened to the Hindus in West Punjab? If Bihar indulged in evil acts they repented it. In Calcutta the Hindus came to me and repented before me. It would be a noble thing if the Muslims do the same and admit that they have done wrong things. I have seen the things and how can I close my eyes to them? Nor can I cover up the crimes committed by the Hindus. I want to be faithful to all religions. I can betray neither God nor men. I wish to be loyal to all.

I said yesterday[2] that it is the duty of the Muslims that leading men among them should proclaim that not all are so worthless. They should say that they are and will remain loyal to India, and will fight the whole world for the sake of India. Then only are they true Muslims. If they do not do this they become bad Muslims. It is my hope that in India we do not have such bad Muslims. And if there are, in order to make them good we have to be good ourselves, not bad.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 305-10

207. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 14, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Just as I did yesterday, today also I went to see our Muslim refugees. I have not seen anywhere the like of the squalor I found in that camp. I went to the camps of the Hindus as well as to those of the Muslims. The camp for the Hindu [refugees] is at a different place. There is so much stench in the Muslim camps; I wonder why they are not cleaning the place.

[1] For an official account of the interview with Lord Mountbatten covering this and other points, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] *Vide* p. 176.

If I were to be in charge of the camp, I would never tolerate this. I have lived in camps and I have seen many camps. Our camps should not be kept so dirty. I was very much pained. There is so much police and military arrangement and why do they tolerate such stink and stench? They would say cleaning the place is not their job, and that they have only orders to shoot, if necessary and to maintain peace and order in the camps. They say that if the refugees quarrel among themselves, they brush them away with their guns. They have orders only to do this much and they cannot go beyond what they have been ordered to do. That is all right. But they are now our soldiers and our police. In my view they must have a pickaxe and also a spade. They must clear the dirt wherever they find it. Their primary function should be to keep the places clean. To keep the camps in good condition both the Hindu and Muslim friends themselves have to clean them. We become their enemies if we do not tell them this. If we are their friends and servants we must make it plain to them that because they have come here, they should not live like helpless creatures. If Hindu refugees come from Pakistan should we push them into wells? Should we not keep them here and look after them? We must tell them that we would give them food and water but not sweepers. I am a very hard-hearted man.

I had worked with pickaxe during the Kumbh Mela at Hardwar. We used to be in charge of all the jobs concerning the camp sanitation. Everybody was trained for that type of work. So I would say that whoever may be in charge of these camps, I am not bothered if he is a Muslim or a Hindu, his first and foremost job is to keep his camp absolutely clean. This involves no expenditure. If there are no shovels in the camps, it is the duty of the Government to provide them. If the Government does not provide them with shovels, if it is so busy that it has no time to spare, then the camp commander has to provide the shovels. Just as it is the duty of the Government to reach food to the camps, it is also its duty to make arrangements for sanitation, drinking water and water for washing purposes. Because there is no proper sewage arrangement, cholera spreads. Camp sanitation should never be imperfect. I must admit that I have learnt this thing from the British. I did not know how camp sanitation had to be looked after. I did not know how thousands and millions lived together and how they could be entrusted with jobs so that they would work for sanitation, or any work they may be asked to do. Military people are able

to do all this. In minutes a whole city comes up and tents are put up. The first job in the camp is that the party which reaches there first must find out the water arrangements and see how water is to be used. The next party has to dig the trenches, so that urine and the latrine dirt do not flow out. With such an arrangement there can be no cholera and dysentery. People can all stay with ease. I want to leave out other things.

Here people are living in chaos. They are all lying helter-skelter. Nobody bothers to keep the camp clean. Whom can I blame? The commander of the Muslim camp is a Muslim. He can tell his people and make them understand what they should do. He has to be persuasive. They must be told that they would all die if they continued to live in filth, that their children can't remain unclean. So it is much better that they keep the camp clean. We can do a lot there if we train those people in sanitation. If you see the camp of the Hindus, you will find filth there too. But there is still some difference. I can never walk barefoot in that place. There was no water at all in the lake. It was absolutely dry. There was no sewage arrangement. After all, neither the Muslims nor the Hindus are animals. But today we have turned into beasts. Why did the Hindus and the Sikhs flee from Pakistan in panic? Even if the Hindus have behaved very badly here, they have not done anything there. If there is anyone who has committed a crime, let him be punished. That is the responsibility of the Government. Similarly I would ask why should anyone have to run away from here? If they are Muslims, are they to be blamed for being Muslims? Even the Muslims belong to us and are under our Government. If they are refugees, it is very clear that it is a matter of shame for Delhi. The Muslims who are here have not come from outside. Almost all of them have come from different localities of Delhi. A few of them may have come from outside. We have driven them out of Delhi. Let me tell you as I told you yesterday that it is a matter of great shame for us. It is failure of the Government of Pakistan that the minorities had to run away from there. It must tell those people that they have got to stay in Pakistan. But today the situation in Pakistan is such that even good people are running away. Lahore is almost empty. It is the city built up by the Hindus where I saw the big mansions of the Hindus and so many educational institutions—where else do you find so many colleges? I always appreciate every good thing. Today who is in possession of those colleges? All this hurts me. And

I feel ashamed that the Government of Pakistan can be so mean. And then I feel all the more ashamed when I see the situation here. How can the situation go wrong in Delhi in spite of our Government, in spite of Jawaharlal who is like a lion and with a Home Minister like Sardar Patel? Why should his authority not be accepted? If he sends out an order that a child has to be protected here, that child must be protected. We could then carry on our Government. But now he has military and police through which he is trying to establish peace. But whose Government is it after all? It is your own Government. You have made it.

If everyone would abide by the authority of his own Government, everything can be done. Otherwise the world will ridicule Delhi for its present state of affairs. And then the European powers, be it Russia, France or Britain, as well as America will laugh at us and say that we are not capable of preserving our freedom. We are only capable of being slaves. This should not happen. That is why I would like to tell the Muslims that they should surrender all their arms of their own accord. They should surrender their arms not out of fear, but because they are living in India. They should do this if they want to live like brothers. Then they should prove their loyalty to India and show that they can never betray the country. Whether Hindus or Muslims, all of them belong to India. I also want to tell the Muslims that if the Muslims in West Punjab, the Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind go crazy and the Hindus and the Sikhs cannot live in peace there, then the situation becomes difficult for us here. After all, we are all human beings. So let them understand humanity. How long can we go on persuading? Man can go crazy and he can also be good. Let him stay here peacefully if he can live properly. If there is some man who goes so crazy that he becomes a brute, then I would tell the Hindus of Delhi that they should be on their guard and be brave, not cowards. It is cowardice to be frightened by the arms the Muslims may be having in their possession. What do we care if there are some Muslims somewhere having arms with them? It is the duty of the Government to disarm them. It is the duty of the military to deprive them of their arms. If they want to be good and truly belong to India and want to live with the Hindus in amity, let them surrender their arms. And let the Muslims admit their mistakes. Let them say that they had wished to conquer Delhi and turn the whole of India into Pakistan but now they have realized that it is not possible to

turn India into Pakistan. They must be content that they are already having Pakistan. They must say that they can save the Hindus in Pakistan and keep them happy. Then it would so happen that both India and Pakistan would compete with each other in being good and more sincere in their humanity. Whether we look towards Mecca or towards the East, truthfulness lies in our own hearts, and what matters is that our hearts should be clean. If we compete with each other in being good, we can all rise high and work together.

I told you that since I had come here I would also wish to die here. If we go on indulging in acts of frenzy and become overcome by rage and kill the Muslims, I can have nothing to do with it. I do not wish to be a witness to such a thing. If the Muslims think that the Hindus and the Sikhs are at fault and the Hindus and the Sikhs think that the Muslims are at fault, they are both wrong. They are all the same to me. In my eyes the Hindus and the Muslims are all one. Only the true among them are recognized by God. Who are you to punish the wicked for their wrong deeds? They are going to be punished themselves. I have no doubt about it. This is the essence I have drawn from all religions. That is why I would say that whatever wrong the Muslims may do, you have got to be good. If you really want to avenge the evil deeds it can only be through the deeds of goodness. I want to see that at least you do it. If we do this much, we can keep our own Government in India in good shape. If not, we are going to lose everything.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 311-6

208. LETTER TO GORUR RAMASWAMI IYENGAR

NEW DELHI,
[After *September 14, 1947*][1]

DEAR RAMASWAMI,

Your son has become a martyr.[2] Brave boy! Do not grieve. Such sacrifices are inevitable in our country. Let us emulate him. He only saves his life who loses it. Console your wife.

[1] & [2] On September 14, Ramachandra, a seventeen-year old student, had died in police firing at Tumkur while leading a students' procession organized by the Mysore Congress which was agitating for responsible government in the State.

Yes. I remember you very well.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: C. W. 10580. Courtesy: Gorur Ramaswami Iyengar

209. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 15, 1947

During the night as I heard what should have been the soothing sound of gentle life-giving rain, my mind went out to the thousands of refugees lying about in the open camps at Delhi. I was sleeping snugly in a verandah protecting me on all sides. But for the cruel hand of man against his brother, these thousands of men, women and children would not be shelterless and in many cases foodless. In some places they could not but be in knee-deep water. They have no other choice.[2] Was it all inevitable? The answer from within was an emphatic 'No.' Was this the first fruit of freedom, just a month-old baby? These thoughts have haunted me throughout these last twenty hours. My silence has been a blessing. It has made me enquire within. Have the citizens of Delhi gone mad? Have they no humanity left in them? Have love of the country and its freedom no appeal for them? I must be pardoned for putting the blame first on the Hindus and Sikhs. Could they not be men enough to stem the tide of hatred? I would urge the Muslims of Delhi to shed all fear, trust God and disclose all the arms in their possession which the Hindus and the Sikhs fear they have. Not that the former too do not have any. The question is one of degree. Some may have more, some less.[3] Either the minority rely upon God and His creature man to do the right thing or rely upon their fire-arms to defend themselves against those whom they must not trust.

My advice is precise and firm. Its soundness is manifest. Trust your Government to defend every citizen against wrongdoers, however well-armed they may be. Further trust it to demand and get damages for every member of the minority wrongfully dispossessed. All that neither Government can do is to resurrect the dead. The people of Delhi will make it difficult to demand

[1] As Gandhiji was observing silence this was read out at the meeting.
[2] & [3] These sentences are translated from *Prarthana Pravachan*—I, p. 316.

justice from the Pakistan Government. Those who seek justice must do justice, must have clean hands. Let the Hindus and the Sikhs take the right step and invite the Muslims who have been driven out of their homes to return. If they can take this courageous step, worthy from every point of view, they immediately reduce the refugee problem to its simplest terms. They will command recognition from Pakistan, nay from the whole world. They will save Delhi and India from disgrace and ruin. For me, transfer of millions of the Hindus and the Sikhs and the Muslims is unthinkable. It is wrong. The wrong of Pakistan will be undone by the right of a resolute non-transfer of population. I hope I shall have the courage to stand by it, even though mine may be the solitary voice in its favour.

Harijan, 28-9-1947

210. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

[On or after *September 15, 1947*][2]

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिःनित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत।

Know that to be true religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.

From the original: C. W. 3710. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 6519

[1] & [2] In Amrit Kaur papers this is placed after the letter dated August 29, 1947, *vide* p. 108. The addressee was at New Delhi and did not meet Gandhiji at Calcutta. Gandhiji reached New Delhi on September 9, silence day following which was September 15.

CWMG - LXXXI

211. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI

DELHI,
September 16, 1947

BHAI BRELVI[1],

I have your letter and the cutting. What you say is right. I will mention it in the prayer meeting also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: S. A. Brelvi Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

212. LETTER TO ZAHID HUSSAIN

September 16, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. How wicked of you to fall ill when every ounce of your energy is wanted at your post of duty.[2] May God restore you quickly.

As promised I made the appeal the very evening. But nothing had happened in response.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

ZAHID HUSSAIN SAHEB
CAMP: KARACHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Syed Abdullah Brelvi (1891-1949); Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*, from 1924 till his death in January 1949

[2] The addressee was High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.

CWMG - LXXXIX

213. LETTER TO DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

NEW DELHI,
September 16, 1947

DEAR DR. HOLMES,

Devdas has handed me your kind letter.

I do not remember having received Mr. Ording's invitation. In any event I should be at sea serving on the committee. My way seems to be different. We must discuss this when we meet and if you and I find the time for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C. W. 10970. Courtesy: Roger W. Holmes. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

214. LETTER TO DORA

NEW DELHI,
September 16, 1947

DEAR DORA,

I am sorry the climate disagrees with you. I am a plain man. The only shelter I could afford I provided. Now you must shift for yourselves. Himalayas is not India, they are in India. I see that the Ashram way is not your way. Now you should do as seems to you best. Consult the manager and suit him. I am sorry.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

215. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

NEW DELHI,
September 16, 1947

BHAI CHOITHRAM,

What is this that you are doing? If people must flee why must they all flock to Bombay? There is a way of fighting too. Why are you ruining the case of Sind? Ponder well. The time is extremely delicate. 'Do or die' is not a mere slogan to be spoken but to be acted upon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

216. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

September 16, 1947

BHAI SRI PRAKASA[1],

I am sending two letters herewith. Your task is very difficult, it means action, not merely talking.

Your task is not to hope for the best but to work for the good unto death. All non-Muslims should look up to you.

Two letters are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Journalist and educationist; member, A. I. C. C., 1918-45; India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, 1947-49

CWMG - LXXXIX

217. SPEECH AT R. S. S. RALLY[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 16, 1947

Gandhiji said that he had visited the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh camp years ago at Wardha, when the founder Shri Hedgewar was alive. The late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj had taken him to the camp and he (Gandhiji) had been very well impressed by their discipline, complete absence of untouchability and rigorous simplicity. Since then the Sangh had grown. Gandhiji was convinced that any organization which was inspired by the ideal of service and self-sacrifice was bound to grow in strength. But in order to be truly useful, self-sacrifice had to be combined with purity of motive and true knowledge. Sacrifice without these two had been known to prove ruinous to society.

The prayer that was recited at the beginning was in praise of Mother India, Hindu culture and Hindu religion. He claimed to be a *sanatani* Hindu. He took the root meaning of the word *sanatana*. No one knew accurately the origin of the word Hindu. The name was given to us and we had characteristically adopted it. Hinduism had absorbed the best of all the faiths of the world and in that sense it was not an exclusive religion. Hence it could have no quarrel with Islam or its followers as unfortunately was the case today. When the poison of untouchability entered Hinduism, the decline began. One thing was certain, and he had been proclaiming it from house-tops, that if untouchability lived, Hinduism must die. Similarly, if the Hindus felt that in India there was no place for anyone else except the Hindus and if non-Hindus, especially Muslims, wished to live here, they had to live as the slaves of the Hindus, they would kill Hinduism. Similarly if Pakistan believed that in Pakistan only the Muslims had a rightful place and the non-Muslims had to live there on sufferance and as their slaves, it would be the death-knell of Islam in India.

It was an unfortunate fact that India had been divided into two parts. If one part went mad and did ugly deeds, was the other part to follow suit? There was no gain in returning evil for evil. Religion taught us to return good for evil.

He had seen their Guruji a few days ago. He had mentioned to him the various complaints about the Sangh that he had received in Calcutta and Delhi. The Guruji had assured him that though he could not vouchsafe for the correct behaviour of every member of the Sangh, the policy

[1] Held in the sweepers' colony

of the Sangh was purely service of the Hindus and Hinduism and that too not at the cost of anyone else. The Sangh did not believe in aggression. It did not believe in ahimsa. It taught the art of self-defence. It never taught retaliation.[1]

Today the ship of India was passing through troubled waters. The leaders in charge of the Government were the best that India possessed. Some people were dissatisfied with them. He would ask them to produce better men if they could and he would advise the old guards to hand over the reins to their betters. After all the Sardar was an old man and Pandit Jawaharlal, though not old in years, looked old and haggard under the burden he was carrying. They were doing their utmost to serve the people, but they could only act according to their lights. If the vast bulk of the Hindus wanted to go in a particular direction, even though it might be wrong, no one could prevent them from doing so. But even a single individual had the right to raise his voice against it and give them the warning. That is what Gandhiji was doing. He was told that he was the friend of the Muslims and the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs. It was true that he was a friend of the Muslims, as he was of the Parsis and others. In this respect he was the same today as he had been since the age of twelve. But those who called him the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs did not know him. He could be enemy of none, much less of the Hindus and Sikhs.

If Pakistan persisted in wrongdoing, there was bound to be war between India and Pakistan. If he had his way, he would have no military; not even police. But all this was tall talk. He was not the Government. Why did not Pakistan plead with the Hindus and the Sikhs and ask them not to leave their homes and ensure their safety in every way? Why could not they in the Indian Union ensure the safety of every Muslim?

Today both the parties appeared to have gone crazy. The result could be nothing but destruction and misery.

The Sangh was a well-organized, well-disciplined body. Its strength could be used in the interest of India or against it. He did not know whether there was any truth in the allegations made against the Sangh. It was for the Sangh to show by their uniform behaviour that the allegations were baseless.

At the conclusion of the speech, Gandhiji invited questions. One person asked if Hinduism permitted killing of an evil-doer.[2] If not how did he explain the exhortation by Lord Krishna in the second chapter of the *Gita* to destroy the Kauravas.

The reply to the first question, said Gandhiji, was both yes and no. One had to be an infallible judge as to who was the evil-doer before

[1] *Vide* also p. 177.

[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Last Phase*.

the question of killing could arise. In other words one had to be completely faultless before such a right could accrue to one. How could a sinner claim the right to judge or execute another sinner? As for the second question, granting that the right to punish the evil-doer was recognized by the *Gita*, it could be exercised by the properly constituted Government only.

Both the Sardar and Pandit Nehru will be rendered powerless if you become judge and executioner in one. They are tried servants of the nation. Give them a chance to serve you. Do not sabotage their efforts by taking the law into your own hands.

Harijan, 28-9-1947, and *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 441

218. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 17, 1947

My coming to Noakhali is uncertain. The work here is most difficult. But it is only in the midst of difficulties that one is really tested. . . .

It is always well with those who put themselves completely in God's hands. Let it be as He wills.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 528

219. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 17, 1947

After my experience of last evening[2] I have decided not to hold the prayers till every man present in the audience is ready for it. I have never imposed anything on anybody, then how can I impose a highly spiritual thing like prayer? The prompting to

[1] In a letter to the addressee Sushila Nayyar *inter alia* wrote: "Bapu is going to have a hard time of it here. Yesterday he was saying that he would not be surprised if some of us might have to go the way of the leaders of the French Revolution. The exchange of population is actually taking place however much we may dislike it. Will there be a mass exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan after the manner of West Pakistan? Bapu says it would be a catastrophe."

[2] At the prayer meeting on September 16, as soon as the recitation from the Koran had commenced, someone in the gathering shouted: "To the recitation of these verses, our mothers and sisters were dishonoured, our dear ones killed. We will not let you recite these verses here." Some shouted: "Gandhi *murdabad*" (death to Gandhi). All efforts to restore order having failed, the prayer was abandoned.

pray or not to pray should come from within. There is no question at all of pleasing me. My prayer meetings have become really popular. It appears that millions of people have been benefited from these meetings. But in these times of mutual tension I very well understand the anger of the people who have undergone great hardships. My only condition for holding the prayer is that I should not be expected to omit that particular portion to which there may be some objection. Either the prayer should be heartily accepted as a whole or it should be rejected. For me the recitation from the Koran is that part of the prayer which cannot be discontinued.

I can understand your resentment and the impatience it generates. But if you wish to qualify yourselves to deserve your freedom, you will have to curb your anger and will have to depend on your Government to get the fullest justice done to you. I am not proposing to you my method of non-violence, much as I would like to, for I know that today no one is going to listen to my talk about non-violence. That is why I have suggested that you should adopt the ways followed by all democratic countries. In democracy, every individual has to abide by the wishes of the people, that is, the Government, and has to direct his own wishes in that light. If every man takes the law into his own hands the State cannot function. It would mean anarchy, which means end of social order. That is, the State would not exist. That is the way to lose our independence. I believe that if you would let the Government carry out its tasks, there is no doubt that every Hindu and Sikh refugee would return home with honour and respect. But you cannot expect these things to happen if you want your Muslim compatriots to be driven out of India. I find any such thing dreadful. You cannot secure justice by doing injustice to the Muslims. Apart from that, if it is true that the minorities, that is, the Hindus and the Sikhs have been treated very badly in Pakistan, it is also true that in East Punjab the minority people, that is the Muslims, have been badly treated. For both the countries the right way to arrive at a proper agreement is that both sides should acknowledge their mistakes with clean hearts and arrive at a mutual settlement. If it is not possible to come to a settlement they must resort to arbitration and accept the arbitrator's decision. Another way is the uncivilized way of war. I hate the very idea of war. But there would be no alternative to war in the absence of mutual settlement or decision by an arbitrator. I therefore hope that in such circumstances people will give up their madness and come

to their senses and reassure their Muslim neighbours who have chosen not to go to Pakistan, and persuade them to return to their hearths by promising safety and protection to them. This thing cannot be accomplished with the help of the army. It can be achieved only when people come to their senses. I have decided not to live to witness the country being ruined by fratricide. I am constantly praying to God that He should take me away before any calamity befalls this sacred and beautiful land of ours. I request you all to join me in this prayer.

I am grateful to the Hindu and Muslim workers[1] for working together in amity. If you would work with perfect unity, you would provide a worthy example to the country. The working class should not allow communalism to come anywhere near them. Have I not said that if only you knew your own power and continued to do constructive work with understanding, you would become true owners and rulers and your employers would be your trustees and friends to help you in the times of difficulty? That happy moment can come only when they realize that rather than gold and silver which only the workers bring out from the earth, the workers themselves are the true wealth.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 318-20

220. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI

NEW DELHI,
September 18, 1947

BHAI BRELVI,

I have your telegram. This is the complete English report. There is no time to write more. It is difficult to say what will ultimately happen in Delhi. If the Pakistan Government can bring about some improvement, the people here can return to sanity. For my part I am pledged to do or die.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Gandhiji had earlier attended a large gathering of workers of the Delhi Cloth Mills.

221. SPEECH TO MUSLIMS[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 18, 1947

Addressing them Gandhiji said that they had to be brave and declare firmly that they would not leave their homes whatever might happen. They should look to none but God for their safety and protection. He was there to do whatever he could. He had pledged himself to do or die in Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and now in Delhi. He would not ask those who had left their homes to come back till there was real peace and the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims agreed to live as brothers without the help of the police and the military.

He was the friend and servant of the Muslims as of the Hindus and others. He would not rest till every Muslim in the Union, who wished to live as a loyal citizen of the Union, was back in his home living in peace and security and the Hindus and the Sikhs returned likewise to their homes. He had served the Muslims for a long time in South Africa and in India. He could never forget the unity of the Khilafat days. It did not last, but it demonstrated the possibilities of lasting friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims. That was what he lived for and worked for. He was on his way to the Punjab to see that all the Hindus and the Sikhs who had been turned out of Pakistan should be able to return to their homes and live there in safety and honour. But on his way he was held up at Delhi and he would not leave it till real peace returned to the capital. Even if he was the only one to say it, he would never advise the Muslims to leave their homes. If they lived as law-abiding, honest and loyal citizens of India, no one could touch them. He was not the Government, but he had influence with those in the Government. He had had long talks with them. They did not believe that in India the Muslims had no place or that if the Muslims wished to stay here they had to do so as slaves of the Hindus. Some people had said that Sardar Patel encouraged the idea of Muslims going away to Pakistan. The Sardar was indignant at the suggestion. But he told him (Gandhiji) that he had reasons to suspect that the vast majority of the Muslims in India were not loyal to India. For such people it was better to go to Pakistan. But the Sardar did not let his suspicion colour

[1] The meeting was held in Daryaganj mosque. Some Muslims had asked Gandhiji to visit Muslim localities in the city so that those Muslims who were still there might not leave their homes out of panic. Gandhiji readily agreed and began by visiting the Daryaganj area.

his actions. Gandhiji was convinced that for the Muslims who wished to be citizens of the Indian Union, loyalty to the Union must come before everything else and they should be prepared to fight against the whole world for their country. Those who wished to go to Pakistan were free to do so. Only he did not wish a single Muslim to leave the Union out of fear of the Hindus or the Sikhs. Muslims in Delhi had assured him by their written declaration that they were loyal citizens of the Union. He would believe their word as he wished others to believe his. As such it was the duty of the Government to protect them. He for one would not like to live if he could not achieve that. The wrong had to be undone wherever it was. Abducted women had to be returned, forcible conversions considered null and void. The Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan and the Muslims of East Punjab had to be reinstalled in their own homes. In Pakistan and the Union they should produce conditions that not even a little girl, whatever her religion, should feel insecure. He was glad to have read the statement of Khaliquzzaman Saheb and of the Muslims of Muzaffarnagar. But before he proceeded to Pakistan he had to help to quench the fire in Delhi. If India and Pakistan were to be perpetual enemies and go to war against each other, it would ruin both the dominions and their hard-won freedom would be soon lost. He did not wish to live to see that day.

Concluding, Gandhiji further advised them that, as a token of their loyalty to the Indian Union, they should issue a public statement that all Hindu women abducted by the Muslims in Pakistan should be restored to their families. They should unequivocally condemn the Pakistan Government where it had departed from the civilized conduct and demand that all those Hindus and Sikhs who had to leave their homes in Pakistan should be invited to return with full guarantee of their safety and self-respect.[1]

Harijan, 28-9-1947

222. *DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY*

[*September 18, 1947*][2]

Shaheed took upon himself the mission of bringing about a *rapprochement* between the two Dominions. Gandhiji tried to impress upon him that the crux of the problem was that both Governments should make a clean breast of their mistakes and failures. They should honestly and sincerely strive to bring about conditions, each in its own Dominion, that would enable all the refugees to go back to their original homes with a guarantee of safety and equal treatment. What was actually happening in either Dominion was for-

[1] This paragraph is from *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 451.

[2] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*

cible evacuation of the minorities without compensation or any of the guarantees that go with a planned transfer of populations on a reciprocal basis. As a result the refugees had begun to take the law into their own hands and to squeeze out the minorities from the respective Dominions. Pressure was being put upon the Union Government to apply reciprocity to the Indian Muslims. This could easily lead to a war between the two countries as the Pakistan Government had already declared that they would permit refugees from East Punjab to come over but would resist the entry into Pakistan of Muslims from other parts of India.

Due to his old associations with the Pakistan leaders, Shaheed possessed a certain initial advantage which he could turn to good account, if he set about the business in the right spirit and in the right way. Gandhiji told him that he should go to Karachi only if his own heart was free of all prejudice. His usefulness would depend upon his ability courageously to get his old colleague Qaid-e-Azam to face up to his own declarations respecting the minorities which were being honoured more in the breach than the observance. If Shaheed himself lacked the conviction or if his own mind was clouded, his visit would do more harm than good.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 478-9

223. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 18, 1947

Today we have all lost our senses, we have become stupid. It is not that only the Sikhs have gone mad, or only the Hindus or the Muslims have gone crazy. I am told that the whole thing was started by the Muslims. It is true. I think there is no doubt that the trouble started from their side. But what is the point in harping on it all the time? I have to see what needs to be done today. India is today in the plight of the elephant king.[1] I want to rescue it if I can. What should I do? I must seek God's help. I would be happy if my efforts produced some results. But I am just skin and bones. What can such a man do? Whom can he convince? But God can do everything. Hence, night and day, I turn to Him. I say : "O God, come. Gajaraja is sinking — India is sinking — save her."

It cannot be that no one but Hindus should live in India and if the Muslims want to live here they can do so only as slaves. Just listen to what Jawaharlal says : "We are in great

[1] Gandhiji was alluding to the legend of *Gajendra Moksha*, which was recited earlier during the prayer.

difficulty. We cannot attend to our other work. We are busy only with this problem.'' What if everybody in Pakistan is depraved? I would say, let our India be the sea in which all the inflowing dirt may be washed away. We cannot do bad things because others do them. I went to Daryaganj today. Some Muslim friends also come to me. I talk to them, give them affection and tell them that they should not panic. They should be strong. I tell them to stick to their homes. They cannot do any mischief here. That is why I wish that all Hindus should become sane, all Sikhs should become good. Let the Hindus and the Sikhs tell those Muslims who do not wish to go to Pakistan that they should stick to their homes. We have got the Jama Masjid which is the largest mosque in the world. What will happen to that mosque if we kill most of the Muslims or they go away to Pakistan? Will you transfer that mosque to Pakistan? Or will you destroy that mosque or turn it into a Shiva temple? Suppose some Hindu in his pride wants to turn it into a Shiva temple, or a Sikh wants to turn it into a gurdwara—I would say that it would be an attempt to bury Hinduism and Sikhism. No religion can be built up in this manner.

Those who wish to go to Pakistan should go there. But why should the fear of the Hindus scare them into hiding in the Purana Quila or in Humayun's Tomb? I told them that those Muslims who are still in their houses should stick on there. I also would get killed for their sake. They felt a little reassured and they said they would die in their places but would not run away. They have been living there since ages. Shall we drive them out today? But that cannot be done. What should we do about those who have already left? I told them that we shall not bring them back immediately. Surely we are not going to bring them back with the help of the police and the military. We shall bring them back only when the Hindus and the Sikhs assure them that they are their friends and that they should return to their homes. They must tell those Muslims that there is no need to engage any police or military for them, rather they will be their police, their military and they will all live like brothers. If we do this in Delhi, I assure you that our way in Pakistan will be absolutely cleared. And that will be the beginning of a new life. When I go to Pakistan I will not spare them. I shall die for the Hindus and the Sikhs there. I shall be really glad to die there. I shall be glad to die here too. If I cannot do what I want to do here, I have got to die. I too feel angry. But human beings should control their

anger. I have heard that many women who did not want to lose their honour chose to die. Many men killed their own wives. I think that is really great, because I know that such things make India brave. After all, life and death is a transitory game. Whoever might have died are dead and gone; but at least they have gone with courage. They have not sold away their honour. Not that their lives were not dear to them, but they felt it was better to die with courage rather than be forcibly converted to Islam by the Muslims and allow them to assault their bodies. And so those women died. They were not just a handful, but quite a few. When I hear all these things, I dance with joy that there are such brave women in India. But where is the place for those who have already fled? They must return and return with honour. Let there be justice at least on our side. Let us keep our hearts and hands clean. Then we can ask for justice before the whole world. I have already said that the Muslims who possess arms should surrender their arms. As I said the day before yesterday, let everyone hand over the arms. I think this process will take some time but now that it has started, arms have got to be given up. We cannot protect ourselves with arms.

Another big complaint I have been receiving is that our police and military which includes the Hindus, Sikhs and also Christians and Gorkhas, who are all supposed to be protectors, have themselves become destroyers. I do not know how far this is true. But I want to address myself to the police and request them to behave. I have heard that in some places the police themselves started the looting. I have heard that there was some trouble at Connaught Place today and the soldiers and the police started looting and plundering. Maybe the reports are false. But if there is the slightest truth in them then I will tell the police and the military that the days of the British are over. In those days they could do what they liked. But now they belong to India. They should not behave as if they were enemies of the Muslims. When they are ordered to protect them, they have got to protect them.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 321-3

CWMG-PXXIX

224. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

NEW DELHI,
September 19, 1947

CHI. BHANSALI,

I got both your letters. You are sure to render service wherever you are. But I see that your mind continues to be unsteady. You are not satisfied with the Ashram. I think you are certainly being useful to the Ashram. Your boarding at the Ashram therefore is no less than *charity*[1]. Even in the village you will certainly be fed by the people. Thus as in the immortal words of Akha Bhagat: "Live as you may, but know God anyhow."

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

225. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

September 19, 1947

CHI. RAMESHWARI,

I got your letter yesterday.

This much is clear that if nothing can be done here, I shall not be able to do anything there either. Do what you can surrendering everything to God. All will turn out right.

Jawaharlal told me that you would be coming here. Bapa[2] also said the same. My view is that you should do what you can there with the utmost peace of mind. It is another matter if you can do nothing and can have no peace of mind. In the end, follow the promptings of your heart. Keep well both of you.

The task here is a difficult one. Suhrawardy came yesterday. He is staying with me.

[1] The Gujarati word is "madhukari", the practice of supplying free meals to poor students once a week from one household.

[2] A. V. Thakkar

CWMG - LXXXIX

I feel happy whenever I hear that Brijlal[1] helps you a great deal. This is as it should be. I have his letters. I showed them to Jawaharlal. I am not writing separately to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 8012. Also C. W. 3112. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

226. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 19, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have received a note. It first went to Sardar. The note says that the Hindus would not keep quiet if they were to live with the Muslims. The Hindus had to flee from Pakistan. In Koocha Tara Chand they are surrounded by Muslims and are afraid of being shot by them. Hence it would be better if all the Muslims went away from there. Many of them have already gone, but quite a few are still left behind. I have told you that when I went to them yesterday I told them the opposite thing. So there is no question of migration of those who are here. I would ask the people who have gone away to come back. It is not forcing them to return. Surely we cannot resort to force in the Panchayati Raj that we are having. We must persuade people, train them. Why should we be so frightened of them? Have the Muslims with whom we have been living for years become so bad that they cannot be allowed to stay here? I do not say that they cannot become bad. But if those who were good can become bad, they can again become good also. We may all be good. But it is not enough to be good. We must also be brave and at the same time have wisdom. Then from association with us even the bad people will become good. This is not my law, it is the law of the world. As I told you yesterday, I have learnt this from my childhood. I would not be able to learn any new lesson now. And how long am I going to live? You are telling me all this, but I say that I cannot bear it. Not that I would kill somebody; it is possible that I will die myself.

[1] Addressee's husband

I have another note. Someone gave it to me on the way. Whatever notes I receive on the way, I try to read them in the car. In that note I have been asked why I do not come to my senses even after such atrocities in West Punjab. There is yet another note bearing no name or signature. It is addressed to the members of the Muslim League. It is full of accusations of filthy things. It is difficult to know what will happen to Pakistan and India if the followers of the League behave in that manner. Should we also resort to filthy means? That is not the correct thing, according to me.

Muslims are living around there. Some Muslim workers have chosen to live there. They want to serve the Muslims. Let somebody come and kill them if he wishes. They are living there because they are brave. They approached me. There are quite a few such Muslims. They say that a large number of Muslims have left their homes. But even after that I found that Muslims were in a pretty large number. There were very few Hindus. I told those Hindus, who have escaped, that I have learnt only one thing since my childhood. I have believed even before entering politics that Hindus and Muslims have to live in amity. That is how India is made and that is how India should remain. A man who has been doing the same work from the age of twelve cannot speak anything different today. I would like every man to stand firm in his place and die there. This is what I tell Muslims as well as Hindus.

The Hindus say that Muslims are having arms; if they do not surrender them, how can they be sure that they will not strike them from behind? I would tell the Hindus that we should not bother about this. It is the job of the Government. If they have no license, they cannot possess arms, even for self-defence. But how are they going to defend themselves with arms? If there are five Muslims there are five hundred Hindus and Sikhs. Where is the comparison? Let them continue to live here even if the Hindus and the Sikhs slaughter them. These five who let themselves be killed, and depart with the name of God on their lips rather than use the arms, would be really brave. They should say that the Hindus and the Sikhs are their brothers and may kill them if they choose to. I give the same advice to all. Today a large number of Hindus from Pakistan came to see me and narrated to me their woes. Some narrated their tales smilingly while some women broke down. I told them and through you I wish to tell everybody that we should not be cowards. Just because the Muslims of Pakistan have committed atrocities, let

us not be frightened by the Muslims living here. Let us not frighten them either. There are also some Muslims who just cannot live in Pakistan.

So the note which I have received says that since the non-Muslims are not going to live in Pakistan, why should the Muslims live in India? But I say that if there is one man doing something wrong let us not imitate and do similar things ourselves. Pakistan or Islam cannot mean that non-Muslims cannot live there. The Muslim empire has spread far and wide; but nowhere was it laid down that non-Muslims cannot live there. Non-Muslims used to live there and lived in peace. They also possessed money. Is Islam now coming to India as a new phenomenon? Islam has lived on for the last 1,300 years. There have been great renunciations and sacrifices for its sake. If any other type of Islam emerges, it would not be genuine and acceptable to all Muslims as good. Think over this. It means that true India is not that in which none but the Hindus can live. True Christianity is not that which does not accept in its fold anyone who is not a Christian. That is not religion but irreligion. The world has not followed that path, is not following it at present nor will follow it in future. Why should we then, try to write a new history? Let us not ruin India and allow Pakistan to be ruined. There are 4½ crore Muslims in India. Where can all of them go? And should they take the Jama Masjid, the Aligarh University and all those Muslim tombs to Pakistan? And should all the gurdwaras in West Punjab be brought to East Punjab? If the Hindus cannot live in Pakistan, their temples will then have to be brought here. This means that everybody wants to ruin himself and destroy religion. I have no desire to be a witness to it. Let God take me away before that. And I would say that all those young men should die doing their duty. Let not India be ruined while they are alive. I do not want to see the country ruined. If anything, I only want to see that we all die in the attempt to remove the evils in the country.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 324-7

227. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

NEW DELHI,
September 20, 1947

Respected Balvantsinhaji,

Bapu had your letter but he is not able to reply as he has not a minute to spare.

I am writing as instructed by Bapu:

You should not feel hurt about the *goshala*.[1] Let bygones be bygones. What does the *Ishavasya* verse say? There is nothing [in this world] we can call ours; everything belongs to God. You should not give up drinking cow's milk. If we switch over to goat's milk in place of cow's it is not serving the cow. It is good you are getting cow's milk from a village. Serve the cow in the villages and try to increase the milk yield. See how you can increase the number of cows in the neighbourhood and what fodder and concentrates should be given to them so that we get better milk. This is the true service.

You are not to go elsewhere. If anything should happen to you, die at your post. Do what you can there. There is plenty of work to be done.

Regards from
MANU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 1984

228. TALK WITH AN ADVOCATE

NEW DELHI,
September 20, 1947

ADVOCATE: You should publicly state that so long as the Muslims do not surrender their weapons they cannot be resettled.

GANDHIJI: You do not seem to be aware that I have already stated this publicly.

You should also say that the refugees fleeing to India are being murdered.

[1] Since the *goshala* had been handed over to the Talimi Sangh and it had become difficult to get milk the addressee was thinking of giving up milk.

CWMG - LXXXIX

I cannot state this because both the communities are in the same plight. I have said that any man who is not loyal to India may be shot. Surely it is not your argument that all the Muslims are bad and all the Hindus are good or that all of them are goondas. You do not suggest that even those not proved guilty should be shot. Yes, the British did that. But now we are dealing with our own brethren. Everybody says that Suhrawardy is a goonda. And yet what was achieved in Calcutta could not have been achieved if I had been all alone and his help had not been forthcoming. If people drink, does that mean we should also drink? Therefore we must either purify Hinduism or die in the attempt. But if we do with others as others do with us, then we might as well become Muslims. Let us be upholders of Hinduism, not its destroyers. If we become destroyers of Hinduism then certainly I do not wish to be a witness to it. I would rather die before that. All Hindus should make their hearts pure. I commend the action of the sisters who threw themselves into wells. What was done in Bihar was no trifling matter. But Biharis are simple people. They admitted their guilt. What has happened in Pakistan is certainly terrible from all accounts.

Do you think four-and-a-half crores of Muslims will not get out of hand some day?

It is my firm conviction that that will not happen, provided, of course, that Hindus do what I say. And if they do that, Muslims will respect them.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, 34

229. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 20, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

You must pray to God and have faith in Him. Everyone is not convinced of this. People ask : 'Where is God?' They ask why they should be in so much trouble if God exists. If the Muslims are in trouble, they question the truth of Allah and the Koran. A large number of people talk in these terms, but they are all mistaken. This is the time to remember Khuda, Allah, Ishwar and Rama. He helps us without fail. Surely He is not going to ask us if we have recognized Him. We cannot

hold Him in our hands nor see Him with our eyes, or hear Him with our ears. That is why it is said that He is beyond our physical senses. He is real; all else is unreal. We are all unreal. We may ask how we can be unreal when we are alive. I am alive today. But no one can tell me if I shall be alive tomorrow. I have thus passed 78 years wondering about tomorrow. I may live for a few days more or I may live for another year. But how can we know—how can I say—that the man who is alive now will be living the next minute? No one can say that. That is why I say that we are all unreal and we can never be sure what may happen to us at any moment. We cannot survive for ever. He alone can be real. The word *hasti* is derived from the Sanskrit word *asti*, which means 'to be', it was, it is and it will remain forever. What lives for ever is this Reality (God) that has created us and can destroy us and that takes us away from the world. In my view He never destroys us; He only helps us. If today we suspect that He cannot be realized and therefore get angry, it would be foolish. But He exists and is capable of doing everything. He is *Rahim*[1] and all are equal in his eyes. He would never harm anyone, nor kill or curse anyone. That is His law.

Muslims also come to me. They narrate to me their plight here. They say that they have been living in Delhi but now they find it impossible to do so. I tell them that they should continue to live here as long as I am alive. During the Khilafat days Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, all used to be together. I have gone to gurdwaras accompanied by Muslims. During that famous Nankana incident[2] Maulana Saheb and the Ali Brothers were with me. There was a general feeling of fellowship, whether they were Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs. What happened at Jallianwala Bagh? People cried at the top of their voices that the blood of all communities had mingled there. Who could separate them? How is it that they have now been separated? I am really perplexed. If I am still here, alive, it is only in the belief that the blood of these three communities is one. I would do everything possible to prove this. I would cry myself hoarse and shed tears before God in order to attain this. I do not shed tears before man, but I can do so before God. I can plead with Him, because I am His slave. Everybody should be His slave. Then there would be no need for man to be anybody's slave. I say that I would wish to be alive if I can do this. If not, I would wish that God takes me away.

[1] Merciful

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 386 and 396-8.

My head bows in shame, I feel ashamed that the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, who till recently looked upon one another as brothers have now become enemies. Let at least some people come forward and say that they cannot be enemies. Four or five persons who came to me said that 4½ crore Muslims would become traitors when the time came. For, after all, they are Muslims, and there are Muslims in Pakistan too. Supposing there was a war between India and Pakistan, or some similar conditions arose, would they not, in that event, secretly help Pakistan? I told these people that some [Muslims] might very well help Pakistan, but all of them would not do so. I told those people that if they would remain good, if we would remain good, if all Hindus in large number here and all the Sikhs would remain good and not consider any Muslim their enemy, then I could claim at the top of my voice that none of these 4½ crore Muslims would turn disloyal. We must be brave. Being in the majority we should not be cowards. There are 4½ crore Muslims in India but the total population of the country is 40 crores. Should they become such cowards as to be afraid of 4½ crore Muslims? I say that if those 4½ crore Muslims betray the country, they would be betraying Islam, and they would be destroying Islam. But if we also behave that way, and become cowards and traitors and do not trust them at all and do not allow a single Muslim to live here, let me tell you that the Hindus alone would not be able to eat a morsel here. Their food would become poison.

If there is aggression from the Muslims outside India or from any other power or from Pakistan, I say that these 4½ crore Muslims here will have to be loyal to the country. The law says that if they are not loyal to the country, they should be shot. My law is however different. I have explained it to you. But who is going to accept it? According to the law of the world the only punishment for a traitor, a fifth columnist, anyone indulging in subversive activities against his own country, is death. I say that in such a vast country, all the 4½ crore Muslims cannot be traitors. Who has seen all these 4½ crore Muslims? They are in our seven lakh villages. A few are in the cities. They are in U. P., in Bihar, scattered in the villages. I have lived in the villages and I know them all. They can never be traitors. There are Muslims in Sevagram too. They are working there. They would be loyal to Sevagram, they would lay down their lives for it. What do they know what the Muslims in other places may be doing? And why should we be afraid of traitors? I am not afraid of them. If, living in India,

they become traitors, I would say that they are keen on dying and on destroying Islam.

Real kafirs are those who eat our bread, serve in our posts but act as our enemies and cut our throats. There are such Hindus too; and also Sikhs and Muslims. There are all kinds of people in this world. But it would be cowardice to believe that all the $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims living here would become such traitors. It shows that we are not true Hindus, nor true Sikhs. Our goodness and the goodness of all the officials, the goodness and courage of the Hindus and the Sikhs lies in telling the Muslims not to leave. They must be persuaded and convinced that no one would be allowed to touch them. They should be asked to forget our wrongful deeds and assured that such deeds will not be repeated. We should ask them why they want to leave, and whether they know what will happen to them in Pakistan. They must be reminded that they have their homes and everything else here. If we kept them back with such affection the Muslim Afridis in the Frontier Province and Dera-Ismail Khan would tell our people that they should not run away. This is the effect of good behaviour. If you maintain peace in Delhi, and that not because you are afraid or because Gandhi says it, but because that is the honest desire in your heart, I can promise you that no Muslim will do you any harm. And if he does, there is God above. He is all-powerful, and all must answer Him. He will protect us, and I have no doubt about it at all in my heart.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 327-31

230. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI[1]

September 21, 1947

My eyes were closed; but I was so pained that I felt like weeping. . . .[2] A *bhajan* is not an exercise in singing; it should make us one with God. It was like making fun of God. If [Abha][3] and you do not believe in God, better give up praying. I depend upon [you two] and if you behave like hired singers, it is as good as killing me. I expected this the least from you.

[1] The addressee and Abha Gandhi had burst into laughter because they had found themselves out of tune while singing a *bhajan* during the evening prayer. *Vide* also pp. 217-8.

[2]&[3] Omissions as in the source

A particle of blemish in you appears like a mountain. I will not tolerate even a single shortcoming in you.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 42

231. LETTER TO JETHALAL

NEW DELHI,
September 21, 1947

CHI. JETHALAL,

I saw your article only today. I read it. But I could not get much out of it. It need not be printed. If you implement somewhere the scheme that you have conceived and make a success of it, I might get something out of it; also others. In Bijolia you are where you were. How successful were you? Did you learn anything new, or were your old ideas confirmed? Think over this and send me a brief reply. In the meanwhile I am preserving your article. Write to me about khadi, cow, paper-making and other village industries. How many of you are there?

Know that I didn't have the time to write even this much. I have stolen time from other schedule.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

232. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

September 21, 1947

CHI. SATISBABU,

I have your telegram. When Hemprabhadevi sent for me, I had to go to Calcutta. She has written to Bisen. I learnt from her letter that Babua is still not well and now Kshitish Babu[1] is ill. Who will look after Sodepur in these circumstances? We have to think of all this.

How is your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 9287

[1] Addressee's brother

CWMG - INDEX

233. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 21, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims cannot continue to live the way they are living now. It pains me very much and I shall do everything humanly possible to remedy the situation. Let me tell you that if I cannot do what my heart desires, I shall not feel happy to remain alive.[1] It is well and good if God takes that work out of me. But if that is not to happen, I will believe that my work is over. It is not that I would like to die by committing suicide. It is true that for those who wish to spend their lives in serving others, there can be no other test. Let them not be disturbed if they find their efforts bearing no fruit. But when one's efforts do not bring forth results, one must dry up like a tree which does not bear fruits. And he does dry up. That is the law of nature. According to Hindu philosophy, the soul is immortal. It does not die. A body which has outlived itself is of no use and must perish. A new body takes its place. But the soul is immortal and assumes ever-new physical forms in order to attain *mukti*[2] through service.

Today I went to a place where a large number of Hindus on the one side and Muslims on the other were living together. They raised the slogan "Mahatma Gandhi Zindabad". What did it mean? What purpose would it serve if Hindus and Muslims were not one at heart and could not live together in peace? So I found that cry somewhat harsh. I asked those Muslims why they should be in panic. We have to die ultimately, and so we shall. If we are killed, it will be at the hands of none else but our own brothers. I appealed to them not to be angry with Hindus, nor try to kill them. I said they might die, but should not run away from their place in panic. But I also

[1] As one person in the audience objected to the *Al Fateha* being recited, prayers were not held on Birla House lawn. Gandhiji, however, addressed the audience and said that he was going to argue with the objector. According to *The Hindustan Times*, 22-9-1947, Gandhiji held the prayer in his room after the meeting.

[2] Liberation

heard people saying that the Mahatma was a bad man wanting to bring back the Muslims to the houses from where they had been driven out. It is indeed true that I want to bring them back. But how do I want to bring them back? Those who wish to go to Pakistan out of their own choice should not be prevented in any way. But it would pain me very much if they wanted to go because they were afraid, because they felt that the Government was not able to protect them and the Hindus and the Sikhs would not protect them in any case. To those who do not want to go to Pakistan and want to live here, I shall say that they should not go from here. I told them that those who have gone away from here could and should come back only when the Hindus and the Sikhs would gladly permit them to do so. I do not approve of bringing them back with the help of the police and the army. I tell them to give up the idea of police and military help. We shall do ourselves what we want to do. We shall die if we are destined to die. But if one person is bent upon killing, if he has lost his senses, why should I retaliate by losing my senses in turn? I would prefer to die at his hands. I am not speaking on behalf of the Government. The Government is not in my hands. You know the way I am made. If somebody goes crazy and indulges in evil acts, I cannot do the same. Later on, that man will learn from me how to be good. There are 40 crore Hindus and Muslims in India. A few lakh Muslims have gone to Pakistan. But there are still $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims in India. The rest are all Hindus. There is a small proportion of Parsi, Christian and Jewish population. But that is hardly significant. Thus if they want to perish by fighting each other, let them do so, but life is not worth living if one has to survive with the help of the police and the army. What should the Government do in the face of such fighting by Hindus and Muslims among themselves? Let the Government declare that it can act only in that manner or it is ready to resign. Then let those who want only the Hindus in India because there are only Muslims in Pakistan form the Government. Does it mean that we should act in frenzy because the people in Pakistan are doing so? We can do so if we so wish. Suppose there is a friend whom I abuse and he abuses me still more in turn. It is all right. But if I hear his abuses in silence, how long will he go on abusing? If he beats me, I submit to that too. I do not raise my fist against his fist. Do you know what would happen in that case? I have seen that if a man swings his fist in the air, he injures

his own hand. Even a boxer boxes against a big stiff cushion. He enjoys the game only when he strikes against some tangible object. But if the boxer does not keep something in front of him he becomes helpless and is able to do nothing. What I have told you is an eternal truth. I am the only one steadfastly clinging to it. People are not following that path these days. God alone knows if I will be able to stand by that truth till the end. I am making a simple point today. Let the Muslims who have left their homes remain where they are, but they have got to be fed. We cannot starve them and then ask them to go to Pakistan. We are preparing the ground for war by doing so. The Congress Government is really for the service of the country and not for money, not for power; and it is meant not for one community or two but for all communities. If people are angry and are not satisfied with its service and do not allow it to serve, it should step down. And then let there be a government of those who want to keep only the Hindus in India. But that would lead to the ruin of Hinduism and Hindustan also. Let us forget Pakistan. Let it do whatever it wants. Let us think only about India. Then the whole world will admire us and be with us. Otherwise, the world which has been looking towards India all this time will start ignoring it. The countries of the world regarded India as a great country inhabited by good people who could not be corrupted. That faith would then be destroyed. You may behave as you like. But I shall continue to warn you, so long as I am alive, that such behaviour would bring no good to any one.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 331-4

234. SILENCE-DAY NOTE[1]

[After *September 21, 1947*][2]

These are not old days. Now there are wheels within wheels. You can't do any useful service by seeing these military men except as friendly faces who will give you a warm welcome but nothing more. That is my reaction. The thing is beyond me except in my own way which has no vogue today.

From the original: C. W. 5483. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9482

[1&2] Addressed presumably to Mirabehn, this was written on the back of a Gujarati letter dated September 21, 1947.

235. MY DUTY[1]

This heading has reference only to my duty about the conducting of the *Harijan* papers. A fair number of replies have been received in answer to my query[2]. The majority of the readers with a few exceptions want the papers to be continued. The purport of these letters is that the readers desire my views on present-day topics. This means that probably after my death these will no longer be required.

My death can take place in three ways:

1. The usual dissolution of the body.
2. Only the eyes move but the mind no longer works.
3. The body and mind may work but I may withdraw from all public activity.

The first kind overtakes everybody—some die today, others tomorrow. It demands no consideration.

The second variety is to be wished by or for nobody. I for one do not wish for any such imbecile state. It is a burden on earth.

The third variety does demand serious consideration. Some readers suggest that the period of my active life should be over now. A new age for India began on 15th August last. There is no place for me in that age. I detect anger in this advice as it is worded. It therefore carries little weight with me. Such counsellors are few. I have come to an independent conclusion. The *Harijan* papers are being conducted and published under the Navajivan Trust. The trustees can stop publication whenever they choose. They have full powers. They do not desire any such stoppage. My life-line is cast in active public service. I have not attained the state which is known as "action in inaction".[3] My activity, therefore, seems at present to be destined to continue till the last breath. Nor is it capable of being divided into water-tight compartments. The root of all lies in Truth otherwise known to me as non-violence. Hence the papers must continue as they are. "One step enough for me."

September 22, 1947

Harijan, 28-9-1947

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 28-9-1947.

[2] *Vide* pp. 82-3.

[3] *Vide* also p. 341.

236. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

September 22, 1947

You asked me a question but did not wait for a reply.[1] I sent for you but gave up when . . .[2] could not understand. I am not angry; I am unhappy. I am helpless if you do not understand my unhappiness.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 43

237. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

September 22, 1947

CHI. MANUDI,

There are two ways in which you can cure my unhappiness.[4] One is immediately to write down a confession and read it out this very day. The other is henceforth to make your life one with God. Then there can be no frivolous laughter. . . .[5] Read out the confession at the public prayer meeting. That will cleanse the heart. The confession should not be forced, nor should it be made out of shame. A public confession is my own innovation. . . .[6] cannot understand its significance. It is my suggestion. Stick to your resolve sincerely. Then only will you rise.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 43-4

[1] The addressee had asked Gandhiji whether he was still angry with her because of the incident at the prayer the previous day; *vide* pp. 211-2. Gandhiji nodded. The addressee did not grasp his meaning and got busy with her duties. Gandhiji then sent her this note.

[2] Omission as in the source

[3] In reply to this the addressee expressed her deep regret for her lapse the previous evening, and asked Gandhiji what she could do to remove his unhappiness. For Gandhiji's reply, *vide* the following item.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

[5] &[6] Omissions as in the source

238. DRAFT OF A CONFESSION[1]

September 22, 1947

We two girls were guilty of a grievous error during the prayer yesterday. We wish to purify ourselves by confessing it before all of you. The error consisted in our bursting into laughter when we went out of tune. We knew that it was wrong to laugh but we could not control ourselves. This shows that we are not absorbed in prayer. We thus insulted our Maker. Bapu has repeatedly told us that a prayer is effective only when we are thinking of God. We knew that even though his eyes were closed Bapu would know and would be much hurt, and that is what happened. We sought his forgiveness and he has forgiven us. But the pain has persisted. It persists even now. We hope that our public confession will relieve it to some extent. Only our future conduct can wholly eliminate it. We entreat the public to bless us that God may make and keep the two of us pure.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 44-5

239. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

September 22, 1947

CHI. JIVANJI,

I have revised the accompanying in great hurry. All helpers are new and inexperienced and I have, therefore, to put up with considerable inconvenience. But I will live as He wills.

The original English by Valjibhai is also enclosed. Check the translation carefully with it. I think it would be better to ask Valjibhai himself to supply the Gujarati translation of his English articles.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 6958. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji for Manu and Abha Gandhi. It was read out by Manu at the prayer meeting the same day. *Vide* also the preceding two items.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LXXXIX

240. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

NEW DELHI,
September 22, 1947

CHI. VALJI,

I saw your three articles yesterday and revised them the same day. Today I have sent them to *Harijan*. I liked all three of them. Who will render them into Gujarati? If you send [the translation] soon it can reach by this week. It would be better if hereafter you send versions in all the three languages. I shall be able to do but little. I hope you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

241. LETTER TO MANGALDAS

NEW DELHI,
September 22, 1947

BHAI MANGALDAS,

I got the demand draft as usual and it will be used strictly as desired by you. For the present I am held up here. I shall regard it as a new birth if I can get away from here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG LXXXIX

242. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 22, 1947

Though I believe that I was wise in having yielded to a solitary objector and refrained from holding public prayer,[2] it is not improper to examine the incident a little more fully. The prayer was public only in the sense that no member of the public was debarred from attending it. It was on private premises. Propriety required that those only should attend who believed whole-heartedly in the prayer including verses from the Koran. Indeed the rule should be applicable to prayer held even on public grounds. A prayer meeting is not a debating assembly. It is possible to conceive prayer meetings of many communities on the same plot of land. Decency requires that those who are opposed to particular prayers shall abstain from attending the meetings they object to. The reverse would make any meeting impossible without disturbance. Freedom of worship, even of public speech, would become a farce if interference became the order of the day. In decent society the exercise of this elementary right should not need the protection of the bayonet. It should command universal acceptance.

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

Let me not be told, as I have often been, that it is all due to the misdeeds of the Muslim League. Assuming the truth of the remark, is our toleration made of such poor stuff that

[1] As Gandhiji was observing silence his written speech in Hindustani was read out at the meeting.

[2] Gandhiji was referring to the incident of the previous day; *vide* footnote 1, p. 213.

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

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

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

Surely it is cowardly on the part of the majority to kill or banish the minority for fear that they will all be traitors. Scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities well becomes a majority. Disregard of them makes of a majority a laughing-stock. Robust faith in oneself and brave trust of the opponent, so-called or real, is the best safeguard. Therefore I plead with all the earnestness at my command that all the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims in Delhi should meet together in friendly embrace and set a noble example to the rest of India, shall I say, to the world? Delhi should forget what other parts of India have done or are doing. Then only will it claim the proud privilege of having broken the vicious circle of private revenge and retaliation. They belong, if they ever do, to the State, never to the citizens as individuals.

Harijan, 5-10-1947

243. A LETTER

DELHI,
September 23, 1947

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter received last night. I showed it to Sardar who was first with me. Then came Jawaharlal Nehru. The former said, he could do nothing. The latter said, work was there but he did not know what you could do.

Dr. Gopichand is the deciding party. I am not in touch with him. So my advice is, act directly.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

244. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 23, 1947

CHI. NARANDAS,

This statement seems all right. May your desire be fulfilled. It should, however, be remembered that this *yajna*[1] must not be felt as a hardship by anybody. Its importance lies in the largest number joining it. But till that time comes, all those who join it at present should put all their strength behind it, provided of course that nobody works so hard that he or she gets exhausted by the effort.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 8645. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Rentia Yajna*, or *Rentia Baras*, which was observed with non-stop sacrificial spinning on *Bhadra Pad Vad* 12, Gandhiji's birthday according to Vikram Calendar

CWMG - LXXXIX

245. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 23, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

It has been said that prayer is no ordinary thing. It is something noble. In the course of our lives we talk all kinds of things, we talk quite a bit in 24 hours, we commit crimes and run madly after money; so let us at least offer some prayer. It would be a great thing if we pray together. If 40 crores pray in their own languages in the belief that God is one, it would be a great thing. And then we should not mind if there are some stanzas from the Koran in the prayer. Those who protest against recitation from the Koran, do so in anger.[1] But, because the Muslims are harassing the Hindus and Sikhs and killing them, should we get angry over the Koran? What the Muslims have done is not good, but what harm has the Koran done? If one devotee of God commits a sin, shall we stop repeating His name? God is only one. If the devotees of God say that what the Hindus have done is bad, does it also mean that the *Gita* is bad? If the Sikhs have done bad things, should we stop reading the Granth Saheb? What harm has the Granth Saheb done ? What if the Sikhs go crazy, if the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis go crazy? Their religions and all the sacrifices made in the name of those religions will remain for ever.

Some people who came to me from Rawalpindi were strong, sturdy, and brave, and were big business magnates. Rawalpindi was built by the Hindus and the Sikhs. So also was Lahore. And, was the whole of Pakistan built solely by the Muslims? What is Pakistan today was built by the common efforts of all, not only of one community. It would not be proper to say that India was built by the Hindus since their number is much larger. It has been built by the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs, by the Parsis and the Christians. All have contributed to making India what it is today. I told these friends that they should keep calm, and that after all, there was God to take care of everything.

[1] According to *The Hindustan Times*, 24-9-1947, before beginning the prayer Gandhiji asked the audience whether anybody had any objection to the recitation from Koran; there was none.

There is no place where there is no God. Pray to God and repeat His name, and then all will be well. They asked me what we should do about those who are in Pakistan. But I in turn asked them why they came here instead of laying down their lives there. I am firm in my belief that in spite of atrocities being committed we should remain where we are and die. If people come to kill us, let us die. But let us die with courage, repeating the name of God. I have taught the same thing to the girls. I have told them to learn the art of dying with the name of God on their lips. There may be a wicked man who refuses to see the reality—he may be a Hindu, a Sikh, a Parsi or anyone else—but they can at least refuse to be cowed down by him. If he offers money, he should be told that he may kill right at that moment instead of five minutes later, but it should be made clear to him that they will not submit to him. They should not be taken in just because of the money. I will give the same advice to the girls as long as I am alive. I cannot give them any other advice. I do not wish to forget God. That is why I am telling all that the greatest courage and understanding lie in learning the art of dying. Then alone can they live. If they do not learn the art of dying, they will die before their time. I do not wish that anybody should die before his time. I also told the Muslims that they should not leave their homes. Rather, they should die where they were. I told the same thing to the people from Rawalpindi. I will plead with the Government to do whatever they can. I told them that since they had come here, they should visit the camps and work there. I said they were strong people and should not lose heart. I told them they should not plead helplessness and be worried about lack of accommodation. I told them there was accommodation all right—Mother Earth is our house and we have the sky overhead. The Muslims who have gone away in panic have left behind their houses and their lands. Should I tell them that they should occupy the houses of those Muslims? I cannot say anything of the kind. Those houses still belong to their Muslim owners as they did in the past. They have run away in fear. If they have gone away of their own accord and if they feel that they will be happy in Pakistan, let them be happy there. Do not harm them. Let them go in peace. They should take their property and jewellery with them. The houses they leave will be in the possession of the Government and it can do whatever it chooses about them. It would not be proper if our refugees go and occupy

them on their own. One thing I know for certain is that you should be strong and do as I tell you so that you can let me go from here. I want to go to the Punjab. I want to go to Lahore. I do not want to go with any police or military escort. I want to go alone, depending only on God. I want to go with faith and trust in the Muslims there. Let them kill me if they want. I would die smiling, and silently pray that God should be kind to them. And how can God be kind to them? By making them good. With God, the only way of making them good is by purifying their hearts. God will listen to me if I do not have a feeling of animosity even for one who regards me as his enemy. Then that man would ask himself what he would have gained by killing me. He would wonder what harm I had done him. If they kill me they have a right to do so. That is why I want to go to Lahore. I want to go to Rawalpindi. Let the Government stop me if they will. But how can the Government stop me? They will have to kill me if they want to stop me. If they kill me, my death will leave a lesson for you. It will make me very happy. What will be that lesson? It will be that you may have to die but you will not wish evil to anybody.

Dhruva was a mere child. He prayed to God. What about Prahlad? He was a boy of twelve. He also did the same. And we are all their descendants. Those who are familiar with the Granth Saheb must be knowing that Guru Nanak Saheb taught that we should not have evil thoughts for anyone, nor use the sword against anyone. The greatest bravery lies in having the courage to die. If our people have to die in this manner, let us not be angry with anybody. You must admire those people for dying and pray to God that He grant a similar opportunity to all of us. Let this be our sincere prayer. I would tell you what I told those people from Rawalpindi. I told them that they should go there and meet the Hindu and Sikh refugees. They should request them to return on their own, not under police or military protection. If you avoid fighting in Delhi I will take it that God has granted my prayer. Then with the grace of God, I will go to the Punjab. Let me tell you that once peace descends on Delhi, I shall not stay here even a day longer. I have not stayed here for pleasure. I have stayed on for rendering service. I have remained here to do all that a man can do to extinguish the fire raging here. So I wish to tell you and those friends who have come from Rawalpindi how

you should live and what you should do so that the fragrance of your lives spreads over the whole of India and the world.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 337-40

246. A LETTER

September 24, 1947

DEAR SISTER,[1]

Brijkrishna handed me your letter just after morning prayer. The past I do not remember. I do not know the context. The present I do know even if I am alone. I must not be party to exclusive Hindu mentality nor to killing and banishing. Undisciplined instinct may lead one to savagery.

Wait, watch and pray.

Blessings from[2]
BAPU

PS.

I wrote a note yesterday.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

247. LETTER TO DANIEL THOMAS

NEW DELHI,
September 24, 1947

DEAR DANIEL,

Of course it is good you are making eight more districts dry. There can be no rest until the whole province is dry. Are you following up the law[3] by doing the constructive and educative work I pointed out[4] the other day in the columns of *Harijan*?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE MINISTER OF PROHIBITION
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 11-10-1947

[1]&[2] The superscription and subscription are in Hindi.
[3] Prohibition Act
[4] *Vide* pp. 165-6.

CWMG - LXXXIX

248. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

September 24, 1947

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

You have given Rs. 1,000 in connection with the Dharmanand [Kosambi] Memorial but a sum of Rs. 25,000 is required to run it properly. You should collect the amount. Write to me if you can do it.

Father[1] had undertaken to shoulder all the responsibility for the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. That too you ought to take up. Talk it over with Kakasaheb and then write to me.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

249. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI[2]

NEW DELHI,
September 24, 1947

Now tell me the final amount and I will arrange it. I don't know how long I shall be alive. After my death all the responsibility will rest on you people. And you will have to discharge it properly.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10815

250. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 24, 1947

CHI. KAKA,

Please go on with your work regarding the Dharmanand [Kosambi] Memorial. I will collect Rs. 25,000. Just now I am writing[3] to Kamalnayan about it as also about the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. I had a letter from Amritlal also regarding the Hindustani Prachar and have asked Bisen to reply[4] to it.

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj

[2] This is an extract from a letter from Bisen to the addressee; *vide* also the following item.

[3] *Vide* item 248 above.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

I don't follow what you mean by your reference to the misunderstanding in connection with Dharmanand. I don't have the slightest idea that what I am saying on the subject now is different from what I said before. I certainly don't wish to back out. I have not transferred, and do not wish to transfer, the responsibility of collecting the money to you. I do feel, of course, that I would not have undertaken that responsibility, if you had not shown interest in the scheme. But I see no inconsistency in that. Please explain to me again. If there has been any error on my part, I will admit it. I have often confessed that my memory is not what it used to be. As I have admitted my shortcoming, the question of reminding me of it again does not arise.

It is no doubt worthy of you that you should work as the chairman, secretary and peon all rolled into one in regard to this scheme. But it would certainly be better if we could get Bala Saheb[1], or Cousins[2], or Rukminibehn or Sophia Wadia. Do what you think proper.

I have no doubt at all that we should ask for no grants from the Central Government for Hindustani propaganda work. Let Sunderlal or the Urdu Anjuman get them. We do not wish to follow their example.

I agree with what you write about the Muslims. If possible, I will write[3] on the subject in the very next issue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10991. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

251. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

September 24, 1947

CHI. RAMESHWARI,

All the letters you sent recently have been received. The long one too I read with close attention. My heart is with you but until the fire here dies down I shall be useless there.

I got all the letters of Brijlal too. I also showed them to Jawaharlal.

[1] B. G. Kher
[2] Dr. James H. Cousins
[3] *Vide* "Hindustani", pp. 248-9.

If your services are not required there, you may certainly come here after meeting your mother. Here too there is plenty of work. It would be best to live at Harijan Niwas; a refugee camp is situated nearby.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

252. TALK WITH JAMSAHEB OF NAWANAGAR

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
September 24, 1947

GANDHIJI: If war comes to Kathiawar it would be the fault of the rulers.

JAMSAHEB: But where do we have the arms? Before the 15th we were treated as step sons.

If the ruler has the subjects with him, what can a single Junagadh[1] do? If even one ruler decides that he will function as a trustee of his subjects, he can rule for ever. The rulers express their willingness, readily enough, but I doubt whether they do so from the heart. If you can win the hearts of your people, rest assured Junagadh will be with you. If a man is pure he can have nothing secret. In India the Princes are the weakest part. But through the skill of Sardar all the Princes have now been brought in. However, the rulers of Kathiawar should be united. That is why I have been talking of the unity of Kathiawar these last so many years. The railways of Kathiawar are in a bad shape. Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Morvi, Porbundar, have all their separate railways. In the third class there are not even lights. That is why these trains were called Bapu's trains.[2] When I used to be a student of Shamaldas College the state of affairs was the same. This is merely an example. If there is one administration, one currency and if the people are united the Sardar will not say no. Kathiawar has much potential strength.

[From Gujarati]
Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 48

[1] The reference is to its Nawab's decision to accede to Pakistan. The State, however, subsequently joined the Indian Union.
[2] In Kathiawar the ruler was addressed as Bapu.

CWMG LXXXIX

253. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 24, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

The *bhajan*[1] which you heard today applies well to the present situation. We can all describe ourselves today as 'wrecked boats'. And then we pray to God that He may bring us to the shore, that is, without His grace our boat cannot reach the shore. This is the condition of our country today and I see it everyday. Somehow, a feeling of animosity has taken possession of us. There is so much anger in the hearts of both the Hindus and the Muslims, that we would not let the Muslims live in Delhi. The Hindus and the Sikhs have been driven out of Pakistan. I hear that even the minds of small children have been poisoned. It is true that all that is the propaganda of the Muslim League. I am a witness to the propaganda of the Muslim League that the Muslims would *take* Pakistan by force, not by negotiating for it, not by pleading their case with the Hindus and other non-Muslims. It was our misfortune that for years they went on clamouring that they would take Pakistan by force. But that will never do. What is the point in having it by force? In a way we can say that they have not taken Pakistan by force. Rather we have granted it, the Congress has granted it. There would have been no Pakistan without the British agreeing to the demand. However much the Congress might have agreed to it, the ultimate power was in the hands of the British. They had to give up that power. Why? Because they could not have ruled here any longer. We did not fight against them with the sword. Ours was a war without weapons. We say that ours was a non-violent struggle. That is how India has won freedom. India was partitioned. The Congress agreed to the division. The Congress felt that there was no point in brothers going on fighting. The better thing would be to grant them what they wanted. But some of them feel that they have not got Pakistan in full. But they have accepted what was granted, leaving the rest of it for the future. So, we did get our freedom but we could not digest it with all the poison every-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 437.

where. And the dispute between us did not end. The supporters of the Muslim League delivered poisonous speeches. Are all the people living in Pakistan Muslims? There are also the Hindus, the Parsis, the Sikhs and the Christians living there. Let them make all in their country happy. Let them prove to them that all of them will have equal rights. The Government will be no doubt theirs because they are in the majority. That is all right, but the Government has to function with a sense of justice. They did say so, but it could not be carried out. Why should I go into the reasons as to why it could not be done? I know everything that has happened there. The Muslims went berserk. They thought that since they were now free they could kill and slaughter. It all started from there. And once it started, there were the Sikhs who are also warriors. How could they take it lying down? They also started killing and slaughtering. That is the story which is not yet over.

Thousands of people come to me and say that they cannot live there any longer. They say that they are being forced to embrace Islam and if they fail to do so they are threatened that they will be kept as slaves. How could they agree to such a condition? They have come here under compulsion. We can embrace Islam of our own free choice. But getting converted to Islam out of fear is another matter. One cannot abandon one's religion for the sake of earning one's livelihood. Abandoning religion under compulsion is not religion but irreligion. What is the value of mere survival of a man or woman who has lost his or her self-respect—and religion constitutes self-respect. Let me tell you that those who give up their religion for the sake of money, jewellery or employment, cannot be following any religion. They do not deserve to be called Hindus, nor can they be good Muslims. Do we become Muslims just by reciting the *Kalma* under compulsion? I do not recite here the *Kalma* but *fateha*. Both are remarkable. It is ordained in the *Kalma* that there is only one God and Hazrat Mohammed is His Prophet. The earlier prophets do not count before him. But it is clearly stated in the *fateha* that God is our Lord and Master. He can protect everyone; let Him protect us too. But even though *fateha* is wonderful, how can one be forced to recite it? If we recite it, it can be only of our own free will. But if somebody forces me to recite it under threat of gun, I would certainly not like to do it. I have just a handful of bones in my body. But my heart belongs to me. So do your hearts belong to you and the hearts of these girls belong

to them. These girls can declare that they would never give up their dharma. But today we are all facing a challenge. In such a situation, what should India do? How should we act? That is a big problem before you. The trains coming from Pakistan these days do not bring the Muslims. The Hindus and the Sikhs are brought in those trains. Some get killed in the train. And the people who go from here are Muslims who are killed on the way. I am told that I should count the figures. What figures should I count? I have no figures with me. And what will I do knowing the figures? I would only say that one may consume one bottle of liquor and get intoxicated. Someone else may drink two bottles and also get completely intoxicated. Both get intoxicated. But another man drinks something by which he cannot get intoxicated, such as clean water from a river. You may call it liquor but it cannot intoxicate anyone. Who would call that water alcohol? For alcohol is the thing that robs one of all one's senses and turns one crazy. The thing is we are all intoxicated at the moment. Now suppose the Muslim League does something crazy because something got into its head. And then we think that if they can behave like that let us also behave in the same manner. You may want to rule the whole of India and destroy Pakistan. But I tell you that we have agreed to the formation of Pakistan. Where then is the question of destroying it? We cannot destroy it. We cannot destroy it with our physical strength or with the help of the sword. If we try to destroy Pakistan, both the countries are going to sink. Ours is a wrecked ship. We are sinking today. If you imagine today that we should fight and win, I would say that even before you win some other world power is going to swallow you. It would swallow both the countries. If all my friends, who are sensible people and who have spent many years in such work, understand this much, we would be safe. But how could that happen when both are busy emptying whisky bottles and enjoy doing so? I would entreat them to discard the whisky bottle and throw it into the sea because it contains poison. We shall not harm the Muslims any more. If they wish to go on their own, we would let them go. But we shall not force them to leave. They are in their own houses. They are not in a majority. Why should we become cowards and harass them? We are free. The whole country is free. Why should they be under the impression that we are going to devour them? Are the Muslims such creatures that the Hindus can devour them if they are available? The Congress has made so much sacrifice.

Year after year it has been making the highest sacrifices which involved a large number of Hindus and Muslims. Have they all been possessed by some madness now after freedom? Shall we throw away in our intoxication that freedom which has come after so many sacrifices? How shameful it is! I would not tell you these things if you get excited after reading the news in the Press and think that they can never belong to you. I told you yesterday that the whole trouble can be stopped. How can it be done? We must purify ourselves. Purifying ourselves means being courageous. A person who can be courageous would not indulge in such activities. You have the support of your Government. The Government looks after the administration of the country. Gone are the days of the British Government when we could not refer our problems to it. Today you have your own Government. We can tell the Government how it should go about settling these things. After all, there are only $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims in the country. Why should we be scared of them? Suppose you kill $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims, what would you do after that? And there are so many Muslims in Pakistan. Whom would you kill there? The Pakistanis would like to settle accounts with you for those $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims here. You would not be able to accept that challenge, because they would have the support of the whole world. That is why I say that we should remain pure. Let us keep our accounts clear. Let us not be in the position of debtors. If we are in the position of creditors, I tell you that your Government will have to give ultimatum to Pakistan. All the Hindus and Sikhs who have come from there have to go back and Pakistan would have to look after them. Pakistan has gone to the extent of saying that all the minority communities in Pakistan will enjoy the same rights as the Muslims. They will enjoy freedom of expression and worship, of visiting temples and gurdwaras. They will of course not enjoy any political power. I can very well understand that our mutual trust is shaken. But does the remedy lie in driving out the Muslims who are here with their properties, homes and children? That should not happen. It would be great cowardice. I want to tell you only this thing that we must abandon the idea of taking revenge on the Muslims. And we must so strengthen our hearts that the whole of Hindustan is convinced that nothing is going to happen in Delhi. But some things have happened in Delhi. The Muslims have been driven out. I do not say that those who have gone away should be brought back. But those who have stayed behind should be

allowed to live in peace. Later on we can bring back the people who have gone away. If any Muslim misbehaves, report the matter to the Government. Those Muslims must accept the authority of the Government. If the Government permits you to kill them saying that it has no army, that Government has got to end. That means allowing goondaism to carry the day, which is not the function of a government. I want to tell you that you can influence the Government as much as you can. But do not take the law into your hands, do not use your guns and do not kill anyone. If you do this much, victory will be ours, and our ship which is beginning to sink will be saved. God is always on the side of truth. God can never abandon us but if we give up God, if we forget Him and abandon the right path, what can God do?

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 340-5

254. IMPLICATIONS OF FASTING[1]

A friend writes:

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

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

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

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

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 5-10-1947.

CWMG - LXXXIX

Of all the fasts of which I have recollection, of one[1] only it can be said that though there was no fault in the conception it was alloyed with external remedy with contra-indication. Had this mistake not been made, I have no doubt that its natural, beneficial result would have flown from it as in the others. I refer to the fast I had undertaken in Rajkot against the late Thakore Saheb. I saw my mistake, retraced my step and averted a dangerous crisis. The last was in Calcutta in the current month of September.[2] Admittedly the result was as it should have been. Having reference to the spirit, I regard it as permanent. Time alone would show whether the effect was of a lasting character or not. It must depend upon the purity of the fasting person and the accuracy of his perception. That enquiry would be irrelevant here. Moreover, the fasting man is not competent to undertake the enquiry. It can only be done by a properly equipped impartial person and that too after my death.

NEW DELHI, September 25, 1947

Harijan, 5-10-1947

255. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

NEW DELHI,
September 25, 1947

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

There are many Harijans in Sind. They are in great distress and are faced with starvation. They should be transferred to Kathiawar. If, therefore, your Company sends over a ship or two to bring them over free of charge to some port in Kathiawar, their safety can be ensured. It is doubtful just now whether they will be able to preserve their religion or save the honour of their womenfolk. Bapa will see you with this letter. Please do this immediately, if possible. You may show this letter to Walchandbhai[3] or any others in your Company with whom you feel like sharing it. I am addressing a similar letter[4] to Shoorjibhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 4810. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[1] From March 3 to 6, 1939; *vide* Vol. LXIX.
[2] From September 1 to 4
[3] Walchand Hirachand
[4] *Vide* the following item.

256. LETTER TO SHOORJI VALLABHDAS

NEW DELHI,
September 25, 1947

BHAI SHOORJIBHAI,

There are many Harijans in Sind. They are completely ruined and have nothing to eat. They should be sent to Kathiawar. So if your Company sends over one or two steamers to bring them over free of charge to some port in Kathiawar they will reach here safely. At the moment it is doubtful whether they will be able to preserve their religion or the womenfolk their honour.

Bapa will bring this letter to you. If possible, do this immediately. I have written a similar letter[1] to Shantikumar also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 4098

257. DISCUSSION WITH J. B. KRIPALANI[2]

Thursday, September 25, 1947

In reply to a question by Acharya Kripalani whether, in the circumstances, it would not be better to work for a planned exodus of non-Muslims from Sind instead of allowing them to be squeezed out and turned upon India as homeless destitutes, Gandhiji replied that his opposition to a permanent exchange of populations remained as strong as ever. After what the Acharya had told him, he said, he, in fact, felt all the more strongly that the place of Sind Congress leaders at that juncture was in Sind. They should go there, and, if necessary, die there and by their example teach the non-Muslims to meet with courage, faith and self-respect the crisis that faced them.[3]

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Towards the close of September, Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, had met Jinnah at Karachi and drawn his attention to the rapidly deteriorating position of the minority community in Sind. In reply, he got only a long tirade against the Indian Government. The minority community in Sind, Jinnah maintained, had nothing to complain of. They had not taken kindly to the establishment of Pakistan, that the sooner they became reconciled to their changed status the better for them. The Pakistan Government, he said, had nothing to answer for; on the contrary, it was the innocent victim of wanton and malicious exaggeration by the Indian Press.

[3] This paragraph is from *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 475.

My frank advice to one who is a Minister is not to come to the Working Committee. Profulla Babu cannot leave Calcutta even for a day in the present circumstances. But these days who listens to me? Mine is a lone voice. Mathai Saheb[1] says that we shall have to take permission from the Pakistan Government to run more trains and they talk of stopping the trains altogether. I totally disapprove of the exchange of populations. Let us declare war. We shall fight and die fighting if we are destined to. They have abducted and molested 12-year-old girls. What does that indicate?

Go through Kunzru's statement[2] of this very day. Whatever it be, my advice to all of you is not to bother about me. I am here in Delhi and shall do what I can. This is an open secret. Even in the prayers I have said that today I am alone [in my mission].

It is a sad state of affairs that Rajendra Babu[3] has to look to Australia for food. I don't feel that we have won freedom. Should Hindustan known as the land of gold beg food from abroad? I feel very much pained about all this. If I had my way I would tell the people to die of hunger or else work hard [to produce food] but not a single grain should be imported from outside.

If peace is not established here, the whole of Hindustan will be on fire and I will not be able to do anything about it. I keep thinking where I stand in all this. I have come here and am doing something but I feel I have become useless now. Today power is in our hands but I would be the biggest fool if I thought that I alone am right. But I would like it if none of you bothered to see me, much less consult me. I shall be put on trial only if Ghanshyamdas asks me to quit. See if I can live in a hut. I work fully aware of my own limitations.

It is possible that someone might molest my girls. But if the girls are brave they will die but will not allow anyone to molest them. You can notify the Pakistan Government that if they persist in such anarchy you will take matters in your own hands. In the Boer War the Boers were just a handful but they were not afraid to die. I have spent 20 years amongst those brave people. Shall we come to our senses only after the goondas usurp our place? I advise you and Choithram to go to Sind and die if need be.

[1] John Mathai, Minister for Railways

[2] The statement criticizing officers of the British army appeared in *The Hindustan Times*, 25-9-1947. *Vide* also Appendix II.

[3] Rajendra Prasad, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture

I have become useless because I cannot make the Pakistan authorities do the right thing. But if normalcy is restored in Delhi I would like to go and die there. I am not being arrogant when I say that I know the art of dying but I have the courage to say it. But God alone knows if I will run away when I am being shot at or attacked with knives or will get angry with the attacker. If this happens then also there is no harm because the people will come to know that the man they looked upon as a Mahatma was not a true Mahatma. I too shall come to know where I stand. It is possible that I may still utter 'Rama Rama' when I am shot at or attacked. Let the outcome be either; ultimately it will be for good.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 50-2

258. TALK WITH REFUGEES[1]

Thursday, September 25, 1947

GANDHIJI: I am doing my level best. And if you wish Delhi to prosper, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis should live as one. Even if you are sore, why should you take revenge upon your brothers? Whatever is to be done should be done by the Government. Ask me what you wish to. I am not going to make a speech.

A REFUGEE: I am an advocate from Montgomery. I saw more than two hundred women and children being surrounded by a [Muslim] mob. One of them killed an old man and then sat on his chest. I have come after witnessing such things there, and here too the condition is the same. I am a votary of non-violence. The pity is that Muslims cannot live with Hindus. This is not a new thing. It has been so for the last so many years. Now their goal is: "*Hanske liya Pakistan, larke lenge Hindustan.*"[2] It is high time the Hindus here took sides clearly. Will the Muslims remain loyal to Hindustan?

The question is apt. Many Hindu and Sikh brothers tell me the same. There was a time when the Congress was popular. Today if it does not adhere to its policy it will be finished.

[1] As a result of a wrong newspaper report about a public meeting, some eight hundred refugees turned up to attend it. About fifty of them were allowed to meet Gandhiji.

[2] Meaning: "Laughing we have taken Pakistan, fighting we shall take Hindustan."

If the Muslims are not loyal Islam will disappear from the face of the earth. One who is prepared to die for the sake of his faith and dies when the time comes is a true man. Why shouldn't one die bravely rather than die a lingering death of sickness and paralysis? Suppose Maulana Saheb comes to me with a sword commanding me to read the *Kalma* or face death at his hands; I would prefer to die then. I would dance if such an occasion arose.

Every day Muslims come here to meet me. Many people have told me that they are traitors. But treachery does not pay. What will they gain by deceiving me? I don't have a single pie. Even if a few of the four-and-a-half crores have arms they can do nothing. How can we govern our country if we live in fear? The world will not tolerate your killing your brothers. Today the world has become small. There are atom bombs which can wipe out a city like London within five or six minutes. Hindus are a mere speck on the earth. If the Muslims turn traitors, the Government will shoot them down. It is sheer barbarity to stab them stealthily.

Last night I could not sleep at all. It was raining and I was thinking about the plight of the refugees. Indians are said to be mercy incarnate. Will they lose their name? Newspaper correspondents from abroad laugh at us and all of them report that India is utterly impoverished. There is nothing to eat and drink. It is time we took this warning and became human.

I have told you all that I wished to. Now you can do as you wish.

A SIKH: I have my business in Pakistan. I am coming from there. If even five per cent of the Hindus can return to and stay in Pakistan, then we shall somehow accommodate 95 per cent Muslims here.

I won't be satisfied with five per cent. I can rest in peace only after each and every one of them can stay fearlessly where they wish to. If you can make Delhi peaceful, I wish to go to Pakistan also. Of course I cannot revive the dead, but those who are left can certainly settle there once again. Can you see Punja Saheb turned into a mosque? I would much rather die. All is well with you if you learn the art of dying. Then all of you have to go back to your own places and I shall die here. If you wish to seek my advice, I can only say that all those Muslims who have left out of fear should come back and settle here again. If Pakistan does not become *pak*[1], it will perish on its own. At the moment all of you are full of anger.

[1] Pure

A REFUGEE: The Congress has already committed one blunder. Now it will commit another. Hindus and Muslims will never be able to stay together. Lakhs of our people are starving and naked. But nothing has been done for them. How many weapons have been surrendered up to now? How can we trust such people? We wish that the houses vacated by the Muslims should be given to us. There is an agreement between the two Governments that they should not make searches. Still the Pakistan Government continues to make them and our Government is doing nothing about it. The Pakistan Government is taking advantage of this situation. There the people are getting thousands of licences and arms and here we have been forced to surrender them. We are happy that Muslims can settle in Delhi. But if you come over to Pakistan with us and help us to get back our things, we do not wish to stay in Delhi even for a day. Nothing will be done till you decide to pay them back in their own coin. Today we are without a roof. The condition of women and children is terrible.

What you say is really pathetic. You are right in saying that you do not wish to stay here. Go to [Rawal]pindi. Here the Government is my friend. What can I do if I do not know the Pakistan Government? But you should understand that I am using all the strength and energy that I have. It is up to you to believe this. Here they are thinking of setting up a new city. But I am not a minister. I am doing as much as a human being can. I am just an ordinary man like you. It is a matter of shame for India to think of throwing out four-and-a-half crore Muslims. It is not practical to do so. I cannot say that all the arms have been surrendered to me. But that is not of much importance. Arms can never protect anyone. Try to understand this if you can. You will not hear anything besides this from me. I will only say 'die but do not kill' and I shall die saying this.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 52-6

CWMG - LXXXIX

259. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 25, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

We are faced with a sudden calamity. Our freedom is not even one-and-a-half months old. What can a child of a month and 10 days do? But we are strong and have been fighting against British imperialism till today. Are we going to bow down in the face of difficulties? Let us talk only about the post-independence period. It is not that we were not prepared for it. We did become free. But our people started thinking that freedom meant freedom to do anything they chose. With that attitude we have rendered the task of the Government very difficult. If a man cannot keep his hands clean, how can he see clean things and how far can he appreciate such things? When we have rogues amongst us, who would blame whom for being rogues? If anyone is straight away branded a rogue, the question becomes all the more complicated. This is no true freedom. Nor is this the way to win it. That is why I say that we should tell our Government that as far as possible we shall help it. Supposing the Government does not get such help, would we then start doing what has been done and is being done in Pakistan? Would that teach them a lesson? I tell you that is not the way to teach them a lesson. That is not the way things go on in the world. If people fight among themselves the Government would ask them to stop fighting. They would be told to seek the help of the police. If the police did not listen to them, they could go to the residence of the magistrate and report their case there. Whatever could possibly be done would be done there. If there were only some stray cases of fighting the magistrate could settle the dispute. But in this case there is confrontation between two large communities. What can the Government do? It is not the Government of the British receiving orders from Britain. Now the Government is yours. This means that you can order the Government not to do a particular thing. You can throw out that Government. Such is your power. If you do not use that power in the proper manner, you will find yourselves in great trouble. And, let me

tell you, today we are in great danger. Pakistan is no doubt facing danger. But so are we.

In reply to this[1] I would merely say that it is our Government and it is doing what needs to be done. If something still remains to be done, that too would be taken up. I have told you where your duty lies. I do not wish to say anything more. What is your duty? It is to live together in amity and not to regard the Muslims as your enemies. Wrongdoers would automatically meet their own end. But if we consider any one individual as our enemy and beat him and kill him, it is cowardice on our part, and it has a weakening effect on us. Those who have courage and strength should not quarrel with others. Because we fight only with those whom we do not trust. It is all futile. What is the point of fighting? God in them and in us is the same. I had told you that we were not the arbiters of our destiny. We are mere creatures in God's hand. Only if God helps us can we protect our honour. Otherwise not. Plead with Him, not with man. Plead with Him who brings redemption to the fallen. He is right in our midst. When He is there to protect us, why should we be angry with anyone or be afraid? Let the Muslims do what they want, let them keep any number of arms, let them behave like scoundrels and let them be traitors. If they are traitors the Government will deal with them. Everywhere in the world traitors are shot down as a rule. If anybody becomes a traitor, he commits a great crime against the State. It is a crime greater even than murder. That is why traitors are shot down. I can understand that they may have become traitors. But killing them on suspicion of treason does not behove man. It is the work of a coward.

I told you yesterday,[2] and I am telling you today, that ours is a wrecked boat. It is quite true that God alone can bring it to the shore. But we also must make efforts. If the boat has a hole somewhere we must try to stop water coming in with whatever may be available to us. But I have seen that if water starts flowing into the boat, they throw it out with the same speed. The boat then continues to sail in spite of the leak. But this can happen only if God helps. With God's

[1] Before the prayers started, someone passed on a slip to Gandhiji stating that the Pakistan Government was driving away Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan while Gandhiji advised the Indian Government to allow the Muslims to stay in the Indian Union as equal citizens. How could the Union Government bear this double burden?

[2] *Vide* p. 232.

grace it moves and reaches the shore, but if God does not help it sinks. That is why I would say that man should make effort and seek the help of God.

There is a fire raging in Delhi. There is fire in other places too. Every place is burning. It is our duty to extinguish that fire, pour water over it, without which it cannot be put out. Our first task is to make the people understand [the situation]. I try to convince them as well as you in the same terms. I shall repeat the same thing to the whole world till my last breath. The glorious land that was India has become a cremation-ground today. It has become that barbarous.

I am saying out of experience that our police and the army have to be the servants of the people and should not behave like masters. The days of officialdom are over. It is my way to get things done through love. I am pained to hear it being said that we have a Hindu army or a Punjabi army and that the Hindu police will slaughter the Muslims. I am also amused. If this should be so, I think the police and the military together would crush India and India's ship would sink. Today we have our own army. I do not believe that the British people are all worthless. However, most of the British have already left. Only some officers are left behind. Granted that they are all worthless, though I do not believe they are. But if they are worthless, they have to go. Supposing the army in Pakistan does something wrong, should the army in India do the same thing? Because the police in Pakistan does evil things, should our police also do the same? I wish to tell you this and warn you of the consequences. If all start behaving that way, India will be destroyed and our freedom, which is one month and ten days old, will not even complete two months. Let us not create such a situation. What should we do to avoid this? We must be courageous. We should not be afraid of anyone. We should be afraid only of God. Let us pray to God that He may carry our boat to the shore. The condition we have to fulfil is: Whatever may happen in Pakistan, whatever other people may do, let us keep our hearts clean. We must remember that if we do not do this, we shall all become monsters. We have to keep our India pure and clean and we must be tolerant. The Muslims have got to be loyal to India. If they are not loyal they must be shot. Can we do that ourselves? That is not our job. The Muslims are our brothers. They have got their homes and everything here. Hence we must realize that those who are staying here should live here by all means. Let there be no mutual fear.

I would appeal to you to have faith, for faith generates faith and suspicion gives rise to suspicion. Keep on strengthening your faith.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 345-9

260. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

NEW DELHI,
September 26, 1947

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. You have not fallen with Kanchan, you have both risen and fallen. If anybody is to be blamed, I am ready to take the blame on myself. I understand your attitude of mind. It remains the same as it was. Never mind if you have more children but be calm.

I have no doubt that you cannot stay in the house formerly occupied by Durgabehn[1]. No matter what type of persons Nayakum and Ashadevi are, the members of the Ashram should not expect to have what they get.

Do only what appeals to you. Nothing is certain about me. Do nothing to please me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 7222. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

261. DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[*September 26, 1947*][2]

GANDHIJI: Have you returned as the king of the forest or as a jackal?[3]

SUHRAWARDY: Sir, only as a mouse. The mouse is a very discreet creature.

GANDHIJI: Now, listen. Once there was a lion. He got caught in a hunter's net. A mouse pursued by an owl from

[1] Wife of Mahadev Desai
[2] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*—I
[3] *Vide* pp. 199-200.

above and a mongoose from below also ran into the net. "You give me protection, I shall set you free," the mouse proposed to the lion. The lion agreed. The bargain was struck. The mongoose scuttled away. But the round, shining eyes of the owl were still riveted on his prey. "When are you going to begin?", the lion impatiently asked the mouse. "Where is the hurry?", the cunning mouse replied, "I shall set you free when the hunter appears on the scene." And instead of setting the lion free, it crouched under his fur and had a quiet nap! The lion was furious, but what could he do? When the hunter appeared on the scene, the mouse unhurriedly gnawed at the net-strings and before the enraged lion could do anything, away the cunning creature scuttled for its own hole.... You know 'wily whiskers' is a very treacherous creature. It bites you unawares while you are asleep. It is only when the blood comes out that you know of its presence. Is that how you are going to act?

SUHRAWARDY: Sir, you know everything. So what can I say?

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 479-80

262. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 26, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

What is going on is not Sikhism, nor Islam nor Hinduism. We are somewhat familiar with each of these. Can any religion which indulges in unworthy things survive? Sikhism started with Guru Nanak. What did Guru Nanak teach? He said that God is known by several names including Allah, Rahim, Khuda. This is so in all religions. Nanak Saheb tried to bring together all religions. Kabir Saheb did the same thing. It is said that that age is gone.

Today a man—Guru Dutt[1]—came to me. He is a big vaidya. As he narrated his tale he burst into tears. He agreed that in the light of the training he had received from me he should have laid down his life there. But he confessed he had not the courage to do so. He told me that he had always respected me and felt that what I said was the only right thing. But it was a different matter following truth in practice. He said

[1] Pandit Thakur Dutt of Lahore

the truth was that he was not able to carry it out in practice. He was prepared to go back if I said so. I told him that if we were convinced that we could never expect justice at the hands of the Pakistan Government and if they did not admit their mistakes then we had our own Cabinet which included Jawaharlal, Sardar Patel and many other good men. If even they cannot stop the Pakistan Government from indulging in those things, then ultimately they would have to resort to war. Let us arrive at a mutual and friendly settlement. Why can we not do so? We Hindus and Muslims were friends till yesterday. Have we become such enemies today that we cannot trust one another? If you say that you are never going to trust them, then the two sides would have to fight. Speaking in terms of logic it may be asked what else would people do when they have army and police and are forced to depend on them? If they decide to kill two persons for every person killed in Pakistan, who would care for whom? If we want to have justice, let me tell you the matter does not lie with you or me. It is the function of the Government. Tell the Government, it is there to help us. We should not take the offensive. But we must be ready to fight, because when war comes it does not come after giving a warning. We should not take any initiative to fight, but if the other side takes the initiative, both the Governments face their doom. War is no joke. After all, how long can I go on stressing the point? But if there is no settlement between the two sides, there would be no alternative. In that event, if all the Hindus have to die fighting, I would not be sorry. But we have to choose the path of justice. I would not bother if all the Hindus and all the Muslims have to die following that path. And, then, if it is proved that all those 4½ crore Muslims are fifth-columnists, I have no doubt that they have to be shot down or executed. And like the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs living in Pakistan too should be treated in the same manner; if they betray that country, we cannot be partial in their case. If we regard all the Muslims as fifth-columnists, will not the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan be also considered fifth-columnists? That would not do. The Hindus and the Sikhs staying there can come here by all means if they do not wish to continue staying there. In that case, it is the first duty of the Indian Government to give them jobs and make their lives comfortable. But they cannot continue to stay there and become petty spies and work for us and not for Pakistan. Such a thing cannot be done and I would not

be a party to it. I do not have any magic wand with me. Nor do I possess a sword. I have only one thing with me, and that is, to recite the name of God and work in the name of God. Everything is accomplished by following that path. It is not that I am the only one in possession of it. All of you, including that little girl standing there, possess it. God alone has the power to perform miracles. What do you think I can do without the grace of God? But this much I have realized. I have been a fighter for many many years, more than 60 years. But I fight not with the sword, but with the weapons of truth and non-violence. Those weapons are still with us. But it is not within my power alone to use them. I can do nothing without your support.

We are going to preserve our freedom with the strength with which we have won it. We defeated the British with that strength. We did not defeat them with the help of arms. Ours was the unarmed power with which we defeated them. Whoever wants to live in India, whether Hindu, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, will have to fight and die for India. If all the Indians would lay down their lives for the country, no power could defeat us or push us back, irrespective of the army we may or may not have. The Muslims have said they would be loyal to India. Let us trust them with all our heart. Let us remember that truth alone triumphs never untruth,—*Satyameva jayate nanritam*[1]. This is a great saying. It contains the essence of our religion. Let us learn it by heart and always remember it. And then I would say and say with all the force at my command that we would stand firm even if the whole world was against us. No one can kill us. No one can destroy Hinduism. If it is destroyed, it would be at our own hands. Similarly if Islam is destroyed in India, it would be at the hands of the Muslims living in Pakistan. It cannot be destroyed by the Hindus.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 349-52

[1] *Mundakopanishad*, III. i. 6

263. *HINDUSTANI*[1]

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar writes:

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

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

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

It would be wrong to say that if the Muslims of the Union refuse to learn the Nagari script, Hindustani cannot become

[1] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 5-10-1947.

the national language. Whether the Muslims learn the Nagari script or not, the Hindus and the people of all other religions ought to learn the two scripts. It is possible that in view of the poisoned atmosphere of the day, people may not appreciate this simple proposition. If the Hindus wish to, they can boycott the Urdu script and Urdu words, but they will be the losers thereby. Therefore those engaged in Hindustani Prachar should not weaken in their faith or efforts. I agree that people like Maulana Azad and other prominent Muslims of the Indian Union should be the first to adopt Hindustani and the two scripts. Who will take the lead if not they? Difficult times lie ahead of us. May God guide us aright.

NEW DELHI, September 27, 1947
Harijan, 5-10-1947

264. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 27, 1947

CHI. NARANDAS,

One may say you are now approaching old age. You certainly have my blessings. May you serve the people for many more years. When you are too weak to serve I am not going to wish you the same. Why should you ever become too weak?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

265. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

September 27, 1947

CHI. PREMA,

You have lost your father, but if you think calmly, you will realize that you have gained many fathers in place of one. All who are our seniors in age or superior to us in knowledge should be as fathers to us or, if they are women, mothers. Those who are our equals in age are our brothers and sisters, and our juniors are our sons and daughters. Then the world will never die for us. Why then do you grieve over the passing away of your father? Death, moreover, is man's true friend. Why then should we be unhappy when our dear ones meet their

dearest friend? When our dear ones leave us, we should engross ourselves in service with still greater devotion.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10456. Also C. W. 6895. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

266. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 27, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Shall I tell you who is my special physician? He is good for me and also good for you. My physician today, in my thought, speech and action, is Rama, Ishwar, Rahim. How can He become our physician? We heard a *bhajan*[1] addressed to the Lord who removes all miseries of mind, body and soul which human beings are subject to. Hence I felt that the best, unfailing remedy is Ramanama. I can suggest no other remedy to those who come to me. Then take some earth-and water treatment. I know that one who has Ramanama inscribed in his heart needs neither earth nor water for treatment. If we are destined to live we shall live. If we have to die, let us die. No one can ride two horses at the same time. If I have faith in Ramanama I must remain firm in that. Anyone not doing so will perish. Rama is the saviour. Does the person who has installed God in his heart ever die? This body is transitory. It may be living this moment and may die the next. How then can I be proud of it? It is futile to keep the body alive when the moment of death has arrived. Guru Nanak was a great religious leader. Other Gurus who came after him did write songs of devotion but they mentioned the name of Nanak in the refrain. This is the culture of India. Perhaps such things happen in many other countries. Whatever that may be, I can only talk of the Indian culture. Mirabai was a great devotee. Mira's name is found at the end of countless *bhajans*. It was not she who used her name. But Mira's disciples found great satisfaction in attributing their compositions to her. This is a wonderful thing. It is said that Arjun Dev[2] was a great Guru and a great poet. He said: "One

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 414.
[2] Fifth Guru of the Sikhs

may recite Ramanama or Khuda's praise, one may serve *Gosain* or Allah''. It is remarkable that this thing occurs in the Granth Saheb. The allegations against the Sikhs today are, if true, a violation of the teachings of Guru Nanak. That is not the way to bring glory to the Granth Saheb. Nor can the Sikhs make any progress that way. Some Sikh friends had a plain talk with me. They told me that Guru Arjun Dev did not doubt the identity of Rama and Rahim or Krishna and Karim. Then they told me that whether one went on pilgrimage or *haj* it meant one and the same thing. One may perform *puja* or bow his head, one may worship God in a temple or bend oneself low in the name of God, one may read the Vedas or the Book. The Book meant the Koran. One may dress oneself in blue clothes or in white. The Muslim wears blue clothes and the orthodox Hindu wears white. Then, one may be called a Turk or a Hindu. Turks means Muslims. [Nanak] says that he who truly follows God's laws knows His secret.

If I had the time I would have narrated so many things from the Hindu *bhajans* and *kirtans* that you would wonder whether the religious sentiment depicted there belonged to Hinduism or Sikhism. Why do we say today that the Muslims have got to leave this country? Why is it said that the plan of settling the Muslims with the Hindus is a mistake and the fourth blunder of the Congress? Whether the Congress implements it or not, it is my plan and if it is a mistake it is my mistake. Others come to me and challenge my being a Mahatma and charge me with ruining Hinduism. But I tell them that what they call my mistake is not a mistake. The real thing is that we are all possessed by a madness today and talk all sorts of things. When we get over that madness, we shall talk sense. That is why I say that what I am saying cannot be a mistake. Those who think I am making a mistake are themselves mistaken. The whole world would blame you if you threw out $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims. Would you then point at what is happening in Pakistan? Because Pakistan is not following its religion should I start teaching the Hindus that they should also give up their religion? I have never learnt such a thing. If we protect our Muslim brethren and remain pure ourselves, it would have its own effect on Pakistan. That is my reply to them. Today we should consider what a Christian sister whom you know, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, has to say. She is the Health Minister. She wishes to help everybody in the refugee camps, whether Hindu or Muslim. But what can she do without support from others? She cannot be partial. She is trying to do her best for everybody. She is

partly Christian and partly Muslim and also partly Hindu. Hence, all religions are the same to her. She went there accompanied by some girls. They all went there for doing service. What was there to fear when they were out to do service? But they told me that they were warned against serving the Muslims and were asked to go back if their intention was to serve the Muslims also. I laughed when I heard that. They merely said these things. They were not going to do anything. After all, those Muslims and a few Christians are not going to indulge in any rioting. How will they do it? What do they possess? They are in a bad shape. What is the point of threatening them? Hence I thought I should mention this to you so that we should be on our guard and not indulge in such talk.

In the end I want to tell you that I had purposely mentioned war. But our journalists always like to exaggerate things. They have given the headlines that I wanted war. There are telegrams coming from Calcutta that Gandhi also talks of war. Will there be a war then? What I had said was that I could not think of war even in a dream. After all, would I give up my creed at a critical time? My creed is non-violence. I have never waged war, nor should anyone else do so. How can we achieve anything by fighting? What I said was that if Pakistan was committing mistakes or if India was committing mistakes, with both the countries having their own independent Governments, how was it possible for one Government to secure justice from the other? It would be different if the two Governments worked in co-operation. Let them have an arbitrator if they cannot work together. If even that cannot be done, then we shall helplessly be dragged into war. Does this imply advocating war? I want to tell both India and Pakistan that they must come to a mutual settlement or accept an arbitrator. But if the Pakistanis insist on taking India by force, then, as I said yesterday, India would have no alternative except to fight. If I am given the charge of the Government I would follow a different path, because I have no military and police force under me. But I am the only one to follow that path. Who would support me? Your Government will do what is expected of it when the time comes. I would continue to chant only one refrain. But, if people do not understand non-violence, to whom can I address myself?

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 352-6

267. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 28, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Is there anybody in the meeting who is against the recitation from the Koran?[1]

I shall respect your opposition, though I know that the rest of the people would be disappointed that the prayers will not take place.[2] With my unflinching faith in non-violence, I can do nothing else. Even so I cannot help saying that you should not disregard the opinion of such a big majority which does not agree with you. From that point of view your behaviour is improper. From what I am going to say later you must realize that the intolerance that you have shown under somebody's instigation is the evidence of petulance and anger prevalent all over the country today, which has provoked Mr. Churchill to say many bitter things about India. Let me explain to you in Hindustani Mr. Churchill's speech a summary of which has been sent by Reuter and published in the newspapers this morning:[3]

> The fearful massacres which are occurring in India are no surprise to me. We are, of course, only at the beginning of these horrors and butcheries, perpetrated upon one another, with the ferocity of cannibals, by the races gifted with capacities for the highest culture, and who had for generations dwelt, side by side, in general peace, under the broad, tolerant and impartial rule of the British Crown and Parliament. I cannot but doubt, that the future will witness a vast abridgment of the population throughout what has for sixty or seventy years been the most peaceful part of the world and that, at the same time, will come a retrogression of civilization throughout these enormous regions, constituting one of the most melancholy tragedies which Asia has ever known.

[1] Two persons raised their hands.

[2] *The Hindustan Times*, 29-9-1947, reports that the prayer was however held after the speech "inside Gandhiji's room with only members of his party".

[3] The paragraph from Winston Churchill's speech of September 27, is reproduced from *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, p. 138.

You are all aware that Mr. Churchill is a great man. He belongs to the blue blood of England. Marlborough family is very famous in British history. Mr. Churchill took the helm when Great Britain was in great danger after the Second World War started. No doubt he saved the British Empire from a great danger at the time. It would be wrong to argue that Great Britain could not have won without the help of the United States or other Allied nations. Who else except a man of Mr. Churchill's sharp political diplomacy could have brought all the friendly nations together? Great Britain acknowledged the services of Mr. Churchill who in those days preserved the honour of that country. But after winning the War the nation did not hesitate to choose the Labour Government in order to recover from the terrible loss of life and property which the British Isles had undergone during the War. The British people saw the signs of the times and decided in favour of voluntary abdication from power to end the Empire and establishing instead the imperceptible rule of hearts. India has been divided and then both the countries have voluntarily announced their decision to join the British Commonwealth. The honourable step of granting independence to India was taken by all the parties representing the entire British nation. Mr. Churchill and his party were also in line with others. It may be a different thing that the future may or may not justify this step of the British people. And this has nothing to do with my suggestion that because Mr. Churchill has been a party to the transfer of power, he is expected not to say or do anything which would deprive this measure of its value. There is no doubt that in modern history there is no instance which can be compared with the transfer of power by the British. I am reminded of the sacrifice of Priyadarshi Ashoka. But Ashoka is incomparable and, moreover, he does not belong to modern history. That is why I was pained to read the Reuter's despatch of Mr. Churchill's speech. I take it for granted that this renowned news agency has not misreported Mr. Churchill's speech. By his speech Mr. Churchill has harmed his country which he has greatly served. If he knew that India would be reduced to such a terrible state after freeing itself from the rule of the British Empire, did he, for a moment take the trouble of thinking that the entire responsibility for it lies with the builders of the British Empire and not with those "races" which, in Mr. Churchill's opinion, are capable of giving birth to the greatest civilization? In my view, Mr. Churchill has been too hasty in his sweeping generalization. India's

population is several millions. Out of these a few lakhs have taken to the path of barbarism. But these people hardly count. With confidence I invite Mr. Churchill to come to India and study the situation himself. But he must come not as a representative of his Party with fixed opinions, but as an impartial Englishman who values the prestige of his country more than any Party's and intends to help the British Government in making this task a grand success. This unique step of Great Britain would be judged from its consequences. The vivisection of India unwittingly invited the two parts of the country to fight each other. Granting freedom separately to the two parts seems like a blot on the graceful gift of freedom. It is no use saying that either side is free to come out of the British Commonwealth. This is easier said than done. I do not wish to say anything more on that account. What I have said is enough to show why Mr. Churchill should have been more careful while speaking on this subject. He has run down his colleagues without even studying the situation.

Many of you have given ground to Mr. Churchill for making such remarks. You still have sufficient time to reform your ways and prove Mr. Churchill's prediction wrong. I know nobody listens to me these days. Had it not been so, and had the people continued to listen to me as they did before the negotiations for freedom started, there never would have been that show of barbarism which Mr. Churchill has described with such relish and gross exaggeration. And also you would have been well on the way to solving your economic and other domestic problems.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 356-9

268. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI

NEW DELHI,
September 29, 1947

NARANDAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

YOUR LETTER. AWAIT REPLY BEFORE DOING ANYTHING.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

269. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

September 29, 1947

CHI. MANI,

Herewith a letter from Narandas Gandhi. I have wired[1] to him not to take action till he hears from me. But ask Sardar and let me know what should be done.

I also enclose Pattani's[2] wire. You may have received an identical wire there. What should be done about it? I am under the impression that whatever Shamaldas does is done with the Sardar's consent.[3] Please ask the Sardar what reply I should send and let me know.

Send back both the enclosures.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 144

270. LETTER TO HARISINGH GOUR

September 29, 1947

DEAR SIR HARISINGH[4],

Many thanks for your letter.

I see that you can be carried away by your ideas. But I cannot understand why you should disregard facts. No one has displaced English from the great role belonging to it as an international medium. No Indian to my knowledge has ever desired to banish English from India as a second language for study. But some of us have undoubtedly desired to dethrone it from the place it has usurped.

Again what a fund of misinformation in your note, a copy of which you have been good enough to send me. But I have

[1] *Vide* the preceding item and p. 267.

[2] Anantrai P. Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar

[3] The reference is to setting up a "Provisional" Government under Shamaldas Gandhi.

[4] An economist: founder of Sagar University

neither time nor inclination to enter into a discussion with you. Time will determine the issue.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR HARISINGH GOUR
SAGOR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

271. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

September 29, 1947

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I am surprised to learn that you didn't get my letter. All the while I was waiting for your reply and you have not received my letter. I think I told Bhimsen to keep a copy of it and have now told him to send the same to you.

The day before yesterday I got your letter regarding language. I am pained to know that you saw violence in my article.[1] Those who wish to take the worst out of the best will certainly find it. In short, am I not aware that the present holocaust is a result of my teaching of ahimsa? I have also analysed the whole thing. The defects that you see regarding my language have their root in the same. We are bound to err if we try to separate the two. I have come to this conclusion that either ahimsa is not meant for society, as some of our leaders feel, or, if it is, there is some defect in my way of teaching it. I am quite sure that the first defect is not there. There is a possibility of the second one. If there is some defect in [my teaching of ahimsa] I am trying hard to discover it but have not as yet found it. It is because of this that I am striving here. There may be, as you say, some very painful results from it. I hope I shall not be alive to see them.

I intend to discuss some of your views in *Harijan* without mentioning your name.

I am happy to know that both of you are more or less all right. Chimanlal writes to say that you have left the house at Sevagram for good. However, please do return if you change your mind. I have talked to Aryanayakum about this. It has been built for you according to your plan.

[1] *Vide* pp. 170-71.

CWMG LXXXIX

Harisingh Gour's letter is enclosed. I am not convinced about what he writes. The examples he has quoted are alarming.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 10731. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

272. LETTER TO KANTA R. VYAS

September 29, 1947

CHI. KANTA,

I got your letter today and am replying promptly. I had a talk with Ghanshyamdas. He can accommodate both of you at Pilani, not at any other place. The administration at Nasik is in the hands of Gopalrao with whom he would not interfere. Does a voluntary worker go about choosing places? He should render service as and where he has an opportunity. But Ramprasad[2] wants to have a choice. It was the same in the Ashram too. Under the circumstances I became helpless. Ramprasad is efficient. He should find his own way. I am not so rich a man as to produce as much money as I want. Why, I even have to think of my own expenses. It is as it should be and I get as much as I need. I have no preferences. I insist on cleanliness which I must ensure myself.

The burden of children is bound to be with parents. This is the limit to which I can go.

May you all be happy and live in peace. The sooner you can leave the Ashram the higher you will rise.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[2] Addressee's husband

CWMG-LXXXIX

273. LETTER TO DR. SYED MINHAJUL HASSAN

NEW DELHI,
September 29, 1947

BHAI DR. HASSAN[1],

I received your English letter. I did not like it. There is so much work that I am unable to reach all the letters.

Your letter reveals some anger. In fact I find that you no longer enjoy the confidence of Shuklaji[2]. If that is correct I regard it as useless for you to remain in the Cabinet. There can be no question of your going away to Pakistan. But if God's will is otherwise that is quite a different matter. The times are very delicate. Do not rely upon newspapers. Appeal only to God for justice and go on doing your duty. Do whatever service you are assigned. What have Dada Dharmadhikari and others to say?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. HASSAN
NAGPUR

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

274. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 29, 1947

My reference to the possibility of a war between the two sister Dominions seems, I am told, to have produced a scare in the West. I do not know what reports were sent out by newspaper correspondents. Summaries are always a dangerous enterprise except when they truly reflect the speaker's opinion. An unwarranted summary of a pamphlet[3] I had written about South Africa in 1896 nearly cost me my life. It was so hopelessly unwarranted that within twenty-four hours of my being lynched, European opinion in South Africa was turned from

[1] Minister, Medical and Public Health, Central Provinces
[2] Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister, Central Provinces
[3] Green Pamphlet; *vide* Vol. II, pp. 2-36.

CWMG - LXXXIX

anger into contrition that an innocent man was made to suffer for no fault that he had committed. The moral I wish to draw from the foregoing version is that no one should be held responsible for what he has not said or done.

I hold that not a single mention of war in my speeches can be interpreted to mean that there was any incitement to or approval of war between Pakistan and the Union unless mere mention of it is to be taboo. We have among us the superstition that the mere mention of a snake ensures its appearance in the house in which the mention is made even by a child. I hope no one in India entertains such superstition about war.

I claim that I rendered a service to both the sister States by examining the present situation and definitely stating when the cause of war could arise between the two States. This was done not to promote war but to avoid it as far as possible. I endeavoured, too, to show that if the insensate murders, loot and arson by people continued, they would force the hands of their Governments. Was it wrong to draw public attention to the logical steps that inevitably followed one after another?

India knows, the world should, that every ounce of my energy has been and is being devoted to the definite avoidance of fratricide culminating in war. When a man vowed to non-violence as the law governing human beings dares to refer to war, he can only do it so as to strain every nerve to avoid it. Such is my fundamental position from which I hope never to swerve even to my dying day.

Harijan, 12-10-1947

275. TELEGRAM TO SUDHIR GHOSH

September 30, 1947

SUDHIR GHOSH
CARE HICOMIND
LONDON

PARTISAN SUMMARY DANGEROUS.[1] AM QUITE FIRM ON NON-VIOLENCE. GLAD SHANTI[2] SUCCEEDED. LOVE.

BAPU

Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee's wife, who was doing a post-graduate course in medicine in London

276. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
September 30, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

It seems to me that we have all become savages. Both Hindus and Muslims have turned savage. Who can determine who has committed more crimes and who has committed less? We cannot go into these details. The Government should try to recall the refugees from Pakistan, which can be done only in consultation with the Government there. There are so many complications. The Government is there to solve those complications. The Government should look after its people or resign. I have no doubt at all about it. Today our Government is something which we can strengthen or bring down. That is democracy. People themselves should remain under control and exercise restraint. They must know the meaning of discipline and observe it. If they do not do this, they become worthless. We must learn this thing if we want to stick to our duty. We must inculcate this in our children from the time they start showing some understanding. You must tell your children that the place of religion is in their hearts and it is not in your power to protect it. You must tell them that you are their father and as their father you have to give them that training. I have taught my children that they must protect their own religion. One of my sons[1] is in South Africa. Another[2] is drinking away somewhere. I do not even know his whereabouts. One son[3] is at Nagpur eking out his living with great difficulty. One son[4] is here. I cannot say that he is earning his livelihood with difficulty. Shall I keep worrying about the religion of each one of them? I am not worrying. Why should I? They are all grown up. I could protect their religion if they were young. And that too in what manner? I would tell them that if they were true Hindus they must have the courage to die for their religion, they could not save it by killing. Now suppose one boy is having a lathi

[1] Manilal Gandhi
[2] Harilal Gandhi
[3] Ramdas Gandhi
[4] Devdas Gandhi

and another a revolver. The boy having the revolver would kill the boy with the lathi. But that is not the way to save religion. Why? As the boy with the lathi is killed his relatives appear. The boy with the revolver being alone brings his revolver, or a bren-gun or a sten-gun. And the people on the opposite side would bring ten sten-guns. They would force him to embrace Islam or Christianity and threaten him with their numbers and warn him that his weapons would not save him. And then, although frightened, he would cry out that despite the compulsion he would still consider his religion dearer to him than his life.

Following any religion means belonging to God. The same thing happened in the case of Prahlad. He used to repeat the name of Rama. His father said he should stop it, but Prahlad replied that he could utter no other name. There is a beautiful *bhajan* about it: Prahlad writes the name of Rama while his guru is dictating another name. He says that he can write no other name and he knows no other name. It is a very sweet *bhajan*[1]. Prahlad says that his pen can shape no other name. It is said that Prahlad was a mere boy of twelve. Well, that twelve-year-old boy opposed his father and saved his religion. I need not describe how he protected his religion. All Hindus are familiar with the story. But the important thing is that he could protect his religion all by himself. Innumerable instances of this kind can be found in all religions. Now we have our boys and girls. If one believes that woman is weak, I would say that no woman in the world is weak. All are strong. All those who have firm faith in their religion are strong, not weak. So I would suggest that we should first teach our boys and girls that they are not weak. Children have their religion to strengthen them. When people come to me I tell them that the Government should do everything in its power. But it would be wrong to think that unless the Government did something everybody would be converted to Islam. Millions of Muslims are living in India today. It should be carefully considered who they are. Not many of them have come from Arabia. Those who came from Arabia did not constitute the millions. Those millions who became Muslims were all Hindus. Or, say, they were Buddhists. What is the difference between Buddhists and Hindus? In my view there is no difference. Should we not have proper knowledge as to who inhabited Afghanistan? Badshah Khan told me that the Afghans were originally Buddhists

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 421.

and later embraced Islam. But, for that matter, have they forgotten their ancient culture? How could they forget? He told me that even the names of their villages were originally in Sanskrit. They have changed their names, dress and everything else; but they could not change what was lying deep within. How could they forget it? And then, whether in Madras or Bengal or anywhere else, they were all Hindus. You ask them as I ask myself, why they chose to embrace Islam. I am to be blamed for their conversion to Islam. I must do penance; you must, too. Of course, if they have done the correct thing and accepted a religion which is nobler than Hinduism, then let us follow in their footsteps, recite the *Kalma*, swear by Islam and raise the cry for the victory of Islam! But nothing like that happened. Whom then shall we beat up and whom shall we drive out? They are our own people. They were all Hindus at the time of our grandfathers and great grandfathers, say, four generations ago, and got converted to Islam. I have gone round all over the country and reminded the Hindus of their wickedness in considering untouchability part of their religion. What has been the result? One part of our community has become the fifth *varna*. Originally there were four *varnas* and we made them five and considered the fifth *varna* as *Ati-Shudras*. We kept the fifth *varna* segregated from us. We kept their food separate and declared that they could not live in our midst. We decided to treat them as our slaves. Later they turned to Islam. So all of them were not originally Muslims. Later on some Brahmins also were converted to Islam. Quite a few of them also came from among Kshatriyas as also Vaishyas. But their number was very small. I have shown you how the present crores of Muslims had embraced Islam. Untouchability drove them to Islam. Today we are creating such uproar in India and want to beat up and harass the Muslims and drive them out of the country by any means. No one ever bothers to think from where they should be driven out and where they should be pushed out. We must realize that when someone is attacked and forced into accepting Islam, afterwards he is doomed for no fault of his. But I move about among Muslims and my Muslim friends tell me that Islam has never advocated forcible conversion. People may accept it voluntarily. They may be made aware of the greatness of Islam. But they cannot be brought to accept Islam by cheating or by paying money. The Muslims in this country are all our blood-brothers. That is why I say that we must act only after careful thought. We must consider why they were drawn to Islam. Did

they accept Islam for money? Even if you want to earn money or do anything else, go anywhere in the world, you take your religion with you. If you discard religion, you have discarded everything. I want to tell you only one thing and it is that we should not try to kill any Muslim. Let them kill if they want. If they kill that is bad. We would consider them bad. But if they are bad, why should we be bad in return? We can return their wickedness with goodness. If they drink liquor, should we also do the same? I would call upon all Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs to come to their senses and see what religion teaches. As Iqbal said, "religion does not teach mutual hatred". When Iqbal said this he was in London. He was a great poet. He had come to attend the Round Table Conference. I was invited to a dinner arranged in his honour. I went for the dinner. He said that he was a Brahmin. Why was he a Brahmin? Because his forefathers were Brahmins. Where did they live? In Kashmir. He said he belonged to Kashmir and was a Brahmin who was converted to Islam. They were all converted to Islam not recently but long ago. But they had Brahmin blood and Islamic culture in them. So Iqbal said that religion did not teach us to hate one another. Afterwards he wrote many other things but that is another matter. Now Iqbal is no more. But let us learn at least this much, that our religion does not teach us hatred. That is why I would like to call upon you to be human. If we become human, we raise the stock of India. Today we are bringing the country down. God forbid that we should bring about India's downfall.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 360-5

277. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

Morning: 4.45, October 1, 1947

CHI. KANTI,

The description you give is interesting. It was well done. Let Saru[1] gain experience in jail. Explain this to her. Perhaps you have already done so. Going to jail is not an absolute duty. If the cause is just and if one has the right to offer satyagraha,

[1] Saraswati, addressee's wife, was undergoing one month's imprisonment for participating in the agitation for self-government in Mysore State.

one may plunge into it. I know that Saru has it. I see in your action both modesty and wisdom.

Your first argument is generally correct. One can conceive of circumstances in which, even though no constructive work may have been done, it may be one's duty to offer satyagraha. Whether or not that is so in the present case can be judged only after examining the local circumstances.

The second argument is perfectly correct.

The third also is correct. As regards the fourth, if the facts are as stated by you they are terrible.

Do not give publicity to these views. One must not confuse [people's] judgment.

I am of the opinion that khadi workers today lack both purity of character and intelligence.

I am returning your questions, thinking that you might not remember what they were.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Herewith a letter for Saru[1] and your questions.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 7386. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

278. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

October 1, 1947

CHI. SARU,

I am writing this early in the morning. It is good that you went to jail. Kanti has given me a detailed account. I am happy. You seem to be spending your time properly even in jail. All three of you are rising higher.

I didn't have your letter, if you had written one from the jail.

A person undergoing imprisonment would prove himself qualified to court imprisonment if he stopped thinking of the outside world.

How can I have time to write other things?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the following item.

279. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

October 1, 1947

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your frank letter. You have done well to write about yourself. To me it is a great thing that you have developed confidence in yourself. It will be enough if you improve your health. Happiness in the first place consists in keeping oneself healthy. But only if the term "oneself" is interpreted in the widest sense is this statement true. If it is interpreted too narrowly, only damnation will result.

I write this after the morning prayer.

You are fully entitled to write to me as you did concerning my fast; but you have not thought over it deeply. You might have had doubts about my earlier fasts, but you should not have the slightest doubt about the recent one. Even my opponents have welcomed it. No one has been compelled to do anything for fear of my death. The fast awakened their goodness. What dharma is it to behave as a brute towards a brute? The country and Hindu dharma are declining because of what is happening today. Think over this and write to me if you feel like it. I hope all of you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

280. LETTER TO DR. JOHN MOTT[1]

NEW DELHI,
October 1, 1947

DEAR DR. MOTT,

I got the sixth volume of your speeches and your letter yesterday for which many thanks.

I often wonder if we all don't speak and write much and do little.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Dr. John R. Mott; American evangelist; Chairman, International Missionary Council

281. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

October 1, 1947

CHI. MANILAL,

I got your letter and liked it very much. You are progressing. I very much like your dietetic experiments. It is difficult to say just now how far your progress in these experiments will take you.

What you say regarding Sita seems correct to me. But it is no use worrying about it, let alone being angry. When children grow up, they may do what they like. Why may we not hope that Sita will wake up one day and understand the truth?[1]

But Sushila must have arrived there now. She will tell you everything and I hope that will calm you down. Sita seems to be lost to me. She does not write to me at all.

I hope Sushila's arrival there has lightened your burden.

Sushila Pai or somebody else will give you the rest of the news.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5014

282. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 1, 1947

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter and sent a prompt reply[2] by wire after which I passed on your letter to the Sardar. The concerned department is with him, and he believes that your going at present will be of no benefit. You should, therefore, watch things for the time being and in no way actively participate in whatever may happen. If I alone were to consider it I would welcome the step you contemplate. But now the powers that be are our own people. Hence there can be no occasion to oppose the Government and do something so soon.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXXVIII pp. 401 and 449.
[2] *Vide* p. 255.

CWMG - LXXXIX

283. LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI

[*October 1, 1947*][1]

CHI. ANANTRAI,

I have your wire. You sent a similar one to the Sardar, which was quite right. Now that the whole administration has come into India's hands, let us caution the person in charge of the department concerned. That should suffice. Act as the Sardar advises.

Blessings from
BAPU

ANANTRAI PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

284. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 1, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A lady writes to me in a letter that she is desirous of doing service and her husband also wishes to do the same, but no one shows them the way. There are many people who pose such questions. I have given only one reply to all of them and it is that the scope for Government jobs is very limited whereas the scope for service is immense. Hence there is no need to ask anyone what should be done. Anyone who wishes to serve can do so. But we have become so helpless that we have to consult others. Shall I then tell you what they should do? After all, how much reputation does Delhi enjoy for being a clean city? There are so many camps here, and I know how clean they are. People fall ill while they are there. It is equally filthy where there has been bloodshed and destruction of property. The Delhi Municipality has never been known for cleanliness. Had Delhi been a clean city the hearts of the people would have been clean too. Wherever we may be, if we keep our places

[1] The letter is placed in the source among those of this date.

clean, it will have its impact on the whole city. Let every man keep his own house, his own heart clean. I will tell that lady that if she is really keen to do service, not in name but in the true spirit of devotion, then there is ample scope for service in Delhi. She need not inform me anything about her work either. If she can work to clean the hearts of the people of Delhi, clean the hearts of all refugees here, then she will have done a great thing, and then, she and her husband will become an ideal couple. Others will start following their example.

I have just received two telegrams. One of the telegrams which is from a Muslim friend states that Indians used to be considered very sensible and that Hindus and Muslims were supposed to be living in amity. But now what has gone wrong that they cannot sit together and are fighting with each other, indulging in mutual killing and behaving as savages? Let us take the example of Delhi. The Hindus and Sikhs of Delhi are willing to accept the Muslims in their fold provided they declare their loyalty to the Indian Union. Those who wish to remain in the Indian Union, whether it is I or you or anybody else, have got to abide by this. This condition is applicable not only to the Muslims but to everybody. Then, the Muslims possess plenty of arms. Quite a large stock of these arms has been recovered. But not all arms have yet been surrendered. Searches are going on with the help of the police. But everything cannot come out with the help of the police. So, if they are honest at heart and do not wish to fight against India, they should be loyal to the Union. They should even fight any Muslim power attacking India. And if they do not wish to fight against India, why do they need the arms? There are very few Christians here, but they too would have to fight on behalf of the Union in the event of a war with another country like Germany or any other Christian country and will have to remain loyal to the country. If the Muslims are loyal and they have no intention of fighting against India, why do they need the arms? They must voluntarily surrender their arms. This is all very well. But the way this was said contained poison. Today there are nearly 50,000 Muslims in the camps. We have driven them out of Delhi. Some have been killed. However brave a person may be, he does not welcome death. Somebody may want to do business or something else. He takes comfort in the fact that he will at least be alive. Where could they go after running away? So they have taken shelter in the Purana Quila, and on the grounds near Humayun's tomb. They

get wet in the rain and have to face a lot of hardship. They are not able to have proper medical aid also. Dr. Sushila Nayyar gives me the report of their condition. She gives them four hours every day. There are many pregnant women among the refugees. Those women have to be delivered, for which some nurses are required. Also some medicines and many other things are needed. All these things take time to arrange. Why are those people living in such a condition? The Hindus say they have driven them out and they have done nothing wrong in doing that. They say that they can be brought back provided they become loyal to the country. I say that they can be brought back only when their hearts become clean. Granting that the Muslims are not loyal to the country and they refuse to surrender arms, does it mean that they should be slaughtered? There are 400 to 450 million Muslims in India. Out of these, suppose one lakh or even one crore have hidden arms in their houses. Is your army, your police, not powerful enough to unearth those arms from their houses? The police does not belong to the British nowadays. You must realize what would be the outcome of slaughtering the Muslims, killing their children and their women. I have already told you that we have fallen. We became an independent nation on August 15 when we celebrated our Independence Day. For a few days after that we all lived like brothers. Everything seemed well at that moment. But today we have forgotten that we are brothers. If they are killing us, the blame lies with the Muslim League. There was anger at heart. But in the glow of independence we forgot that they were our enemies at one time. I witnessed this in Calcutta. That was the condition all over the country. But that spirit disappeared later and they were ready to slaughter the Hindus and the Sikhs and drive them away.

I have already said that along with those two conditions if we add one more condition, we can carry on our work in peace. That condition is that we shall not take the law into our hands. It is not up to us to punish them. We admit that we had lost our senses. I agree that the Muslim League was the first to be unreasonable. As I have already said, let us show goodness in a greater measure than they do. But if we try to compete with them in wickedness, it would bring about our downfall as well as theirs. If they are doing wrong things our Government will set it right. If any of our people are in Pakistan, whether Hindus, Sikhs or Christians, who are in a minority over there and are not well protected, if they are slaughtered and

their daughters are kidnapped, if they are being deprived of their property or forcibly converted to Islam, our Government will take up the matter with Pakistan. Who are we to retaliate? I begin to think that there are some amongst us who are really murderers. I do not quite know who they are, but they are definitely there, and are working to carry out pre-planned murders, arson and forcible occupation of buildings. I do not know where they are but if they do these things, that is sure to bring about our downfall. That is why we have got to admit that it is foolishness [to retaliate in this manner]. Let us rid ourselves of that unreasonableness and bring back the people who are there. The Government has to see that Pakistan requests all those to come back who have suffered in Pakistan and who have been ruined. And all those who have their properties in Lahore should get them back. They have to be returned the houses which have been confiscated. What wonderful buildings I have seen there? And what about all those educational institutions for girls? Nowhere in India are there greater educational facilities than in Lahore. Lahore used to lead in the field of education. Where is that Lahore today? The Government at Lahore has played no part nor given any financial aid in building all those institutions. The people of the Punjab come of a sturdy stock. They are business-minded and produce wealth. There are great bankers there who know how to spend money as well as earn it. I have seen all that with my own eyes. They have built all those buildings, all those colleges for men and women, and then all those grand hospitals and they should be returned to them. A whole caravan extending to fifty miles is moving on. Those people are in a bad state. We stop being barbarians if we pass on the responsibility of taking counter-measures to the Government. I have already told you this. I have received a telegram from the Muslims living abroad.[1] They ask why people have lost their reason. They say that we should all live like brothers. They say that even though they are Muslims they do not wish to fight—Islam does not teach that. I have already said that you should wake up. And let me tell you that you may or may not accept what I say, but I do not wish to be a witness to these things. I do not wish to see such a downfall. My only prayer to God is that He should take me away before that happens. If the situation does not improve, the terrible fire raging in my heart will consume me. My heart tells me that

[1] From Amman and another place in Middle East

I shall gain nothing by seeing such a thing. I tried to sacrifice my life for India's freedom. I did not lose my life; but freedom came. But what is the point of remaining alive to see this happening in the wake of freedom? So I pray to God day and night that He should take me away. Or He should give me the power to extinguish this fire.

There is a hospital in Delhi where a large number of wounded Muslims are kept. Not all the inmates of that hospital are Muslims. There are some Hindus too. Somebody assaulted and tried to kill those Muslims. There is some group which has come from a village. The members of the group attacked not from the doors, but from small windows and fled after killing four or five patients. I do not know of a greater act of barbarism than this. Such a thing does not happen even during a war. Often hospitals have been bombarded during wars but such a thing has never happened.

And let me tell you another thing. When a train arrives five persons fling a man out of the window as if he were a piece of luggage. He is bound to die. This is what happened today but what I said about that hospital happened yesterday, or maybe the day before yesterday. Who should hang his head in shame for that? You and I and all Hindus must hang our heads in shame. I understand Muslims also are accused of similar crimes. Let the Government demand an explanation for what is happening in West Punjab.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 365-70

285. DISCUSSION WITH DOCTORS

[*October 2, 1947*][1]

Doctors pressed him to take penicillin but Gandhiji refused.[2] Ramanama was his penicillin, he said. He would rather fall a martyr to his researches in the science of Ramanama than a casualty to theirs. The doctors argued: Science has definitely established that there are specific causes for specific ailments. You eradicate the cause and the disease goes. On the other hand, anyone can be given cholera by introducing cholera germs into his system. The laws of science are inviolable.

[1] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*—I

[2] Gandhiji was suffering from a severe attack of cough and flu.

GANDHIJI: I call this arrogance. Science has yet much to learn. It has so far touched only the hem of the garment. All illness is the result of the violation of the laws of nature, in other words, the penalty of sin against Him—since He and His law are one. Therefore, when Ramanama holds full sway, all illness vanishes. People have no idea of the full potency of Ramanama. I am out to demonstrate it. I must wish to live only to serve Him and live, therefore, through His grace alone. I have plunged into this fire to discover the science of Ramanama just as a doctor or a scientist rushes into an area where an epidemic is raging to discover the laws of physical science. I must discover it or perish in the attempt.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 455

286. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 2, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A Sikh gentleman came to look me up today. He said that somebody had remarked to him that it was all right that I had narrated the words of Guru Arjun Dev, but what did I have to say about the changes made in those words by Guru Govind Singh? History says that Guru Govind Singh was a born enemy of the Muslims. But there is no reason to believe in any such thing, because the 10th Guru almost repeated the words of Guru Arjun Dev. And as for Guru Nanak, he recognized no distinction between the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It is all the same whether one worships in the temple or says *namaaz*. If a Brahmin offers *puja*, it does not mean that the person belonging to other religion curses God. Instead the Muslims say *namaaz*. *Puja* and *namaaz* are one and the same. All human beings are the same, though their languages are different. Guru Govind Singh has said that all human beings are essentially one and their manifestations are many. If that is so, I believe that we are all one and also many. Though we appear different we are essentially one. There are crores of individuals but they have the same human nature. Guru Govind Singh has said that there is "the same air, the same body, the same word." Then he says that whether called a god or a demon, a Yaksha or a Gandharva or a Turk, they are only different forms. That is exactly what Guru Govind Singh says: "There are many forms to be seen but in essence they

are the same.'' Words mean the speech. And speech is only one. And the sun is one. Can you say that there is one sun for the Muslims and another sun for us? It is the same sun for all of us. He says the air and water are also the same for everybody. The Ganga as it flows does not forbid a Turk from taking its water. Nor do the clouds that shower water say that they are bringing water not for the Muslims or the Parsis but only for the Hindus. It is not as if the Union Government was meant only for the Hindus. That can never happen. Whether you mention the Koran or the *Gita* or the *Puranas* it is all the same. Only the forms are different. If you write in Arabic you say it is the Koran. And then you write in Sanskrit or in the Devanagari script but if you understand well what is written, you will find it is the same thing. So he ends by saying that we are all one. That is what Guru Govind Singh has taught. I told the gentleman that even if Guru Govind Singh had been an enemy of the Muslims, it was a wrong thing. In the event of war both the Hindus and the Muslims died and got wounded. But a sensible disciple of the Guru Saheb supplied water to the soldiers who were alive. He gave water to the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. He said it was the teaching of Guru Maharaj that there were neither Muslims nor Sikhs nor Hindus; they were only human beings and whoever needed water had to be provided. Surely Guru Maharaj did not say that if the wounded person was a Hindu he should be given medical aid and if he happened to be a Muslim he should be left unattended? He said that Guruji had fought against the Muslims. So he did, but he fought against those Muslims who had abandoned the path of justice, and who had given up their religion. He was a man given to charity, he was unattached, he was an incarnation of God. For him there was no question of whether people belonged or did not belong to him. But there is no doubt that he did defend himself and he did fight. It would be a mistake on the part of Sikhs to claim to be non-violent. They keep *kirpans*. But Guruji taught that the *kirpan* is meant for the protection of the innocent. It is meant to fight against the tyrant who harasses people. The *kirpan* is not meant for killing old women. It is not meant for killing women and children, the innocent who are not guilty. That is not the function of the *kirpan*. The *kirpan* would be thrust into the belly of one who is guilty whether he is a Muslim or anybody else or even a Sikh whose guilt has been proved. The way people pull out their *kirpans* these days is an act of barbarism. It would not

be wrong to deprive these people of their *kirpans*, because they have given up their religion. The Sikhs have abused the *kirpan*.

Today is my birthday.[1] I do not celebrate my birthday in the usual way. I would say that on this day we must fast, spin and pray. That, in my view, is the most appropriate way of celebrating one's birthday. For me today is the day of mourning. I am surprised and also ashamed that I am still alive. I am the same person whose word was honoured by the millions of the country. But today nobody listens to me. You want only the Hindus to remain in India and say that none else should be left behind. You may kill the Muslims today; but what will you do tomorrow? What will happen to the Parsis and the Christians and then to the British? After all, they are also Christians. They have faith in Christ and are surely not Hindus. At present we have some Muslims in our midst who belong to us. If we are ready to kill them, let me tell you that I am not for it. Ever since I came to India I have made it my profession to work for communal harmony, and I wish that though our religions are different we may live in amity like brothers. But today we seem to have become enemies. We assert that there can never be an honest Muslim. A Muslim always remains a worthless fellow. In such a situation, what place do I have in India and what is the point of my being alive? I have now stopped thinking about living for 125 years. I have stopped thinking in terms of 100 or even 90 years. I am entering my 79th year today; but even that pains me. I would tell those who understand me—and there are quite a few who do understand—that we should give up such bestiality. I am not worried about what the Muslims do in Pakistan. It is not that the Muslims become great by killing the Hindus, they only become brutes. But does it mean that I should also become a beast, a barbarian, insensitive? I would stoutly refuse to do any such thing and I must ask you too not to do so. If you really want to celebrate my birthday, it is your duty not to let anyone be possessed by madness and if there is any anger in your hearts you must remove it. I would appeal to the people not to take the law into their hands but leave it to the Government to decide the issue. If you remember this much, I would consider it a good act on your part. This is all I wish to tell you.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 371-4

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

287. OUTRAGEOUS ANALOGY

A correspondent, who from his name appears to have Hindi as his mother tongue, writes thus in English:

> This is with reference to your many and continued appeals to treat Muslims as brothers and guarantee their safety so that they do not migrate from here to Pakistan. A man was walking along one cold day, when he came across a snake lying frozen with the cold. Taking pity on the reptile, he picked it up and thinking to give it warmth, put it in his pocket. The warmth soon revived the snake, and the first thing it did was to dig its poisonous fangs into his saviour and kill him.

Anger has betrayed this correspondent into an outrageous analogy. To liken a human being, however degraded he may be, to a snake to justify inhuman treatment, is surely a degrading performance. To damn crores of human beings for the faults of a few or many belonging to a particular faith seems to me to be the height of madness. The correspondent should also remember that I have known rabidly fanatical Muslims to use the very analogy in respect of Hindus. No Hindu would like to be regarded as a snake.

To treat a man as a brother is not to say that he should be trusted even when he is proved untrustworthy. And is it not a sign of cowardice to kill a man and his family for fear that he may prove untrustworthy? Picture a society in which every man is permitted to judge his fellow. Yet that is the state to which we are being reduced in some parts of India.

Lastly, let me, for the sake of snake-kind, correct a common error [and say] that eighty snakes out of every hundred are perfectly harmless and they render useful service in nature.

NEW DELHI, October 3, 1947

Harijan, 12-10-1947

288. APT LINES

A friend sends the following apt lines from George Matheson:

It is by my fetters that I can fly;
It is by my sorrows that I can soar;
It is by my reverses that I can run;
It is by my tears that I can travel;
It is by my Cross that I can climb into the heart of humanity;
Let me magnify my Cross, O God!

NEW DELHI, October 3, 1947

Harijan, 12-10-1947

289. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

October 3, 1947

RESPECTED RANCHHODBHAI[1],

I read your letter after the morning prayer, that is, at 4.30 a. m.

May you live long. For myself, I have now given up that desire. I can't bear to see Hinduism being destroyed by Hindus. Even the so-called Mahatma seems to have become an *alpatma*[2] today.

What *adharma* it is that people like you believe it to be dharma to prevent by legislation the killing of cows by others, while Hindus themselves continue to kill them.

I like what you say regarding the well.

Pranams from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5015

[1] Gandhiji's family friend who helped him to go to England for his studies. *Vide* Vol. LIII, pp. 13-24.

[2] Small soul

290. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

October 3, 1947

CHI. SHYAMLAL,

Sushila Pai has left for Bombay today. She hopes to reach Sevagram on *Bhadrapad Krishna* 12 after a halt of a day or two at Bombay. I had a talk with Bapa[1]. His demand is that for the time being, say, for a year, she should hold the post of acting ...[2] in place of Suchetabehn[3]. I have discussed the matter with her and she has agreed to devote a year. We shall have to arrange for her accommodation.

I would say that we ought to pay her as much as we were paying Suchetabehn. I should have discussed this point but I forgot it. If it was casually mentioned, I do not remember it. It was only this morning that we could have a proper talk but then we talked about some spiritual matters. Sushilabehn has talked over the subject with Suchetabehn at great length. She has no preference as to where she should be lodged as she does not know Wardha so well. If there is room enough in Bajajwadi to accommodate her, and if she can also have some privacy, I would consider it excellent. If this is not possible she could probably be accommodated in the Mahila Ashram or Kakawadi. I cannot give any definite advice, you have to think over the matter yourself.

Copies have been sent to Sushila Pai and Bapa.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A. V. Thakkar, Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust
[2] Illegible in the source
[3] Sucheta Kripalani, Organizing Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

CWMG - LXXXIX

291. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 3, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I find satyagraha being carried on in many places in the country. I really wonder if what people describe as satyagraha is satyagraha or *duragraha*. What is happening in the country is that people talk of one thing and act quite to the contrary. Today every employee, whether belonging to the Post Office or the Telegraph Office, or the Railways or to the Indian States, must examine wherever he is trying to offer satyagraha, whether it stands for truth or untruth. If it is for untruth, there is no need to offer it and if it is for truth it should surely be offered under all circumstances. Whatever is done with a selfish motive cannot be called satyagraha. That would be like insisting on untruth. I have explained quite a few conditions for satyagraha. I have said that two things are essential in satyagraha. One is that the point on which we insist should be truth and another that our insistence should be necessarily non-violent.

Those who are carrying on satyagraha today should act with due deliberation. If the basic thing is not truth and there is recourse to force in pressing for the demand, then it would be well to give it up. If the thing is poisonous, if it is *duragraha* and an untruth and if we go on demanding what we possibly cannot get, then let me tell you that we cannot remain non-violent in making such a demand. This cannot be non-violence, it is only violence. It is impossible that anyone should make an unjust demand and at the same time claim to be non-violent.

If I am in charge of the refugee camps I would tell the people living in those camps that they must clean their places themselves. Should they only play cards and dice and gamble or simply remain idle? I know there is not enough food and water for them. But if for that reason they start refusing to do any work, they will fall a prey to vices. And then there are not just half a dozen persons in those camps. Thousands are living in those camps. No one can say when they will be able to return to their homes. We shall certainly provide food for them; but let them at least do some work to earn it.

They can start by cleaning their camps and then offer to do other jobs like spinning, weaving, carpentry, smithery, tailoring, etc. There are plenty of things one can find to do in India. These people may have been millionaires yesterday; but today they have lost their millions. Such things happen often in the world. Then it becomes necessary to begin afresh and start working. If somebody comes and says that he was once a millionaire and cannot work, all our plans will be upset. We cannot then succeed. Very respectfully I would like to say that we cannot proceed that way. Whatever work we carry on should be ideal from every point of view. It should be clean and there should be nothing shoddy. Let me tell you that our difficulties are likely to be solved to a great extent if people do their own work. And if we get absorbed in our work our anger will also subside. The desire for revenge in our hearts will also die out. Goodness lies in recognizing evil as evil and then meeting it with goodwill. Therein lies the good of the country. We will not inflict suffering on anyone but will try to make others happy by undergoing hardships ourselves. If we do this, we shall be acting not only for the good of India but of the world. Today the world is watching how India is conducting herself. Now is the real moment of our test. We have attained independence. What are we going to do now?

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 374-6

292. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

October 4, 1947

CHI. AMALA,

I got your postcard. I suppose one may say you have at last settled down now.

I am pulling on somehow.

Abha, Manu, Dr. Sushila and Rajkumari are doing very well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SPIEGEL
PRINCIPAL
MAHARANI HIGH SCHOOL
BARODA

From Gujarati: Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

CWMG - LXXXIX

293. LETTER TO AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE

October 4, 1947

CHI. AVANTIKABEHN,

How is it that you have cancer? I learnt about it only from your letter. Is there any hope of its being cured? Please write to me in detail.

Why do you remember the dhotis even now? You have observed the rule[1] long enough. Overcome that attachment now.

I hope Baban Gokhale[2] is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Adarsh Hind Mahila, p. 1

294. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

NEW DELHI,
October 4, 1947

CHI. PRABHA,

I have your letter. You are not to worry on my account. I have pointed out to you your dharma. It will be enough if you observe it. My health continues to be as it has been. There is no cause for anxiety.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee used to send dhotis to Gandhiji on his birthday.
[2] Addressee's husband

CWMG - LXXXIX

295. LETTER TO KAILAS NATH KATJU

NEW DELHI,
October 4, 1947

BHAI KAILAS NATH KATJU[1],

I heard attentively both your articles read out to me, but as I am their subject how can I reproduce them in *Harijan*? Nowadays even praise of any kind hurts me like poison. We have become like beasts.

I asked Dr. Jivraj about your blood-pressure. He suggests that you should take *sarpagandha*. The *sarpagandha* extract is available at the Tropical Medicine School in Calcutta. Would you like me to send it from my stock? Is it not a *sevak's* dharma to keep his body healthy?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

296. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 4, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

How can I convince you that all these things that are happening today would not have happened if we had not lost our heads. I have no doubt about it at all. Because the Muslims have lost their senses, the refugees are fleeing Pakistan. Why should the Hindus leave that country if they were comfortable there? Why should they run away from West Punjab? It is indeed tragic that people are running away from other parts of Pakistan as well. We should give thought to why the Hindus are running away. Suppose that the Muslims there have become tyrants, should we, in turn, become tyrants too? Should we take the law into our hands and kill the young and the old,

[1] Governor of Orissa, 1947; later Central Minister of Home and Defence; Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh

CWMG - LXXXIX

women and children because the Muslims are killing them there? I have repeatedly stated that that is the law of the jungle. I cannot remain alive while such a law prevails. So far I had been praying to God that He may keep me alive for 125 years so that I could render some more service to the country. And I can rest in peace only when the Kingdom of God, *Ramarajya*, prevails in the country. Then only I can say that India has become truly independent. But today it has become a mere dream. Let alone *Ramarajya*, at present there is no rule whatever in the country. What can a man like me do under these circumstances? If this situation cannot be improved, my heart cries out and prays to God, that He should take me away immediately. Why should I remain a witness to these things? And if He wishes that I should remain alive, I appeal to Him at least to grant me the strength I once possessed. I used to take pride that I could convince the people. Formerly when I went to the people and warned them against doing something, they listened to me. Such was their love for me. I would not say that people love me less today. But whether it is more or less it should be followed by action. And it is action that is lacking. Hence I would say that my influence is on the wane. My work went on well while we were in bondage. But I am not able to do anything now when we are independent. I could teach the same lesson to our people today which I did then. If you can heed that advice today, we can go very far.

What I wanted to tell you was that for you the days of winter are coming. As for me, you see this shawl brought by these girls lest I catch a chill. I have got some cough too. But there is much improvement and this cotton wrap is sufficient for the time being. But what about all those refugees in the camps and in the Purana Quila? You can ask why you should give [blankets] for the Muslims, but I cannot think that way. For me Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians are all the same. I cannot make any distinction. What will happen to all those people in this winter? If you tell me that it is the job of the Government to give them blankets, I would say that the Government cannot do so. The Government will make all efforts, but where is the stock? From where will the Government produce the blankets? It is not true that it can easily procure them. Today things are not available even in Europe or in the United States. Nobody can send us anything from there. Even if someone sends ten or twenty thousand blankets out of pity, what purpose will be served by them? We have to provide blankets to

lakhs of people. How can everyone get it? I would like to tell all those who are present here that it is not proper that all those people should suffer the rigours of winter. At the same time you cannot pass on all your blankets to them. But I know there are a number of people among us who have many more blankets than they need. There are a large number of poor people in Delhi who can hardly afford to have blankets. Give as many blankets as you can spare. You can start giving things like this from today. You should not wait and think that since the Government is doing something you need do nothing. The cold has already started though it is still bearable. But when I had gone to the Viceregal Lodge after [September][1] 17, I found the fire already ablaze in the fire-place. That was because it had already become cold and Delhi winter is such that it is more than one can bear. The cold increases rapidly from October onwards and becomes severe. November, December, January and February, are the pleasant months of winter. Those who have plenty to eat and piles of clothes and who can go about heavily clothed, can wear boots and socks, can afford to call the winter months pleasant. But I am a witness to what happens to those who do not have these things. You too may be a witness to that. Hence I would say that we should try to save as many of such people as possible. It is possible that those who have clothes for winter may not have woollen blankets. Even if there are no woollen blankets there may be at least some quilts. A thick cotton sheet is good enough. If it is in good shape you can bring that too. Even a thick, heavy sheet used in olden days, can serve the purpose. A thick khadi sheet would do. I do not want any other clothes. It may be a woollen wrap, or a quilt or a thick khadi sheet—let me have whatever you can easily spare. You must give these things on your own. If you start sending things, somebody will be in charge of collecting them. I am not going to take charge of them personally. Nor will these things rot in the godowns or be delivered to undeserving persons. I assure you that whatever wraps and clothes you give will go only to the deserving men and women. I do hope you will not tell me that you are giving these things for the Hindus or the Sikhs. Human beings are all one. Let no one come and tell me later on that these things are not to be given to the Muslims. A large number of Muslims have been killed here and many have fled. We have driven

[1] The source has "October".

them out. I do not know what property remains in the possession of those who have been left behind. If the Muslims remaining in India send the blankets to me and insist that they should be given to the Muslims I will give them to the Muslims. But I hope that all those who have been hearing my words and are going to hear me on the radio will not embarrass me. Let them rather tell me that they have dedicated those things to God. In that case, they will go to the deserving people. I hope and trust that you will do this much. If you do it, I will say that you have done a great thing. But do not send dirty and torn things that I may have to wash and darn. If the clothes are dirty, try to wash them before sending. Take that much trouble. There is no need to send them to the dhobi. You can wash them in plain water and bring them to me nicely wrapped. I shall be very glad if you should do that.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 376-80

297. NO DEPRESSION

This is from one of the many messages of birthday congratulations :

> May I suggest that the present situation should not depress you? In my opinion this is the final attempt of the forces of evil to foil the divine plan of India's contribution to the solution of the world's distress by way of non-violence. You are today the only instrument in the world to further the divine purpose.

This is a telegram sent more out of personal affection than knowledge. Let us see.

It is perhaps wrong to describe my present state of mind as depression. I have but stated a fact. I am not vain enough to think that the divine purpose can only be fulfilled through me. It is as likely as not that a fitter instrument will be used to carry it out and that I was good enough to represent a weak nation, not a strong one. May it not be that a man purer, more courageous, more far-seeing is wanted for the final purpose? This is all speculation. No one has the capacity to judge God. We are drops in that limitless ocean of mercy.

Without doubt the ideal thing would be neither to wish to live 125 years nor to wish to die now. Mine must be a state of

complete resignation to the Divine Will. The ideal ceases to be that when it becomes real. All we can do is to make as near an approach to it as possible. This I am doing with as much energy as I can summon to my assistance.

If I had the impertinence openly to declare my wish to live 125 years, I must have the humility under changed circumstances openly to shed that wish. And I have done no more, no less. This has not been done in a spirit of depression. The more apt term perhaps is helplessness. In that state I invoke the aid of the all-embracing Power to take me away from this "vale of tears" rather than make me a helpless witness of the butchery by man become savage, whether he dares to call himself a Muslim or a Hindu or what not. Yet I cry—"Not my will but Thine alone shall prevail."[1] If He wants me, He will keep me here on this earth yet awhile.

NEW DELHI, October 5, 1947
Harijan, 12-10-1947

298. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 5, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Let me first say something about my health because today also there is a mention in the Press about my illness. I do not know who has sent out that information. It cannot be by the doctors who are always around me. But innumerable visitors come here and see that I am having cough and occasional fever and they make mountains out of molehills. Why? I think they write about my health because, the Mahatma that I am, the news is spread throughout the world. What will happen if Gandhi dies? If everyone has to die, Gandhi has to die too. Nobody has come to this world with the gift of eternal life. I do have some cough and weakness. But what is the point in giving publicity to these in the Press? Let me tell you that those who gave out that information have done no good to me or to anyone else. As you see, I come here and also talk. Nothing comes in the way. I do hope people will refrain from doing any such thing.

[1] *St. Luke*, xxii. 42

The next thing is that I had requested[1] you yesterday to spare, if possible, blankets, quilts and such other coverings which will be useful in winter, which is fast approaching. Three persons have sent blankets today. Two of them are living in the nearby areas. I have forgotten their names, though. The two blankets sent by them are in a fairly good condition. There is another person whose name also I have forgotten. He has given ten blankets that can only be new. All these blankets are kept in safe custody as I told you yesterday. They will be given to deserving men and women. I hope that if you are convinced by what I have told you today you will give me whatever you can spare.

I have just received a telegram sent jointly by many persons. The telegram is lying right before me. I am not happy about the contents of the telegram. Of course they have every right to send such a telegram. The senders of the telegram say that if the Hindus had not behaved the way they did, I too would not have remained alive. This is a very serious thing. I acknowledge no other power except God that can keep me alive. I can remain alive as long as He wishes and no one can kill me till that moment. What is true for me is true for everybody. Why then should they write such a thing? I must admit that they have been inspired by love to write what they have written. But I firmly believe that God alone can keep me or anyone else alive.

These people proceed to say (they also mention some names which I want to omit) that I am too naive to continue to have faith in the Muslims. Not just one person but a large number join together to tell me that the Muslims are going to betray at the last moment. They say that they are going to side with Pakistan and fight against India to support Pakistan. They say that 98 out of every 100 Muslims are traitors. Let me tell you that I do not hold this view. These $4\frac{1}{2}$ crore Muslims, most of whom live in the villages and a few in the cities, have become Muslims from among us and they all cannot be traitors. Should we enter the house of each Muslim and finish him on the presumption that all Muslims are traitors and disarm each one of them? Their suggestion only implies that Muslims should all be finished or driven out from here. I would tell those friends that this is cowardice. I would stress only this, that supposing they are all like that, then prove it to the Government. Tell the Government to settle the matter. If we followed the suggestion of these friends the two communities would remain enemies, and

[1] *Vide* p. 284.

the result would be only war. If both the sides insist on fighting, both are going to be destroyed and the freedom we have achieved will be lost. No Hindu can preserve his Hinduism by being servile to others. While the British were ruling over us we thought that our religion was being preserved. But that was a mistake.

When I was a child I read a poem by a very great poet who was blind. "Well, let us forget our animosities and live in peace, for, now, the British have come." There was a time when we were fascinated by the British and felt ourselves safe under their protection. Let us rectify that mistake. Now if we become such cowards as to think of driving away 4½ crore Muslims we will only prove ourselves to be feeble-minded. We will not save our religion by following such methods. I do not believe that Hindus and Muslims are born with a feeling of mutual animosity. If we become enemies, how can India survive? Are both Hindus and Muslims going to be enslaved again and are they going to forget their religions? How is it possible? It is our duty to furnish all the relevant information to the Government.

Let me tell you today that I meet and keep in touch with the Ministers. Panditji visits me almost every day. The Sardar also pays me almost daily visits, though not as often as Panditji does. But both of them come. They are both my friends and are with me. Both of them have even differed from me in all earnestness. I do not mean to say that I shall not be able to tell them anything. The Government has to protect all—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians. Then only can they claim to be true Congressmen. The function of Hindu Mahasabha is to protect Hinduism. It is their job to protect the religion of the Sikhs and the Hindus and to overcome the forces of evil. Who else is going to do it? Can religion ever be saved through anybody's favour? If we ask someone to save our religion, we are only bargaining. We say all this because we want to save ourselves. We may wear one robe now and another the next day. Does that mean that we are following any religion? That is why I say that these people who have sent me the telegram have not done any good.

Next I want to talk about something else. Mr. Churchill has repeated his earlier view[1] in an exaggerated manner. That pains me. That is because I am a friend of the British. I have no feeling of animosity towards anyone. Several among the British are very nice people and they have acted courageously in

[1] *Vide* p. 253.

granting freedom to India. I don't care what result this may have later on. Mr. Churchill assails this action and says, as he had said in his earlier speech also, that he has always held the view that the Indians are what they are. If he had known it all along, where was the need to repeat his view?

But he seems to have attacked the Labour Government only in the interest of his own Party, so that the Labour Government should fall and his own Party should return to power. It is the working class that is ruling Britain today. Britain is a small island; but it has progressed so much on the strength of its working class and industries that it has become renowned in the world. Mr. Churchill aspires to overthrow the present Labour Government in that country. In order to pull down that Government he points out that the Labour Government has done a foolish thing and behaved in a clumsy manner and ruined the Empire. He says it is a folly that Britain should have lost India and now the same thing is going to be repeated in Burma. How can I tell Mr. Churchill that we are too familiar with British history, how they acquired Burma and how they consolidated their power in India. I do not think anyone can be proud of such a history.

What we are doing today is sheer savagery. We are trying to destroy the freedom we have won. I admit that today I am useless in your eyes. I have no influence on you. Nevertheless, let me tell you that if the British people listen to Mr. Churchill's words and the Conservative Party defeats the Labour Government it would be a great misfortune. Let me tell you that the whole world says that we have become free through some power. What is that power? It was the working class that was in power at the time Britain had a Socialist Government and that Government granted us freedom. Who can wipe out socialism? Neither Mr. Churchill nor anyone else can do so. I have come to realize that their Government cannot function in any other way. Supposing the British nation loses its salt and the working class is defeated and Mr. Churchill comes back to power, would he give us an ultimatum that he is going to enslave us again, and attack us? Let us see how he does it. For the life of me I cannot think how he can ever do it. The people of our country may be anything, good or bad; they may become scoundrels or lose their heads. But they alone have taught me that freedom is the greatest thing. In such freedom you are entitled to commit all the mistakes. It is not that freedom is given to us when we are good and may be taken away from us when we cease to be so. How can one talk like that? That was not the law for the British

people. It was not the law for the other nations of the world. If freedom was meant only for the good, looking at the things happening in the world how would one find freedom anywhere? It is the British themselves who have taught us that freedom is preferable to slavery. A British writer has said that the British would choose to remain free even if they were to just drink and rot but they would not like to be reformed under slavery. But we in India accept their bad points and not the good points.

India has seven lakh villages. Today the people of these seven lakh villages have not run amuck. If the people of these seven lakh villages went mad, the map of India would be completely changed. I would however be happy if even though they should go mad, they remained free. But if, anybody casts an evil eye on India and tries to subjugate her because our people have gone mad he is not going to succeed.

I have already told you that even if we continue to be crazy the British are not going to return. They cannot come back. Once they have thrown out something, are they going to swallow it back? But the world is watching all that is happening. How will the world react when it sees what is happening here? The world will not allow such a thing to happen to India. Nor will India allow it to happen. But if other powers under the U. N. O. come here for investigation, we will not be able to stop them. If then we continue to be mad and lose our heads we will lose our freedom to them.

Even if I am the only one left I will continue to warn the world that it may completely destroy us if it so wishes, but it can never enslave us again. It is my vow never to be a slave again. It is for all of you to adhere to that vow, to make it a reality. I alone cannot do it. I cannot save India single-handed.

How can I be sure about myself? Who can say how long I am going to be alive? How is India going to be affected if God takes me away? How can I save India all by myself? It all depends on God. If He is by my side and is merciful, India can be saved. I think that so long as I am alive, nobody can take advantage of the disturbed conditions in the country and say, let us enslave it and capture it. I only wish that God may fulfil this desire of mine through you.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 380-5

299. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PYARELAL

[Before *October 6, 1947*][1]

Of course I need you here. . . .[2] There is so much to do. Besides I have of late resumed active editorship of *Harijan*. . . .[3] That makes the need for you to be here all the greater. Still I give the first priority to Noakhali. While you are all there, I can feel at peace with myself. Supposing you all were to come away from Noakhali, I would then feel compelled to give up everything else and go there, even all by myself, to 'do or die'.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 528

300. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

NEW DELHI,
October 6, 1947

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

I could read your letter only today. It is 5.15 a.m. now when I am writing this. It took me fairly long to read the letter.

Your reply cannot be published in *Harijan*. If it is published, we should also discuss the subject in *Harijan*. I am not prepared for that. Moreover I am of an entirely different view. Plans about a new university seem untimely to me just now. Besides, so long as separate States have not been formed, why raise the question of a separate university? According to our, or rather only my, view, education at all levels must be self-supporting. And finally, when the very existence of India is being threatened and the people are engaged in a fratricidal war, is it proper to discuss schemes like this?

[1] Quoting this letter after the one dated October 6, 1947, the addressee says: "In a previous letter he had asked me whether I could not be spared from Noakhali. I had replied that it was all a matter of comparative need. If he needed me at Delhi, I could come." To which this was Gandhiji's reply.

[2] & [3] Omissions as in the source

If, however, you wish me to think over the matter further you may write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 11001

301. LETTER TO PYARELAL

October 6, 1947

There is a fresh exodus of Hindus from East Bengal. What does it portend? I have taken it that Noakhali will not be re-enacted in the Dacca area. It is said that the Muslims are not allowing the Hindus to celebrate their festivals with music. Among the Muslims there are said to be two groups. One group maintains that the Hindus have every right to do so. The other says they won't allow it. There is panic among the Hindus as a result. Write to me in full detail after full inquiry.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 528

302. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 6, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

Maulana Saheb came yesterday evening and was with me for a short while. He wants the three of us to meet together. The time for the meeting is to be fixed by you. He wants one hour any time on Tuesday. Please let me know the time and inform him also.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 375

CWMG - LXXXIX

303. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

October 6, 1947

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Bari Khan[1] is here. He meets me often. All your brothers were worried about the relatives who were in Patiala. Whatever information I could gather with great difficulty is enclosed. Bari Khan has been given all the information. Now all of them have reached Pakistan safely. But that is no relief. There is hardly any Muslim left in Patiala. Many were murdered. What brutalities are going on! What a sequel to Pakistan! People are trying to see that there is no Hindu left in Pakistan and no Muslim in Hindustan. I am [striving] here. Either things will improve here or I have to die. God knows best.

If you can stay there peacefully, do so. In my opinion there is no other alternative.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 588

304. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 6, 1947

Those who ought to know all about our food problem have gathered together on the invitation of Dr. Rajendra Prasad to give him the benefit of their advice on the grave food crisis. Any mistake made on this important matter may mean avoidable starvation and death of millions therefrom. India is not unfamiliar with starvation and death of tens of thousands, if not millions, due to famine, natural or man-made. I claim that in a well-ordered society there should always be pre-arranged methods of successful treatment of scarcity of water and food crops. This is, however, not the occasion for describing a well-ordered society and for showing how it would deal with the matter. Our concern, for the present, is to see whether we can, with a fair hope of success, deal with the present food crisis.

[1] Addressee's brother

I think we can. The first lesson we must learn is of self-help and self-reliance. If we assimilate this lesson, we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependence upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy. This is not said in arrogance but as a matter of fact. We are not a small country dependent for our food supply upon outside help. We are a sub-continent, a nation of nearly 400 millions. We are a country of mighty rivers and a rich variety of agricultural land, with inexhaustible cattle wealth. That our cattle give much less milk than we need is entirely our own fault. Our cattle wealth is any day capable of giving us all the milk we need. Our country, if it had not been neglected during the past few centuries, would today not only be providing herself with sufficient food, she would also be playing a useful role in supplying the outside world with much-needed food-stuffs of which the late war has unfortunately left practically the whole world in want. This does not exclude India. The distress is growing instead of showing signs of decreasing. My suggestion does not include ungrateful rejection of free supply that any foreign country may wish to offer us. All I say is that we must not go begging. It demoralizes. Add to this the difficulty of internal transport of food-stuffs from one place to another. We have not the requisite facility for rapid movement of grains and other food-stuffs from place to place. Further add to this the remote possibility of delivery of uneatable stuff. We dare not lose sight of the fact that we have to deal with human nature. In no part of the world is it to be found perfect or even very nearly so.

Next let us see what possible foreign aid we can get. I am told that not more than three per cent of our present wants. If this information is correct, and I have had it checked by several experts who confirm the figure, I am sure the case for reliance on outside help falls to the ground. The slightest dependence on outside help is likely to deflect us from exploring to the fullest extent our immense internal possibilities in the shape of utilizing every inch of arable land for growing crops for daily food in the place of growing money crops. We must reclaim waste land which is capable of being placed under immediate cultivation.

Centralization of food-stuffs, I apprehend, is ruinous. Decentralization easily deals a blow to black-marketing, saves time and money in transport to and fro. Moreover the villager who grows India's cereals and pulses knows how to save his crops against rodents. The movement of grain from station to station

makes it liable to be eaten by rodents. This costs the country many millions and deprives it of tons of grain, every ounce of which we badly need. If every Indian were to realize the necessity of growing food wherever it can be grown, we should most probably forget that there was scarcity of food-stuffs in the land. I have by no means dealt fully with the fascinating and absorbing subject of growing more food, but I hope I have said enough to stimulate interest and turn the wise towards the thought of how every individual can help in the laudable enterprise.

Let me now show how to deal with the three per cent of grain we might possibly get from outside. Hindus observe a fast or a semi-fast every eleventh day each fortnight. Muslims and others are not prohibited from denying themselves, especially when it is for the sake of the starving millions. If the whole nation realized the beauty of this partial self-denial, India would more than cover the deficit caused by the voluntary deprivation of foreign aid.

Personally I hold that rationing has very limited use, if any. If the producers were left to themselves, they would bring their produce to the market and everyone would get good and eatable grain, which today is not easily obtainable.

I shall close this hurried review of the food crisis by drawing attention to President Truman's reported advice to the American people that they should eat less bread, and thus save the much-needed grain for starving Europe. He added that Americans would not lose in health by the recommended act of self-denial. I tender my congratulations to President Truman on this philanthropic gesture. I must decline to endorse the suggestion that at the back of this philanthropy there is a sordid motive of deriving a pecuniary advantage for America. A man must be judged by his action, not the motive prompting it. God alone knows men's hearts. If America would deny herself for the sake of hungry Europe, should we fail to do this little act of self-denial for ourselves? If many must die of starvation, let us at least earn the credit of having done our best in the way of self-help, which ennobles a nation.

Let us hope that the Committee that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has called together will not disperse without presenting a workable solution of the food crisis that faces the country.

Harijan, 19-10-1947

305. LETTER TO SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

DEAR GENERAL SHAH NAWAZ,[1]

Your letter.

If the work you are doing there[2] does not go to the dogs in your absence, you may leave it to go to the Punjab—Pakistan.

BAPU

Copy to Dev Prakash

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

306. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

CHI. DEV,

You must pay Hunar's[3] salary from there only. Why does he write to us?

Sushila has a slight fever. Just now at 5 o'clock in the morning she is sleeping.

A copy of the letter I have written[4] to General Shah Nawaz and his own letter are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The superscription is in the Devanagari script.
[2] In Masaurhi in Bihar
[3] Muhammed Ahmed Hunar, Gandhiji's Secretary for Urdu work, who accompanied Gandhiji on his Noakhali and Bihar tours
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXXIX

307. LETTER TO M. A. HUNAR

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

CHI. HUNAR,

Why should your salary be paid from here? It should be drawn from Patna because isn't the work done there meant for Patna? Probably there will never be an occasion for us to stay together.

I don't know what to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

308. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

MY DEAR SUDHIR,

Your note.

I hope you have my message as also my wire.[1]

I am quite clear. You should leave that place.[2] More from Horace.

Reuter's summary is quite fair. You can't help people who would see red in everything. I hope however the storm has blown over.

I am glad Shanti has passed one test.

Love.

BAPU

Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* p. 260.

[2] The addressee was posted as Public Relations Officer at India House, London. He was finding it difficult to function under V. K. Krishna Menon who had been appointed High Commissioner in London on August 15, 1947.

309. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU[1]

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

MY DEAR SINGER,

Your letter.

Who says you are old?

Dr. Bidhan is coming but he has not. What matters when [he] comes? One and the same thing to you.

Love to the whole family.

Yours,
SPINNER[2]

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

310. LETTER TO KHATEEB AHMED HUSSAIN

DELHI,
October 7, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Your note is good. It will be useful when both have honestly the same mind.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KHATEEB SIR AHMED HUSSAIN
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee was Governor of the U. P.
[2] The addressee used to call Gandhiji "Spinner of Destiny".

CWMG - LXXIX

311. TALK WITH MANU GANDHI[1]

[*October 7, 1947*][2]

[Gandhiji] answered[3] that it could do more, it could attune one completely to the divine will. Such a person would have the faith that though crippled, he could conceivably serve as a more effective instrument for the execution of His purpose than one with a whole limb and that, after all, was the *summum bonum* of life.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 456

312. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 7, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

In my speech yesterday there was no mention at all of what is going on between Hindus and Muslims these days. But today something has happened and I should not keep quiet about it. It has happened not here but at Dehra Dun. A Muslim gentleman was murdered. As far as I know, he had committed no crime. Nor had he taken the law into his own hands. But he was killed because he happened to be a Muslim. I was pained about it and wondered where we would stop if we went on at this rate. Today I find that I have a large number of Muslim friends. I feel hesitant to tell them to leave this place. How would they go away? I find that today the Muslims are not safe in the trains. Anyone who so pleases throws them out of the compartments or slaughters them. I understand that a similar thing is happening in Pakistan. But what are we going to gain by continuing to behave in this manner? Let us at least know ourselves. Let us at least recognize our religion. Everyone follows his own religion. What does our religion teach us? Or are we acting without any regard for our religion? Has the Congress lost its senses? After all, what did the Congress do for 60 years?

[1] & [2] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*—I, p. 85

[3] Gandhiji was asked: "Could Ramanama set a broken bone?"

If the Congress has been making a mistake so far, it is the enemy of the country, and I would say that it should be removed from the scene. Let even those who profess to be Congressmen say it in clear terms that they are leaving the Congress and forming another party. There is no room for any complaint about it. Do whatever you like but this much I can say before the whole world and our people that we should not take the law into our own hands. If we do it, we shall be driving ourselves to ruin and lose our independence and then, if some other power comes and subjugates India, we shall realize with shock what a terrible blunder we had made. This is not a good thing. There was a mongoose which killed a snake to save a child. Its mouth was smeared red with blood. The child's mother had gone to the well to fetch water. When she returned, the mongoose rushed to her jumping as though saying that it had saved her child. But she thought it had killed the child and threw the pitcher on the mongoose. The water was gone, the pitcher was broken and the mongoose died. When the woman entered the house she saw the child playing in the cradle and the dead snake lying nearby. Then she realized that the mongoose had been her friend. She felt sad and remorseful. So let us not do anything which we may regret later like that mother, and feel sorry for not having co-operated with our Government. We have set up our own Government. Are we going to ruin it?

Today we have got power in our hands. We have got our own ministers. Our Prime Minister is Jawaharlal. He is a true jewel and he has served his people well. Then there is the Sardar and there are others too. Is it that we do not like them? Today it is said Jawaharlal is no good. It is said he is not a good Hindu. People want a person who will follow their dictates, who will not support the Muslims and will drive them out. I must admit that Jawaharlal cannot do so. Nor can I do so. I consider myself a sanatani Hindu. But I am not that sanatani who would not let anyone except the Hindus live in India. Whatever the religion one may follow, one belongs to India if one is loyal to the country, and is as much entitled to live in India as I am. It makes no difference if one belongs to the minority community. That is what religion teaches me. Right from my childhood I have been taught that in *Ramarajya* or the Kingdom of God no person can be unworthy just because he follows a different religion. You must realize that I am such a Hindu. I have no power in my hands and

I am not a minister. Jawaharlal is a minister and you can remove him if you want. Then there is the Sardar. Do you know who he is? He is the Sardar from Bardoli. Do you listen to him? He also has many Muslim friends. His friend Imam Saheb was the Congress leader in Gujarat and he is dead. Imam Saheb's son-in-law[1] is at Ahmedabad and I think he is the chief of the District Congress. He is a very good-hearted man. I know him very well. He married Imam Saheb's daughter[2]. It is the same Imam Saheb who came away with his wife from South Africa, leaving his business there, and stayed with me. He is dead and his grown-up daughter is left behind. Should I discard her and tell her that I have nothing to do with her because she is a Muslim? She is a Muslim no doubt, but I can say that she is a good-hearted girl. She does not know that she might have to leave. If the Sardar lets her go, where is she going to stay? Let us not take the law into our own hands. Law may be made by the Sardar or Jawaharlal, but they cannot first issue ordinances and then leave the matter to the public. Today we cannot have such ministers. Granted that that was done during the days of the British. But does it mean that we should do so even now? Shall we invite the same criticism about us which we used to fling at the British? We will not tolerate it. That is all I want to say.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 389-91

313. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 8, 1947

A gentleman often comes to see me. He is a good man. He was travelling from Dehra Dun. The train was quite crowded. At one station (I have forgotten the name) a man entered their compartment. All others in the compartment were Hindus and Sikhs, some carrying swords and some carrying knives. They gave the newcomer a close look. They asked him who he was. That poor man was alone and he replied that he was a *chamar*. But those people were suspicious. When they examined his hand they found his name tattooed there.

[1] Ghulam Rasool Qureshi
[2] Amina

Sometimes people have their names tattooed on their hands. And thus he proved to be a Muslim. Somebody drove a knife into his body and as the train approached the Jumna he picked him up and flung him into the river. The whole thing was done by only one man, but all those other men also witnessed it. The gentleman who narrated the incident to me could not bear the sight and turned his face away. I told him that if he had so much pity in his heart and he did not like the man being killed, why did he not stop the offender from doing such a savage act? There were some fifty or sixty Hindus and Sikhs in the compartment and the victim was a helpless Muslim among them. What kind of humanity is it that someone should kill such a lone man and throw him in the Jumna? That man was not even completely dead. He had been stabbed and wounded and he was just thrown into the river. If the gentleman who came to me had so much pity, why did he not intervene and why did he not save him from death? He told me that though he felt distressed he failed to do his duty. He said he could not think of doing anything. I told him that was not a good thing, that was not human. We are so many and if a solitary Muslim comes in our midst we kill him and throw away his body. Anyone who tries to do such a thing should be restrained and persuaded with love that he should have mercy. He should be told: 'What are you doing? Whom are you killing? Don't kill him, he has not done anything.' And if this had no effect, I would be happy if the gentleman had sacrificed his life in saving that Muslim. What is so great about fifty or sixty persons killing a single man? But there were so many people present and one of them decided to kill a man and actually killed him while others looked on, who probably approved of the act. Let me tell you that those who are given to this way of thinking are mistaken. In the midst of those who kill there are also those who do have pity in their hearts and do not approve of killing, but because they are afraid for their own lives they do nothing and forget how they should act on such occasions. But how can one forget? If somebody indulges in an act of savagery, you must stop him. How very shameful that even the people who do not approve of such savagery merely look on? I want to tell you this because I have seen with my own eyes that there are people who do not approve of such things but do not have the courage to come forward and intervene. I will appreciate if there is even a single individual who shows the courage to stand up and prevent such an act saying that

he would hold the hand of the offender if he tries to strike and if the offender does not listen, would sacrifice his own life, rather than let the victim be killed. A man like me would stand by non-violence. He would not kill even if he had to die himself, instead he would save a person's life by laying down his own. I have no doubt that that man would have been saved if somebody had shown such courage. And if, in an attempt to save, he himself had got killed, he would have proved himself truly brave. This is true non-violence. True non-violence does not mean that we remain non-violent before the strong and use force on the weak.

We used non-violence against the British, but now we are resorting to violence. Against whom are we using violence? Against our own fellowmen. The non-violence we used against the British was not the non-violence of the brave. The country is facing the consequences now. I am facing the consequences. So are you. I must admit that I could not teach you true non-violence. I am showing you what the non-violence of the brave can be. There are Muslims living here today. And there in Pakistan the Muslims are ill-treating the Hindus. But should we, in turn, ill-treat the Muslims? Are they behaving particularly like brave people? Let me tell you that what is happening in Pakistan is deplorable, and if we are going to follow it in our Union it is equally deplorable. And then arguing about which side was the first to take the offensive and which committed more excesses than the other is not exactly the way of establishing friendship. The true way of friendship is that we should always be on the side of justice and maintain our good behaviour. If we follow that path, even the savage and those who may have lost their senses will come round. We don't want to go into the question of who is more guilty and who less, or who started it. In my view that would be sheer ignorance. That is not the way of becoming friends. If those who were enemies till yesterday want to be friends today, they should forget the past enmity and start behaving as friends. What is the point of remembering animosity? There can be no friendship if people think that they would be prepared to fight if necessary but would remain friends if they could. That is not how true friendship grows.

Now I may as well talk a little about another point. The Press has become a very powerful medium in the world today. When a country becomes independent the Press becomes all the more powerful. When there is freedom, there can be no restrictions on the Press regarding the reports and the news to

be published. But public opinion can be very useful at such times. When the newspapers do dirty propaganda or publish unfounded reports or incite people, the Government should come down on them to put an end to these or take legal action against them. But in doing so the riot situation worsens and there is more trouble. The Government cannot resort to that course. Things were different during the days of the British. What did they care? They caught hold of a man like Tilak[1] and put him behind the bars for six years. He had written something in his paper. It was nothing much. Still he got six years' deportation and had to complete the entire term. Like him many people had to go to jail. I was also jailed for six years.[2] It is another matter that I did not remain in jail for six years. But I was sentenced to six years because of an article I wrote in *Young India*. I did not write anything bad, but I was sentenced. Now such things cannot happen when we are free. Today all the correspondents, editors and owners of newspapers must become truthful and serve the people. No false information should appear in the newspapers nor should they publish anything that would incite the people. Today, when we have become independent, it is the duty of the public not to read dirty papers but to throw them away. When nobody buys those papers they will automatically follow the right path. I feel ashamed at the fact that today people have got into the habit of reading dirty and undesirable things. Such newspapers are widely circulated. I read about an incident at Rewari. A newspaper published a report saying that the members of the Meo community killed all the Hindus, set fire to their houses and looted their property and cattle. I was shocked to know that the Meos had indulged in such terrible things. The next day there was no information about Rewari in the papers. It was all a cooked-up story. I wondered how that news about Rewari ever came to be published in the paper. I would like to say that the man who wrote about the Rewari incident should give an explanation. He must explain whether he had written that story on wrong information or it was deliberate mischief. He is guilty of great crime before God. Such a thing should not have happened. If anyone behaves that way, our work can never progress. The Government cannot keep a watchful eye

[1] Bal Gangadhar Tilak was deported in 1908 for writing two articles in *Kesari*. *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 418.

[2] Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on March 18, 1922, but was released for health reasons on February 5, 1924.

on the Press today. You and I should keep a watch on the newspapers. Let us purify our hearts and show no inclination to take in dirty things. Let us give up reading dirty things. If we do this, the newspapers will do their duty properly. I shall finish after discussing one more point.

Our military and police also are in the same position as the Press. The military and the police were divided at the time of the Partition. I admit that it was not their doing. It just happened like that. The military here is composed of Hindus and Sikhs. The Muslim soldiers have gone over to Pakistan. If the Hindu and Sikh soldiers and police start thinking that because they themselves are Hindus and Sikhs they will only defend the Hindus and Sikhs and try to cover up the crimes committed by them and refuse to protect the Muslims because they are not meant to protect them, we shall be nowhere. Nor would it be any good if the Muslim army and the police started killing the Hindus saying it was not their business to protect the Hindus. The Government has the military and the police. But I need neither the military nor the police. I would ask the people to become the military and the police for us. If the Hindus kill the Muslims here they have got to be saved. We must not give up. I shall not step aside even if I have to lay down my life. Such will be my Government. I am not talking in the air. I am telling you what is right. I would like to say the same thing to the army and the police which belong to the Government. Their primary duty is to protect the handful of Muslims living here. If they are attacked by the Hindus and Sikhs, they should come to their rescue. They should protect them even at the risk of their own lives. Then only can they be called true soldiers and policemen. The freedom achieved by India is indeed a remarkable phenomenon. The whole world says and I say it too that no government has ever transferred power to the people of any other country in this way. We have attained our independence without any fighting and bloodshed. Hence our military and police should not be there to fill their pockets. They should be content with what they are getting. They should not think in terms of extravagant meals complete with sweets. A soldier must satisfy his hunger with whatever meagre meal he may be getting and perform his duty. But if he starts thinking about other people's children going to schools and colleges, and about their cars and cycles and decides to resort to corrupt means to get similar things for himself, he will cease to be a true servant. That is

why I say that a true soldier and a true policeman is the one who is satisfied with whatever food he gets and does his duty without any religious bias. If he is a Hindu he should never think of harming the Muslims. It is a different thing to apprehend a Muslim and have him punished if he is guilty of a crime. But should an innocent Muslim be punished here because the Muslims elsewhere are guilty of grave crimes? If a Hindu harms a Muslim, it is the duty of a policeman to protect the Muslim. I must say that a policeman who acts in this manner is true to the Indian salt. If our military and police do not behave thus, they are not true to the salt of their country.

I will say the same thing about the military and the police in Pakistan. But I can do nothing about the situation there. To whom should I address my words? But I have no doubt that if things happen here as I have suggested, similar developments are bound to take place there. Today the people have lost their balance. They say, when their own brethren are being ill-treated in Pakistan, why should they not retaliate here? But it is not human to say such a thing. Hence so long as I am alive I shall proclaim at the top of my voice that we must keep ourselves pure, we must be good, our newspapers and our military and police should remain good. Without this our Government cannot function and we shall be ruined. We must remain civilized, whatever happens in Pakistan. Even if they turn mad, we have to remain good. So, under any circumstances, we have to remain civilized. Do at least this much. If you do not listen to me, let me tell you that we are all going to be ruined.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 391-8

CWMG - LXXXIX

314. DISCUSSION WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[*October 9, 1947*][1]

SUHRAWARDY: Today I shall have to tell you some bitter truths.

GANDHIJI (laughing): Lay on; I am ready.

Jinnah says I have allowed myself to be taken in by you.

There cannot be a worse libel on me. You should know that I am incapable of deceiving anybody or wishing anybody ill.

Jinnah speaks very highly of Pandit Nehru.

Maybe. He has never done so in public. But that is neither here nor there. Neither Pandit Nehru nor the Sardar cares for praise or blame. If only you could get Jinnah to do the right thing, peace between the two Dominions might return.

Jinnah says he has never asked the Hindus to go out of Pakistan.

You surprise me. Why do you not speak out to Jinnah and Liaquat Ali? You know the facts. Does not your 'peace mission' require you to uphold truth and justice fearlessly and courageously at any cost?

You do not know how unpopular with the masses the Pakistan Government has become. Some are even abusing Jinnah and Liaquat Ali.

That is neither my concern nor yours. Your mission to Karachi was not to report who is abusing whom but to put the facts as you know them before Jinnah and ask him what he proposes to do to implement the agreements which the two Dominions have entered into. The minorities on both sides should be able to live in their original homes. The main thing is to get the Pakistan Government to square their declarations with their performance.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 480

[1] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*—I, p. 91. The discussion took place after Suhrawardy's second trip to Karachi.

CWMG - LXXXIX

315. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 9, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Every day I keep talking about the same thing in one form or the other. I am feeling helpless. I continue to be here merely for that work. I must thank you for your generosity and goodness and for hearing me patiently. I can only thank you. But with me it is not the end of the matter when I say something and you listen to it patiently. That does not satisfy me. So many of our people are in a sad plight. There is plenty of land here. What should we do for them? What is the duty of those people? What is the duty of the Government? We must understand the people who are creating a kind of unhealthy atmosphere and we must try to dissuade them from doing so. My voice will then reach even those who are living in other places.

Some harassed people came to see me. They are all nice people, belonging to West Pakistan. They came to me ten or twelve days ago. At first I requested them to give me everything in writing. They gave a written statement so that I might do something about their problem. They said unless some arrangements were made for the Hindus in Pakistan to come over to this side, they would not be able to leave that country. They say that there is danger on the way. They have foodgrains but how can they bring their stocks with them? Who will allow them to carry foodgrains? For the present they can be brought here only by air or by road. The train journey is very difficult these days. The trains are not running as they used to. What has been the fate of those who have not been able to come, nobody can say. Under these circumstances, they say, it will be better if they can come away. As for me, I am wondering what is our position and where we are going.

Now let me turn to Bengal. I have done considerable work there too. I have worked in East Bengal as well as West Bengal. I had gone to Noakhali[1] in East Bengal which is now in Pakistan. I travelled long distances on foot there. I visited different places every day. I talked to the local people. I tried to

[1] On November 6, 1946; *vide* Vols. LXXXVI and LXXXVII.

remove fear from the hearts of Hindu men and women. I could do it only with the help of Ramanama. While reciting the name of God if somebody kills us, let us be killed. Why should we be so much attached to life? Should we give up Ramanama for the sake of remaining alive? Should we give up the name of God out of fear? Should the women who are accustomed to putting *kumkum* marks, stop doing so? Women in that region, if they are not widowed, wear bangles of shell. That is a symbol of their married status. Widows do not wear bangles. Should they, out of fear, give up wearing bangles even when they are not widowed? When I found those women hesitating to wear the shell-bangles as an auspicious mark, I persuaded them that they should not discard their bangles. They were convinced and assured me that they would wear the bangles again. Now I hear that people are slowly coming away. I did not know about it. My own people are there. Perhaps I have told you that all my good co-workers are there. Pyarelal, people from the Khadi Pratishthan, Kanu Gandhi—are all there. Many capable persons, including Satis Chandra, are there. They are all trying to build up the morale of those people. In spite of that people are running away from there. No doubt they must be facing many hardships there. But what is the point in running away from there? Where will they run away and what will they do? Let them consider this point. Here in Kurukshetra we have 25,000 refugee men and women. Some women are pregnant. It is no wonder that some of them die, because, in any case, who is there to treat and nurse them? There is no accommodation and people feel distressed for they had to flee from the Punjab. I am therefore thinking what advice I should give them. The number of refugees who are still there is much larger than those who have arrived. We can convince them and take care of them if they are in tens or twenties, or even some lakhs. But their number goes into several crores and they are spread over this vast country. It is not a small matter transferring these people from one place to another. They are facing such hardships that they die before their time and are starved to death. The Government cannot provide everything to everybody even if it tries hard. The Government has its military and police forces. But all these cannot be used as they were during the British days. Nor should it be so. The army can carry on its functions only with the help of the people. If the people wish, they can be the hands and the feet of the Government. The Government cannot do anything unless the people co-operate

with it. I am telling this to the Ministers also. As I see, the Government is not shirking the responsibility. I meet the Ministers almost every day. Let me tell you that they too are upset and disturbed. But what could they do? After all, they have no experience of running a government. They ran the Congress organization. But it was only an organization of a handful of people. All the persons whose names were on the Congress register never gathered together. And the workers in the office were small in number. They had to work with limited resources. Today they have to work for crores of people. Crores of rupees are there and thousands and thousands of people have to be looked after by a few officials.

How can the work be done? It is to be considered how these 25,000 people can get their food in time. Thousands of people come into the country daily, and they remain hungry. They do not have enough clothes to wear and the winter is round the corner. The situation in Pakistan is the same as here. It is not as if it was heaven for people in Pakistan and hell for those who are here. Or, one may even say that it is not as if it was heaven here. I see this with my own eyes. Nor can it be said that it is all hell in Pakistan. After all, there are human beings living in both the countries. Some of them are good and some are wicked. But who would determine how much goodness and how much wickedness exists there and here? And what would we gain by it? The greatest question before me is, and it should also be the question before you, that of giving all possible protection to the people who have already come or want to come. But with regard to those who have come we should try and see that they return to their homes. Let me tell you that they must go back to their homes. I know that those who were living in villages will not like to leave their places. Even if a villager owns an acre of land, he will make any sacrifice to preserve it. If people migrate by thousands and millions, where can they be accommodated and how can they live? They are dying on the way. That is why I say that even if we have to die, we should continue to live wherever we are. We shall see what happens later on. It is not as if God will not protect us if we live in Pakistan. God is always there to take care of us. And then, there is the Government to take care of us even if there is no one else.

I just mentioned that all my co-workers are in Bengal. Let the West Bengal Government report to the East Bengal Government about the situation obtaining here. But even there, in

fact everywhere, people do not follow the instructions from their Government. Even officials do not follow the instructions from their Government. They have become so arrogant that they think that now that independence has been achieved there is none to question them. The British, whose mere frown used to frighten them have already gone. Now what has happened? I am a witness to their being afraid of the British. But now if everybody starts thinking that there is no one to question him, that he is his own general and police, that he has attained freedom and he can do as he pleases, let me tell you that things cannot go on like that.

If both the Governments are anxious to do justice, that will encourage [the people] to do something. But what will happen if the Governments do not wish to do justice? What will be the outcome after all? I am not a man keen on fighting. I may run away from fighting. But those who have weapons, the police and the army, will naturally want to fight. What else can they do? I can do nothing. But those who can do something must necessarily do what they want to do. Then there will have to be a war. People who share my creed, wherever they are, cannot go on living in distress. We shall have to do something. This I am saying with regard to both the Governments. It is for both to do something. One who is a tyrant has no right to punish another tyrant. When a Government does not or cannot protect its people well, how can it challenge another Government for the same fault? How can anyone ever do such a thing? I can understand if we die fighting for justice and our Government has to go in the process. But should we run away from there out of fear and die as we flee? Half the people die on the way and the remaining reach here. But where to accommodate them? How are we going to feed them? Should they simply stay here doing nothing? If not, they will have to be provided with jobs. When crores in our country are starving and crores are unemployed and we are able to do nothing about them, how are we going to find jobs for those who are coming from outside, not from outside the country but from another province? How will they find their own occupation here? What will they do and how? That is a great problem which creates ill feeling. This ill feeling will not be there if my suggestion is accepted. Then people will become courageous. They will master the art of dying. If they learn the art of dying, they will be doing good to us and the world. If we can convince India about the solution I have suggested it will be to

the benefit of all. If we become brave, I have no doubt that the whole world will admire us.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 398-402

316. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 10, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today also I have received quite a few blankets. Some persons have even given some money. I have received a telegram from Baroda saying that they can send quite a few blankets from there. I think they have said that some 800 blankets are ready but the railway people are not in a position to accept the consignment. It is true that there is so much pressure on the railways today that everything cannot be accepted. If possible I shall secure instructions from the Government so that the blankets may be brought. Then we will have sufficient stock of warm coverings. We do not have enough woollens just now. But I hope that God willing we shall somehow have enough things to go by and no one will have to shiver in cold.

A lady sent a ring to me a little while ago. Just now I can use that ring only for buying quilts and blankets and shall try to do so.

Now we have before us a grave problem about which I have talked enough. We are facing food shortage and that creates a lot of trouble. We have won our independence no doubt, but with the coming of independence our troubles seem to have multiplied. I feel that if we can digest true independence we should not be faced with such troubles. How should truly free people behave? Ours is such a remarkable freedom that to win it we did not have to fight like soldiers. We did have a fight of some kind, but it was a fight which the whole world admires. When we have won our independence through such a struggle it must mean a great deal to us. But we do not value it so much. That is our weakness. I have made[1] a very simple, practical suggestion about not importing foodgrain. But I find

[1] *Vide* pp. 293-5.

that people are shocked by such a practical suggestion. Why? They say they are accustomed to importing grain. True, we have got into that habit. But it is not a very old habit of many years. It cannot be said that it is our habit to eat only when somebody feeds us. It is impracticable that we should go on issuing permits for whatever quantity of foodgrain can be provided. But my suggestion is absolutely practical. And what is there to be upset about it? India is a vast country inhabited by hundreds of thousands of people. We have got sufficient land, and by the grace of God, sufficient water. I know there are certain desert areas in the country where water is not available. But it cannot be said that water is not available anywhere in India. When we have so much water, land and a population of millions why should we be afraid.

All I want to say is that people should realize that they have got to produce foodgrain by their own labour to satisfy their hunger. That would electrify the atmosphere and that zeal alone would solve half the problem. It is said, and rightly, that people die more through fear of death than by real death. There was a man who started thinking that he was going to die very soon. Why talk of some other man—take my own example. If I started thinking that I was going to die because I had a cough, what would happen? I shall die only when my time is up. That is in the hands of God. But if I start worrying about it right from now imagining myself on the point of death, it is dying without actual death. And being in such panic about death daily I would be creating trouble for people around me as well as for myself, and would be squeezing myself out day after day. I would be always lamenting about the approaching death. The better thing would be to take it easy till the moment of death and convince ourselves that there is no one who can kill us except God. He will take us away whenever it pleases Him. If we give up the fear of death our problems will also leave us, and we will be free of our troubles. I tell you, when we do this we shall not be troubled. Nobody should think of getting food through anybody's favour. Instead we should produce our food by our own labour. That is why I say that we should not die except by natural death. Let us give up this business of issuing permits and rationing which is the method of killing unnaturally. This much with regard to the food problem.

The same is true about cloth. I have already said that we can have four times more cloth than is available now. Why should there be shortage of cloth in our country? I am absolutely certain

that there should be no shortage of cloth in India even if there may be some shortage of food. Why? Because India grows much more cotton than it needs. There are many people in India who can spin and weave cloth for their own requirements, and easily wear clothes made by themselves. And thus we become truly independent as regards food and cloth and then do not have to depend on mills. At present we are not free in this sense, and if it is so, it is the result of our own ignorance. I had hoped that we would achieve such self-sufficiency. Those days are gone when I used to go round the country propagating khadi. I used to ask women to spin as much as they could. And they did spin, but it was without realizing its implications. They were not bothered about the wages. They spun and produced cloth. But now the picture is different. Today you do not have cloth. I say that we should produce cotton for our cloth, spin it and get it woven. There is no trouble about weaving cloth for one's own requirements. But even if people don't do that they can certainly buy cloth from a shop. The Government can buy cloth from the mills and then distribute it to the people. Apart from this, those who can manage should take a vow not to buy cloth for a month or two. Let them buy khadi for their use and avoid buying chintz and cloth of fine varieties. When we don't buy cloth for a certain period, it does not mean that we will go naked. If we produce enough khadi in the meantime, we shall have solved the problem of protecting ourselves in winter. Here it is not the question of making blankets and such other things. The question is only of making enough khadi cloth for our personal use, and not buying from the market. If we do this much, prices will at once come down. Today prices of cloth have also gone up. Prices of all commodities are going up. But we do need some yards of cloth to make shirts, *kurtas* and other things. Let us buy khadi cloth for that purpose. As I have already said the ideal thing would be to produce that much cloth ourselves. Let us decide not to go to the shops. If we take a vow not to buy any cloth for a few months, let me tell you that the trouble will be over and we will be self-sufficient in the matter of clothing and food. Another advantage in my view is that it gives a feeling of self-confidence to the people and they become self-reliant and cease to be worried by shortage of cloth. They feel confident that they can produce their own clothing and their own food. If we do all this, the result can be great. We have become free, but only politically. The economic condition of crores of our people has

not improved. But we do not realize this. We will realize it when we know that we are producing our own food and demand any price for it we want. We shall know it when we produce enough cloth to meet our needs. We have got enough cotton. We can even procure it from the mills. We should realize that it is not possible to have all our cloth from the mills. But let us at least know this that we will not have to face any hardships. Then we can be at least economically free, and even the poor will feel that they have become free. Let us do this much and the consequences will automatically follow.

Today we are engaged in fighting among ourselves; but we can fight only when we have time to fight. But when we are occupied in work and all of us become workers, we will have no time left for quarrels and fights. We have got provision for food and clothing. Let us give up the habits of drinking and gambling. If we proceeded thus step by step in the right direction we would have no shortcomings left in us. We would on our own feel that we do not want to fight. There would be no question of anyone being a Hindu or a Muslim. If anyone created trouble we would face it bravely. We would fight with him if we wanted to. But why should we die today under unnatural circumstances?

That is why I have tried to impress upon and convince you of this and if it appeals to your hearts, and we decide to follow it up in action, we shall rise very high and we shall not have to look to others for help. Whose help do we need? It is God who is going to help us. And whom does God help? God helps only those who are willing to help themselves.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 402-7

317. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

NEW DELHI,
October 10/11, 1947

CHI. KAKA,

I gave to Kamalnayan your letter of the 8th. Naturally, I did not have the time to talk to him. I wanted to talk to Jawaharlal and also to Shaheed Saheb. I could read the whole letter only in the morning. In connection with (the memorial to) Dharmananda you have to collect an amount of Rs. 25,000. Kamalnayan may do the collection, if he can, without putting you to any trouble. Otherwise I am in any case going to take up the burden. You should, therefore, remain completely free from worry. The entire amount should be received at one time.

Please note that the same applies in the case of the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha]. It will be all right if Kamalnayan can do it without bothering you. Otherwise I am mentally prepared to take up this burden too to the extent of Rs. 50,000. You will have to worry about it if my eyes close before that.

I am glad that finally you had to come to the conclusion that the headquarters of the Hindustani Prachar [Sabha] cannot be shifted to any other place. We should carry on the work taken up by Jamnalal where he had launched it. If that cannot be and if it can be accommodated in another place without any difficulty, I will not be inconvenienced in any way by the transfer. I shall try to lay my hands on some person from around Delhi if I come across one.

I do believe that we should hurry up with the reorganization of linguistic provinces. But the atmosphere here is so vitiated that no work can be done speedily. I am vigilant all the same. There may be an illusion for the time being that different languages stand for different cultures, but there is also the possibility that with the establishment of linguistic provinces it may disappear. I shall write something [about it] if I get the time. Here again, I believe, we are not going to gain anything by rushing through it. I am not unaware that a class of people have been saying that linguistic provinces are wrong. In my opinion, this class takes delight in creating obstacles. I don't remember in what context, when and what I had said about the culture

of the Bengali-speaking population. What is the use of recalling it? Even if I, who believe in the unity of India's culture, were to deliver myself of a contrary statement in some context, it ought to be regarded only as a seeming contradiction. We cannot but accept the sub-divisions of one culture.

I don't like what you say about Gangadharrao Deshpande. What does it matter whether people applaud him or forget him? Contentment or discontent are only products of the mind. Please ask Gangadharrao to wake up and know his own self. This is a new age in which new people will come to occupy positions and the old will be eased out. There is no reason to be happy or unhappy about it.

Politics will and ought to have a non-polluting relationship with the constructive programme. The fact is that neither the people nor the Congress ever digested the programme. Had they been able to do it [they would have realized that] it included politics. There is no question of the constructive programme being dependent on anything. And if it is it will not survive.

What you say about the Navajivan Trust is true, but we can do nothing about it. If changes are to be made in an already established trust, they can be made only according to the procedure laid down in the trust deed.

If the Hindustani Prachar Sabha had any source of income, it would have been its undoing. Either the institution has public utility or it hasn't. If it has, the public should support it. Many instances can be cited to prove that whenever such institutions possessed funds of their own the very purpose of the institution was defeated. The case of Anandji Kalyanji is much too well known. What does he do [now]?

Do what is necessary for Sushila Pai. You should see that she is not embarrassed. I know from my experience in Noakhali that she can do a lot of work. I have now fully replied to your letter.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

318. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH[1]

[*October 11, 1947*][2]

MY DEAR QAID-E-AZAM,

Shaheed Saheb has reported to me your reactions to my endorsement on the suggestions drafted by him. I am sorry to learn about it.[3] I would never intend to give my casual remark the sinister meaning you are reported to have given it. In any case Shaheed Saheb's suggestions I endorse subject as follows:

In paragraph 2(4) of his letter to you[4]—I would add: "and will submit to a tribunal of permanent arbitration selected from Indians alone (i. e., from the members of the two Dominions)." In Paragraph 2(8) or in any other suitable place, I would like the following idea to be brought out: "Each State will induce the refugees to return and occupy their respective homes."

I find that this idea to some extent is brought out in paragraph 3 of the declaration. It should be emphasized and steps taken to implement it.

In my opinion some such agreement as suggested by Shaheed Saheb should precede any move for hearty co-operation between the two States. What is wanted no doubt is like mind, like word and like action between the two.[5]

From a facsimile: *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, between pp. 496 and 497

[1] Originally drafted by Suhrawardy this bears corrections in pencil by Gandhiji.

[2] This was written two days after Gandhiji's discussion with H. S. Suhrawardy, *vide* p. 307.

[3] In place of this and the following two sentences, the original draft had: "I am sorry if I have given you offence; that was not my intention; I only hoped that the suggestions would be given effect to. Shaheed Saheb has also shown to me the letter he sent to you before leaving Karachi as well as the declarations annexed to the letter. I agree with the suggestions made by him with the following addition."

[4] The words, "of his letter to you", have been added by Gandhiji.

[5] In place of this paragraph, the original draft had: "You have been good enough to ask Shaheed Saheb to let you know precisely what I would like you to agree to. I adopt the letter written by Shaheed Saheb and the declarations annexed as my own views, and would request you to agree to them, or at least let me know your reactions. I suggest that a conference

319. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

October 11, 1947

MY DEAR BARDOLOI[1],

All the three grounds[2] are sound, assuming of course that there is no mistake about facts. You should certainly take the much-needed rest. I am saying all this without knowing the situation. I feel like the blind leading the blind. Therefore I am perhaps a worthless guide. May not Kakasaheb be your guide today? The best thing for you is to pray and do the best you can, health or no health.

This is a poor letter. But I can give you nothing better.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 5

320. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GUJARATIS

NEW DELHI,
Rentia Baras, October 11, 1947

When Nandlalbhai[3] told me that the Gujaratis wanted to see me and would also present a purse I was at once tempted to accept the invitation as I am a greedy man. But I did not know that I would have to make a speech.

As long as I was in South Africa I did not know that my birthday was important. When I came here the nuisance started. But I was lucky as the spinning-wheel was associated with it and that is how *Rentia Baras* came to be celebrated. These days the spinning-wheel is getting out of date. It is an emblem

---

may be convened at the highest level, in which you should participate if possible, when these points may be considered, and agreed to in the main. In my opinion such an agreement will immediately ease the tension and inaugurate a new era of co-operation beneficial for both the States."

[1] Chief Minister, Assam

[2] The addressee was thinking of resigning as Chief Minister due to health and other reasons.

[3] Nandlal Mehta

of ahimsa though nowadays it is very difficult to have even a glimpse of ahimsa anywhere. That is why I wonder why we should celebrate *Rentia Jayanti*. But it is in man's nature to go on trying. So I let people do so. I hope the Gujaratis wherever they are will work for ahimsa. But it is doubtful whether they will spin. It was after much effort that Gujarat has accepted khadi. Personally I wish that there is no foreign cloth in Gujarat and not even mill cloth. What shall I say about the great virtues of the spinning-wheel? I will be satisfied if all Gujaratis ply the wheel wherever they may be.

At the moment there is plunder going on in the name of religion. According to me this is a very sorry state of affairs. Now we are free and the days of slavery are over. Is this the way to make use of our freedom? Is licentiousness to prevail?

I have been told here that Gujarati children are taught Hindi also. Gujaratis have welcomed Hindi and many of them sit for examinations also. Hindi, that is, Hindustani, in the Nagari and Urdu scripts, can be easily understood. Punjabis will use only Urdu and those who do not know Urdu will use Sanskritized Hindi. That is why I showed the middle course of Hindustani. Learn both the scripts. Keep in mind that the villagers will not be able to follow Sanskritized or Persianized language, and you will be committing no sin at any rate by adopting Hindustani.

Thanks for the purse. We do need the blankets very badly. It is for us to provide all this. Government cannot do this. It is much easier for the Government, if we arrange these things among ourselves.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 99-100

321. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 11, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today is the twelfth day of the latter half of *Bhadrapad*. In Gujarat, that is, in Kathiawar and Cutch, the day is known as *Rentia Baras*. On this day people's attention is drawn towards the charkha and allied activities. People do not give up once they start on something, but today I think the atmosphere

is unfavourable for an enthusiastic celebration of *Rentia Dwadashi*. I have given a wider interpretation to the charkha and India has accepted it as a symbol of non-violence. Today that symbolic meaning is lost. Had that meaning been retained, we would not have witnessed what we see today. Even then let me remind you of that meaning. It was enough that my birthday was celebrated on October 2. But for the past many years my birthday has been celebrated according to the Hindu calendar also and the days in between are utilized for plying the charkha with great zeal. But today I do not find the atmosphere for it. Even so, if by the grace of God some regard the charkha as a symbol of non-violence it would indeed be good. It would be gratifying if even five persons take it as such, and still better if a crore do so. But even if there is one such person it will be good. That is why I have drawn your attention to it.

There is Mandal Saheb in Karachi who is a Minister in the Pakistan Cabinet. It is said that he is a Harijan from Bengal, but the Qaid-e-Azam has given him a place in the Cabinet. On his suggestion something was accepted. Some two or three others whose names I have forgotten also support his view. It is not possible for all the others to be with him. But what does it matter if even one or two are supporting him? A circular has been issued that all the Harijans in Sind should wear a badge round their arms, with the words indicating that they are untouchables, so that no one should harass them and throw them out. According to me the logical result of this would be (it would be fine if it was only my suspicion) that all those Harijans would for the present get employment, but later on if they stayed on there (all of them are not going to stay there; some have already left and some are going to leave, according to reports I have received from many letters) they would have to embrace Islam ultimately. If this is to be the result, it would be a dangerous situation. If any person wants to give up his religion and accept some other religion and thinks he is doing a good thing, he is entitled to do so. Today I regard myself a sanatani Hindu. Tomorrow if I start disliking sanatana dharma I am free to give it up. But this is a very serious matter. Who can stop me if I do not accept my religion? I am not tempted to become a Christian in order to improve my economic condition or gain some other advantage. I will have settled my accounts with God and would act in accordance with my conscience even if the world protests. I believe that no Harijan has any such conviction. I can say this with

authority because I have become a Harijan, an untouchable, and I have accepted their religion. I expect that as far as the Harijans and others in Pakistan are concerned, it should be declared that they are safe. Then there would be no need for anyone to put on a badge. It should be declared in respect of all that, even if any individual says he has changed his religion of his own accord, his conversion will not be considered valid. Religion is a matter of the heart. It is between a man and his God. But under the present Government in Pakistan no one can claim that he has changed his religion of his own free will. It is understood that anyone doing so has done it from fear or compulsion. That is why the Pakistan Government has to declare that there can be no conversion.

Then there is one more thing. There are going to be two festivals this month. One is Dussehra, which is a great festival. The Hindus all over India celebrate this and attach great importance to it. But it has a greater significance in Bengal. I know this since I have stayed in Bengal. Exactly two days after this, comes Bakr-Id. In former times there was not so much ill feeling amongst Hindus and Muslims. They did not fight as they do now, though there used to be some mutual bickering. Even the British Government had to be prepared in case something untoward happened on that day and Hindus and Muslims clashed Any provocation was possible, like slaughtering the cow or taking the decorated cow in procession to provoke the Hindus. On the Dussehra Day everything is decorated, music is played and men and women wear gay dresses, some go in carts and some ride horses. But it can be a provocation for the Muslims and provide a ground for clash and then the Bakr-Id Day would similarly provide a ground to the Hindus. I would say that those Hindus and Muslims who wish to live together as friends are duty bound to exercise restraint when they celebrate these festivals. They should do nothing that may provoke the other side. Even without that our hearts are full of anger at present and our reactions are exaggerated. Under these circumstances, we should not do anything provocative.

While departing the British Government has done one thing wrong. They divided the country and now there are two Governments. Today they are like enemies. Maybe they will never fight. But events are following such a course that it is difficult to predict about the future. But let us hope that sanity will prevail on both the sides. But if this does not happen we may lose our independence. Letting the country be enslaved

will be betraying one's religion. It would be a grave mistake to surrender our freedom. It is my prayer that God may grant wisdom to all of us and all of us should be purified. That would be a good thing. One more thing I would like to say is that our countrymen in South Africa may be careful when they carry out their plan.[1] The two Governments here should give all possible help to those who are there and encourage them in their struggle.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 407-10

322. A STUDENT'S PERPLEXITY[2]

Here is an extract from a pupil's letter to his teacher who sends it to me for comment:

> Two things completely possess me: my nationalism and my overbearing carnal passions. These always create seeming contradictions in my behaviour, and inconsistency in my decisions. I want to be the first servant of my country and at the same time enjoy the physical pleasures of the world. I must confess I do not believe in God although I am sometimes terribly afraid of Him. All existence seems to me to be an enigma. I do not know what awaits me at the end. I have seen dead bodies burning: my mother's was the last, and the scene influenced me terribly. I cannot bear to think that such shall be my fate. I feel sick at the sight of a wound; and to think that my body shall burn one day! I know, there is no escape. To me, there does not seem to be any life beyond. That is why I am afraid.
>
> There are only two courses open to me: either to brood over it and pine away, or to enjoy the physical pleasures of the world, be lost in them and forget the end. I confess (I have confessed to you things which I have never confessed to anybody else) that I have chosen the latter course.
>
> This world is the only reality; its joys are worth having for anything. Feeling for my wife who died recently was genuine feeling; but that feeling was not because she was dead but because I was left alone. For the dead there are no problems; for the living there are all. I do not believe in any pure love; the so-called love is nothing but sex.

[1] According to a report in *Harijan*, 19-10-1947, it was proposed to resume the satyagraha in South Africa on October 12.

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 19-10-1947.

> If there were anything like pure love, I should have felt more attachment for my parents than for my wife; but the reverse was the case. I have been a loyal husband but I could not have assured my wife that I would love her even after her death. My feeling would perhaps arise from the inconvenience that her passing away might cause me. You might call this cynicism but there it is.... Please write to me and guide me.

This extract covers three things. (1) Conflict between carnal desire and nationalism, (2) God and future life and (3) Undefiled love and sex.

The first is well stated. Carnal desire was the reality, nationalism was the fashion of the day. Nationalism in the sense of power politics is quite consistent with satisfaction of carnal desire. Instances from life can be multiplied. I have in mind nationalism in the sense of a burning love for the nation including the poorest. It must burn as it always has burnt carnal desire and the like. Thus there is no conflict but always victory of the latter over the former. All-embracing love of the nation leaves not a minute for any occupation that interferes with that ruling pursuit. He is lost who is possessed by carnal desire.

Uncertain faith in God and the future springs from the lust for life. This lust unhinges a man or a woman. Indecision consumes him or her. Faith in God will live when the animal passion dies. The two cannot co-exist.

The third enigma is a mere restatement of the first. Undefiled love between husband and wife takes one nearer God than any other love. When sex is mixed with undefiled love, it takes one away from one's Maker. Hence, if there be no sex consciousness and sexual contact, it is a question whether there is any occasion for marriage. The pupil truly says that there was no unselfish love felt for his wife. Had it been unselfish, death of life's partner would have enriched life for, the memory of the disembodied partner would have resulted in greater dedication to the service of down-trodden humanity.

NEW DELHI, October 12, 1947

Harijan, 19-10-1947

CWMG - LXXXIX

323. LETTER TO TEVANI AND DEBORAH

NEW DELHI,
October 12, 1947

DEAR TEVANI AND DEBORAH,

I have your letter. At the end of your letter you tell me that the Deputy Commissioner has promised to help you. May your wish be fulfilled. I think I told you when you were in Delhi that the whole thing would depend upon the manager there.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

324. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

October 12, 1947

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. I have no time at all.

I wrote on my own what I did. I never write anything at somebody else's suggestion.

I understand the reproach in your letter. What shall I say? I would never write anything which I know would pain you.

Shankarrao[1] brought the dhotis with the utmost care but through oversight they were sent for washing.[2] I intended to wear them unbleached. On asking for them, I came to know what had been done. But what does it matter? Thanks to the care of you all, at least I got them on the 11th if not earlier.

More when you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10457. Also C. W. 6896. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

[1] Shankarrao Deo

[2] The addressee used to send a pair of dhotis to Gandhiji on his birthday.

325. LETTER TO SAMANT N. MARWARI AND OTHERS

NEW DELHI,
October 12, 1947

(Subject: Case of Ramji Gopalji Sabarmatiwallah)

BHAI SAMANT NANJI MARWARI, BHAI MOOLDAS BHOODHARDASJI VAISHYA AND BHAI MADHAVJI P. PARMAR,

I have your letter. I am surprised. Everything possible has been done for Bhai Ramji. Nor has Bhai Ramji spared (us) any trouble.

It is not worthy of him to entertain suspicions of even such noble men as Lakshmidasbhai, Naraharibhai and Parikshitbhai.

No one refuted what I said, what I gave in writing. It is not for me to interpret what I have written. We cannot stick to an interpretation which is prompted by self-interest. My advice therefore is that we should follow the interpretation offered by such eminent people as Dada Mavalankar. And then the last remedy is open for everybody. So let a court of law interpret it. Please offer appropriate advice to Ramji from what I have said so far.

Who can tell why my letter did not reach you? The vagaries of the postal department are nowadays too common. However, truly speaking, my wire should have been enough.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

326. LETTER TO DILKHUSH DIWANJI

DELHI,
October 12, 1947

CHI. DILKHUSH DIWANJI,

I got the khadi woven from the yarn left by Mother. I shall use it lovingly. Her blessings, I know, are ever with me. What if her mortal frame is no more?

I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

327. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 12, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today also quite a few blankets have been received. As for the quilts I may say that they are being made by the mills as well. Those quilts too will be arriving. From the way blankets and quilts are coming, I have started hoping that the people who have been put up here, that is, in Delhi and its neighbourhood, will have no trouble during winter. Arrangements are also being made to reach blankets, quilts and warm clothing to the needy. One thing should be remembered that the blankets that are being received will wear out in the end, but just now they can give protection against rain and dew. But the trouble with the quilts is that it will not be possible to save them from rain. God willing, it may not rain during the winter, but the dew is inevitable. Everybody may not get a blanket. I even doubt if there will be enough tents to accommodate all. I had mentioned one thing while talking to some people, and I want to mention it here too. Those who get the quilts can protect themselves against the dew if they spread newspapers on the quilts. Then the dew will not pass through. Another remarkable thing about the quilts is that the amount of cotton used for making them gives sufficient warmth. When cotton breaks and forms into lumps the quilt can be opened up, the cover washed and the cotton used again after carding. With this the quilt becomes a new piece. It is a very useful thing for those who use it carefully.

A great calamity has befallen us. But those who think of God and work in the name of God find something to learn even from such a calamity. Two things are possible. One thing is that a person gets panicky or becomes enraged in the face of a calamity, and makes himself more miserable. But even in the midst of trouble if he thinks that he is having trouble for no fault of his own and yet he is never going to give up God and is always going to seek His help, he can create for himself happiness even in the midst of misery. Many of the people who have come as refugees here were well-to-do. They had lots

of money and other property. They had big mansions, now all lost and gone. I have already said that till the people who have left their homes go back and are able to live in safety they will be a great burden on both the Governments. If we want to survive, if we want to remain free, we shall have to atone for the sin of this exchange of population. Atonement means making amends for our mistakes. Then only would it be true expiation. It cannot be done in any other way. When somebody really rectifies the mistakes he may have committed, he has done sufficient expiation. If we mean to correct our mistakes, then the people who have come here to save their lives must be in a position to go back. This may happen when the time comes, but what will you do in the meantime? I wish to suggest that in the meantime if good doctors are available—among the refugees there are doctors, lawyers and many others—they should give medical service and those under them also do the same, they can render really great service and even from these troubled times we can learn a new lesson.

When I went to visit the refugees I was told that 75 per cent of them were businessmen. It was a shock to me and I wondered how so many traders would be able to do their business here. Millions of traders have arrived here and if all of them start doing business all at once, everything will be in a mess. If they decide to put in some effort, learn to do something new, then it will be somewhat better. Let those traders who were earlier engaged in business forget their past. It is a rule in the world that when we cannot get one particular thing, we must look for something else. Let us not sit idle, or waste time in gambling and drinking. We have got to do some work. Let us work hard. Those who are businessmen but are able-bodied and can use their hands and feet should do some work. There are quite a few jobs that do not require any particular training. Let them concentrate on such things and co-operate with one another. At the same time let them develop an attitude of working together. Then out of this hellish situation which has been created for us, we shall be able to create heaven.

I had decided to tell you about all this and thought that today I would explain everything in detail and through you convey it to everyone. The refugees and also the country would derive great benefit from it. And then, out of the misery that has befallen us, we shall create happiness.

In this connection I want to say what we should do about the quilts we have not yet received but are going to get from

various places. What shall we do about them? The cloth used in the quilts can be removed and washed if it has become dirty. The cotton can be kept back. Cotton does not get spoilt at all. It can be dried and cleaned with hand. We do not even need a carding-bow. It is another matter if we want to use that cotton for spinning. That cotton can be easily used for making new mattresses or quilts. I think if we make these things ourselves, they will be made cheaper and quicker. There is enough cloth lying with the mills. I do not wish to discuss the food problem at this stage. There is enough stock of cotton out of which quilts can be made in a short time. If these quilts are given to the people they would have protection in winter. These people must be taught how to prepare these things and given hope in the midst of despair which surrounds them. There is a *bhajan* which says that hope springs from unending despair. This is true. It is a poetic expression. We desire to have a glimpse of hope concealed in the deepest despair. What should we do to have that glimpse? The people who have been thrown on the streets must first realize that they belong to India, not to the Punjab or the North-West Frontier Province or Sind. All those provinces are in India and so the people from those parts also belong to India. They can become and remain Indians only on the condition that they are not a burden on others. Just as milk becomes sweet when you add sugar to it and then you cannot separate sugar from the milk and the milk remains what it was, they too should mix and mingle with people wherever they go like sugar in milk and not quarrel or nurse hatred towards each other. They must be mutually helpful and co-operative and put in hard work. Then they can reform the province where they go and the people belonging to that province will say that they are willing to accommodate any number of such persons.

It is my hope that those among the refugees who are able to work and whom my voice can reach must persuade others to be good men. They should not be a burden anywhere but should live, as I have said, in amity and mutual adjustment. They should not cheat anyone. We should not waste our time. Let every moment of our time be dedicated to God, work and service. We were born to serve. If we live like this, we will forget that we were once plunged in misery and sorrow. There are millions of people around. Let them engage themselves in service. We were born to render service. Let us resolve to raise our country high, not bring it down. I think it will be a blessed moment when we realize this and then there will be

no need to worry about anything. We may make mistakes. To err is human. But it is also human to correct the errors. When we rectify our mistakes, we become truly human.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 411-4

328. A BITTER LETTER

A Muslim friend writes:

> I am a Muslim of nationalist views. Throughout my life, if I may be allowed to call my twenty-one years' existence so, I have never been able to think of myself in terms of Hindu or Muslim, however hard my elder brother, father and other relatives tried to make me do so. Naturally the Islamia College, Jullundur, would not admit me as I was a Quisling to my community.
>
> My father with my other relations left Jullundur in April but I did not accompany them because East Punjab, and more so India, was equally my country as it was for my friends of the other creed. But brutal happenings of August have disappointed me beyond words. Even those boys who had organized processions with me in January, 1946 when Indian National Army people were being tried, wanted to have my life. After all I was a Muslim for them by killing whom they could get applause from members of their own community. So I had to run for my life to Delhi where I thought that this treatment could not be meted out to those who believed in United India rather than in Pakistan. But it is worse here. Even my friends with whom I am putting up look upon me with suspicious eyes.
>
> Now tell me, my dear apostle of liberty and equality, whether I should go back to my parents in Western Pakistan to be their butt throughout my life and against my conscience, or I should stay in India as a hostage whose life is always sought against crimes committed by his inhuman co-religionists.

I have condensed the foregoing but little. The bitterness has not been touched. Assuming that the letter is accurate, there is ample excuse for bitterness. A person's worth is, however, tested under the most adverse circumstances. Fair-weather friends are many. They are worthless, "a friend in need is a friend indeed." Have not persons belonging to the same faith, fought against one another exactly as the Hindus and the Muslims are doing now? What was to be expected of ordinary human beings after uninterrupted preaching of the hymn of hate all these

CWMG - LXXIX

long years? If the correspondent will justify his nationalism, he must not deny himself at the crucial moment. We must avoid imitation of Judas Iscariot[1]. Hence I have no hesitation in advising the correspondent to return to his home in Jullundur even if he is to be cut to pieces by his erstwhile friends. Such martyrs will be saviours of Hindu-Muslim unity. If he proves as good as his word, I prophesy that his parents will receive him with open arms. Is it not the lot of us mortals that the innocent suffer for the guilty? It is as well that they do. The world is the richer and better for the sufferings of the innocent. I need not be an "apostle of liberty and equality" to reiterate this plain truth.

NEW DELHI, October 13, 1947
Harijan, 19-10-1947

329. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

NEW DELHI,
October 13, 1947

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 Kumbh Mela of 1915 at Hardwar 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

[1] One of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, who betrayed him to the priests

[2] Since Gandhiji was observing silence his written speech was read out after the prayers.

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 canvas 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 canvas 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.

Harijan, 26-10-1947

CWMG-LXXXIX

330. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

NEW DELHI,
October 14, 1947

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter. If we are unable even to pour a bucket of water over a raging fire, can we aspire to live up to a hundred and twenty-five? To me this is clear enough. Why are you afraid? Nobody can harm one whom Rama protects.

I hope you are all well.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VIJAYABEHN
GRAM DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 7152. Also C. W. 4644. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

331. LETTER TO JAYA

October 14, 1947

CHI. JAYA,

I got your letter. Forget about me. May your wish be fulfilled and may you go on serving for many more years to come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIII

332. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 14, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today also many blankets have been received. There is an institution called the Arya Kanya Vidyalaya here. Two teachers and some students from that institution came today.

CWMG - LXXXIX

They have collected money to buy blankets. How much could they have collected? They got a few blankets. But they told me something which I thought was a great thing and I was happy when they started talking about keeping a fast. I told them that every lunar month has two halves, the bright fortnight and the dark fortnight. If they fix one day in each fortnight and keep a fast on that day, we shall be saving all the food that we get from outside. I consider it a grave mistake to spend money and get food from outside. By observing such fasts we save ourselves from making such a mistake. After they heard my suggestion the teachers of the Vidyalaya had a consultation with the girls. They did not compel anyone. But they decided to keep a fast on every Thursday and give in charity whatever they would be saving thereby. They would try to give whatever they were able to save. They also said that they would grow food on some land they had. They have taken upon themselves two tasks—to eat less and grow more food. I appreciated this much more than the blankets that have come from them. They were followed by the Ambassador of Iran and his wife. They sat for a little while but left behind a big pile of blankets. They wanted me to distribute the blankets if I could. I told them I was a beggar and would receive whatever was available and pass it on to the needy.

Many Sikh gentlemen came to me. They came in two or three groups. I discussed many things with them. There is no point in telling you what I discussed. There was nothing secret about it. But the gist of my discussion which they and all others should well understand is that we are going to achieve nothing by indulging in such mutual fights. Passing judgments, giving punishment, acting in retaliation and so on are the things to be done by the Government. Let us do whatever we can through the Government. I think they were all in agreement with this. The rest of the discussion I shall leave out.

Then I heard another thing. Some people have been arrested. We are having our own Government and if it arrests some people it is free to do so. Quite often it is possible that innocent people get arrested. Our Government should not deliberately make the mistake of arresting innocent persons. Nor should it arrest anyone wilfully. But whatever we may do, a human being is a human being after all. He is prone to make mistakes. He is no angel. And he is certainly no God. So he is bound to make mistakes. If by mistake some innocent persons were arrested, what was the need to launch an agitation?

But I hear there is some agitation going on against the arrest of some innocent persons. It is for the Government to decide whether or not those persons are guilty. I can understand if some evidence is placed before the Government to establish the innocence of a particular person. But harassing the Government in this manner, getting somebody released by resorting to agitation, is not the proper thing to do. When we fought against British imperialism and were jailed we used to demand the release of the prisoners saying that they were not guilty. That was indeed true. But they were guilty in the eyes of the Government, not ours. In those days we agitated against the British in protest against the arrest of our leaders. But against whom should we agitate now? Our Government in effect is a Panchayat Raj. The leaders represent the Panchayat. It is we who have made them leaders. That is why I say this is not the time to intimidate our Government by resorting to agitations. First and foremost, it is our own Government. It does not have the military strength which the British used to have in India. The British had the entire Navy at their command, because of which it used to be said that they were invincible and unrivalled. It is another matter if that claim cannot hold good today. Whatever it is, they had everything at their command. By dint of that force they ruled over us. Now we are our own rulers. If we know that no other power is ruling over us and those who are ruling over us have been elected by us, we can also remove them. That is why I say that we should not take such an agitational approach.

The next thing I want to mention, about which I have already told you a number of times, is how we can establish perfect peace in India. It is a very complicated problem. I am not all that happy that there is not much trouble in Delhi. There may be stray murders here and there, but it is not a regular feature as it used to be. This is good. The Government can be happy about it, but I cannot. This is because I have not come here to rule. I have stayed on here by sheer coincidence. I stayed here in the hope that I would bring together both the sides which are riven with hatred and would be helpful in doing that. These communities used to quarrel in the past too. But they used to come together once the quarrel was over. But today our hearts are poisoned, as if we had been enemies for several centuries. This is unthinkable. We should not be cowards, neither the Muslims nor the Sikhs, nor the Hindus. Then we would be frightened of nobody. The

Muslims should cease to be frightened of the Sikhs and stop running away in fear. The Hindus and the Sikhs should give up fear of the Muslims. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims should no longer fear one another, if we wish to become a great military power. And, if we choose, India can develop a great non-violent and invincible army. We have two alternatives before us and there is no third way out. The way we are following is no way at all. It is the way of barbarism. There is no way in it to march forward. Thus, I wish to point out the way that can bring us close to one another. The most important thing is that the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs should stop blaming one another as they are doing now. Let them all see their own mistakes and see them magnified like a mountain. The Muslims should not say that even though they committed mistakes at one time, the mistakes the Hindus and the Sikhs are committing today are so great that their earlier mistakes count for nothing. Nor should the Hindus retort by saying that even though they have committed mistakes, their mistakes are nothing compared to what the Muslims have done. What is so very great in answering mistakes with mistakes? If we Hindus and Sikhs try to satisfy ourselves by saying that that has always happened in the world, I would say that it is not the correct way. That way we can never sit together with a clean conscience. Today things have reached such a stage that the Pakistan Government refuses to take in such a large number of Muslims. And then we begin to wonder if this is due to treachery on their part. What treachery could there be? But how does it affect us if it is there and they have some hidden motive? If we do not have enough courage not to be driven by suspicion, we are going to perish. But let me not talk about it. I wish to say only this much to the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, that they should not even hint at the faults of others. They should only acknowledge their own faults. If we know that we have committed a mistake, we must admit it. I had said yesterday that it is a vicious thing that the Muslims should regard the Hindus as their enemies. If we become such enemies, the result can be only unfortunate. What if Pakistan has come into being? Let us not give way to frenzy. We were enemies till yesterday. Let us be friends from now on. When we become friends, let us say that we were enemies at one time but now we are friends and we have forgotten our animosity. The Government should frankly tell the Hindus, Sikhs and all others staying in the country that it

has made some mistakes and they must also realize the mistakes they might have made. But why should we make any mistakes? We will not do so. If we mutually resolve that we shall have healthy competition and instead of giving two blows for one shall remain calm even in the face of provocation and resolve to remain free from guilt, compete in being good, then let me tell you that all is well with us. And then I can leave Delhi with an easy mind. If I have got to stay on and even die in Delhi, I shall do so. I know how to do it. I have learnt nothing else. We have to die one day in any case. If we cannot do anything, let us at least die. But let us not kill. I am exhorting everyone to learn at least that much. Let us do or die. There is no third alternative. Let us not run away now. We cannot change our fate. We have animosity against none. Nursing animosity is no way of establishing peace in India. Only when we do not quarrel with anyone and abandon all fear can India pave the way to peace. If the Muslims want to live here let them live. Are they going to kill us? How will they kill us and why? Should they all go away from here? Why should they go away and where should they go? Today the people of Pakistan say that they are [not] in a position to absorb so many Muslims. But the Muslims are spread all over India. Pakistan is a small country. How can they all be crowded there? If Pakistan says no more Muslims can be taken in, we shall have to listen. Why should we imagine there is some duplicity involved? In any case, how does it affect us? But let us realize that we have our own fellowmen living with us. If the Muslims are traitors let them be taken to task and treated according to law. Shoot or do whatever else you want if you find someone being a traitor and not being loyal to India. Shoot five, fifty or four crores; I am not bothered. I can at least understand that. But when one man comes and kills another just for nothing, how can we tolerate it? We should not tolerate it. And why should we, on our part, lose our heads? Why should we become such cowards? That is why I have said that if both the Governments have to function peacefully, let us compete with one another in being good. We are not going to win merely by saying that their mistakes are bigger. But we must realize that if we have made mistakes, we must remedy them. When we clear up everything, things will be well. I can talk much more, but it will be enough if you absorb what I have said today.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 416-21

333. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF MORVI

[After *October 14, 1947*][1]

I have both your telegrams. There was a time when I could send replies to individual messages. I am no more in that position, hence I have acknowledged them all through the newspapers without mentioning names and places. The same fate awaited those that came from abroad.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

334. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

October 15, 1947

My estimate was Rs. 50,000, and it is approximately correct. I shall proceed accordingly. I shall write to people and do whatever else may be necessary for the purpose.

When I wrote[2] "I don't know how long I shall be alive", it was only a manner of speaking. You know that I am not going anywhere. The pile of work is so much that I can't even find time to write. I am here to 'do or die' and am fully engrossed in work.

I have already had a talk with Kisansinh of Baroda. He has agreed and says that he will give priority to our work. He will not think of convenience or inconvenience in this matter. So we will not have much trouble, though there may be a bit of difficulty.

Kakasaheb and you should think about the Press as also about the library.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10816

[1] In the source the letter is placed between those of October 14 and 16.
[2] *Vide* p. 227.

CWMG - LXXXIX

335. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 15, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Many persons come to see me every day. Some of them leave with me blankets and money for the refugees. A lady has given me today a cheque for Rs. 2,000. Two persons also came to see me on behalf of the Muslims. They have collected blankets and some money which they have passed on to me. They are craftsmen. They have not even given their names. I asked them to distribute those things themselves among their own fellowmen who have suffered. But they said they wanted to hand over the things in Gandhi's hands, because such things should be distributed among the Hindus and the Sikhs who have suffered in West Punjab. I was touched by their sentiment. In the present conditions even if a few Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs do things like these, they must be written down in letters of gold. They said that at one time they considered me an enemy of the Muslims; but now they were convinced that I was a friend to everyone. So am I, and I claim to be one. I do not need a certificate from anyone for that. I have lived in that spirit not for five or seven years but for the last 60 years.

It is generally said that every Sikh regards the Muslim as his enemy and *vice versa*. But this is absolutely incorrect. It is true that a considerable number of Sikhs went wild, as did a large number of Hindus and Muslims. But for that reason to say that the whole community of Sikhs is like that or that all Muslims are the same is quite unjust. I have with me innumerable instances showing how the Sikhs and the Hindus saved Muslims and the Muslims saved the Sikhs and the Hindus by keeping them in their own houses. Not only from the Punjab and the Frontier Province but from every place such instances have been reported. The newspapers should give proper publicity to these things. Let them give up publishing the news about the Hindus and the Muslims killing each other. That does nothing but harm. The Press has become very powerful in the present world. It can render great service if it so chooses.

One-fourth of the entire Muslim population is concentrated in the U. P. They speak Urdu. If we want them to stay there

the Devanagari script should not be forced on them. Malaviyaji too had worked much in the interest of Hindi. But I never heard him say that the Urdu language should be wiped out. Those who are in power in the U. P. today are big people and they are good workers. They keep the Muslims with them. But if on the one hand we say that the Muslims should not go from here, and on the other hand go on insulting them and try to keep them as slaves, then on their own they will be compelled to go away from here. Should our being in majority make us so arrogant that we would not tolerate the presence of others? We should never be like that. Everybody should learn both the Hindi and the Urdu scripts. If the Muslims want to go away to Pakistan of their own free will, they should be allowed to do so. But we must do our duty. After all, Muslims have left their stamp all over the U. P., and there are grand Muslim monuments in Agra, Lucknow, Deoband, Azamgarh and other cities. There are many nationalist Muslims in those places. Besides, there are many Hindus who know only Urdu. Tej Bahadur Sapru is a great Urdu scholar. Should he be compelled to write in the Devanagari script? Should he be asked to forget Urdu? Are we going to cut off our own hands? If we were to do any such thing, our excesses would reach the limit. I have no doubt that we will not be able to protect Hinduism in this way. We should not follow the example of Pakistan. Hence I call upon the U. P. Government in a spirit of love, even though I have no control over it, to withdraw its circular[1].

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 422-4

[1] A report had appeared in the Press that the official language of the U. P. would be Hindi in the Devanagari script.

CWMG - LXXXIX

336. ACTION IN INACTION[1]

A correspondent writes:

> In your article "My Duty"[2] 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, October 16, 1947
Harijan, 26-10-1947

337. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

NEW DELHI,
October 16, 1947

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I read your letter to Abha. Consider it your duty to please Satis Babu[3]. I did all that I could for your brothers. Patiala is now but a dream. Bari Khan is here. I told him to write to you. All are safe but they had to leave Patiala for good!

Stay there in peace and do your work. Do not hesitate to write to me.

Abha is no doubt weak. I shall see what I can do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 589

[1] This appeared under "Notes" which appeared in the Hindi original of *Harijan Sevak*, 26-10-1947.

[2] The source has "Action in Inaction", which is a slip; *vide* p. 216.

[3] Satis Chandra Das Gupta, under whom the addressee was working

338. LETTER TO SUNDARLAL

NEW DELHI,
October 16, 1947

CHI. SUNDARLAL,

I got your two letters. The description[1] that you have given does not tally with that of the others.

I have carefully gone through Mirza Saheb's[2] statement. Yesterday I gave it to Jawaharlal to read. He has taken it with him. Tell Mirza Saheb that I received his telegrams and did what was possible. But what could I do? The statements on the two sides were such that I had to keep silent. You must realize that I have very little power. The Government is not in my hands and I do not want to interfere in the affairs of the Government. Nor can I do so. I understand my limitations.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PANDIT SUNDARLALJI
C/O LALA ACHINTRAM
BRADLAUGH HALL

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 10266. Courtesy: Purushottam Prasad

339. LETTER TO ANAND AND GANGI HINGORANI

NEW DELHI,
October 16, 1947

CHI. ANAND AND GANGI,

I have your letter. The condition of Sind is distressing. I am pained by Father's condition. I just don't know what to do. Do what both of you consider your duty.

If you have understood and assimilated my point, why should you go to America? However, if you feel depressed all the time

[1] The addressee had toured Pakistan and sent a brief account of his experiences.

[2] Speaker of Pakistan Assembly

CWMG - LXXXIX

because you are hard of hearing, go to any place in the world and get yourself cured.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

340. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 16, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have been forgetting to talk about Mysore. You must be aware of what has happened there. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar is the Dewan of Mysore. Mysore has joined the Indian Union. The people of that State are well educated. They have resorted to satyagraha quite often. This time too the people offered satyagraha. They wanted adequate share for the people in the administration. The Prince would remain and the people would be loyal to him; but he should withdraw from administration. This should have actually happened, but it did not. Hence the satyagraha. The people sent me a telegram before launching the satyagraha. They informed me that there was no cause for me to worry. They said they had decided to resort to satyagraha after a great deal of thought and they would strictly conform to the rules of satyagraha. They were ready to face any hardships in the pursuit of their goal. But the Dewan, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, is a very great man. He has travelled all over the world. He realized that the people could no longer be ill-treated. How long could it go on? The result was that all those who had been taken prisoners were released and the issue was settled between the Mysore State and the people. All the legitimate demands of the people were accepted by the State. The ruler, the Dewan and the people should be congratulated on this settlement. The State has agreed to rule with the consent of the people. There are many other such Princes. Let them also follow this example and, like the King of England, rule with the consent of the people. How wonderful it would be if they abided by the will of the people and did not overstep the limit!

Another thing which I want to say is that the place where I stay belongs to the Birla brothers. They allow everyone to come

in. We must appreciate their good gesture. Usually lakhs of people attend the prayer meetings. But here the prayer meetings have been small. Actually I did not expect even the present number. Those attending these prayer meetings also include people who have come from the Punjab. I was very pained to learn that some people picked fruits from the trees around. Nobody should touch a single fruit on the trees. Why talk of fruit, not even a leaf should be plucked. The gardener would not at all like people picking fruits like that. There is a time even for picking fruits. They should not be plucked before their time. People who come here come to worship. Let our hearts be pure at least during the prayer meeting. During that period we should think of nothing but God. How then can we resort to stealing? It may be that we are all passing through troubled times. But let us not give up our good behaviour.

I have received another complaint too. People keep coming to see me throughout the day. Some of them say that by praising Government officers, the police and the military I have given them a certificate of efficiency. I have not said any such thing. Even if I did, it was a folly on my part or I must have been off my guard. But I have not said it at all. What I said was that they should all rise to the occasion. Not that they have already reached that level. It is one thing to say that a person should have such and such qualities and another thing for him to have those qualities. In any case, since I do not know anyone of them, how could I give them any certificate? How do I know that they are all working according to the law? Our duty is to abide by the instructions of the police and the military, because they are given a certain authority.

If we wish to have Panchayat Raj the first rule is that we should follow its orders. We have not yet achieved the full benefits of Panchayat Raj. Had we been truly non-violent, this would not have been so. Even so, the British rule has ended. The Governor-General, though he is a high-ranking officer in the Navy and belongs to the royal family, has remained here as our servant. He has to go by the opinion of our cabinet of Ministers. He is not our master. Rather, we are his masters. Thus ours is a democratic government and we must all abide by the laws made by it. If anyone has any complaint against Government officers the remedy lies in approaching Government or getting the complaint published in the newspapers. If any officer has taken to bribery or is inefficient, action should be taken against him. Those who indulge in graft are committing a crime against themselves and

against the country. Recently some military officers were found flogging people at the railway station. No officer has a right to flog anyone. But in retaliation if we also start whipping we fall victims to the same evil. Before independence, Government officers used to behave like our masters and not servants. They were loyal to the British Government, and if they took bribes in those days, they were committing a crime against the British Government. But if the officers take bribes now, they are committing a crime against India. There is such a lot of difference in this.

Some people from Noakhali have also come to me. East Pakistan is no small country after all. Places like Dacca and Tripura are in East Pakistan. Those people tell me that the Hindus in Dacca are fleeing. They fear some atrocities there. Those Bengali friends have requested me to say something. I can say only what I have been saying all along. Nobody should leave his country or his home like that. The brave have nothing to fear. If at all, they are afraid only of God. They should not run away in cowardice. They must have the courage to die. They must tell the Pakistan Government that they wish to remain loyal to Pakistan and stay on there. They must assure it that they will not betray and cut at the roots of Pakistan. They must say that the Government may kill them, but cannot abduct their daughters. If the Government forbids the name of Rama they must insist on uttering that name. If it says they should not beat drums on the Dussehra Day, they must insist on doing so and explain that that is part of their religion. But it is very wrong that influential people run away from there in order to save their lives while the poor, helpless people stay on there. There is a large population of Shudras there. How can they be expected to show the requisite courage? If I am a businessman possessing a lot of money, should I run away? That is not my dharma. If the lawyers, doctors, tradesmen, etc., find that they have got to leave their places, they should see that the poor have found their safety first. It is not human to run away leaving the poor behind. That can never bring glory to Hinduism, Islam or Sikhism. Wherever you go, you should always keep the poor with you. Unfortunately I am not in East Pakistan today. God has not given me the power to be present everywhere. I am just a human being and helpless at that. But I can certainly make my voice reach them all, and that I am doing.

Those Bengali friends told me that I should request Dr. Ambedkar to do something in the matter. He has done considerable work among the depressed classes. On this occasion he too

should say a few things to the people there. Let him tell them that it is sinful to keep alive at the cost of one's religion. Such words would give them some strength.

I am also requested to send Suhrawardy Saheb over there. It would be proper too that he went there. But Suhrawardy Saheb is not here. He should be here in a day or two. But Khwaja Nazimuddin is already there. He too says that no Hindu or Sikh will be killed in Pakistan. Suhrawardy Saheb too will go there to help him. How can he avoid going there? Today, it is in the interest of everybody that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs should live in amity. If this does not happen, both India and Pakistan will perish.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 424-8

341. NOTE TO SUNDARLAL

[About *October 16, 1947*][1]

My first objection is in regard to the language. It seems you have forgotten Urdu. If so I shall write the letter. Raja Saheb[2] I am sure, knows his language. I am surprised. Somehow I do not approve of your letter. My cold is very troublesome. I cannot revise the letter now. There are other things to be attended to. So I will not revise it today but tomorrow I may.

From the Hindi original: C. W. 10267. Courtesy: Purushottam Prasad

342. LETTER TO JULIAN HUXLEY[3]

[Before *October 17, 1947*][4]

I learned from my illiterate, but wise, mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from a duty well done.

[1] According to the addressee this was written about the same time as the letter dated October 16; *vide* p. 342.

[2] Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation in Pakistan

[3] This was one of the 60 replies to a request by UNESCO to thinkers and philosophers throughout the world for their opinions. On the basis of the answers a report was to be submitted to the U. N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva in December.

[4] According to a Reuter report, dated "Lake Success, October 18", the letter was published in the United Nations' Weekly Bulletin of October 17.

CWMG - LXXXIX

The very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of the citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be usurpation hardly worth fighting for.

The Hindustan Times, 19-10-1947

343. A PUZZLE[1]

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[2] 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 [of Pakistan] 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 circumstances 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 at 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

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 26-10-1947.
[2] *Vide* pp. 246 and 248.

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 co-religionists 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, there are some who will stand firm in their faith in the victory of truth.

NEW DELHI, October 17, 1947

Harijan, 26-10-1947

CWMG - INDIA

344. LETTER TO CHAMAN KAVI

NEW DELHI,
October 17, 1947

BHAI CHAMAN KAVI,

You seem to be after me. Your letter went to Pyarelal. He is in Noakhali. I keep moving about. Your letter therefore, after much wandering, reached me only yesterday. You are far away. You do not know the situation here. I have been away from the Ashram for a long time. I went away to Bihar, leaving Pyarelal in Noakhali. You do not know all this and yet you indulge in wild guesses. Pyarelal has already written to you. Do you know where I was, where Pyarelal was, after Mahadev passed away? Do you know that from the prison I wrote letters to no one? After my release from jail[1] I was ill for some time and as soon as I was a little better I started my incessant touring. If, therefore, I have failed to cope with some of your letters, it is nobody's fault; only the circumstances are to blame. It is only your latest letter that makes me aware that you are a Muslim. Nonetheless this awareness will be only momentary. What more can I write? There is nothing worth writing about. What can I say about the atmosphere which is full of poison?

Let us all pray. My resolve is to 'do or die'. The Lord, our Master, is there to see me through it. No one can undo what He has willed. Won't you now have a hearty laugh?

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

345. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[2]

October 17, 1947[3]

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.

[1] On May 6, 1944

[2] This appeared under the title "Indians Overseas". The interview was in Gujarati.

[3] From *The Hindustan Times*, 18-10-1947

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?

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.

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

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

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?

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.

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

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 out affairs.

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

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

Harijan, 26-10-1947

346. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 17, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

People write to me and also enquire personally, why my cough is not still cured. Whenever I speak a little after the prayer I start coughing. I am not taking any treatment either from a doctor or a vaid. Doctors tell me that I have allowed it to continue for three weeks while the cough can be cured within three days by taking penicillin. But according to me Ramanama is the greatest medicine. It is infallible.

CWMG - LXXXIX

Like the arrow of Rama which never failed to hit the target, this medicine too never fails. But one must be patient. I can think of no other alternative in the present circumstances and in the context of what is happening in Delhi and all over the country there is no other help except God. Whatever I try to do as a human being results in failure. There was a time when my words carried much weight. Today they have no impact. Have I done anything wrong? Or is it that I no longer talk from my heart as I did in former days? But I do speak from my heart and you also listen. But times have changed. Every age has its own feature. It should be so and it is so. But it will not have any effect on me. I do not let that happen. I am what I have always been. I know that I have been saying now what I have said all along. I have the same faith in non-violence and truth as I had before. Maybe, my faith is much deeper now. The times have changed but I have not. Prayer has an effect on those who listen to it in good faith. Man can act only according to his own nature. There is no room for hypocrisy in this.

What I am doing today is in the name of God. I trust Him. Why should I give up Ramanama just for the sake of this minor illness? Either this illness has to go or I have to be overcome by it. What is so very great if man dies? Everyone is ordained to die from the time of his birth. If God wants something done through me He will keep me alive, otherwise He will kill me by this cough. The *bhajan* which the girl sang a moment ago says that one should repeat Ramanama. One should forget desire, anger, attachment, infatuation, but never forget Ramanama because He is one's sole refuge. It is for one to sing the *bhajan* and meditate on it. But when I start coughing at such moments, doctors or vaids ask me to take penicillin. Where is Ramanama in this? When I do not have faith in Ramanama regarding trivial matters, how can I succeed in bigger things by relying on it? If I do not put in my own effort I would go down and become worthless. Others may not take that view, but I would have fallen in my own eyes. Why should I forget Ramanama in order to cure this ordinary cough?

As usual some blankets have been received today also. Some cheques too have been received. With great enthusiasm a Muslim gentleman came and left a quilt containing two and a half seers of cotton. He wants it to be given to someone who has nothing to cover himself with. Arrangements are

being made to do that. It is being remarked that things are not being given to the people with as much enthusiasm as would be expected. As for myself I want to express my gratitude to the people that they are sending blankets and money so promptly. Some people send money because they cannot buy blankets at cheaper rates. They want us to buy the blankets at a cheaper price on their behalf.

Rajendra Babu had called a committee to discuss the food problem. The committee did not discuss anything about the problem of cloth. With regard to food and cloth I continue to hold the same views that I have held the past few months. I agree that the poor are put to greater hardship and they would be worse off. Some people write to me and those who are working among the peasants came and told me that the peasants were happy about what I have said. They feel that it would help them to get rid of the controls imposed on them. They would have at least some opportunities. Their granaries are full. Are they going to consume the entire stock of grains? Even if they want to earn money, would they resort to black-marketing? Peasants are simple-hearted people. Why should they resort to black-marketing? They are happy if they get a small margin of profit. What have they got to do with scheming or black-marketing? And so, let me tell you, and through you the Government, that we should have at least that much faith in the people. Why do we not have the courage to scrap rationing? We need not fear any untoward consequences. Why have you assumed that people have become wicked and are hiding their food stocks? After all, you yourselves are the Government. You can again revert to controls if you find that the situation has worsened. There is no justification for making people suffer if you do not have that much courage. Things should be done according to the practice of Panchayat Raj.

Mill-owners say they have piles of cloth stocked with them. But how can they release it when there is control on it? I do believe that they are not talking about their own profits. They are talking purely in the interests of the people. If they are given freedom they can bring out their stocks and cloth can reach the people. How terrible it is that there is enough stock of grains in the country but it does not reach the people it should. It seems to me that there is something basically wrong about it. Our bureaucrats wish to work sitting at their desks. They have in front of them their tables and red tape and wax. All that they have to do is to put red tape and make the

file. Have they ever lived among the peasants? Have they ever acquainted themselves with the peasants? Very respectfully, I wish to tell them that they should not take it for granted that people will die. With open eyes we see that people are dying because of controls. Those who are given to evil things and acts of madness continue to indulge in their activities, but their strong points are not seen. I would say that both these controls should be removed as early as possible. Even if there are some hidden stocks, people will become vigilant. The soaring prices of cloth, food-stuffs and other things will come down. Now there is no war and nothing is going out of the country. But the prices are still going up. I feel it is most disgraceful and our heads should hang in shame. The Government should trust the people and have courage. It should act boldly and remove controls as early as possible. This is my firm belief which is increasing day by day.

Today we are all agitated. All through the day we fear death at the hands of the Muslims or the Hindus or the Sikhs. We are obsessed by that fear and can think of nothing better. There is animosity between these communities, but we cannot get over it by brooding over it. Our scriptures also say that man becomes what he thinks. The poison spreads in our system. It affects our thought and then the Hindus want to kill the Muslims and the Muslims want to kill the Hindus and the Sikhs. If we continue to think along these lines, it would become our second nature. Are we going to be reduced to this state after attaining independence? I can never call this Panchayati Raj.

I have received a telegram from South Africa. It says that I have done them a great favour. What favour have I done? I have merely stated[1] what I believe to be good. This is one great thing about satyagraha. When the Punjab was under Martial Law, a reign of terror was let loose. Hundreds of thousands of men had to crawl on their bellies. They crawled on their bellies because they loved their lives. I have forgotten the name of that narrow lane in Amritsar. They crawled on their bellies simply in order to remain alive. They were threatened with death if they refused to crawl. But why should anyone do such a thing merely in order to live? They could have stood up and refused to crawl, saying, "Never to accept defeat even if we have to die."[2] It is perfectly in tune with the spirit of satyagraha

[1] *Vide* p. 323.

[2] The first line of the verse written by Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhary, during the Martial Law in the Punjab

to say that we shall not be defeated even if we have to die and lose all our possessions. This involves truth. A wrong action involves falsehood. What does it matter if there are only a handful of people in South Africa? How can there be millions to offer satyagraha? In any case, the population there is only a few lakhs. Even if a few hundred, even if only ten persons come forward, they will add to the prestige of India. They ask me why I do not also request the people here to send money. That pains me. They are not poor people. They have gone to South Africa to make money. They have not gone there to oblige us. Those who are carrying on the struggle there do not have much money, and the moneyed people do not give them anything. Those who own money begin to love only money. They see their honour and respect only in money. Our people in South Africa say they are fighters, but don't have much money. If they don't have money, how have they carried on so far?

There is a large number of our people in East Africa. The entire East Coast is full of our people. I would ask them to send money. Our country is almost impoverished today. With what face can I ask anybody here to send money? We do have millionaires in our country and they make millions too, but even they are left with little money because of heavy taxation. And to our misfortune the people are fighting among themselves, and that also results in the loss of millions. How can I ask them to spare money for South Africa? When I was in South Africa people from here used to send money, Gokhale[1] used to send money. The Punjab and the whole of India had sent me something between 5 to 7 lakhs. I don't think I can ask people to do any such thing today. There are many Indians in Mauritius. They are coolies there. There is no communal problem in that place. There is a large number of Indians in Mombasa. They are pretty rich. They do not drink, nor do they go to prostitutes. They need money only for their food. How much money does one need for food? Our people in South Africa can say that they are fighting not for themselves but for India. Of course, I cannot stop people from sending money there, but I cannot ask them to do so, either.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 428-33

[1] Gopal Krishna Gokhale

347. NOTES

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.

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 I will trust Him."

New Delhi, October 18, 1947
Harijan, 26-10-1947

348. LETTER TO GOMATI K. MASHRUWALA

NEW DELHI,
October 18, 1947

CHI. GOMATI,

I understand your letter. Your pain is from ignorance. I also referred[1] to [your letter] in yesterday's prayer speech without giving your name. My cough is almost cured. It is not troubling me any more but I do cough a little when I speak. It is almost like "Those who are in it enjoy rare happiness, the spectators are scorched."[2] It is not that I have been careless about it, though I am more and more inclined towards relying on Rama. One who relies on Rama can never be careless. He becomes more and more indifferent as to outer treatment and in doing so it can be tested whether or not Ramanama has reached his inner being. Don't worry about me at all. If God grants me strength and reason I wish to do or die here.

I hope now you understand everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 10732. Courtesy: Gomati K. Mashruwala

349. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

October 18, 1947

CHI. DEV,

Enclosed is a cheque for Hunar.

I too had a letter regarding Chand's[3] illness. Chand will probably come here in a few days. I had thought that Sushila must have written to you. She has gone to Kurukshetra today. There is no cause for worry about Chand. I do not see any necessity of your going to Sevagram. I shall write on receiving further news of Chand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi original. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* pp. 350-1.
[2] Verse 224 from *Ashram Bhajanavali*; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 452.
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Chandrani", p. 372.

CWMG - LXXIX

350. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 18, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Blankets and cheques are still coming, but not at a satisfactory rate.

I have seen the statement issued by Sardar Patel in which he has extended his hand before the people. That shows that if we sit back depending on the Government no work can be accomplished. The Government cannot cope with the situation. It is just as well that Sardar Patel has issued the statement. It will indeed be good if we can provide some protection to the people who have nothing with which to face the cold.

That is exactly what Dr. Sushila Nayyar is doing. She regularly goes to the Purana Quila and to many other places. Today she has gone to Kurukshetra because a new camp has been set up there. People are making arrangements there, but she is a big doctor. Another lady doctor too has accompanied her. Mrs. John Matthai and many others also have gone there. Let us help them as much as we can.

I talked to you about Hindustani yesterday. Now many people are writing to me to say what a ridiculous thing I am doing. I do not think it is ridiculous. I think I am doing a very good thing for Hindustani and the Union. I serve them by doing so. Those people write to me that the trend towards Hindustani started during a period when we had fallen on evil times and were under subjugation. But we forget the fact that those people, even though they came as invaders, settled in this country. They started to think how they could settle down in this country. As a matter of fact, Urdu was born out of this fusion and it acquired a distinct form as in course of time they crammed Arabic and Persian words into the language. They even put a new garb on it. Its grammar also comes from those languages. That is not the case with Hindustani whose grammar belongs to this soil. Whatever Persian words there are in Urdu have been there for ages. It is not for us to pick out those words and remove them from the language. The people who came as invaders settled down here and adopted local customs. I think

if we hate them now it will be as good as hating ourselves. But today I am mentioning this for another reason. I have written sufficiently about it. As far as the English language is concerned it was different. The British came here to build an empire. They had no intention of settling here. They never came to belong to India. They always considered themselves outsiders here, and wanted to remain as such. They wanted their children to be brought up outside India. Later they also introduced the English language. Slowly they gave it a particular shape. Nothing happened to English similar to what happened in the case of Urdu. Urdu came into being from Avadhi or other languages spoken at that time. But that is not the case with English. Now the British rule has ended in India. But what will be our fate if the English language continues to dominate us and we cannot carry on our administration without that language? Will the millions of India then learn English? Will English become our national language? Let me tell you very plainly that that is not possible. Let us not even try to do any such thing. We are sure to ruin ourselves if we ever try to do so.

A gentleman writes to me to say that I am mistaken. He says that all those who carry on the work in the country have studied English. But only a handful of people have studied English. It is true that they carried on their work in English in courts and offices, because they could thus exercise their authority. Those who have lived in slavery get used to liking the language of the State. That is all right. But when the poor Hindustani or Hindi-speaking people go to courts and offices where the work is carried on in English, they understand nothing at all. This is only betraying our intellectual bankruptcy. We just do not want to understand anything. We do not even want to know where our interests lie. The British rule has gone. Now the English language too will have to come down from the pedestal on which we have installed it and where it should never have been. A gentleman writes to me that quite another interpretation will be given to what I am saying. For people never see the intended meaning in things.

Today we have all lost our heads. All that is left is that the Hindus fight the Muslims, cut their throats, refuse to sit with them. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who returned from Simla only yesterday or the day before, told me that poor Muslims who had lived in Simla for many years had to be removed from there merely because they were Muslims. We have become so uncivilized. What hardships they must have suffered while

moving from there! There are large numbers of Hindus in Pakistan. They also complain about the same thing. These things follow one after the other.

Some people say that Sanskritized Hindi is the national language of India. That English is now on the way out but people will carry on their work in the language of their province. There is a justifiable fear of conflict in this matter which is bound to create mutual hatred. English cannot continue, because there are only a handful of Englishmen here. And it is not up to them to carry on the Government.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 433-5

351. LETTER TO THADANI

NEW DELHI,
October 19, 1947

MY DEAR THADANI,

Here is a postcard from Prof. Desai[1]. You see his verdict. Don't be carried away by the praise that people may bestow upon your work. Profit by their criticism when it is not based on ignorance or prejudice.

Of course I had all your previous letters and I have your books before me.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Valji G. Desai

352. LETTER TO VIKRAM V. DESAI

October 19, 1947

CHI. VIKRAM[1],

I got your postcard. You should write bigger characters. The lines you draw to rule the paper should be even. The space between two lines should be uniform and wide enough for bigger characters. The characters should be as neat and well formed as pearls. Can one ever forget you?

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VIKRAMADITYA
C/O PROF. VALJI DESAI
14 GANESHWADI
POONA-4

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 3173. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

353. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

October 19, 1947

CHI. VALJI,

I have sent as many of your articles as I could read. It would be better if you could translate the English articles into Gujarati, too.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 3173. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] Son of Valji G. Desai

CWMG - LXXIX

354. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

NEW DELHI,
October 19, 1947

CHI. RAIHANA,

I understand your anxiety. I made enquiries on the basis of what Kakasaheb had told me. The result (of my enquiry) can be seen overleaf. May I hope you will not be depressed any more? What is unhappiness for people like us, or even happiness for that matter?

God bless you.

Blessings to you and Saroj[1] *from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

355. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

NEW DELHI,
October 19, 1947

CHI. KAKA,

I made all the arrangements I could on the basis of your letter. I informed the Sardar and made prompt inquiries. Now please send this very letter to Raihana. The papers enclosed pertain to your side.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Saroj Nanavati

356. TALK WITH LORD AND LADY HANDES[1]

October 19, 1947

LADY HANDES: Which are the thoughts uppermost in your mind when you observe silence? Or what do you think of while observing silence?

GANDHIJI: I think of God.

What is your prayer to God for your people?

Only that they become good and righteous. This girl Manu is my granddaughter. She was the only person who accompanied me all the way in my Noakhali tour. During that tour she found a melodious tune. Of course she has not composed it. It is more true to say that God prompted her to say: "*Ishwar Allah tere nam sabko sanmati de Bhagawan.*" But I don't pray to God begging for something. God is Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Omniscient. He dwells in the hearts of all. His ways are not like the ways of imperfect men. It is not that He gives us something only when we ask for it. He knows best what we need and what is beneficial for us.

He gives what is good for us without our asking for it. He is so generous and kind-hearted that His heart melts for the poor. Where is the need for asking anything?

Often you observe silence, not only on Mondays. What is the object behind this daily silence?

Physical rest. Observing silence on Mondays is an altogether different thing. It has a spiritual significance. For one who has learnt the art of silence, it is a means of introspection. Observing silence has become a part of my life. I don't have to make any effort for it.

In the end Lady Handes asked Gandhiji about his programme and what his permanent residence in Delhi would be. Gandhiji said:

I wish to do or die here, so I am here till then. There are only two plans at present. Either permanent peace is established here or I die in the attempt to establish it.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 121-2

[1] Who came to see Gandhiji at 12 noon

357. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 19, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

You feel that if the prayer is started at 6 p. m. it gets quite late as the days are becoming short. Each day becomes shorter by two to three minutes and by December 23 the day becomes very short. As it gets dark quite early these days we shall start the prayer at 5.30 p. m. from tomorrow.

You have already heard the *bhajan*[1] today. I think I have not narrated to you the touching story of the *bhajan*. There is an *Ashram Bhajanavali* and all the *bhajans* in it have a history behind them. Not all of them are well selected, though some are. But the whole collection was prepared in the Ashram. There used to be a great devotee in the Ashram who was also a musician. His name was Pandit Khare[2]. He prepared this collection of *bhajans*. Of course, he did take help from Kakasaheb and others. This *bhajan* was included in the collection. My nephew Maganlal Gandhi used to sing this *bhajan*. He stayed with me for a long time at the Ashram in South Africa. It is not that only Pandit Khare has prepared such a collection. Many others have also done so. For those were the days of our non-violent struggle for freedom. After some years many people felt frustrated that we had not yet won freedom. It could only be concluded that there was something wrong with us. Good people should never think that when something goes wrong the reason is to be sought elsewhere. It is not right to think that the blame lies with our neighbours or our brothers but not with us. That is not the right way but the wrong one. It is incorrect to think that when things go wrong the fault lies with others and never with us. All devotees of God have said this. Tulsidas has said the same thing. So also Surdas who sings: "Who can be so crooked, wicked, or dissolute as I?"[3] Neither Tulsidas nor Surdas was such a person; but they regarded themselves as such. The more they remained away

[1] No. 151 in *Ashram Bhajanavali*; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 428.
[2] Narayan Moreshwar Khare
[3] No. 106 in *Ashram Bhajanavali*; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 415.

from God, the more unhappy they felt, even if they were surrounded by brothers, sisters, sons, friends and everybody else. They reflect with a sigh that there is none as crooked, wicked or dissolute as themselves. It is good that they searched within themselves for faults. This *bhajan* also expresses the same sentiment. Here the poet asks why he is alive though he has not seen God so far. As a rule it was Pandit Khare who used to sing this *bhajan*; but sometimes when he was not present or was ill, Maganlal used to sing it. Maganlal was no musician but he had a good voice. That *bhajan* as he sang it, still rings in my ears. He was the pillar of the Ashram. He was like a rock in the management of the Ashram. He was very sturdy. He would be always ahead of everyone else in digging with the pickaxe. He used to have a very strong body when he was in South Africa. But when he came here he lost weight, though he was not ill. Though he had to shoulder the entire responsibility there, here the unusual thing was that he had to work among crores of people. He shared considerable responsibility of the constructive programme. How can we dispense with the constructive programme? What can swaraj mean without the constructive programme? We have attained independence, but what is its worth? What if we have achieved independence? Today we realize that if we had done sufficient constructive work in those days we would not be witnessing the scenes we see today. Is this the swaraj we had in mind? If we had done that much in those days, India's history would have been different. I have no doubt about it at all. Maganlal's God was in swaraj. His swaraj was *Ramarajya.*

God can be seen only in swaraj. After all, God does not possess any physical form. Some say He is a four-armed figure bearing in His hands the conch, the disk, the mace and the lotus. This is all our own imagination. How can God bear the conch, the disk, the mace and the lotus? He is *niranjan*[1] and *nirakar*[2]. When He is beyond physical existence how can He have a physical form? We create an image of God and then believe in it. Where, then, should we look for our God? Let us see Him in our actions. When we do anything considering it as *yajna*, we install God in our hearts. For instance, when a person plies the charkha, he sees God in the yarn he spins. When he realizes that the whole world belongs to him and his world consists of India where the poor, who do not get enough to eat, live, and that he is spinning for their sake or

[1] Spotless
[2] Formless

for *Daridranarayana*, he sees God in the yarn he spins. Swaraj was far off in those days. But when the Ashram was not functioning well, many a time Maganlal used to sing with a sigh: "Still does cruel life cling obstinately to the body". Then the *bhajan* goes on to say that the four *praharas* passed like four *yugas*. It means that even though the whole night has passed, life has not yet gone from me. The four quarters of the night have passed like four ages. That is, the night of four quarters passed but my body did not perish. He finds four quarters as long as four ages. I also find them as long. We had not won our freedom then. Now I admit that we have won it on August 15. But I do not regard it as true swaraj. It is not the swaraj of my conception. Nor can this swaraj be called *Ramarajya*. Today we have come to regard each other as enemies. Muslims are enemies of the Hindus and the Hindus and the Sikhs are enemies of the Muslims. But swaraj of my conception means that we do not want to regard anyone as our enemy, nor do we want to be enemies of anyone. That swaraj has not yet come. Should the Hindus and the Muslims in India consider themselves enemies of each other? Will our brothers live in mutual animosity? Why do I say this? I had mentioned this briefly once, but I wish to say it again and again that if we truly desire to rise higher, we should all live like brothers. We have fallen at the moment and are probably still going down. Our hearts are full of murderous thoughts and hatred. We get incensed at the very sight of a Muslim. If we find him praying in the mosque we go and kill him. We regard him as our enemy and wonder how we should drive him out and turn his mosque into a temple. But think, what wrong has he done in praying in a mosque? The temple and the mosque are one and the same. Then why is it that the Muslims should destroy the temples and the Hindus destroy the mosques? They are equally at fault in the eyes of God. How can we say there is swaraj when what we Hindus do hurts the Muslims and what the Muslims do hurts the Hindus? We have reduced ourselves to this state, but we wish to come out of this fire.

I have already said that I shall either do or die in Delhi. I have come here with that intention. I have not done anything yet. True, these days we do not hear much about communal clashes, and apparently we are living like brothers. But this is like deceiving ourselves. The police and the military are posted here just because there is some danger. Are the Muslims who are here free from fear? Will I also be free from it? I don't

think so. Some Muslims are here with me too. Would you insult them right here? Would you kill them right before my eyes? Before you kill them you will have to kill me. Sheikh Abdullah was sitting behind me here yesterday. There were also some Kashmiri Pandits with him. The Sheikh is our friend. Somebody killed our Rafi Saheb's[1] brother at Mussoorie. He was an innocent man. He was our *sevak*. His widow is sitting right here. I do not wish to narrate that tragic tale here lest it should arouse repugnance in the people. My heart is full of many things. I know quite a few things. But I do not wish to prolong the talk. However let me give you the gist at least. If all of us long for death because we have not been able to see God, as we sing in the *bhajan*, the first step towards it is to see our faults as big as mountains and overlook the faults of others. If we declare before the whole world that the entire fault lies with us, and others are all good men, it is not cowardice. We do not fall on that account, rather we raise ourselves high and become courageous.

If we wish to bring about the rule of God or *Ramarajya* in India, I would suggest that our first task is to magnify our own faults and find no fault with the Muslims. I do not say that the Muslims have done no wrong. They have caused a lot of harm. There is no question of covering up those wrongs or pretending ignorance about them. But knowingly I do not see them. If I start thinking about those wrongs, I shall go crazy and I shall not be able to serve India. What if I begin to think that I have no enemies and expose my own faults before the world and close my eyes to those of others? God is there to see them. What does it matter if someone slaps me or cuts my ears or throat? One has to die some time. There is God to do justice. In whatever I do, I should not forget Him. That is why I want to repeat again and again that you must keep your hearts so pure that none in the world may complain to me against you. Today when I went there[2] I was asked about the situation in Delhi. I had to hang my head in shame. For, even now, the Hindus and the Muslims are not one at heart. It is good that because of the police and the military arranged by the Sardar and Jawaharlal, they are not cutting each other's throats. But what of that? Even the British used to make such arrangements. We do not wish to see what is happening in Delhi. Today my wings are clipped. If I could grow my wings

[1] Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's
[2] To Lord Mountbatten

again, I would fly to Pakistan and see even there what crimes the Hindus or the Sikhs have committed. But what even if they have done anything? Why should they not stay in their own homes there? But do I have the face to say that today? I can only reason with people and tell everyone that if we wish to see God and establish true swaraj, we must all unite and declare that India is not a fallen country. The result will be that our prestige will rise and we will also have time to banish hunger and thirst from our country.

Today the whole world is watching at us, because it is felt that if Asia has to rise high and the Negroes of Africa have to make progress, India must be helped to rise high. India has always been the centre of Asia or Africa or, one may say, even Europe. If India is able to achieve something, the whole world will be able to take courage from it.

The world is shivering in cold. If the world is to have any warmth, it would be only through India. It is my prayer to God and also to you that we should behave in such a manner that all of us should feel warm and through us the whole world should get warmth. People throughout Asia and Africa are looking towards us. If they feel convinced that something is going to happen here, then the whole world will follow our example.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 436-41

358. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI[1]

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

Perhaps you don't know that I greatly value people who abuse me. Thereby their anger is spent and their hearts are cleansed. I like such critics a thousand times better than those who worship me, applaud me, but at the same time commit murders and disregard what I say. For those who abuse me are candid and if I can convince them they work wonders. In my life I have often had such experience.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 124-5

[1] Gandhiji had directed the addressee to reply to an abusive letter. The addressee wanted to know why Gandhiji should care to reply to a man who only heaped abuses on him.

359. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

October 20, 1947

CHI. BABUDI,

I have two letters from you to answer. Both Chokhawala and you are right in the interpretation which each of you has put upon my words. The two interpretations are not contradictory. Think over this.

One must never stop trying. The effort may be either good or evil, holy or unholy. That effort which respects no limit is evil, while that which does respect some limit is good. Much depends on the nature of this limit. I do not like that you should get even a slight temperature. I would prescribe the limit of water-and-earth treatment, but it is not your or anybody else's dharma to accept the limit which I prescribe. That which the heart spontaneously feels is one's dharma.

Give up attachment even to Anand. It will be enough if, knowing that it is your dharma to look after him since he is your son, you discharge that dharma.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 10079. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

CWMG - LXXXIX

360. NOTE TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

October 20, 1947

If the public is prepared the Princes will themselves see the signs of the times.[1] None of the Princes should be insulted in this connection. The task is to be handled tactfully, lovingly and through persuasion.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 124

361. LETTER TO PIROJ SHAH

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

BHAI PIROJ SHAH,

I am helpless if you don't get the reply I have written or if it fails to satisfy you. I cannot have all the time that you have. Cheer up.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee, General Secretary, All-India States People's Conference, had met Gandhiji in the morning and discussed the situation in Rajasthan. Gandhiji told him that there should be a Union of the States of Rajasthan.

362. LETTER TO SUSHILA PAI

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

CHI. SUSHILA,

Have you been given any accommodation? How are you getting along? Write to me in detail. Sushila Nayyar will be there by the end of this month when she will surely see you.

Enclosed please find a letter for Shyamlal. Pass it on to him wherever he is. There was a letter from Prema which is good enough, considering her nature. And of course it must carry a rebuke for me! But then a milch cow's kick too is sweet, isn't it?

With me it is 'do or die' here. Things here are difficult.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

363. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

October 20, 1947

CHI. SHYAMLAL,

I read your letter a second time today; it is good that you wrote it. I am sending this to Sushila Pai; she will deliver it to you wherever you may be.

I do not so far know what arrangements have been made for her lodging. It will be enough if she can have some peace at last.

Pakvasa[1] is a man of very simple habits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Mangaldas Pakvasa

CWMG - LXXXIX

364. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have written to Babudi[1].

Are you having fever? Be careful.

What is wrong with Chand? Enclosed is a letter to me from Champa and my reply to her. Please read both the letters. Pass on the one addressed to her. What did she happen to see that she should feel unhappy? Do ask her. If you are lying ill, don't bother about anything at all. Just hand over the letter to Champa and then she may stay or leave as she likes. If she stays on, she will have to observe all the rules barring those from which she has been exempted.

Chhaganlal should write to me if you cannot, or Balvantsinha. I take it, may I, that you three get along harmoniously.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

365. LETTER TO JAYAKUNVAR M. DOCTOR

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

CHI. JEKI,

What can I do? All I can say is that Manilal should return to India and try his luck here. If he finds Aden otherwise agreeable I would not advise him to quit the place. Illness does not leave one wherever one might go. If he has earned enough he should wind up [his business] and come over. You and the children are surely no more a burden to him. He should stay with you and utilize whatever opportunity he gets to serve. But he must not practise law. It would be well if he could easily get some job with the Government.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Sharda G. Chokhawala, addressee's daughter; *vide* also p. 368.

366. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

October 20, 1947

CHI. CHAND,

You must have received my letter. Dev is extremely worried.[1] Who could have written such a letter from there? Is your illness of a serious nature? I did not gather this impression even from the letter I have from Prabhakar. Do send a wire if need be. It will be well if you send a wire also to Dev. I do hope that your ailment is not so serious.

Sushila is going there at the end of this month. She will stay for at least two or three days. If necessary you may come with her. She will see what may need to be done if you are not fit enough to travel. How can you leave in this condition? You are cheerful, I hope. Do write if you have enough strength to write. Otherwise get someone else to write on your behalf.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrani Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

367. LETTER TO DAMODARDAS KHANDELWAL

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

BHAI DAMODARDAS,

I have your postcard. I don't know what work I should suggest to you. All I can say is that you should take up any work of service you like. About emoluments, who knows better than you? Blessings to Chi. Krishna.

Blessings from
BAPU

DAMODARDAS KHANDELWAL

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 373.

CWMG - LXXXIX

368. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

October 20, 1947

CHI. DEV,

One letter I have already sent through Prabhavati, two days ago. This is the second. You must have received the wire I sent you about Chand. She is so much in your thoughts you must go to her. As for myself I am not worried. I saw Dr. Manu's report today. That also does not indicate anything serious. Sushila will certainly reach there. I have sent a letter. Still you must do whatever your heart says. Be cheerful.

Mahesh is well I hope.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

369. LETTER TO DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

BIRLA BHAVAN,
October 20, 1947

CHI. DEV,

Why do you worry so much? Am I not doing everything? And Sushila is of course there. . . .[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] Two words here are illegible.

370. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
October 20, 1947

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur informed me last night after the prayer that a Muslim Health Officer was butchered yesterday while he was on duty. He was, she told me, a good, conscientious officer. He leaves behind a widow and children. The widow was so distracted that her one wish was that she and her children were also similarly butchered, now that their caretaker and bread-winner was removed from their midst by cruel hands. What was the point in living after that?[2]

I told you only last evening that all was not well with Delhi as it appeared on the surface. So long as tragedies such as I have described continue to occur, there is little ground for rejoicing over the silence that reigns on the surface in Delhi. Is it the silence of the grave as was once said of the surface silence during his Viceroyalty by the then Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax?

The Rajkumari added that it was no easy task to get together a sufficient number of Muslim friends who would perform the burial rites in strict accord with the Koran.

This narrative must cause any sensitive mind, as it causes me, a shudder. Should Delhi come to such a pass? It is a sure sign of cowardice for the majority to dread a minority, however powerful it might be.

I hope that the authorities will trace the perpetrators of the crime and bring them to justice.

If it was the last of such crimes, I should have little to say, deplorable though even such a crime would always be. But I very much fear that it is a pointer. The conscience of Delhi must be quickened by it.

Money for blankets continues to pour in. My thanks go out to all the donors. It is good, too, that not one donation is earmarked for this community or that.

It is my painful duty to draw attention to another menace, if it be one. I do not know whether this danger is real or not.[3] A Britisher writes in an open letter "To whom it may concern":

[1] As Gandhiji was observing silence, his written speech was read out.
[2] This sentence is taken from the speech recorded by the All India Radio.
[3] This sentence is taken from *Prarthana Pravachan*—I, p. 442.

> Several of us are living in a lonely spot in a disturbed area. We are pure British and for years we have devoted ourselves at great personal sacrifice to the welfare of the people of this country. . . .[1] We now find that a secret word has gone out that all the British left in India are to be murdered. I read in the newspapers Pandit Nehru's assurance that the Government will protect the persons and property of all loyal citizens of the State. But there is no protection for persons living in little country places or almost none. None at all for us. It is a physical impossibility.

There is much else in this open letter which can be quoted with advantage. I have reproduced enough to warn us of the lurking danger. Of course, it may be only a scare and there may be nothing beyond it. There may be no secret circular. There is, however, prudence in not disregarding such warnings. I am hoping that the writer's fears are wholly groundless. I agree with him that all promise of protection by authority in isolated places is vain. It simply cannot be done, no matter how efficient the military and police machine may be which, it must be admitted, it is not at present. Protection must come first from within, that is, from rock-like faith in God and secondly, from the goodwill of the neighbouring population. If neither is present, the best and the safest way is to leave India's inhospitable shores. Things have not come to such a pass.

The duty of all of us is to regard with special attention all the Britishers who choose to remain in India as its faithful servants. They must be free from any kind of insult or disregard. The Press and public bodies have to be circumspect in this as in many other respects, if we are to render a good account of ourselves as a free and self-respecting nation. Those who respect themselves cannot make good the claim, if they will not respect their neighbours, however few or insignificant they may be.

Harijan, 2-11-1947

[1] Omission as in the source

371. LETTER TO STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

NEW DELHI,
October 21, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your cheering letter. The look of things here is certainly ugly. Let us see what God has in store for the whole of humanity. I wonder if really man's duty is to be the helpless witness of tragedies being enacted in front of him.

Your special task is very difficult indeed.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE, ESQ.
20 ST. CATHERINE'S
BROX BON RUE
HERTS, ENGLAND

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

372. LETTER TO D. G. TENDULKAR

October 21, 1947

MY DEAR TENDULKAR,

I am sorry that I have not been able to attend to yours of 11th August earlier.

I cannot recall why the Gujarati article was not translated for *Young India*. Perhaps at the time it was not thought necessary to broadcast the facts to the English readers. In any case I see no objection to your incorporating the English rendering in your forthcoming volume[1]. Herewith is a copy of the rendering as revised by me. It was unfortunate that I have not got the Gujarati article before me. If your translator sees any flaw in my corrections please do not hesitate to draw my attention to it.

I am writing to Pyarelal about the August 1942 speech[2]. He is in inaccessible parts of Noakhali.

[1] *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, in eight volumes
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 384-401.

CWMG - LXXIX

As to the Diary[1], I have no objection to your seeing it. I am writing to Narahari.[2] Thanks for the cheque for Rs. 100.

Yours,
BAPU

1 Enclosure

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. I, pp. VI-VII

373. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

October 21, 1947

CHI. NARAHARI,

An old letter of D. G. Tendulkar written in August last has been lying with me. I could read it fully only yesterday.

He is writing a big volume, or probably has finished one. He has impressed me as a very industrious man. He wants to see Mahadev's diary. He writes and tells me that Bablo[3] and Paramanand[4] are agreeable. If you have no objection, I see no harm in letting him see it. Think it over and let me know.

I hope everything has been properly attended to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 9146

374. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

October 21, 1947

CHI. SITA,

I had got your note. I received today the first letter from Sushila after she reached Phœnix. Since I have received one, I think you also must have.

I shall be satisfied if you keep healthy in body and mind and in your conduct. One must think carefully before giving a promise, and keep a promise once given.

[1] Of Mahadev Desai
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] Narayan Desai, son of Mahadev Desai
[4] Paramanand Kapadia

CWMG - LXXXIX

I suppose you have now abandoned the idea of a medical career. What do you intend to be now? What will you do? If you like writing to me, tell me all this when you are free.

I hope Vijayabehn is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5016

375. LETTER TO OM PRAKASH

October 21, 1947

BHAI OM PRAKASH,

The law of ahimsa is that one does not hit back at the assailant, faces the attack in a spirit of love and dies in the process. When one dies facing the assailant's attack in a spirit of love, a change of heart takes place in him. It is not always easy to say if the love was true or when the change of heart on the part of the assailant comes about. But while practising ahimsa, it is enough to keep in mind the law of ahimsa and the way it works.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

376. TALK WITH LALJIBHAI[1]

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 21, 1947

How can I ask anyone not to leave the land of his birth? The leaders were able to come so easily with their families and belongings but the poor, helpless villagers are in a sad plight. If even one of you had died there I would have danced for joy. I would not have been distressed in the least. That the teachers of a national institution like Sharda Mandir and a hundred leaders like you chose to put on fez caps rather than die, what does it show? Jinnah says he has provided protection for all and still people flee. But if a few of you had continued to wear khadi caps and Hindu dress as you used to and carried on your normal vocations and if then you had been killed, I could have asked Jinnah what had happened to his promise. But

[1] A Congress leader from Sind

CWMG - LXXXIX

how can I say anything today? And so his lie carries the day. People are being coerced and it is being said that they are needlessly frightened. In all that I am telling you I attach no blame to you. It is I who am to be blamed. There has been some flaw somewhere in my ahimsa. And this was bound to have its effect on the people. How otherwise could they suddenly have lost the power of self-sacrifice? I must analyse this. I must undergo further penance. If even people like you are coming away, how can I tell the refugees not to leave their homes but to die there, or that they must go back to their homes?

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 128-9

377. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 21, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today also I heard of an incident. In this it was not a Muslim who was killed but a Hindu. He was a Government employee. He was doing his duty where he had been sent when somebody shot at him. I have not heard that he had committed any crime. The man with the revolver felt that the victim did not do what he was told and so he killed him. All that I wish to say is that we have got into the habit of killing. It is just the beginning of our independence, and right from now such are the thoughts that have come to possess us. We want to kill simply because we possess a revolver. It is like a person aiming at a flying bird and killing it. Great hunter that he is, he aims at a flying bird. Similarly a man makes an officer his aim. That officer had received orders to carry out a certain task at the place. But the killer had a fancy to kill him. If we continue like this, we are going to land ourselves in a terrible situation. No man can then live in peace. It is said that there are many countries inhabited by savages where no one can live in safety because those who possess arms murder people and they have no qualms about it. The one who kills a person cannot bring him back to life. This is a fact. It is also a law that only he who gives life can take it away. But that is what only God can do. When a human being cannot create life, what right has he to take it? Is it up to man to

create life? But the Hindus desire to pounce upon the Muslims and the Muslims want to pounce upon the Sikhs and the Sikhs want to jump at the Muslims. They may do this now, but when the enemies are gone, they will start killing one another. This is the law of the world. We have started following that very law. Hence I thought I might mention this incident.

Another thing is that the authorities have arrested many people. In the past we were not free. Today also we should presume that we are not free. In those days also people were arrested. At the most they could make an appeal to the Viceroy and could be released at his word. But the Viceroy could not release them on his own. He had to work within the limits of the law even when martial law was in force. He had his own officers functioning under the law. If they agreed that somebody might be released he was released. As for the others the Viceroy would say he could get them released only after investigation. This is a perfectly legal position. Those arrested under the law, would be sentenced if found guilty. But now the Government is in our hands. We had not run the Government so far. If some minister thinks that just because he is a minister he can release whomever he wants to, then we will be finished. It should not be that murderers are arrested and later released. We should not follow the practice of arresting culprits and then releasing them. In such a situation I would say that once somebody has been arrested under the law by the police the Government cannot release him because there is some complaint or appeal for it. On what grounds can it release him? Is it for nothing that we have the police, courts and prosecutors? How can I acquit somebody because he happens to be some relative or a friend of mine or because his case has been recommended by somebody? How can he be acquitted? In my view he cannot be acquitted. He cannot be punished at all if he is not guilty. Thus, we must keep our entire judiciary clean. We must have judges of that calibre. The police and the prosecutors should not carry on a case just for doing so and they should not think that a particular number of cases should be settled by the court. Only those who have got to be punished should be punished. But legally these matters fall within the jurisdiction of the courts. Supposing a man complains that a particular person has assaulted him and should be arrested, and the offender is arrested, should I then go to a minister to secure his release? The minister would suggest that the matter be taken to the court. If the complainant then says that there is no point in arresting him

as it would only aggravate the feeling of animosity, the offender would be acquitted on the complainant's request. If the complainant says that even though he had filed a complaint he wishes that the arrested man should be acquitted, then the court can acquit him. That leaves the prosecutor. The court can recommend the same thing to him too. But if there is a case of murder actually committed, the accused cannot be acquitted even if the complainant wants it. If the guilty man is acquitted, our work cannot proceed. I have practised law and secured the release of many. How? The murderer must plead guilty of the murder and then assure the court that his mind is now pure and plead for mercy. The complainant can also say that the accused should not be punished because the two have become friends. What will he gain by getting him hanged now when he killed under provocation? Now the accused has become a friend who can be of help and who may turn his mind to God. He may start praying to God and, if so, why should he prevent him from doing so? Then the accused will also plead guilty of the act of murder and pray for mercy and seek to be acquitted saying that the complainant is prepared to forgive him and maybe he will do good deeds and serve the society. That is the way to secure the acquittal of the murderer. It is possible to make this procedure legal. But let us not misuse the power we have now. If we do so people will insist on any number of guilty persons being released. What would even the poor minister do? Supposing he wrongly orders somebody's release. It is within his power to order the release of a person, but he should not do so. Even if it is his own brother or friend or wife who has committed a crime, he should refrain from doing so. He should say the appeal should be made to the court or the prosecutor or the complainant, for he cannot do anything in the matter. We cannot get on with our work unless the ministers are pure at heart.

Please know that I have received a suggestion that I should not speak for more than 15 minutes. I do not even wish to speak longer. I have talked enough. I am not particularly fond of speaking at length. I speak only when there is a need to talk. But I am told that it would be to the greater benefit of people if I did not speak for more than 15 minutes. People would listen with greater attention because they would be keen to listen to my words. That would also become a habit and I would not speak for longer than 15 minutes.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 444-7

378. LETTER TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH

NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

CHI. SAVITRI,[1]

I have your short note. I have sent you replies to all your letters. I do hope they are all in your hands.

We are passing through most anxious times here. Heaven knows what will happen in the end. For the present I am fixed up here.

I am glad you are free from your illness.

You there have to pass through a time of scarcity in food and clothing. I wonder how the people face [it].

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

379. LETTER TO SUBODH CHANDRA ROY

October 22, 1947

DEAR PROF. ROY,

I thank you for your gift. I do not know when and where I shall have time to read it. I shall certainly glance through it.

It is a great pity that you have missed me even though you tried so often. There is no prospect of my ever going to Sevagram. For the time being I am in Delhi. How long I shall be here I do not know.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. SUBODH CHANDRA ROY
TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
BOMBAY

From a photostat: C. W. 10577

[1] Gandhiji gave this name to the addressee. The superscription is in the Devanagari script.

380. LETTER TO DOROTHY HOGG

October 22, 1947

The cross of which Mahadev wrote[1] to you years ago whilst he was alive was nothing compared to the cross that presses one today.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 462

381. LETTER TO SAURENDRA

NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

CHI. SAURENDRA,

Your letter. I can say this much that no one should stay there and be a coward. The task is difficult. Consult Satis Babu and act as he advises. I cannot say more from here. And I cannot get away from Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

382. DISCUSSION WITH CHRISTIANS

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

QUESTION: If we do not follow the conditions necessary for observing ahimsa all our lives, how can we find the strength for it at times of crisis? You tell us that we must maintain peace but how can peace be maintained?

GANDHIJI: I have said that this ahimsa was half-baked. Maybe God had cast a veil over my eyes. Nevertheless, I am

[1] In 1941, Mahadev Desai had, among other things, written to the addressee: "You have a terrible cross to bear—not only that of bombing, homelessness and starvation, but of making ignorant people understand that we in India are friends, and not enemies. It is a frightfully difficult task, I know, but you who know and understand Bapuji so well can cope with it."

becoming increasingly certain that if we are to be happy, that is, if every man is to be happy and to see others happy, there is no other way. When one sees that one has made a mistake and sets about rectifying it without losing a single minute, one rises very high. But if one tries to hide the mistake, attempts in various ways to gloss over it, one degrades one's character and one betrays one's dharma. No sin could be greater than this.

Why do those who are pacifists not keep themselves away from the rest? They can shape their life anew separately. Then their position will become stronger. It will also test their faith. But they should not remain inactive. As for me, even if I should be left all alone I will cling to my principles. For this is the only non-violent way to battle with the terrible violence that confronts us. Maybe our countrymen will not agree. But that is no reason to believe that non-violence is ineffective. The reason may be my own imperfection. If the faith of the satyagrahi is firm as a mountain, the satyagrahi should be able to prove that his way alone is true.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 131-2

383. TALK WITH MUSLIMS

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

Time goes on doing its work. Occasionally it favours us. Sometimes it becomes our enemy. Today that seems to be so. Hindu-Muslim unity has been my lifelong ambition. Muslims always considered me as their true friend and guide. Was it not at the bidding of a Muslim that I went to South Africa? How is it then that today I am an enemy of Muslims? You know that today because of you I have become an eyesore to everyone. Hindus are very much annoyed with me. You should be knowing, if you do not, how furious Hindus are with me. I shall not be surprised if one day I fall a prey to this fury. It is so not only in my case, but also in the case of these girls. Last time I came to Delhi, Manu even received a letter threatening her life. Here at the Bhangi Colony she was being repeatedly threatened on the telephone by certain Hindus. But she has come prepared for death and so is not frightened. I know that there is a third party that does not let this unity

be achieved. You have seen with your own eyes the futility of violence. If this terrible and meaningless slaughter continues I really cannot foresee what mankind has in store for it. But even in the face of this reality I remain an optimist. I will therefore carry on with my mission till my last breath.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 132-3

384. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

First of all let me inform you that blankets continue to come. I have just come to know that two hundred blankets have arrived today. The blankets and also money arrive every day. I hope that the people who are in the camps here will have enough things to cover themselves with. More of them will be available. It is good that there is this much generosity still left in our people.

A gentleman approached me. I hardly ever read any Urdu newspaper, not to speak of reading it daily. I do read Urdu but only with some difficulty. When a child has to learn his alphabet he starts reading gradually. I am in a similar position. I know a little more than a child, but I cannot read fast. So that gentleman read out to me a couple of items from an Urdu newspaper. I was pained to hear the contents. I do not intend to narrate the details. The newspaper stated that people had made up their minds. I hope it is only the editor of that paper and not the whole country that has resolved that all Muslims should migrate to Pakistan and that those who remain will be either slaughtered or sent away to Pakistan. If things turn out to be what this paper or its editor predicts, it will be a matter of great shame. Such things should not have come from the pen of an editor. Such newspapers should not be published at all. If that editor is convinced about what he says, he is free to express his view to the people. But when he does so, it would amount to proclaiming from the house-tops that the Muslims should either go away to Pakistan or they will be slaughtered. As I said yesterday, what Hindus would do when the Muslims went away to Pakistan? Would they fight among themselves? Somebody has informed me that internal fights have already started.

CWMG - LXXXIX

This is inevitable. Once one has a taste of killing, one can't resist the temptation. The same thing is going to happen to us. But the editor of that paper has not been wise in publishing his opinion. Our people have become crazy after newspapers. They are not concerned with the *Gita* or the Bible or the Koran; the newspaper is their *Gita* and whatever is published in newspapers is gospel truth for them. It is very unfortunate that people should be so gullible that newspapers exploit their credulity and publish such things. I do not wish to say any more about this.

Now another thing is that complaints are pouring in from all corners. It may have been that during the British days the native States acted as they liked. The British Government exercised some control. This had to be done for the maintenance of the Empire. But now that Government is no more. Today their department is in the hands of Sardar Patel; so let him do something. But what can poor Sardar do under the circumstances? He has his own way of saying things. He has always served India. That is why he is the Sardar. But he has neither arms nor army in his possession. He is not a man of the army in any case. He is no commander whose order would be automatically obeyed. So long as the soldiers think that they eat the salt of India and he is their master, that is, if they consider him to be a great servant [of the people], things will go right.

Now the Princes of the States say that they have signed the instruments of accession, but that does not mean that they have been deprived of anything. They too have got their police. They were mere puppets during the British rule, but they are no longer so. The States can do anything they want. I too belong to a State. Hence I know what the States can do, and how much good they can do. I wish very respectfully to tell the Princes of the States that they cannot hope to survive if they think in their arrogance that they can beat up their subjects and slaughter them. I have told them that the Princes will have a place for themselves if they remain trustees of their subjects. If they want to be the rulers of their people and exploit them and oppress them, they will find no place for themselves. I have no doubt about it. God alone knows what the situation in India is going to be. The Princes do not have an alternative. They can never rule India, even if we become slaves. Would the Princes like to become slaves then? The days when the rulers could act arbitrarily are gone. That was another age. The British rulers found good use of the Princes who were there, through whom they could rule. The British only acted in their self-

interest. How then are they to blame? But it is our misfortune that today we have lost our heads and fight among ourselves. Whichever side wins, a third power or a few of the powers would get together and devour India. Along with India the Princes, too, would be devoured. If they remain loyal to India and become servants of their people, it will be well. I would say to the people of the States that they should not be cowards. What if the Princes possess arms and they are unarmed? We too fought against the Empire. And we were unarmed then. We did not possess any arms secretly. Had it been so, I should have had some information about it. Millions of people fought against the Empire with the force of their conviction. We thought even if they killed, they might kill one lakh, two or even three lakhs. But how many could they have killed after all? It was a question of population of 400 millions. Their hands would have trembled if they had set out to kill all of us. These 400 million were bound to win their independence. What we do with that freedom is another matter. I would say that the Princes should not lose their heads. They should realize that they cannot act arbitrarily and lead immoral lives. They must not drown themselves in alcohol all day long. I have conveyed my view to you and through you to the Princes.

I mentioned once that Dussehra was coming soon. And Bakr-Id is just the day after it. These two festivals almost coincide. The Hindus and the Muslims are always filled with fear during these days. There is a greater scare here today because excesses can be only on one side. If Hindus get excited and think that they have got their chance because of Bakr-Id, they can slaughter the Muslims thinking they were celebrating Dussehra. What is Dussehra? That is the day for celebrating Rama's victory. It is said that on the *Ekadashi* Rama and Bharata would be reunited. By these things we have to learn restraint and goodness. We have to learn what is dharma. If we learn this we can celebrate Dussehra in the right spirit. Durga *puja* is conducted on the Dussehra day. What does worship of Durga imply? It does not mean that we should be bloodthirsty. Durga signifies *shakti*, great power. We can raise ourselves by worshipping her.

Similarly, Dussehra does not mean that we should have fun and entertainment throughout the day. In Gujarat this festival is called *Navaratri*[1]. When we were young my mother used to tell us that we should not have regular meals during the *Navaratri*. We could have fruit or at the most milk, but no solid food.

[1] The nine days preceding Dussehra

Of course the best thing would have been to observe complete fast. My mother used to undertake fasts quite often, and I could hardly compete with her. My elder brother could not do it at all, though I tried to do it a little. But considering my mother's capacity to fast I am a mere toy, just a child. That is the significance of Dussehra for us. Later, when Diwali comes, we can eat nice things and enjoy ourselves, but none of these things during Dussehra. This is the meaning of *Navaratri*. Shall we abandon its essence and start killing? Then there is Bakr-Id. We have frightened away our Muslim fellowmen. There are nice people among them. Even the nationalist Muslims are very much upset at the moment. They are aware of the situation. But where can they go? Should we become so heartless as to drive away even these people? What sort of peace would we have then?

Are you going to annihilate all the three-and-a-half or four crore Muslims? Or would you like to convert them to Hinduism? But even that would be a kind of annihilation. Supposing you were so pressurized, would you agree to become Muslims? Supposing you were forced to read the *Kalma* and threatened with death if you refused? I would be the first person to say that they might rather cut our throats than suggest this. We must have at least that much courage. It is senseless to ask Muslims to accept Hinduism like this. I don't want such Hindus. Am I going to save Hinduism with the help of such Hindus? I want Hindus who can exercise restraint. Why should I be so arrogant and ruthless? One cannot become a tyrant and follow dharma at the same time. On these two occasions therefore let us maintain peace and atone for our sins and meet each other as brothers. If you can do this much, you will not find me here after Id.

A Hindu gentleman has asked me if I would go to the Punjab. I asked him if he would send me to the Punjab. Yes, if I went there I would fight with the people there also. You already know about my method of fighting. I would talk to them to my heart's content. Millions of Hindus and Sikhs are coming here. Why do they not stay on in their homes? I shall have no peace till this happens. Then Muslims have to be brought back here. You may say that that cannot be done. According to me that can be done and the key to the situation lies in Delhi. I do hope that during those two days we prove that both the Hindus and the Muslims are good and are going to live together in harmony.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 447-52

385. QUOTATIONS FROM GURUDEV

A Bengali gentleman has sent the following quotations from the collections he received from Gurudev along with his autograph. I give here the quotations in the original language[1] with their meanings in Gujarati:

The fight in which brother kills brother is a fight against God.

He who nurses enmity in the name of religion, withholds his offerings from God.

The darkness in which one cannot see one's brother is blindness to one's own self.

One can see the smiling face of God only in the light where one sees one's brother.

When one is totally absorbed in love for a brother, then alone one's hands join of their own accord in obeisance to God.

NEW DELHI, October 23, 1947

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 2-11-1947

386. LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

NEW DELHI,
October 23, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have spoken to Pandit Nehru. But he is adamant. He is firmly of opinion that no change[2] should be made until the weather has cleared. If it does, it may take two or three months. In this estimate I agree with him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. LORD MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47, pp. 280-1

[1] The quotations in Bengali are not reproduced here.

[2] The addressee had expressed a desire to retire from the Governor-Generalship of India.

387. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

NEW DELHI,
October 23, 1947

MY DEAR MALKANI[1],

Your letter. You are too sanguine. My time is not yet. You should do your best.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

388. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

October 23, 1947

CHI. SITA,

I got your postcard. You must have received the letter[2] I wrote to you. May you live long and be a sincere worker.

It is a matter for joy that Vasant[3] has given birth to a son and that both mother and son are well.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

CHI. SITA GANDHI
MASHRUWALA BHAVAN
AKOLA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5017

[1] A constructive worker devoted to Harijan uplift and propagation of khadi
[2] *Vide* pp. 377-8.
[3] Wife of Kanti Mashruwala, addressee's maternal uncle

CWMG - LXXIX

389. LETTER TO JIVANJI D. DESAI

October 23, 1947

CHI. JIVANJI,

Herewith two items, handwritten. There is no time now to get them typed. The handwriting is clear. It is not possible to send a translation of the third item, the letter from a Muslim. Get it translated there as well as you can. Or leave out the translation. I shall see about constructive work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9985. Also C. W. 6959. Courtesy: Jivanji D. Desai

390. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 23, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Two persons have written to me: "We are refugees. We are living under the protection of our friends. We are very much troubled on account of the cold weather. Kindly let us know from where we can get blankets and quilts. Is there any such provision for refugees?" They say they belong to Rawalpindi. Like that there are innumerable people. However, the quilts and blankets are actually being collected for the people accommodated in the refugee camps, and who, as is very evident, have nothing to cover themselves with. Hence provision is being made for them. Quite a large stock has been distributed and more will be distributed. These are not just a handful of people. They are there in thousands. Quite likely, there are lakhs and lakhs of such people who should get these things. One of the camps at Kurukshetra has been taken over by the Central Government. A large number of people are accommodated there and many more keep coming.

There are many such camps even in the city of Delhi. At least three, perhaps four, camps are in East Punjab. In those camps also the people should receive the things provided in the

camps here. They too are refugees. But in my view, it is for the friends with whom the refugees stay to arrange for those things. Very likely those friends may be managing blankets or quilts for their own families with great difficulty. Then, how can they provide them to those whom they have given shelter? I don't say such a thing is not possible. But it seems to me we will not be able to give quilts to all who need them. Moreover, I do not think that everyone who asks for these things is honest about it. It is not as if people asked for these things because they needed them. I have seen several camps. I have always been engaged in this type of work. I had to do these things even when I was in South Africa, and so I am familiar with the difficulties of such work. I have heard no complaints against the two persons who have written to me, and I have nothing to say against them. But I have no doubt that these things should reach the people who are really needy and who do not have them. But how would I know about these people? I do try to find out. It is not as if I am not trying to get any information at all. Nor do I presume that no one would ever deceive me. And it is not that anyone can have things from me for the asking. Can these friends point out any such instance to me? I cannot send those things myself; but I think these persons will somehow get them from somewhere. I do have blankets with me. But they are all meant to be sent to Kurukshetra. Other people are collecting these things too. They can send the blankets to these two people.

People are still coming here every day. They go to the Birla Mandir and that place is all full. Now there is no room for any more people. The people in the temple have taken as many people as they can. They have always shared the sorrows of others. They are working day and night. They go to meet people and collect blankets and food from them which they distribute among the needy. But as people pour in day after day, they too get tired. How long can they go on giving things to them? The same is the problem for us. I would only tell these people that they should do something for themselves. It is true that when these things are done for everybody they should be done for these persons also. The same rule should apply to all. We cannot carry on work on a large scale if we have one rule for some people and another rule for others. And we have to work on a large scale. That is why I have taken so much time in explaining these things. How shall we face the cold which is increasing every day? I do not wish that anyone should suffer from it even for a day. This is one thing I wish to say.

I heard another thing today. Since many shops were open today a poor Muslim thought he would also open his shop, and so he started out to open his shop. He used to repair spectacles. Such persons must be hardly earning a few rupees a day. I do not know who he was. I do not even know his name. He was murdered as he was about to open his shop. It is a matter of shame for the whole of Delhi. Who could have committed that murder? Was it one person or two who did it? But how could two persons do it? Where had the military and the police disappeared? The shop was not in a lonely corner. Nor did the incident take place at night. No shop can be run secretly. People keep coming and going. Why did no one try to stop the killing? How did the assailants dare to commit that murder? People are just indifferent and quiet their conscience with the thought that a Muslim has been done to death. They feel that if the Muslims kill the Hindus and the Sikhs, why should they not kill the Muslims? Their hearts are possessed by such thoughts of revenge. This must be stopped. If we do not stop it, Delhi will lose all its character. Do you think that only the Hindus and the Sikhs will be living in Delhi? In that case that will be the end of Delhi. The world will not accept such a situation. Delhi has a long history behind it. It would be madness even to try to erase that history.

Today I wish to say something about the people who have become victims of leprosy. There are quite a number of such people even in India. They are not found on the roads because they arouse a feeling of repugnance. It is not as if people having leprosy are sinners and others suffering from other diseases are not. It is true that those who suffer from a disease must have violated some law of nature, but that is another matter. I feel I have violated nature's law because I am suffering from persistent cough. And I do believe that violating nature's law is being sinful. Everybody is prone to cough. But I am not prepared to agree that there has been no mistake on my part. So whatever rules I make for myself would be applicable to the whole world. Leprosy is a skin disease. How it is caused is a long story. I believe it is a disease of the body and there is no difference between leprosy and cough. A victim of leprosy suffers more pain and when he starts losing his thumbs, hands and nose, he becomes really very ugly. But it is not that he suffers more pain because he becomes ugly. I would say that we should have greater contempt for people who have wicked hearts. A person who has an unclean body which is the result of an unclean mind and

who has a perverse outlook, instead of listening to the *bhajans* is interested in listening to the stories of wicked men, is a real leper. There are countless people suffering from this disease, and nobody ever bothers about them. But since everybody does not contract the disease of leprosy, we are repelled by those who have it. We used to have a number of Christians amongst us. All the leprosy hospitals were and still are in the hands of the Christians. They serve the lepers out of sheer philanthropy. Today there are some people in India also who work for the lepers out of a feeling of altruism. One such philanthropist is Manohar Diwan. I should like to call him a *mahatma*. He lives at Wardha and is a great disciple of Vinoba Bhave. Vinoba is a very great man indeed. Manohar felt that he also should do something. He chose to serve the lepers. Vinoba also inspired him to do that work. He remains detached. He is not bothered about money. He is no doctor, but he has made sufficient study of the disease. Many people seek his help. A small conference is being organized at Wardha very soon through a committee. People engaged in this work will be meeting there on the 30th of this month. Dr. Sushila Nayyar too is going there for the same purpose. Actually Dr. Jivaraj[1] and Rajkumari were to go there. Rajkumari is even more familiar with this work because she has lived with me at Sevagram. But as she is deeply involved in the work here she cannot go there. No one can compel her to go there. And who would insist? It is a matter of rendering service. Anyone who chooses to go can go there. But they cannot go because they are hardpressed for time. There is a man called Jagadisan[2]. He is himself a victim of leprosy. He belongs to Madras. He is a very good man and a great scholar. He is a great follower of Srinivasa Sastri. He has devoted himself to this work. He is also attending the conference along with many others. It is a tragic and at the same time an interesting story. Many people are involved in that work. There is a very big leprosy hospital in Calcutta. It functions on a large scale. All this work is being done in the spirit of altruism and is growing day by day. When I was in Calcutta I was taken there and asked to write some comments. But I was making arrangements to come here. There are many other leprosy hospitals in different parts of the country. But this work is not being carried on on as large a scale as it should be. I do not suggest that everybody should take

[1] Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta, Director-General of Health Services in India

[2] T. N. Jagadisan, who was looking after leprosy work sponsored by Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

interest in this work. But let us at least know that when we have so much idle time we may as well engage ourselves in such type of work. Shall we remain busy only destroying each other? I would say that this is the worst type of disease, the worst type of leprosy. We disregard good work and destroy ourselves in mutual fighting. The Hindus kill the Muslims and the Muslims kill the Hindus and the Sikhs. How long shall we continue to indulge in mutual killing? How much better it would be if we made good use of our time and devoted ourselves to activities that would promote feelings of love!

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 452-6

391. MESSAGE TO HINDU AND SIKH REFUGEES IN N. W. F. P.

[Before *October 24, 1947*][1]

My advice is unalterable. They should remain where they are, if they are brave enough to die and even in the act of dying forgive the enemy. If they have not assimilated this truth they should of course come away as soon as they can.

The Hindu, 26-10-1947

392. WHITHER AHIMSA, WHITHER KHADI?[2]

A correspondent from Kathiawar writes:

> As in many other districts or provinces so in Kathiawar people are fast losing their faith in khadi and ahimsa. Many Congressmen and Gandhians have begun to ask how non-violence can work in matters political.

The writer of the letter adduces a number of arguments giving illustrations. I have, however, satisfied myself with quoting the salient part of the letter. It contains three errors:

I have been explaining of late that neither in Kathiawar nor in other parts of India have people real faith in non-violence or khadi. It is true that I had deceived myself into believing that people were wedded to non-violence with khadi as its symbol. As a matter of fact, in the name of non-violence people manifested

[1] The message was reported under the date-line: "Peshawar, October 24".

[2] A translation of this also appeared in *Harijan*, 2-11-1947.

only the outward peaceableness of the impotent. They never even attempted to drive violence from their hearts. He who runs can see for himself the verification of this fact. It had become patent to everyone, when I went to Rajkot in connection with the Rajkot imbroglio[1], that there was no Rama in Rajkot and, therefore, Kathiawar. Hence it is hardly correct to say that their faith is only now beginning to wane.

It is equally improper to question now the efficacy of non-violence in matters political. What was the people's fight against the foreign power, if it was not a political matter? Indeed, the disgraceful fight between brother and brother that we are witnessing today is much less political. Today, irreligion is stalking the country in the name of religion. Even the outward peace that we were able to observe in the fight against the foreign power is conspicuous by its absence today.

The third error consists in the distinction the correspondent makes between Congressmen and Gandhians. The distinction is baseless. If there is any Gandhian, it must be I. I am not so arrogant as to make any such claim. A Gandhian means a worshipper of Gandhi. Only God has worshippers. I have never claimed to be God. How then can I have worshippers? Moreover, how can it be said that those who call themselves Gandhians are not Congressmen? There are innumerable servants of the Congress although they are not four-anna members registered in the Congress register. The reader should know that I myself belong to that category. Hence the distinction made is false.

I have repeatedly said that I have neither any part nor any say in many things that are going on in the country today. It is no secret that the Congress willingly said good-bye to non-violence when it accepted power. Again I believe that the method of rationing of food and clothing is highly injurious to the country. If I had my way, I would not buy a grain of food-stuff from outside India. It is my firm belief that even today there is enough food in the country. It has been hidden because of the rationing. Again, if people followed me, there would be no deadly quarrel between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. It is clear that my writ does not run any longer. Mine is a voice in the wilderness.

As for khadi, it has some kind of a place, if we separate it from ahimsa. But it does not have the pride of place it would

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVIII.

have had as a symbol of ahimsa. Those who are in the political field wear khadi as a matter of convention. Today we see the triumph not of khadi but of mill-cloth, for we have assumed that but for the manufactures from our mills, millions would have to go naked. Can there be a greater delusion than this? We grow enough cotton in the country. We have any number of handlooms and spinning-wheels. India is not unused to the art of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, but somehow or other the fear has seized us that the millions will not take to hand-spinning and weaving hand-spun yarn for their own needs. A haunted man sees fear even when there is no cause for it. And many more die of fright than of the actual disease.

[From Gujarati]

NEW DELHI, October 24, 1947

Harijanbandhu, 2-11-1947

393. LETTER TO T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

DELHI,
October 24, 1947

DEAR SASTRIJI[1],

How shall I thank you for the care and promptness with which you have copied out the verses from the *Mahabharata* and appended your note[2] on them.

My complaint is that the author of the great epic has reserved the virtues recited by him for forest-dwellers only. One wonders whether the author of the *Gita* was the same as that of the rest of the work.

Have you any right to expect the change in one like J. who labours under hallucination?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: T. R. Venkatarama Sastri Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] (1874-1953); advocate of Madras; student and life-long friend of V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

[2] *Vide* "Futility of Arms", p. 505.

394. LETTER TO JAL PAVRY

NEW DELHI,
October 24, 1947

BHAI JAL PAVRY,

I have your letter. You cannot imagine the burden I am carrying. I did not know about your father's[1] death. It was good that you informed me. He lives even though he is no more. Why grieve then? Let us who are left behind continue his mission of service.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. JAL PAVRY, M.A.,PH.D.
TAJ MAHAL HOTEL
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 10826. Courtesy: Bapsybanoo Pavry

395. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 24, 1947

CHI. NARANDAS,

Read this letter[2]. Send it on to Nanabhai[3]. Let me know what you think after reading it. Ask Nanabhai also to let me know what he thinks. I have written something about this in *Harijan*, which you will read in due course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 8646. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Khurshedji Erachji Pavry (1866-1947); High Priest of Parsis in India
[2] From Narsinhdas Gordhandas. For Gandhiji's reply, *vide* the following item and pp. 395-7.
[3] Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas Bhatt

CWMG - LXXXIX

396. LETTER TO NARASINHDAS GORDHANDAS

NEW DELHI,
October 24, 1947

BHAI NARASINHDAS,

I have your letter. I have given a brief reply to it through *Harijan*. I don't propose to go further than that. My relatives are those who follow me. I have passed on your letter to Sjt. Narandas,[1] adding that he should also show it to Nanabhai Bhatt.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

397. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 24, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Probably the news appeared in the newspapers four or five days ago that a labour conference is being held here which will be attended by many representatives from Asia. The conference will be held on the 27th of this month. The newspapers also said that I will be inaugurating that conference. I knew nothing about it. Nor do I think I mentioned it to anyone. I asked one of the journalists how he got that information. I told him to contradict the report. Our Labour Minister Shri Jagjivan Ram had come to see me. I told him the same thing. He said I had got to be present at the conference, and as it would be a Monday and since I was already in Delhi, he thought there was no need to ask my consent. Such are our newspapers. When I told Jawaharlal that I might have consented by mistake, he was really astonished. There is no need for me to go there at all, for I have ceased to be useful for any purpose other than unity. Today I have only one task before me, and even that is more than I can attend to. I feel that if I succeed in that

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

I shall have accomplished my life's mission. We all belong to the same country and let us all be one. If all the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Parsis and Christians remain united, I shall not worry about anything else. They all belong to India and they have to live here. Why then should they indulge in fighting?

It is a great shock for a person, who has been dreaming of freedom from his childhood days and who strove hard to achieve it, that when freedom came, this poison has come along with it. This pains me very much. What could be worse than this? I want to stop this evil. My duty is but to try. I may succeed or I may not. "Let those who will, praise; and those who will, blame"—that is what we heard in the *bhajan*[1] today. Abuse or praise, it is all the same, for I only worship Rama and have dedicated everything to Him. But I must continue with my effort and devote my whole life to it.

As usual blankets have been received today also. They are being sent to whom they should be. The need is very great. So many blankets are required that we cannot satisfy everybody. Providing for everybody is a big job. God will meet the needs of all. Will those who are helpless and have been reduced to poverty from the state of prosperity be kept naked and hungry? If we are pure at heart, God will provide food for us. But if we continue to be unworthy we shall have to go without food and clothing.

I mentioned one thing yesterday about the people who have become victims of leprosy. I referred to Jagadisan in that connection. He is a great scholar. He used to suffer from this disease. He is not completely cured of it; but it is very much under control. He does considerable work among the lepers and takes much interest. He mixes freely with them. He is of course a very hard-working man. He lives in Madras, not in Wardha. But he has been there for the past several days. He had corresponded with me about this matter. I got his letter a few days ago, but I read it only today. I found in it one suggestion, which I wish to explain to you. The gentleman has said that the victim of leprosy should not be called a leper. People give a bad meaning to that word and consider him even worse than an untouchable. After all an untouchable does not harm anybody. We believe that we become fallen by coming into physical contact with the untouchables. I have already said that real leprosy is the unclean state of mind. Hatred towards one's

[1] No 159 in *Ashram Bhajanavali*; *vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 431.

fellow-beings and speaking ill of the people of some community or class is a sign of mental perversity which is worse than leprosy. If such people are worse than the victims of leprosy, why should that name be attached to the latter? Let these people be described as victims of leprosy and not as lepers. If people are believed to be bad because of a bad name, they should not be called by such a name. You may call a rose by any name, but that flower would never be without its fragrance—even if it is called by the worst possible name. If this is what Jagadisan says, he is right that there is not just one disease which can be passed on to others by physical contact. If a person suffering from scabies touches another person, he is likely to pass on his disease. Leprosy is such a disease and is contagious like cold, cholera, plague, etc. Why then should people suffering from that disease be looked upon with contempt? When a person gets really affected by leprosy, people start looking at him with contempt. They refer to him as a lowly creature. But real lowly creatures are those who show contempt. We must get rid of this leprosy of contempt. That is why I decided to talk again about this thing today.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was to attend the conference at Wardha on the 30th. She should have gone. Dr. Jivraj was also to go. He should have gone. But how can they go? They are tied down to their work. They can get away from it only for a day. But it would take them two days because they cannot return the same day. No aeroplane goes to Wardha. It goes only to Nagpur. They can return only after two days.

I wish to mention an important thing. Brajkishan has informed you that tomorrow I shall go and pray in the jail. The inmates of the jail desire that I should hold the prayer there. This will please me and also please you but you will not be able to join me there. It is a prison and only prisoners can go there. I am going there because they have invited me. We shall meet here again the day after tomorrow.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 457-9

398. OF NEW UNIVERSITIES[1]

There seems to be a mania for establishing new universities in the provinces. Gujarat wants one for Gujarati, Maharashtra for Marathi, Karnataka for Kannada, Orissa for Oriya, Assam for Assamese and what not. I do believe that there should be such universities if these rich provincial languages and the people who speak them are to attain their full height.

At the same time I fear that we betray ourselves into undue haste in accomplishing the object. The first step should be linguistic political redistribution of provinces. Their separate administration will naturally lead to the establishment of universities where there are none. The province of Bombay absorbs three languages: Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada and, therefore, stunts their growth. Madras absorbs four: Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. Thus, there is overlapping also. That Andhra Desha has an Andhra University is true. In my opinion it does not occupy the place it would, if Andhra was a separate administrative unit, free from foreign control. India attained that freedom only two months ago. The same thing can be said of the Annamalai University. Who can say that Tamil has come to its own in that University?

There should be a proper background for new universities. They should have feeders in the shape of schools and colleges which will impart instruction through the medium of their respective provincial languages. Then only can there be a proper milieu. University is at the top. A majestic top can only be sustained if there is a sound foundation.

Though we are politically free, we are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West. I have nothing to say to that school of politicians who believe that knowledge can only come from the West. Nor do I subscribe to the belief that nothing good can come out of the West. I do fear, however, that we are unable as yet to come to a correct decision in the matter. It is to be hoped that no one contends that because we seem to be politically free from foreign domination, the mere fact gives us freedom from the more subtle influence of the foreign language and foreign thought. Is it not wisdom, does not

[1] A Gujarati version of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 2-11-1947.

duty to the country dictate, that before we embark on new universities we should stop and fill our own lungs with the ozone of our newly got freedom? A university never needs a pile of majestic buildings and treasures of gold and silver. What it does need most of all is the intelligent backing of public opinion. It should have a large reservoir of teachers to draw upon. Its founders should be far-seeing.

In my opinion it is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities. If the people want them they will supply the funds. Universities so founded will adorn the country which they represent. Where administration is in foreign hands, whatever comes to the people comes from top and thus they become more and more dependent. Where it is broad-based on popular will, everything goes from bottom upward and hence it lasts. It is good looking and strengthens the people. In such a democratic scheme money invested in the promotion of learning gives a tenfold return to the people even as a seed sown in good soil returns a luxuriant crop. Universities founded under foreign domination have run in the reverse direction. Any other result was perhaps impossible. Therefore, there is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.

Then take the Hindu-Muslim question. The poison has assumed such dangerous proportions, that it is difficult to forecast where it will land us. Assume that the unthinkable has happened and that not a single Muslim can remain in the Union safely and honourably and that neither Hindu nor Sikh can do likewise in Pakistan. Our education will then wear a poisonous form. If, on the other hand, Hindus, Muslims and all the others who may belong to different faiths can live in either Dominion with perfect safety and honour, then in the nature of things our education will take a shape altogether pleasing. Either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of cultures, which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strengthen, or we shall cast about for the day when there was only one religion represented in Hindustan and retrace our steps to that exclusive culture. It is just possible that we might not be able to find any such historical date and if we do and we retrace our steps, we shall throw our culture back to that ugly period and deservedly earn the execration of the universe. By way of example, if we make the vain attempt of obliterating the Muslim period, we shall have to forget that there was a mighty Jama Masjid

in Delhi second to none in the world, or that there was a Muslim University in Aligarh, or that there was the Taj in Agra, one of the seven wonders of the world, or that there were the great forts of Delhi and Agra built during the Mughal period. We shall then have to rewrite our history with that end in view. Surely today we have not the atmosphere which will enable us to come to a right conclusion about the conflicting choices. Our two-months-old freedom is struggling to get itself shaped. We do not know what shape it will ultimately take. Until we know this definitely, it should be enough if we make such changes as are possible in the existing universities and breathe into our existing educational institutions the quickening spirit of freedom. The experience we will thus gain will be helpful when the time is ripe for founding new universities.

Last but not least remains Basic Education. It is an infant not more than eight years old. Therefore actual experience does not take us beyond what may be termed the matriculation stage. Thus, though it is limited in scope, the mind of those who are engaged in making the experiment has grown far beyond that stage. It would be unwise for any educationist to put aside the recommendations of a body which has behind it the solid experience of eight years. It should be borne in mind that this Basic Education has grown out of the atmosphere surrounding us in the country and is in response to it. It is, therefore, designed to cope with that atmosphere. This atmosphere pervades India's seven hundred thousand villages and its millions of inhabitants. Forget them and you forget India. India is not to be found in her cities. It is in her innumerable villages. The cities rose in answer to the requirements of foreign domination. They exist as they were two months ago, for though foreign rule has disappeared, its influence has not and cannot quite so suddenly. Thus I am writing these lines in New Delhi. If I know nothing of the villages of India how can I draw, sitting here, a true picture of the villages? What applies to me applies more forcibly to the ministers.

Let us now glance at the fundamentals of Basic Education:

1. All education to be true must be self-supporting, that is to say, in the end it will pay its expenses excepting the capital which will remain intact.

2. In it the cunning of the hand will be utilized even up to the final stage, that is to say, the hands of the pupils will be skillfully working at some industry for some period during the day.

3. All education must be imparted through the medium of the provincial language.

4. In this there is no room for giving sectional religious training. Fundamental universal ethics will have full scope.

5. This education, whether it is confined to children or adults, male or female, will find its way to the homes of the pupils.

6. Since millions of students receiving this education will consider themselves as of the whole of India, they must learn an inter-provincial language. This common inter-provincial speech can only be Hindustani written in the Nagari or Urdu script. Therefore pupils have to master both the scripts.

Therefore, it is hoped that all educationists will come to the conclusion that judicious delay is necessary for founding new universities.

NEW DELHI, October 25, 1947

Harijan, 2-11-1947

399. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

NEW DELHI,
October 25, 1947

SHRI BALVANTSINHA,

Your letter to Manu was read out to Bapu. He says: Why are you disheartened like this? The dairy has not really come to an end. It has merely expanded. Try to improve the plight of the village cattle, increase the milk yield, improve the breed, and educate the people to be honest and sell only pure milk. Devise a scientific test for the detection of water mixed with milk and so on. All this you can do and should do. This would be real service to the cow.

SUSHILA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 1989

CWMG - LXXXIX

400. TALK WITH COMMUNISTS

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 25, 1947

The communists have got hold of something to keep themselves busy. Hardly one man in a thousand can be found who practises communism in everyday life. Communists have come to consider it their supreme duty, their supreme service, to create disaffection, to generate discontent and to organize strikes. They do not see whom this discontent, these strikes, will ultimately harm. Half knowledge is one of the worst evils. The best is either full knowledge or ignorance. We are thus caught in isms and take pride in them and consider it a fashion to belong to this or that ism. People seek knowledge and instruction from Russia. Our communists seem to be in this pitiable state. I call it a pitiable rather than shameful state, for I feel that they are to be pitied, rather than blamed. For, because of our slavery, they have had no opportunity to get full knowledge. And now when we have got our freedom everybody has got an opportunity to thrust himself forward to such an extent that a sixteen-year-old boy or girl can identify himself or herself with some ism and become a leader. These people have now been fanning the fire of disunity bequeathed to us by the British. Soon they will find that they cannot control the flames. What we have to do is to find out what will suit our ignorant masses and act accordingly. For instance we need foodgrain. If the youth of the country would only learn the techniques of farming and engaged themselves in producing more food they would have no time for quarrelling and the country would become prosperous.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 142-3

CWMG-LXXXIX

401. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 25, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I was very happy when I received the invitation to hold the prayer before the prisoners of this jail and to address them in my usual manner, after the prayer. All the prisoners are probably not aware that I am myself an old-time prisoner right from my days in South Africa. I was not guilty from my point of view; but from the point of view of the Empire I was guilty. I have served all kinds of imprisonments and I have seen many jails. Jail rules in South Africa are very strict. And then the Indians count for nothing there. Even if one was a barrister, it made no difference. All Indians were considered coolies. There were the Indians on the one hand and Negroes on the other, and then the British—all living in their own worlds. When the satyagraha started[1], thousands of satyagrahis joined it, for in a satyagraha there would not be just a couple of persons. At the time of my first imprisonment[2] 150 of us were taken prisoners. In the beginning there were not many people. I was there and four or five others were with me; but in due course our number grew to 150. We were all packed together in one ward along with the natives. We got quite fed up because of such crowding. I would like to tell you how strict the jail rules were and how ruthlessly they were observed. Here in India we make much fuss by making a distinction between political prisoners and criminals. No such distinction is made in South Africa. All prisoners are regarded as criminals there. I do not believe that among the prisoners political prisoners belong to a higher category and criminal prisoners belong to a lower category. In the eyes of the law, all those who have broken it are equally guilty. Why then distinguish between the guilty ones? But here we were not only political prisoners, but even belonged to A, B and C categories. Was it not because ours was a mighty struggle? We were millions in the field and among us there were also some big people. But who was big among those poor

[1] In July 1907; *vide* Vols. VII and XXIX.

[2] On January 10, 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 36-8.

creatures there? They were all small business men. There were Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and others. Nobody made any distinction between Hindus, Muslims or Parsis. They were all called coolies, or, say, Indians. So we could not even pose to be big and insist on being put in A category and those who were lower in B and the lowest in C category. I do not even believe in these divisions. But here we did all that. I believe that anyone who goes to prison is a prisoner. I do not believe that a prisoner alone has committed a crime and that those who are outside, well-dressed people, are not guilty. I have been incarcerated ten times.[1] I do not remember exactly, but I have spent quite a few years in prison and so I know about these things. The jail superintendents and others had become my friends. There used to be a superintendent who was a very good man and a great jailer. He once told me that he had been in charge of prisoners but the world had no idea of the crimes he had committed himself. He told me that the prisoners under him had come to spend their four or five years of imprisonment or they had come with death sentences which had been later condoned. But he wondered how many ever knew the crimes he had committed. He said perhaps God alone knew about his crimes. So he did not relish the idea that he should be the chief jailer and those others should be prisoners. I also share this belief of his. So I wondered with what attitude I should come and meet you. The British rule has now ended. They have withdrawn themselves. It was a nice thing they did. But what should we do with our prisons now? I have been a witness to the conditions that prevailed in the jails during the British days and I know very well how good or bad they were. But now that the Government is in our own hands, our prisons, far from remaining prisons, should become hospitals. If somebody has committed a murder or a theft or turned an

[1] Namely—

1. January 10 to 30, 1908—Johannesburg
2. October 7 to December 12, 1908—Volksrust
3. February 25 to May 24, 1909— –do–
4. November 11 to December 18, 1913—Dundee
5. April 9 to 11, 1919—On train from Kosi to Bombay
6. March 10, 1922 to February 5, 1924—Sabarmati/Yeravda
7. May 5, 1930 to January 26, 1931—Yeravda
8. January 4, 1932 to May 8, 1933— –do–
9. August 1 to 23, 1933—Sabarmati/Yeravda
10. August 9, 1942 to May 6, 1944—Yeravda/Aga Khan Palace, Poona

outlaw, or committed any of the crimes mentioned in law books, I consider all these to be a kind of disease. It is a malady. No one commits a crime for its own sake. If somebody indulges in adultery or commits some other crime under the influence of liquor, he does not do it for pleasure. Now that I have grown old and have also acquired experience, I have realized that man's actions are guided by his nature. The prisoners should be taught how they should live. The superintendent and the deputy commissioner take care of the prisoners and order that such and such a prisoner should be flogged or such and such a prisoner should do a particular work by way of punishment. But I would suggest that the superintendents and the deputy commissioners should be like surgeons and doctors in hospitals and try to reform the prisoners as a doctor would try to cure an alcoholic. The addict's attention should be drawn to all the evil effects of alcoholism. And supposing somebody has kidnapped a girl—this is of course a grave crime—but even he should be made to realize that what he did was a sort of disease. If our jails could be so transformed, it would be a great thing and all the prisoners also would be happy. But by being happy they surely would not wish to remain in prison for ever. Do the patients who go to hospitals wish to live there for ever? Moreover hospitals have nice big buildings which is not the case with our prisons here. How can we have such buildings for our prisons? Ours is a poor country. We would go bankrupt if we started rebuilding our prisons like palatial hospital buildings. Such prisons are not found even in South Africa which is a land of gold. Even the prison cells for the English prisoners there are not like palaces. England is a rich country and hence it has such prisons. This I can say because I have seen the British prisons. Of course I have not seen the prisons in America. But we can at least make our prisons like hospitals where doctors treat the patients. When a patient leaves the hospital after recovering from an illness, he feels for ever grateful. The same thing should happen in our prisons. Let the prisoners have no ground to complain about the harsh treatment and atrocities in prisons or about the wickedness of the superintendents and jailers. Let them not get a chance to say that everything was bad. Let them say that they were looked after as if in a hospital, were fed properly and taught how to lead a good life. I have already said what the people in charge of the prisons should do. But ultimately it is not in their hands to do that. It is for the Government to decide. Or, it is for Panditji,

the Sardar, say, the whole Cabinet, that is, the Government, to do these things. But the Government must tell the prison authorities that this is how they should behave. If the latter then violate the rules and adopt tyrannical methods, that would be another matter. No criminal should be a jailer or superintendent or a commissioner these days. We have at least learnt this and they all work under the Government. The Government does not possess a large army, nor can it seek outside help to discipline the officials. They willingly obey the orders of their Government. Our entire administration would collapse if they did not carry out orders willingly and there would be chaos in the country. So, as for the officials, I have said that they should not violate the law. And there are some small things they can do without being instructed by the Government. For instance, they should be kind to the prisoners. What is there to learn in this? Let them regard prisons as hospitals and prisoners as patients. If they did this much, at least one thing would be accomplished.

Now I wish to address myself to the prisoners as a prisoner. I have also been imprisoned as a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi prisoner cannot indulge in a deliberate crime. He would never harass the jail superintendent or the jailer, or insult them. He has to be an ideal prisoner. Then only can he carry on his satyagraha well. Even the prisoners who have come here after actually committing crimes should become satyagrahis here. They should never defy the jail rules. They should accept the restrictions of prison life and be content with what they get. If the food given to the prisoners is not sufficient or properly cooked or is found to contain extraneous substances like grit and worms, they should complain to the superintendent or the jailer. These things do happen. I have seen them with my own eyes because I have lived in prisons. But even for these things why should the jail officials be approached? These things are in the hands of the prisoners themselves, for there are no professional cooks in prisons. The Government cannot manage the prisons if they start keeping cooks. The prisoners themselves are made to cook. Let them do the job with their hearts in it. Let them cook rice after cleaning it well and let them not keep chapatis half-baked. All that is in your own hands. You must do this work as if you were doing it in your own homes. You have come here after committing some crimes. Anyone can commit a crime. But some are detected, and some are branded guilty without their having committed any crime. Such things do happen. I think if you do this much, you can become ideal prisoners.

You can do one thing. Among you there must be Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs. Even among the Muslims there may be people belonging to different sects. But you can all live here like brothers. Today a kind of poison has spread in our country. I hope that it will not spread at least in the jails. You must come out of the prison as ideal citizens. Then the Deputy Commissioner and the Jail Superintendent would tell me that I have done a good job. They would tell me that their work has become easier, they are not being harassed and the jail rules are being properly observed and all the prisoners are making efforts every day to reform themselves. I would only pray to God that you may become ideal prisoners and go out of here as ideal citizens and try to stop the people outside from doing evil things. You should tell them that they should forget that the Hindus are enemies of the Muslims and the Muslims are the enemies of the Hindus. Everyone is likely to commit mistakes.

Tomorrow is Id. I offer Id greetings to my Muslim brethren. I wish that all the Hindu and Sikh prisoners here should offer Id greetings to their Muslim companions. In the end, I wish to tell you that you must always live in amity.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 459-64

402. ADVICE TO MUSLIMS[1]

NEW DELHI,
October 26, 1947

Ahimsa is always tested in the midst of *himsa*, kindness in the midst of cruelty, truth in the midst of falsehood, love in the midst of hate. This is the eternal law. If on this auspicious day, we all made a sacred resolve not to spill blood for blood but to offer ours to be shed instead, we would make history. Jesus Christ prayed to God from the Cross to forgive those who had crucified him. It is my constant prayer to God that He may give me the strength to intercede even for my assassin. And it should be your prayer too that your faithful servant may be given that strength to forgive.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 511

[1] Muslims including many old friends, started visiting Gandhiji from early morning on Bakr-Id. On seeing them Gandhiji muttered to himself, "With what face can I wish them a happy Id?" *Vide* also the following item.

403. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 26, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

At the outset I would like to reply to a gentleman's question. He says: "You say that it is not good to harbour feeling of revenge. But don't your followers who are devotees of Rama excite the feeling of revenge by burning Ravana's effigy?" There are two fallacies in this. First of all, who are my followers? I do not even know about them. I should like to be a devotee of Rama. But I am not sure that I am. After all it is no easy thing to be a devotee of Rama. Hence it is wrong to refer to any devotees as my followers. I do not have any followers at all. But what happens is that people make an effigy of Ravana who is defeated by Rama. Thus we saw Rama vanquishing Ravana. But who amongst us is Rama and who is Ravana? If every man can become Rama, who would become Ravana? This is only a story in which Rama is portrayed as God and Ravana as His enemy. That is why Ravana has been described as inauspicious—a demon and an evil spirit, because he insisted on disregarding Rama and died without accepting Him. Then he had to die at the hands of God. This is a story. It does not mean that the effigy of Ravana is made with an idea of taking revenge. The lesson I draw from it is that it teaches man not to take revenge. Who would be more arrogant and foolish than I if I imagined myself to be Rama and other people sitting around here to be Ravanas? How do I know I am Rama? Who knows how much wickedness is hidden in me? Nobody knows whether I am a *mahatma* or a wicked person in the eyes of God. I myself do not quite know how wicked or good I may be. God alone knows it. He is far above us and sees everything. Nothing is hidden from Him. Man cannot take revenge on anyone. Even if someone has done any harm, what is the point in taking revenge on him? Imagine a man as being perfect, though man can never be perfect, for God alone can be perfect, but supposing there is one human being who is perfect while others are imperfect, should he then punish others or slay them? According to me, the making of Ravana's effigy on the Vijayadashami day means

that it is not up to human beings to take revenge. Even if we do not call it revenge, God alone can harm or kill. Does it then mean that it is only for God to employ violence as well as non-violence? God has no attributes and is beyond all properties. To Him all these things mean nothing. But this story is an illustration which points out that God alone can destroy all the Ravanas in the world. Some people also presume that Vijaya-dashami tells them that they are perfect and others are imperfect. Hence they take the law into their own hands and become the lords of the world and start injuring and slaughtering people.

All this is happening in India, too, because we have lost our senses. From the reply I have given, you and the gentleman who put the question will have understood that the Rama-Ravana story teaches us that we should not become sinful but be virtuous. Taking the name of Rama on the one hand and indulging in acts of sin on the other is abusing God.

Now some of you can ask me whether, while I am talking of these things at such length, I am aware of what is happening in Kashmir.[1] Yes, I am quite aware of it. But I know only what has appeared in the newspapers. If all those reports are correct it is really a bad situation. All I can say is that we can neither save our religion nor ourselves in this manner. It is reported that Pakistan is trying to coerce Kashmir to join Pakistan. This should not be so. It is not possible to take anything from anyone by force. I have no doubt about it at all. Today it is Kashmir. Tomorrow it can be Hyderabad. Next it may come to forcing Junagadh or some other State. I do not wish to sit in judgment on this issue. I only believe in the principle that nobody can force anyone.

It makes no difference to me whether it is the question of Kashmir or Hyderabad or Junagadh. Let no one be forced into anything. Let there be no coercion. But I must respectfully submit that today Kashmir is not ruled by its Maharaja. In other States too there are no Princes as we used to know them. They were the creation of the British. Now the British have gone. They had installed them as rulers because they could rule through them and exercise power. Kashmir has still to establish popular rule in the State. The same is the case with other States like Hyderabad and Junagadh. In my view there is no difference between them. Real rulers of the States are its people. If the people of Kashmir are in favour of opting for

[1] On October 23, about 2,000 Afridis and tribesmen had invaded the Kashmir State and indulged in large-scale loot, arson and murder.

Pakistan, no power on earth can stop them from doing so. But they should be left free to decide for themselves. The people cannot be attacked and forced by burning their villages. If the people of Kashmir, in spite of its Muslim majority, wish to accede to India no one can stop them.

The Pakistan Government should stop its people if they are going there to force the people of Kashmir. If it fails to do that, it will have to shoulder the entire blame. If the people of the Indian Union are going there to force the Kashmiris, they should be stopped, too, and they should stop by themselves. About this I have no doubt at all.

I have discussed the problem of Kashmir with you. Now let me pass on to another point. I have received a telegram from Calcutta. I think I had told you about a Shanti Sena which was formed in Calcutta while I was there. That was indeed a grace of God. It had appeared very difficult to establish peace in Calcutta. But once the Shanti Sena was formed, it was easily done, and neither the Hindus nor the Muslims had to suffer much. Before that the Muslims had taken control of big localities and were driving away the Hindus from there. Then the Hindus also burnt the huts and other belongings of the Muslims and also terrorized them. That should not have happened. I do not want to go into the whole story. But when I went there, by the grace of God the Shanti Sena was organized and students and others joined it. Now they write to say that both Dussehra and Id were celebrated with great enthusiasm and the Hindus and the Muslims have started living like brothers. Id was celebrated in Calcutta yesterday. But it is being celebrated in Delhi today. So the telegram has been sent to me mentioning both Dussehra and Id. They say that the Shanti Sena had spread out all over. There was no damage done anywhere, either in Calcutta or Howrah. Nobody was in a position to harass anyone. And people lived without trouble on both the days. They had even gone towards Dacca in East Bengal. I thought I should tell you about this thing because I am happy if somewhere in India the animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims ceases and instead of remaining enemies they start living as brothers. And then Calcutta is no small village. It is a city where business worth crores is carried on. Huge freighters come to the Calcutta port and the city is inhabited by the Hindus and the Muslims who do business. If we started treating one another as enemies there, would not the entire trade be destroyed? It is indeed very good if the Shanti Sena

has taught the people of Calcutta to live as brothers. Why should we not learn a lesson from Calcutta? Why should we not have a Shanti Sena here as well? Some Muslims came to me today on account of Id. They know that I am not their enemy but their friend. I am a Hindu, and a sanatani Hindu at that. That is why I am as much a Muslim as a Hindu. Hence they came to me as to a friend. I did offer them Id greetings; but I told them that really I had not the face to do so.[1] Even today they live in great fear. They wonder if the Hindus would let them stay here. Or would they be killed? Of course all the Hindus do not kill. But they are in panic because many have been slaughtered. What if they are few in number? Should the people of the majority community attack and terrorize them? These atrocities have got to end, otherwise we will perish.

How nice it will be if we can do here what has happened in Calcutta. Then my heart will dance with joy. Today my heart bleeds. I cannot shed tears, because if I do so I shall not be able to do what I want to. But there is sorrow in my heart. Are the Hindus and the Muslims going to live like this in independent India? It is barbarous if people belonging to the majority community attack the minority community. No religion can be saved by attacking others. Religion can be saved only by practising its teachings in life. There is no other way.

I have received a telegram from Ratlam saying that the Ratlam Maharaja has made an announcement[2] about establishing responsible self-government in the State. The Maharaja would be like a trustee of the State. The Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh has written to me that now no distinction will be made in the State between the Harijans and other people. Along with the high castes, the Harijans also entered the Maharaja's temple. From now on untouchability will cease to exist in all the State temples. And the Harijans will also be able to draw water from the public wells. I was very happy to know about all these things. If Hinduism has to make progress, how can hatred and untouchability have any place in it? Untouchables are those who are sinful. It is indeed a great stigma to make an entire community untouchable. All traces of untouchability should be removed from the heart of every Hindu. From every State ruled by the Hindus untouchability should be removed as it is done in Ratlam. We would be raising Hinduism very high thereby. If untouchability as we understand it is

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] On October 24, 1947; *vide* p. 504.

banished from our hearts, are we going to make the Muslims or some other people untouchables? What we are suffering today is the consequence of the evil of untouchability. That is why these developments in Ratlam have made me happy, and so I decided to speak to you about the good things that have happened at Calcutta and Ratlam.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 465-70

404. A LETTER

NEW DELHI,
October 27, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

The problem you state is beyond me. I approach God through faith, not science. You should ask a scientist who knows.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

405. LETTER TO EDITH HUNTER

NEW DELHI,
October 27, 1947

DEAR MRS. HUNTER,

Dr. Tamhankar told me yesterday that your husband had gone to his rest. Death I regard as a friend. Hence when a dear one leaves us, there is no cause for regret. May this knowledge of the function of Death sustain you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. EDITH HUNTER
C/O KERNE HILL ROAD
LONDON S. E. 21

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXXIX

406. LETTER TO UMRAO SINGH SHERGIL

October 27, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Though you do not expect anything from me, I must say one word, to hope that God will grant you the courage to do what you know to be right.

Of course the Urdu script is not easy and it is imperfect. All the same I am glad you think that we should all learn both the scripts.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SARDAR UMRAO SINGH SHERGIL
THE KOHNE
SUMMER HILL
SIMLA W.

From a photostat: G. N. 7941

407. NOTE TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[1]

[*October 27, 1947*][2]

I am at a loss to understand what Pakistan really wants to do—whether they want the Hindus to stay there or not.... Please remember that to the minorities this is a life-and-death question. Fine phrases or impressive declarations on paper will not help. If you can get the Pakistan authorities to implement its declarations in action, you will have rendered the greatest service to the Indian Muslims. It is my claim that though many heinous things have happened in the Indian Union, the Union Government has spared no effort to ensure complete security and protection to the Muslims....The Sardar and Pandit Nehru have worn themselves out in putting down lawlessness....You do not know how ill the Sardar is. Yet he carries on by his iron will. I do not know what the policy of the Pakistan Government is,

[1] & [2] This was written in the last week of October after one of the addressee's visits to Karachi. The silence day during this week fell on this date. *Vide* also the following item.

but I know what is happening to the minorities in Pakistan—in the Punjab, in Sind and in the Frontier Province. . . .But I have faith, I have thrown myself entirely on Him, so I am at peace.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 483-4

408. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

October 27, 1947

MY DEAR SHAHEED,

I address you frankly. I would like you, if you can, to remove your angularity. If you think you have none, I withdraw my remarks.

Hindus and Muslims are not two nations. Muslims never shall be slaves of Hindus nor Hindus of Muslims. Hence you and I have to die in the attempt to make them live together as friends and brothers, which they are. Whatever others may say, you and I have to regard Sikhs and others as part of India. If anyone of them declines, it is their concern.

I cannot escape the conclusion that the mischief commenced with Qaid-e-Azam, and still continues. This I say more to make myself clear to you than to correct you. I have only one course —to do or die in the attempt to make the two one.

Yours,
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 484. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

409. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

October 27, 1947

MY DEAR KU.,

Read this comment[1] and return. It is meant for publication but I don't want to do so, until I have your comment.

Hope you are flourishing every way. Are you properly aided?

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 10198

[1] By Shantikumar Morarjee on the addressee's article, "An Abortive Conference", published in *Harijan*, 28-9-1947.

CWMG - LXXXIX

410. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI[1]

October 27, 1947

We need hide something only if there is the slightest falsehood in us. A satyagrahi has nothing to conceal in his heart because he intends to serve everyone. What is there to hide then? I know he is not in a position to do anything; but he will at least carry my message to Jinnah. And what will he gain by deceiving me? In thought, word and deed I love the Muslims, Parsis and Jews and all mankind as much as I love the Hindus.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 153

411. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

October 27, 1947

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. I shall, however, not write much. I like the divisions you have made. I cannot however swallow what you say about the Press. The times are such that I think we must not get involved in the matter. We cannot afford to forget that we are not millionaires, we are mendicants. In these difficult times let us do the best we can. Please remember that I have only one place from where to seek charity. I have therefore to consider every act before I undertake it. Your mind soars high but your body will not be able to keep it company. Bear this in mind before you proceed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had expressed her fear that Suhrawardy might harm rather than help Gandhiji.

412. LETTER TO SUSHILA PAI

NEW DELHI,
October 27, 1947

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter is beautiful. It will be a job done when you settle down finally. Surely whatever you get there is bound to be better than the palaces here. But I know you cannot have this weather. It will continue to be nice for a couple of months or more.

Would you require a monthly salary? I was not aware that Sucheta did not draw any remuneration. But that certainly does not mean that you should not accept anything. Write to me what your requirement is. I think I never asked you about your financial circumstances.

For the rest you will have to depend upon what Sushila Nayyar says and what Abha and Manu write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

413. LETTER TO G. SOMI REDDY

October 27, 1947

DEAR REDDY,

Your letter[1] of 14th is good. I am doing all I can. More I cannot say.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI G. SOMI REDDY, BAR-AT-LAW

From a copy: C. W. 10581. Courtesy: G. Somi Reddy

[1] The addressee had written about the "soaring prices of commodities" and appealed to Gandhiji to "save the fast-crumbling economic edifice".

CWMG - LXXXIX

414. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

October 27, 1947

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

Herewith a letter for Chi. Chand. Often my way of consoling people may at first appear harsh. You at any rate should understand this. Otherwise we would become mere sentimentalists and will prove to be useless.

A letter to Barrister Reddy[1] also is enclosed. Forward it. You may fix up Arjunrao's marriage in April. God alone knows where I shall be at the time. If you want it to be performed in my presence, then it can take place where I am. There is little chance of my coming to Sevagram. It all depends on where today's poison will lead us.

I have not sent a telegram about Chand. One reason is that we are poor. Nobody should forget this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 9040. Also C. W. 9164. Courtesy: Prabhakar

415. LETTER TO CHANDRANI

October 27, 1947

CHI. CHAND,

Why have you been so upset by my letter? You came to me presumably as a wise person and with a weighty testimonial from Satyavati[2]. How can I believe that any illness can upset you so much? Be up and about. Sushila will tell you the rest. Perhaps you can come with her. But if you do come you must get rid of your illness in Sevagram itself before leaving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrani Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Granddaughter of Swami Shraddhanand

416. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
October 27, 1947

Complaints are being repeatedly made that Muslims are being forced to leave their ancestral homes in the Union and migrate to Pakistan. Thus it is said that in a variety of ways they are being made to vacate their houses and live in camps to await dispatch by train or even on foot. I am quite sure that such is not the policy of the Cabinet. When I tell the complainants about this they laugh at it and tell me in reply that either my information is incorrect or the Services do not carry out the policy. I know that my information is quite correct. Are the Services then disloyal? I hope not. Yet the complaint is universal. Various reasons are given for the alleged disloyalty. The most plausible one is that the military and the police are largely divided on a communal basis and that their members are carried away by the prevalent prejudice.

I have given my opinion that if these members on whom depends the preservation of law and order are affected by the communal taint, orderly Government must give place to disorder and if the latter persists, to disruption of society. It is up to the upper ranks of these Services to rise superior to communalism and then to infect the lower ranks with the same healthy spirit.

It is suggested with much force that the popular Governments established in the country have not the prestige that the ability to overawe the Indian members of the Services gave the foreign bureaucracy. This is only partly true. For the popular Government wields a moral force which is infinitely superior to the physical force that the foreign Government could summon to its assistance. This moral force presupposes the possession of political morale that popular support would give to an indigenous Government. It may be lacking today. There is no means of checking it save by the resignation of the Ministry at the Centre.

What we are examining specially this evening is the condition of the Central authority. It must never be and, what is perhaps more important, never feel weak. It must be conscious

[1] As Gandhiji was observing silence his written speech was read out after the prayer.

of its strength. Therefore if it is at all true that there is the slightest insubordination among the Services, the guilty ones must go; or the Ministry or the Minister-in-charge must resign and give place to the one who would successfully deal with official disorderliness.

Whilst I voice, not without hesitation, the complaints that persistently come to me, I must cling to the hope that they have no basis and that if they have, the superior authority will satisfactorily deal with them in so far as they have any justification.

What is the duty of the affected citizens of the Union? It is clear that there is no law that can compel a citizen to leave his place of residence. The authority will have to arm itself with special powers to issue orders such as are alleged to have been given. So far as I am aware there are no written orders issued to anyone. In the present case thousands are involved in the alleged verbal orders. There is no helping those who will be frightened into submission to any order given by a person in uniform. My emphatic advice to all such persons is that they should ask for written orders whose validity in case of doubt should be tested in a court of justice, if appeal to the final executive fails to give satisfaction.

The public, in this case representing the majority community (that hateful expression), should rigidly refrain from taking the law into their own hands. If they do not, they will be cutting the very branch on which they are sitting. It will be a fall from which it will be difficult to rise. Let wisdom dawn on them while there is yet time. Let them not be swayed by ugly events even when the report thereof happens to be true. They must trust the representative Ministers to do the needful for the vindication of justice.

The Hindustan Times, 28-10-1947, and *Harijan*, 9-11-1947

417. TELEGRAM TO H. C. DASAPPA[1]

NEW DELHI,
[Before *October 28, 1947*]

HOPE YOU WILL WORK FOR SERVICE AND NEVER FOR POWER.

The Hindustan Times, 28-10-1947

[1] A minister in the newly-formed Mysore State Cabinet

418. LETTER TO JEHANGIR PATEL

NEW DELHI,
October 28, 1947

CHI. JEHANGIR,[1]

Your letter. I shall show it to Dinshaw.

Of course I shall give you the time you want. Your letter to D. B. Jagtap is quite good.

Blessings from
BAPU[2]

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

419. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

October 28, 1947

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have gone through Mansukhlal's letter. I have passed it on to the Sardar. Let us see now what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5681

420. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

October 28, 1947

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. Come when you can and spend three or four days with me. We shall then talk sentiment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 10458. Also C. W. 6896. Courtesy: Prema Kantak

[1&2] The superscription and subscription are in Gujarati.

CWMG - LXXXIX

421. LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI

NEW DELHI,
October 28, 1947

BHAI ANANTRAI,

The Sardar has done what was necessary in connection with your wire.

Please read the reverse side of the enclosed letter from Jaisukhlal and do what needs to be done.

I hope you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

ANANTRAI PATTANI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

422. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

October 28, 1947

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have forwarded your letter to Anantrai. I have no doubt that controls and rationing have led to widespread corruption. It will be as God wills. I am doing what I can.

Manu is quite well. There is no cause for worry about me. The cough has gone. The rest of the news will be given by Manu.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

According to me, you are in the prime of youth. You should aspire to live up to a hundred and twenty-five years and serve till the very end.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIV

423. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 28, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A gentleman from Delhi writes: "I had taken some screens and tents from a Muslim gentleman for the refugees. He has now gone away from here. Where should I keep them now?" He is a gentleman and that is why he is asking what he should do with those things. He is right. Since that man has gone away, should we appropriate those things to ourselves? But I do not have any arrangement for keeping them. This matter concerns the Home Department. The Sardar should have been consulted. Or the matter should have been referred to anyone who is handling it. Or Neogy Saheb[1] who has been appointed for the purpose should be consulted. If he can find the whereabouts of that Muslim gentleman, these things or their worth in money will have to be sent to him.

A few young men from the Aligarh University came to me. Some students from West Punjab and North-West Frontier Province also study in that University. They could not reach the University and those who are here cannot leave the place. Why should they not be able to move freely? Now that Pakistan has been formed, does it mean that the Muslims should go there and the Hindus and the Sikhs should come here? The students wish to collect the blankets, etc., from Muslims and distribute them among Hindu and Sikh refugees who are facing hardships in the camps. Their intention is good and the refugees need them too. If they receive these things, it would also be an expression of love from Muslims. But really speaking, they should go to Pakistan and ask the Muslims why the Hindus and the Sikhs have to leave their homes at all. I have with me a whole pile of papers full of complaints. Those complaints are not unfounded. Of course I do feel that some exaggeration is quite possible in them. But even if there is exaggeration, there is substantial ground for those complaints. Why should the Hindus run away from their places? Call them back. Why

[1] K. C. Neogy, Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, Government of India

should they not come and live in their own places? If the students are able to do this we can show to the whole world that we had never indulged in mutual fighting. Then we shall regain our honour which is sullied today. This is what I have told those boys. They have agreed to what I have said. God alone knows what they are going to do later on.

But what I want to tell you today is something very important. I think that while I was in Bihar people used to think that since they had won freedom there was no need to buy tickets for travelling by train. Not only this. They sometimes indulged in acts of high-handedness and coercion. People did not indulge in mutual fighting in those days, but now they think that having won their freedom they need nothing more. I wrote quite a bit on the subject and it did have some effect and such practices were given up. But now for the past few days the situation has so developed that all over the country people have started travelling without tickets. Even well-to-do people have started thinking that they have become the owners of the trains. The railways certainly belong to us now; but the practice of ticketless travelling has resulted in a loss of Rs. 8 crores. And Rs. 8 crores is no small sum. Even Rs. 1 crore is no small sum. How difficult it was and how many people had to go round when we had to collect Rs. 1 crore for the Congress! I too went round from house to house with the others to collect the funds. With great difficulty we were able to collect that amount. The people of our country are so poor. Today we spend a crore of rupees in no time. If we get it we don't even notice how it is spent. We still do not know how to spend. We spend just because we have been put in charge of the work. If people start having free rides in trains or do not buy tickets when travelling in connection with work, it is a kind of violence. In my view it is plain robbery. At this rate India will be reduced to utter poverty and we shall be left without railways or anything else. Then we shall feel sorry wondering how we can travel. Eight crore rupees do not make a small sum after all. In former days the railways could earn interest on their capital out of their earnings. Millions of people travel by trains. If everybody pays his fare the railways can earn quite a lot. There used to be ticketless travellers even in those days; but not in thousands as today. There used to be inspectors on the trains and the accounts used to be properly kept. But now the situation is such that the guards and the drivers are attacked. Expenditure is going up day by day. Trains cannot be run for

charity. The railway employees cannot agree to forgo their salaries because the passengers do not pay their fares. What will they eat if they do not have their salaries? Thus the expenditure on railways is millions and it also earns millions. The railways incurred no loss in former days. Earnings from third-class passengers used to be considerable, because the expenditure on them used to be little. But I was pained to hear yesterday about the loss of Rs. 8 crores. Nothing good can come to us if there is going to be such looting from all sides. On top of this we indulge in mutual fighting and killing and plundering. These things do no good to anyone and result in loss of crores of rupees. When people are asked to leave their homes and go away to Pakistan, they surely do not go without taking anything. They have to be fed and clothed. We have to incur all that expenditure for nothing. After all, India is not a country of the rich that it can go on spending at this rate. That is impossible. Hence even if there is a single person travelling by train, let him not travel without paying his fare. He must pay his fare. During the British days, police constables and other officials used to swallow up considerable amount of money. I know about this because I have been a third-class traveller. In those days when I had gone to Hardwar[1] for the Kumbh Mela, I found that nobody could get there without paying some extra money to the station master. In this way, thousands of rupees went by way of bribes. Now I feel that everybody has become quite honest. The station masters, signalmen, inspectors, guards, etc., should take only their legitimate dues and live only by that. They should not grab money from people. The passengers should consider the railways as their own property. They should keep the trains clean. They should not spit and smoke in the trains and should not pull the chain without real need. And not a single passenger should travel without ticket. Then I would be able to say that we have attained true independence. Here there are not thousands of people to hear me, and so who would carry my words to those hundreds of thousands of people who travel by trains? Had I been a railway manager or a railway minister I would have given orders to people working under me to tell the passengers that though they would not be physically manhandled, the railways belonged to them and the railway officials were their servants, they would not be permitted to travel without paying the fares. Even if the train is passing

[1] In April, 1915, for volunteer service organized by Hriday Nath Kunzru, under the auspices of the Servants of India Society

through a forest, the railway authorities would stop the train right there. If the passengers still did not come round they would order the driver to detach the engine from the train and drive it away. Then there would be no occasion for abusing people or using force against them; the train just would not move till the passengers paid the fare. This method should be followed as long as the passengers travel without tickets. After all, it is not proper to board the train without tickets, to indulge in violence and stop the train just anywhere one likes. What I have told you is happening in India. But I have heard that in Pakistan too people travel in trains without tickets just as here. And why should they not do so? After all we were all born in the same environment, have eaten the same salt, then why should not the same things happen there as here? But if things continue in this manner, both the countries will go bankrupt. If we travel by train without buying tickets, take bribes wherever we can and go on beating up people, we will end up as robbers. The respect we have acquired by becoming independent will be completely lost. Hence let as many people as possible and the Minister listen to what I am saying, because I am saying as an experienced man, that if this trend does not stop you will have to stop running the trains. The trains will not move and in the trains that move no passenger will be allowed to travel without paying his fare.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 7-11

424. TELEGRAM TO LILAVATI ASAR

NEW DELHI,
October 29, 1947

LILAVATI UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
PAREL (BOMBAY)

YOU CAN COME WHEN YOU LIKE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 9613

425. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 29, 1947

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter and the cheque from Wankaner.[1]

You do not seem to have noticed that His Highness has drawn the cheque in favour of the secretary. But one secretary is dead and the other is in Noakhali. I have, however, three or four persons here who are working as secretaries. Among them is Bisen whose merits need no proof,[2] who gets up at three and wakes us all up at 3.30. He is with me just now, at 4.15, after the morning prayer. He is sending you a cheque signed by him. I save a little money by this arrangement and your purpose also is served. You may cash the cheque for Harijan work. I am writing to His Highness.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 275

426. LETTER TO RAJA OF WANKANER

NEW DELHI,
October 29, 1947

YOUR HIGHNESS RAJA SAHEB,

Chi. Chhaganlal Joshi of the Harijan Sevak Sangh has forwarded to me a draft for Rs. 2,000 instead of the usual Rs. 1,000 for Harijan welfare, and has mentioned your indifferent health. May God grant you a long life and inspire you to serve your subjects.

[1] Raja Saheb of Wankaner used to give Rs. 1,000 on Gandhi Jayanti for Khadi, Harijan service and constructive work in Saurashtra; *vide* the following item.

[2] The Gujarati saying here reads: "To see one's bracelet one needs no mirror."

CWMG - LXXXIX

I have returned the cheque to Joshi[1] to encash it for service of Kathiawar Harijans.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

427. LETTER TO NAREN B. JOSHI

October 29, 1947

BHAI JOSHIJI,

I have your report. Why is it in English? Why not in Hindustani? The report does not say what solid work has been done. We cannot gain anything by merely passing resolutions.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 8939

428. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 29, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today you have heard a very sweet *bhajan*. The person who sang that beautiful *bhajan* may not be known to all of you. His name is Dilip Kumar Roy. He has visited many places. Few persons in India possess the melodious voice he has. I would even say that very few in the world have a voice like his. He came to me in the afternoon. I could not spare much time then. I could give just 10 minutes. He sang *Vandemataram*, which he has set to music, in his melodious voice. He must know this song because he is a Bengali. I heard him because he wanted to sing for me. I am no expert in music. He has an affection for me which people mutually develop. Then he sang for me *Sare jahanse achchha* of Iqbal. He has set that also to a new tune. I enjoyed it very much. He has been staying at Rishi Aurobindo's Ashram at Pondicherry for the past several years. He has not taken any training there. He had been a musician even when he went there. Later he developed his art.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXXXIX

The inner meaning of the *bhajan* is as Kabir says: "While you possess elephants and horses and wealth worth crores, my only possession is the name of Murari[1]. But having that name I am rich and all the wealth lying in your possession is worthless. That wealth is transient. But what I possess can never be taken away from me. The *bhajan* only shows the greatness of Ramanama. And what the *bhajan* says you have already heard. But you must also know about the Aurobindo Ashram. As it is, there is a continuous stream of visitors to the Ashram. A large number of people go there. Shri Aurobindo has many devotees. There is no hatred for anyone there, whether Hindu or Muslim or somebody else. I have seen that the late Sir Akbar Hydari used to visit the Ashram every year. Shri Aurobindo is a humble devotee. He does not meet anyone. But people visit him, whether they can or cannot have his *darshan*. They also entertain no feeling of hatred for anyone. Let us learn at least this much that we should not have hatred for anyone.

But today I wish to talk about what is happening in Kashmir. And I must talk about it. You already know what is appearing in the newspapers. It is an astounding story. It happened three days ago. Nobody knew anything about it. Even I did not know what was going to happen. But one might say what has happened has happened. At the moment it is being said that the Afridis, and others have infiltrated there carrying arms with them. Some people even say that it is a mischief done by the Pakistan Government. It may be so, but I am not concerned with it. I am observing what is happening there. On the one side the invaders have gone right up to Punj and have further reached within 22 miles of Srinagar. From there it is a straight road with no obstructions for them.

When the Maharaja of Kashmir saw this he announced his decision to accede to the Indian Union. The Maharaja wrote a letter to Lord Mountbatten who welcomed his decision.[2] Now that he has taken refuge in the Indian Union he should be protected. But how could protection be given to him? Help could not be sent by road, but only by air. How many soldiers could be sent by plane? Only a few could be sent. Then they have to carry their arms, food supplies and clothes. And their clothes have got to be thick and heavy. Even an excess of one pound of weight becomes an extra burden. When the planes fly in the

[1] One of the appellations of Lord Krishna

[2] Maharaja Hari Singh had signed the Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State on October 27.

sky like birds, how many soldiers can go in them? About 1,000 or at the most 1,500 would have gone. On the one hand there are 1,500 soldiers and on the other a large number of men who have come from the North-West Frontier Province. Those men are also of a fighting stock and they are fighting. What can you or I think about it? After all, I have spent my life thinking over these things. I do not believe in armed fighting but I must know what it is. On the one hand are 1,500 Indian soldiers and on the other all those Afridis and others. And there is Sheikh Abdullah. He is called the "Lion of Kashmir". That is, he is like a tiger or a lion. He is a sturdy man. You must have seen his photograph. I know him and his Begum also. She is here these days. He is doing whatever a single individual can do. He is not a soldier. There are strong and sturdy Muslims in Kashmir and also strong and sturdy Hindus, Rajputs and Sikhs. So he has decided to do his utmost. He is a Muslim. Kashmir has a large Muslim population. From here the soldiers have gone fully armed but what should the local Muslims do? Granted that we have all become barbarians—whether here or in Pakistan, no act of madness is left undone—should the people in Kashmir also turn barbarians and indulge in indiscriminate killing of women and children? Should Kashmir be reduced to such a terrible state? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his Cabinet came to the conclusion that something should be done and those soldiers were sent. What should they do? Let them fight to the end and die fighting. The job of armed soldiers is to march ahead and repel the attacking enemy. They die in fighting but never retreat. God alone knows what the outcome will be. As it is stated in the *bhajan*, our only wealth is Murari. Our wealth does not consist in money piled up in crores. Even the arms are not our wealth. Whatever is to be done is done only by God. But our duty is to make efforts. And that we should do. So these 1,500 soldiers have made an effort. But they will have really done their duty when all of them lay down their lives in saving Srinagar. And with Srinagar the whole of Kashmir would be saved. What would happen after that?

All that would happen would be that Kashmir would belong to the Kashmiris. I fully agree with Sheikh Abdullah who says that Kashmir belongs to the Kashmiris and not to the Maharaja. But the Maharaja has given all powers to Sheikh Abdullah, leaving it to the Sheikh's discretion to do whatever should be done and save Kashmir if he can. After all, Kashmir cannot be saved by the Maharaja. If anyone can save Kashmir, it is only the Muslims,

the Kashmiri Pandits, the Rajputs and the Sikhs who can do so. Sheikh Abdullah has affectionate and friendly relations with all of them. It is possible that while saving Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah would have to sacrifice his life, his Begum and his daughter would have to die and all women of Kashmir would have to die. And, if that happens, I am not going to shed a single tear. If we are fated to have a war, there will be a war. God alone knows, if it is going to be a war between the two only or others too would be involved. If the aggressors have no support or encouragement of Pakistan, I do not know how they can hold on. Maybe, there is no such encouragement. If the people of Kashmir die in the fighting, who would be left behind? Sheikh Abdullah would have gone, because his lion-heartedness consists in dying while fighting and saving Kashmir to his last breath. He would have saved the Muslims and also the Sikhs and the Hindus. The Sheikh is a devout Muslim. His wife also offers *Namaaz*. She had recited Auz-o-Billahi to me in her melodious voice. I have even gone to his house. He would not let the Hindus and the Sikhs there die before the Muslims. What if the Hindus and the Sikhs are in a minority there? If this is the attitude of the Sheikh and if he has influence on the Muslims, all is well with us. The poison which has spread amongst us should never have spread. Through Kashmir that poison might be removed from us. If they make such a sacrifice in Kashmir to remove that poison, then our eyes also would be opened. The tribesmen are only interested in killing. So they invaded Kashmir and even showed their strength. I know all who are with them. But the result would be that if all the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir sacrificed their lives, that would open our eyes also. Then we would know that not all Muslims were insincere and bad, there were some good men also among them. Similarly it is not true that all Hindus and Sikhs are either good and saintly or worthless and kafirs. I believe that there are good people among all, Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs. And it is due to these good people that the world goes on—not due to the people carrying arms.

This is the substance of the melodious *bhajan* we have heard today. I shall dance with joy even if everybody in Kashmir has to die in defending his land. There would be no sorrow in my heart. The world would go on as usual. All this is the play of God. But we have always to make the effort and that consists in dying while doing the right thing.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 12-6

429. LETTER TO YVONNE PRIVAT

October 30, 1947

MY DEAR BHAKTI[1],

I have just read your consoling letter. I understand and appreciate your view-point. Leave me in the care of the great Unseen and Unknown. I must not be deceived into the belief that all is well when it is not.

Psychoanalysis has been often . . .[2] I have never been able to find time to study it. You should go your way without caring to know what I think about these new modes of thought. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and everything will be added unto you."[3]

I am glad you suffered and got well together in the same room. Do I not know how you used to bathe together in the same bathroom as if you were utterly innocent brother and sister!

My love to you both.

BAPU

MADAME EDMOND PRIVAT
AVENUE DE LA GARE
NEUCHATEL
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat: G. N. 8804

[1] Gandhiji had given this name to the addressee.

[2] Two words are illegible here. *Vide* also Vol. XC, "Letter to Yvonne Privat", 29-11-1947.

[3] *St. Matthew*, vi. 33

430. TALK WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[*October 30, 1947*][1]

Gandhiji told him that the only way for him to vindicate his good faith was sincerely and boldly to condemn the wrong policies and actions of Pakistan.[2] This he himself did not deny. There was, for instance, the invasion by tribesmen of Kashmir. Either Pakistan was behind it, as all circumstantial evidence went to show, or it was not. If Pakistan was involved in it, was it not his duty as an Indian national to proclaim his conviction? On the other hand, if even in the face of the organized forces in such strength in Kashmir, Shaheed maintained that Pakistan had no hand in it, was it not up to him to try to find out who was actually responsible for it?

I suggest to you that it is your duty to ascertain the truth. Nothing would please me more than to find that I was wrong and you were right.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 484

431. TALK WITH SIND CONGRESSMEN

October 30, 1947

If I cannot convince the top leaders of the Congress who have been my co-workers for the last thirty years, I ask myself, 'Where do I stand?' You are in such a pitiable condition that you have come to me for guidance asking in which city of India you can stay peacefully and your children can have education. I pity you but I feel most unhappy with myself and wonder why I was so blind all this while. What I considered as the non-violent force of the brave was in fact passive resistance of the weak! You have come away with your families leaving thousands of your brothers and sisters because you got an opportunity or, allow me to say it, you somehow managed to escape. How could you desert those who trusted you and plunged themselves in the satyagraha struggle under your leadership?

[1] From *Dilhiman Gandhiji*

[2] Suhrawardy had complained that nobody trusted him in the Indian Union.

I don't find fault with you. But you have come out in your true colours and also made me realize that I had followed the wrong path. But I am an optimist. This morning I talked to this girl[1] about faith and hope. God is really testing me, and if I am sincere in my effort to live up to my slogan of 'do or die' and if I am firm in my faith in Ramanama, I will, if I can do nothing else, cheerfully sacrifice myself in this *yajna* of unity with the name of the Faultless and Formless Rama on my lips and not run away from its flames however fierce they may be. It will be enough if I can prove at least by my example that God does grant one the strength to sacrifice oneself in such a manner.

You are just like children to me. Now that you have come to seek my advice, I wish to tell you that you should give up the temptation to settle in a city. If you do not have the necessary courage to go back to Sind, go to the villages with your families and take up some constructive activity. Once you give up this fascination [for cities] you will realize how much you and your families will rise [by living in the villages]. I can only express my view, but you don't have to do anything to please me. Follow the dictates of your heart, only then will you bring credit to yourselves. You will be thoroughly confused if you keep thinking what Bapu likes or does not like and I will not be able to ascertain the true state of affairs and the whole atmosphere will become artificial. I hope you know how much harm false pretences can do.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 167-8

432. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 30, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I was aware of what had been happening here. It pained me very much. Here I wish to make it clear that Birla Bhavan is the house of a private individual. Nothing unbecoming should happen here. Those who wish to come are welcome, but after coming here it is not good manners to raise any objection. Today a gentleman said that he would not allow the prayer to take

[1] Manu Gandhi

place. I wonder whether I should hold the prayer at all under the circumstances. The person who raised the objection went away because you told him to go. He returned and left again. This is not a good thing for me. It means that he is pained at heart. That way I think many of you must be pained because a portion from the Koran is included in the prayer. But I am helpless because it is an inseparable part of my prayer. Do you think I shall not pray if the prayer is not held here? On the one hand my duty tells me that I should pray. It is not that I shall cease to pray if I do not hold the prayer here. I shall pray even if there is none in the world to stand by me. One can pray within one's heart. Here I have to think from the point of view of non-violence. I must see my duty only in that light. I do not like that a man should go away in order that I might hold the prayer. I do not wish to hold the prayer today, nor enter into an argument, still I will because we are passing through a critical time and people are eager to hear what Gandhi has to say. I also wish to speak so that at least people might understand what I wish to tell them. But today I will not enter into an argument, because I am helpless.

I must decide whether I should discontinue the prayer and only continue the discussion. It is a big question. I shall have to think about it. Today I do not wish to say anything on this or argue about it. If I carry on the discussion I will have to leave out the prayer. I will issue a Press statement in this connection.

I came in when I saw that you people had arrived. My culture and non-violence tell me that I should reveal my heart to you and let you know who I am. For me, there is nothing in this world except truth and non-violence. If you realize the meaning of truth and non-violence, great things can be done in the world. I do not wish to indulge in any big talk. Great things happen in the world. But who can change the Law of God? And God cannot change the laws of the world. I think we are all steeped in pride and ignorance and hence believe that truth is too great a thing to be applied to trade and business and in practical life. We wonder how non-violence can work. It is asked when somebody abuses twice, why not abuse him at least once and if somebody abuses why not retort by slapping him? But if we follow such a path, we can make no progress. And we do want to make progress. This, according to me, is the purpose of human life. I cannot remain still. Only God is immovable. But it is stated in the Upanishads that though God is immovable he is also moving. He is

always moving—and He moves in such a way that that motion gives the impression of stillness. Did we know that the sun is stationary and the earth moves? But now we have learnt that what appears to be moving is stationary. Such is the creation of God. God alone is immovable and also moving. We are never still. We are always moving, and since we are moving we have to go ahead. We come out of our mother's womb and grow. In the course of time we grow old. That is the way of life. One who is born has to grow and march forward and he does go forward. Some people think old age is decline. But that is not my view. Old age is like the ripened fruit. That which is destroyed is body, not soul. The soul does not perish, nor does it decay. The soul is always in a process of evolution. And in this world we cannot live without truth and non-violence. Even today I claim that truth and non-violence should be learnt even by children. If the mother learns these things she can teach them to her children also. The mother cannot learn these things in an instant. But it is said that man has been in existence from the beginning of time, since millions and millions of years. We should consider our progress in that context. For that we must have patience. I do not wish to say anything more on this point; but nothing can be done without truth and non-violence. We cannot make any progress without them.

I do not wish to enter into a discussion today. You would be coming tomorrow also. If tomorrow also anyone raises an objection to the recitation from the Koran I shall decide whether I should discuss the matter. If anyone has got an objection he will say so, otherwise they will say that they will have both the prayer and the speech. But the others should know that they should not get angry. If later somebody decides not to allow the people to listen to the prayer and starts shouting, maybe your violence will be provoked, and my non-violence will be put to test. It will also show how far you can go with me. If you will stand by me and adhere to non-violence, I can say with certainty that violence cannot remain unaffected before non-violence. But the condition is that you must do as I say. You must tell me that you will exercise restraint and will not be carried away by anger. That gentleman who protests against the recitation from the Koran is ignorant. What harm has the Koran-e-Sharif done? If the Muslims here have gone astray it does not mean that the Koran is at fault. The Koran written in Arabic is sublime and eternal. I do not think anyone can be more ignorant than one who shows contempt for the Koran. You

must convince the man who objects, in this manner. Of course, if somebody says that he does not want to listen to the prayer at all, I will have the prayer and also make the speech. But I cannot tolerate that you should beat up anybody because I discontinue the prayer. If I am left alone and five persons come up to me wanting to kill me, I would say that my head is ready for them. I would ask why there should be five persons to do that. Even a single man could cut my throat. But still I would hold the prayer. When one's heart is filled with such feelings, one would neither kill a person nor be angry with him. Even if the person raising an objection, whom we could call an uncultured man, shouts at the top of his voice, we will have our prayer. Tomorrow we shall have the prayer as well as the speech. If anyone raises an objection tomorrow, let him do so and leave. I do not wish to ruin myself for his sake. I can carry on my work only by controlling my anger and being patient. Today this is all I wish to say. Now please go home quietly without arguing among yourselves. Think over this at home.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 16-20

433. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 31, 1947

CHI. SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have read the whole of it or, rather, heard it. What you say is right. But we need a lot of money for quite some time. Must we spend so much for each and everything? Should I beg for so much? What does our duty dictate? There is no question of leaving Noakhali. The only question is whether or not we can be self-supporting there, whether the Hindus of Noakhali can bear our expenses. After all, our expenses will not be much. The expense on refugees should be kept separate. My advice is that you think over all this and meet Pyarelal, Jiwan Singh, Kanu and the people at Sodepur and let me know. We must not accept defeat. We should not be short of funds. All good causes get money, that is, there is no need to make special efforts for it. I think I must have been at fault somewhere.

CWMG - LXXIX

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 9286

434. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS

October 31, 1947

CHI. RAMESHWARDAS,

Your letter must have been received. Sushilabehn probably forgot about it. Now she is at Wardha. She will come after some time. Vinoba's father passed away. It is as it should be. Have not all of us to go? The person who gave away his sons for the service of others was indeed a great man. Let us learn from him the lesson of sacrifice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 170

435. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
October 31, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

In my view, disappointing 300 persons for the sake of two or three is also a kind of violence. These people certainly have a right to protest, but courtesy demands that they should not exercise that right in this place which personally belongs to Birla. But who can stop them if they do so? In that case, the remaining members of the audience must put up with them. Let them not be angry with the persons who are protesting or say anything to them either here or outside. I shall carry on the prayer and the recitation from the Koran if you are agreeable to this. Because you are in the majority, you should not think that you can ignore the people who are protesting. If you think you can ignore them, you would be following the path of violence. We must be more concerned about the people who are in the minority. This is what I have been trying to teach all along. In future too I shall, above anything else, try to teach how non-violence works.

The basic principles of truth and non-violence are not difficult to understand. No special degree is needed to learn those principles. Why talk of English, we need not learn even our own mother tongue for it. Whatever is needed for the purpose we learn from our parents in childhood. Practising those principles is even easier. Hence, if you can put up with this much of protest, I shall have the prayer in spite of the protest. Courtesy demands that if anyone is against the recitation from the Koran, he should express his view and leave; he may explain to me later in what way I am harming the Hindu religion. I am a sensible man. If, therefore he is able to convince me, I shall accept his view. Personally, I think I have only done some good to Hinduism. I am not doing this only today—I have been doing this for a long time and, I think, Hinduism has not been tarnished in any way. Through this practice of reciting from the Koran I am able to draw my Muslim friends nearer to me. I have not done anything wrong in this. How nice it would be if I could in the same manner draw the whole world to me and there were none who was my enemy or opponent! But how can that be? I am not so perfect that no one can protest against me. But let me at least learn to put up with those who oppose me. If you also learn to put up with their protest, say nothing to them and accept them with goodwill, they will think that you are all gentlemen. If all of us can follow this path, there is no doubt that the face of India will change. That is why I am asking you if you will put up with these people. Let the police also say nothing to them.[1]

If things go on like this, the result is bound to be good. In today's prayer Shri Dilip Kumar Roy sang: "Let there be love in the temple of your heart." I was pleased by his melodious voice and his art of singing. The sentiment expressed is nothing uncommon but the way it was presented is what we call art. The *bhajan* says that we should make our heart like a temple and install love in it. So this also teaches us non-violence. The composer of this *bhajan* asks man why he should behave like a foolish and ignorant man. He says that if one can light the lamp of love even if only in the temple of one's heart, one will have won the goal of one's life. After that he will see light and brightness in the whole world. There will be no darkness

[1] The audience expressed its approval and then the prayer was held. After the prayer Gandhiji thanked the objectors for remaining silent and also complimented the rest of the gathering for tolerating their protests.

anywhere. Similar miraculous power is to be found in truth and non-violence. This is a very simple and obvious thing. But if we learn even this much, our task in the world will become easier.

I found in Noakhali that the rich had run away from there, leaving the poor behind. The villages in that area are full of people whom we, in our foolishness, call untouchables. As I have toured the area, I know that the people there are very much in distress. The women in that place had even forgotten to wear bangles or apply *sindoor*[1]. Even among the people who have come here from the Punjab and elsewhere I have found that the people with financial resources somehow carry on some occupation or the other. They have money and they also acquire friends. But what can the poor do? Where can they go? In Noakhali there were only the Hindus who were in distress; but in Bihar I found the Muslims also in distress. I told them that those who were dead among them were dead and gone and those who had money and wished to go away could do so, but as for the poor, God alone was their protector. But God does not work with His own hands or mouth. He inspires people and gets His work done through them. But should the rich become such hard-hearted materialists that they should forget God altogether and regard mammon as their God? The rich fled from that place and the poor who are left behind write to me that I should do at least something for them. They look up to me because I have worked for the poor for many years. But what can I do? I have neither strength nor power. But I know about their situation just because they keep me informed.

There are a large number of poor people in the refugee camps in Delhi. There are some rich people too and among them there are some nice people who first feed the poor before eating themselves. That is why I say that the people who have come here should not discriminate between the rich and the poor. If the rich look upon the poor with contempt they will be not religious but irreligious. That is why I would plainly say that the rich should keep the poor along with them. Then alone can we live together in peace and unity.

Recently a European couple visited some of our camps. They were happy to have seen those camps. They said that though there were distinctions between the rich and the poor, the people lived well all the same. The couple have come here only

[1] Vermilion mark, sign of married status

with the intention of serving. If we all work with the name of God on our lips, the refugees from the Punjab would mingle with the people of Delhi even as sugar dissolves in milk.

There are still a large number of Muslims in Delhi. I have seen a list today which, if there is no exaggeration, indicates that hundreds of Muslims have been forcibly converted to Hinduism or Sikhism. I would like to tell the people who have been subjected to forcible religious conversion that even though they have changed their Muslim appearance, if God is installed in their hearts there is no need to shave off their beards or to keep a tuft of hair. Those who wish to read the *Gita* of their own accord may do so by all means. It should be in the spirit in which I read the Koran and derive inner joy. But if somebody compelled me to read the Koran and threatened me with death if I did not oblige, I would say that I had no need of the Koran even if it contained jewels. That is why I would tell those Muslims who have become Hindus or Sikhs that they must stick to their religion. If we compel them to follow our religion, we are destroying Hinduism. Such a thing cannot go on in India forever, and if it does, it will ruin us, and we will lose our independence. I have no doubt that in that case our independence will have become a mere dream. That is why I would like to tell all the Muslims here that they should live without fear. Those who have changed their religion should say that they were in panic at that time, but now they have realized that people who have faith in God are never afraid, and, if at all, they are afraid only of God. It is a good thing to be afraid of God because He is the abode of love, an ocean of compassion. If we are afraid of God we are blessed. But we should never be afraid of man. Hence they would say that they would rather die than change their religion. They can tell the Hindus that the latter might send them to Pakistan if they wished, but cannot drive them out through force.

It is agreed between Liaquat Ali and our Prime Minister that those who wish to go to Pakistan are free to leave, but even Liaquat Ali, the Sardar and Jawaharlal cannot force anybody. There is no such law. So we should keep with love the Muslims who are here. If I am alive, I do not wish to see anything else. There was a time when I cherished the desire to live for 125 years; but now I have given up that desire. If India is destined for bad times, let God take me away. And if India is destined to be great and the situation is going to change, as it should, let God change the hearts of the Muslims and fill them with

thoughts of God. They do take the name of God but they are not doing His work. Similarly, if the Hindus take the name of Krishna or Rama but indulge in killing, their taking those names has no meaning.

Some people say the war has started and they wonder what is going to happen in Kashmir. I say nothing is going to happen. The people of Kashmir are brave. The Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs are living there in unity. The invaders should be told by the Kashmiris that they should go back to their homes. If they are going to attack, they will have to march on their dead bodies. They cannot win Srinagar so easily. Then nobody will touch our soldiers there. If they die, they will become immortal. Then we can dance with joy and sing. If such a situation arises there, I would ask Shri Dilip Kumar Roy to sing such a *bhajan* that people would start dancing—because those who would have died would become immortal and those surviving would be as good as dead. I would not be pained at all about this. Of course, I would be pained if people here lost their senses and Pakistan also went mad. The Afridis are like our brothers and the North-West Frontier Province is our own. Then why should they indulge in such acts? We should know who is giving them help. I would only pray that God may dwell in their hearts and the temples of their hearts be illumined with the flame of love. Then the darkness around us will vanish and we will see light all round. This is my prayer. May you all join me in my prayer that such light should pervade both India and Pakistan that people live together in mutual love. Then we may concentrate our efforts to produce food and clothing which are scarce in the country today. Let us forget that there was ever any animosity among us, and become friends. I only wish that we may devote ourselves to this task.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 20-6

436. TELEGRAM TO KHARAK SINGH[1]

[Before *November 1, 1947*]

I HOPE YOU WILL BEAR THE LOSS.

The Hindustan Times, 1-11-1947

[1] The addressee, an 88-year-old Sikh leader, had lost his only son, Prithipal Singh, who fell into a ravine while trekking from Kulu to Mandi.

437. *HINDUSTANI WRITTEN IN NAGARI ONLY*[1]

Raihanabehn Tyabjee has written a well-argued letter to me favouring Hindustani as the inter-provincial language written exclusively in the Nagari. She rigidly excludes the Urdu script. As all her main arguments have been answered herein, the letter is not being translated.[2] Her letter demands full consideration. Raihanabehn sees no distinction between a Hindu and a Muslim. Both, she holds, come from the same source and she acts accordingly. I have always held that there is no distinction between the two. Even though their observances differ, these do not separate them. They undoubtedly profess different religions but they, like others, come from the same root.

Nevertheless, I detect certain flaws in her arguments.

We are not two nations. Those who believe the Hindus and the Muslims to be two nations harm both the communities and India. It should not matter that the Qaid-e-Azam believes the Hindus and the Muslims of India to be two nations or that there are Hindus too who entertain the same belief. Surely, it does not follow that because the whole world is in error, we, who believe otherwise, should follow it. This should never happen.

If Hindustani is taken to be the inter-provincial language of India, it follows that both the scripts, Nagari and Urdu, should be equally acceptable. If the State recognizes only Nagari as the character in which Hindustani should be written, it would certainly be unjust to our Muslim brethren and when it is remembered that they are a minority the guilt is enhanced.

I have never contended that all the forty crores of Indians have to learn both the scripts. I have, however, held that those who have inter-provincial contacts and who want to serve not merely their own province but the whole of India should know both the scripts. The reason is obvious. They ought to be able to read letters written whether in the Nagari or the Urdu script. Hence, it is necessary that both the scripts are accepted as national.

[1] A Hindi version of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 9-11-1947, under the title "Why Both Scripts?".

[2] The correspondent had argued that insistence on the Urdu script, in pursuance of the policy of appeasement, would only encourage the separatist tendency among the Muslims and they would continue to live like foreigners in India.

If Hindi is to be the national language, naturally Nagari alone will be the national script and if Urdu is to take that place, Urdu script alone will be the national script. But, if Hindustani, which is a resultant of the junction of Hindi and Urdu, is to be the national language, a knowledge of both the scripts is essential in the manner indicated by me.

It is worth remembering that in reality neither the Urdu character nor the Urdu form of the same language is the exclusive property of the Muslims of India. There is quite a large number of Hindus and others whose mother tongue is Urdu and who know only the Urdu character. It is further to be remembered that the necessity of knowing both the scripts was stressed by me on my return from South Africa in 1915. I submitted the same proposition to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Indore as its President.[1] So far as I recollect, there was hardly any opposition to the proposition. It is true that then I did not suggest any alteration in the name[2]. The definition, however, was the same as that of today. When perfect anarchy prevails in the thought world and we express different views without regard to facts, it is obligatory that we should have one strong helm to weather any storm.

In so far as it is believed that the Muslims only are concerned with the retention of the Urdu character, at this juncture it becomes our special duty to emphasize the necessity of Hindustani written in either character. This should appear self-evident. Whatever were the reasons in justification, it must be admitted that within the Union in many places the Muslims have been dealt with harshly. It would be beside the point to contend that Pakistan made the beginning with harsh treatment against the Hindus and the Sikhs. For the State to ordain that the inter-provincial script in the Union shall be only the Nagari, it would be an imposition upon the Muslims. If the result of the act of justice is to be that the Muslims are to confine themselves to the Urdu character and gratuitously regard the word Hindustani as synonymous with Urdu, it would amount to cussedness and perhaps a sign that their hearts are not in the Union.

It would be confusion of thought for Raihanabehn to argue that keeping of the Urdu character side by side with the Nagari would be construed to be in pursuance of the policy of appeasement. Though the word has come to have a bad odour about it, I would submit that appeasement can be a praiseworthy duty, as

[1] In March, 1918. *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 294-5.

[2] Of the national language, viz., Hindustani

it can also be at times a blameworthy gesture. Thus, for instance, it can conceivably be a duty on the part of a brother to walk with his brother towards the North whilst alone he would have gone to the South. But it would certainly be criminal for him, a confirmed teetotaller, to drink spirituous liquors with his drunken brother in order to appease him. He would then harm both himself and his brother. I must not recite the *Kalma* in order to appease or flatter my Muslim brother, as he must not recite the *Gayatri*[1] in order to appease or flatter me. It would be another matter if both of us recite either at will because we believe the two incantations as one in essence. I hold that it is so. Hence it is that in the daily recital of the Ashram prayers, among the eleven observances occurs equal respect for all the accepted religions in the world. The upshot of all this argument is that the policy of appeasement is not always bad. It may even become a duty at times.

This sister further says that the Nagari script is, comparatively speaking, fairly perfect, whereas the Urdu script is imperfect and difficult to decipher. To write Sanskrit words in Urdu script is, she holds, well-nigh impossible. There is some force in these three statements. They amount to this that the Devanagari script though comparatively perfect admits of improvement and the Urdu script demands it because it is imperfect. It will be difficult for Raihanabehn to sustain the charge that it is not possible to write Sanskrit words in the Urdu script. I have in my possession the whole of the *Gita* transcribed in that script. Improvement is possible only when fanaticism has died out. After all, what is the Sindhi alphabet but an improved edition of the Urdu script?

Lastly, I suggest to Raihanabehn that her letter under discussion is a fine specimen of Hindustani. She has woven in that letter Urdu words as freely as Sanskrit words. The beauty of Hindustani is that it has no quarrel either with Sanskrit or with Arabic words. In order to strengthen Hindustani consistently with its genius, if a language can be said to have a 'genius', it must borrow from all the languages of the world. Its grammar must remain as it always has been in indigenous Hindi. Thus the plural of 'Hindu' in Hindustani will always be Hindu-o (हिंदुओ) and not Hunud (हुनुद) as it is in highly Arabicized Urdu. Raihanabehn is an Urdu scholar. Though not a scholar in Hindi, she knows it well. She reads and writes both the

[1] The sacred hymn invoking the creative energy of the sun

Nagari and Urdu characters. When I was in the Yeravda prison she and Zohra Ansari[1] were my Urdu teachers. Naturally, they taught me through correspondence. My advice, therefore, to her is that she should devote her energy to the strengthening and spreading of Hindustani and making the teaching of the two characters as easy as possible. This work she can only do, if her ignorance, as I call it, is removed. If what she has now begun to believe is true, I could have nothing to say to her. Then indeed, I shall have to unlearn the past and learn a new lesson and displace the Urdu character from the position which I think it should occupy.

NEW DELHI, November 1, 1947
Harijan, 9-11-1947

438. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN[2]

November 1, 1947

Usually your letters are models of accurate thinking. This one before me is not. You talk of 'my decision to live 125 years'. I never could make any such foolish and impossible decision. It is beyond the capacity of a human being. He can only wish. Again, I never expressed an unconditional wish. . . . My wish was conditional upon continuous act of service of mankind. If that act fails me, as it seems to be failing in India, I must not only cease to wish to attain that age but should wish the contrary as I am doing now.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, p. 463

[1] Adopted daughter of Dr. M. A. Ansari, married to Shaukat Ansari

[2] The addressee, who had been Gandhiji's secretary in South Africa, had written : "Far from losing your desire to live until you are 125, increasing knowledge of the world's lovelessness and consequent misery should cause you rather to determine to live longer still. . . . You said in a letter to me some time ago that everyone ought to wish to attain the age of 125, you can't go back on that."

439. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

When you came to see me yesterday, I simply forgot that it was your birthday.[1] I could not, therefore, give you my blessings personally. Such is my plight today.

I write this for special reasons:

1. Refugees are crowding near the Birla Mandir. It is not possible for all of them to live there and they huddle together somehow. They must be removed to a camp and that too quickly.

2. I enclose a letter regarding mosques. It is only one of many such. A statement should be issued that all of them will be protected from abuse and whatever damage they might have suffered will be repaired by the Government.

3. It should be announced that those who were forcibly converted to Hinduism or Sikhism will be regarded by the Government as not having changed their religion and will receive adequate protection.

4. No Muslim will be forced to leave the Union.

5. Those who have been compelled to vacate their houses or whose houses have been illegally occupied by others, should be assured that such occupation will be regarded as null and void and that the houses will be reserved for the original owners.

I think it is necessary to issue such a statement.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 376-7

[1] The addressee had completed his seventy-second year on October 31.

[2] Defining the Government's policy the addressee issued a statement on November 6, assuring adequate protection to Muslims who owed allegiance to the Indian Union.

440. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I have your letter.[1] You are needlessly finding fault with your brothers. When all had lost courage they too did not risk their lives. It is enough if we ourselves stand firm. Let us not sit in judgment on others though they may be our relatives.

You are fickle-minded. It is one and the same whether you are in Noakhali or in the Punjab. It is not that your place is only in the Punjab. Your place is everywhere. Nevertheless you are your own mistress. Do as you wish. Where is the need for my permission? If it is really needed then my words should go deep into your heart. You should have that much faith. Look into your heart and do as it bids. Do not bother about me.

Keep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 590

441. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Brajkishan tells me that the gentleman who protested yesterday is protesting today also. I like his protest and at the same time I do not like it. I like it because of its peaceful and dignified nature. If he disapproves of something, why should he not express it? And you too maintained silence here and outside and did not argue with him. So, from that point of

[1] The addressee, who was working in Noakhali to establish communal harmony, had written to Gandhiji that she felt it was her duty to go and live in Patiala since her brothers had come away from there and hardly a Muslim was left there.

view I liked the protest. But what pains me is that he is not convinced by what I explained yesterday with such humility and firmness. It was not such a difficult matter after all, and could be grasped by people with ordinary intelligence. But when a person is angry at heart, I feel happy when that anger is expressed in a peaceful manner. That is why I am happy as well as sad. I take it for granted and hope that today also you will not show any anger and treat him with love as you had done yesterday. Then of course I would start my prayer. I do not see any harm when people protest with such politeness. Such a protest would carry for us a lesson in peace and we would learn how the lofty principle of non-violence works. If we continue to behave like this, we will realize what miraculous strength ahimsa possesses.[1]

Today also you heard a *bhajan* in the same melodious voice. Is it not said in the *bhajan* that "we belong to a land where there is no sorrow and no suffering"? Then the *bhajan* also says that "there is no illusion and no greed, and such other enemies of ours are also not there". But where can we find such a land? On an earlier occasion when Sucheta Devi[2] had sung that *bhajan* for us I had given two interpretations.[3] My first interpretation was that the poet had India in his mind. He had a wish, a dream of what he would like his country to be. But that is not the situation at present. The *bhajan* was composed before August 15, but such was not the condition even then. Anger, greed, attachment, pride, infatuation, jealousy, all these six enemies of man were there. These six include all other enemies of humankind. Then there was hunger and there was poverty and there were no clothes to wear— we were then surrounded by all those troubles. But did the poet not wish that his country should be free from those troubles? But how could our country be free from these troubles? This calls for the second interpretation. Is this not the country which has been described in the *Gita* as Kurukshetra[4] as well as *dharmakshetra*[5]. If our mind

[1] After this the prayer went off peacefully. Dilip Kumar Roy sang the *bhajan*, "We belong to a land where there is no sorrow and no sigh."

[2] Sucheta Kripalani; in-charge, Foreign Department in A. I. C. C.; Joint-Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust; Member, Constituent Assembly; President, Delhi Central Refugee Committee; Minister of Labour, U. P., 1962; Chief Minister, U. P., 1963

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 161 and 189-90.

[4] Literally 'field of Kuru'—the scene of war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Symbolically it means a battlefield.

[5] The field of duty; Ch. I, 1

is the temple of God then it is *dharmakshetra*, but if the mind gives itself up to self-indulgence it becomes Kurukshetra, a battlefield. We have innumerable enemies like the Kauravas[1] whose father was blind. But isn't Yudhishthira[2] the symbol of *dharmakshetra*? That is why Yudhishthira was named Dharmaraja. Such is our land where there is no sorrow and no suffering. We can all be like this; but have I not mentioned the conditions we have to fulfil to be so? Then ours would be the land where God resides. Later on, the poet has also called it *swadesh* and swaraj. And he is right. After independence India would be a country without misery and sorrow. But I have never found our country in a poorer state than today. Even the history that I have read from my childhood days does not depict India as I find her today. This *bhajan* is intended only to end that situation. It is said in the *bhajan* that everything will be well if we make our mind a temple and install God in it.

While there are people who are hungry and have nothing to wear, here we are seated fully clothed. I have also wrapped myself in a sheet so that I may not feel cold. A lady doctor came to me today. She came from Kurukshetra[3]. She had been doing a lot of work in the Punjab. She had been nursing Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and the rest. She had to run away from there and had come as a refugee. Sushila[4] suggested to her to work at Kurukshetra as there was nothing else to be done, and took her with her. Today she has come here to report the situation there. Today our Munshiji is present here. His daughter too has become a doctor. Instead of just sitting idle she said she would do something. So she also went there. That lady doctor told me today that people did receive medical attention there but there were not enough doctors. So many people have been crowded into that place and there is so much hardship and suffering that two or three lady doctors are not enough. A large number of doctors is needed there. If doctors go there they will be of some help. They are not quacks like me. They should have allopathic medicines since they are allopathic doctors. They do not have enough medicines with

[1] The hundred sons of Dhritarashtra. The Kauravas represent the forces of evil.

[2] The eldest of the five Pandava brothers, known for his righteousness. The Pandavas represent the forces of good.

[3] More than twenty-five thousand Hindu and Sikh refugees were living in the refugee camp at Kurukshetra.

[4] Dr. Sushila Nayyar

them, but medicines should be supplied to them. There are women and there are children. Those women were not always beggars. There are also women with one child in the womb and another in the lap. Such is our condition at present.

Whom should we blame for this? Somebody may say that the Government is inefficient. But did the Government know that there would be so much trouble? We had never had any experience of ruling the country. It is just two months since the Government came into power. How could we have coped with such a calamity? We have got to put up with it. But, while putting up with it if we lose our heads and do not control our anger and insist on giving two blows for one, this thing will never end. We shall then have no right to sing this *bhajan*. If we sing the *bhajan*, we should do so with genuine feeling. If we possess a melodious voice it should not be confined only to singing sweet songs. It should be used for worshipping God. It will be well if that melody kindles a divine feeling in some heart.

On the one hand we are facing such a situation and on the other is the problem of Kashmir. From the number of planes going from here, I guess they are all carrying soldiers.[1] Some cowards are running away from there. Why should they do so? And where will they go? Why should they not put up a brave fight and lay down their lives? At this rate even if the whole of Kashmir is razed to the ground I am not going to be affected. I would gladly ask you also to rejoice over it, but on the condition that everybody, young and old, should die there valiantly. If anyone asks why the children also should die there, I will say that the children cannot go anywhere. In any case they stay with their parents. Those people are all there in Kashmir, how can we provide them with arms? A person like me does not need arms. After all, if we are alive, we have to sacrifice our lives. Then alone can we say that the soul is immortal. If we do not do this, it means that we confuse our soul with our body and worship the body. But the body has to die one day. If the child is on the mother's lap, when the mother dies he also dies. And when one has got to die, let him die willingly. Let them say that if the Afridis have come to destroy them they will prefer to perish of their own accord. Even the soldiers who have gone there would die with

[1] Besides the Indian Air Force transport, a large number of civilian aircrafts were commandeered by the Government to fly soldiers and ammunition to Kashmir.

pleasure. They have gone there to die. When can they remain alive? Only when they know that everything is safe and there is no invasion on Kashmir and peace is well-established. Now Kashmir is in the hands of Sheikh Abdullah. He regards the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as his brothers. He is a friend of all foreigners, including the Englishmen, who go and live in Kashmir. He invites everyone to enjoy the beauty of Kashmir and taste its fruits. Kashmiri crafts are wonderful. People weave beautiful cloth with their own hands and charge any price they want. Why should they not do so since Kashmir ultimately lives by its crafts? So, the Sheikh is now the ruler of Kashmir. The Maharaja is there of course. But the Sheikh is the ruler in the name of the Maharaja. The Maharaja himself has told him that he may do whatever he wants. If Kashmir is to remain it will remain and if it has to pass out of their hands it will pass out.

Look at what is happening at Kurukshetra on the one hand, and Kashmir on the other, and also think of all the hardships that have to be faced here. So many Muslims have fled to Pakistan. Those who are running away without any reason may well do so. Who can stop them? But some of them also go away because they are afraid of us. I feel ashamed when some Muslim friends come and tell me that they can no longer stick to their places, for they do not know when they might be killed. It pains me that fear has taken such roots in their hearts. Then a woman came and told me that she was feeling scared because a Pathan was after her. My heart cries out when I hear such things. Still I ask, why should there be any fear of a Pathan or anyone else when one has the support of God? But one can be fearless only when one knows that one has God with him. When a chaste woman faces a rogue who may be a Pathan or a Hindu or a Sikh—for it is not that only the Pathans are rogues; there are rogues to be found everywhere and they too can be as lustful —she would tremble at the sight of him. But why should she be scared? You do believe that Sita was never scared. She was not frightened even when Ravana carried her away on his shoulder. She went on repeating that her husband was Rama and he was right beside her. And as Rama was God incarnate, she warned Ravana that he would be reduced to ashes if he dared to touch her. She was just a tiny woman but she was pure and because of her purity she was not afraid. Purity is the most powerful weapon. If we wish to free ourselves from such a misfortune, we must all follow what is said in the *bhajan*. If all the

women and men who come to attend the prayer follow this, this transformation will spread throughout the country like the fragrance of the rose. Today we have all lost our senses. But with the coming of purity the present calamity will be swept away like dirt. I would only pray to God that we may all be good, that Kashmir may be free from the present trouble and all may be well with the people who have come here as refugees.

As that lady doctor has reported, some goondas have entered the Kurukshetra Camp. Even after getting a blanket, the same person comes again for a second blanket. Such persons do not realize that all the people there do not have enough to wear and cover themselves. There are countless women at Kurukshetra who are still wearing the same clothes with which they had arrived. I cannot even bear to hear about these things—who knows what will happen if I have to see these things? Surely that lady doctor cannot be exaggerating when she claims to have seen with her own eyes that that is the way things are going on there.

All I wish to say is that we should realize where our *adharma*[1] is taking us. We should think whether or not we are settling down at any point and then ask ourselves if we are residing in a land where there is no suffering and no sorrow.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 26-32

442. INTERVIEW TO RONALD STEAD[2]

[Before *November 2, 1947*]

Ronald Stead discussed with Mahatma Gandhi the crucial issue of how best to combat India's internecine violence. In a single brief sentence Gandhiji defined his long-range objective "to replace communal hatred by communal brotherhood".

Stead reports :

Mahatma Gandhi makes it clear that he is reluctant to discuss the recent troubled past.

He has criticized the misbehaviour of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. In this connection he observes with a little smile:

I used to be represented as an enemy of the Muslims. Now, because I castigate the Hindus for misdemeanours which they, like the Muslims, have been guilty of, I am being represented in

[1] Failure to act according to one's duty

[2] Correspondent of *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston

CWMG - LXXIX

some quarters as an enemy of the Hindus. The fact is, I am an enemy only of wrongdoing.

Mahatma Gandhi describes the situation in Calcutta as satisfactory but says that Delhi is decidedly otherwise. That is why his original plans were altered. He asks:

How can I go on to the Punjab, when so much remains to be done here?

Mahatma Gandhi's long-range plans for supplanting communal animosity by communal tolerance are the same as those he is executing now. That is to say, he is going to address the maximum number of persons in public now. Evening prayer meetings furnish regular opportunities for doing this. He is going to hold counsel with as many responsible leaders as seek to discuss matters with him. He is going to visit refugee concentrations and address himself to reassuring the minorities, urging them not to migrate and seeking to foster among the majority the tolerance that will justify such persuasion.

The Hindustan Times, 2-11-1947

443. LEST WE COPY THE BRITISH

Whilst I cannot vouch for the figures given by Prof. Bang, there is no hesitation in endorsing his remarks about the high salaries he refers to and the gross disparity between the highest and the lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Governments.[1]

NEW DELHI, November 2, 1947
Harijan, 9-11-1947

[1] Prof. T. K. Bang's article under this title is not reproduced here. The Professor had written that the announcement of the salaries of the Governors being fixed at Rs. 5,500 per month was contrary to the Congress Resolution and it falsified the hope that along with the Imperialism the top-heavy expensive administration would go. He questioned, "how could the entire administrative machine work as one man with enthusiasm towards the social and ameliorative legislation when there was such a colossal difference between the salary of the peon and that of the Governor." In his opinion the Government could not afford to pay fabulous sums.

444. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 2, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

The interpretations of some critics of the Koran are not correct.[1] By reading the Koran I do not fall from Hinduism, rather, I rise high. It is my claim that I am in no way less of a Hindu than the greatest of Hindus, in India or outside, since I believe in the Vedas, read the *Gita* and follow its principles in action. I have been taught from my childhood that there is no place in the world where there is no God.

Brajkishan tells me that the number of persons who have raised objection is somewhat large today. These people say that they are very much against the recitation from the Koran, but they put up with it because they wish to hear me. But where is the need for putting up with it? It would bring no good to them or to me. If they wish to join me in the prayer, then it is well to put up with it. Let them not put up with it because I am *Mahatma* or because I have rendered service to the country and they wish to see me. That is why I am asking if you are truly keen on having the prayer.[2]

You must have read in the newspapers, but I also have some information about what is happening in Kashmir. It should be said that things are quite all right there now. By that I mean that Srinagar is still intact.[3] The freebooters have not yet been able to take possession of the city. Later on it should become all the more difficult to do so. The plunderers are no fighters. The whole world is going to look down upon them because they have not gone there by right. With the passage of time terrorism is diminishing. Things are in favour of the army which has gone there and it is gaining time. We cannot send a very large army by air, for it involves a lot of trouble. But I gather that the Government is being helped in every way. [Private airlines] are all willingly helping and that is why

[1] Some persons had again protested against the recitation from the Koran.
[2] Gandhiji continued his speech after the prayer with everybody's consent.
[3] The tribesmen advancing on Srinagar were repulsed by the Indian troops.

troops are easily sent by planes. The planes do not belong to the Government. The private companies owning the planes have handed them over to the Government with the idea of helping in a worthwhile cause.

One thing more — we all praise Subhas Babu's intelligence and courage for mobilizing the Azad Hind Fauj. And he does deserve our praise, for while he was out of the country he felt it would be worth while to organize an army. He was not a soldier. He was an ordinary Indian like any lawyer or barrister. He had no military training. He might have learnt horse-riding as is usual with men in the Civil Service. But he must have studied military science later on. Now, I gather that two officers[1] of the army he had raised, and whom I had met while they were in prison and outside also, have joined the aggressors in Kashmir. This hurts me very much. They used to carry out special assignments under Subhas Babu and used to be always with him. Subhas Babu could not have kept anything secret from the army personnel because he had to work through them. It hurts me that those very persons are now going about as leaders of the freebooters. Through the newspapers, if they are getting any, or if they care to listen to me, I would ask them in my failing voice why they should involve themselves in this affair and bring down Subhas Babu's name. Why should they side either with the Hindus or the Muslims? They should not take a communal stand. That was not Subhas Babu's way. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Harijans, all used to rally round him. There was no discrimination against the Harijans or anyone else. There was no communal distinction among the Indians in that army. Of course all of them adhered to their respective religions, none of them had abandoned it. Subhas Babu had taken possession of their hearts, not of their bodies. It was not as if those who refused to join the Azad Hind Fauj were to be slain. He was not going to bring freedom to India by killing people like this. That is how he became great and earned fame. Why should these people now stoop so low and get involved in such mean things? If they really want to do something, let them do something for the whole of India. Let them restrain the Muslims and the Afridis from committing atrocities, plundering the people and burning the villages. Let them persuade them to write to the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah that they want to meet them. They must tell them

[1] According to the *Daily Express* correspondent in Kashmir, one of them was Major Khurshid Anwar.

that they have not gone there to plunder. If they do so I can understand their point that they have gone there to show that Islam is being crushed. Then they would be lending glory to Subhas Babu's name and would become true teachers of the Afridis. I do not know how the Afridis live and if there are any plunderers among them. But in my view even they are human beings. The same God resides in their hearts and hence they are my brethren. If I were to live among them I would ask them why they indulge in loot and plunder and show anger towards others. I would not ask them to give up their arms. I would ask them to keep their arms, but in order to protect the people who are scared, to protect the indigent, the women and children. What does it matter if they are Hindus or Muslims? I would tell those two officers, whose names I have already come to know, that they should remember Subhas Babu. He is dead but not his name and not his work.

Now my mind turns to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. I know him well. I used to go to his house. Once I had visited him 18 times.[1] I consider it a penance. Even on a later occasion we two had put our signatures on a document[2] and had become responsible for it. I used to have cordial talks with him even then. That is the reason why I would ask him, Liaquat Ali and his Cabinet what had prompted them to accuse a man like Jawaharlal of fraud.[3] Where was the need for him and his Government to act fraudulently in this? I would tell them that Jawaharlal is not a man who will deceive anyone. He is true to his name. I also know the Sardar and other men in his Cabinet. They too are no cheats. If they want to negotiate with [the Maharaja of] Kashmir it does not mean that they are trying to misguide him. Jawaharlal had been having talks with him even earlier and fighting single-handed with him for the sake of Sheikh Abdullah.[4] Why then should he deceive? Can India or any country be saved by deceiving? Why then do they say such a thing? The Afridis who have infiltrated into Kashmir must be receiving some encouragement

[1] In September, 1944, *vide* Vol. LXXVIII

[2] In April, 1947, *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 261.

[3] Refusing to accept Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union, the Government of Pakistan issued a Press communique on October 30 saying, "In the opinion of the Government of Pakistan the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union is based on fraud and violence and as such cannot be recognized."

[4] The Government of India had earlier taken up the matter of Sheikh Abdullah's incarceration with the Kashmir State authorities. Sheikh Abdullah who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for demanding a responsible government in the State, was released in September, 1947.

from Pakistan for indulging in their activities. How could they do it otherwise ? If I had been in Pakistan I would have stopped them from indulging in such things. If Pakistan was disinterested, they could not resort to such things. But here Pakistan is not indifferent but very much involved.

Two Hindu gentlemen have come to me—one from Karachi and the other from Lahore. The man from Karachi tells me that the situation had been bad in Karachi but now things are improving day by day. So now, they asked, would I appeal to the people there not to panic? The Sindhi Muslims there have lived with the Hindus in amity. They have quarrelled on many occasions, but have become friends again. I have been a witness to that. It is not that things have become perfectly normal there. But the Cabinet wants it to be so. The other gentleman tells me that all the big mansions in Lahore have been destroyed. There are not many Hindus left in Lahore—only a handful of them are there. But the Cabinet desires that the Hindus and Sikhs, all should live there. Of course, there is some objection about the Sikhs staying there. Nevertheless, quite a few Sikhs are there. A wonderful thing I learnt about Lahore is that a Muslim gentleman has kept a Sikh in his own house. The gentleman who came to me narrated what he had seen with his own eyes. He said that that Muslim had kept an open copy of the Guru Granthsaheb in one of the rooms of his house with due respect. He has saved that Sikh because he happens to be his friend. This makes me very happy. Subsequently a Sikh gentleman came and told me that such things have happened in many places where Muslim friends gave shelter in their houses to Sikhs. I have received such information from both the places. Then why should the Muslims in such large numbers be driven away to Pakistan ? And why should Hindus and Sikhs run away from Pakistan and seek refuge here? Where will it all lead to? Would it not be that we will all be ruined? People cannot live in comfort when they leave their homes. One can live in comfort only in one's own home. When one leaves the home he can have neither proper food nor proper clothes. Right now people in the refugee camps are shivering in cold. They ask why they have been treated thus. They want to know why their Government did this to them. What was their fault that they have to face such hardships? They feel that there they were surrounded by the Muslims and here they are surrounded by the Hindus. How long will this continue and what would be the result? God alone knows the result. But all the same, these things pain me very much.

Why does the Qaid-e-Azam of Pakistan say that the Hindus and the Sikhs are the enemies of Muslims? There are evil-minded men among the Hindus and Sikhs and also among the Muslims. But it is wrong to condemn the entire community. With all humility I would request the entire Cabinet and people that they should all become good if they wish that India should not be destroyed and passed on into the hands of others.

I cannot thank enough those persons who protested in such a courteous manner against the recitation from the Koran today. This would enable them to work non-violently. They acted rightly when they expressed their disapproval of the verses from the Koran. I am glad that they allowed the prayer to be conducted without any obstruction. In this way, we are creating divine power for India. It is a gradual process. It cannot happen as if by magic. But ultimately such a power would be created. It is my prayer to God that He may grant good sense to the two senior officers of the Azad Hind Fauj and that the ship of India, which at the moment is unsteady, may start sailing smoothly in calm waters.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 32-7

445. LETTER TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

CHI. CHAMPA,

I got your letter. It does not satisfy me. Nor does Dhiren's[1]. All sorts of doubts occur to me. I need not mention them. How can I spare so much time? It will be safe if you follow Bhansali's advice. Never mind if my views don't agree with his. He is a man of great renunciation and a pious man, and has seen both the good and the evil in the world. He respects you as a good woman and trusts Dhiren. He doesn't believe that the Ashram is a true ashram. But what does even that matter? He says what he sincerely believes to be true. My consent, therefore, is not at all necessary. I shall not be able to give my blessings. For me Sevagram itself is good enough, and I don't mind whether or not it is called an ashram. Moreover, Chimanlal and Bhansali also are not of the same view. You may, therefore,

[1] Dhirendra, son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

CWMG - LXXIX

marry Indira[1] to Dhiren but should leave the Ashram. I am sure you would not wish to live as a burden on the Ashram. Bhansali will be able to make some provision for you in the Sevagram village. After Dhiren's marriage, you will be able to stay with them. Moreover, they are a large family and, if they all bless the marriage, you will be able to live even in Wardha. Even if the rent is high that will be no cause of worry for you. You may therefore do as all the members of that family advise you.

Neither Indira nor Dhiren, nor you need come here. I don't wish to involve myself in this matter. Moreover, I cannot spare a single minute to discuss this problem. It will, therefore, be best to be guided by the elders there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./XX

446. LETTER TO GOPALJI

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

BHAI GOPALJI,

The selected flowers from the *Ramayana* which you sent are welcome. I will enjoy their fragrance occasionally. How can I ever forget it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 5700

447. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

I got your letter.

I cannot excuse your falling or remaining ill. How can a *vaid* who remains ill himself cure other people? This applies to you *vaids* as to *hakims* and doctors.

You can stay in the bungalow at Panchgani. It is meant to be given rent-free only to Harijans. But it is given on rent to other respectable people also when it is not occupied.

[1] Addressee's daughter

You may use the accompanying letter[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 2924. Courtesy : Vallabhram Vaidya

448. LETTER TO BULSARIA

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

BHAI BULSARIA,

Please lease out to Vaidyaraj Vallabhram as large a portion of your bungalow as you can spare.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

449. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 3, 1947

When you write in English, I consider it an affront to me, to yourself and to the whole country. Don't you know the Gujarati proverb that 'the first impression which the new bride creates at home and the new king creates in the public tends to become permanent'? In the same way now that we have swaraj and still use English instead of Hindustani, to whom shall I address myself? The ocean is on fire. This much should suffice. I have no time at all nor the zest to write more. . . .[2]

[From Gujarati]
Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 187

450. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 3, 1947

I saw your letter only now, after listening to the sweet and sad *bhajan* containing Draupadi's prayer[3]: "O God, guard me against insult." I am also in a similar predicament today. Draupadi had

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] Omission as in the source
[3] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 417.

CWMG-LXXIX

mighty Bhima and Arjuna and the truthful Yudhishthira as husbands; she was the daughter-in-law of men like Dronacharya, Bhishma and Vidura, and yet amidst an assembly of people it appeared she was in a terrible plight. At that hour, she did not lose faith and prayed to God from her heart. And God did protect her honour. This *bhajan* has a deep significance. One can go on expatiating on it. Today I also am seated in a 'palatial' house, surrounded by loving friends. Still, I am in a sad plight. Yet there is God's help, as I find each day. Ultimately Delhi will decide the destiny of the whole country. Our hearts have also become filled with much dirt. I am striving to remove it. But if I do not succeed I would not wish to remain a helpless spectator. I have therefore given up my desire to live for 125 years. May God give good sense to all.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 186-7

451. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO AN ASHRAM WOMAN

November 3, 1947

I notice that differences of opinion have cropped up among my political co-workers, though there are a good many exceptions, I am speaking of the general situation. Similarly, I understand that in the Ashram also purity has become a thing of the past. God alone knows what the real situation is inside the Ashram, since I have been out of it for the past one year. And yet I continue to live because, for me, life itself is a great truth. I look upon life as a particle of God and take care of it as His gift.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 188

452. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

November 3, 1947

There is a lesson for us in these two letters[1] coming together. We should learn to absorb pleasure as well as pain with equanimity.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 188

[1] Gandhiji had received two letters. One of them addressed him as "Shri-krishna Bhagawan" and praised him, while the other addressed him as "Mohammed Gandhi" and condemned him.

453. NOTE TO K. M. MUNSHI[1]

November 3, 1947

I have not been able to swallow all the arguments that have been put forward in support of control. I am getting more and more confirmed in my view that there must be no control.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 188

454. LETTER TO M. A. HUNAR

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

CHI. HUNAR,

I have your letter. Pandit Sundarlal[2] was with me yesterday. I told him also about all that was happening. I had asked Jivanji. I am sending on his opinion. There is no work for you there and I, of course, have no work for you. Therefore Sundarlal says that he will utilize your services or make some other arrangement for you. I do not want to keep you in suspense, nor do I wish your services to remain unutilized. Now please write to me what would be the right thing to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had come to discuss the food situation with Gandhiji.

[2] (1886-1981); nationalist leader and a prolific writer; member of Congress Working Committee, 1930-31; started a number of magazines including *Karmayogi*; wrote *Bharatmen Angrezi Raj* and a comparative study of the *Gita* and the Koran; President of All-India Peace Council; Founder-President of India-China Friendship Association

CWMG - LXXXIX

455. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

NEW DELHI,
November 3, 1947

If two quantities of poison mix together, who will decide which was first on the field and if such a decision could be arrived at what end would it serve? We know this, however, that the virus has spread throughout the Western Pakistan area and that it has not as yet been recognized as such by the powers that be. So far as the Union is concerned, it has been confined to a small part of it. Would to God that the virus would remain under isolation and control! There would then be cause for every hope that it would be expelled in due time and that soon from both the parts.

In view of the fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has called a meeting of the Premiers or their representatives and others to help and advise him in the matter of food control, I feel that I should devote this evening to that very important question. Nothing that I have heard during these days has moved me from the stand I have taken from the beginning that the control should be entirely removed at the earliest moment possible, certainly not later than six months hence. Not a day passes but letters and wires come to me, some from important persons, declaring emphatically that both the controls should be removed. I propose to omit the other, i. e., cloth control for the time being.

Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black market and to artificial scarcity. Above all it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative, it undoes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation. It makes them spoon-fed. This is a tragedy next only, if indeed not equal, to the fratricide on a vast scale and the insane exchange of population resulting in unnecessary deaths, starvation and want of proper residence and clothing the more poignant for the coming inclement weather. The second is certainly more spectacular. We dare not forget the first because it is not spectacular.

This food control is one of the vicious legacies of the last World War. Control then was probably inevitable because a very

[1] It being Gandhiji's silence day, his written speech was read out after the prayers.

large quantity of cereals and other food-stuff were exported outside. This unnatural export was bound to create a man-made scarcity and lead to rationing in spite of its many drawbacks. Now there need be no export which we can avoid if we wish to. We would help the starving parts of the world, if we do not expect outside help for India in the way of food. I have seen during my lifetime covering two generations several God-sent famines, but have no recollection of an occasion when rationing was even thought of.

Today, thank God, the monsoons have not failed us. There is, therefore, no real scarcity of food. There are enough cereals, pulses and oil-seeds in the villages of India. The artificial control of prices, the growers do not, cannot, understand. They, therefore, refuse willingly to part with their stock at a price much lower than they command in the open market. This naked fact needs no demonstration. It does not require statistics or desk-work civilians buried in their red-tape files to produce elaborate reports and essays to prove that there is scarcity. It is to be hoped that no one will frighten us by trotting out before us the bogey of over-population.

Our ministers are of the people, from the people. Let them not arrogate to themselves greater knowledge than those experienced men who do not happen to occupy ministerial chairs—but who hold the view strongly that the sooner the control is removed the better. A physician writes to say that the food control has made it impossible for those who depend upon rationed food to procure eatable cereals and pulses and therefore, he says, the people needlessly suffer from ailments caused by rotten stuff.

In the place of controlled food, the Government can easily run the very stores for selling good grain which they will buy in the open market. They will thus bring about automatic regulation of prices and set free the hoarded cereals, pulses and oil-seeds. Will they not trust the grain dealers and growers? Democracy will break under the strain of apron strings. It can exist only on trust. If the people die because they will not labour or because they will defraud one another, it will be a welcome deliverance. The rest will then learn not to repeat the sin of being lazy, idle or cruelly selfish.

Harijan, 16-11-1947

CWMG - LXXXIX

456. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 4, 1947

I have your long letter. I shall give my reply in the prayer today.[1] I do not have time even to read long letters, much less to write them. But I have read all your arguments. If you don't mind shall I tell you a few things? You are more than a son to me; hence it is my duty to tell you what is right. Many people consider themselves smart and intelligent when they can argue about something. But one who does not bear in mind the time, the place, the circumstances and the occasion for it, ultimately loses his place in society. Keep this rule in mind. I am all right. I am in the midst of this violent conflagration. Although I am in a house as big as a palace in the grand city of Hindustan, I think of the plight of innocent children and thousands of women in this cold season. My heart bleeds but I do not cry. I do not believe in crying. In the end I have to do or die. I wish God grants this humble prayer of mine.

You wish to come here to serve me. But what will you do? It is enough if one who wishes to serve me joins me in this prayer and spreads the feeling of brotherhood wherever he is. I am dictating this letter to Manu immediately after the morning prayer. My Bengali lessons are going on all right.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 192-3

457. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

NEW DELHI,
November 4, 1947

CHI. BHANSALI,

I have your letter. Please read my letter[2] to Champa. You will be able to see from it how I feel. I did not approve of your decision. But that makes no difference. How can I say that I

[1] *Vide* pp. 471-5.
[2] *Vide* pp. 462-3.

am right and you are wrong? You are on the spot and I am far away. And, moreover, Champa has implicit faith in you. I have, therefore, asked her to follow your advice and I still hold the same view. But that does not mean that she can stay wherever she likes in the Ashram without Chimanlal's consent.

You have lost faith in the Ashram and Champa has no respect for it at all. Since I cannot welcome Champa's step, I believe that she should leave the Ashram. Find some place for her outside the Ashram or the Talimi Sangh. If she intends to marry off Indira soon, she might probably prefer to stay with Dhiren. I simply cannot understand how a girl of sixteen can be married. But do what seems best to Champa and you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./XX

458. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 4, 1947

I am convinced that nature cure of my conception is bound to bring great relief to crores of poor villagers. For example, if a villager has to undergo X-ray treatment, the poor man will have to run to a city or wherever there is electricity. This he has to do at his expense and at the expense of his family. Why should he not benefit from the limitless grace of the sun-god who rises in his village every morning? Add to this an intelligent use of air, water, diet, earth, and so on accompanied by the recitation of the name of one's family deity. I have no doubt that if all these things are carried on with perseverence even an incurable disease will disappear without a pie having been spent.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 193-4

CWMG-LXXIX

459. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

November 4, 1947

Should even a woman like you make a distinction between a son and a daughter? My experience so far has been that sons hardly ever have that feeling for parents with which daughters eagerly serve them. Can even a wise woman like you have such an antipathy towards womankind? Of course, all your children have my blessings. May all the four children contribute their mite to the progress of the country.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 194

460. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 4, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today only our old courteous friend has objected to the recitation from the Koran. Hence, I would discuss a pathetic letter from a Punjabi Hindu refugee. He has suffered a great deal in the Punjab. And he has objected to the recitation from the Koran. I do not know if that gentleman is present here. He may or may not be here, but I cannot ignore his letter. It is a letter written with deep pain. He has put forth fairly good arguments in the letter. But then it is full of ignorance born out of his anger. Every line he has written expresses his anger. These days practically all my time is spent in listening to the tales of woe from the Hindu or Sikh refugees or the Muslims of Delhi who are in distress. I also feel the same distress in my heart and am equally hurt. But I would not be truly non-violent if I started shedding tears or became gloomy. If non-violence made me so very soft, I would be crying the whole time, and there would be no time left to worship God, and to eat and sleep. But right from childhood, being a follower of non-violence, I have made it a

[1] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's blessings for her new-born child, a son, after three daughters.

habit of hardening my heart instead of shedding tears while hearing or seeing any tragedy, so that I would be able to face them. Have not our saints and sages taught us that one who is a worshipper of ahimsa should be softer than a flower and harder than a stone? I have tried to live according to this teaching. That is why when I receive complaints like those in this letter or hear the angry and sorrowful tales from the visitors coming to me, I steel my heart. That is the only way I can face the present situation. The letter has been written in the Urdu script and hence I asked Brajkishan to write for me the important points of the letter.

The first charge levelled against me is that I have broken a promise. The letter says : "Have you not said that even if there is a single individual in your prayer meeting objecting to the recitation from the Koran, you would respect his wish and cancel the prayer for the evening?" This is a half-truth which is more dangerous than a total lie. When I had first cancelled the prayer[1] because there was an objection, I had declared that I was cancelling the prayer for fear that the large numbers attending the prayer may start showing their anger against the objector and may even manhandle him. This was several months ago. Since then people have learnt the art of restraint. And, when people assured me that they would not have anger in their hearts nor any ill feeling for the objector I agreed to hold the public prayer. And, as far as I know, the result has been good. The behaviour of the persons who object is extremely courteous and apart from voicing their objection they create no obstruction in the prayer. Thus, I hope the writer of this letter will appreciate that I have not gone back on my word. And the result of continuing the prayer despite the protest has so far been good. I would like to assure you that as far as I know myself, in this long life of public service I have never been guilty of breaking a promise.

The second charge the writer of this letter has made against me is that while I have the recitation from the Koran and claim that all religions are equal, I do not have recitations from the *Japji*[2] and the Bible. This remark only betrays the ignorance of the writer. He is not aware of my statement in which I explained how the entire *Bhajanavali* was prepared.[3] The *Ashram Bhajanavali* contains quite a few psalms from the Bible and *bhajans* from the Granthsaheb.

[1] On April 2, 1947, *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 189-90.
[2] The opening part of the Guru Granthsaheb
[3] *Vide* pp. 3-4, 363 and Vol. LXXV, pp. 280-2.

His third complaint is that many eminent Congress leaders have come away from West Punjab and other parts of West Pakistan; but having come to the Indian Union they do not share the trials and tribulations of other refugees. These leaders have acquired more spacious buildings than what they had occupied in Pakistan and are living in great comfort and luxury. These Congress leaders have completely isolated themselves from the refugees who have no houses to live in nor woollen clothes to protect themselves against winter. Many of the refugees do not even have a change of clothes, not to speak of the woollen clothes. They do not even get good food. If there is truth in this complaint, it is really shameful. In my prayer speeches I have denounced those well-to-do refugees who, instead of sharing the hardships of the poor refugees desert them and live in luxury. This is not religion but irreligion. The rich must share the joys and sorrows of their poor brethren.

Then that friend has taunted me that even though I intended going to Pakistan I have not yet gone. He wants to know why I am in Delhi. He asks me why I prefer to help my Muslim friends instead of going to Pakistan and help the Hindus and the Sikhs who are in distress. But the person who makes such a complaint does not realize that I cannot disregard my duty here in Delhi and go to Pakistan in the hope of helping the Hindus and the Sikhs there. I admit that I am a friend of the Muslims and others because I am equally a friend of the Hindus and the Sikhs. When I serve anyone, it is because I am inspired by the thought that he is a part not only of India or one particular religion but of the whole of humanity. The Hindu and Sikh refugees and others here have to prove by being friendly with the Muslims here that I need not stay on in Delhi any longer. Then I would rush to Pakistan with full confidence that my going there would not be in vain.

The person who has made these complaints has not spared even the Kasturba Fund. He asks how the Kasturba Fund is being utilized and why it could not be utilized for giving relief to the refugees. The first thing is that the Fund was raised for a particular purpose when I was in jail.[1] In other words, the Fund was raised for the purpose of serving women and children in the villages of India. There is a Board of Trustees to look

[1] After Gandhiji's release from Jail, a purse of Rs. 80 lakhs was presented to him on October 2, 1944 on behalf of the Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund. *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 149-51.

after its management. The ever-vigilant Thakkar Bapa[1] is its Secretary. He keeps an account of every single pie. The accounts are open for the public to see. Hence, the Fund cannot be spent for the refugees as this friend suggests. And there is no need to do so. Money is being generously given for the relief of the refugees. Everybody knows about the generous response to my appeal[2] for blankets. Sardar Patel has issued a special appeal. It has received, and is still receiving, whole-hearted public support.

The last complaint of the writer is that when Pakistan has put a ban on the slaughter of pigs why cannot India prohibit cow-slaughter? I am not aware about a legal ban on the slaughter of pigs in Pakistan. If the information given by this friend is correct, I am sorry about it. I know that Islam forbids the eating of pork. But even so, I do not think it is proper to stop the non-Muslims from eating pork.

Has not the Qaid-e-Azam proclaimed that Pakistan is not a theocratic State and religion would not be imposed by law? But, unfortunately, it is true that this claim is not always put into practice. Would India become a theocratic State and would the principles of Hinduism be imposed on non-Hindus? I hope not. If that happens India would cease to be a land of hope and promise. Then it would not be a country to which not only all the races of Asia and Africa but the whole world would look with hope. The world does not expect from Hindustan whether as Indian Union or Pakistan meanness and fanaticism. It expects greatness, goodness and generosity from Hindustan so that the whole world can learn a lesson and find light in the midst of the prevailing darkness.

I do not lag behind anyone in my devotion to and worship of the cow. But such feeling of worship and belief cannot be imposed on anybody by law. It can be created by increasing friendly relations and proper behaviour with the Muslims and all other non-Hindus. The Gujaratis and the Marwaris are supposed to be leading all others in the matter of protecting the cow. But they have forgotten the principles of Hinduism to such an extent that they would gladly impose restrictions on others while they may themselves ill-treat the cow and her progeny. Why are the cattle

[1] A. V. Thakkar (1869-1951); joined Servants of India Society in 1914; established Bhil Seva Sadan in 1922; Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh; President, Gujarat Antyaja Seva Mandal; Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, 1944-51

[2] *Vide* pp. 283-5.

of India the most neglected lot in the whole world? As it is generally believed, why have these cattle become a burden on the land because of their extremely low yield of milk? As beasts of burden why are the bullocks treated so badly?

The pinjarapoles of India are not such that one can be proud of. A lot of money is spent on them but the cattle are hardly tended scientifically or intelligently. These pinjarapoles cannot give a new lease of life to India's cattle. This can be done only by treating the cattle with sympathy and kindness. I claim that more than any other Hindu, I have saved a larger number of cows from the butcher's knife without the assistance of law, because of my being able to cultivate friendship with the Muslims.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 40-5

461. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

November 5, 1947

This is just a love letter. Take no interest in politics till you are completely free from tuberculosis. Everything is all right here. My cough has gone.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 220

462. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[2]

November 5, 1947

. . .[3] If self-control has taken root in one's heart, why should one wear saffron robes or withdraw oneself into the forests? And one whose heart is not firm is not likely to gain anything whether he goes to a forest or anywhere else. I believe that the man who observes self-control in thought, word and deed in the midst of the world is verily a great ascetic. If things do not bind us, if we are not attached to things even when they are easily available

[1] Gandhiji's grand-nephew; ex-Mayor of Bombay

[2] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice for taking *sannyasa*.

[3] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXXXIX

that, according to me, is a greater test of our detachment than mere withdrawal to a lonely forest.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 200

463. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA

NEW DELHI,
November 5, 1947

BHAI SHRIBABU,

I have not written anything about your Diamond Jubilee celebration. What was there to write? May you serve more and more.

The [enclosed] letter is only one amongst many of this kind that I have received. I have not sent any reply to the writer nor do I wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

464. INTERVIEW TO CHINESE DELEGATION[1]

November 5, 1947

I consider myself a Chinese.

Gandhiji added he was no stranger to the Chinese. He had lived among them in South Africa and many of them were in jail with him during the passive resistance movement there.

India is a great friend of China. In Pandit Nehru, China has a guarantee of that friendship.

The Hindustan Times, 6-11-1947

[1] The members of the Chinese Delegation to the Asian Regional Conference of International Labour Organization met Gandhiji in the evening. The workers' representatives from Britain, France and the U. S. A. also accompanied the Delegation.

CWMG - LXXIX

465. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 5, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I do not intend saying anything today about the objection to the recitation from the Koran. I consider this a blessed moment for myself. There is one person who has objection, but he has now become our friend. He does object but very courteously. Once he has expressed it, he remains quiet. I do not even take his protest as a protest. Even if everybody starts protesting in such a manner, we are not going to lose anything. He himself has told me that once he has voiced his protest, he is absorbed in the prayer. So, it is a good thing in itself.

You have heard today a *bhajan* sung by a Harijan boy. You have already heard his sweet voice. He led the *Ramadhun* also very well. This is not an isolated experience for me. I live among the Harijans and in the course of my frequent travels round the country I have come in contact with the Harijans all over the country. If we do not already know somebody to be a Harijan and if no one introduces him as such, we can never make him out to be a Harijan. They have the same characteristics as other human beings. They have some bad qualities too, but these qualities are not peculiar to them. Other people have such bad qualities too. After all everyone has good as well as bad qualities. But I have noticed a special trait among the Harijans, and it is that, when a Harijan child is given even a little training in music, he makes great progress. Because we have oppressed them so far, if anyone talks to them with affection and teaches them something with love, they concentrate and work hard and make good progress. The well-to-do boys are conceited and knowing that their parents have a lot of money, do not concentrate on their work. But because the Harijans are generally poor and are treated as untouchables, when someone gives them a seat next to him and eats and drinks with them, they are overwhelmed. Not all Harijans take this attitude. I have also seen ungrateful Harijans who would not show any appreciation however much you did for them. But all Harijans are not the same. For hundreds of years they have been oppressed under the

Hindu dharma. Still they have remained steadfast in their own religion and compared to others, are found to be having greater qualities.

You may not have heard about a place called Pandharpur. It is a place for pilgrimage in Maharashtra. There are innumerable legends about the idols in that place, but I do not want to narrate them to you. The temple at Pandharpur was not open to Harijans. Sane Guruji[1] installed himself there and argued with the Trustees that when all other temples were thrown open to Harijans, there was no reason why the Pandharpur temple should not be opened to them. When his request was not granted he went on fast[2]. Sane Guruji is a great devotee, and how could the trustees therefore allow him to die? Sense dawned on them and they were moved to pity. But they told him they were helpless in the face of a number of technical difficulties, which had to be first removed. Then Mavalankar[3] joined him there and Sane Guruji was persuaded to give up his fast[4]. But he ended his fast on the condition that he would resume the fast if the temple was not opened to Harijans. Now I have received a telegram that the necessary Bill has been passed and that the temple has been opened to Harijans. The temple was willingly opened and people thronged there in thousands. There were no protests. There may have been some stray protests among those thousands. So, after all, that great temple of Pandharpur had to be opened to Harijans after so much effort. If all those excesses we have been perpetrating on the Harijans become a thing of the past the country would rise very high. But right now we are following a downward path because we are possessed by feelings of animosity. But it is my hope that India will not be forever possessed by such madness. The rest God alone knows.

I have been asked a few questions. Actually, these questions have been asked in separate letters but I have grouped them together. The first question is asked by a Muslim friend. As I said yesterday, nobody can be compelled to give up eating beef. We can only request him and convince him. The person concerned may be convinced and he may give it up. It would indeed be wonderful if he would give it up out of love. But there

[1] P. S. Sane; *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 391, 401 and 426.

[2] On May 1, 1947

[3] G. V. Mavalankar (1888-1956); Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Bombay, 1935-45; Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1947-56

[4] On May 10, 1947

are a large number of Hindus who eat meat, it may be fish or some other meat. There are very few Hindus who do not take meat for religious reasons. Are you then going to compel them to give up eating meat and if they do not comply tell them that they should leave India, otherwise you would kill them? If this cannot be done, what wrong have the Muslims done? Why should they be compelled? I know there are some fanatical Hindus who are compelling them. I would call this an atrocity from which we should keep away.

The next question is raised by a Hindu friend. He writes to say that it is indeed true that all Hindus do not have in them the feeling of animosity. But he refers to my advice to the Muslims that they should not leave their houses, and, if needs be, die. He says that in spite of this wise talk of mine, wisdom does not dawn on the people. On the one hand, he says, I go on with my wise talk, and on the other hand the Muslims are harassed to such an extent that they cannot even come out of their houses. They are being threatened with death if they refuse to go away. If the Muslims come out of their own localities they are being killed. But how can they earn their living if they do not come out? Many of them are craftsmen and labourers. Take for instance a weaver. If the Hindus decide not to use the cloth woven by him and threaten to kill any Hindu insisting on using his cloth, then there is no point in allowing him to stay here. How can a labourer confine himself to his own locality? He would then be worse than a slave. In a poor locality how can he maintain his family if he cannot come out? No well-to-do Muslim stays in such poor localities and how can the poor people staying there maintain themselves if they cannot go out? It is absurd if on the one hand we harass them to such an extent and on the other people like me ask them to die.

We boast that everything is under control in Delhi and no big incidents take place. But I would say that even if there is a little trouble, it should hurt us. I would go on repeating that if such things continue to happen in India, with what face can we tell the Muslims that they should stay in India? If all the Muslims go away to Pakistan and all the Hindus and Sikhs come to India, then we would become permanent enemies. And then we would be fighting to our hearts' content. Let us save ourselves from such an absurd situation.

The third question is rather complicated. It is complicated and at the same time, it is not complicated. A Muslim friend writes that he and all Muslims will be happy if I answer the

question.[1] But, no matter who has asked, it is a question all right. It is worth asking and also not worth asking. The question is : "You advised even the British to follow the path of non-violence when they were facing defeat. You advised them to give up arms and become non-violent. You could show that much courage there; then why don't you ask the Government of the country to fight a non-violent battle?" I have already stated that I am a nobody and no one listens to me. People say that the Sardar is my man and Panditji also is but mine and Maulana too is my man. They are all mine and also not mine. I have never abandoned my non-violence. I have been training myself in non-violence and it was acceptable till we attained independence. Now they wonder how they can rule with non-violence. And then there is the army and they have taken the help of the army. Now I am of no value at all. But why am I still with the people when I have lost my value? It is in the hope that they may perhaps listen to me. At least a few persons like you do come and quietly join me in the prayer. Others may follow your example and ultimately wisdom may dawn on everybody. Maybe my words will have some effect. It is only with that hope that I am continuing to be here and doing all these things. I do not know how long God wants me to work. He can stop me working this very day if He so wishes. I would die right here if He takes away my breath. Hence, I still stand by what I had conveyed to Hitler,[2] Mussolini,[3] Churchill[4] and the people of Japan[5]. I say the same thing to our Government. But in Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah is giving a brave fight—I have always admired bravery. It is true that he believes in violence but it requires courage and I do admire it. I admire even Subhas Babu not because I approved of his violence but because I could have never formed the Azad Hind Fauj. When I see something good and fail to give it due credit, I cannot be truly non-violent. I have no doubt that if Sheikh Abdullah fights it to the last and keeps the Hindus and the Sikhs with him, it is bound to have a great impact on the people here. However, if I could have my way of non-violence and everybody listened to me, we would not send our army as we are doing now. And if we did

[1] Here Brijkrishna Chandiwala pointed out that the question was put by a Hindu.

[2] & [3] *Vide* Vols. LXX, pp. 20-1 and LXXIII, pp. 253-5.

[4] Presumably the reference is to Gandhiji's appeal "To Every Briton", *vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 229-31.

[5] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 309-12.

send, it would be a non-violent army. It would be a non-violent fight if our people went there and gladly met their death at the hands of the Afridis. It would be a non-violent war because they would be dying remaining non-violent. Sheikh Abdullah too would tell the Afridis that they could take Srinagar but only when all the fighters were dead. But they are all fighting with arms and fighting bravely. They too can become non-violent — though it would not be the true form of non-violence. Supposing an army of a lakh of armed Afridis invaded the place and a handful of people offered armed resistance in order to protect the innocent children and women and died fighting, then they could be called non-violent in spite of their using arms. But to whom can I say this? Today poison has spread on all sides and people kill each other in a barbarous manner. In this situation even I am not able to teach this simple lesson in non-violence. In his time Mr. Churchill could not say, but today, Sheikh Abdullah and the army which has gone there can tell me that my non-violence has failed in Delhi where acts of barbarism are being committed and what they are doing is not barbaric. And I must admit that they have a right to say that. But they cannot tell me anything if I can convince all the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs of the Union about my non-violence. In that event, I could myself go with a non-violent army to Kashmir or Pakistan or any place, and then my work would become very easy. And then, the impact of non-violence would be so great that it would be worth seeing. But when can I hope for such an occasion? If you listen to my words and act in accordance with them, if my words have greater power and my heart greater strength, if my penance, however great it may be becomes still greater and every word of mine becomes so powerful that it grips the whole of India, my task will be accomplished. But today I am helpless. If you also pray to God that He may put strength into my words and take me further than where He has taken me and get still more work out of my body, then India may have greater impact on the world.

The delegates from Britain, China, the U. S. A. and Pakistan who came to attend the Asian Regional Conference[1] praised me for my work. But their praise hurts me. Today I have become bankrupt. I have no say with my people today. What I said in the past has no value. I will be worthy of praise only when

[1] Of the International Labour Organization which was held in Delhi. *Vide* also p. 476.

I can influence people. But that is not the situation today. I am merely expressing my helplessness before you.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 45-52

CWMG - LXXXIX

466. TWO AMERICAN FRIENDS' CONSOLATION

Of the many letters that come to me from American friends whom I do not know, the following extracts from two such friends are worth quoting:

> Your great distress due to the unhappy situation in your country demands that I intrude upon your contemplations of the painful events now taking place in India, to remind you that your beautiful words have taken root in all the corners of the earth.
>
> That you should feel a degree of disillusionment because of these sad happenings is natural. That that disillusionment should be measured and certainly not turn into discouragement is the purpose of my letter.
>
> Never does the seed turn directly into a beautiful fragrant flower without first going through certain phases of growth and development. And, if at some stage of its development—or growth—it falters, the presence of the gardener is more than ever required. In the complete absorption of the selfless task of nursing the ailing plant, the gardener perhaps cannot fully observe the growth of other plants in his garden, to join with him in his compassion for their stricken brother.
>
> I plead with you to give consideration to the countless numbers of people in all countries on earth, of all classes, races and creeds, who are now also praying for peace. These people, whose hopes you have so well expressed and who took fresh courage from these victories which you did achieve with the Science of Peace, must now join me in prayer that the Master bless you and preserve you to continue your noble work, so much of which is still to be done.

What they say may prove true and that the senseless blood-bath through which India is still passing, though the original fury seems to have abated, may be nothing unusual as history goes. What India is passing through must be regarded as unusual. If we grant that such liberty as India has gained was a tribute to non-violence as I have repeatedly said, non-violence of India's struggle was only in name, in reality it was passive resistance of the weak. The truth of the statement we see demonstrated by the happenings in India.

NEW DELHI, November 6, 1947

Harijan, 16-11-1947

467. "FOR MUSLIMS ONLY"[1]

A correspondent draws attention to the fact that whereas I have condemned the use at railway stations of different pots of water for Muslims and Hindus,[2] now there are compartments reserved for Muslims only and non-Muslims or Hindus. I do not know how far the evil has spread, but I do know that this distinction is a matter of great shame for the Hindus and the Sikhs. I suppose it became necessary for the railway administration to make the distinction for the simple protection of Muslim life. It is any day possible (the sooner the better) to stop the practice, by the Hindus and the Sikhs making up their minds never to dispose of Muslim fellow-passengers, as if they were chattels and to assure the railway administration that the offence will never be repeated. This can happen when there is an open confession of sin and return to sanity. This I say, irrespective of what has happened or may still happen in Pakistan.

NEW DELHI, November 6, 1947
Harijan, 16-11-1947

468. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

NEW DELHI,
November 6, 1947[3]

MY DEAR C. R.,

You are right. Your air mail letter came into my hands this morning 4.20 a. m.

On the surface things are sufficiently nice but the undercurrent leaves little hope. I wonder if Bengal will hold out for all time. Let us hope. More when we meet, if we do.

Love.

BAPU

[1] This appeared under "Notes".
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXIII, p. 224.
[3] *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, however, gives the letter under "November 5".

[PS.]

Yes, Rama is our only refuge.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 512

469. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 6, 1947

If we neglect the charkha — that is, constructive activities like khadi, village industries, etc., after the attainment of freedom, we will be acting like a man who remembers God in sorrow and forgets Him when He showers happiness. If we neglect the charkha in free India, we will degenerate like the man who forgets God in his days of happiness. . . .[1]

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 208-9

470. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 6, 1947

. . .[2] has made great progress in cultivating faith in Ramanama. I am surrounded by fire on all sides and yet I am not consumed by it. This is so only because of Ramanama. I derive profound peace from it. There is no doubt that I have benefited a lot from Ramanama despite this intolerable cough. . . .[3]

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 209

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] & [3] Omissions as in the source

CWMG - LXXXIX

471. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

November 6, 1947

Don't you know that I was a barrister and Ba was almost illiterate? And, yet, whatever progress I have been able to make in my life today is all due to my wife. You have not been able to mention any other defect in your wife. But your letter suggests that you may have fallen in love with some college girl. Is that so? To wed another girl because the first wife is illiterate is sheer tyranny perpetrated by boys over girls. Allow me to say that you are the person who is really uneducated. I have not the slightest hesitation in calling you uneducated in spite of your being literate. It is because you are not able to teach your wife who is willing to learn. I, therefore, pity you. Try to understand, if this will make you understand.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 209-10

472. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 6, 1947

Liberty does not mean license. If we work under somebody we appreciate his love for us. Didn't Lord Krishna become Arjuna's charioteer? If you can understand what I mean by this I have told you all that I wished to in these few words.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 208

[1] The addressee was a college student.

473. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 6, 1947

You must have seen my yesterday's prayer speech in the newspapers. I have admitted there that these days nobody listens to me.[1] Nevertheless I am trying hard to have the controls removed. Let us see what God ordains. I feel God will take me away soon. Now there is no question of wishing to live for 125 years. I feel all the while that God will certainly give me [eternal] rest, in the near future. So much work piles up that it leaves me no breathing space during the day.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 209

474. DISCUSSION AT FOOD CONFERENCE[2]

November 6, 1947

RAJENDRA PRASAD: All of us have become nervous about what you have said as regards removing the [food] control. They are forced to listen [to you]. So it is better that you yourself say something.

GANDHIJI: In a way I feel happy that you people are quite shaken by what I have said. Since the Government is in your hands I will have to convince you. I have been holding this view for the last so many months. When I had gone to Bengal[3] it had been through a famine. I went and saw the Governor and went through all the reports and told him that the famine was man-made and not a natural calamity.[4]

When the War was going on many people had gone out of the country and a lot of foodgrain was exported. At that time it was British rule and I had called their strategy Martial Law.

[1] *Vide* pp. 477-82.

[2] The Conference, convened by Rajendra Prasad, was held on November 5 and 6 to discuss the recommendations of the Foodgrain Policy Committee. It was attended by Food Ministers from provinces and States and their representatives.

[3] In December 1945

[4] *Vide* Vols. LXXXII, p. 159 and LXXXIII, pp. 97-8 and 104.

Now the times have changed. Nobody will ask you to export food. We have enough stock with us and still if we import foodgrain, crores of rupees will go out of the country. Where is the money for that? You may call mine a voice in the wilderness, if you wish to. My stay in Delhi has had no effect. [Hindus and Muslims] still have ill feeling towards each other. Maulana Saheb who was till now our President and who is now a minister cannot go amongst the Hindus. If he takes courage in both hands and tries to do so, he will be killed. The good Muslims cannot live in peace and that is why I can do nothing for the Hindus in Pakistan. I am deliberately speaking about this unfortunate thing because these days nobody listens to me. If they do hear me, I dare say it would change the face of Hindustan.

I am sure you people do not presume that only you know everything and I know nothing. You will be sadly mistaken if you think that we who have elected you do not know anything. I get so many letters asking me to do away with rationing.

I did not know that the business magnates would agree with me in this. You should carry out the wishes of the people in an efficient manner. If I were to become a minister I would have to ascertain the views of everyone. What a pity that rice which used to cost Rs. 2 now costs Rs. 40. The farmers have foodgrain with them. If the control is removed they will automatically bring it out. I am myself a farmer. I have seen that farmers who grow foodgrain do not use their own produce for consumption. They have to eat the rotten stuff sent from the city. What sort of transaction is this? I did not know that Dr. Rammanohar Lohia[1] also agreed with me. We have to make the people strong by removing control. They are not going to die. Rajendra Babu should firmly tell them that they will in no way suffer by the removal of control. On the contrary it will benefit them. Of course I have grown old but not senile. My views are those of the man in the street.

When I was told that Ministers of all the provinces are in favour of rationing, I told Rajendra Babu that I would like to see them.

This year we have had good rainfall. Now there is no foreigner here any more. We have now to feed only our own people and

[1] (1910-67); one of the founders of the All-India Congress Socialist Party; Secretary of the Foreign Department, A. I. C. C., 1936-38; left Congress in 1948; General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 1953-54; member, Lok Sabha, 1963-67

we can produce foodgrain here. If you teach them how to grow food the stock would automatically increase. There was a campaign of "grow more food" during the War. Your agriculture department is rotten. It is not meant for people. Why do we import rice from Burma? Why are we worried when we cannot get rice from there? You should tell the people how much rice per acre is produced in different parts of the world and how it can be done here. Make the people industrious. Control is only to feed the lazy ones. I feel very much pained about this. If we give work to the people they will not indulge in killing. It is control that has made us idle and that is why we are indulging in this killing.

R. Travancore-Cochin does not produce enough foodgrain. It meets only two-third of the demand. They are apprehensive as to what they will do now. Earlier they were getting rice from Burma.

G. The land of Mysore, Travancore-Cochin is not such that nothing will grow there. We can send foodgrain from one province to another. For example there is a lot of cocoanut produced in Travancore-Cochin. And fish and bananas are also there. Still, they beg for things. This question only implies that the British rule was better because then we could get rice from Burma. Why should we become so helpless? We will die if we depend for food on others. If we lose courage people will become easy-going and listless. This old man is telling you that we should not become crippled like this. Prices are rising day by day. Why should it be so? A *vaid* writes to say that from among his patients many suffer ailments because of this rotten stuff. You are the ministers. For you this sort of stuff should be like poison. We will never overcome our difficulties if we do not remove the drawbacks that were there during the British rule.

A FRIEND : The poor will be ruined if control is removed. The advantage of rationing is that people will eat only as much as they should. Not a single grain will be wasted and if control is taken away people will start eating in large quantities resulting in diseases.

You have asked for blankets for the refugees. Earlier the price of a blanket was Rs. 8. Now it is Rs. 18. However much you advise, people have no honesty. They will only create more trouble. . . .[1]

G. I feel like laughing when I hear this. After all a man will eat only as much as he can. The fact that you are in favour of rationing shows that you have not taken into account the 40

[1] Omission as in the source

crores. Rationing is meant for just a few. Later on people will turn into rebels and will kill the minister. They will not be afraid of him. Or else people should understand that now our ministers are of the people and from the people and there is no need to be afraid of them.

I did not know that a blanket now costs Rs. 18. But if it is so I will say that we are foolish and I don't blame myself for this. If I insist that the Government should arrange for everything, how much burden would it be for it? I have served the Government by [asking for blankets]. Now I will give cloth and cotton to people and they will themselves make quilts. In this way we can teach people to live honestly if prices go on rising.

The Nizam's State has almost become a foreign country. If all of you who have come from there unite, it will change the face of Hyderabad. I wish to work with the united intelligence of all.

Today you have power in your hands. This power is not of Wavell or the Viceroy, it is of the people and for the uplift of the poor. How could we work if we did not trust our people? What would be our fate then?

I talk of "free trade" after careful thinking. It would be a selfish policy if Pantji[1] were to say that he would not give good seeds to Bengal. The "free trade" is necessary for England but we cannot run our economy on their pattern.

It is our own helplessness if people of Madras say that they just cannot eat anything besides *idli* and cannot eat Bombay bread. We will have to get used to eating wheat, rice, *bajari* or *jawar*. We are not men if we cannot do without a particular thing. Man should not become a slave of anything.

ANNADA BABU[2]: Though we have food, it is not enough. Should we still remove control?

G. I do not believe that we do not have enough food. Yes, one province may be having more and the other less. If we collect whatever is produced in the whole country there is no scarcity of food. And only in this way we will be tested. Those who have become millionaires today owe it to the British and to their exploitation of the poor. We have become corrupt due to controls. Now we are independent. In our attempt to convert India into a paradise let us not turn it into a hell. No doubt we have achieved independence but we are suffering

[1] Govind Ballabh Pant (1887-1961); Premier of the U. P., 1937-39 and 1946-55; Home Minister, Government of India, 1955-61

[2] Annada Chowdhary

its ill-effects. There is peace in name but we are restless within. We should understand what our duty is. We will be saved only if we give up our selfish attitude.

ANNADA BABU : Suppose people die, won't it be the Government's responsibility?

G. Supposing there is no rice in Bengal, it will have to be taken from Assam. All the provinces of India have to live together or die together. We will be worthy of our independence only when we understand this. If the provinces start competing with each other we will be finished.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 212-7

475. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

November 6, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I know the name of the writer but I do not intend to reveal his name or the contents of what is written in those two extracts[1]. I merely want to say that those articles have been written with the intention of serving Hinduism but they contain deliberate lies. When new points cannot be put forth, facts are presented in a distorted form. But I dare say that no purpose, certainly no religious purpose, can be served by resorting to such means. When accusations are based not on facts but on lies, they can do no harm to the person who is being attacked. I warn the public that they should not support such newspapers no matter how renowned the writers may be.

The Committee[2] of the non-officials appointed by the Food Minister has presented its report to him. I had a meeting with the provincial Ministers or their representatives who had come to Delhi to help Dr. Rajendra Prasad in reaching a decision on the recommendations of that Committee.[3] When I learnt about the meeting, I requested Dr. Rajendra Prasad to give me a chance to put my views before them so that I could dispel their doubts. For I am quite sure that I am absolutely

[1] The reference is to two newspaper cuttings sent by a friend.
[2] The Foodgrain Policy Committee
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

right in my opinion that control on food should be removed. Dr. Rajendra Prasad readily agreed and I could place my views before those Ministers and their representatives. I was very happy to meet my old friends. I have been constantly complaining that no one takes me seriously in the matter of communal strife. But I am glad to say that the same is not the case with regard to my advice on the food question. Ever since I met Mr. Casey, the Governor of Bengal, I have been of the view that in India there is no need at all to have control on food or cloth. At that time I did not know whether I had any backing or not. But during the current discussion I was quite surprised to know that I had a very large support from the known and unknown members of the public. Among the countless letters I receive about the food problem, I do not remember a single letter in which its writer has expressed an opinion other than mine. I do not know what Shri Ghanshyam Das Birla[1] and Lala Shriram[2] think about this. Nor do I know if the Socialist Party would support my view. Of course, when Dr. Rammanohar Lohia met me he fully agreed with me about removing food control. I do not hesitate to say that in the present situation of food scarcity through which the country is passing, Dr. Rajendra Prasad should be guided by one or more members of his Committee and not by his entire staff.

Let me now come to control on cloth. Even though I am more certain about removing control on cloth than control on food, I am afraid I do not have as much support in the removal of cloth-control as in the removal of food-control. The Congress had gladly supported my view that khadi could take the place of the mill-cloth, whether Indian or foreign. It had set up a Khadi Board under the late Jamnalalji[3] which was expanded into the All-India Spinners' Association[4] after my release from the Yeravda Prison. India has a population of 400 million. Even after discounting the portion of the population of Pakistan, India would still have more than 300 million. India grows enough cotton for the entire population. There are sufficient number of persons to spin that cotton into yarn. And, there are more than sufficient number of weavers to weave cloth out of that yarn. Without a large investment we can easily manufacture in the country spinning-wheels, looms and other accessories that

[1] & [2] Industrialists

[3] Jamnalal Bajaj

[4] The All-India Spinners' Association was formed in September 1925. *Vide* Vol. XXVIII.

we need. All that we need is robust faith in ourselves and a determination to wear no other cloth but khadi. You know that we can make khadi of the fine quality with designs that would be far superior to those of the mills. Now that India is free from the foreign yoke, there will no longer be opposition to khadi which was characteristic of the representatives of foreign rulers. That is why I am surprised all the more that even when we are completely free to do what we want, we neither talk about khadi nor have faith in the potentialities of khadi. And, we think of nothing but mill-cloth to meet India's needs in this respect. I have not the slightest doubt that khadi economics can be the only true and sound economics for India.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 52-4

476. INTERVIEW TO CHINESE DELEGATION

NEW DELHI,
November 6, 1947

Peace in Asia depends on India and China. These two countries are large. And if they build their edifices on the foundation of ahimsa they will become known among the great countries of the world. When I had met Chiang Kai-shek[1] I told him the same thing.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 218

477. OUTSIDE HIS FIELD[2]

Major-General Cariappa is reported to have said as follows:

> Non-violence is of no use under the present circumstances in India and only a strong army can make India one of the greatest nations in the world.

I fear, like many experts, General Cariappa has gone beyond his depth and has been unwittingly betrayed into a serious misconception of ahimsa, of whose working in the nature of things, he can only have a very superficial knowledge. By reason of lifelong practice of ahimsa, I claim to be an expert

[1] On February 18, 1942

[2] This appeared under "Notes".

in it, though very imperfect. Speaking in absolute terms, the more I practise it the clearer I see how far I am from the full expression of ahimsa in my life. It is his ignorance of this, the greatest duty of man in the world, which makes him say that in this age non-violence has little scope in the face of violence, whereas I make bold to say that in this age of the atom bomb, unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks put together of violence. It would have become the General, unaided as he can only now be, by his British teachers of military science and practice not to have gone out of his depth. Generals greater than General Cariappa have been wise and humble enough frankly to make the admission that they can have no right to speak of the possibilities of the force of ahimsa. We are witnessing the tragic insolvency of military science and practice in its own home. Should a bankrupt, who has been by the gamble in the share-market, sing the praise of that particular form of gambling?

NEW DELHI, November 7, 1947

Harijan, 16-11-1947

478. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 7, 1947

I am trying to sail on my own raft of dried gourd. I shall either swim or sink. There is no middle path in this religious sacrifice.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 220

479. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 7, 1947

. . .[1] Yesterday I talked at length on [food] control at the Ministers' meeting. I hope I have satisfied all of them. Let us wait and watch. My only prayer is: May God grant good sense to everyone.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 220

[1] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LXXXIX

480. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 7, 1947

These days I get so exhausted that at night I am totally lost to the world. The work goes on increasing and there is a great deal of mental exhaustion. According to me if Ramanama is enshrined in my heart I will not feel mentally exhausted. It has such miraculous power.

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 220

481. MESSAGE TO MALAYA[1]

November 7, 1947

The attainment of freedom by India has a unique importance in the annals of world history. Let Asia benefit from it. All neighbouring countries should work unitedly rather than separately. It is my earnest prayer and wish that God may grant them the strength to do this.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 222-3

482. TALK WITH INDONESIAN VISITORS

NEW DELHI,
November 7, 1947

A VISITOR: You say that you see darkness all around you, and there is such fraternal strife going on in the country. And yet you look so cheerful. Whence do you derive such strange power? What is it that sustains you Bapuji?

I look after my health with care, because I believe that my ahimsa can be tested only when confronted by violence. I have decided to live cheerfully even in this atmosphere of

[1] This was given to a Malayan representative who met Gandhiji in the afternoon.

CWMG - LXXXIX

darkness and inhumanity. Moreover, I consider no one as my enemy. I am endeavouring to serve the whole of Creation, for I consider it a part of God and I feel that serving mankind is the same as serving God. This thought lends me unfailing power. It is this power that sustains me. I also resort to certain outward remedies. You see that even while guests such as you are visiting here I lie with a mud-pack on me. Do please forgive me my lack of manners. But I have no other time to spare. And I could not help having you just at this time.

Oh ! please why do you say that? It is such a privilege to have ten minutes with such a great man. If you do not mind, perhaps you will tell me why you use a mud-pack.

Oh! to enumerate the virtues of mud is like enumerating the virtues of one's mother. I got rid of chronic constipation with the use of mud. Mud costs nothing and yet I have used it in cases of typhoid, pneumonia, blood-pressure, many diseases of women and skin diseases. In every case the experiment was successful.

The visitor said he would also try it. As the visitors rose, they thanked Gandhiji for sparing his valuable time for them.

The pleasure is mutual. I have also been very happy to meet you. If you have occasion to come this way and I am still alive, do come and see me. I am neither a great saint nor a Mahatma such as you describe me. I am a humble servant. I am only human as you are.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 223-4

483. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 7, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

It pains me to know that the Muslims of Tihar[1] and the neighbouring areas have to suffer unnecessary hardships. Many of them are landowners but are unable to till their land for fear of harassment. They have sold away their cattle, ploughs and other implements. They are being protected by the army.[2] More than two thousand of those distressed people had gathered round me. Through their leader they conveyed to me their desire to go to Pakistan, because life had become impossible for them here. They said that a large number of their friends and relatives had already gone to Pakistan. Hence, it would be a mercy if the Government could arrange to send them to Lahore. They said they had nothing to complain against the army. However, I would not like to devote the whole time in giving an account of that meeting. I told those people that I had no power in my hands, but I would gladly convey their message to the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, who is also the Home Minister.

I am told that the refugees have become a problem in Delhi and that because they have suffered atrocities in Pakistan, they think they have special privileges. When they go to buy things in the market they expect the shopkeeper to give them what they want without charging them anything or at a considerably reduced rate. At times, a single person buys things worth hundreds of rupees. Some refugees expect the tongawallahs to give them free rides or charge a very nominal fare. If this report is true, it is my duty to say that the refugees have failed to learn the lesson that sufferers generally learn through hardships.

[1] Gandhiji had visited Tihar village at 4 p. m. and met the Muslims there.

[2] While Gandhiji was returning to Delhi, his car was stopped by a number of Indian soldiers who saluted him and assured him that they were providing full protection to those in distress. Gandhiji smiled and said that providing protection and kindness without distinction of caste or creed was the attribute of a soldier.

Thereby they are harming themselves and the country and making the already complicated problem more complicated. If they continue to behave like this, they are sure to lose the sympathy of the Delhi traders.

At the same time, I cannot understand how the refugees who have come from Pakistan after losing everything, can buy things worth hundreds of rupees. I would also wish that except on rare and necessary occasions, the refugees should not use anything other than their God-given feet for moving about. Apart from this, I am also told that ever since lakhs of refugees started coming to Delhi, there has been a steep rise in the revenue derived from spirituous liquor. As a matter of fact, those people should realize that when the Central and the Provincial Governments accede to the demands of the Congress, neither hard liquor nor other intoxicants like opium and hemp would be available in the Indian Union. The same situation can be created in Pakistan too, because our Muslim friends would not need a Congress resolution to declare total prohibition. Can the refugees, who have undergone so many hardships, not restrain themselves from taking intoxicants and indulging in luxuries? I hope the refugee men and women will take the advice I have given them through my earlier speeches that wherever they go, the refugees should mix with the people like sugar in milk, and make a firm resolve not to be a burden on them. Let the rich and the poor refugees live in the same camps and work in full co-operation, so that they can become ideal and self-supporting citizens.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—I, pp. 55-7

484. ACT AS YOU THINK

From a letter received by Rajkumari from Dr. Maude Royden and which she has given to me for reading, I have extracted the following relevant passages:

> I marvel that the best Christian in the world should not be a Christian! I have been reading these last two or three weeks a new biography of Albert Schweitzer[1] and there again I have this same paradox. I don't know if the name of Schweitzer is known in India but to my mind he is

[1] (1875-1965); philosopher, theologian, musician and doctor; devoted his life to missionary work in Africa; was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1952

perhaps alone in the world in his greatness. . . . And as you may perhaps know, Schweitzer is regarded with suspicion by the "orthodox" because it is held that he has not a sufficiently exalted view of our Saviour. And yet there is not a Christian in the entire world who has followed Christ with the same heroic faith and utterly selfless devotion. And when I read of his philosophy, his "reverence for life", and how he constantly refers himself to Jesus of Nazareth, I know that no one has ever exalted Jesus to such a height in the minds of those who read Schweitzer. . . . He differs from most philosophers only in the fact that he must live all that he thinks, writes or says. I realize now why his thought strikes one as having such stark and terrifying honesty. If you are engaged in thinking without thought of action, it is easy to think all sorts of untrue things. If you know that you are going to live everything that you think, with what a searching eye and with what profound sincerity you are going to think!

NEW DELHI, November 8, 1947

Harijan, 23-11-1947

485. A LETTER

November 8, 1947

Under the present circumstances as long as Pakistan does not do what she says I certainly cannot advise the refugees to return to Pakistan. I shall leave Delhi only when something tangible is achieved here.

I am hoping that controls by and large will be removed. If that happens I have no doubt that it will produce a salutary effect among the people.

It is God's grace that my body is working beyond its strength.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 229

CWMG - LXXIX

486. A LETTER

November 8, 1947

We have certainly no right to advise a neighbour to clean his house as long as our own house is not clean. I am a Hindu by birth and by practice. It is my duty to bring glory to this religion, and my religion is all-embracing.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 230

487. A TALK[1]

NEW DELHI,
November 8, 1947

Nature cure means taking advantage of what nature has given us. Cures may be brought about through sun-bath, fresh air, mud and water therapy and the inclusion of fruit and leafy vegetables in the diet and suitable exercises. That is why I was attracted to this. Had nature-cure experiment been carried on in Uruli under my supervision I would have ensured its complete success. But today I have become ineffective. You see what even men like General Cariappa are saying?[2] Responsible people have no sense of responsibility left. Nevertheless I still persevere in my effort to achieve the state of a *sthitaprajna*, that is to say, mental equipoise. I have made considerable progress in this direction and have already arrived at the conclusion that Ramanama is the cure for all ailments and it is my hope that when I die I shall die with Ramanama in my heart. This faith becomes stronger in me each day. You see there was a time when even my opponents took my guidance. Today, let alone my being assailed by my opponents, even my co-workers, friends and close relatives who are like sons to me, do not see eye to eye with me. Still, I am mentally in such excellent health that it surprises me that with the flames raging

[1] With two visitors who were in favour of using modern electrical appliances in nature cure

[2] *Vide* pp. 492-3.

around me I remain untouched by their heat or sparks. The reason for this is that God is filling me with strength and I am sustained by Ramanama. Just as men derive vigour and vitality from the daily nourishment and sleep I derive my strength from Rama.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 228-9

488. MESSAGE FOR CITIZENS OF CHANDRANAGORE[1]

NEW DELHI,
November 8, 1947

I hope the news that has reached me is not true. I believe the French are a brave and great nation and would not like to suppress or enslave any people whether black or white.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 232

489. INTERVIEW TO BURMESE DELEGATION[2]

November 8, 1947

Gandhiji paid credit to Burmese people as they were able to declare independence, which was "probably a stage higher than in India".[3] He also referred in the course of the talks to Mr. Churchill's recent speech and advised

[1] Arunanshu from Chandranagore met Gandhiji and informed him that Gandhiji's statement regarding Chandranagore, *vide* pp. 57-8, was being misused by the authorities to suppress the satyagraha there and that assistance from the French Government was being sought.

[2] The members of the Burmese delegation to the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization met Gandhiji in the afternoon. The delegation was led by U Win, High Commissioner for Burma in India.

[3] The Burmese Constituent Assembly, elected in April 1947, had resolved in favour of complete independence. A treaty of agreement was signed between Britain and Burma in London on October 17, 1947, under which Burma was to leave the Commonwealth and become a sovereign republic in January 1948. The Burma Independence Bill was passed by the House of Commons on November 14, 1947.

CWMG - LXXXIX

the people, "to profit by it and without being angry to so conduct their affairs as to falsify Mr. Churchill's forebodings"[1]. Gandhiji said:

I have been to Burma thrice[2] and I am not a stranger to Burmans. I was struck by the customs of the Burmese people and their hospitality.

Gandhiji was sorry that unrest had broken out in Burma.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-11-1947

490. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 8, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Will you fulfil the primary condition that you will not harbour any feeling of anger or revenge against the persons who are raising the objection and sit in silence and concentration till the end of the prayer?[3]

I have received a letter from a Sikh friend. He has said that he always attends the prayer meeting and likes doing so. He appreciates the spirit of tolerance in the prayer, especially my comments about the *Granthsaheb*, *Sukhmani*[4], *Japji*, etc. He writes to say that if I select some portions from the Sikh scriptures included in the *Bhajanavali* and have a daily recitation of them during the prayer, it will have a great effect on the Sikhs. He feels that he can say this on behalf of the entire Sikh community. He says that he is ready to read out those selected passages to me. I agree with his suggestion. But I would take a decision only after I have heard some *bhajans* from that friend. He must get an appointment from Brajkishan for that purpose.

[1] Winston Churchill, Leader of the Conservative Opposition, announcing his party's decision to vote against the Burma Independence Bill had declared in the House of Commons on November 5, that "the bloody welter" which had already begun in India would soon begin in Burma and said "these horrors and disasters must for ever haunt the consciences of the principal actors in this tragedy."

[2] In 1902, 1915 and 1929. The source however has "four times".

[3] The people, including four objectors, unanimously assured Gandhiji that they would observe silence and the prayer was held without any obstruction.

[4] A part of the *Granthsaheb*

I had once stated that cotton, calico, needles, etc., should be made available to the refugees so that they can make their own quilts.[1] Thereby we can save millions of rupees and the refugees can easily have something to cover themselves. In response to my appeal the cotton merchants of Bombay have written to me that they are ready to supply these items. In this way, the refugees will rise in their own eyes and will learn the first lesson of healthy co-operation. The number of textile mills in Delhi itself is by no means small. There are quite a few mills in the city. Still, I welcome this gift from Bombay, because I do not want to place any unnecessary burden on voluntary donors. The larger the number of persons willing to give charity, the better will it be for the refugees and the country. Hence, I hope that the cotton merchants of Bombay would quickly send as many bales as they can. Such co-operation from the rich would lessen the burden of the Government. Now that we are a free nation, every individual can willingly participate in the activities of the Government of the country, provided he fulfils his duties by realizing the full responsibilities of the citizen of an independent country.

I have no doubt that when the bales of cotton arrive I will be able to persuade the mill-owners to supply enough chintz for quilts. The talk about bales of cotton reminds me of cloth-control. In my opinion, it is possible and also easy for the people of India to manufacture enough khadi by hand. The only condition is that sufficient cotton should be available in the country. I do not know if there ever was a famine of cotton in the country. We can never have scarcity of cotton, because we always produce more cotton than the country needs. Tens of thousands of bales of cotton are being exported from the country. Still, there is never a shortage of cotton for the textile mills of the country. I have already drawn your attention to the fact that it is possible to have within the country all the implements necessary for carding, spinning and weaving by hand. At the same time, there are also people in large numbers wanting to work. Hence, I can only say that it is nothing but inertia which makes people think that there is scarcity of cloth in the country. Today nobody in the country wants cloth-control—neither the mills, nor the mill-hands nor the buying public. Controls are increasing the band of lazy people and thus ruining the country. Such people, for want of any work, are a constant source of mischief.

[1] *Vide* p. 329.

If the refugees are determined to occupy themselves in useful work, they would first make their own quilts, and then all—women and men—would spend their time in ginning, carding, spinning, weaving, etc. The energy generated by the co-operative effort of so many lakhs of refugees would electrify the country. They would inspire the people to spend all their spare time in growing more food and producing khadi in their own homes. Let it be remembered that if the cotton, instead of being packed into bales, is directly made available to the spinners one process would be saved. The cotton would not be damaged, carding would become easy and the seeds would be saved for the villages.

Lady Mountbatten had come to meet me. She has become an angel of mercy. She keeps visiting both the Dominions,[1] meets the refugees in different camps, looks up the sick and distressed people and tries to console them as much as she can. When she paid a visit to the Kurukshetra camp, people asked her when I was expected to go there. All of them were so keen to see me that Lady Mountbatten was convinced that I should undoubtedly go there. I assured her that she was justified in anticipating my visit. To tell you the truth, I have made arrangements to visit Panipat, where both the Hindus and the Muslims are anxious to see me. I had decided to combine the visits to Kurukshetra and Panipat. But now I have come to know that I cannot combine the two. Hence, it has become necessary to postpone my visit to Kurukshetra until after the forthcoming meeting of the A. I. C. C.[2] Nonetheless, it has been suggested that even though it is difficult to arrange for loudspeakers in a sprawling camp like Kurukshetra, it should not be difficult to talk to them over the radio, provided the necessary speakers are installed in the camp. If such an arrangement is made, I would be able to speak to them on Tuesday or Wednesday[3] and would go and see them later. In the mean time, I hope to complete my visit to the Panipat camp.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 57-60

[1] As Chairman of the United Council for Relief and Welfare
[2] Scheduled to be held on November 15 and 16
[3] *Vide* Vol. XC, pp. 15-8.

491. HARIJANS IN RATLAM

The following is the text[1] of the Ratlam Proclamation to which I referred in one of my postprayer speeches.[2] It was issued on Vijayadashami day, i. e., the 2nd September,[3] 1947.

1. All State temples be thrown open to Harijans for *darshan* and *pooja* just as they are open to any one of my caste Hindu subjects.

2. All existing public wells and wells constructed by the State hereinafter, tanks, water taps, etc., shall be invariably open to Harijans.

3. All public places such as dharmashalas, hotels, restaurants, shops, theatres, cinema houses which have not been for the exclusive use of any one section of the community before the passing of this Order shall be thrown open to Harijans and they shall be given the same facility or service as any other caste Hindu is given. They are hereby allowed to make use of public conveyances licensed by Government or the Municipality.

4. Harijans shall have unrestricted admission to State educational institutions and no tuition fees shall be charged from them.

5. There shall be no restriction in the matter of recruitment of Harijans to State services.

6. All State public offices, courts, hospitals and other State buildings are open to Harijans for entry.

7. There shall be no restriction on the wearing of ornaments and good clothes, the taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies by Harijans.

8. There shall be no restriction on Harijans owning lands and houses in any part of towns and villages of the State.

Harijan, 9-11-1947

[1] Of which only extracts are reproduced here

[2] *Vide* pp. 415-6.

[3] Obviously a slip. Vijayadashami fell on October 24.

CWMG - LXXIX

492. *FUTILITY OF ARMS*

Advocate [T. R.] Venkatarama Shastri of Madras sends me some relevant verses from the *Mahabharata* with his brief comment. They are reproduced below with his comment and English translation. I have omitted from the comment what was meant only for me.

> Having won the great Mahabharata War and attained his supreme end, Yudhishthira (धर्मात्मा), deeply affected by the death of those near and dear and by the general havoc and destruction wrought by force of arms, reflected thus:
>
> आत्मानमात्मना हत्वा किं धर्मफलमाप्नुमः ॥
> धिगस्तु क्षात्रमाचारं धिगस्तु बलमौरसम् ।
> धिगस्तु चार्थं येनेमाम् आपदं गमिता वयम् ॥
> साधु क्षमा दमः शौचम् अविरोधो विमत्सरः ।
> अहिंसा सत्यवचनं नित्यानि वनचारिणाम् ॥
> वयं तु लोभान्मोहाच्च दंभं मानं च संश्रिताः ।
> इमामवस्थां संप्राप्ताः राज्यक्लेशबुभुक्षया ॥
>
> "Having destroyed ourselves by our own hands, what righteous result can we obtain?
>
> Fie upon military practice,
>
> Fie upon physical force,
>
> Fie upon the purpose in pursuit of which we have been led into this calamity.
>
> Good is forgiveness, self-restraint, clean life, no enmity, no quarrel, ahimsa and true speech—virtues obligatory to forest-dwellers (retired from life's conflicts).
>
> But we in our greed and folly inspired by vanity and pride, have landed ourselves in this situation, in our desire to enjoy a kingdom's sorrowful burden."
>
> Thus wailed Yudhishthira (firm-in-battle) who was also Dharmaputra (son of righteousness).
>
> The ideal of realizing both freedom and justice under equal laws is the ideal for countries like India—and that is, or should be, the ideal of the world.

NEW DELHI, November 9, 1947
Harijan, 9-11-1947

493. LETTER TO DEVPRAKASH NAYYAR

NEW DELHI,
November 5/9, 1947

CHI. DEV,

I have your letter. I have sent the letter for Sushila to Wardha. She will return from there after the 10th instant. She might come even earlier. Chand[1] will accompany her. It will be only good if you turn into the type of soldier you write about. Then all your anguish will vanish. You did well in not going to Wardha. Now even Dr. Gilder and Dr. Jivaraj Mehta . . .

I had to leave the letter unfinished as some work had cropped up. I am now completing it on the 9th. I have seen the X-ray too. All say that there is nothing the matter with the heart. There is a telegram now from Sushila to send over Chand's mother. Nobody here knows where her mother has gone. She did not leave any address with me while leaving. Chand stayed on because Sushila has stayed on. I do not know the reason behind it. Whatever it be, there is no cause for worry.

I think I have answered the rest of the points. I have had a talk with Anugrahababu too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi original. Documents relating to Gandhiji. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Chandrani, whom the addressee married later

CWMG - IXXXIX

494. LETTER TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 9, 1947

DEAR LORD MOUNTBATTEN,

This little thing[1] is made out of doubled yarn of my own spinning. The knitting was done by a Punjabi girl who was trained by Abha's husband, my grandson[2]. Lady Mountbatten knows Abha. Please give the bride[3] and the bridegroom[4] this with my blessings, with the wish that they would have a long and happy life of service of men.[5]

I hope you will have a happy time and safe return according to your time-table.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 514

[1] A table-cloth

[2] Kanu Gandhi

[3] & [4] Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, nephew of Lord Mountbatten

[5] Lord and Lady Mountbatten personally delivered the gift to Princess Elizabeth. It was prominently exhibited among the wedding gifts at St. James'. On his return, Lord Mountbatten conveyed to Gandhiji a personal message of appreciation and thanks from the Princess and the Prince consort. The Princess, Mountbatten reported, was extremely touched that Gandhiji should have made this very fine gesture to them and she said that she always intended to keep it in a place of safety as a precious souvenir and not to use it as a tea-cloth as she valued its historic association.

495. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

November 9, 1947

DEAR DR. ROY,

Nowsher Ali[1] should not have convened his conference at this juncture. He should have awaited the result of S[uhrawardy]'s step.[2] Having called it, let him not criticize the M[uslim] Leaguers but adopt a constructive line. My suggestion to the nationalists to join the League was meant to strengthen them. If they could not be accepted as Congressmen they could not have joined.

I have read your American thesis. It is good. Correctly represents my views to the extent that it goes into them. You can now enforce the law of love in your dealings with the Muslim friends including S[uhrawardy] and guide them along the right path.

As to the zonal Congress branches, await the result of the A. I. C. C. meeting. It has to give guidance.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The former Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. He had convened a conference of the Nationalist Muslims at Calcutta on November 9, which called upon the Muslims to join the Congress and make it stronger in order to keep reactionary forces down. It characterized the move of H. S. Suhrawardy as "disruptive".

[2] H. S. Suhrawardy had convened a conference of Muslims in the Indian Union at Calcutta on November 9 and 10. It adopted a resolution that the solidarity of Muslims should not be impaired so that they might work as a whole for the welfare of the State to which they belonged as well as safeguard their rights and liberties. It urged upon the Governments of both the Dominions to settle their differences by peaceful methods and demanded that both the Governments should guarantee fullest protection to the minorities.

496. LETTER TO HARJIVAN KOTAK

NEW DELHI,
November 9, 1947

CHI. HARJIVAN,

I was very glad to see your handwriting. I learn through friends all about you from time to time. What is joy or grief to one who knows that life and death are one and the same thing? I am glad about your decision. Ramanama alone is the unfailing remedy. All else is vain effort. Fasting is an aid to Ramanama. Live on without worry or pass out free of care.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

497. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

November 9, 1947

It seems the Kathiawar issue is becoming more and more complicated. I just cannot get out of this place. I sometimes feel that a new and unique India may be born out of this bloodshed that is increasing day by day, because the *Gita* says, "For whenever Right declines and Wrong prevails, then O Bharata, I come to birth".[2] This verse gives me a lot of consolation.

Still, how strange it is that I learn from a leader of Kathiawar, who is a votary of non-violence and can be counted among its ardent followers, that it is not possible to do without arms in a small State like Junagadh.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 237

[1] The English original is not available.

[2] *Bhagavadgita*, IV, 7

[3] The Nawab of Junagadh after consenting to accede to India, revoked his decision, fled to Pakistan and executed an Instrument of Accession on September 15 whereby the State was declared to have acceded to Pakistan. The Government of India refused to accept the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan in the circumstances in which it was made.

498. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 9, 1947

I appreciate generosity. But if generosity admits of no restraints it leads to extravagance. Extravagance is a vice.

I have endless work here. I get utterly exhausted by the end of the day. There is a constant stream of visitors. How can I refuse to listen to their sorrows? Very often my own grief becomes overwhelming. Is this what our truth and non-violence have come to? Still, I retain my faith. That is why I derive solace from the dictum that "adversity is the mother of progress".

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 239

499. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

November 9, 1947

I shudder at the thought of the condition of thousands of refugees in the severe cold here. It shows how much poison there is in us. Death is bound to overtake us who have been born. What can be better for us than to die at the hands of our own brothers? I cannot convince the people of this. It would be enough if I could demonstrate it in my own life.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 240

The Junagadh State subjects, resident in Bombay, at a meeting held on September 25, challenged the decision of the Nawab of Junagadh and set up a Provisional Government led by Shamaldas Gandhi. The Provisional Government was empowered to take all steps necessary for Junagadh's formal accession to India.

CWMG - LXXXIX

500. LETTER TO MAHESH DUTT MISHRA

November 9, 1947

CHI. MAHESH,

I have your letter. If you can be spared from there, come over here. I am so busy that I do not know how much time I can give you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 6724. Also C. W. 4468. Courtesy: Mahesh Dutt Mishra

501. SILENCE-DAY NOTE

November 9, 1947

I see that the people of India are terror-stricken. Out of sheer fright they do not come out with the truth. I had the same experience in Noakhali. Similarly women in the Punjab who have been abducted are also terror-stricken. Mridulabehn[1] is working hard for them. Let us see what can be done. I will go to Panipat tomorrow. Maulana Saheb and Rajkumari are accompanying me. . . .[2]

[From Hindi]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, pp. 239-40

[1] Daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai
[2] Omission as in the source

502. NOTE TO U. P. MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMBERS[1]

November 9, 1947

I shall certainly make inquiries. Pantji[2] has promised that the Government would make every effort to protect each and every Muslim in the U. P. But shall I venture a suggestion? If you desire complete protection for Muslims and wish to serve your brethren, you should show sympathy towards the Hindus who have come from Pakistan. You should serve them in their camps and convince them that you are their brothers. I must say that I have not yet come across a single Muslim who would do this. We shall discuss this matter at leisure some other time.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 240

503. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

November 9, 1947

We will be saved a lot of botheration if we cease to think of how we appear to others and concentrate on what is beneficial to us. Knowingly or unknowingly, we resort to many artificial aids to please or appear good to others. As a result, we become miserable. The same thing applies to this hat.[3] If I care for appearances, I will have to face the sun and damage my health for no reason. Do you understand this? Well, I have taught you a good lesson after many days. If we analyse it minutely, our barbaric behaviour and Hindu-Muslim tension are also due to our preoccupation with how we appear to others. A man's thoughts play a major role in his life. That is why, as you also know, the proverb says: "As one's food, so one's belching; as one's thoughts, so one's deeds. . . ."[4]

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 241

[1] The visitors had complained that adequate protection was not being provided to the Muslims in the U. P.

[2] The source has "Panditji".

[3] Manu Gandhi had joked about the funny appearance of Gandhiji when he wore a Noakhali hat to protect himself from the sun.

[4] Gandhiji stopped here as Jawaharlal Nehru came to see him.

504. NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

[*November 9, 1947*][1]

He defended himself through and through. He was docile but claimed utter innocence of all wrongdoing.

From the original: C. W. 4196. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7832

505. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[2]

NEW DELHI,
November 9, 1947

I regret that as I have to go to Panipat tomorrow, I had to take silence early today so as to be able to speak to the Hindus and the Muslims of Panipat on reaching there. I hope to return to Delhi in time for the prayer tomorrow evening when I shall be able to speak. The newspapers wrongly report that I am going to Kurukshetra tomorrow. I said definitely that I did intend to go to the Kurukshetra camp though not before the conclusion of the forthcoming A. I. C. C. meeting. I expect to speak to them through the radio probably on Wednesday at a time to be announced in due course.

Diwali will be on us in a few days. A sister who is herself a refugee writes:[3]

Whilst I admire this sister and others like her, I cannot help saying that she and those who think like her are wrong. It is well known that a family which is overtaken by sorrow abstains from participation in festivities according to capacity. It is an illustration of the doctrine of oneness on a very limited scale. Break through the crust of limitation and India becomes one family. If all limitations vanish, the whole world becomes

[1] The note is written on the back of a telegram dated November 8, 1947. Gandhiji observed silence on November 9.

[2] Since Gandhiji was observing silence, his written speech was read out after the prayers.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had suggested that forgetting the sorrows of the past, the coming Diwali, being the first in independent India, should be celebrated by all.

one family, which it really is. Not to cross these bars is to become callous to all fine feelings which make a man. We must not be self-centred or being falsely sentimental ignore facts. My advice to abstain from the rejoicings[1] is broadbased on many solid considerations. The refugee problem is there, affecting lakhs of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. There is as well want (albeit man-made) of food and clothing. The deeper cause is dishonesty of the many who can mould public opinion, obstinate refusal of sufferers to learn from their sufferings and extensive inhumanity of man to man. I can see in this misery no cause for joy. A resolute and wise refusal to take part in festivities will be an incentive to introspection and self-purification. Let us not do anything which will throw away a blessing which has been won after hard toil and tribulation.

I must now refer to a visit of friends from French India[2] during the week. They complained that what I had said regarding what was claimed to be a satyagraha in Chandranagore,[3] was misused to suppress the aspirations of the people in French India for the fullest measure of autonomy under the Indian Union, whilst retaining at the same time, the wholesome influence of French culture. They also told me that, as under the British Government, there were, in French India, those who might be likened to fifth-columnists, who, in order to serve their selfish purpose, co-operated with the French authorities who, in their turn, were aiming at suppressing the natural aspirations of the inhabitants of French India. I would be very sorry indeed if the account given by the visitors from French India were accurate. Anyway, my opinion is quite emphatic. It is not possible for the inhabitants of these small foreign settlements[4] to remain under servility in the face of the millions of their countrymen who have become free from the British rule. I am surprised that my friendly act towards Chandranagore could be distorted by anyone to suggest that I could ever countenance an inferior status in the little foreign settlements in India. I hope, therefore, that the information given to me has no foundation in fact, and that the great French nation would never identify itself with the suppression of people, whether black or brown, in India or elsewhere.

Harijan, 16-11-1947

[1] *Vide* p. 19.
[2] *Vide* p. 500.
[3] *Vide* pp. 57-8.
[4] *Viz.*, Goa, Daman, Diu, Mahe, Pondicherry and Chandranagore

506. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

NEW DELHI,
November 10, 1947

MY DEAR KU.[1],

You mean meeting in New Delhi if I am alive till then. In N. D., I cannot think of any other item than the policy of the A. I. V. I. A. in view of the existing situation.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

507. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

November 10, 1947

Only on condition that you will not over-exert yourself.[2] Of course I would very much like you to do so. Your handwriting will improve and my slips if any can also be corrected. But bear in mind that if you over-exert yourself in order to fulfil your desire I will order you to give it up. I see violence in doing a thing like that. The work which becomes a burden or for which we have to overstrain ourselves at the cost of our health amounts to physical violence. If that happens it is better to give it up.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 244

[1] Secretary, All-India Village Industries Association

[2] The addressee had expressed the wish to keep with herself the original writings in Gandhiji's hand and send the copies made by her to the persons concerned.

508. A LETTER

November 10, 1947

While each province develops and its regional language becomes the medium of instruction, each province will still remain an indivisible part of India. Since there will be crores of students to derive the benefit of education and as they look upon the whole of India as their motherland, they will need a language commonly understood by students from all provinces. In addition to the regional language, there will be the need for a language which has wide currency. Hindi or Hindustani alone can play this role. Hence all students should learn it in both the scripts as a compulsory second-language.

[From Gujarati]

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I, p. 245

509. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,
November 10, 1947

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

If we too become servants of God alone like Mirabai, all our troubles would be over.[1] You would realize the significance of this after you have heard what I am going to say. You must have read about Junagadh in the newspapers.[2] I am satisfied after receiving two telegrams from Rajkot that the news published in the Press is absolutely correct. The Prime Minister of Junagadh, Shah Nawaz Bhutto, and the Nawab are in Karachi.

[1] Gandhiji was referring to the *bhajan* by Mirabai, *Mhane chakar rakhoji*, sung during the prayer. *Vide* also Vol. XLIV, p. 428, verse 149.

[2] According to a Press communique issued by the Government of India "the Regional Commissioner of Rajkot was approached . . . by Major Harvey Jones . . . with a letter from the Junagadh Dewan, appealing to the Government of India to take over the Junagadh administration. This request was made in order to save the State from complete administrative break-down.

The Government of India took over the administration of the Junagadh State on November 9. The Indian troops entered Junagadh city at 6 p. m.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Major Harvey Jones, is in Junagadh. They are all responsible for Junagadh acceding to the Indian Union. From this you have a right to infer that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah also has given his sanction in this matter. If that is so, you can come to the conclusion that the troubles in Kashmir and Hyderabad[1] would also be over. And I would even say that the trend now would be towards peace. Both the Dominions would develop friendly relations and would work in mutual co-operation. I do not think about the Qaid-e-Azam as the Governor-General. As the Governor-General the Qaid-e-Azam has no legal right at all to interfere in the affairs of Pakistan. In that capacity he is in the same position as that of Lord Mountbatten in India who is only the constitutional Governor-General. Lord Mountbatten has gone for the wedding of a person who is more than a son to him and who is getting married to the future queen of England. He could go there only after taking permission from his Cabinet and would be coming back by November 24, 1947. Hence in my opinion Jinnah is the maker of the present Muslim League and nothing can be done in Pakistan without his knowledge and sanction. That is why I feel that if Jinnah has a hand in Junagadh's accession to the Indian Union, it is a happy augury.

I wish to tell you something about my visit to Panipat. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad accompanied me during my visit. Rajkumari was also expected to accompany me, but she was at the Government House and I could not wait beyond 10.30 according to my watch. I am glad I went to Panipat. I saw the Muslim patients in the hospital there.[2] Some of them have been badly wounded. But they are being given the best possible attention, because Rajkumari has sent there four doctors, nurses and medical assistants. After that we met the representatives of the Muslims, local Hindus and the refugees. More than 20,000 refugees are reported to be in Panipat. We were told every day more and more refugees are pouring in. The Deputy Commissioner and the Police Superintendent see great danger in this trend. I am glad to say that these officers have earned great praise from

[1] The Nizam wanted "Hyderabad to be an independent sovereign state" and refused to accede to India. Prolonged discussions between the Government of India and the Nizam were conducted by their emissaries. The Nizam utilized the interregnum provided by the negotiations to build up his armed strength by importing weapons from Europe.

[2] Gandhiji spent a few minutes with every patient, occasionally covering a patient properly with the sheet.

the Hindus as well as the Muslims. And, as for the refugees, they have nothing to complain. They are satisfied with them.

We could also meet the refugees who had gathered near the Municipal House. The refugees had to undergo terrible hardships in Pakistan and are still suffering the same hardships in the disorganized life at Panipat. Some of them are living on railway platforms, and quite a few of them in the open, right under the sky. Nevertheless, I was very happy to notice that there was no anger in their hearts or on their faces. They were very happy that we had been there. I felt the authorities had been quite callous in collecting so many refugees in Panipat without giving advance notice to the Deputy Commissioner and the people concerned. The officials at Panipat came to know about the exact number of refugees only when the trains arrived at the station. This is most unfortunate. There are women, children and aged people among the refugees at Panipat. I was told that among the refugees there are also women who had delivered babies on the railway platform.

All this is happening in East Punjab where Dr. Gopichand[1] is the Chief Minister. Dr. Gopichand is my co-worker. I have great respect for him. I have known him for many years as a capable organizer having great influence on the Punjabis. He has done considerable work for the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association. I should not think that the task in East Punjab is beyond him. But, if Panipat is the sample of his efficiency, it is a matter of great shame for his Government. Why were so many refugees brought to Panipat without any notice? Why are the arrangements for accommodating them so inadequate? Why should not the officers be informed in advance as to who and how many refugees are being sent to Panipat? Along with this I have also received the information yesterday that there are about three lakh Muslims in Gurgaon district who have left their houses in panic. They are lying in the open on both sides of the road hoping to cover a distance of 300 miles along with their women, children and cattle in this biting cold of the Punjab. I do not believe this story. I think there is some mistake in what my friends have told me. I still hope that this information is incorrect or is a gross exaggeration. But what I saw at Panipat has shaken my disbelief in such reports. None the less, I hope that Dr. Gopichand and

[1] Gopichand Bhargava

his Cabinet would take a warning while there is still time and would not rest till proper arrangements are made for looking after the refugees. Such arrangements can be made only by foresight and extreme caution.

[From Hindi]

Prarthana Pravachan—II, pp. 63-8

CWMG - LXXXIX

ADDENDUM

NOTE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[*September 29, 1947*][1]

So far as the war is concerned my speeches have been quite clear. The summaries sent to America and elsewhere may be quite the contrary of what I might have said. I shall deal with the question more fully in my written speech today. As to the deteriorating situation I have told you quite firmly that you should dispense with Sardar, or he you. He won't shoulder the burden without you, hence you should take it up and reform the Cabinet with one mind. Rajen Babu should give up food portfolio. He will do so gladly.

I have always looked upon the wholesale accessions of States with suspicion. They are probably a liability rather than an asset. This sums up my reaction. We may discuss these things more fully when I can speak.

Jawaharlal Nehru Papers (Undated). Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] From the reference to the "written speech today" in which Gandhiji clarified his stand on the war; *vide* pp. 259-60.

CWMG - LXXIX

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW WITH LORD MOUNTBATTEN[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 14 and 16, 1947

I spoke to him about the increasing tendency of responsible leaders and Ministers to become communal in outlook. He agreed that this was so.

I told him that I thought that only the Prime Minister himself was completely free from the taint of communalism. Maulana Azad, for a Muslim, was of course remarkably free of bias; though it must be remembered that he was in a peculiar situation. I did not know whether Kidwai could be regarded as quite free, though he had shown no signs of communalism. Matthai and Rajkumari still seemed fairly free; but Bhabha was a disappointment since he had been selected specially as Chairman of the Delhi Emergency Committee not only for his business efficiency and strong personality, but because as a Parsee he should be non-communal. I was informed, however, that in the last two days he appeared to have gone completely communal.

I told Mr. Gandhi that it was not a bit of good preaching to the people unless he had converted the leaders; and I urged him to devote his full energy towards keeping the leaders, and particularly the Deputy Prime Minister, as straight as possible.

Mr. Gandhi said he entirely agreed with every word I had spoken; that he already knew it, and that he was interested to see that I had summed up the position so correctly.

He promised to do his very best, and offered never to mention my name in this matter or that we had had these conversations.

He complained bitterly about the wording of Mr. Jinnah's appeal for money, since it was apparently intended only to help Muslims wherever they might be and not the people of Pakistan. He asked me if I could take this up with Mr. Jinnah personally, and I told him I did not feel I should be right in doing this, but I would ask Lord Ismay to take it up the next time he visited Karachi.

From a photostat: C. W. 11034. Lord Mountbatten Papers. Courtesy: Broadlands Archives Trust, Broadlands

[1] As recorded by Lord Mountbatten; *vide* p. 183.

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW WITH LORD MOUNTBATTEN[1]

NEW DELHI,
September 25, 1947

Mr. Gandhi broke in with a wise observation. He pointed out that the mere refutation of Pandit Kunzru's remarks[2], particularly by Nehru (who was now suspect for not being sufficiently communal on the Hindu/Sikh side) or by himself (whose remarks were becoming more and more obnoxious to the people of India), would not effect the main purpose we had in mind of checking the spread of this anti-British feeling among Indians.

He therefore considered it of overriding importance that Pandit Kunzru should be immediately recalled to Delhi; should be confronted with his statement; should be asked to substantiate it; and, on failing to do so, should be called upon to make an unqualified apology and unhesitating withdrawal. This would have a really profound effect as in the Gokhale case of 1896.

Mr. Gandhi suggested that Gen. Thimayya should either see Pandit Kunzru, in view of their friendship and the unique position he was in to convince him of the truth; or at the very least should leave a full personal letter behind for him to read.

Pandit Nehru here pointed out a complication, in that Pandit Kunzru was really attacking the whole of the present Government and not merely the British; and that it might be difficult to separate the two. I, however, urged that the British case was the more pressing and that it should be grappled with strength at this moment.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say that he was perfectly prepared to support this line at the proper moment by elaborating it in his post-prayer meeting discussions. He also offered to see Mr. Birla (his present host), who owned *The Hindustan Times*, and to talk to his son, Devdas Gandhi, the editor, to try and ensure that in the mean while the right line was taken up in this newspaper. I urged that he should also invite his son to use his influence with the editor of the *Indian News Chronicle*. Mr. Gandhi said that he thought Sahni had left, but no doubt his son would be able to make contact with the new editor.

The rest of the party then left, and I remained alone with Mr. Gandhi. He told me that the time had come when I must consider what action

[1] As recorded by Lord Mountbatten; *vide* p. 237.
[2] Criticizing British officers

CWMG - LXXXIX

I should take to help in the present position if I did not wish to bury my own reputation and even the reputation of the British here in India where at present it stood so high.

So far as I could make out his idea was that I should telegraph to Mr. Attlee in my personal capacity as an Englishman and say that the British Commonwealth should not hesitate to expel any member of that Commonwealth which could be proved guilty of sharp practice and which intended to make war on another member.

He was not saying this against Pakistan, for the rest of the Commonwealth might come to the conclusion that it was India, though he himself felt certain that they would not.

He did not see how the rest of the Commonwealth could support two members in their midst which were drifting towards a stage that sooner or later might mean war.

For instance, he considered that it was most unfortunate that Sir Francis Mudie, Sir George Cunningham and Sir Frederick Bourne should be Governors of Pakistan provinces at this time.

I asked him whether he believed Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali and Chundrigar would prove a greater deterrent to war if they had been Governors.

To my surprise Mr. Gandhi replied that he would prefer to see them as Governors now, for then the full duplicity and hostile intent of Pakistan would stand revealed in all its nakedness, whereas now they were covering up their intentions behind a facade of honourable British Governors.

I said I assumed that Mr. Gandhi quite understood that in the event of a war between the Dominions, British officers would be withdrawn from both Dominions immediately, since they could hardly be expected to fight each other. I further pointed out that this sanction acted 90 per cent against Pakistan, for it was they who were short of senior officers and administrators and it was they who would be crippled by the removal of the British; whereas in India, though in my opinion they would lose great efficiency, they would not be crippled in the same way. Mr. Gandhi agreed.

I told Mr. Gandhi I could not possibly communicate with Mr. Attlee behind Pandit Nehru's back and I would require to show him what I proposed to send and would need his full approval.

"Ah!", said Mr. Gandhi, "I am afraid you may have difficulty there; for though I agree you must do that, he has already refused to accept my suggestion of including this proposal in his reply to the Prime Minister on the question of the Pakistan telegrams to the Commonwealth."

I now felt we were in such deep water, and the point was so very unclear, and as the time was now past 2 p. m., that it was better to let him go and ask him to put up his proposals in writing to me, which he promised to do.

From a copy: India Office Library and Records

APPENDIX III

NOTE ON GANDHIJI'S 78TH BIRTHDAY[1]

The second of October 1947, was Gandhiji's birthday—the last to be celebrated in his lifetime. Members of his party came in the early morning to offer him their obeisances. "Bapuji," one of them remarked, "on our birthdays, it is we who touch the feet of other people and take their blessings but in your case it is other way about. Is this fair?"

Gandhiji laughed: "The ways of Mahatmas are different! It is not my fault. You made me Mahatma, maybe a bogus one; so you must pay the penalty!"

He observed this birthday, as usual, by fasting, prayer and extra spinning. The fast, he explained was for self-purification, and the spinning a token of the renewal of his covenant to dedicate his being to the service of the lowliest and the least in God's creation. He had turned his birthday celebration into celebration of the rebirth of the spinning-wheel. It stood for non-violence. The symbol appeared to have been lost. But he had not stopped the observance hoping that there might be at least a few scattered individuals true to the message of the wheel. It was for their sake that he allowed the celebration to continue.

A small party of intimate friends was waiting for him when he entered his room after his bath at half past eight. They included Pandit Nehru and the Sardar, G. D. Birla — his host — and all the members of the Birla family in Delhi. Mirabehn had gaily decorated his seat by improvising in front of it an artistic cross, *He Rama* and the sacred syllable *Om* from flowers of variegated colours. A short prayer was held in which all joined. It was followed by the singing of his favourite hymn "When I survey the wondrous Cross" and another devotional hymn of his choice in Hindi — *He Govinda rakho sharan.*

Visitors and friends continued to come all day to offer homage to the Father of the Nation. So also came the members of the Diplomatic Corps, some of them with greetings from their respective Governments. Lastly Lady Mountbatten arrived with a sheaf of letters and telegrams addressed to him.

His request to all was to pray that "either the present conflagration should end or He should take me away. I do not wish another birthday to overtake me in an India still in flames."

[1] *Vide* p. 275.

"What sin must I have committed," he remarked to the Sardar, "that He should have kept me alive to witness all these horrors?"

He seemed to be consumed by the feeling of helplessness in the face of the surrounding conflagration. Recorded the Sardar's daughter, Manibehn, mournfully that day in her journal: "His anguish was unbearable. We had gone to him in elation; we returned home with a heavy heart."

After the visitors had left, he had another spasm of coughing. "I would prefer to quit this frame unless the all-healing efficacy of His name fills me," he murmured. "The desire to live for 125 years has completely vanished as a result of this continued fratricide. I do not want to be a helpless witness of it."

"So from 125 years you have come down to zero," someone put in.

"Yes, unless the conflagration ceases." . . .

The All-India Radio had arranged a special broadcast programme in observance of his birthday. Would he not, for that once, listen to the special programme? —he was asked. "No," he replied; he preferred *rentio* (spinning-wheel) to radio. The hum of the spinning-wheel was sweeter. He heard in it the "still sad music of humanity".

Gandhiji refused to release for publication any of the birthday messages —telegrams or letters—which had come from all parts of the world. He had many beautiful messages from Muslim friends, too, but he felt that it was no time for their publication when the general public seemed to have ceased, for the time being at least, to believe in non-violence and truth.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 456-8

CWMG - LXXXI

Adarsh Hind Mahila (Marathi) : Biography of Avantikabai Gokhale by Vinayak Tiwari.

Amrita Bazar Patrika : English daily published from Calcutta.

Bapuna Patro–7 : Shri Chhaganlal Joshine (Gujarati) : Ed. Chhaganlal Joshi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962.

Bapuna Patro–4 : Manibehn Patelne (Gujarati) : Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957.

Bapuna Patro–2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine (Gujarati) : Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1952.

Broadlands Archives Trust, Romsey, Hampshire, U. K.

Calcuttano Chamatkar (Gujarati): Manubehn Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1956.

Dilhiman Gandhiji—I (Gujarati) : Manubehn Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1964.

Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi : Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documents.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1944-47 : Ed. Pyarelal, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1959.

Harijan (1933-56) : English weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published from Poona on February 11, 1933; shifted to Madras on October 27, 1933; brought back to Poona on April 13, 1935; subsequently published from Ahmedabad.

Harijan Sevak (1933-56) : Hindi weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published on February 23, 1933 from Delhi.

Harijanbandhu (1933-56) : Gujarati weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published on March 12, 1933 from Poona.

(*The*) *Hindu* : English daily published from Madras.

(The) *Hindustan Standard* : English daily published from Calcutta.

CWMG-LXXIX

(*The*) *Hindustan Times* : English daily published from New Delhi.

India Office Library, London.

Mahatma : Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vols. I and VIII: D. G. Tendulkar, Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri and D. G. Tendulkar, Bombay, 1952.

Mahatma Gandhi — The Last Phase, Vol. II: Pyarelal, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1958.

My Days with Gandhi : N. K. Bose, Nishana, Calcutta, 1953.

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad (Hindi): Ed. D. B. Kalelkar, Jamnalal Bajaj Seva Trust, Wardha, 1953.

Prarthana Pravachan — I and II (Hindi) : Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1954.

Pyarelal Papers : Documents made available by Pyarelal.

Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad : Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji.

CWMG - LXXXIX

CHRONOLOGY

(*August 1 — November 10, 1947*)

August 1 : Gandhiji reached Srinagar.

August 4 : Reached Jammu.

August 5 : Spoke at Gurudwara Punja Saheb; addressed prayer meeting at Wah Refugee Camp.

August 6 : Reached Lahore; answered questions put by Congress workers; in evening left for Patna *en route* to Calcutta.

August 8 : At Patna, addressing prayer meeting said that 15th August should be celebrated by fasting, spinning and prayer.

August 9 : Reached Calcutta; put up at Sodepur Ashram.

August 10 : Gave interview to Congress Ministers of Bengal; received Muslim deputation; at prayer meeting announced decision to postpone visit to Noakhali by two days.

August 11 : In response to H. S. Suhrawardy's request to extend stay in Calcutta, proposed to live with him and work together till every Hindu and Muslim was safe.

August 12 : At prayer meeting, announced that he and Suhrawardy would live and work together in disturbed areas until peace was restored.

August 13 : Moved into "Hydari Mansion" in riot-affected area where, on arrival, faced angry demonstration by Hindus.

August 15 : Observed Independence Day by fasting, spinning, prayer.

August 16 : Had discussion with Rev. John Kellas.

August 18 : At prayer meeting, offered Id greetings to Muslims.

August 19 : Visited industrial area at Kancharapara where police had resorted to firing near a mosque.

August 20 : In interview to Press, declined to comment on political matters as he wanted to utilize the media for Hindu-Muslim unity.

August 21 : Spoke at women's meeting.

CWMG - LXXXIX

August 22 : Answered questions put by Kasturba Trust trainees.

August 24 : Invited readers' opinion about the desirability of continuing *Harijan* weeklies.

August 30 : Was described as "one-man boundary force" by Mountbatten in letter.
In interview, told Randolph Churchill that he still considered partition a "sin".

August 31 : Addressed Muslim merchants at Grand Hotel. Faced violent demonstration but escaped unhurt.

September 1 : Deeply disturbed by eruption of violence, went on fast at 8.15 p. m. to be given up "only if and when sanity returned to Calcutta". In talk with Rajagopalachari, refused to give up fast.

September 2 : Put off scheduled journey to Lahore; in evening, had talks with Sarat Chandra Bose and P. C. Ghosh.

September 3 : Had discussion with Hindu and Muslim representatives.

September 4 : Broke fast after assurances from leaders of all communities to stop riots and maintain communal harmony.

September 5 : In message to Shanti Sena Dal said: "My life is my message."

September 7 : Visited Gobra Leprosy Hospital and spoke to patients and staff; left for Delhi.

September 9 : Reached Delhi; put up at Birla House.

September 11 : Gave interview to Sikh deputation; visited Irwin Hospital.

September 12 : At prayer meeting, referred to disturbances in North-West Frontier Province.

September 16 : Spoke at R. S. S. rally; abandoned prayer due to objection to recitation from Koran.

September 17 : At prayer meeting, exhorted people to curb anger to qualify themselves for independence.

September 18 : Addressed Muslim gathering in Daryaganj mosque; had discussion with Suhrawardy.

September 21 : Addressed prayer meeting although prayer had to be abandoned, as recitation from Koran was objected to.

September 22 : Announced decision to continue publication of *Harijan* weeklies.

September 24 : In discussion with Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, advised rulers of Kathiawar to remain united.

September 25 : In talk with J. B. Kripalani, reiterated opposition to permanent exchange of population.

September 26 : Had discussion with Suhrawardy.

September 29 : At prayer meeting, expressed disapproval of unfounded Press reports.

October 2 : On his 78th birthday when advised by doctors to take penicillin, declared that Ramanama was his sole remedy.

October 6 : In speech read out at prayer meeting emphasized need for self-sufficiency in food.

October 9 : Had discussion with Suhrawardy.

October 11 : Spoke to Gujaratis who presented purse in honour of his birthday.

October 13 : In speech at prayer meeting emphasized need for cleanliness and sanitation in refugee camps.

October 17 : In letter to Julian Huxley, wrote: "rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done"; gave interview to Gujarati correspondents of All India Radio.

October 19 : In afternoon, explained significance of silence to Lady Handes.

October 20 : Addressed prayer meeting.

October 22 : Had talks with Christian pacifists and Muslims.

October 25 : Had talk with communists.

October 26 : Advised Muslims to resolve on Id not to spill blood but to offer it as sacrifice.

October 27 : At prayer meeting called upon the Services to rise above communalism.

October 30 : Advised Sind Congress leaders to settle down in villages, if they had no courage to return to Sind.

October 31 : At prayer meeting, exhorted people to uphold their religion without any fear.

November 1 : At prayer meeting, referred to condition of refugees in Kurukshetra and events in Kashmir. Met Horace Alexander.

Before *November 2 :* Gave interview to Ronald Stead.

November 2 : At prayer meeting referred to events in Kashmir.

November 3 : At prayer meeting, spoke in favour of lifting food control.

November 4 : Addressed prayer meeting.

November 5 : Gave interview to Chinese delegation. At prayer meeting, referred to Kashmir issue.

November 6 : Attended Food Committee meeting and discussed removal of food control.

At prayer meeting, referred to his proposal of lifting food control.

In interview to Chinese delegation gave message of peace and non-violence.

November 7 : Had talk with Indonesian visitors. Visited Tihar village.

At prayer meeting, advised refugees in Delhi to become self-supporting citizens.

November 8 : Met Lady Mountbatten.

At prayer meeting, advised decontrol of cloth.

Gave interview to Burmese delegation.

November 9 : Addressed prayer meeting.

November 10 : Visited Panipat.

At prayer meeting welcomed accession of Junagadh to Indian Union.

CWMG - LXXXVI

About Students, 113-5
Act As You Think, 497-8
Action in Inaction, 341
Address to: Muslim Merchants, 123-4
Advice to: Demonstrators, 151; Muslims, 411; West Bengal Ministers, 45; Young Men, 156
Appeal to Friends, 155-6
Apt Lines, 277
Bihar for Biharis and India, 164-5
(A) Bitter Letter, 330-1
Buried Alive?, 1
Discussion: (with) Bose, Sarat Chandra, 136-9; (with) Christians, 383-4; (with) Citizens' Deputation, 151-4; (with a) Deputation, 150; (with) Doctors, 272-3; (at) Food Conference, 486-90; (with) Friends, 148-9; (with) Ghosh, P. C., 139-40; (with) Hindu-Muslim Representatives, 142; (with) Kasturba Trust Trainees, 77-8; (with) Kellas, Rev. John, 51-2; (with) Kripalani, J. B., 236-8; (with) Mookerjee, Syama Prasad, 140-1; (with) Rajagopalachari, C., 132-3; (with) Representatives of Demonstrators, 33-4, 42; (with) Suhrawardy, H. S., 199-200, 244-5, 307; (with) Usman Mohammed and others, 21-2
(A) Draft Declaration, 12
Draft of a Confession, 218
Evil of Horse-racing, 16
Food Crisis and Soil Fertility, 53
"For Muslims Only", 483
Futility of Arms, 505
God Is Good, 54-5
Harijans in Ratlam, 504
Hindustani, 248-9
Hindustani Written in Nagari Only, 446-9
How to Save the Cow?, 73-4
Implications of Fasting, 234-5
(An) Indian Governor, 53-4
Interview to: (a) British Journalist, 143; Burmese Delegation, 500-1; Chinese Delegation, 476, 492; Churchill, Randolph, 118; Congress Ministers, 21; (the) Press, 67, 349-50; Sikh Deputation, 171-2; Stead, Ronald, 456-7; Suhrawardy, H. S., 28
Is *Harijan* Wanted?, 82-3
Is He Buried Alive?, 16
Lest We Copy the British, 457
(A) Letter, 99, 222, 226, 416, 498, 499, 516,—fragment of, 464, 464-5, 469, 470, 471, 475-6, 484, 485, 486, 493, 494, 509, 510
Letter to : Amrit Kaur, 50-1, 99, 108, 135; Amtussalaam, 39, 86, 293, 341, 451; Ansari, Abdul Qayyum, 110; Aryanayakum, E. W., 38, 66; Asar, Lilavati, 101; (an) Ashram Inmate, 105; (an) Ashram Woman,—fragment of, 465; Ayyar, C. P. Ramaswami, 96; Bajaj, Kamalnayan, 226; Bajaj, Radhakrishna, 39; Balvantsinha, 38, 207, 405; Bandopadhyaya, Shyama Prasad, 157; Bardoloi, Gopinath, 319;

CWMG - INDEX

Bhagwat, A. K., 95; Bhansali, J. P., 203, 469-70; Bhave, Balkrishna, 25, 109; Bose, Sarat Chandra, 24; Brelvi, S. A., 190, 197; Burrows, Sir Frederick, 23; Captain, Perin, 31; Chakravarty, Amiya, 24; Chaman Kavi, 349; Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 76; Chandrani, 372, 421; Chatterjee, Dhirendra Nath, 102; Chokhawala, Sharda G., 368; Das Gupta, Satis Chandra, 40, 92-3, 212, 440-1; Desai, Durga M., 128; Desai, Jivanji D., 20, 65, 218, 391; Desai, Maganbhai P., 291-2; Desai, Pushpa K., 83-4; Desai, Valji G., 179, 219, 360; Desai, Vikram V., 360; Dhiru, 96; District Magistrate, Chittagong, 87; Diwanji, Dilkhush, 326; Doctor, Jayakunvar M., 371; Dora, 191; Gandhi, Jaisukhlal, 425; Gandhi, Kanti, 75, 264-5; Gandhi, Kanu, 37, 90-1; Gandhi, Manilal, 267; Gandhi, Manu, 217; Gandhi, Narandas, 222, 249, 267, 398; Gandhi, Ramdas, 266; Gandhi, Saraswati, 265; Gandhi, Sita, 377-8, 390; Gandhi, Sushila, 40-1, 60; Ghosh, Sudhir, 297; Gidwani, Choithram, 192; Gokhale, Avantikabai, 281; Gopalji, 463; Gour, Harisingh, 256-7; Harrison, Agatha, 43-4; Hassan, Dr. Syed Minhajul, 259; Hingorani, Anand T., 56,—and Gangi, 342-3; Hobhouse, Stephen, 376; Hogg, Dorothy, 383; Holmes, John Haynes, 107, 191; Hunar, M. A., 297, 466; Hunter, Edith, 416; Hussain, Khateeb Ahmed, 298; Hussain, Zahid, 190; Huxley, Julian, 346-7; Hydari, Akbar, 87; Indira, 26; Iyengar, Gorur Ramaswami, 187-8; Jairamdas Doulatram, 17-8; Jaya, 333; Jethalal, 212; Jinnah, M. A., 318; Joshi, Chhaganlal, 430; Joshi, Naren B., 431; Kalelkar, D. B., 100-1, 227-8, 316-7, 361, 419; Kantak, Prema, 249-50, 325, 424; Katju, Kailas Nath 282; Khan, Shah Nawaz, 296; Khandelwal, Damodardas, 372; Kotak, Harjivan, 509; Kumarappa, J. C., 418, 515; Lohia, Ram Manohar, 76; (a) Maharaja, 102; Mahmud, Dr. Syed, 111; Malkani, N. R., 390; Mangaldas, 219; Marwari, Samant N., and others, 326; Mashruwala, Gomati K., 356; Mashruwala, Kishorelal G., 106, 257-8; Mashruwala, Tara N., 29; Mathuradas Trikumji,—fragment of, 475; Mehta, Champa R., 462-3; Mirabehn, 64, 107,—fragment of, 58; Mishra, Mahesh Dutt, 511; Morarjee, Shantikumar N., 235; Morvi, Maharaja of, 338; Mott, Dr. John, 266; Mountbatten, Lord, 116, 389, 507; Naidu, Sarojini, 298; Nanavati, Amritlal T., 227, 338; Narasinhdas Gordhandas, 399; Nayyar, Dev Prakash, 69, 93-4, 160-1, 296, 356, 373, 506; Nayyar, Mohanlal, 105; Nayyar, Taradevi, 106; Nazimuddin, Khwaja, 147; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 75, 83, 108, 117, 134; Nehru, Rameshwari, 203-4, 228-9; Om Prakash, 378; Pai, Sushila, 370, 420; Pancholi, Vijaya M., 333; Parekh, Devchand, 424; Parikh,

CWMG - LXXIX

Narahari D., 377; Patel, Jehangir, 424; Patel, Manibehn, 25-6, 36, 92, 118, 128, 135, 160, 256; Patel, Vallabhbhai, 8-9, 9, 35-6, 55, 91-2, 117-8, 126-7, 133-4, 292, 450; Pattani, Anantrai P., 268, 425; Patwari, Ranchhoddas, 277; Pavry, Jal, 398; Prabhakar, 122, 421; Prabhavati, 281; Premi Jairamdas, 110; Privat, Yvonne, 435; Pyarelal, 35, 292,—fragment of, 195, 291; Raddy, Teresa, 70; Rajagopalachari, C., 483-4; Rajendra Prasad, 32, 136; Rameshwardas, 441; Rao, Venkat, 3; Reddy, Somi G., 420; Roy, Dr. B. C., 508; Roy, Subodh Chandra, 382; Sarala, 37; Sastri, T. R. Venkatarama, 397; Schlesin, Sonja, —fragment of, 449; Shah, Chimanlal N., 66, 122, 371; Shah, Munnalal G., 244; Shah, Piroj, 369; Shergil, Umrao Singh, 417; Shriman Narayan, 32; Shyamlal, 278, 370; Sinha, Ramendra G., 45; Sinha, Shrikrishna, 476; Spiegel, Margarete, 280; Sri Prakasa, 192; Standenath, Francisca, 382; Suhrawardy, H. S., 418; Sundarlal, 342; Saurendra, 383; Tendulkar, D. G., 376-7; Tevani and Deborah, 325; Thadani, 359; Thomas, Daniel, 226; Tyabji, Raihana, 361; Vallabhdas, Shoorji, 236; Vallabhram, 463-4; Vyas, Kanta R., 258; Vyas, Ramprasad, 109; Wankaner, Raja of, 430-1

Message: (for) Citizens of Chandranagore, 500; (to) Hindu and Sikh Refugees in N. W. F. P., 395; (to) Malaya, 494; (to) Shanti Seva Dal, 156; (to) UNESCO Conference on Education, 155

Miracle or Accident?, 48-9

My duty, 216

My Statue, 178

(The) National Flag, 120

No Depression, 285-6

(A) Note, 79, 125, 136, 163

Note: (to) Amrit Kaur, 189, 513; (to) Bose, N. K., 23; (to) Gandhi, Manu, 211-2, 217, 367, 419, 465, 512, 515; (on) Kashmir Visit, 7-8; (to) Khulna Congress Workers, 59; (to) Mitra, Angshu Rani, 141; (to) Munshi, K. M., 466; (to) Nehru, Jawaharlal, 520; (to) People of Barrackpore, 59; (to) Shastri, Hiralal, 369; (to) Suhrawardy, H. S., 417-8; (to) Sundarlal, 346; (to) U. P. Muslim League Members, 512

Notes, 12-3, 355

Of New Universities, 402-5

Outrageous Analogy, 276

Outside His Field, 492-3

Prohibition of Intoxicants, 165-6

(A) Puzzle, 347-8

Question Box, 121

Quotations from Gurudev, 389

(The) Reason for Addition, 3-4

Right or Wrong, 144-7

Silence-Day Note, 215, 511

Speech: (before) Breaking of Fast, 154; (at) Gobra Leprosy Hospital, 162; (at) Gurudwara, Punja Saheb, 4-5; (to) Muslims, 198-9; (at) Narkeldanga, 56-7; (at) Prayer Meeting, 5-7, 18-9, 19-20, 22, 26-8, 29-31, 42-3, 47-8, 52, 57-8, 60, 61, 68-9, 71-2, 78-9, 80-2, 84-5, 88-90, 94-5, 97-8,

CWMG-LXXXIX

103-5, 111-3, 119-20, 124, 157-9, 161-2, 167-70, 173-7, 179-83, 183-7, 188-9, 195-7, 200-2, 204-6, 208-11, 213-5, 220-1, 223-6, 230-4, 241-4, 245-7, 250-2, 253-5, 259-60, 261-4, 268-72, 273-5, 279-80, 282-5, 286-90, 293-5, 299-301, 301-6, 308-12, 312-5, 320-3, 327-30, 331-2, 333-7, 339-40, 343-6, 350-4, 357-9, 363-7, 374-5, 379-81, 385-8, 391-5, 399-401, 407-11, 412-6, 422-3, 426-9, 431-4, 437-40, 441-5, 451-6, 458-62, 467-8, 471-5, 477-82, 490-2, 496-7, 501-3, 513-4, 516-9; (at) R. S. S. Rally, 193-5; (at) Reception by Gujaratis, 319-20; (at) Women's Meeting, 70

Statement to the Press, 129-32, 166-7, 172

Students' Difficulties, 14-5

(A) Student's Perplexity, 323-4

Swaraj Ashram, Vedchhi, 115

Take Care, 170-1

(A) Talk, 499-500

Talk: (with an) Advocate, 207-8; (with) Bose, Dr. Sunil, 148; (with) Communist Party Members, 46; (with) Communists, 406; Congress Workers, 10-1; (with) Gandhi, Manu, 299; (with) Handes, Lord and Lady, 362; (with) Indonesian Visitors, 494-5; (with) Laljibhai, 378-9; (with) Marwari Deputation, 129; (with) Mehta, Dinshaw, 141; (with) Muslims, 384-5; (with) Nawanagar, Jamsaheb of, 229; (with) Nelson, Stuart, 62-3; (with) Pyarelal, 124-5; (with) Railway Guard, 11-2; (with) Rajagopalachari, C., 46; (with) refugees, 238-40; (with) Sind Congressmen, 436-7; (to) Students, 47; (with) Students, 63-4; (with) Suhrawardy, H. S., 436

Task Before Ministers, 163

Telegram to: Asar, Lilavati, 429; Das Gupta, Satis Chandra, 86; Dasappa, H. C., 423; Gandhi, Narandas, 255; Ghosh, Sudhir, 260; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 159; Kharak Singh, 445; Suhrawardy, H. S., 17

"To Muslims", 31

(The) Tri-colour, 2

Two American Friends' Consolation, 482

Whither Ahimsa, Whither Khadi?, 395-7

Work Alone Is True Speech, 19

CWMG LXXXIX

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 173, 262
Abdulla, (Sir), 158
Abdullah, Begum Sheikh, 5, 433, 434
Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammed, 5, 6, 366, 459, 460; as sole leader of Kashmir, 455; his resistance to raiders' attack in Kashmir, 433-4, 480; release of, demanded, 8
Adivasi Seva Sangh, 146
Afghans; and Buddhism, 262-3
Afridis, 432, 454, 459, 460; and help from Pakistan, 461
Agitations; to intimidate Government condemned, 334-5
Ahimsa, *see* non-violence
Ajit Singh, Sardar, 108
Ajmal Khan, 181; his service to Hindus and Muslims, 179, 180
Akha Bhagat, 203
Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Indore (of 1918); proposition on national language at, 447
— — Hindu Mahasabha, 98, 137, 140, 159; and protection of Hinduism, 288; suspected to be behind violent demonstration, 127
Alexander, Horace G., 44, 55, 118, 297, 355
Ali, Mohammed, 209
Ali, Nowsher, 508
Ali, Shaukat, 209
All India Muslim League, 1, 21 *fn*, 59, 60, 80, 81, 139, 160, 173, 220, 230, 231, 270, 517; advised to co-operate with nationalist Muslims, 82; its assurance to protect non-Muslims, 6-7; its efforts to maintain peace in Bengal, 57; nationalist Muslims advised to join, 98; U. P. branch members of, advised to serve Hindu refugees, 512
— —Spinners' Association, 146, 491, 518
— —Village Industries Association, 146, 515, 518
Ambedkar, B. R.; his services to depressed classes, 345
Amrit Kaur, 44, 50, 99, 106, 108, 114, 135, 167, 172, 189, 280, 358, 374, 394, 401, 497, 511, 513, 517; her work for Hindu-Muslim unity, 251
Amritsar Treaty; lapse of, and Kashmir's accession to India, 6, 8
Amtussalaam, 39, 86, 90, 93, 293, 341, 451
Anandji Kalyanji, 317
Anglo-Indians; status of, in free India, 94-5
Ansari, Abdul Qayyum, 110
Ansari, M. A., 17, 160, 179, 180, 181, 449 *fn*
Ansari, Shaukat, 180, 449 *fn*
Ansari, Zohra, 180, 449
Anwar, Khurshid (of INA); joins invaders in Kashmir, 459-60, 462
Arjun Dev, Guru, 250, 251, 273
Arjunrao, 421
Arjuna (of *Mahabharata*), 465
Arms; futility of, 505

ARMY; bankruptcy of power of, 78; division of, 305-6, 422; duty of, in free India, 243; intervention of, in communal riots, 214; sanitation in refugee camps by, 184-5
ARUNDALE, Rukmini, 228
ARYANAYAKUM, Ashadevi, 244
ARYANAYAKUM, E. W., 38, 66, 244, 257
ASAR, Lakshmidas, 326
ASAR, Lilavati, 101, 429
Ashram Bhajanavali, 356 *fn*, 363 *fn*, 400 *fn*, 472, 501
ASIA; (as) nursery of blended cultures, 221; peace in, depends on India and China, 492
ASOKA, 254; his faith in Buddhism and non-violence, 2
ASOKA CHAKRA; as symbol of non-violence, 2
ASSAMESE, 95
ATI-SHUDRAS, *see* HARIJANS
AUROBINDO ASHRAM, Pondicherry, 432
AYYAR, C. P. Ramaswamy; assault on, at a public meeting, 92, 96
AZAD, Abul Kalam, 97, 209, 239, 248, 249, 292, 480, 487, 511, 517
AZAD HIND FAUJ, 98, 330, 459, 480; members of, and their duty after independence, 104-5

BAHAR, Mohammed Habibullah, 57
BAJAJ, Jamnalal, 193, 227, 316, 491
BAJAJ, Kamalnayan, 227, 316
BAJAJ, Radhakrishna, 39, 66, 122
BAKSHI, Ghulam Mohammad, 8
BALVANTSINHA, 38, 84, 207, 371, 405
BANDOPADHYAYA, Shyama Prasad, 157
BANG, T. K.; his criticism of disparity in salaries, 457
BANIA; definition of a true, 175
BANNERJEE, Smritish; killed while protecting a peace procession, 157 *fn*
BAQUI KHAN, 39
BARDOLOI, Gopinath, 319
BARI KHAN, 293, 341
BASIC EDUCATION, 37, 161, 404-5
BAWAZEER, Abdul Kadir, 301
BEEF-EATING; and coercion, 478
Bhagavad Gita, 194, 195, 223, 274, 386, 397, 444, 452, 458, 509; in Urdu script, 448
BHAGWAT, A. K., 95
BHAKTI, *see* PRIVAT, Yvonne
BHANSALI, J. P., 84, 122, 203, 462, 469
BHARATA (of *Ramayana*), 387
BHARGAVA, (Dr.) Gopichand, 68, 222; advised to make proper arrangements for refugees, 518-9
BHATT, Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas, 398
BHAVE, Balkrishna, 25, 95, 96, 109, 160
BHAVE, Vinoba, 394, 441
BHIMA (of *Mahabharata*), 465
BHISHMA (of *Mahabharata*), 465
BHOPAL; Nawab of, 126 *fn*
BHUTTO, Shah Nawaz, 516
BI-AMMA, 130
BIBLE, 386; psalms from, included in *Ashram Bhajanavali*, 472
BIHAR; communal riots in, 18-9, 22, 198
BIRLA, G. D., 159, 237, 258, 441
BISEN, Shiv Balak, 41, 127, 212, 227, 430
BOERS, 88; bravery of, 237
BOSE, N. K., 23, 90, 103 *fn*, 120, 132 *fn*
BOSE, Sarat Chandra, 24, 35, 136, 153 *fn*
BOSE, Subhas Chandra, 35, 460; and communal unity, 459; tribute to, 104-5, 480

Bose, (Dr.) Sunil, 148
Botha, Louis, 104
Boundary Commission, 30, 112; dispute over Award of, unbecoming, 72; its decision to include Khulna in Pakistan, 59 *fn*
Bravery; lies in courage to die, 224, 225
Bread Labour; meaning and importance of, 120
Brelvi, S. A., 190, 197
British Commonwealth, 254, 255
—Government, 322, 345, 386; and vivisection of India, 255
—Paramountcy; and question of States, 6, 7-8
Britishers; safety of, in India, 375
Brotherhood; need for cultivation of, 469
Browning, Robert, 355
Buddhism; and Afghans, 262-3
Bulsaria, 464
Burma; and declaration of independence, 500-1
Burrows, Sir Frederick, 23

Calcutta; communal riots in, 19-20, 22, 28, 30, 33-4, 40, 42-3, 57-8, 134-5; restoration of peace in, 47, 48, 50, 52, 68, 457; work for rehabilitation of evacuees in, 94
Capitalists; and trusteeship, 97-8
Captain, Perin, 31
Cariappa, K. M., 499; his disparagement of non-violence, 492-3
Casey, R. G., 120, 491; Gandhiji's meetings in 1945 with, 486
Central Peace Committee, 161; and rehabilitation of Hindu-Muslim evacuees in Calcutta, 68
Chakravarty, Amiya, 24
Chaman Kavi, 349
Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 76, 159, 226, 401, 451, 458, 472, 501
Chandranagore; satyagraha for self-government in, 55, 57-8, 500, 514
Chandrani, 356, 371 to 373, 421, 506
Charkha, *see* spinning-wheel
—Jayanti, 355; celebration of, 320
Chatterjee, Amrita Lal, 37, 462 *fn*
Chatterjee, Dhirendra Nath, 102, 462, 463, 470
Chatterjee, N. C., 127, 151 *fn*, 159
Chaudhary, Annada, 127, 130, 489, 490
Chavda, Zohra, 122
Chhattari; Nawab of, 39
Chiang Kai-Shek, 492
Children; should learn truth and non-violence, 439
China; India's friendship for, 476; peace in Asia depends on India and, 492
Chittagong; appeal for flood relief work in, 27, 48, 68
—Hill Tracts; its inclusion in Pakistan resented, 72
Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta; flag-hoisting at, by Harijan, 52
Chokhawala, Anand G., 368
Chokhawala, Sharda G., 368, 371
Chowdharani, Saraladevi, 71
Chowdhari, Makanji Kotabhai, 115
Chowdhary, Charubhushan, 132 *fn*
Chowdhary, Rambhuj Dutt, 353 *fn*
Chowdhary, Velji Kanji, 115
Christ, Jesus, 112, 275, 331 *fn*, 411; and self-defence, 63-4
Christian Missionaries; no State patronage to, 51; their services to lepers praised, 394
Christianity, 112; true, 206
Christians, 202, 223, 231, 238, 270, 275, 283, 288, 400; status of, in free India, 112, 252, 269

CHURCHILL, Randolph, 118
CHURCHILL, Winston, 118 *fn*, 480, 481; his attack on labour party for transferring power to India, 288-9; his remarks about Indian situation exaggerated, 253-5, 288-9; his speech, 500-1
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE; restricted use of, in democracy, 113
CLOTH; lifting of control on, advised, 352-3; shortage of, and spinning, 313-4
COMMUNAL RIOTS, 62, 64, 200, 241, 269-72, 282-3, 365, 395; in Kanchrapara, 61; in Sylhet, 88, 89, 92; in Delhi, 243; in Punjab, 79, 81, 83, 86, 91, 95
COMMUNAL UNITY, 67, 144, 153, 172, 331, 384; and constructive programme, 145; appeal for, 1, 11, 18-9, 42-3, 46, 47, 52, 57, 89, 123-4, 130, 138, 147, 148-9, 150, 154, 158-9, 162, 174-6, 177, 180-3, 187, 198, 201-2, 205, 221, 223-4, 225, 233, 238, 239-40, 242, 271-2, 275, 288, 322, 335-6, 337, 346, 365, 367, 388, 393, 400, 418, 427,—in Barasat, 119,—in Calcutta, 48-9, 58, 60, 71, 75 *fn*, 78, 123-4, 414-5,—to labourers at Motiaburz, 97-8; nation-building work not possible without, 146
COMMUNALISM; steps for combating, 457
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA; advice to, for communal unity, 46
COMMUNISTS; role of, criticized, 406
CONGRESS MINISTRY, BENGAL; duty of, in Calcutta disturbances, 20
CONGRESSMEN, 27, 300; and lack of faith in non-violence, 395-6; complaint against, migrating from Pakistan, 473; Sindhi, advised to take up constructive work in villages, 436, 437
CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF ENGLAND, 255, 289
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, 144, 317; and swaraj, 364; communal unity an integral part of, 145-6; its place in education, 114; neglect of, in free India deplored, 484
CONTROL(S)/RATIONING; removal of, advocated, 352-3, 396, 425, 466, 467-8, 486-90, 491-2, 493, 498
CONVERSION; forcible, condemned, 202, 231-2, 263, 388, 444, 450,—of Harijans in Pakistan, 321
COUSINS, James H., 228
COW-PROTECTION; cannot be enforced by law, 69, 73-4, 474
COW-SLAUGHTER; legal ban on, not possible, 69, 73-4, 277, 474
Cows; and low yield of milk in India, 79

DAS, Chitta Ranjan, 30 *fn*, 84, 104
DAS GUPTA, Arun, 40
DAS GUPTA, Babua, 212
DAS GUPTA, Devtosh, 156 *fn*
DAS GUPTA, Hemprabha, 40, 212
DAS GUPTA, Kshitish Chandra, 40, 212
DAS GUPTA, Satis Chandra, 17, 40, 86, 90, 92, 147, 212, 309, 341, 383; advised not to wind up work in Noakhali, 440
DASAPPA, H. C., 423
DASAPPA, Yashodhara, 78 *fn*
DAVE, Jugatram, 83
DEATH; thoughts on, 24, 224, 249-50, 509, 510
DEBORAH, 325

CWMG - LXXXIX

DELHI; appeal for communal unity in, 211, 225, 238; communal riots in, 198-9, 243, 365-6, 374-5, 379-80, 393; condition of refugees in, 327-8, 331-2
—CLOTH MILLS; workers' effort for communal harmony, 197
DEMOCRACY; and India, 77; limitations of, 112-3, 468; meaning of, 196
DEO, Shankarrao, 325
DESAI, Durga M., 128, 244
DESAI, Jivanji D., 20, 65, 69, 218, 391, 466
DESAI, Maganbhai P., 291
DESAI, Mahadev, 349, 377, 383
DESAI, Manibhai, 95
DESAI, Narayan M., 377; marriage of, 128
DESAI, Pushpa K., 83
DESAI, Valji G., 179, 218, 219, 359, 360
DESAI, Vikram V., 360
DESHPANDE, Gangadharrao, 317
DETACHMENT; and self-restraint, 143
DEVANAGARI; and Muslims, 446, 447; need for improvement in, 448
DHAR, N. R., 53 *fn*
DHARMADHIKARI, Dada, 259
DHARMANAND KOSAMBI MEMORIAL; funds for, 227, 316
DHRITARASHTRA (of *Mahabharata*), 453 *fn*
DHRUVA, 225
DISCIPLINE; people advised to observe, 261
DIWAN, Manohar; his services to lepers praised, 394
DIWANJI, Dilkhush, 326
DIXIT, Dhiru, 96, 109
DOCTOR, Jayakunvar M., 371
DORA, 191
DRAUPADI (of *Mahabharata*), 464-5
DRINKING; advice to people to give up, 315; vice of, and Sikhs, 4
DRONACHARYA (of *Mahabharata*), 465
DURGA (Goddess); symbol of great power, 387
DUSSEHRA; significance of, 387-8
DUTIES; and rights, 112, 346-7
DUTT, Thakur, 245
DWARKADAS, 101

EAST AFRICA; Indians in, asked to help South African Indians, 354
EAST BENGAL; appeal for flood relief in, 257; evacuation of Hindus from, 292
ECONOMICS; and religion, 144, 146
EDUCATION; denominational, and State patronage, 51, 56; need for changes in system of, 77, 114; self-supporting, advocated, 291. *See* also BASIC EDUCATION
ELEVEN VOWS (*Ekadash Vrat*), 448
ELIZABETH, Princess, 8; Gandhiji's wedding present to, 507
ENGLISH; as international medium, 256; its place in free India, 171, 358-9, 464
EQUANIMITY, 465, 509
EUROPEANS; status of, in free India, 48

FASTING, 21, 388; and Ramanama, 509; implications of, 234-5; restricted use of, in democracy, 113
FOOD CONFERENCE; discussion at, 486-90
FOOD SHORTAGE, 165, 167; imports to meet, opposed, 237, 334, 396, 488; ways to meet, 5, 53, 120, 293, 312-3, 334
FOODGRAIN POLICY COMMITTEE, 490 *fn*

FOODGRAINS; inter-provincial movement of, advocated, 490
FORGETFULNESS; (a) great gift to man, 123
FORWARD BLOC; and violence in Calcutta, 137
FRANCE; and suppression in French India, 514
FREE TRADE; policy not for India, 485
FREEDOM, *see* INDEPENDENCE
FRENCH INDIA; and freedom, 29-30, 514
FRIENDS' SERVICE UNIT; its flood-relief work in East Bengal, 68

GAMBLING; advice to people to give up, 315
GANDHI, Abha, 29, 37, 41, 86, 126, 129, 211, 231, 280, 341, 420, 507; makes public confession of error, 218
GANDHI, Chhaganlal, 371
GANDHI, Devdas, 191, 261
GANDHI, Harilal, 261
GANDHI, Jaisukhlal, 425
GANDHI, Kanti, 75, 264, 265
GANDHI, Kanu, 19, 37, 86, 90, 93, 309, 440, 507
GANDHI, Kasturba; tribute to, 485
GANDHI, Maganlal, 363; his services praised, 364
GANDHI, Manilal, 41, 60, 261, 267, 371
GANDHI, Manu, 41, 86, 110, 126, 129, 211, 217, 231, 280, 299, 362, 367, 384, 405, 419, 420, 425, 437, 465, 469, 512, 515; makes public confession of error, 218
GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand; and service of mankind, 445; as expert in ahimsa, 492-3; deification of, 178; deplores provincial spirit, 95; his faith in Ramanama, 435, 499; his fast for communal peace in Calcutta, 132-3, 133-5, 136-8, 139-41, 142, 147, 148-9, 150-3, 154, 158-9; his illness, 286; his joint appeal with Jinnah (of April 1947) recalled, 460; his message of peace, 482; his opposition to exchange of populations, 236, 237; his optimism, 480-1; his stay in Calcutta with Suhrawardy without police protection, 33-4, 35, 42-3, 48; his visit to Kashmir, 5-8; imprisonments of, 408,—in March 1922, 305,—in 1944, 349,—in South Africa, 407; Mountbatten's praise for, 116; on possibility of war between India and Pakistan, 259-60, 347-8; on question of visit to Pakistan, 473; refuses to take medicines, 272-3, 350-1; violent demonstration against, in Calcutta, 124*fn*, 126-7, 128, 129-32
GANDHI, Narandas, 222, 249, 255, 256, 267, 398, 399
GANDHI, Prabhudas, 93
GANDHI, Putlibai; her fasting capacity, 388
GANDHI, Ramdas, 261, 266
GANDHI, Saraswati, 75; imprisonment of, 264, 265
GANDHI, Shamaldas, 256, 510 *fn*
GANDHI, Shanti, 75
GANDHI, Sita, 41, 60, 267, 377, 390
GANDHI, Sushila, 40, 60, 377
GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN, 346
GHOSH, Aurobindo, 432
GHOSH, P. C., 20, 25, 55, 123, 127, 129, 130, 139, 151 *fn*, 237
GHOSH, Shanti, 260, 297

GHOSH, Sudhir, 260, 297
GHOSH, Surendra Mohan, 153 *fn*
GIDWANI, Choithram, 192, 237
GILDER, (Dr.) M. D. D., 3, 506
GOBRA LEPROSY HOSPITAL, Calcutta; Gandhiji's visit to, 162
GOD, 5, 18, 198, 205, 211, 225, 234, 251, 285, 287, 321, 333, 344, 345, 351, 362, 400, 413, 434, 453, 462, 469, 486; and religion, 262; attributes of, 54-5; faith in, 49, 208, 224, 243, 247, 310, 327, 356, 375, 416, 465, 500,—and animal passion, 324,—and fearlessness, 444, 455,—and swaraj, 364; Law of, unchangeable, 438; life as His gift, 465; Lord and Master of all, 106; oneness of, 57, 80, 90, 170, 223, 231, 245; (the) only support, 89, 433, 484; power of, 146; service of mankind is service of, 495; (the) sole protector of the poor, 443; thoughts on, 209, 242-3, 362
GOKHALE, Avantikabai, 281
GOKHALE, Baban, 281
GOKHALE, Gopal Krishna, 354
GOLWALKAR, M. S., 177, 193
GOPALGANJ; its inclusion in Pakistan resented, 72
GOPALJI, 463
GOSEVA SANGH, 146
GOUR, Harisingh, 256, 258
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; and sanitation in refugee camps, 184-5; appeal to, to deal with official disorderliness, 422-3; appeal to people to co-operate with, 310, 334-5; defended, 454; duty of, to protect minorities, 186, 188-9, 270-1, 288; must be secular, 51, 79
—SERVANTS; disparity in salaries of, 457
—SERVICES; communalism in, 422
GOVERNORS; high salaries of, and Congress resolution, 457 *fn*
GOVIND SINGH, Guru; his creed of equality of all, 273-4
Granthsaheb, 170, 223, 225, 251, 461, 501; *bhajans* from, in *Ashram Bhajanavali*, 472
GREEN PAMPHLET, 259
GUJARATIS; message to, to work for ahimsa, 319-20
GULAB SINGH, Maharaja, 6
GURKHA LEAGUE, Darjeeling, 119-20; provincial spirit of, condemned, 95
GURKHAS, 119, 120, 202

HAISHAO, Rev. G., 4
HANDES, Lady, 362
HANDES, Lord, 362
HARDINGE, Sir Henry, 6
HARI SINGH, Maharaja, 5 to 8, 455, 459, 460; his announcement about accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, 432
Harijan, 3, 20, 31, 37, 65, 113, 219, 226, 257, 282, 291, 355, 398, 399; publication of English-Hindustani dictionary in, 50; question of continuing publication of, 82-3, 216
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH, 146, 430, 518
Harijanbandhu, 113
HARIJANS, 84, 168; and Hinduism, 477-8; and Ratlam proclamation, 415, 504; conversion of, to Islam, 263; possibility of forcible conversion of, in Pakistan, 321; transfer of, from Sind to Kathiawar advised, 235, 236
HARRISON, Agatha, 43, 259
HEATH, Carl, 44

CWMG - LXXXIX

HEDGEWAR, 193
HINDI/HINDUSTANI, 1, 17, 405, 447; advice to Gujaratis to learn, 320; as national language, 32, 54, 248-9, 357-9, 464; must borrow from all languages, 448; no need of Government aid for propagation of, 228; to be in Devanagari and Urdu scripts, 31, 100-1, 340, 446-9, 516
HINDUISM, 69, 90, 174, 194, 201, 245, 251, 277, 340, 345; and communal unity, 52; broad outlook of, 4, 193, 499; communalism will lead to ruin of, 215; conversion from, to Islam, 263; decline of, 266; need for purification of, 208; no place for forcible conversion in, 388; no place for untouchability in, 415
HINDUS, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 18 to 22, 29, 42, 46 to 50, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 68, 79, 80, 83, 89, 97, 98, 112, 119, 123, 131, 137, 139, 140, 145, 147, 148, 153, 154, 157, 158, 162, 163, 168, 170, 172, 175, 177, 179, 183, 188, 189, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 209, 221, 223, 224, 230, 231, 238, 261, 262, 269, 270 to 274, 276, 283, 284, 287, 288, 292, 295, 299, 300, 305, 308, 322, 335, 339, 347, 348, 353, 358, 366, 367, 380, 384, 385, 387, 393, 395, 396, 400, 403, 408, 411, 414, 415, 417 to 419, 426; and cow-slaughter, 73, 277; and Harijans, 477-8; and untouchability, 263; and Urdu, 447; appeal to, for communal unity, 52,—for protection of Muslims, 174-7, 180-3, 193, 201-2, 210-1, 214-5, 233, 239-40, 242, 251, 275, 388, 461; forcible evacuation of, from Pakistan, 81, 232, 282; must learn Devanagari and Urdu scripts, 248, 249; must uphold Hinduism, 208; should purify themselves, 1
HINDUSTAN NATIONAL GUARDS, 60, 140
HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA, 32, 146, 227, 316, 317; and propagation of Hindustani, 31 *fn*, 248, 249
—TALIMI SANGH, 470
HINGORANI Anand T., 20, 56, 65, 342
HINGORANI, Gangi A., 56, 342
HIRANYAKASHIPU, 262
HITLER, Adolf; Gandhiji's message of non-violence to, 480
HOBHOUSE, Stephen, 376
HOGG, Dorothy, 383
HOLMES, John Haynes, 107, 191
HOOLIGANISM; condemned, 51; non-violent non-co-operation against, 149
HORSE-RACING; vice of, criticized, 16
HOUSE OF COMMONS, 500 *fn*, 501 *fn*
HUNAR, M. A., 296, 297, 356, 466
HUNTER, Edith, 416
HUSSAIN, Khateeb Ahmed, 298
HUTHEESING, Krishna, 96
HUXLEY, Julian, 346
HYDARI, Akbar, 87
HYDERABAD, NIZAM OF; his anti-Indian position, 489, 517

INDEPENDENCE, 36, 45, 46, 63, 133, 138, 144, 196, 220, 254, 272, 280, 300, 305, 311, 312, 320, 322, 345, 353, 363, 365, 379, 400, 403, 404; and constructive programme, 364; and partition of India, 255; and right to make

CWMG - LXXXIX

mistakes, 289-90; and spread of indiscipline, 427-8; communal unity needed to retain, 58, 130, 146-7; meaning of, 112; must not be misused, 48, 241, 270; role of army and police in, 243; won through truth and non-violence, 247, 482
—DAY; people advised to observe, through fasting, 19, 21, 29, 42, 43
INDIAN INDEPENDENCE BILL; and partition of India, 44
INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY, *see* AZAD HIND FAUJ
— —CONGRESS, 56, 60, 62, 80-2, 144, 145, 220, 238, 251, 299, 300, 310, 427; and constructive programme, 317; and prohibition, 16, 497; its acceptance of partition, 230; its lack of faith in non-violence, 396; its sacrifices to win freedom, 232; meeting of, 503, 513; (an) organization of the masses, 98; Punjab Provincial Committee of, 10; resolution on salaries, 457 *fn*; Working Committee of, 27
INDIRA, 26
INDORE ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 355
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION; Asian Regional Conference of, 476 *fn*, 487,—Burmese delegates to, 500 *fn*
INTOXICANTS; need for prohibition of, 165-6
IQBAL (Poet), 71; his Brahmin origin, 264
IRWIN, Lord, 374
ISLAM, 5, 30, 90, 106, 158, 182, 202, 231, 239, 245, 271, 321, 345, 474; conversion to, 263; no clash of Hinduism with, 193; true, 206
IYENGAR, Gorur Ramaswami, 187
IYENGAR, Ramachandra; death of, during students' agitation in Mysore, 187 *fn*

JAGADISAN, T. N.; his leprosy relief work, 394, 400-1
JAGJIVAN RAM, 399
JAGTAP, D. B., 424
JAIDKA, Radha Kisan, 153 *fn*
JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM, 110; asked to work in Bihar, 17-8
JAJU, Shrikrishnadas, 145
JANAKA, King (of *Ramayana*), 54
JAPAN; Gandhiji's message of non-violence to, 480
Japji, 472, 501
JAYA, 333
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, 76
JAYLAL, (Sir), 8
JETHALAL, 212
JEWS, 214, 419
JINNAH, M. A., 18, 82, 139, 168, 183, 200, 236 *fn*, 307, 318, 321, 378, 418, 419, 517; appeal to, for protection of minorities in Pakistan, 174; Gandhiji's admiration for, 98; Gandhiji's visits to, 460; his assurance to protect non-Muslims, 6; his condemnation of Hindus and Sikhs deplored, 462; his proclamation of Pakistan not being a theocratic State not practised, 474; his two-nation theory repudiated, 446; on peaceful relations of India and Pakistan, 52
JIVAN SINGH, Col., 93, 440
JONES, Major Harvey, 517
JOSHI, Chhaganlal, 430, 431

JOSHI, Naren B., 431
JOURNALISTS; advised to be truthful in reporting, 67, 305
JUDAS ISCARIOT, 331
JUNAGADH; Provisional Government of, 510 *fn*; question of accession of, 229, 509, 516-7; signing of Instrument of Accession to Pakistan by Nawab of, 509 *fn*, 510 *fn*

KABIR, 432; fusion of religions by, 245
KAK, Ramchandra, 5, 35; demands for his resignation in Kashmir, 7, 8
KALE, Gopalrao, 258
KALELKAR, D. B., 3, 32, 87, 100, 227, 316, 319, 338, 361, 363, 419; and question of national language, 248
KALYANAM, 127
KAMAL BABU, 124
KAMALA, 122
KANJIBHAI JAGABHAI DASHARIBEHN, 115
KANTAK, Prema, 78 *fn*, 249, 325, 370, 424
KAPADIA, Paramanand, 377
KARTAR SINGH, Master, 68
KASHMIR; accession of, to India, 6, 7-8, 25, 413-4, 432, 517; raid on, resisted, 433-4, 445, 454-5, 458-60,—Pakistan's responsibility in, 436
KASHMIR, Maharani of, 5-8
KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND; purpose of, 473-4
— — — —TRUST, 278 *fn*; Board of Trustees of, 473; trainees and teachers of, advised to work patiently in villages, 77-8
KATHIAWAR; issue of, 509
KATJU, Kailas Nath, 282
KAURAVAS, 194, 452 *fn*, 453
KHADI, 1, 18, 144, 212, 320; economics of, 145, 491-2; lack of faith in, 395-7; to meet cloth shortage, 120, 314, 502
—BOARD, 491
—PRATISHTHAN, Sodepur, 48, 147, 157, 309, 440
KHAKSARS, 9, 26, 36
KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN, 199
KHAN SAHEB, (Dr.), 173
KHANDELWAL, Damodardas, 372
KHARAK SINGH, 445
KHARE, N. M., 363, 364
KHER, B. G., 228
KHILAFAT MOVEMENT, 71, 142; communal unity during, 47, 49, 50, 53, 198, 209
KHULNA; its inclusion in Pakistan resented, 72
KIDWAI, Rafi Ahmed, 366
Kirpan; restriction on the size of, resented by Sikhs, 171, 172
KISANSINH, 338
KISHORILAL, Lala, 3
KORAN, 208, 251, 274, 374, 386, 439, 441; inclusion of verses from, in prayer, 3, 196, 438, 442,—objection to, 220, 223, 253, 451-2, 458, 477; source of inner joy, 444, 458
KOSAMBI, Dharmanand, 228
KOTAK, Harjivan, 509
KRIPALANI, J. B., 35, 91, 151 *fn*, 153 *fn*, 236
KRIPALANI, Sucheta, 278, 420, 452
(Lord) KRISHNA, 41, 103, 194, 372, 432, 485
KUDSIA BEGUM, 39 *fn*
KUMARAPPA, J. C., 145, 418, 515
KUNZRU, Hirday Nath, 237

KURUKSHETRA CAMP; condition of refugees in, 309-10; Gandhiji's proposed visit to, 503; problems at, 453-4, 456

LABOUR CONFERENCE; Gandhiji requested to inaugurate, 399
—PARTY OF ENGLAND; Churchill's attack on, 289
LABOURERS; at Motiaburz advised to ensure communal unity, 97-8
LAHORE; communal riots in, 47, 55; non-Muslims advised not to evacuate from, 11
LALJI, 378
LANDLORDS; appeal to, in Calcutta to help in rehabilitation of refugees, 71, 89
LEHNA SINGH, (Dr.), 10
LEPERS; need for sympathetic attitude towards, 393-4, 400-1
LEPROSY CONFERENCE, Wardha, 401
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, 35, 61, 68, 168, 307, 444; his statement accusing India of fraud regarding accession of Kashmir repudiated, 460
LIBERTY; meaning of, 112
LIQUOR; vice of, and Sikhs, 4
LOHIA, Rammanohar, 76, 487
LOVE; miraculous power of, 442; plea for cultivation of, 18

MADALASA, 32
Mahabharata, 179, 181, 397; quotations from, 505
MAHMUD, Begum Syed, 111
MAHMUD, (Dr.) Syed, 17, 111
MAJMUDAR, Parikshitlal, 326
MALAVIYA, Madan Mohan, 340
MALAYA; message to, 494
MALDA; inclusion of, in India, 72
MALKANI, N. R., 390
MAMDOT, Nawab of, 177
MANDAL, Jogendranath, 321
MANGALDAS, 219
MANSUKHLAL, 424
MARWARI, Samant N., 326
MARWARI RELIEF SOCIETY; flood relief work in East Bengal by, 68
MARWARIS; advised to sacrifice themselves to stop communal riots, 129, 138; in Darjeeling advised to be good to Gurkhas, 119
MASHRUWALA, Gomati K., 356
MASHRUWALA, Kishorelal G., 41, 106, 257
MASHRUWALA, Tara N., 29
MASHRUWALA, Vasant, 390
MATHESON, George, 277
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI, 475
MATTHAI, John, 237, 357
MAVALANKAR, G. V., 326, 478
MEHBOOB, 111
MEHTA, Annapurna C., 115
MEHTA, Champa R., 371, 462, 469, 470
MEHTA, (Dr.) Dinshaw K., 25, 95, 126, 141, 177, 424
MEHTA, Indira, 463, 470
MEHTA, (Dr.) Jivraj N., 282, 394, 401, 506
MEHTA, Nandlal, 319
MENON, V. K. Krishna, 297 *fn*
MEOS; protection to, demanded, 169
MERCHANTS; appeal to Muslim, for funds to rehabilitate refugees in Calcutta, 123-4
MILITARY, *see* ARMY
MINISTERS; appeal to, not to misuse power, 380-1; requisites for, 163
MINORITIES; equality of status for, in India, 56-7, 112, 199; protection to, demanded in India, 89, 221, 275, 415,—and Pakistan, 13, 149, 177, 231

CWMG - LXXXIX

MIRABAI, 250, 516
MIRABEHN, 58, 64, 107, 215 *fn*
MIRZA SAHEB, 342
MISHRA, Mahesh Dutt, 93, 373, 511
MITRA, Angshu Rani, 141
MITRA, Sachin; death of, during Noakhali riots, 141, 157
MOOKERJEE, Syamaprasad, 127, 140, 141
MOOKERJI, Radha Kumud, 120
MORARJEE, Shantikumar N., 235, 236, 418 *fn*
MORARJI, Sumant, 115
MORVI, Maharaja of, 338
MOSQUES; protection of, 450
MOTT, John R., 266
MOUNTBATTEN, Lady, 507; her visit to Punjab, 116; her work for refugees, 503
MOUNTBATTEN, Lord, 83 *fn*, 117, 183 *fn*, 344, 366, 432, 507, 517; his desire to resign from Governor-Generalship, 389; his tribute to Gandhiji, 116; his selection as Governor-General, 12-3
MOUNTBATTEN, Prince Philip, 517
MUD; medicinal virtues of, 495
MUDALIAR, Ramaswamy, 343
MUIRHEAD; and flood relief work in East Bengal, 68
MUKERJEE, Debendranath, 153 *fn*
Mundakopanishad, 247
MUNSHI, K. M., 2, 466
MUNSHIRAM, *see* SHRADDHANAND, Swami
MURLI BABU, 160, 161
MURSHIDABAD; its inclusion in India, 72
MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARDS, 140
MUSLIMS, 5 to 7, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20 to 22, 29, 40, 46 to 50, 53, 56, 57, 68, 69, 71, 79, 80, 83, 88, 89, 97, 112, 119, 123, 126, 129 to 133, 137, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 148 to 150, 154, 157, 158, 162, 163, 168, 170, 172, 173, 177, 179, 183, 194, 196, 208, 209, 221, 223, 225, 228, 230, 231, 233, 238, 246, 261, 271 to 274 276, 282 to 285, 295, 305, 322, 335, 346 to 348, 353, 358, 365 to 367, 380, 384, 385, 387, 393, 395, 396, 400, 403, 408, 411, 414, 415, 418, 419, 426; advised not to flee, 188-9, 198-9, 213-5, 224, 239-40, 336; advised to surrender arms, 176, 186, 202, 205-6, 207, 269; and beef-eating, 478-9; and Devanagari script, 339-40; appeal to, for communal unity, 33-4, 52, 411; asked to condemn wrong acts of Pakistan, 199; assure peace in Calcutta, 153; duty of, in India to learn Devanagari and Urdu scripts, 248, 249; exodus of, from India, 232, 422, 455; forcible conversion of, 444; harassment of, condemned, 299, 479, 496; Hindus must not retaliate against, 290; history of, in India, 262-3; instances of, giving protection to Sikhs, 461; nationalist, 388,—advised to join Muslim League, 82, 98, 508; place of, in India, 198-9, 444-5, 450; protection to, assured in India, 194, 417,—demanded in India, 174-7, 180-3, 185-7, 201-2, 204-6, 210-1, 234, 242, 251, 264, 275, 300-1, 337; question of loyalty of, in India, 210-1, 243, 247, 287-8; reported evacuation of, from Amritsar, 81; separate compartments in trains for, 483; should give up hatred of Hindus, 1

MUSSOLINI, Benito; Gandhiji's message of non-violence to, 480
MYSORE; formation of popular Government in, 343

NAIDU, Sarojini, 298
NANABHAI, *see* BHATT, Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas
NANAK, Guru, 170, 225, 250; fusion of religions by, 245; his belief in equality of all, 273
NANAVATI, Amritlal T., 32, 227, 338
NANAVATI, Saroj, 361
NANKANA SAHEB GURUDWARA; protection of, demanded in Pakistan, 4
NARASINHDAS GORDHANDAS, 399
NATIONAL FLAG; design of, 10, 120; symbolic significance of, 2
—LANGUAGE; need for, stressed, 447
—SCHOOLS, 114
NATURE CURE, 499; in villages, 470
Navaratri; meaning and significance of, 387-8
NAWANAGAR, Jamsaheb of, 229
NAYEE TALIM, *see* BASIC EDUCATION
NAYYAR, Dev Prakash, 69, 93, 131, 160, 296, 356, 372, 373, 506
NAYYAR, Mohanlal, 105
NAYYAR, Nandini, 106
NAYYAR, (Dr.) Sushila, 7, 9, 20, 29, 35, 76, 91, 93, 94, 105, 106, 108, 114, 128, 172, 195 *fn*, 270, 280, 296, 356, 357, 370, 372, 373, 394, 420, 421, 441, 453, 506
NAYYAR, Taradevi, 106
NAZIMUDDIN, Khwaja, 84, 147, 346
NEGROES, 175, 367
NEHRU, Brijlal, 204, 228; his Draft Declaration for members of public service, 12
NEHRU, Jawaharlal, 7 *fn*, 8, 10, 25, 30, 57, 67, 68, 75, 76, 83, 86, 89, 91, 107, 108, 116 to 118, 127, 133, 134, 139, 159, 160, 168, 177, 181, 182, 186, 194, 195, 203, 204, 222, 228, 246, 288, 300, 301, 307, 316, 342, 366, 389, 399, 409, 417, 433, 444, 480, 496, 512; and China, 476; his Cabinet's action regarding Kashmir defended, 460; his relations with Vallabhbhai Patel, 520
NEHRU, Rameshwari, 9, 203, 228
NELSON, Stuart, 62
NEOGY, K. C., 426
NEWSPAPERS; and communal reporting, 385
NOAKHALI; communal riots in, 11, 18-9, 21, 22, 33-4, 40, 198; exodus of the rich from, 443; fear among the people of, 511; Gandhiji postpones visit to, 42-3; harassment of Hindus in, 292
NON-CO-OPERATION, 114; and Khilafat movement, 53
NON-VIOLENCE, 18, 34, 53, 62, 94, 238, 252, 253, 257, 260, 285, 351, 411, 413, 510; and charkha, 321; and communal unity, 138; and Congress, 436; and cow-protection, 74; and India, 63; and Junagadh, 509; and love, 442; and resistance to aggression, 480-1; and truth, 439; decline of faith in, 395-7; (an) infallible weapon, 121; meaning of, 303, 378; of freedom struggle was of the weak, 482; of the brave, 45; power of, 247, 383-4, 443, 452, 462, 493; working of, explained, 438-40, 441-2
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE; refugees in, advised to be brave, 395
NRIPEN, Dr., 130

OM PRAKASH, 378
OMAR, Khalifa, 54
ORDING, 191

PAI, Sushila, 266, 278, 317, 370, 420
PAKISTAN; and establishment of peace in Sind and Lahore, 461; and India's settlement with 196, 252; appeal to, to "become good", 462; forcible evacuation of non-Muslims from, 185, 232, 242, 345; formation of, 5, 6, 49, 230; Gandhiji's stand on possibility of war with, explained, 252, 259-60, 347-8,—misreported, 520; ill-treatment of non-Muslims in, 204-6, 208, 214-5, 224, 251, 282, 293, 299, 303, 308; its ban on slaughter of pigs condemned, 474; its hand behind invasion in Kashmir, 436, 445, 461; protection to Harijans demanded in, 322; protection to non-Muslims demanded in, 10, 29, 31 *fn*, 61, 149, 168, 174, 177, 187, 188-9, 193-4, 198-9, 200, 231, 233, 246-7, 417-8; refuses to recognize Kashmir's accession to India, 460 *fn*; relations with, 21
PAKVASA, Mangaldas, 370
PANCHAYAT RAJ, 352
PANCHOLI, Vijaya M., 333, 378
PANDAVAS, 181, 452, 453 *fn*
PANDHARPUR; temple at, opened to Harijans, 478
PANDIT, Chandralekha, 67
PANIPAT; Gandhiji's proposed visit to, 503
—CAMP; sufferings of refugees at, 517-8
PANT, Gobind Ballabh, 489, 512
PAREKH, Devchand, 424
PARIKH, Nandlal, 76
PARIKH, Narahari D., 326, 377
PARMAR, Madhavji P., 326
PARSIS, 145, 194, 214, 223, 231, 238, 274, 275, 283, 288, 400, 408, 419
PARTITION; acceptance of, by all political parties, 68; and division of military and police, 305; and mass migration, 310-1, 328, 388, 391-2, 426-7; Congress acceptance of, 30, 230; (a) sin, 118
PASSIVE RESISTANCE; weapon of the weak, 62
PATEL, Dahyabhai, 25
PATEL, Jehangir, 424
PATEL, Jhaverbhai Shankarbhai, 115
PATEL, Manibehn, 25, 36, 92, 96, 118, 128, 135, 160, 256
PATEL, Vallabhbhai, 7 *fn*, 8, 9, 25, 35, 36, 55, 91, 92, 116 to 118, 122, 126, 128, 133, 139, 159, 160, 167, 168, 177, 181, 182, 186, 194, 195, 198, 204, 222, 229, 246, 256, 267, 268, 288, 292, 300, 301, 307, 357, 361, 366, 386, 409, 417, 424 to 426, 444, 450, 474, 480; his action regarding Kashmir defended, 460; his relations with Jawaharlal Nehru, 520
PATIALA; communal riots in, 293
PATTANI, Anantrai P., 256, 268, 425
PATWARI, Ranchhoddas, 277
PAVRY, Jal, 398
PAVRY, Khurshedji Erachji, 398
PERSIAN/URDU SCRIPT; need for both Devanagari and, 516; retention of, advocated, 447-8
PINJRAPOLES; condition of, deplored, 475
POLICE; advised to avoid communalism, 22; appeal to, for protection of Muslims, 202; asked to work

for sanitation in refugee camps, 184; division of, 305-6; duty of, in free India, 243; intervention of, in communal riots undesirable, 138
Politics, 14-5; and students, 114-5
Portuguese Territories; question of freedom of Indians in, 29-30
Prabhakar, 122, 372, 421
Prabhavati, 281, 373
Prabhu, R. K., 20, 65
Prahlad, 225, 262
Prayer Meetings; objection to recitation from the Koran at, 437-8, 439-40, 441-2, 451-2, 458, 471-2, 477, 501; significance of, 223
Premi Jairamdas, 110
Press; and public opinion, 304-5; powerful medium of publicity, 339
Princes, 36, 229, 413; their position in free India, 386-7
Prisoners; advised to observe discipline and co-operation, 410-1; classification of, not desirable, 407-8
Prisons; transformation of, needed, 408-10
Prithipal Singh, 445 *fn*
Privat, Edmond, 435
Privat, Yvonne, 435
Progress; as purpose of human life, 438-9
Prohibition; and India, 53; and villages, 18
Provinces; linguistic redistribution of, 402
Provincial Governments; duty of, to protect outsiders in the province, 165
—Languages; revival of, needed, 170-1; as medium of education, 516
Public Opinion; as check on Press, 304-5
Punja Saheb Gurudwara, 239; protection of, demanded in Pakistan, 4-5
(The) Punjab; abducted women in, 511; communal riots in, 10-1, 68; efforts to restore peace in, 72; Martial Law in, and crawling order, 353
Puranas, 274
Puri, Girdhari Lal, 173 *fn*
Purity; (the) most powerful weapon, 455
Pyarelal, 7, 35, 93, 105, 114, 124, 132 *fn*, 141, 147, 195, 291, 292, 309, 349, 376, 440

Qureshi, Amina, 301
Qureshi, Ghulam Rasool, 301

Raddy, Teresa, 70
Railways; duty of passengers towards, 428-9; ticketless travelling in, 427-8
Rajagopalachari, C., 46, 52, 132, 134, 135, 151 *fn*, 153 *fn*, 483; appointment of, as Governor of West Bengal, 44, 48,—demonstration against, 24, 35
Rajaji Formula, 139
Rajendra Prasad, 32, 85, 136, 237, 293, 295, 352, 486, 487, 490, 491; convenes Food Conference, 467; advised to give up food portfolio, 520
(Lord) Rama, 387, 412, 455
Ramanama, 141, 175, 251, 356, 432; and nature cure, 470; faith in, 25; (an) infallible cure, 272-3, 350-1, 499, 509; power of, 78, 494; (a) source of peace, 484; to remove fear, 300

CWMG - LXXXIX

Ramarajya, 283; and tradition of truth and honesty, 52
Ramayana, 463
RAMESHWARDAS, 441
RAO, Venkata, 3
RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH; complaints against, 177, 193-5
RATLAM; establishment of responsible government in, 415, 504
RAVANA, 412, 455
RAY, (Dr.) P. C., 84
REDDY, G., Somi, 420, 421
REFUGEES; accommodation for, 450; advice to, on sanitation, 172, 183-5, 279-80, 331-2; advised to be fearless, 6; appeal for relief to, 283-5; asked not to exploit their sufferings, 496-7; asked to do constructive work, 328-9, 437, 502, 503; asked to give up intoxicants and luxuries, 497; condition of, in Delhi, 167, 168-70, 181, 188, 239, 270, 391-2, 453-4, 469, 510, 514; problem of, 199-200, 443-4; repatriation of, 498; warm clothing for, 357, 385, 400
RELIGION(S); and economics, 144, 146; equality of, 448; Gandhiji against forcing, 239; freedom of, and State, 51,—in India, 56-7; one should protect one's own, 262; (a) personal matter, 79, 112, 322; teaching of, 193,—to children, 261-2
Rentia Baras, *see* CHARKHA JAYANTI
RETALIATION; condemned, 27, 167, 174-6, 187, 214, 264, 271, 282-3, 412-3
REUTER; report of Churchill's speech by, 253, 254
(THE) RICH; advised to help the poor, 443
RIGHTS; and duties, 112, 346-7
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 264
ROY, Bidhan Chandra, 298; advised to guide Muslims with love, 508
ROY, Dilip Kumar, 431, 442, 445, 452
ROY, Subodh Chandra, 382
ROYDEN, (Dr.) Maude, 497

SABARMATIWALLAH, Ramji Gopalji, 326
SACHAR, Bhimsen, 257
Saint Matthew, 435
SALARIES; disparity in, 457
SANE, P. S.; his efforts for Pandharpur temple being opened to Harijans, 478
SANITATION; advice to refugees on, 172; need for, in Calcutta, 84, 269
SAPRU, T. B., 340
SARABHAI, Mridula, 93; her efforts for recovery of abducted women, 511
SARALA, 26, 37
SARWAR, Ghulam, 34
SASTRI, T. R. Venkatarama, 397; on futility of arms, 505
SASTRI, V. S. Srinivasa, 394, 397 *fn*
SATYAGRAHA, 62; conditions for, 264, 265, 279-80; never fails, 349; restricted use of, in democracy, 113
SATYAVATI, 421
SAURENDRA, 383
SAVITRI, *see* STANDENATH, Francisca
SAYEED, Farahat, 39
Sayings of the Prophet, 158
SCHLESIN, Sonja, 449
SCHWEITZER, Albert, 497
SCIENTISTS; duty of, in free India, 52

SELF-CONTROL, 475-6; and detachment, 143
SELF-DEFENCE; self-suffering as the truest form of, 63-4
SELF-PURIFICATION; need for, 233
SELF-RELIANCE; in food, 294
SERVICE; scope for, limitless, 268
SEVAGRAM ASHRAM, Wardha, 462, 463, 470
SHAH, Chimanlal N., 66, 83, 122, 257, 371, 462, 470
SHAH, Kanchan M., 244
SHAH, Munnalal G., 244
SHAH, Piroj, 369
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN, 69, 89, 93, 296
SHAMSHUDDIN; purse presented by, 123 *fn*
SHANTI SENA DAL, 158; its work for restoration of peace in Calcutta, 414-5,—appreciated, 161; message to, 156
SHASTRI, Hiralal, 369
SHERGIL, Umrao Singh, 417
SHOORJI VALLABHDAS, 235, 236
SHRADDHANAND, Swami, 180, 181
SHRIMAN NARAYAN, 32
SHUKLA, Ravishankar, 259
SHYAMLAL, 278, 370
SIKHISM, 174, 201, 245, 251, 345
SIKHS, 6, 11, 79, 119, 131, 140, 163, 172, 173, 175, 177, 180 to 182, 185, 187 to 189, 194, 196, 198, 200 to 202, 209 to 211, 213, 221, 223, 230, 231, 233, 238, 246, 270, 273, 283, 284, 288, 305, 335, 346, 353, 367, 380, 388, 393, 395, 396, 400, 411, 418, 426; advised to be fearless about protection of Gurudwaras in Pakistan, 4-5; and misuse of *kirpan*, 274-5; appeal to, to protect Muslims, 214-5; reported evacuation of, from Pakistan, 81, 232; restriction on size of *kirpan* resented by, 171, 172
SILENCE; importance of, 362
SIND; exodus from, 376-8, 378-9, 436-7; Harijans in, to be transferred to Kathiawar, 235, 236; non-Muslims in, asked not to panic, 461
SINDHI SCRIPT; an improved edition of Urdu script, 448
SINHA, Ramendra G.; death of his father, 45
SINHA, Shrikrishna, 476
SITA (of *Ramayana*), 455
SIX ENEMIES; of man include all other enemies of humankind, 452
SMOKING; workers advised to give up, 76
SMUTS, Jan Christiaan, 104
SOCIALISM, 164; (a) formidable force, 289
SOIL; fertility of, 35
SOLDIER(S); and discipline, 104-5; attributes of, 496 *fn*
SOUL; is imperishable, 439; thoughts on, 213
SOUTH AFRICA; Indians in, advised to continue satyagraha, 354; satyagraha in, 407
SPIEGEL, Margarete, 280
SPINNING, 43, 44, 53; as occupation, 42; to meet cloth shortage, 314
SPINNING-WHEEL, 19, 21, 82, 364; and non-violence, 319-20, 321; its place in national flag, 2, 10; neglect of, in free India deplored, 484
SRINAGAR; raiders' threat to, 445
SRI PRAKASA, 192
STANDENATH, Francisca, 382
STATE(S); accession of, and position of Princes in free India, 386-7; wholesale accession of, a liability

520. *See* also GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
STEAD, Ronald, 456-7
Sthitaprajna; Gandhiji's striving for state of, 499
STUDENTS; advised to follow non-violence, 63-4; and communal peace, 47, 158; and discipline, 103, 105; and politics, 14-5, 114-5; duty of, organizations to improve education system, 114
SUDARSHAN CHAKRA, 2, 10; meaning of, 120
SUHRAWARDY, H. S., 17, 28, 34, 39, 40, 49, 57, 58, 61, 67 *fn*, 71, 84, 85, 89, 111, 118 *fn*, 119, 121, 123 *fn*, 124, 126, 130, 137, 138, 140, 147, 151 *fn*, 152, 153, 157 to 159, 199, 200, 203, 244, 307, 316, 318, 346, 417, 418; advised to condemn wrongs of Pakistan, 436; conference convened by, 506; demonstration against, by students, 103, 113; his stay in Calcutta with Gandhiji, 30-1, 35, 42-3, 48, 50; his work for maintenance of peace in Bengal, 116, 208; public complaints against, 81
Sukhmani, 501
SUNDERLAL, 228, 342, 346, 466
SURDAS, 363
SWARAJ ASHRAM, VEDCHHI; and constructive programme, 115
SWARAJ/SWADESH, *see* INDEPENDENCE

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 80; quotations from, 389
TALIB, Niranjan Singh, 151 *fn*, 153 *fn*
TAMHANKAR, Dr., 416
TARA SINGH, Master, 68
TENDULKAR, D. G., 376, 377
TEVANI, 325
THADANI, 179, 359
THAKKAR, Amritlal V., 100, 141 *fn*, 203, 235, 236, 278, 474
THOMAS, Daniel, 226
THOUGHT; and action, 498
TILAK, Bal Gangadhar; deportation of, 305
TOLERANCE; advised, 442; and non-violence, 462; to combat communalism, 457
TRIVEDI, (Dr.), Manu, 373
TRUMAN, Harry S., 295
TRUTH, 45, 245, 246, 351, 510; and satyagraha, 279; application of, in practical life, 438; Indians' tradition of honesty and, 52; power of, 247, 443; should be learnt from childhood, 439, 442
TULSIDAS, 363
TYABJI, Raihana, 3, 361, 449; advocates Devanagari script, 446-9

UNITED COUNCIL FOR RELIEF AND WELFARE, 503 *fn*
—NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION; message to, 155
— —ORGANIZATION; and question of South African Indians, 349-50
—PROVINCES GOVERNMENT; appeal to, to withdraw circular on official language, 340; assurance of, to protect Muslims, 512
UNIVERSITIES; creation of new, 402-4
UNTOUCHABILITY, 54, 263; eradication of, 1, 16, 52, 70, 193, 415-6
UPANISHADS; idea of stillness in movement in, 438-9
URDU, 31-2, 100, 248, 249, 340, 357, 358; and non-Muslims, 447
—ANJUMAN, 228
USMAN, Mohammed, 21, 28, 30, 160

U WIN, 500 *fn*

VAISHYA, Mooldas Bhoodhardas, 326
VALLABHRAM, 463
VEDAS, 251; belief in, 459
VIDURA, 465
VIDYARTHI, Ganesh Shankar, 129
VILLAGE INDUSTRIES, 1, 18, 82, 144, 212; and renovation of villages in India, 145; their place in free India, 484
VILLAGES; and prohibition, 18; need for self-sufficiency in, 82
VIOLENCE; bound to be affected by non-violence, 439, 493; steps for combating, 456-7
VYAS, Jivram, 109
VYAS, Kanta R., 258
VYAS, Ramprasad, 109, 258

WADIA, Sophia, 228
WAH; refugees at, advised to be fearless, 6,—rehabilitation of, 8
WALCHAND HIRACHAND, 235
WANKANER, Raja Saheb of, 430
WELLS, H. G.; on exploitation of students, 113
WEST; influence of, not favoured, 402
—BENGAL; ministers advised to be loyal to the nation, 45
—PUNJAB; communal riots in, 168
WINTERTON, Earl, 44
WOMEN; advised to eradicate untouchability, 70; and peace, 158; bravery of Indian, praised, 202; strength of, 262
WORKERS; as true wealth, 197
WORLD WAR II, 486; and food shortage, 467, 488

Young India, 144, 304, 376
YUDHISHTHIRA (of *Mahabharata*), 103, 453, 465; his reflections on futility of arms, 505

ZAHID HUSSAIN, 190
ZAKIR HUSAIN; Sikhs' attack on, in Jullundur, 169
ZAMINDARS; and riots in Bihar, 164

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
31 *Footnote 1, line 2	to hope that Islam did not	to show that Islam did not
352 *Para 2, line 2	discuss anything the problem	discuss anything about the problem
501 *Line 3	twice	thrice
501 *Footnote 2	In March 1915 and March 1929	In January-February 1902, March 1915 and March 1929

*Due correction made.

